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5 April 1985

USSR Report

SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

No. 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 1984

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5 April 1985

USSR REPORT

SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

No.3, Jul-Aug-Sep 1984

Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the Russian-language quarterly journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA published in Moscow by the Institute of Sociological Research, USSR Academy of Sciences.

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PUBLIC OPINION STUDIES IN GEORGIA

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84
(signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 12-21

[Article by G. N. Yenukidze: "To Study, Forecast and Shape (From the Experience of the Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee Center for Public Opinion)." Guram Nikolayevich Yenukidze is CP of Georgia Central Committee secretary]

[Text] One of the most important objectives of developed socialism is the assertion and systematic development of democratic principles in the management of societal and governmental affairs. It is on this basis that the new type of activities of the masses and their way of life, in which the active participation of an increasing number of citizens in sociopolitical activities is becoming an essential feature, is developed. In recent years the CPSU has paid significantly greater attention to seeing to it that party, state and public bodies take into consideration in their daily work the opinions, remarks and suggestions of the population. Congress resolutions and other party documents have repeatedly indicated that the strength of the party's leadership rests in its ability to rely on the soviets of people's deputies and trade union and other public organizations and the all-round development of the activities of the masses. K. U. Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, noted the primacy of this task in his speech at the April 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum (1).

Today the party calls upon us to give greater publicity and pay more attention to the needs and opinions of the people and to maintain more direct and interested contacts with the masses. K. U. Chernenko noted at the June 1983 Plenum that "ideological activities cannot be efficiently pursued without an efficiently functioning feedback mechanism. Otherwise, the propaganda machine would be running idle." It was said at the plenum that "we must convert from assessing the condition of ideological processes to their forecasting and from isolated to systematic public opinion studies and, possibly, to organizing a center for the study of public opinion" (2). In this connection, as E. A. Shevardnadze emphasized in his speech, the problem of public opinion studies is elevated to the rank of a partywide task.**

* E. A. Shevardnadze's article is published in this issue [E. A. Shevardnadze's article appeared in FBIS Daily Report: Soviet Union 19 Sep 84]

It was 12 years ago that the CPSU Central Committee passed the decree "On the Organizational and Political Work of the Tbilisi Gorkom, Communist Party of Georgia, on Implementing the Resolutions of the 24th CPSU Congress" (3). This document mobilized the party organization and all working people in Soviet Georgia for a truly uncompromised struggle for the comprehensive assertion of the Leninist norms of party, state and public life and for uprooting phenomena alien to the nature of our system, which had become widespread at that time, such as bureaucratism, favoritism, bribe-taking, careerism, moneygrubbing, parochialism and other negative trends. Relying on the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, the Georgian party organization firmly undertook to strengthen socialist discipline, implement national economic plans and strictly observe the requirements of the socialist way of life. Everyone is familiar today with the tangible results which purposefulness and an irreconcilable attitude in the hard struggle to improve the moral psychological climate and to surmount the gross blunders in ideological, economic and cadre work yielded. This is eloquently confirmed by the successes achieved by Soviet Georgia and its restored reputation and high awards.

In turn, such radical reorganization required the breakdown of management stereotypes, the search for new means and methods of influencing consciousness and upgrading the level of the social activeness of all members of society and, consequently, the role of the subjective, the personality factor in all changes which were made.

Our republic was frequently described as a testing ground, for in the past 10 years many socioeconomic and ideological initiatives, approved and supported by the CPSU Central Committee, have been tested in the republic. A new development in this connection was the establishment of a Council for the Study of Public Opinion of the CP of Georgia Central Committee in 1975. Specific reasons made this necessary.

The republic's leadership needed to know the reaction of the masses to the decisions which were being made and the results which could be expected. Furthermore, we were interested in the opinion of the public not only as a reaction to a phenomenon; we tried to take anticipatory steps by submitting for broad discussion planned actions, including problems discussed at plenums, aktivs and public meetings and Central Committee decrees, covering all problems of public interest.

Our initial objectives were modest: to organize with the help of sociological methods a system for data gathering or, more precisely, the gathering of views, statements and suggestions on one problem or another of topical significance to the republic's development. Selective surveys, practical polls and classification of typical problems raised in the letters and statements by the working people were the initial tasks of the council's personnel. As experience was acquired, the tasks of this subunit, naturally, became more complex and its functions were broadened. The question not only of quantitative but qualitative trends in the activities of our sociological service were raised with increasing frequency. All of this raised the question of reorganizing the council's activities in order gradually to lay the foundations for the creation of an integral republic system for public opinion studies, in which,

along with the council, local services organically related to it would function under party and state organs, scientific institutions and public organizations.

In accordance with increased requirements, in 1981 the CP of Georgia Central Committee reorganized the council into a Center for the Study, Forecasting and Shaping Public Opinion under the CP of Georgia Central Committee. At the same time, a Regulation was issued, which defined its tasks, organizational structure and functions as a scientific-consultative body engaged in the systematic study and analysis of public opinion, which would submit the results of its studies with recommendations to the bureau, secretariat and various departments of the CP of Georgia Central Committee. In order to strengthen the scientific and material base of the center's activities, a department for public opinion studies was set up under the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences Presidium. The center's amount of work required the harnessing of additional scientific forces. Scientific research institutes and VUZ chairs, whose specialty and topics were similar to those studied by the center, were set up as the center's base organizations. Day-to-day work is managed by a presidium, which includes representatives of the working class and the kolkhoz peasantry, men of science and the arts and party and soviet workers, in order to ensure the more competent study of the problems. Furthermore, the center has a council consisting of so-called "opinion leaders"--people whose viewpoint is authoritative and has great weight in society.

It was made incumbent to all Central Committee departments, oblast, city and rayon party committees, ministries, departments and respective chairs in VUZs and subunits of scientific and research institutes of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences to participate in work on topics included in research plans and to formulate recommendations based on the results of public opinion studies, and to give the center all necessary help in gathering data and preparing and conducting surveys.

Since the center carries out assignments set by the CP of Georgia Central Committee, the activities of its laboratories are related above all to the specific nature of the problems resolved by the republic's party organizations. Thus, the views of the different social groups and population strata on the efficiency of ideological activities are studied by the laboratory on problems of ideological-political and moral-educational work. Its associates recently made a public opinion study on the problem of international upbringing, which is of great importance in a multinational republic. A sui generis "passport" of the main ethnic groups in the republic, including data of historical, demographic and sociocultural nature, was drawn up on the basis of the resulting materials. Interesting results were obtained by the laboratory for socioeconomic problems in the study of public opinion on the utilization of internal production reserves in industry, the efficiency and effectiveness of the work of the wholesale system in the allocation of commodity resources, the prestige of being a metallurgical worker, the social activeness of the rural intelligentsia and the effectiveness of the brigade organization of labor in a number of republic industrial branches.

The laboratory's plans include studies of public opinion on the efficiency of rayon agroindustrial associations and on developing cooperation between

private plots and public farms. Experts will be surveyed on the question of additional reserves for upgrading labor productivity and lowering production costs, ensuring the comprehensive management of the regional economy and the means for its further advancement, taking Poti as an example, where the administrative-economic management experiment, which is now quite well-known throughout the country, successfully proved its usefulness.

The task of the laboratory on problem coordination is to combine the activities of the center and the groups engaged in public opinion studies of okrug, city and rayon CP of Georgia committees, ministries, departments, enterprises, and scientific and educational institutions in the republic. To this effect the plans and reports of the local public opinion councils are analyzed and summed up. Zonal conferences and practical training of managers and responsible secretaries of such groups are organized periodically. Several VUZ graduates have been assigned to postgraduate studies at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research. It is thus that we intend to resolve the problem of cadres at the start, for the question of training specialist sociologists in the republic is still at the discussion stage.

The laboratory for determining the efficiency of ideological measures is faced with complex problems: perfecting educational work and upgrading its efficiency on the basis of the differentiated study of public opinion among various population groups is a new project but, we believe, worthy of the closest possible attention. On the basis of the recommendations submitted by the laboratory, criteria are being formulated on assessing the efficiency of ideological work, currently tested by the Adzhar party organizations.

Improving research methods and methodology and formulating forecasts and recommendations on public opinion molding play an important role in the center's work. The center is currently engaged in establishing a single sociological information bank which, we hope, will enable us to make fuller use of the data of studies conducted at different times, engage in secondary analysis and obtain summed-up data. The bank will also include the results of the content study of working people's letters sent to the republic's leading bodies and the center.

On the basis of already acquired experience, our center has come quite close to working on the problem of molding public opinion and controlling this process. We hope that in time this work will become more systematic. As to forecasting, the importance of which we realize quite well, success in this area greatly depends on the timely prediction of changes in the feelings of the masses and the ability efficiently to respond to their reaction to steps taken by party and state organizations relative to the public's socioeconomic development and improvements in ideological activities. This is a complex problem the solution of which requires a thorough long-range approach and the combined efforts of sociologists and party workers.

Since the establishment of the center, some 90 sociological studies have been made in the course of which 48,000 workers, 32,000 employees, 18,000 kolkhoz members, 16,000 university students, 12,000 secondary school students, 5,000 pensioners and 4,000 housewives have been surveyed. Furthermore, the center has made a content study of about 5,000 working people's letters.

Such statistical figures are quite eloquent in themselves. However, it is not a question of figures only. Respective documents were drafted on the basis of individual studies, enabling us to draw the necessary information from the data and to formulate specific recommendations on their basis. It is precisely thus that the summed-up opinions of the working people have become the base for many important decisions made by the secretariat and the republic's communist party Central Committee bureau.

Let me reemphasize that the topic plans for work by the center's laboratories concentrate on problems the solution of which is currently sought by party, soviet and state bodies. Such coordination between topics and management system enables us maximally to update the study of public opinion and, above all, to utilize results in our practical work. The center has not only contributed to the solution of specific problems but also suggested interesting ideas. In particular, an analysis of its studies gave the idea of establishing a republic commission on the introduction and dissemination of socialist traditions and provided a base for the formulation of measures carried out by ideological institutions, creative associations and other organizations and departments.

In consideration of the wishes expressed by the working people in the course of a public opinion survey, the CP of Georgia Central Committee also set up a Coordination Council on International Relations and International Upbringing. The Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences Museum of Friendship Among the Peoples became its scientific-propaganda base. Thanks to the center's recommendations and the activities of the coordination council, the party education and economic training system and the Znaniye Society offer classes and lectures in eight languages spoken by the largest Georgian ethnic groups.

Here is another example. Together with the journalism chair of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, our center conducted a study to determine the effectiveness of the work of the editorial boards of the republic newspapers KOMUNISTI and ZARYA VOSTOKA in shaping a communist morality. The sociologists made recommendations on the basis of the results of the survey, in which the attention of the editorial collectives was drawn to a number of omissions and unfinished projects. This led to the appearance of new sections in newspapers and journals and in the republic's television and radio transmissions, such as "Family, Collective, Society"; "Law and Order and We"; "Party Biography of the Family," etc. New cycles of broadcasts on Georgian television and radio, such as "Citizen, Society, Law" and "Let Us Talk About Morality," were inaugurated to deal with problems of strengthening the norms of communist morality, the socialist way of life and struggle against harmful vestiges of the past.

The problems and tasks of labor collectives were defined for us even more clearly in the light of the decisions of the February and April 1984 CPSU Central Committee plenums and Comrade K. U. Chernenko's plenum speeches. Sociological studies convincingly proved the important role of the moral-psychological climate in upgrading labor productivity and strengthening discipline.

Particularly indicative in this respect are the results of sociological studies conducted at the Rustavi Metallurgical Plant. The study of public opinion broadened and intensified information on reasons for existing omissions in organizational and educational work. In particular, it revealed the severe consequences to the collective caused by the inability of the management to take a long-range view and to consider the trends and dynamics of development of the production process and the enterprise's collective.

Suffice it to refer to a single case. At the start of the 1980s a shortage of highly skilled metallurgical specialists developed at the plant. At the same time, the prestige of this profession began sharply to decline in the republic: a survey revealed that even workers at the plant had a negative attitude toward the possible choice by their children of a metallurgical profession. In itself, this was an alarming attention-drawing fact. The problems brought to light by the sociologists made it possible to develop a comprehensive program to improve the situation.

As the people say, personal experience may be costly but is a better teacher. The lessons taught to us by life in the course of organizing a sociological service had, in addition to practical results, another important consequence: the prestige of the sociologists began to grow. Whereas initially their methods and forms of activities in terms of party work triggered a feeling of caution and even open rejection, clearly related to the fear that information which may prove to be undesirable to some would emerge, today we note with satisfaction the increased interest shown by party workers in sociological services. This is confirmed by the creation of such services at the Tbilisi Electric Locomotives, Kutaisi Motor Vehicle and Zestafoni Ferroalloy plants. Recently, on the initiative of a Tbilisi raykom, positions for plant sociologists were opened at five of the largest enterprises, to study the reasons for cadre turnover, the psychological compatibility among brigade members and other problems.

Life is incredibly more complex than theoretical concepts. Let us take cadre policy as an example. Our requirements regarding cadres are universally known. Cadres, however, are people, individuals, who frequently behave unpredictably in different situations, in extreme situations in particular. In such cases speculative models are of no use. Once again, public opinion was harnessed. Today candidates for leading positions are discussed openly in the party organization and the labor collective. Surveys are conducted with the help of sociologists, to determine the views and assessments of the working people. It was thus that, by comparing the viewpoints of superior authorities with the opinion of collectives and party members, we have been able to reduce to a minimum errors of a subjective nature and, above all, have contributed to the further development of democratism in cadre promotion and enabled the candidates to look at themselves through the eyes of those around them. As we can see, even in such a delicate and most responsible area of party life, public opinion was able to play its positive role.

The effectiveness of the republic's sociological center is assisted also by the fact that the relations established between subunits in the study of public opinion in the various areas, cities, rayons and production collectives

allow us to be always informed of local developments, the usefulness of the implementation of various measures and problem priorities.

Practical surveys are actively used. Such information enables us to pinpoint and analyze various types of rumors which circulate among some population strata. This channel should not be underestimated, for it enables us promptly to detect our omissions in the course of education and propaganda work and struggle more efficiently against fabrications and misinterpretations. Thus, for example, rumors of alleged privileges granted some groups of secondary school graduates enrolled in the Tbilisi Medical Institute were substantively and efficiently refuted in the article "August Bell Ring," which was carried by the republic's press. As we know, mass information media hold an important and firm position in shaping public opinion. The practice of public and extensive discussion of vital problems enables us to make active use of channels for consideration and expression of public opinion, such as the press, radio and television. That is precisely why the CP of Georgia Central Committee is thoroughly intensifying and strengthening joint work between the center and the Georgian Union of Journalists, the editors of republic newspapers, Gruzinform and the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting. Materials published in the sections "Public Opinion: Facts, Judgments, Echos," "Topical Interview," "This Question Must Be Answered," etc., provide regular comments on the state of affairs in one area of activities or another. The center issues bulletins with studies of working people's letters and surveys made by the center and by similar subunits operating under obkoms, gorkoms, raykoms, scientific institutions, ministries and departments. Data on what excites the population and what may concern it in the immediate future and problems which have been brought to light in the course of the surveys become public knowledge.

Thus, for example, a discussion on anonymous denunciations and their authors, which met with broad response in the republic, was held at an expanded session of the center's presidium and televised. The results of a survey of working people on the efficiency of measures related to the conservation of all types of resources were discussed at another session. As a result of cooperation between the center and the Georgian SSR State Television and Radio Administration, a special program entitled "Dialogue" was televised. Its purpose is to seek, together with the public, the most efficient ways and means for surmounting shortcomings. The initial transmissions, which dealt with the implementation of the Food Program or entrance examinations in the republic's VUZs, met with broad response. The newspaper KOMUNISTI has a permanent section for center materials and similar sections will be soon introduced in many other republic and city newspapers. In response to such publications and television programs, the center and the editorial boards are receiving large numbers of letters which, in themselves, provide most valuable social information which is steadily processed and analyzed by the center's personnel.

These, however, are merely the initial steps. A great deal more remains to be done. We have still not eliminated petty topics and the incomplete substantiation of data. The question of long-term planning of the center's publications has also risen.

We are quite familiar with the range of problems of interest to the party organizations. We have also determined how and on what level should such work be carried out. The time has now come to determine how to upgrade the scientific-professional standard of sociological studies and their treatment of socioeconomic, party-political, organizational, managerial and other problems facing party organizations or, in other words, how to improve the usefulness of all services engaged in public opinion studies.

Molding public opinion, however, is the main problem and main direction in our work. It is precisely this circumstance which was noted by Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze at the January 1984 meeting with the center's personnel, at which he emphasized that the purpose of all sociological activities is properly to orient public consciousness. People's views toward events and facts change in the course of social development. Therefore, the same occurs with the consciousness and mentality of one social group or another and, sometimes, the entire society. The mechanism for molding and controlling public opinion should change correspondingly as well.

We know the irreconcilable struggle which is being waged in our country against private ownership trends, a consumerist mentality and moneygrubbing. The social assessment of the work done by party organizations in this area has been unanimous. It is precisely thanks to the extensive and comprehensive support of this struggle by the working people and their active participation in improving the moral and psychological climate that we have been able to reach a situation in which we can confidently speak of irreversible positive trends.

However, obvious successes in this work should not lead to complacency. Furthermore, we must increase its aggressiveness and study the roots of the appearance of private ownership feelings and their origins. Here again we await the competent recommendations of sociologists. The CP of Georgia Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department developed a system for the differentiated analysis of negative trends in various economic management areas, trade and consumer services in particular. We hope that our center as well will reorganize its work in this area by converting from noting facts to the study of origins and reasons for negative phenomena.

Forecasting social processes is a most important prerequisite in molding public opinion. The republic center must be able to participate efficiently and on a scientific basis on clarifying problems which lead to different and frequently conflicting views. Most frequently, lack of information is the reason for circulating erroneous views. We must find means for faster dissemination of information on most sensitive problems, making it maximally accessible and indicating how and within what period of time a given problem must be resolved.

Let us frankly say that we have a long way to go in this area. So far we have no satisfactory method for forecasting public opinion or specific recommendations on how to organize such work. Problems relative to the correlation between public opinion and long-term ideological planning and standard and research forecasting models and expert evaluations have been insufficiently clarified.

As we know, one of the center's basic functions is to coordinate the activities of subunits in charge of public opinion studies under oblast, city and rayon party committees of the CP of Georgia, some ministries, departments, scientific institutions and public organizations in the republic. We have some 70 such subunits. Let us immediately point out that we are not aspiring to create such sociological services ubiquitously. It would be an error to create local subunits similar to the center and to multiply it in miniaturized models. Regional and departmental subunits exist as nothing but units within the overall system, which contribute to the system in accordance with their specific nature and local problems.

Another question is how are already proven groups acquiring practical experience? Currently, a great deal of thought is being given to organizing sociological services at the Ministry of Trade and Consumer Services. The Ministry of Internal Affairs which, in its time, initiated the creation of a sociological service in the republic, should energize its efforts in this area. The Ministry of Health and other ministries and departments, whose activities are directly related to the well-being and prosperity of the people, should take public opinion more into consideration. At the same time, all of these subunits have the right to demand of the sociologists practical and methodical developments. Also important are specialists' suggestions on surmounting a certain psychological barrier in the attitude of some managers toward sociological services, for things in this area will not improve by issuing directives. This is a delicate area which requires inner convictions. The problem consequently arises of disseminating and popularizing sociological methods in managerial work.

The means and methods of counterpropaganda including, naturally, molding public opinion, should be most seriously reviewed in accordance with contemporary international circumstances. Propaganda means must more efficiently neutralize the influence of hostile information sources aimed, in particular, at our border republic. Our counterinformation is frequently late. Events are analyzed superficially and frequently we appear to be not convincers but refuters of arguments. This is mainly due to the lack of proper arguments and the necessary aggressiveness and efficiency. The need appears, therefore, to engage in the profound study of the ideological situation and the information needs of the various sociodemographic and professional population groups, on the one hand, and the creation of an efficient scientific counterpropaganda system, on the other. Sociologists, psychologists, historians and journalists dealing with international affairs must join efforts on the basis of a single work plan.

Public opinion on matters of international education and relations must be studied on a high scientific level. We consider this one of our most important tasks. It may seem initially that in our multinational republic, where friendship and fraternity among different ethnic groups and their members have sunk deep roots, no such problem exists and it hardly makes sense to study public opinion on this topic. Reality, however, raises new tasks and one must be able to anticipate them and solve them intelligently, quickly and accurately. This demands comprehensive information, including knowledge of the situation in the various areas, labor collectives and schools. It is only

then that the project becomes specific, based on the real situation and the specific requirements of the masses.

All of us remember the recent and truly nationwide celebration of the 200th anniversary of the Georgievsk Treaty. This once again confirmed the accuracy of the course charted by the republic's party organization in its organizational and political education work based on extensive and systematic contacts with the masses and effective and productive feedback. This reasserted once again the truth that developing an internationalist outlook and a scientific management of processes of internationality relations cannot be programmed once and for all and cover all contingencies.

Let me emphasize once again, in conclusion, that the experience of our center proves the unquestionable usefulness of and vital need for such work. However, this same experience has enabled us to realize all complexities which inevitably parallel any initiative.

Life confirmed the accuracy of the steps taken by the CP of Georgia for the planned and systematic utilization of sociological methods in the study of public opinion and, therefore, in upgrading the social activeness of the working people and harnessing them in resolving the difficult socioeconomic, organizational and political education problems facing the republic. The study of public opinion is already allowing the republic's party organization to follow more firmly the pulse beat and be aware of the feelings of the masses and take their views in the course of resolving topical problems, as well as in developing in the working people a personal interest in the end results of their activities.

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CSO: 1806/26

SOCIAL EXPERIMENTATION IN STAVROPOL KRAY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84
(signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 21-27

[Article by A. A. Korobeynikov: "Ideological Complex: Social Experimentation Prospects in Stavropol Kray." Anatoliy Antonovich Korobeynikov is candidate of philosophical sciences and secretary of the Stavropol CPSU Kraykom. He is the author of several scientific works on problems of ideological work. He is the author of the article "Important Prerequisites for Upgrading the Role of Party Organizations" published by our journal (No 3, 1982, in co-authorship)]

[Text] The economic-organizational activities of party organizations in labor collectives in various areas of our country has become today a target of close attention of sociologists. Sociological services--a new form of integration of science with practice--have become quite widespread. The current item on the agenda, we believe, is the establishment of a uniform system of ideological work in the various areas. It is our viewpoint that in order to ensure the efficient functioning of such a system the existing structure of bodies and agencies engaged in political education work should be reviewed. In addition to different department affiliations and insufficiently amended activities, we are also facing duplication in the activities of many units, parallelism and inefficient waste of forces and funds. Such a situation does not only prevent us from efficiently and, above all, substantively mounting one propaganda campaign or another and conducting it on the basis of a single plan, but also raises the cost of such projects.

Now, when a movement for saving on funds and resources and optimizing all management units has developed in the country, the situation which has developed in the cultural and ideological area is lagging behind practical requirements. I would like to raise as a basis for discussion the question of conducting a social experiment: establishing a unified spiritual-ideological complex on a regional level, to start with. Stavropol Kray could be used as a "testing ground" for such an experiment.

In his address to the extraordinary CPSU plenum, K. U. Chernenko said: "We must realistically assess accomplishments, neither exaggerating nor belittling them. This approach alone will protect us from errors in politics and from the temptation of confusing wish with reality..." (1). One of the important

elements in the accurate assessment of real events and the adoption of a scientific approach in party practical activities is that of specific sociological research which has been extensively used by local party organizations as well in recent years.

I am profoundly convinced that no real enhancement in the efficiency of ideological activities and intensification of the role of party organizations in controlling the process of communist upbringing are possible without the recommendations and conclusions of sociologists. The conducted studies expose our problems "from within" and help the party organizations to obtain current information on "bottlenecks" in the activities of party committees, to find new reserves and to assess the efficiency and consequences of decision-making more concretely. The practical need for sociology also increases because of a clear indication of the increased saturation of all socioeconomic processes with an ideological content. We also realized that one cannot absolutize or overestimate the significance of sociological data. Regardless of its relevance, it does not automatically convert into recommendations and party decisions, not to mention real action. Substantial yields are possible only if the results of a study become an intrinsic element of party-political activities and if the methods for their practical utilization are improved.

A sociological service began to develop in our kray as early as the 9th Five-Year Plan. Laboratories for specific sociological studies, staffed by voluntary personnel, have been set up under the kraykom, the obkom and a number of CPSU gorkoms and raykoms. A full-time sociological service has been created under the agricultural administration; many large enterprises have positions for sociologists. Currently the kray has more than 1,000 voluntary sociologists. Several persons are engaged in postgraduate studies at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research. Training sessions, seminars and conferences with the participation of leading specialists in the country are systematically held for full-time and supernumerary personnel. The first kray sociological conference, which summed up the experience of local sociologists and adopted recommendations for its further advancement, was held jointly with the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences and the USSR Academy of Sciences ISI [Institute of Sociological Research].

The kray party organization conducts sociological studies in three main areas: improving the party's management of the national economy, studying the results of organizational work and upgrading ideological work efficiency.

The existing structure of sociological subunits enables us to carry out an extensive program of specific studies. Let me mention a few: efficiency in the study of the materials of the 25th and 26th CPSU congresses; nature of utilization of leisure time by the working people; motion pictures in our life; social aspects of the struggle against alcoholism and theft of socialist property; atheistic propaganda among the kray's population; role and significance of Komsomol-youth labor collectives in molding an active life stance in rural workers; reasons for cadre turnover and means for keeping cadres in the countryside; public opinion on problems of labor, recreation and leisure time of rural workers. These and other studies have provided the CPSU kraykom and the kray agricultural administration with current data on topical socioeconomic and ideological problems.

The studies which were conducted in the kray in 1974-1975 and which were concluded with the first kray practical science conference, which took place in 1965 jointly with the CPSU Central Committee AON [Academy of Social Sciences] on "Upgrading the Role of Labor Collectives in the Development of Agricultural Production and in the Communist Upbringing of the Working People" were instructive.

The CPSU kraykom bureau approved the recommendations adopted at the conferences and they became the base of the work of the rural CPSU raykoms and party organizations in kolkhozes and sovkhoses for the 10th Five-Year Plan. We are firmly convinced that each conference must formulate recommendations for practical party work. There would be greater faith in sociology if the practical value of studies is given priority. What was the role played by recommendations in party committee activities? This stage can be described essentially as social experimentation based on target programs formulated together with the party organizations, as well as the testing of new forms of planning and utilization of social reserves.

We maintained steady control over the implementation of the resolutions of the 1975 conference and assume that this yielded results. New methods were established in the activities of many party committees, in ideological education work in particular. Let me mention a few of them: comprehensive plans for the economic and social development of kolkhozes and sovkhoses and for ideological education; short ideological planning sessions, public certification of personnel, formulating labor codes for collectives, drafting social certification documents, setting up cultural complexes and organizing units for ideological support of a variety of farm campaigns.

The CPSU kraykom assigned the implementation of recommendations to 22 base party organizations. The results of sociological studies and recommendations were extensively used at seminars and conferences and were reflected in the book "Sel'skiye Trudovyye Kollektivy" [Rural Labor Collectives], which was published by Izdatel'stvo Kolos in 1976 and 1977.

Let us cite examples of the way sociological research is helping to apply a differentiated approach to upbringing. A survey of kolkhoz members was conducted at the Zavety Il'icha Kolkhoz in Grachevskiy Rayon. The studies indicated that the kolkhoz party committee was not making use of the entire arsenal of means and methods of educational work aimed at developing an active life stance in every kolkhoz member; 56 percent of mechanizers and livestock breeders were doing nothing to improve the organization of the production process and to upgrade production quality; 48 percent were not sufficiently active in discussing production problems and only 15 percent were trying creatively to fulfill their production assignments. The studies revealed that only one out of every three kolkhoz members was aware of the importance and need of the struggle against drunkenness and that a significant percentage preferred to keep silent in discussions of the moral features of their comrades.

These results were quite unexpected to the kolkhoz management. As is still occasionally the case, in this party organization a differentiated approach to education is approved in words but little is being done on this matter on

practice. The party committee frequently failed to notice major flaws in the life stance of some members of the collective. Criteria and ways of ensuring a differentiated approach were formulated on the basis of the studies which provided thorough information of the existing situation and the feelings and demands of the working people.

The summation of the specific data which were gathered made it possible to determine the main trends in ideological education activities in rural labor collectives and to formulate a comprehensive model plan. The plan took into consideration the educational and cultural standards of the workers, the professional structure, the changes in the nature and content of labor, the traditions of the collectives, the use of the leisure time and the instructions of party committees and party raykom departments on resolving production and sociopolitical problems requiring most firm ideological support.

The plan included both means of influence of already proven value and new ideological experience; in particular, codes were drafted and applied pertaining to collective labor honor; political centers which combine information departments, lecture groups, and councils of propagandists, agitators and political reporters, are actively functioning.

Here is another example. Sociological studies conducted on the request of the CPSU kraykom bureau in Nevinnomyssk in 1976 and 1981 on the topical problem of strengthening labor discipline and reducing cadre turnover indicated that no tangible changes had taken place in the attitude toward absenteeists and violators of production discipline in the period between the two studies. The CPSU kraykom bureau decree and the measures formulated by the Nevinnomyssk City Party Committee earmarked a program for strengthening labor discipline, which stipulated less work with violators than the creation of optimal conditions for highly productive work at each workplace and a better organization of recreation and living conditions for the working people in the city, indicated by the studies. Results were not slow in coming. Compared with the beginning of the five-year plan, current nonproduction working time losses in industry and construction are down one-third. Cadre turnover at Nevinnomyssk industrial enterprises averages 15.8 percent, one of the lowest in the kray.

We ascribe great importance to the conclusions drawn by sociologists on improving progressive initiatives such as the Ipatovo method and the Krasnogvardeysk experiment. Data from the 1979 study entitled "The Ipatovo Method: Experience and Problems" show that 80 percent of the personnel of harvesting-transportation complexes (UTK) and the majority of farm managers and specialists gave a positive rating to this method. However, a number of them noted that errors had been made in staffing the UTK. In particular, cadres with different qualifications had been chosen and the principle of voluntary participation had not been observed at all times. More than half of the mechanizers and specialists-experts pointed out shortcomings in the wage system, above all the fact that it poorly stimulated the struggle for end results and was overburdened by a variety of pay supplements. The mechanizers submitted specific suggestions on improving the organization of labor and equipment repairs, mastering related skills and organizing training. These and other suggestions were taken into consideration in the further efforts to improve UTK activities.

Interfarm agricultural mechanization enterprises (MKhP) are successfully functioning in the kray's villages. The experiment was started in Krasnogvardeyskiy Rayon in 1979. One year later it was deemed expedient to determine the opinion of competent individuals on this initiative. The evaluations which were obtained as a result of such studies were conflicting. It became clear that the nature of the experiment had not been entirely understood by many specialists and mechanizers. The acquired data indicated the need not only to improve the organization of the MKhP but also to intensify propaganda and to surmount above all a certain psychological barrier in the minds of managers and mechanizers. This assignment was carried out. Today interfarm enterprises are stronger. They provide work for the entire machine-tractor fleet, for some 80 percent of mechanization operations and one-half of the technical servicing of livestock farms. Industrial technologies and the assembly line organization of labor are being applied in agricultural production more energetically. Engineering and technical services, the use of the machine-tractor fleet, the functioning of supply services and prerequisites for upgrading the skills of mechanizers and repair workers have improved.

Briefly, the possibilities of applied research on socioeconomic problems are quite substantial in the individual areas and must be utilized more fully. In our view, those who believe that economics and the economic mechanism are the foundation for the labor mentality of the masses, the feeling of social justice and, in the final account, the "nucleus" of the personality which guides individual actions, are right. Unfortunately, such problems have still not become the main research target. Our principle is to combine ideological, organizational and economic work, for only thus can we meet the requirement of unity between words and actions. That is why sociological studies as well must be conducted on an increasingly comprehensive basis.

A variety of studies are being conducted on various aspects of ideological education. Thus, the quick survey which was made in March 1981, immediately in the wake of the congress, was of great assistance in drafting the plan for steps to be taken by the CPSU kraykom on implementing the resolutions of the 26th Party Congress. The following problems were studied: (1) extent of familiarity of the working people with the congress materials and evaluation of their knowledge of their content; (2) basic means to promote the dissemination and study of the materials; (3) evaluation of the work of party organizations and labor collectives in popularizing the congress's documents.

Numerous possibilities for political education became apparent in the course of the survey of more than 4,000 kray working people. In particular, it became clear that the entire population was not equally ready to master the content of the political documents. On the basis of the obtained data, the respondents were divided into three groups. The first (approximately 40 percent of the total) consisted of workers who were active in all realms of life of the labor collective. We organized surveys for such workers who, as a rule, are involved in political training.

The second group included those whose work could be described as satisfactory but whose reaction to most important sociopolitical events was not particularly active. Usually, those included in this category do not study political documents by themselves. Such workers were drawn into so-called people's

courses, attended by some 100,000 people. Furthermore, permanent lecture cycles were organized at production sectors and at home, with a view to studying the congress's materials.

Finally, the smallest group (10-15 percent) consisted of people whose labor and social activeness was below the average level. Such people reveal most frequently narrow conceptual positions and indifference to important events, for which reason they need individual work and personal involvement in political information and report and lecture activities.

Studies conducted in recent years have revealed the insufficient effectiveness of many forms of ideological work, including party training. A sociological survey of propagandists and students attending the party political education, economic and Komsomol training systems, conducted within the party organizations of nine cities and two rayons in the kray, indicated that the methodical and psychological-pedagogical knowledge of the propagandists had to be increased. We made a detailed study of shortcomings in their training and formulated steps which take into consideration the shortcomings and orient the party committees toward qualitatively new training standards. The interaction between party education and other forms of political education work has already become closer; the certification of propaganda workers has become stricter; consultations and talks are regularly organized as aid to political self-education; information-methodical materials are being prepared; more active forms of training and sociopolitical practical work by the students are being used more extensively.

Let us also discuss the major problem of atheistic education. We conduct systematic sociological studies of this problem. However, a number of unresolved problems remain in the atheistic upbringing of student youth. Many secondary school students are steadily subjected to the influence of religious traditions at home; some sixth- to 10th-grade students are made to perform some religious ceremonies by their relatives. A large number of parents continue to baptize their children. Some 10 percent of them do this from religious convictions, as many as 40 percent do it by virtue of tradition and approximately 50 percent on the insistence of members of the senior generation. Twenty percent of sixth- to 10th-grade students do not believe religion to be a harmful social phenomenon.

This situation calls for patient and thoughtful yet aggressive work. Wherever such work is being done successes are obvious. Thus, teachers and the Komsomol and Pioneer organizations intensified their individual work with families of believers in one of the Nevinnomyssk schools attended by children whose parents are members of a religious community. Here atheistic upbringing is provided without pressure, in a refined and tactful manner. The school regularly sponsors readers' conferences on atheistic books at which the children can freely discuss the works and express their views. The educators see to it that children of believing families feel themselves full members of the school collective. They participate in sports competitions and hiking trips, attend technical creativity circles and go to labor camps.

The way of life of most members of sects and their attitude toward reality have also changed. Many of them participate in subbotniks, contribute to the

peace fund and join trade unions. Although this is not an isolated example, successes in this area remain modest. We must constantly search for more efficient means and methods of atheistic upbringing, in which sociological research must play a greater role.

The importance of sociological diagnostic information has substantially increased in recent years. Such information is of particularly great value under the conditions of the new labor organization forms. For example, a study was recently completed on the application of the brigade contracting order in the countryside. The survey covered 1,500 people in 45 kolkhozes and sovkhozes of 15 kray rayons. The resulting data prove the clear advantage of this form of labor organization. Eighty percent of the respondents believe that labor discipline has strengthened noticeably under the new conditions. More than half of the respondents believe that the use of the brigade contracting method improves the quality of the work and the output and ensures the more efficient utilization of equipment, materials and animal feeds.

However, one-third of the respondents pointed out that collectives operating on the basis of contracts had no cost-accounting assignments; half of them noted the lack of technological charts. Only slightly more than one-half of all kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers reported that the labor participation coefficient was used in their brigades. Consequently, shortcomings remained in the application of the brigade contracting method in the countryside. The party committees must do a great deal more to ensure the maximal efficiency of this form of labor organization in all primary collectives.

Therefore, the range of sociological studies in our kray is quite extensive. Initial studies of the results have indicated that we have laid a good foundation for major improvements in ideological education. However, the possibilities of sociology could be used more successfully in practical work. In our view, this could be achieved above all by organizing a state sociological service. The absence of such a service results in the use of a variety of amateur methods. The small size and scale of local studies lead to local conclusions. Departments or sectors which would conduct studies of public opinion, based on uniform methods and programs, should be set up if not in each kray and oblast at least on a regional scale.

With a view to achieving a better coordination of sociological research in party work, we can legitimately raise the question of creating sociological sectors in CPSU kraykoms and obkoms (at present such work is entrusted as an additional assignment to a party committee member). Methodical guidance could be provided by the CPSU Central Committee AON.

We must also open positions for full-time sociologists at least in the large industrial and agroindustrial associations. In turn, this would require the training of skilled cadres. Together with the North Caucasian Department of the SSA [Soviet Sociological Association], the CPSU kraykom is taking specific steps in this respect. In the last 2 years the Marxism-Leninism University of the CPSU kraykom and the interr rayon course for sociologists have trained about 150 supernumerary sociologists.

Finally, it is very important to change the psychological attitude of the people concerning sociology. Party workers and economic managers with modern views must realize the need for relying on the results of applied studies. They must be able to find accurate solutions based on the profound study of public opinion and its dynamics.

We are well aware of the fact that in order to attain a qualitatively new standard in economic management and communist upbringing a great deal remains to be done to develop a research methodology and practice in all areas of party life, from assessing public opinion to forecasting it and from research to recommendations and their application. Such is our view on this problem which we shall try to resolve increasingly better.

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CSO: 1806/26

PUBLIC OPINION SURVEYS IN PARTY WORK

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84
(signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 27-33

[Article by M. K. Gorshkov: "Use of Public Opinion Surveys in Party Work Practice." Mikhail Konstantinovich Gorshkov is a candidate of philosophical sciences and associate of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences. He is the author of the books "Obshchestvennost' i Podrostok" [The Public and the Adolescent] (1971); "Partiynnye Organizatsii i Obshchestvennoye Mneniye" [Party Organizations and Public Opinion] (1981); and "Obshchenarodnoye Obshchestvennoye Mneniye" [Nationwide Public Opinion] (1983). He is the author of the articles "Dynamics of Youth Public Opinion" (No 4, 1979, in co-authorship) and "Public Opinion as a Sociological Category" (No 4, 1980) published in our journal]

[Text] Today public opinion draws the closest possible attention not only of specialists but also of journalists and party and soviet workers. The importance of this problem in the life of Soviet society has been emphasized in many party documents issued in recent years. Thus, the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum called for converting from individual isolated studies to the systematic study of public opinion (2). The need for a most attentive attitude toward the requests and feelings of the working people was emphasized at the February 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum as well: "The communist party," pointed out Comrade K. U. Chernenko, "has the duty of constantly checking its course, decisions and actions above all with the thoughts of the working class and its tremendous sociopolitical and class flair.... Today the prime duty and deep inner need of every communist manager must be to listen to the words coming from the worker environment and the front end of the building of socialism and to consult with the working people" (3).

Such close attention paid to public opinion is based above all on the following reasons. Politically, under socialism it is a necessary method for the assertion of democracy and the exercise of rule by the people. In assessing the activities of public and state institutions, public opinion performs to a large extent the function of controlling social processes. From the ideological viewpoint its condition is one of the important criteria of the efficiency of propaganda and mass political work. Finally, from the socio-psychological viewpoint, public opinion should be considered an active

stimulator of social action and human activities. In correlating the ideas addressed to him with his own daily observations, interests and surrounding reality, the individual develops a certain stance which either accelerates or delays the implementation of assignments. "...Millions of people will never listen to party advice," V. I. Lenin pointed out, "unless such advice coincides with what they have learned through personal experience" (1).

The communist party carefully protects and develops the Leninist traditions of the study, molding and consideration of public opinion. In recent years the party committees have drastically increased their activities in the study and utilization of public opinion. Centers, councils and scientific consultation groups and laboratories were set up to analyze on a regular basis the status of public opinion on vital problems of socioeconomic and spiritual development and, on this basis, to formulate practical recommendations.

Today science and practice have gained significant positive experience in this area. However, further progress in the study and consideration of public opinion requires the elaboration of a uniform approach to the organization of this work and strengthening the respective subunits with skilled cadres. This was the topic of the seminar-conference on "Study, Molding and Consideration of Public Opinion in Party Committee Activities," which took place in Moscow on 13-14 March 1984. This meeting of specialists was sponsored by the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences and the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research. Secretaries and heads of departments of republic, kray, oblast and city party committees, scientists and teachers at the CPSU Central Committee AON and of higher party schools, and heads of sociological subunits in scientific institutions in Moscow, Leningrad, Minsk and other cities gathered to assess the status of theoretical and empirical studies of public opinion and its utilization in management, to trade experience and to discuss the problems arising in this connection in the light of the materials of the June 1983 and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums.

The participants concentrated on the strategy, methods and approaches to the study of public opinion, the structure and organization of respective services operating under party committees, enhancing the efficiency and reliability of data, and improving practical returns on results of conducted studies. The main trends of discussion of these and other problems were defined in the introductory speech by Dr of Philosophical Sciences R. G. Yanovskiy, rector of the CPSU Central Committee AON, and the two main reports submitted by Dr of Philosophical Sciences A. K. Uledov (CPSU Central Committee AON) and G. N. Yenukidze, CP of Georgia Central Committee secretary.

Theoretical-methodological problems in the study of public opinion. In noting the significant successes achieved lately, the participants in the conference unanimously agreed that the further development of research is being held back by the insufficient development of theoretical problems. Today the phenomenon under consideration is studied primarily in two aspects: sociological and sociopsychological. The former is the most popular. Efforts to establish the sociopsychological characteristics of public opinion and relate them to sociological features are infrequent. We believe that it is precisely this that explains the lack of clear concepts on the specific mechanisms governing the

shaping of public opinion (above all as a process and as a result of the discussion of one problem or another, a debate or a clash of opinions), and the dynamics of its manifestation.

A. K. Uledov justifiably emphasized in his paper that theoretical and methodological problems cannot be resolved without energizing empirical research. A certain gap exists presently between theoretical and applied levels of study. This is manifested not only in the activities of scientific subunits but in party committee councils, centers and groups. Naturally, in the individual regions this gap is largely determined by specific circumstances (level of cadre training, intensiveness of manifestation of public opinion itself, etc.). We believe, however, that common reasons exist as well. One rarely comes across studies resulting from the joint activities of specialists and party committee personnel. The lack of such an alliance, rather than simply contacts, weakens the scientific-theoretical and practical aspects of the project. Concepts which may have been developed in the quiet of an office, so to say, are sometimes poorly related to specific economic, ideological and sociopsychological situations in the region or collective surveyed. The resulting data are usually most general and unspecific. They are either dominated by a narrow pragmatic approach, which clearly excludes the possibility of conclusions of analytical and theoretical significance and, above all, in both cases the practical effectiveness of the studies is diminished.

Briefly state, the reciprocal enrichment between the theoretical and empirical levels should be preprogrammed. The organic unity between these aspects must be sought during the research, formulation and application of recommendations. However, this is merely one aspect of the problem. As Dr of Philosophical Sciences V. S. Komarovskiy (CPSU Central Committee AON NII) justifiably emphasized, it is necessary to surmount a certain lack of coordination between the methods used by party and state authorities, on the one hand, and scientific subdivisions, on the other. The standardization of methods presumes both the summation of the progressive practical experience acquired by party committees and state establishments in determining and purposefully molding public opinion, as well as strengthening the scientific foundations for its study and consideration.

As to the strictly empirical research basis, as pointed out at the seminar, it is being rapidly strengthened. This is assisted above all by the steadily increasing integration among information-reference, information-analytical and scientific-information services within a unified system for public opinion studies.

The broadening of the empirical base raises with particular urgency a question which may be formulated as follows: "What should we study in the area of public opinion research?" This topic was extensively debated at the seminar. It was discussed by Dr of Philosophical Sciences V. S. Korobeynikov (USSR Academy of Sciences ISI), N. N. Bokarev (Moscow Higher Party School), candidates of philosophical sciences G. D. Tokarovskiy (USSR Academy of Sciences ISI) and L. N. Zhilina, candidate of economic sciences Yu. K. Ivanov (CPSU Central Committee AON NII) and others. Regardless of the aspects of the problem which were discussed, all of them dealt with interpreting the concept

of "public opinion." This is entirely natural, for the meaning invested in this term sets both the object and the limits of specific research.

In our view, the discussion exposed an alarming trend: a tendency toward a broader interpretation of the public opinion phenomenon and, correspondingly, the topic of its study. According to Dr of Philosophical Sciences Zh. T. Toshchenko, some of the statements lead to the conclusion that this is the trend of virtually all sociological research dealing with knowledge, motivations, convictions, needs, fads, leisure time structure, etc. The gnosiological reason for such an interpretation of the matter is a certain duality inherent in this phenomenon. On the one hand, as combined rationality and emotionality, public opinion is a value judgment or a social assessment. By expressing the attitude of the subject toward the object of reality of interest to him, this stance also operates as a spiritual attitude. The better it is realized by the people, the higher the level of rationality rises in the social evaluation of objects.

On the other hand, the most important element in public opinion is the people's understanding of the importance of their stance and of the objective they are pursuing. Consequently, public opinion acts as an alloy of the rational, the emotional, and the willful. The willful motivations and psychological moods of the masses bring to life concepts, views and knowledge which represent the rational (intellectual) backbone of the content of this phenomenon. Therefore, the willful principle contributes to the conversion of public opinion from a primarily spiritual to a spiritual-practical formation. Having reached this condition, it is no longer manifested merely as a social evaluation (a social judgment) but as a real social force, as a spiritual-practical attitude.

On this basis, the study must include, first of all, the characteristics of value judgments (their extent, intensiveness, maturity, durability, trend, etc.). Secondly, the readiness of individuals to convert their views into practical actions. The study of the third aspect of the problem is of unquestionable interest as well: the extent to which value and volitional elements, i.e., judgmental and motivational opinions, within public opinion agree or disagree. The importance of knowledge of this fact is confirmed, yet once again, by the results of a survey conducted during discussions of the draft school reform by the sociological service of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA together with the USSR Academy of Sciences ISI. Seventy-six percent of the respondents approved the proposal of considerably increasing enrollment in PTU [vocational-technical schools] but only 38 percent expressed their willingness to enroll their children in such schools after completing their ninth-grade education (4).

As to including knowledge, convictions, needs, concepts, value orientations, and so on, in the area of the sociological study of public opinion, the problem should be resolved not speculatively but on the basis of the target or, to put it better, as an applied study. For example, a public opinion sounding could be oriented only toward determining the most general assessment of one event or another by the population. The purpose of a descriptive study is to obtain a more detailed description of the condition of public opinion on

all levels: the rational, the emotional and the volitional. Finally, the analytical study must answer the question of the reasons, conditions and factors which have led to precisely such, rather than other opinion. Understandably, in the second and, particularly, the third case, such objectives cannot be fully reached without involving the concepts of "need," "interest," "value orientation," etc. Therefore, the volume of sociological studies of public opinion should be based, on the one hand, on the very nature of the phenomenon under consideration and, on the other, the type of empirical study.

An interesting viewpoint on the question of choosing topics in the study of public opinion was expressed by Dr of Philosophical Sciences B. M. Firsov (USSR Academy of Sciences ISEP [Institute of Socioeconomic Problems]). He suggested that the social environment surrounding a public opinion be described (so-called "monitoring" of public opinion) on the basis of five permanent characteristics: (1) degree to which the people are satisfied with one aspect of life or another; (2) people's evaluation of objectives of politics, social development and changes in the national economy; (3) social expectations in one area of activities or another; (4) people's assessment of their realization; (5) public opinion reaction to the "news of the day." We believe that to complete the picture another parameter should be added: assessment of the realization of the principle of social justice, for the latter is one of the fundamental criteria on the basis of which public opinion makes its judgments.

Organization of the study of public opinion and utilization of obtained results in party work. This was another of the main topics discussed at the seminar. The main problems related to the organization of a unified system for the study of public opinion in the country were formulated by A. K. Uledov: (1) objectives and tasks; (2) theoretical and practical studies; (3) social institutions dealing with public opinion studies; (4) channels for obtaining information on population views and methods for summing up data; (5) methods for determining public opinion. The speaker suggested a model structure of a service for the study of public opinion with its nucleus--an all-union center. The latter would perform no less than three functions: systematic studies on large-scale problems; development of method and methodology; coordination of studies conducted by republic and oblast (kray) institutions and scientific-methodical groups servicing respective party committees. Such subunits would constitute the foundation of the all-union center. The center would receive requests for studies from directive-issuing bodies and will maintain contacts with scientific institutions, party and social organizations and leading departmental scientific research institutes which could provide information of interest to the center.

We believe that this system essentially takes into consideration acquired experience and the level reached in the study and utilization of public opinion and reflects the basic tasks which are facing science and practical work today in this area. It was legitimate for such ideas to be supported and substantiated in the course of the discussions.

One of the main problems in the development of a unified system for public opinion studies pertains to the activities of republic (regional) centers.

They must perform the following functions: organization of research on problems of prime importance in involving all population strata in the making of political, economic and organizational-managerial decisions; study of the efficiency of the various social institutions in developing collectivistic relations among people; formulation of practical recommendations based on the results of studies and aimed at upgrading the social activeness of the working people; coordination of the work of services operating under city and rayon party committees; and others.

G. N. Yenukidze described the means used by the Georgian Republic Sociological Service in resolving these problems. Based on the republic's academy of sciences, a council on the study, molding and forecasting public opinion was created in 1975 and a center in 1981 under the CP of Georgia Central Committee. This service is a scientific-consultative authority, the purpose of which is systematically to study and analyze public opinion in the republic and systematically to submit to the party bodies the results of its studies and the practical recommendations relative to the management of ideological processes, formulated on their basis (5)* As the seminar indicated, the scientific and practical substantiation in the choice of topics and the ability to combine different methods in determining public opinion are characteristic today of many party committee services. The experience of the Dnepropetrovsk City Party Committee, Communist Party of the Ukraine, was given a positive rating at the conference. Here sociological studies of public opinion are conducted systematically and have become a part of daily party work. Regular surveys are made by the Public Institute for Specific Sociological Research of the city party committee and the councils for the study of the efficiency of ideological work and public opinion, which are part of party committee ideological commissions. Twenty-three plant laboratories and groups, which rally more than 100 full-time and some 200 supernumerary sociologists, are contributing to ensuring the high scientific level of propaganda and mass political work.

How to make use of such organizational opportunities most efficiently? The people in Dnepropetrovsk showed the method of developing an information complex, the purpose of which was to determine comprehensively the public opinion of the working people. The system includes stationary surveys and information storing methods. The individual cells have a research topic, pollsters, and centers for gathering primary data, their processing and preparations for decision-making and a management authority (the party gorkom or raykom). Every quarter the party gorkom holds a training session for sociologists, who are assigned specific tasks in the study of one problem or another.

The idea of a bank of methods used in the study of the various problems of city life, which was implemented in Dnepropetrovsk, proved its usefulness. Each document includes a description of the objectives of the survey (an abridged research program), a survey and several other materials. It is noteworthy that the results of the surveys are used not only in the party

* The center's activities are discussed in G. N. Yenukidze's article published in this issue.

committee's current work but also in long-term planning of ideological work. Based on the results of such studies, orders are issued at enterprises and instruction-methodical conferences are held with the ideological aktiv. We believe that the Dnepropetrovsk experience is worthy of support and should be extensively applied elsewhere.

Generally speaking, it should be noted that great significance is ascribed to the organization and strengthening of regional sociological services in support of ideological work in the Ukraine. The recent organization of sociology chairs at the universities in Kiev and Kharkov contributed to the training of skilled specialists. The work done in this area and its future were described by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences V. I. Volovich (Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee Higher Party School).

Noteworthy successes in the development of the studies of public opinion and their practical utilization were achieved also by the Moscow City, Leningrad, Gorkiy and Sverdlovsk Oblast and Stavropol Kray party organizations. In his presentation, while duly acknowledging accomplishments, A. A. Korobeynikov, secretary of the Stavropol CPSU Kraykom, raised a number of pointed problems relative to upgrading research efficiency. They applied, above all, to the lack of a uniform sociological service, which frequently results in amateur work in some areas. Drastically enhancing the level of sociological thinking among workers in mass information media and developing in newsmen the skill of properly understanding and ensuring the practical utilization of sociological data is an urgent requirement.

Many difficulties exist in involving party workers in the systematic study of public opinion. According to an expert survey conducted by the CPSU Central Committee AON in the Stavropol party organization, the main obstacles in this case are the following: (1) lack of time and a large number of urgent matters, named by 57.7 percent of the respondents; (2) 53.1 percent listed lack of practical skill; (3) 45.6 percent listed insufficient theoretical knowledge of public opinion problems; (4) 39.4 percent cited the lack of necessary assistance on the part of specialists who deal professionally with such problems. It is noteworthy that the importance of the first indicator increases as we move along the scale of management levels: 51.1 percent for the kraykom, 67.9 percent for the gorkoms and 76.7 percent for city raykoms. In addition to improving the activities of party committees, one of the main prerequisites for the extensive participation of their personnel in such studies is, in our view, increasing the applied trend of research topics. This will help to relate closely theoretical concepts with social realities. The principles governing the organization and structure of such services (councils, groups, laboratories) engaged in determining and studying public opinion on the rayon party committee level--one of the largest units within the party's structure--is proof of the need for such an approach.

Yet another problem exists in the creation of a public opinion information system: the role of sociological methods in the study of data obtained through sociopolitical channels. According to the results of the Stavropol study, the most significant forms for party workers were the following: 89.6 percent of the respondents listed receptions of the population and individual talks with

representatives of working people; 88.3 percent named studying the questions raised by the working people during unified policy days, lectures, open letter days, etc.; 76.8 percent listed newspaper, radio and television materials; 74.6 percent listed speeches at party, trade union, Komsomol and production meetings; 74.3 percent listed letters sent by the working people to party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organizations; 51.1 percent listed information obtained by the local party organizations, enterprises and establishments; and 49.7 percent listed talks with deputies of local soviets. Sufficiently complete and accurate information can be obtained above all by studying questions asked during single policy days (52.3 percent).

Unquestionably, all available channels for public opinion studies must be used. Scientists should pay greater attention to processing data obtained through sociological methods. This would contribute to upgrading its practical significance. Furthermore, the results of studies should be presented in a form suitable not simply for solving one social problem or another but precisely for practical work in molding public opinion. Naturally, all of this presumes the comprehensive enhancement of the sociological training of party, soviet and economic managers.

Public opinion research topics. One way or another, this problem was touched upon by most speakers. They justifiably pointed out that scientific developments must proceed from the basic trends of activities of party organizations: efficiency, political and economic education of working people, mass propaganda methods, labor and moral upbringing, study of public opinion from letters, complaints and petitions submitted by working people, molding the public opinion of different sociodemographic groups, etc. Zh. T. Toshchenko emphasized the need to shift the center of gravity to socioeconomic problems and to make a profound study of the connection between public opinion as expressed by different social groups and their economic interests. Defining permanent "problem areas" in the study of public opinion should, in the view of Candidate of Philosophical Sciences A. S. Kulagin (CPSU Central Committee AON), contribute to resolving three types of problems: one-time surveys (static rating of public opinion), study of public opinion in its dynamics, and search of effective means of influencing public opinion.

Unfortunately, in our view, problems of molding, considering and forecasting public opinion were not sufficiently covered at the seminar, for the following reasons: first, a great deal of theoretical-methodological, methodical, organizational and other problems have currently piled up. The main attention was paid to such problems, the more so since their solution determines the creation of reliable conditions for shaping and taking public opinion into consideration. Secondly, no efficient and simple criteria have been formulated so far for determining the effectiveness of a variety of political, ideological, organizational and other means on public opinion.

As a whole, Dr of Philosophical Sciences S. V. Rogachev, director of the CPSU Central Committee AON Scientific Research Institute, pointed out in his concluding words, the seminar was quite useful and timely. It made it possible to define specific guidelines for improving the study, consideration and molding of public opinion and to earmark means of further unifying the efforts of party workers and specialists.

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STRENGTHENING TIES WITH AUTHORS AND READERS

Moscow SOTSILOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84 (signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 34-44

[Editorial article: "Author-Editorial Board-Reader"]

[Text] The present issue completes a decade since SOTSILOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA was founded. The first issue of the new journal--the only periodical dealing with sociology in our country--was signed to press on 31 July 1974. The editors consider the eve of the next decade an occasion for discussing the problem of strengthening relations with the authors' aktiv and the readers. The present editorial article is dedicated to answering the questions most frequently asked by readers: what problems are considered most topical, what path will be followed in the further development of SOTSILOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, and what are the journal's requirements regarding articles accepted for publication.

The development of science is measured not in terms of decades but of new accomplishments in the theory and methodology of research and strengthening its ties with the solution of topical practical problems of building socialism. The period of establishment of SOTSILOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA does not come to an end after a decade, for the journal is gradually shaping its personality and continuing its active search for its own style of activities different from other social science publications, and developing its own readership. A great deal has been accomplished but much remains to be done and it is as yet too early to sum up results. At the same time, on the threshold of the new decade, it becomes relevant to "stop and assess," to consider what has been accomplished what should be changed in the work of the editorial board.

The creation of the journal SOTSILOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA was a legitimate step determined by the increased role of social factors in societal activities. The increased complexity of the national economic complex, the technical retooling of production, the accelerated growth of the material well-being of the people, the enhanced cultural and educational standards and the appearance of increasingly favorable conditions for shaping a harmonious individual are objective sociohistorical prerequisites for turning sociological studies

into an important instrument for providing scientific support in the successful implementation of Soviet national economic plans. In stipulating the implementation of a program for social measures, the 24th CPSU Congress indicated the need for conducting "comprehensive studies of contemporary processes of social development in order to provide a scientific management of the socialist economy" (2, pp 244-245). Inherent in the journal, from its very beginning, were not only an academic but a practical science trend which defines the main line in its activities to this day, when "the country needs very much the efforts of the 'great science' to concentrate to a greater extent, in addition to the development of theoretical problems, to resolving key national economic problems" (3, pp 42-43).

The second half of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s, the period which directly preceded the founding of this journal, will be recorded in the history of Soviet sociology as a time of accelerated development of large-scale studies of various aspects of the country's social and spiritual life. The scale of such studies was determined not by the many thousands of people who were surveyed but by the high professionalism and real standards of specific studies of social phenomena and processes. Means of surmounting socioclass disparities, contradictions between the professional and domestic roles of women, attitude of industrial workers toward labor, the functioning of public opinion, the dynamics of vocational guidance of secondary school students and the characteristics of the time budget are by no means the complete list of scientific topics developed by leading Soviet specialists, which created a reliable foundation for the further development of the science of sociology which, although based on the inviolable foundations of historical materialism, has its own subject and method. The process of self-definition of sociology was not painless. It involved sharp polemics and sociologists frequently followed the trial-and-error method. It is no accident, therefore, that the tasks of ensuring a close connection between sociological research and Marxist philosophy and surmounting narrow empiricism became programmatic to the journal, which announced in its very first editorial that "efforts to pit the theory of historical materialism as social philosophy against sociology, which is proclaimed in this case as being a purely empirical and experimental science, are groundless. Surmounting the limitations of empiricism is one of the most important creative accomplishments of Marxist-Leninist philosophy and the fact that such a limitation may be considered by someone as the "last word" in defining the subject and tasks of sociology can be explained either as lack of basic knowledge of the history of this science or a rejection of dialectical materialism as a method for the study and transformation of the world" (8, pp 3-4).

It would be simplistic to assume that discussions on the subject and structure of sociology are of historiographic interest only. They cannot be considered completed to this day, when the futility of efforts to make sociology a purely empirical discipline is obvious. Again and again, life confirms the old truth that empiricism without theory is blind but also that theory alienated from the specific study of social phenomena and processes, turns into meaningless scholastic exercise. "Practice is superior to (theoretical) knowledge," V. I. Lenin noted in his summary on Hegel's "Logic of Science," "for it possesses not only the quality of universality but of immediate reality as well" (1, p 195).

Ensuring the inseparable unity between sociological theory and practice became the main task of SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, published under the aegis of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research. As the central scientific institution in charge of coordinating sociological developments in various parts of the country, the institute has a substantial influence on research trends and nature. This largely determines the journal's content. Works by USSR Academy of Sciences ISI associates, particularly articles which sum up experience from the study of major social problems by the institute's scientific subunits, are the methodological and methodical guidelines of the thousands-strong army of sociologists throughout the country. That is why the editors consider them as materials of prime significance, which define, in their totality, the journal's reputation. Such articles must meet particularly rigid requirements. However, a number of unused reserves remain in this area. This applies above all to the quantitative aspect of the matter. Slightly over 5 percent of the institute's scientific associates are active contributors to the journal. Articles on the results of work on planned topics are rare. The quality of the materials, which must be consistent with the reputation of this leading academic institution, must be improved as well. Unfortunately, however, the quality of the works leaves something to be desired.

The current reorganization of the work of the USSR Academy of Sciences ISI will enable us "to concentrate the efforts on the solution of major long-term problems and to abandon the preference for one-time orders and assignments or the study of problems of local and, occasionally, simply insignificant nature," institute director V. N. Ivanov points out. "An essential reorganization is needed of the coordinating and methodical work of the ISI so that, in implementing its basic research projects, the institute could rely on the cooperation of local sociological centers" (9, pp 3-4). In performing coordination functions, along with the institute, the journal ascribes great importance to broadening research topics, increasing the number of contributors and upgrading the scientific substantiation of materials published.

In the past years the journal has published hundreds of articles on the results of sociological studies of all aspects of the development and functioning of Soviet society. Considerable attention has been paid to the study of the latest trends in social developments abroad and to criticism of contemporary bourgeois sociology. The journal has carried articles by leading Soviet social scientists, party workers, plant sociologists and specialists working in socialist and capitalist countries. We can confidently say that the editors have been able to develop a "corps of authors" consisting of the best specialists, both theoretical and practical.

It is unnecessary for an editorial article to discuss in detail the trends in the journal's activities and publication topics, as they are well familiar to the readers. Let us emphasize merely the most important among them. We already pointed out that the use of scientific sociological recommendations in managerial and planning practices is of essential importance to the journal. Sociological studies are increasingly becoming an important element in making responsible decisions by party and state bodies. Strengthening cooperation between sociologists and party committees and soviet, trade union and economic

workers enables us to sum up and disseminate progressive experience, promptly to apply promising new developments and expose unresolved problems and difficulties. The journal regularly publishes articles by secretaries of republic, oblast, city and rayon party organizations, enterprise and establishment managers and senior ministry and department officials. The dialogue between scientists and practical workers is a reliable base for the successful enhancement of research efficiency. Thus, the experience in organizing and utilizing labor resources in Lvov Oblast (9), steps to strengthen the family, as earmarked in the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee decree (10), the discussion of prospects for scientific and technical progress at the Center for the Study of Public Opinion of the CP of Georgia Central Committee (10), the experience in ideological influences on the way of life of various working people categories acquired by the Azerbaijani party organizations (11), suggestions submitted by sociologists on upgrading food consumption standards (12), optimizing RAPO planning (12), development of collective truck gardening (10), etc., triggered broad public response. In accordance with Leninist journalistic traditions, the editors do not limit themselves to covering ripe problems or disseminating acquired experience but also act as organizers of new forms of sociological work. For a number of years, working jointly with the Lenkoran Gorkom, CP of Azerbaijan, the editors have conducted an experiment on the development of a standard sociological service under a party committee (13).

Scientific debates are the most important means of improving the quality of research, identifying bottlenecks and drawing the attention of social scientists to unresolved theoretical and practical problems. A constructive discussion is an efficient means of collective scientific creativity. It enables us comprehensively to interpret a problem under discussion, to formulate the means of resolving it and to weigh the strong and weak aspects of arguments brought forth by the opponents. It frequently occurs that in the course of the exchange of views an essentially new scientific idea appears, which substantially increases our knowledge of one aspect or another of objective reality. The importance of debates as means of intensifying research productivity was emphasized in the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Upgrading the Role of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics in Developing Crucial Problems of Economic Theory of Developed Socialism" (4). This instruction of the party's Central Committee, addressed to the journal VOPROSY EKONOMIKI, entirely applies to the editors of SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA as well.

Practical experience indicates that no two discussions are alike. Frequently the reason for criticism is found not in the desire to intensify the study of a problem but in the subjective partiality of the opponents. No truth is born of such arguments. Conversely, they are the best means of reinforcing the errors of the participants. That is why the activities of the editors in organizing and holding debates are aimed above all at upgrading their constructive-practical potential and the qualitative growth of scientific knowledge. The journal sponsored an exchange of views on the draft system of indicators of the state plan for the economic and social development of the USSR, formulated by a collective of associates of the Gosplan USSR Scientific Research Economics Institute, headed by V. F. Mayyer and V. M. Rutgayzer (14)

on a high ideological and scientific level. Participating in the discussions were economists, sociologists and heads of sectors and departments. The expressed remarks aimed at improving the plan were practical and specific, although not always pleasing. At the present time this plan has been subjected to further developments and is being considered by directive-issuing authorities.

For a number of years the journal has sponsored a discussion on problems of the reorganization of the economic mechanism and upgrading the efficiency of socialist competition in labor collectives. The concept suggested by V. M. Yakushev triggered conflicting alternative assessments and judgments. At the same time, however, new and original approaches to the solution of topical problems of planning and management were formulated in the course of the discussion.

These are some of the facts which prove that the line of upgrading the role of scientific discussions is quite productive; the pertinent sections will be considerably expanded in future issues. Starting with 1983, the journal made the section "From the Editorial Mail" permanent, as suggested by our readers V. N. Avramenkov and V. V. Golubkov. The section published critical responses to published materials and carries the dialogue between authors and readers. In addition to publishing discussions, this section has an important function: it contributes to strengthening feedback between editors and their audience and helps to make prompt corrections in the interpretation of imminent problems of social development.

A great deal has been accomplished over the past years to improve the content and presentation of the journal and to enhance the relevance and effectiveness of its content. Yet a great deal lies ahead and we deem it expedient in this article to discuss unresolved problems and difficulties typical of the present stage in the journals' development, paying particular attention to the search for reserves which will enable us to move ahead faster and more successfully.

The task of enhancing the practical efficiency of scientific research formulates special requirements in terms of the scientific-informational and ideological content of the journal. These are two inseparable aspects of its activities. Simple presentation of facts, descriptiveness and objectivism are incompatible with aggressiveness and orientation toward the study and resolution of imminent problems of improving social relations. Sociological studies and mass population surveys have become considerably widespread in our country. Suffice it to say that scientific research establishments and public sociological services conduct hundreds of studies every year, in the course of which no less than 1 million people are surveyed. Hundreds of thousands of computer printouts are produced by some sociological centers. The quantitative indicators, therefore, are impressive. However, they do not automatically turn into high-quality scientific developments, including printed sociological output. Furthermore, beyond a certain limit, "quantitative indicators" begin negatively to influence the quality and efficiency of research (11, p 7).

In the course of their work the editors frequently come across cases of scholastic theorizing (or, rather, its sociological variety), successfully

combined with an abundance of empirical data. Sociological demagoguery has many faces. It is concealed behind rows of digits and intricate mathematical-statistical elaborations which, closely considered, reveal nothing more than triteness. It can pretend to be a "fighter" for the ideological purity of Marxist social science by replacing the study of social development problems with statements and meaningless phraseology. Today the true party-mindedness of the Marxist sociologist is inconceivable without high-level scientific thinking and the ability to formulate and resolve real problems and without principle-mindedness and honesty in scientific debates or, in a word, without the aggregate of what is described as professionalism. Since one of the main manifestations of the talent of a scientist is his ability to see and face practical needs, under socialist conditions true professionalism is the equivalent of party mindedness and the civic responsibility of the scientist. This is the only way to ensure the organic interconnection between the science and practice of building socialism.

Initially, the development of sociological research in our country was characterized by concentrating attention on mastering traditional methods for data gathering and analysis--surveys, observations, experiments, ratings, taxonomy, etc. It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that the total use of surveys and computation procedures was considered, and still is, to be the specific features of a sociological study as conceived by the public (including the specialists). Surveys, which presented no particular difficulties or required extensive training, became one of the sources for the extensive development of sociology in our country. In terms of the editors' work, this was manifested in the increasing volume of materials containing nothing but survey data, presented in tables or written descriptions. The attentive reader can easily find examples of this genre in virtually all issues. Naturally, the publication of such information causes no particular harm. On the contrary, it provides the specialists with new facts which may confirm or refine previous conclusions. However, the purely quantitative growth of information, even though involving the use of new methods, does not provide any qualitative increase in scientific knowledge.

The legitimate question frequently asked of the editors is, is there any scarcity of data? Yes and no. Based on the necessary requirements for methodical support of studies and the knowledgeability with which data are presented and interpreted, the editors accept for publication roughly every second manuscript they receive. Unfortunately, however, we are still short of serious and highly professionally written materials which formulate and resolve new problems. The intensive development of sociology demands a reinterpretation of existing methods of scientific research and criteria in assessing the work of specialists. Here priority should be given not to the number of studies made or the volume of arrays but to the quality and novelty of scientific conclusions and the effectiveness of sociological work.

An article published in SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, which is the leading periodical in the field of sociology, is an indicator of the social recognition of the work of a specialist and, to a certain extent, the final result of such work. Sociology and the other social sciences do not offer authorship

certificates for inventions and discoveries and, excluding reports and analytical records, so far publication remains the only method for the application of scientific ideas. Sociological developments can be efficiently used in an individual enterprise or area. However, they are considered an accomplishment only when they become part of a system of scientific communication, i.e., when they have been published. The overwhelming majority of sociologists and of those who consider themselves such have the natural desire to be published. It is hardly necessary to prove that in addition to its constructive function, the function of "scientific guardian" is a most important component of the journal's activities. This question could have been ignored had it not been so essential to the journal's work. In expressing some critical remarks addressed to the Institute of Sociological Research, contained in his report submitted at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, K. U. Chernenko used the quite characteristic expression "dissertation interests" (5). We still come across the aspiration to secure a "cozy place" in science, avoiding intensive work and allowing personal and group interests to prevail over the interests of the public and, let us frankly admit, most ordinary moneygrubbing and ignorance. However, "dissertability" necessarily precedes "publishability," which is accompanied by all respective attributes, the principal among which is to "break into" the journal, the quality of the work being a matter of secondary importance. It has been noted in this connection that the "breaking power" is directly proportional to the author's illiteracy. What to do? The solution of this problem depends not on pious wishes but on the firm observance in science of the principle of payment based not on degree of diploma but on the specific contribution of the specialist.

There is an opinion that the work of the editors is to assess a received article and if the assessment is positive, to do the literary editing and prepare the manuscript for the press. This view has hardly anything in common with reality. Preparing an article for publication is one of the final stages in the editing and publication process. Most of the work is scientific and organizational and involves the subsequent "bringing up" of the materials to the level consistent with the requirements of an academic journal. The editors' guidelines were clearly defined in K. U. Chernenko's report submitted at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum: "All publications and speeches should interest and convince with their profound penetration in life, principle-mindedness, sharpness of thoughts and vividness of style" (5). Can it be said that the journal has attained this objective? Unfortunately, no. Many of the articles lack such sharpness and argumentativeness, clarity and depth. Frequently the lack of fresh thinking is concealed behind cleverly concocted pseudoscientific terminology and a dull unintelligible style.

The editors consider radical improvements in the content and form of presentation of materials one of their main tasks the implementation of which does not depend on them alone. Internal reserves have become largely exhausted. Here is a characteristic fact: no more than one out of four articles meets scientific and literary requirements. The overwhelming majority of materials require changes in the logic of presentation and data interpretation and substantial linguistic and stylistic editing. We frequently hear that the journal has increased its requirements regarding quality. No other way is possible, however, for SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA is not only (and merely!)

a scientific-information publication but a sociopolitical rostrum as well, which disseminates the live party word and combines strictly academic standards with publicistic zeal. It would be premature to claim that the editors invariably succeed in attaining this objective. For the time being, it is more an ideal than reality. What is clear, however, is that the ability to present a scientific problem knowledgeably and clearly, and to convince the readers of one's rightness is an inseparable element of sociological culture. On this level the editorial board and apparatus and the journal's scientific consultants must do a great deal of work in developing a "corps of authors" and broadening the readership. Success in this area depends entirely and totally on the active participation of a wide circle of specialists, ideological workers and anyone interested in social problems.

As is the case with all scientific journals, SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA has neither its own nor special correspondents. Everything published here is written outside the editorial premises. The editors merely make articles and other materials suitable for publication. The journal's correspondent is its reader. The strength of the ties linking the editors with the readers is a prerequisite for the successful implementation of the journal's main purpose: to mobilize all sociological forces in the country for united and harmonious work and to contribute to the even more energetic participation of Soviet sociologists in the implementation of the resolutions of the 26th Party Congress and the subsequent Central Committee plenums.

The sociologist works among and for the people, for the sake of the blossoming of society and the accelerated advancement on the path to progressive social change. The higher the professional skill of the sociologist, the greater the social significance of his conclusions and recommendations and the more frequently they develop a reaction among those who are involved in the practical utilization of sociological data. Based on these considerations, the editors' aim is to turn the journal into the interlocutor of the broadest possible range of readers. The restructuring of the journal, which has been taking place in recent years, was based precisely on the editors' aspiration to bring to light more fully the scientific and practical potential of collective sociological thinking. This has been the purpose, in particular, of the journals' new sections "Experience in the Application of Sociological Recommendations" (started in 1983), "Sociological Service" (1982), "From the Editorial Mail" (1983) and "Sociological Legacy: Documents, Publications" (1984).

For the past 3 years the editors have conducted surveys among the readers and based their work on their views regarding the journal as a whole and its individual materials. The close study of the data of the individual surveys made it possible to refine and, in a number of cases, to reinterpret existing concepts and abandon erroneous ideas on the readers' needs and expectations.

No single press organ can do successful work by ignoring the nature and structure of its readers who, if this were to be the case, would in turn "abstract" themselves from the journal. SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA faces the question of the extent to which it is addressed to the readership particularly acutely, for it is a question of dissemination of sociological knowledge and

increasing the influence of sociological science on the practice of building socialism.

Initially, SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA was aimed at a relatively narrow circle of specialists. Over the past decade the prestige of sociology has increased sharply in the eyes of the Soviet public and with every passing year greater attention has been paid to the social aspects of the development of the national economy. The need for sociological data is becoming increasingly widespread. In the light of these circumstances, from a strictly specialized publication the journal became a periodical aimed at a sufficiently broad readership. In addition to sociologists working in academic scientific centers, higher educational institutions and various national economic areas, the journal's readers include party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol workers, economic managers, and teachers of philosophy, scientific communism and other social disciplines. Many of the regular subscribers include people usually described as "mass readers"--workers, kolkhoz members, engineers, technicians, rank-and-file management personnel, general education and vocational school teachers, men of culture, journalists, men of art and military personnel.* The very fact that such a disparate readership exists sets specific requirements to both editors and contributors. The principal among them is to write clearly about any, even strictly specialized, problems, and to combine a strictly scientific content with impeccable literary presentation.

Table 1--Readers' Opinions on the Most Important Sections,
% of Answers Per Group

Which Sections Do You Consider Most Important?	Plant Sociologists	Scientific Research Institute Sociologists	VUZ Teachers	Other Specialists
Applied Research	59	85	38	72
Theoretical-Methodological Problems	51	37	65	50
Method and Techniques of Sociological Studies	48	55	28	31
Facts, Comments, Notes (From the Sociologists' Desk)	71	40	21	27

Over half of the participants in the survey named "Applied Research" and "Theoretical-Methodological Problems" among the most important sections. Professional sociologists pay great attention to applied and methodical problems whereas VUZ teachers are more interested in theoretical articles. In answering the question of the most important sections, some readers indicated

* SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA was described as a Western journal as an "elitist publication" aimed at the senior administrative personnel only. Data from the study of readers, gathered over a number of years, convincingly refute this fabrication.

specific problems and topics. More frequent among them were social planning and management, problems of industrial sociology, family sociology, struggle against antisocial manifestations, problems of sociology of culture, social psychology, ideological work and ethics and aesthetics.

Aid to plant sociologists should have been one of the important trends in the journal's activities. We realize that so far little has been done in this respect. Plant sociologists have indicated that greater attention should be paid to their needs. Method materials should be published more frequently (programs, research tools); problems of development of plant sociology should be considered, progressive experience in this area should be summed up and contacts between the journal and practical sociologists should be broadened. The editors should have formulated and are already implementing measures to answer to such suggestions.

Comprehensively increasing the number of contributors is a line which the editors will continue to pursue. However, as we pointed out, the relationship between authors and editors is not always cloudless. We believe that the journal's 10th anniversary is a good occasion for discussing rejected materials and the reasons for the creative failures of contributors.

The theoretical-methodological aspect of the journal is one of the most important concerns of the editorial board. Let us therefore begin with unsuccessful theoretical articles. Before analyzing this section of the editorial portfolio, marked "Unpublished," one stipulation is in order. The editors have never drawn a sharp line separating theoretical from applied articles. The latter define to a significant extent the theoretical-methodological aspect of the journal, i.e., occasionally they reach a high summation standard.

First among the factors which have been of poor service to our authors is the lack of understanding on the part of some of them of the specifics of the theoretical interpretation of sociological data and corresponding reality. The authors of articles rejected by the editors usually proceed from the false idea that theory is somewhat vague. They assume that all that it takes is to present one viewpoint or another, or to describe one social phenomenon or another in rather general terms to make it a theory. Judging by the editors' portfolio, this is a rather common delusion. Yet it is precisely this delusion which results in irresponsible scholastic theorizing, in which a deep penetration into the essence of social reality is replaced by idle talk related to such reality only with the topic. The purpose of any theory--a reflection of objective laws--is ignored. "Thousands of tons of ore" must be processed--a large number of empirical data and results of the studies done by colleagues--must be interpreted before an unquestionable increase in theoretical knowledge can be obtained.

The other extreme, which is based on that same delusion regarding the nature of theoretical knowledge, is that of articles which almost entirely consist of truisms and general statements somewhat concealed behind philosophical reflections.

As we already pointed out, theoretical does not mean unspecific in the least. What does this mean?

V. I. Lenin made a number of annotations on the margins of V. Shulyatkov's book "Justification of Capitalism in Western European Philosophy" (from Descartes to E. Mach)." The most noteworthy among them are: "Belles lettres and meaningless phraseology. A lot of 'general!'; "confused and inaccurate," "true but misstated" and "cheap explanations without a study of the essence!" (1, pp 461-474). All of this reflects Lenin's understanding of the specific nature of a theoretical analysis: clarity and precision in the presentation of one's views, strict control of vocabulary, and clear orientation toward the research topic--whether the reality of social practice or the theoretical elaborations of predecessors or other scientists.

Sometimes not only frail postgraduate brains but the powerful vessels of knowledgeable and experienced captains of sciences crash on the hidden rocks of abstract theorizing. Occasionally we come across the erroneous view that SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA--a prestigious and authoritative journal--publishes works written exclusively by noted scientists or, at least, leading specialists. The practical activities of the editors prove most convincingly that articles written by theoreticians must meet particularly strict requirements: for example, the percentage of articles by doctors of sciences, which the editors return for further work, after discussing them, is somewhat higher than the average indicator for the portfolio as a whole. This is entirely natural, for to a certain extent the works by leading specialists are considered standard setting and it is their quality which determines above all the journal's reputation.

A large number of rejected articles are not simply poor but essentially unscientific. On the surface they may present the attributes of theoretical thinking. However, based on the universally acknowledged category apparatus in sociology, the authors would invest their own understanding in virtually every single term, totally ignoring the way such terms will be understood by the reader. Quite naturally, this circumstance makes it impossible to reach the level of true scientific thinking and, furthermore, can lead to a dead end even from the viewpoint of common sense.

As to rejected articles of an applied and empirical nature, their main shortcoming is that they follow this prescription: a thesis is formulated, followed by facts the purpose of which is to illustrate and support the thesis. What is neglected is the need for a clear logical interconnection between thesis and fact.

Quite frequently "rejects" contain materials the authors of which try, consciously or subconsciously, to present matters as though they are following untrodden paths and discussing an entirely unstudied problem. Alas! This is merely a confirmation of the old truth that progress is inseparable from the continuity of scientific knowledge. In a word, many such words are unacceptable because of ambition and unsubstantiated claim to the discussion of a brand new topic. In such cases, the editors could quite sensibly assume that the author is either somewhat unaware of research standards or else vain-gloriously tries to depict himself as a discoverer or else again to make no

mention of predecessors for one unseemly reason or another. Yet a scientific article must mandatorily include an analysis of the status of the problem. Although elementary and self-evident, in the course of corresponding with the authors this requirement must be mentioned over and over again.

Table 2--Breakdown of SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA Subscribers by Area in the USSR (first half of 1984), Number of Copies

RSFSR	4,410	Odessa	72
		Zaporozhe	57
Including:		Voroshilovgrad	44
Moscow	1,283	Kazakh SSR	263
Leningrad	394		
Sverdlovsk	190	Including:	
Gorkiy	97	Alma-Ata	62
Chelyabinsk	95	Karaganda	35
Ufa	88		
Rostov-na-Donu	86	Belorussian SSR	226
Krasnoyarsk	86		
Kuybyshev	83	Including:	
Stavropol	82	Minsk	145
Novosibirsk	81	Lithuanian SSR	150
Irkutsk	80	Azerbaijan SSR	149
Kemerovo	69		
Barnaul	64	Including:	
Perm	64	Baku	86
Khabarovsk	62	Latvian SSR	122
Tula	61		
Saratov	58	Uzbek SSR	120
Krasnodar	54	Including:	
Volgograd	54	Tashkent	82
Ukrainian SSR	1,013	Georgian SSR	117
Including:		Estonian SSR	82
Kiev	199	Armenian SSR	77
Dnepropetrovsk	125	Kirghiz SSR	44
Donetsk	92	Tajik SSR	35
Kharkov	85	Turkmen SSR	12

A study of the reason for which the editors reject articles would show that, one way or another, they may be classified into two groups: theoretical articles lack concreteness and materials containing empirical information lack theoretical depth. Particularly indicative in this sense are "Facts, Comments and Notes (From the Sociologist's Desk)." The purpose of this section was to give researchers the opportunity efficiently to share with their colleagues recently obtained empirical data, methodical observations, considerations relative to specifics in the interpretation of data and new hypotheses. The

"Facts, Comments, Notes" were liked by the readers and are popular among contributors as well. This section has been invariably carried out by the journal for the past 10 years and we believe that it has passed the test of time. However, a peculiar "crisis in the genre" developed as sociological information piled up. A study indicates that the authors most frequently limit themselves to brief presentations of study results which add little to what is already known. That is why such articles are reduced to a depressing description of tables and enumeration of obtained breakdowns. One can hear behind such "notes" a bookkeeper's clicking of a simple abacus. Need we mention that replacing sociological interpretation of reality with calculations does not increase scientific knowledge?

Table 3--Breakdown of SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA Subscribers by Some Foreign Countries and Cities (first half of 1984), Number of Copies

Bulgaria	335	FRG	27
Czechoslovakia	143	Great Britain	16
GDR	95	France	15
China	63	Finland	9
Japan	59	West Berlin	7
Poland	46	Romania	4
Hungary	44	Israel	4
United States	37	Hong Kong	2

Developing the researcher's true sociological culture and professionalism remains one of the journal's basic tasks. Its implementation is of both scientific and ideological significance. The publication of the first issue of SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYE was timed for the 8th World Congress in Toronto. August 1974 is considered the start of the dissemination of the journal abroad. Today this Soviet sociological journal is read in 32 different countries (foreign countries account for 11 percent of its circulation). The number of subscribers in the fraternal socialist countries and in the United States, France, the FRG and Japan has increased considerably in recent years. Each issue is translated into English and distributed as a separate publication, while journal articles are annotated and indexed in international bibliographic publications. All of this entrusts authors and editors with high responsibility for the quality of the Marxist analysis of the realities of our age and the reputation of the Soviet sociological journal, which acts as a conduct of the ideas of peace and progress.

In implementing the instructions of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium, the journal intends to focus its main attention on the development of topical problems of improving the mature socialist society and to strengthening relations between scientific research and the practice of ideological and economic-organizational activities (6). The struggle against bourgeois sociological concepts and right- and left-wing revisionism and opportunism must be intensified. The new draft of the CPSU program, which is being prepared, entrusts with particular responsibility sociological scientific institutions and periodicals, including SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA. The profound changes based on the

transition of our country to the developed socialist stage require the interpretation of new social processes from the positions of Marxist-Leninist theory.

"The CPSU program must provide a realistic and comprehensively weighed characterization of developed socialism," said K. U. Chernenko at the session of the CPSU Central Committee commission in charge of formulating the new draft of the CPSU program, on 25 April 1984. "It must reflect our achievements and advantages and the tremendous opportunities provided by socialism at the new historical stage. We have something to say to our people and something to be proud of. To sum up in the program the best of what we have actually attained is important to us also from the viewpoint of political education work within the country and the ideological struggle we are waging in the international arena.

"At the same time, we must also indicate the difficult problems which society faces. We must not be carried away merely by describing the benefits which full communism will bring about. For, as Lenin said, if the attention is shifted to a 'relatively distant, beautiful and rosy future,' the immediate tasks of the difficult specific transition and approach to this future are frequently ignored ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 41, p 180). In other words, we must proceed from existing reality, from that which practice, social thinking and the collective experience of the masses have proved" (7).

Extensive work remains to be done by the journal and its responsibility as the collective propagandist and organizer of research is greater than ever before.

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CSO: 1806/0026

FEATURES OF SOCIOLOGY OF MORALITY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug Sep 84
(signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 44-50

[Article by V. M. Sokolov: "Sociology of Morality: Essence, Structure and Object." Vladimir Mikhaylovich Sokolov is a candidate of philosophical sciences, docent at the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences and author of the monograph "Nravstvennyy Mir Sovetskogo Cheloveka. Opyt Sotsiologicheskogo Analiza Nravstvennykh Problem Sovremennika" [The Moral World of the Soviet Person. Experience in the Sociological Study of the Moral Problems of Our Contemporary] (1981). He is the author of a number of articles published in our journal, including "Some Aspects in the Study of Ideological Influence on the Individual" (No 1, 1975), "Molding the Communist Outlook of Youth" (No 2, 1976), "Problems of Moral Upbringing as a Target of Sociological Research" (No 1, 1978) and others]

[Text] Soviet sociology has acquired extensive experience in the area of specific studies of moral consciousness. Studies are made of the value orientations of young people and their life plans and targets (2); interesting studies are under way on shaping the communist ideal (3); needs and their structure and role in the spiritual development of the individual are analyzed (4). An all-union study on "the moral upbringing of the individual in the labor collective" (5) was conducted jointly by the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, the USSR Academy of Sciences ISI [Institute of Sociological Research], the Higher School of the Trade Union Movement imeni N. Shvernik and the Komsomol Central Committee Higher Komsomol School.

Sociological studies enabled us to refine a number of essential problems of the moral development of the member of the socialist society: the hierarchy of value orientations of different population groups, the dynamics of changes of life plans of young people, the dominating public assessments of the dissemination of positive and negative moral features, the efficiency of means of moral upbringing, etc. However, many sociologists, who concentrate on gathering and analyzing empirical data on the status of moral consciousness and behavior, do not take into consideration the experience acquired in the philosophical study of similar problems within the framework of the science of ethics. On the other hand, the results of applied developments are extremely rarely used in the study of ethics. The possibility itself of specific sociological studies of morality is questioned.

In our view, reality itself demands a close alliance between applied sociology and ethics. L. M. Arkhangel'skiy justifiably noted that "the general sociological theory of the morality of developed socialism must be supported on the data of specific studies of the moral life of the socialist society" (6).

Although the term "sociology of morality" has been used in scientific literature for quite some time,* a clearly defined subject of this scientific discipline has not been formulated to this day. Bulgarian researchers have been doing fruitful work in this area in the past few years. In particular, Zh. Oshavkov wrote that "the sociology of ethics" could be considered a separate discipline. In his view, the sociology of ethics studies the basic laws of the interconnection between morality, on the one hand, and law, politics, art, religion and social management, on the other (7). K. Neshev reached the conclusion that the sociology of morality should "study the various levels of manifestation and functioning of moral necessity as a reflection of social necessity" (8, p 89). In his view, one of the tasks of sociology of morality is the study of the social grounds for the moral behavior of individuals and social groups. As a whole, Neshev defines sociology of morality as the specialized knowledge of moral phenomena from the viewpoint of their dependency on social structure and social contradictions (8, p 95).

So far, no single work especially dedicated to the essence of the essence of the sociology of morality and its subject may be found in Soviet scientific literature. It is true that individual mentions of this discipline are encountered. For example, O. G. Drobnitskiy has noted that "the question of singling out within ethics the sociology of morality, which is engaged in the specific study of the process of the shaping of mores and moral concepts in various areas of life and in small groups within socialist society is being discussed" (9) without, however, discussing this problem in greater detail. According to V. T. Ganzhin and Yu. V. Sogomonov, sociology of morality means the study of the actual conditions of moral consciousness and the real trends of development of moral relations "weighing" all factors which influence said trends and the dynamics of the moral system as a whole (10, p 17).

As we may see, the boundaries of the sociology of morality are defined quite disparately and, above all, in a declaratory manner, by the various authors. We shall try, without laying a claim to provide a definitive solution of this problem, to somewhat intensify and broaden its study.

The sociology of morality is a special sociological theory developed at the point where ethics and sociology meet. As a philosophical science, ethics studies the nature of the moral activities, moral relations and moral consciousness and their structure and conceptual apparatus. It analyzes the nature of moral values and the norms and logic of moral actions, etc. The concept of "moral" is used in ethics as a specific "value in itself." The sociology of morality focuses its attention on the study of the interconnection between morality as a system of social relations as a whole and its individual components. Therefore, the subject of the sociology of morality could be defined as the totality of direct and inverse relations within the

* This term was first used in the works of E. Durkheim and his followers.

"society-morality" system. As to the structure of the subject of this scientific discipline, in our view it should include the following: (a) influence of specific social conditions on production and the functioning of the components of one class-historical form of morality or another; (b) the inverse effect of these forms (above all in their development process) on existing social relations; (c) sociological laws of the interaction between morality and other types of social control of human behavior; (d) moral aspects of the "mechanisms" of human socialization and its end results or, in other words, that which is usually designated as the moral aspect of the personality; (e) the specifics of the morality of individual social groups; (f) characteristics of the functioning of morality in specific areas of activity (in the family, in informal groups, in the labor collective, etc.); (g) various types of sociogroup anomalies in the moral life of socialist society (consumer, petit bourgeois, deviant behavior and other moralities).

This view of the subject and structure of the sociology of morality presumes the solution of essential methodological problems. This applies, above all, to the components of morality studied by the sociology of morality. Some scientists exclude moral consciousness from the subject of the latter, reasoning that it could be described through more accurate methods. We share the viewpoint of other researchers who claim that the sociology of morality should be studied as both moral practice and moral consciousness.

By virtue of the specifics of the phenomenon of morality itself and, above all, the universality of its manifestation, the sociology of morality crosses not only ethics but many other separate sociological disciplines, such as sociology of labor, family, law, territorial commonalities, etc. However, it is not reduced to the moral aspects of said sociological disciplines but it is a separate area of the science of sociology.

The subject of the sociology of morality cannot be refined without a more specific correlation between it and the subject of the science of ethics, its applied aspect in particular. As V. I. Bakshtanovskiy justifiably emphasizes, "applied ethics" is not simply a separate aspect of ethical knowledge but its practical function, a type of "bridge" connecting theory with moral practice (10). The relative independence of applied ethics consists of the fact that it converts studies in ethics from basic to applied, to a practically new scientific information on the mechanisms, principles and means of the purposeful changing of actual morality, upgrading the efficiency of moral upbringing, etc. The position of applied ethics in the science of ethics is defined precisely by its closeness to practice and the possibility of directly applying acquired knowledge to the process of controlling and changing moral consciousness, behavior and moral relations. This feature inherent in applied logic distinguishes it not only from the other areas of ethics studies but from the sociology of morality as well.

Strictly speaking, the difference between the sociology of morality and applied ethics is quite relative. The common object shared by the two disciplines is the actual way in which morality functions in society; both transform and adapt basic knowledge to the needs of the "technological" analysis of moral practice and moral consciousness and developed theoretical substantiations for exerting practical influences on actual morality.

Despite such common features, however, substantial differences separate sociology of morality from applied ethics. The main topic of sociology is the study of the systems of social relations within morality and its study as part of the wholeness. Whereas ethics acts in terms of sociology of morality as its metatheory, the sociology of morality is the direct empirical base of ethics. Hence the applied function of sociology of morality: the ability to combine ethical knowledge with the process of improving moral practices and upgrading the effectiveness of moral upbringing. In the case of applied ethics, this function of the sociology of morality is the main objective, i.e., the substantiation and the theoretical and practical development of methods for changing and improving existing morality. In the final account, these two approaches are closely interrelated: in order to be able effectively to influence moral practice and moral consciousness, we must be familiar with their social substantiations, determinants, actual condition and development trend.

Nor does a unified viewpoint exist on most important problems of sociology of morality such as the possibility of studying moral phenomena through sociological methods and singling out the object of such studies. For example, G. G. Kvasov believes that the science of sociology can effectively study moral values both as an element of social consciousness and a vitally significant factor in individual and group behavior (value orientations of the subject of social actions, the role of such orientations in his activities, etc.). Furthermore, in his view, specific sociology must study the various aspects of the moral life of society and its moral relations and the sociopsychological mechanism of the functioning of moral consciousness (11).

According to V. P. Koblyakov, through its specific methods sociology can determine the process and level for the mastery of social functions, rights and obligations by the personality, based on social relations. It could also study the condition of social support of moral values and the moral requirements facing the individual and describe the social forms of the individual's behavior. However, "it would be unable to determine motivations and the inner condition of the person" (10, p 63). Yet, since the essence of moral socialization lies precisely in the conversion of social moral requirements and values into personal convictions, values and motivations, which guide the person in his behavior, consequently, the most essential aspects of morality cannot be studied through empirical methods. Koblyakov believes that ethics alone can give us an adequate understanding of the process of the moral development of the individual. O. G. Drobnitskiy as well presumed the possibility of studying within the framework of the sociology of morality the specific process of shaping mores and moral concepts in the individual areas of life and in small social groups. However, he denied the ability of sociology to study the moral aspects of human behavior, value orientations and, in general, the majority of strictly moral phenomena. He wrote that "circumstances related to the specifics of moral phenomena exclude the possibility of providing empirical definitions (by indicating and enumerating facts)" (12, p 232). In his view, the main such circumstance is the fact that morality does not have a form of "separate" existence. "A moral phenomenon in its own element is merely an aspect of the complex and comprehensive human activities, a specific facet of any empirically nondismembered fact" (12, p 377). Ethics is unable

to verify its value components empirically, for they are not operational concepts and, consequently, cannot be subjected to specific sociological studies. In Drobnitskiy's words, "defining morality presumes a rather high level of abstraction and the theoretical interpretation of phenomena we come across in life" (12, p 232), which must be studied on the theoretical level. Since the "nonindependence" of morality, its strictly subjective form of existence and its noninstitutionalization are the main obstacles to empirical analysis, let us discuss this in somewhat greater detail.

Unquestionably, the empirical study of morality presents particular difficulties. If morality is considered merely as an area of social consciousness, the possibility of its empirical study becomes especially problematic. Whereas other areas of consciousness are manifested and reflected in specific tangible activities (political ideology in the functioning of political parties, political manifestos and documents; legal consciousness, in legislative acts and law enforcement organs; art in artistic activities; science in scientific activities, etc.), there is no special "purely moral" activity. There is a moral feature, aspect or facet of activities in politics, science, labor, attitude toward nature, education of children or recreation. However, does the conclusion of the impossibility of its empirical analysis exist by virtue of the fact that morality is inseparable from the other realms of knowledge and specific activities and that it cannot be directly observed in its "pure form" and "experience through our senses?"

"Has it ever been possible to think that philosophy will begin to deny the truth of things achieved mentally because of the lack of spatial and temporal substance?" Hegel asked. In answering this rhetorical question, V. I. Lenin noted in his "Philosophical Notebooks" that phenomena which express categories which are "deprived...of the sensory matter" can be more real and recognizable than specifically observed phenomena (1). The fact that a phenomena is classified as subjective cannot be an obstacle to its empirical study, the more so since many moral phenomena operate in general in a specific objective form.

We know that in terms of individual morality, social morality is a suprasubjective phenomenon, for it is presented in the guise of objective social requirements, values and behavioral models. It is in this sense, for example, that we can speak of the objective nature of a moral atmosphere and public opinion in the moral area, which are successfully determined through various empirical studies. The study of the content of mass communications media and the letters of working people to state and public organizations, the press, television and radio; and the study of materials of debates, conferences and representative surveys establish relatively stable, mass and objective forms and aspects of necessary morality in terms of the individual. This enables us to control to a certain extent the process of development of a moral atmosphere and public opinion, which are the external regulators of human behavior.

Let us also note that the "nonmaterial nature" of morality and its extra-institutionalized nature should not be considered an absolute feature, and even less so an argument for defining its nature. "Historically, depending on various social conditions, the requirements of morality are either supported or discouraged through the actions of social institutions. Morality does not

stop being morality in the least by being directly supported by institutionalized sanctions" (13). The boundary separating the two means of control (institutional and noninstitutional) is quite flexible and sometimes indetermined. A number of relations of socialist community life, previously regulated by written laws and instructions gradually find themselves controlled by morality. On the other hand, new and quite characteristic forms of the institutionalization of morality appear, such as comrade courts and public committees; although not formal institutions, the honor codes adopted at meetings assume a semi-institutionalized nature and, most importantly, have the function of formulating official requirements and applying sanctions relative to moral facts. Naturally, such control methods in the area of morality are relatively easy to analyze empirically.

As we pointed out, some ethicists, who reject the possibility of the empirical analysis of morality, refer to the indivisibility of morality from other aspects and forms of consciousness and social practice. However, this indivisibility does not mean that a certain part of it cannot be considered as a relatively independent phenomenon. "There is no question," writes A. K. Uledov, "that moral relations imbue all areas of social life and arise wherever human relationships are established. But why deny them any independent existence? Strictly speaking, no type of superstructural relations is a "separate area of human life." Some "areas" could consist of specific human activities which are in the guise of or accompanied by a variety of relations. Therefore, moral relations, related to human behavior are, in this sense, no less autonomous than other superstructural relations" (14). In precisely the same way, a certain autonomy in terms of social life and moral practice may be found in moral consciousness, for which reason it too can be a separate study topic.

Therefore, the specifics of morality, in determining the characteristics of its empirical study, is not an obstacle to the possibility of such study. The necessary and essential aspect of morality is an object of empirical analysis. Public official requirements, represented by mass communications media, governing the work of various social institutions, etc., are addressed, as we know, precisely to the essence of morality and, consequently, are inseparable from it in terms of the purpose of their functioning and empirical study. Existing morality is reflected even more clearly in the letters sent by working people to state and public organizations and in the moral atmosphere and public opinion. Statistical data reflecting both positive and negative manifestations of morality in action are a major source of empirical information on existing morality. Positive manifestations can be indirectly judged on the basis of data relative to volunteers who have joined shock construction projects assigned by the Komsomol and student construction detachments, as well as those who have taken up a patriotic initiative with a moral coloring, or, in other words, on the basis of practical human activities in all realms of life. The negative aspects of existing morality can be analyzed on the basis of statistical data on the number of absenteeists, waste makers, people sent to sobering tanks, parasites, speculators, etc. So far, such data are studied much more by legal experts than ethicists.

Morality contains a number of universal aspects. In the spiritual world of the individual they are reflected above all in the basic moral categories of justice and injustice, good and evil, collectivism and individualism and many others. It is in accordance with such moral principles that human behavior is manifested in a great variety of situations: at work, at home and at rest. Consequently, the sociological study of the shaping and functioning of moral categories and norms can be applied in all realms of social activities.

Therefore, when we speak of the object of an empirical study of moral relations, we must clearly define, to begin with, the specific categories, norms and values of morality as the "substratum" of such relations which are to be studied; secondly, in what specific realms of activities should such studies be made. Furthermore, it is important to determine the level on which moral relations operate.

Three such levels are listed in scientific publications: social, collective and individual. In order to make an empirical study we must somewhat refine this classification. First of all, we could make a special study of the functional relations of moral relations in individual social classes and groups. Sociological studies could be made of the characteristics of moral relations among individual sociodemographic and professional groups. The study not simply of the different levels at which morality operates but the connection, the correlation between morality characterizing the general (society as a whole, the classes), the specific (the social group, the collective) and the individual (the person) is of particular interest.

Any area of morality which could become a subject of sociological research involves the individual. This is natural for all manifestations of morality without exception are manifestations of the subjective feature and everything moral is sifted through the mind of the individual. However, on the individual level morality is not only a mandatory part of the study of any one of its components or facets but also an independent object of sociological study.

The autonomy of individual morality or the morality of the individual as a subject of sociological study is determined not only by its relative independence of social life as a whole and moral practice in particular, but also by the distinction between it and social morality.

We know that the morality of the individual is an individual form of social morality. That is why we agree with the assertion that within an individual moral consciousness we could distinguish, first of all, the sum total of moral feelings, knowledge and convictions which contain part of the social consciousness and, secondly, the person's specific attitude toward the world, society and the conditions of his actual life (15). Individual morality is an integral and relatively independent structure which combines social requirements, personal interests and the attitude of the individual toward the world. In this area social morality becomes substantially transformed and reorganized.

Individual and social moralities are different in terms of carriers (the individual in the first case and society as a whole, or part of society, in the second), as well as in terms of volume. On the one hand, social morality is

broader and fuller than the moral awareness of the individual; on the other, social morality is somewhat poorer than individual morality, for the latter also includes unique practical experience and the individuality of man's spiritual world. The most accurate and important data in the study of the moral development of the individual may be obtained in the study of relations between the moral requirements of society and the individual, and the actual behavior of the individual in corresponding situations.

Therefore, in our view, sociological studies of individual morality should deal with the following basic problems: degree of consistency between the moral norms and principles of the person and the specific norms and principles of the social morality of socialist society at a given stage in its development; the degree of consistency between the actual behavior of the individual and the accepted social norms and principles; the degree of consistency between moral norms and actual individual behavior. The study of such problems is closely related to implementing the party's tasks in ideological work and the education of the new person.

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CSO: 1806/26

BRIGADE SOCIOECONOMIC EFFECTIVENESS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84
(signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 51-58

[Article by Ye. I. Khrishchev: "Socioeconomic Effectiveness of the Brigade Contracting System." Yevgeniy Il'ich Khrishchev is a candidate of economic sciences and docent at the State University imeni V. I. Lenin in Kishinev. He is the author of the monographs "Povysheniye Aktivnosti Proizvodstvennogo Kollektiva v Usloviyakh Brigadnogo Podryada" [Upgrading the Activeness of the Production Collective Under the Brigade Contracting Method] (1979, coauthored), Trudovaya Initsiativa i Eye Stimulirovaniye" [Labor Initiative and Its Incentive] (1981, coauthored) and "Rezervy Brigadnogo Podryada" [Reserves of the Brigade Contracting Method] (1983). This is his first article in our journal]

[Text] The brigade form of labor organization has become widespread today. Thirteen thousand brigades, involving more than half of all workers in industrial enterprises in the republic, operated in Moldavia last year. However, if we consider not only the quantitative but the qualitative aspect of the matter, along with noticeable accomplishments major omissions can be easily detected. No more than 43 percent of the brigades were comprehensive, and although most of them (8,300) worked on the basis of a single order, in only 55 percent of the cases were wages based on end results. In the distribution of earnings, the labor participation coefficient was applied in only half of the brigades working in the republic's industry. All of this confirms once again the accuracy of the guideline stipulated in the CPSU Central Committee decree on the brigade method of labor organization: persistently look for new means of upgrading the socioeconomic effectiveness of brigades and study profoundly and determine, on the basis of a thoughtful scientific analysis, possibilities of further development and improvement of the brigade method (1).

The automatic assembling of workers within brigades does not result in any essential enhancement of their economic and social efficiency. The entire system of organization of labor, production and social management must be radically restructured in order to turn the brigade into the primary labor collective, the primary production and cost-accounting cell.

Unlike the economic, the social efficiency of labor is not a correlation between economic results and necessary outlays but the degree to which the socialist objective have been attained in the development of labor relations.

At the present stage, this objective consists of the way in which the individual working person actually attains the position of master of the production process and the profound awareness on the part of the individual worker of the priority of social interests and the economic, political, moral and legal demands which society makes.

The social effectiveness of a brigade, is the result, first of all, of improving relations among workers within the brigade; secondly, relation between the enterprise (the administration) and the primary labor collectives; third, the activities of social institutions (above all the party and other social organizations and councils of brigades and brigade leaders). In this case the distribution of earnings is based not on the relatively separate work of individual workers but on collectively attained results, expressed in the creation of the end product. The possibility appears of determining more accurately and precisely that which the worker gives to society and takes from it. This circumstance becomes a reliable base in the development of general and public control in the realm of labor relations and the efficient combination of the interests of the individual, the collective and society.

Indicators of the level of brigade social organization could be, first of all, the targets of the collective; secondly, the actual and potential cadre turnover; thirdly, the labor and social activeness of the workers (the percentage of those who steadily fulfill planned assignments, participate in social work, rationalizations and inventions, production management, competition and the movement for a communist attitude toward labor); fourthly, the number and nature of conflict situations and elements of disorganization (labor discipline violations, production accidents, complaints triggered by administration activities, violations of the law, etc.).

With a view to the elaboration of steps to upgrade the socioeconomic effectiveness of the brigade organization of labor, comparative socioeconomic studies of the same projects, based on a comparable program, were conducted by the chair of labor economics at the University imeni V. I. Lenin in Kishinev in 1976 and 1982. The study included an analysis of primary accountability data, a survey of brigade members and a survey of experts--brigade leaders, foremen, subdivision managers and specialists in labor organization services. The respondents represented all shops and professional-skill groups in labor collectives. The views of rank-and-file workers and managers coincided on most questions; no particular disparities were detected in comparing survey results with materials from the study of statistical indicators.

The study of the target stipulations of brigade members proved that the number of respondents profoundly interested in the further development of the brigade organization of labor had increased substantially, amounting to 80 percent today (as against 69 percent in 1976). In the interval between the two studies, the number of workers who were fully informed of the objectives and conditions of the collective organization of labor more than doubled. The materials of the surveys and the study of the conflicts which appear in the allocation of jobs and wages enabled us to classify brigades into the following types based on their targets: (1) unified and oriented toward supporting the interests of the enterprise as a whole (the majority of comprehensive and

related brigades); (2) united but concerned above all with their own benefits (mainly small specialized brigades without party groups); (3) collectives without any clearly expressed target orientation and low interconnection intensiveness.

The empirical data we obtained convincingly prove the accuracy of the conclusion drawn in the CPSU Central Committee decree we mentioned (1): comprehensive and related brigades working on the basis of a single order and with wages based on end results provide the most opportunities for improving organizational and political education work, strengthening discipline and asserting a spirit of true collectivism, reciprocal exigency and comradely mutual aid. Labor productivity in such brigades increases at a higher rate, working time losses are reduced and material resources are spent more economically.

A number of sociological studies made during the 1960s-1970s have shown that the most united are small collectives (15 people or fewer) in which all workers have the same skill. This agrees with the results of our study as well. However, this has a caveat. While performing individual operations, small brigades cannot bear responsibility for the production of a finished assembly, part, etc. Therefore, their objective is by no means always consistent with that of the entire enterprise. Conflict situations occasionally arise and sometimes the heads of specialized brigades pit themselves against the administration and are concerned with obtaining more profitable orders. The small size of such collectives prevents them from developing extensive combination of skills and multiple machine servicing.

In 1982 Moldavia had only 137 consolidated brigades (of more than 50 members), consisting of the combination of several primary labor collectives operating within a single technological cycle. The creation of such brigades involves a radical restructuring of the enterprise's organizational administrative and planning setup. Naturally, the intensiveness of individual contacts, particularly outside work, is somewhat weaker in this case. However, it is unquestionable that in this case we have not only an increased feeling of responsibility by the collective for the end results of the entire production cycle but the broadening of actual rights in relations with other enterprise subdivisions and the management. We believe that the future belongs precisely to such brigades.

Let us now consider the question of the stabilization of primary labor collectives. The mass popularization of the brigade organization of labor played a major role in retaining worker cadres. However, within the framework of a large production collective, stabilization does not contradict intrabrigade mobility in the least.

According to the 1982 study, 36 percent of the workers firmly intended to go on working in their field; 33 percent had not made a clear decision and 31 percent intended to change jobs. Furthermore, 7 percent were looking for a more skilled job in their field; 9 percent wanted to master a more complex profession within the same enterprise; 6 percent wanted a transfer to another shop and only 9 percent intended to leave their collective. Therefore, under

the conditions of a collective organization of labor potential cadre movement may be largely achieved within the enterprise itself.

Not only the intensiveness and the trend but the structure of the reasons for cadre dynamics change under the conditions of the brigade organization of labor. First among the reasons for any intended resignation (71 percent) are claims concerning the level of organization of the work and its content ("dull job") and lack of growth potential; second (43 percent) is dissatisfaction with working conditions; third (38 percent) is the wage level. These are followed by unsatisfactory relations with the administration and within the collective (3 percent), distance from the place of residence (22 percent) and family and other circumstances (8 percent). Characteristically, at the Tiraspol Garment Association imeni 40-Letiya VLKSM, where the collective organization of labor has reached its highest development, the last two reasons, which are unrelated to the level of organization and social development of the enterprise, play a significant role (27 and 19 percent) compared to the others.

Table 1--Worker Breakdown by Degree of Satisfaction With Various Aspects of Labor Activities in Production Brigades in Moldavian Enterprises in 1976 and 1982, % of total number of respondents

<u>Job Aspects</u>	Degree of Satisfaction			
	High		Low	
	<u>1976</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1982</u>
Relations within the labor collective	52	79	18	11
Relations with the administration	60	64	19	16
Labor safety conditions	81	70	13	18
Nature of the job	51	64	22	16
Labor organization	71	60	21	26
Participation in management	40	52	31	24
Growth prospects	39	59	18	27
Wage level	58	56	26	23
Labor mechanization level	42	56	26	23
Organization of material supplies	50	55	27	25
Physical stress	43	52	36	31
Workplace hygiene	41	51	39	34
Nervous, mental stress	52	44	30	34

Remark: The level of satisfaction for each parameter (line in the table) with job activities was determined as follows: satisfaction as a whole was classified into three levels: high, average and low (totaling 100 percent). We omitted the middle level which provides no information of any significance from the viewpoint of the purpose of the study.

Levels of potential cadre turnover in brigades with different value orientations vary. Between 13 and 16 percent at the Tractor Plant, Furniture Factory imeni Frunze and the Zorile Shoe Manufacturing Association in Kishinev expressed the firm desire to move to another enterprise, compared to only 2 percent at the Tiraspol Garment Factory. Such disparity may be explained

only partially with the characteristics of the sociodemographic structure of the workers we surveyed. The highest percentage (over 40 percent) of the most mobile young people under 25 was among clothing workers, tractor builders, shoe makers and construction workers. Much more stable were workers over 40 among leather and furniture makers. More than 70 percent of the shoemakers and construction workers, coming from rural areas, were distinguished by lower turnover; conversely, the share of children of engineering and technical workers and employees at the tractor plant was high. At the shoe manufacturing association and the tractor plant the lowest was the share of workers with unfinished secondary education, who were relatively less mobile; one-third of the construction workers showed a desire for mobility compared to nearly one-half at the artificial leather combine and the furniture factory.

Relations within the collective and with the administration were rated highly (characteristically, at the Tiraspol Garment Factory, which we adopted as a standard for social organization, similar indicators were even higher). The percentage of those satisfied with the nature of the job increases with the development of collective forms of labor organization (thanks to increased types of production activities and performing unattractive work on a rotating basis), together with participation in management (particularly in brigades with efficiently operating councils), growth opportunities, level of labor mechanization (to a large extent this is related to the development of the collective rationalization of the production process), organization of supplies, physical stress and conditions at the work place.

Compared with the other elements of the job situation, the highest rating was given to the level of mechanization, the organization of material and technical supplies and labor conditions. Let us point out that in the interval between the first and second surveys the rating of some factors (labor safety conditions, labor organization, wage level, nervous-mental stress) declined. In 1982 the level of nervous-mental stress was the only element with which less than one-half of the respondents were satisfied. This was obviously related to the growth of labor-intensiveness, the insufficient attention paid to the comprehensive planning of labor conditions at collective work places and the increased importance of interpersonality contacts at work. In this connection, the inventorying and subsequent annual certification of work places become particularly important. An experiment in this area conducted at the Dnepropetrovsk Combine Plant was approved at the December 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Under the conditions of a brigade form of labor organization, it is a question not only of individual but of collective work places. Such certification makes it possible to involve the majority of brigade members in organizational and technical creative work and demands of them the study of publications and progressive experience in their field.

Potential cadre turnover caused by unsatisfactory relations among members of the collective and between them and the administration declined sharply under the conditions of the brigade organization of labor (no more than 3 percent of respondents). Workers classified within the potential turnover range rarely participate in rationalizations and socialist competition and adapt themselves to the collective with difficulty. A stable brigade structure helps its members to become better acquainted with the brigade leader who, in turn,

gains a better idea of the inclinations of his comrades. Such reciprocal information helps the people properly to structure their interrelationships, blocks psychological stress, eliminates disparities in the way the brigade leader is rated by the administration and the workers and strengthens the democratic style of management.

In our view, three basic trends exist in upgrading the labor activeness of brigade members. The first is the mastery of higher skills by the workers, i.e., reaching their planned level of labor-output ratio, the ability to perform highly complex operations, including tuning and current equipment repairs, and ability to vary their work and master related skills. This requires the radical restructuring of worker training in PTU [vocational-technical schools]. Brigades, comprehensive brigades in particular, need not simple handlers but workers with extensive knowledge and developed technical way of thinking.

The second task is to select for every brigade member the type of job most consistent with his capabilities, inclinations and other individual characteristics. The yardstick in this case is the satisfaction shown by the worker with labor conditions and the extent to which the latter offer opportunities for the comprehensive development of the individual. The implementation of this task is impossible without improving the vocational guidance and selection system. The reform of general education and professional schools under way will unquestionably play a positive role in this respect.

Finally, the third trend is to create conditions for the fastest possible adaptation by young workers and their integration within the collective, and establishing relations of cooperation and creative mutual aid. In this connection, the rights granted the brigade to pay its trainees higher wages than those stipulated in the instructions, based on their contribution to overall work results, and to assign PTU students to specific brigades from the start of the pregraduation practical training is of great importance.

Orientation toward end results develops the best possible conditions for mutual aid and cooperation in the primary labor collective. In the comprehensive brigades, 54 percent of those surveyed highly rated the help given by the foreman and the brigade leader, as compared to only 39 percent in the specialized brigades; a negative assessment was given, respectively, by 9 and 18 percent of the members (the same as in the individual organization of labor). The brigade headed by I. N. Roshki at SU-1 [Construction Administration] of the Monolitstroy Trust, in which every worker has mastered two or three skills, may be considered an example of a united collective distinguished by high labor activeness. During the 5-year period the brigade built eight house buildings, completing them 94 days ahead of schedule. Here all projects are based on contract orders. During the 5-year period labor productivity increased by 25 percent and wages by 11 percent.

In addition to the volume of work, wages based on end results presume planning for the brigade outlays of materials, fuel, energy, wages per unit of output and other outlays, based on the quality of the work and related to overall cost-accounting indicators. The brigade signs a contract with the administration and, in cases of related subcontracting, with related units, assuming

responsibility for the preservation of the materials, environmental protection, efficient organization of labor and utilization of equipment, observance of technological and labor safety stipulations, mastery of progressive experience, allocation of collective earnings, etc. In turn, the administration undertakes promptly to supply the brigade with everything necessary, to apply production technology and organization, take measures for labor protection and safety, and create conditions for protecting valuables issued to the brigade. Bonuses awarded to the brigade for economy of materials compared to standards are paid regardless of the overall results of the enterprise's work.

The new type of brigade enables us to eliminate the technological alienation of the worker from the end product of a large enterprise, exercise in full the rights granted in accordance with the Law on Labor Collectives and create a general interest in helping novices to adapt. With the help of tutors 18 percent of those surveyed in comprehensive brigades and 14 percent in specialized brigades upgrade their skills, compared with only 6 percent in the case of workers working by themselves. Individual time spent in training novices is compensated with end results. The independence of the brigades in labor organization reduces the need for overtime. In a comprehensive brigade everyone is interested both morally and materially in helping the young workers to master the necessary skills and upgrade their grade faster.

The socioeconomic advantages of comprehensive brigades promote the development of technical creativity. The share of rationalizers in such collectives turned out to be higher than that in specialized brigades by a factor of 2.5 (20 and 8 percent) with identical professional training. The experience of the brigade headed by G. A. Seletskiy at SU-8, Promstroy Trust is widely known in Moldavia. Here a number of mechanisms and attachments which eliminate manual labor were developed; the same applies to the brigade headed by P. G. Fishchuk, at SU-3, Monolitstroy Trust, which improved the technology of monolithic house construction.

Collective forms of labor organization help to develop the social activeness of the workers. Ten to 11 percent of the workers in the brigade hold elective social positions, compared to only 5 percent in individual work; the share of workers actively influencing the state of affairs in their sector and shop is higher by one-half.

At the same time, the new form of production democracy substantially increases the workers' exigency for effective participation in management. According to our study, the share of personnel dissatisfied with the activities of permanent production conferences increases by 7-15 percent compared to the individual organization of labor; satisfaction with general meetings, from 7 to 17 percent; the work of NTO [Scientific Organization of Labor] and VOIR [All-Union Society of Inventors and Rationalizers] from 4 to 21 percent, people's control posts from 7 to 19 percent, information meetings and meetings with enterprise managers 4 to 26 percent, etc. In the individual organization of labor workers frequently tolerate the low efficiency of said social institutions, for this does not directly affect individual output and wages. Under the new circumstances, improving the organization of management at the enterprise as a whole becomes a vitally important matter affecting the majority of

workers. The percentage of high ratings of efficiency and significance of economic and technical training increases from 12-30 to 38-42 percent. As the brigade organization of labor becomes more popular, the need to reorganize all forms of production democracy at enterprises will become increasingly urgent.

Increasing the efficiency of the competition on the basis of the elimination of contradictions between its end objectives and work place rating indicators contributes to the adoption of a collective organization of labor. Nineteen percent of the respondents in comprehensive brigades (twice the number, compared to other forms of labor organization) earned the title of best in their profession. The study revealed that 100 percent of the workers show a lively interest in the state of the competition among brigades whereas with the individual organization of labor competition results among shops were of interest to no more than 28-43 percent of those surveyed. The primary labor collective is the most effective area in organizing the competition. However, the search for new methods consistent with the new conditions is merely beginning.

The most important social result of the collective organization of labor is the improved utilization of worker knowledge, capabilities and energy (see Table 2). The number of workers who highly value the utilization of their labor potential was triple in the collective organization of labor (higher by a factor of 1.2 in 1976) compared to the individual organization of labor and that of workers who gave it a low rating was lower by a factor of 4.6. Compared to 1976, the gap in the ratings increased substantially in favor of the comprehensive brigades.

As confirmed by the surveys, the very nature of conflict-generating situations changes in contract collectives: increasingly they are related not to psychological incompatibility or distribution of earnings but the choice of the most efficient forms of labor organization and, particularly, claims relative to the organizational work by plant administration departments. That is why including engineering and technical personnel and production organizers in large comprehensive brigades, increasing the role of councils of brigade leaders in enterprise management and upgrading the level of professional, economic and political knowledge of brigade leaders become particularly important.

The social effectiveness of the development of collective forms of labor influences their economic results (Table 3). Compared to the individual organization of labor, in the comprehensive brigades a higher number of workers reached high indicators in output, economy of materials and utilization of progressive experience (a 1.1-1.2 factor), level of labor discipline, utilization of equipment and participation in the mastery of new developments (a 1.3-1.8 factor) and participation in production management, rationalization, social life and increased skill (by a 2-5 factor). Brigades offer no advantages only in rating the quality of output, which proves the existence of shortcomings in the piece-rate wage system. Table 3 also shows positive changes which have taken place between 1976 and 1982. In 1982 the bulk of the workers at the surveyed enterprises (73 percent) held firm ideas regarding conditions for a brigade organization of labor. Sixty percent (68 percent

among construction workers) of them believed that this form of labor organization and incentive is already now unquestionably contributing to the development of labor initiative and to improving work quality; 34 percent believed that in order for such results to be achieved a number of planning and procurement problems had to be resolved and only 5 percent rated the brigade contracting method negatively.

The share of those fully satisfied with prospects for increasing their skills was 33 percent in comprehensive brigades, 24 percent in specialized brigades and 9 percent among nonbrigade workers; the respective figures for the nature of labor were 36, 38 and 24 percent; labor organization, 36, 32 and 26 percent; relations within the collective, 54, 53 and 48 percent; and relations with the administration, 43, 47 and 36 percent. At the same time, the number of those desirous of improving their skill was significantly higher in the comprehensive brigades. The extensive dissemination and development of collective forms of labor organization and incentive is the base for upgrading labor initiative and the exercise by the individual worker of his status as master of the production process.

Table 2--Worker Rating of the Utilization of Their Knowledge and Capabilities in Various Forms of Labor Organization, % of total number of respondents

<u>Forms of Labor Organization</u>	Rating of Knowledge Utilization					
	High		Average		Low	
	1976	1982	1976	1982	1976	1982
Individual	32	18	40	36	28	46
Specialized brigade	52	42	40	38	8	20
Comprehensive brigade	39	55	24	35	37	10

Table 3--Share of Workers With High Work Quality Indicators in Various Labor Organization Forms, %

<u>Work Quality Indicators</u>	Comprehensive Brigades		Specialized Brigades		Outside Brigades	
	1976	1982	1976	1982	1976	1982
Implementation of shift assignments	52	65	81	64	63	54
Quality of output	56	60	78	64	92	72
Labor discipline	70	84	65	54	49	55
Material savings	40	48	58	42	66	42
Equipment use	59	68	72	34	52	36
Participation in production management	59	55	20	26	16	18
Participation in rationalization	23	16	21	12	26	3
Mastery of new developments	38	45	30	33	42	36
Dissemination of progressive experience	41	60	40	44	32	51
Participation in social life	60	73	22	33	23	36
Skill increase aspiration	42	62	72	51	60	24

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FOOTNOTE

1. More than 1,200 people were surveyed in 1976 and about 1,300 in 1982, including 2,000 brigade members and 500 members of the administrative apparatus of 20 industrial enterprises in Kishinev. The Tiraspol Garment Association imeni 40-Letiya VLKSM, famous throughout the country for its high quality of output, was used as control. The 10 percent selective zoning method was used: the consistency between the selective and general total was checked on the basis of vocational and skill structure indicators.

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CSO: 1806/26

BRIGADE SELF-MANAGEMENT

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84
(signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 59-64

[Article by M. Ye. Ille and V. V. Sinov: "On the Development of Self-Management in Brigades." Mikhail Yevgen'yevich and Vladimir Vital'yevich Sinov are employed in a Leningrad scientific production association in the area of scientific organization of labor. This is their first article in our journal]

[Text] It was stated at the November 1983 session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo that under contemporary conditions the brigade form of labor organization and incentive is playing an increasing role in improving enterprise work, developing a communist attitude toward labor and extensively involving working people in management (2). However, the development of this new method is not taking place smoothly everywhere. In order to clarify the difficulties which appear in the course of the application of the brigade method, the NOT [Scientific Organization of Labor] and sociology sector in a Leningrad scientific production association made a study of the effectiveness of the brigade organization of labor in 1982-1983.¹

We considered insufficient the classification of brigades according to the level of production-economic efficiency based on the expert evaluation made by the shop administration--a comparison among brigades based on objective work indicators alone, such as plan fulfillment, lowering the percentage of defective goods, etc., for some brigades had a stress plan while others did not; some brigades manufactured complex items while the items manufactured by other brigades were simple. A comparison between the new and the old form of labor organization was senseless, for we were interested the conditions under which brigades could work most efficiently rather than the extent to which the new method was better than the old. In addition to the expert evaluation, we took into consideration objective data on brigade activities (implementation of the plan for volume of output, work quality, conservation of raw and other materials and labor discipline).

The shop administrations were asked to rate brigades working under their supervision on the basis of a five-point scale, taking the following criteria into consideration: internal labor productivity reserves, quality of output

(work), conservation of raw materials, materials and energy and labor discipline. In order to avoid disparities, each rating was given a verbal definition as well.²

At the same time, the experts were free to assess the collective as they wished, relying on said values only as base standards. The expert evaluation was conducted by the foreman, the senior foreman, the chief of sector, the deputy chief of shop for production affairs and the shop chief. This was followed by a mean arithmetical evaluation for each indicator, summed up within an integral indicator of brigade efficiency. It was on the basis of the latter that the brigades were classified into three groups: high production-economic efficiency (total rating of no less than 16 points), medium efficiency--no less than 3 points,³ and low efficiency--brigades which had been rated less than 3 points for even a single indicator.

Table 1--Objective Work Brigade Indicators Based on the Level of Production-Economic Efficiency

<u>Brigade Efficiency</u>	<u>Number of Brigades</u>	<u>Quarterly Fulfillment Plan, %</u>	<u>Work Quality (Average No. of Returned Items Per Quarter Per Brigade)</u>	<u>Labor Discipline (Average Cases of Absenteeism Per Quarter Per Brigade)</u>
High	58	106.7	0.8	0.5
Average	111	109.1	1.6	1.3
Low	22	104.2	2.7	1.5

Table 1 shows that compared with low-efficiency brigades, cases of absenteeism in high-efficiency brigades were fewer by two-thirds while their work quality indicator was higher by a factor of 3. It is interesting that the highest percentage of plan fulfillment was that of average efficiency brigades. This may be due to the fact that this indicator was not considered sufficiently significant by the experts in determining brigade efficiency. The higher level of plan fulfillment by average efficiency collectives may also be explained by the fact that nearly half of their workers were between the ages of 31 and 45 and that it is precisely within this age group that individual labor efficiency is at its peak (3).

As a whole, we believe that this method used in determining brigade efficiency was justified, for the expert evaluations were submitted by objective collective activity indicators.

In addition to economic, the extensive use of brigade forms of labor organization in production creates a series of social problems. It "entails a drastic increase in the role of primary collectives in production management" (4). The development of worker self-management, including brigade self-management, is a task of exceptional importance, which determines the solution of other economic and social problems, such as upgrading labor efficiency, developing the feeling of master of the production process among the workers, promoting their active life stance, etc.

The classification of brigades by level of self-management was based on the criterion of the actual exercise of the rights granted collectives: participation in the formulation of current, long-term and counter brigade plans, submitting together with the foreman suggestions on including or excluding workers, determining the amount of wages based on the utilization of the KTU [labor participation coefficient], petitioning the shop administration to set or increase qualification ratings of individual workers, nominating brigade members for wage supplements for professional skills and skill combinations and naming socialist competition winners within the brigade. The level of brigade self-management was determined on the basis of the extent to which the collective exercised its rights.⁴

An additional criterion was introduced as well. The point is that most of the rights granted brigades are of an advisory nature and that the brigade has the final say only in wage distribution. Therefore, we considered precisely the exercise of this right adequate in classifying a brigade in a higher group. For example, if a collective exercises one or two items of the Regulation on the Brigade and should be classified in the "below standard self-administration" group, yet one of the two included wage distribution, the brigade was put in the "average self-management" group. We determined the precise manner in which the brigade exercised its rights with the help of a survey of all brigade workers. If more than 50 percent of the respondents noted that a given right was exercised we considered it as exercised in fact. The resulting breakdown of brigades by level of self-management was as follows: low, 42; average, 53; and high, 116.

Of equal interest to the researchers was what, in the opinion of the workers, prevented the full exercise of their rights. Asked "what are the rights not exercised by the brigade and what, in your view, is the reason for this," 54.2 percent of the respondents answered that they had still not learned how to exercise them. The brigade leaders' reason was, above all, their lack of knowledge relative to economic, organizational and sociopsychological problems of management. Therefore, the administration should train both brigade leaders and workers not only through lectures but through specific examples as well. That is precisely the way V. I. Lenin formulated the matter in his speech at the Second All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions: "...To teach management, to the masses not through papers, lectures or meetings but through practical experience...." (1).

The workers' lack of confidence in its efficiency was another obstacle in the development of brigade self-management. Some 40 percent of the respondents consider that the administration is not interested in giving workers real rights to participate in management and more than 30 percent noted that although the administration encourages in words worker participation in management their opinions are not taken into consideration in the specific resolution of problems.

The study revealed the existence of a direct connection between the level of development of self-management and the indicators of worker social activeness. The feeling of being the masters of the production process was more developed in members of brigades with high self-management standards; they were more

active in social life, attended meetings more frequently and submitted more suggestions to the brigade council. If suggestions are submitted in brigades with a low self-management standard, most of them are directed at the administration. In other words, the members of the collective are oriented toward traditional management methods.

Many unresolved problems remain in the development of brigade self-management. One of them is the work of councils of shop brigade leaders. Our study indicated that the work of shop councils is extremely irregular; one out of four surveyed brigade leaders had not attended a single council session during the year and 40 percent had attended no more than three or four meetings. Furthermore, 32.4 percent of the brigade leaders claimed that the council was of no help whatsoever to them and 57.4 percent considered such help insignificant; only 10.2 percent assessed it as substantial.

The following question arises: Is the institution of brigade leaders' council a successful form of expanding production self-management, and if such were to be the case, how should it function in practical terms? Our assumption is that the solution of this problem is directly related to the fuller exercise of the right granted collectives (incidentally, the members of brigades with high self-management standards submit twice as many suggestions to brigade leader councils compared to workers in other brigades).

Table 2--Interconnection Between Levels of Brigade Efficiency and Development of Self-Management, %

<u>Level of Production-Economic Efficiency</u>	<u>Level of Development of Brigade Self-Management</u>			<u>Share of Workers in Brigades Based Production-Economic Efficiency Level</u>
	<u>Low</u>	<u>Average</u>	<u>High</u>	
Low	2.0	20.4	77.6	13.9
Average	21.1	29.1	49.8	58.1
High	16.0	22.8	61.2	28.0

We classified the brigades into nine possible types using the indicators of the efficiency level and the level of self-management. We established the positive connection between the level of production-economic efficiency (PEE) and the development of self-management (the Spearman rank correlation coefficient equals $R = 0.69$ with a value for $\alpha = 0.01$). We also determined that in many low PEE-level brigades the self-management standard was high. Table 2 shows that such brigades accounted for 77.6 percent of the total and only 2.0 percent (a single brigade) had a low PEE and self-management level. What is the reason for this?

Let us note above all the predominance of young people (61.9 percent of the collective is under 30) in this type brigade. Such a structure in which the workers have not as yet reached the peak of their individual labor efficiency is precisely what determines the low level of efficiency of the entire brigade. However, young people are the most responsive to all new developments. Socially they are more active and that is precisely why brigade self-management is most successful in youthful collectives.

Labor motivation may also have a certain effect on the development of a negative connection between efficiency and the development of self-management. On the level of a standard consciousness, most workers in brigades with a low level of efficiency and high self-management levels are oriented toward the content of their work (56.3 percent of the respondents in this group said that the most important feature in their work is its attractiveness). However, in our study of the attitude toward the job not in general but at the specific work places, wages assumed a leading position in terms of significance to workers in such brigades among the various aspects of labor activities. In such collectives wages are quite high, for 54.1 percent of the workers earn in excess of 180 rubles. Under such circumstances, a situation may develop in which self-management is aimed not at upgrading work efficiency or identifying production reserves (20 percent of the workers in this group of brigades admitted their unwillingness to upgrade their labor productivity, fearing a revision of norms and rates), but at preserving the existing wage level and habitual working conditions. Although we lack sufficient data to confirm this hypothesis, in our view this is an entirely admissible assumption. Therefore, the economic effectiveness of the development of self-management greatly depends on the conditions under which the collective works and its objectives and tasks. Hence the purely practical conclusion that the process of development of self-management should be not spontaneous but directed toward the solution of basic production problems.

Nearly half of the workers in the brigades showing an optimal combination of high-level production-economic efficiency and development of brigade self-management we studied--45.8 percent--were in the age group of peak labor efficiency, i.e., they were between the ages of 31 and 45; 34.6 percent were young people under 30 and nearly one-half were women; about 60 percent had completed their secondary education and two-thirds had worked in the same shop for more than 6 years. Therefore, such brigades consist essentially of people in the middle and young age groups with extensive labor seniority and sufficiently high education standards. Organizationally, a characteristic feature of such brigades is a clear concept of the end results of their labor and independent distribution of wages within the collective, based on the KTU. This leads to the conclusion that the creation of collectives consisting exclusively of young people would be inexpedient.

Satisfaction with the new work methods was the highest in brigades with the highest production-economic efficiency and highest level of self-management: 62.3 percent (only 9.7 percent of the respondents were dissatisfied). Formalism in the establishment of brigades was noted by the least number of people in these collectives (17.4 percent of the respondents, compared with 26.3 percent for the entire selection, said that nothing in their situation had changed after converting to the new method). One-half of the members of such collectives claimed that their work had become more varied after converting to the BFOT [brigade form of labor organization] (the highest figure for the indicator compared with the other brigade types). Let us point out that there are no reasons whatsoever to consider that such collectives work under better conditions. In such brigades the percentage of people dissatisfied with the condition of the equipment, the work rhythm and hygiene coincided with the average. The members of such collectives are better satisfied with aspects of

their activities, such as the nature of their jobs and the possibility of applying their knowledge and upgrading their skills. On the socioeconomic level, such brigades are characterized by a high degree of unity (90 percent of the workers consider relations with their brigade fellow workers satisfactory and 84.3 percent consider their relations with the brigade leader satisfactory). Mutual aid is developed in such brigades. Conflicts are infrequent and caused by production problems. Most workers consider their collectives as united.

In our study we considered brigade activities from the viewpoint of their efficiency in three interrelated areas: production-economic, social and sociopsychological. Production-economic efficiency was determined according to the following indicators: high labor productivity, high quality of output (work), raw material, material, energy, etc., economy, stability of the collective and absence of labor discipline violations. The social efficiency criteria included the increased skills of the workers and higher wages, reduced amount of overtime and actual participation of the workers in production management. The sociopsychological efficiency indicators were greater interest shown by brigade members in the affair of the entire collective, feeling of responsibility for the results of their own activities, high level of satisfaction with their jobs and a good sociopsychological climate in the collective.

It is entirely obvious that such indicators are closely interrelated and that their classification into economic, social and sociopsychological is quite arbitrary. In the opinion of both the administration and the workers, the use of the brigade organization positively influences aspects of labor activities, such as labor productivity, work quality, labor discipline, responsibility for assignments, interest in the life of the collective and work initiative. A significant percentage of the respondents claimed that their work became more varied, interesting and complex subsequent to the adoption of the brigade method. The majority of respondents were satisfied with their work. The new labor organization positively influences the stability of collectives as well. Potential worker turnover established on the basis of a study conducted at a Leningrad enterprise in 1980 was 27 percent. Two years later, the figure had dropped to 15 percent for the same enterprise and shops. The only major new development in the interval between the two studies was, precisely, the active introduction of the brigade organization of labor in these shops.

A number of unresolved problems were identified in the course of the study. They may be reduced to two basic aspects, typical of the majority of enterprises: first, the rather slow reorganization of the management system in terms of the new conditions; second, the existence of elements of formalism in this work. The latter circumstance was noted by the shop managers themselves: 41.3 percent of the surveyed members of the administration believed that at their enterprise "the introduction of the brigade organization of labor is a necessary matter but that the management is approaching it formally, essentially concerned with increasing the number of brigades rather than improving their quality."

The first stage in the development of the new form of labor, in which the number of established collectives was considered the main criterion of successful work, is coming to an end. Now economic and social results are expected of the brigades, which will require extensive and painstaking work by all enterprise services.

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FOOTNOTES

1. The study covered nine machine-building enterprises in eight cities. The blanket survey method covered 1,684 workers in 211 brigades and 329 members of shop managements.
2. Indicators of internal labor productivity reserves were rated as follows: 5--the brigade is working at maximal strength and cannot increase labor productivity; 4--the brigade works productively and a slight 5-10 percent increase in labor productivity is possible; 3--the brigade can increase its labor productivity by approximately 25 percent; 2--the brigade can increase its labor productivity by one-half; 1--the brigade can double its labor productivity.

Output (work) quality indicators were rated as follows: 5--no production flaws in brigade work; 4--rare flaws (one or two per quarter); 3--approximately one to two monthly; 2--one weekly; 2--two or three weekly. Grades 5 and 4 were given the combined rating of good quality; 2 and 1--poor quality; 3--average quality.

Raw material, material and energy conservation was rated as follows; 5--no losses in the brigade; 4--efficient work with occasional losses; 3--average number of losses; 2--significant losses; 1--high losses.

Labor discipline indicators: 5--no labor discipline violations; 4--about one every quarter; 3--about one monthly; 2--two-three times monthly; 1--one or more weekly. Ratings 5 and 4 were combined as indicating good discipline; 2 and 1--poor; 3--average.

3. If a brigade would total 12 or more points but would have a rating of under 3 points for even a single indicator, i.e., it would be rated unsatisfactorily, it would be classified in the low efficiency group.
4. The brigade failed to exercise even a single one of its rights--no self-management; exercise of one or two rights: below-average self-management; three-four rights: average; five-six rights: above average; the self-management level was rated high in the exercise of seven or more items of the Regulation on the Brigade.

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CSO: 1806/26

INFLUENCE OF PSYCHOLOGICAL CLIMATE ON LABOR ACTIVENESS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84
(signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 64-69

[Article by A. N. Komozin: "Labor Conditions and Interpersonality Relations in the Production Collective." Aleksandr Nikolayevich Komozin is a candidate of philosophical sciences, senior scientific associate at the scientific research department of the Higher School of the Trade Union Movement imeni N. M. Shvernik and specialist in labor sociology. He is the author of the article: "Worker Evaluation of Various Aspects of the Brigade Method" published in our journal (No 3, 1982)]

[Text] The problem of the nature and influence of the sociopsychological climate of the collective on worker labor activeness is usually resolved with the help of a binomial study method: "Interpersonality Relations (Psychological Climate, Unity)--Labor Activeness." Differences in objective production conditions (content, nature, forms of organization and payment for labor, etc.) are not considered and an effort is made to determine the "pure" influence of sociopsychological factors.

In our view, this method makes a comparison among results of individual studies impossible. For example, a study made by V. G. Valentinova indicated that under identical labor conditions and similar professional-skill and education structures in brigades in which comradely relations have developed we note high and steadily increasing labor productivity indicators. The opposite prevails in brigades whose members are divided. Such disparities averaged 40 percent (2). According to Ye. S. Kuz'min, in a united collective the number of people who would like to be transferred does not usually exceed 10 percent; wherever no such relations have developed, the average is 80 percent or higher (3). The results of V. A. Palitsyn's study show that in brigades with a higher level of interrelationships average norm fulfillment is 10-12 percent higher compared with brigades with a low interrelationship level. In individual cases, such disparities may amount to 50-100 percent (4).

Therefore, a close dependency has been established by the researchers between relations within the brigade and the labor activeness of its members. What remains unclear, however, is the reason for the development of interrelationships themselves, their development level and their qualitative characteristics, the more so since close interrelationships could also encourage antisocial activeness.

In our view, a trinomial system would resolve the problem more efficiently: "production conditions--interpersonality relations--labor activeness." This presumes the establishment of a correlation among sociopsychological factors, worker labor activeness and specific production conditions. The advantage of the trinomial system is not limited to the fact that it makes a comparison among results of individual studies possible. In this case we implement the important theoretical-methodological principle of "introducing within each specific study (regardless of whether or not we are studying processes in a small group or individual behavior and activities) the so-called social context or, in other words, methods for the study of the extent to which a separate phenomenon is included within a broader social system" (5).

According to the logic of binomial system, disparities in the labor activeness of brigades may be explained regardless of objective conditions: seemingly superficial yet actually most meaningful social and personality characteristics of the members of the collective are excluded. It is natural, therefore, that with this approach the development of interrelationships is explained above all in terms of the personal qualities of individuals (i.e., qualities unrelated to basic production activities); no distinction is made between the concept of "personality" and "personal"; the qualities of the personality are identified with the nonproduction interests, needs and orientations of the worker.

The interpretation of the personality as the personal factor is based on a concept according to which relations within a production organization may be classified on the basis of the dichotomy principle into "formal" and "informal." In this case we are actually pitting against each other objectives, values and standards related to "business" and "personal" contacts; the latter are taken outside the boundaries of the main activity for the purpose of which the labor collective has been set up.

The trinomial study system relates the development of sociopsychological factors and labor activity to the improvement of socioeconomic conditions which are not considered as external and formal but which provide a real, a tangible foundation for subjective relations among people. K. Marx described the world of human labor in the steadily renewed act of its reproduction as a "human psychology expressed through our senses" (1). In our view, the forms of labor organization and incentive, labor conditions and the content of the production process have a sociopsychological, a personality meaning. This, however, does not mean that the forms of behavior and way of thinking of individuals are absolutely given. A great deal depends on the degree of mastery and internalizing of objectives, values and standards which are objectively present in specific types of production. In a certain sense, we can speak of the characteristics of socioproduction roles, bearing in mind that a role always grants the actor a certain freedom of action (6). The level of labor activeness of workers working under identical production conditions may be different. However, such differences do not go beyond the limits of the "range of possibilities," drawn up on the basis of specific objective factors.

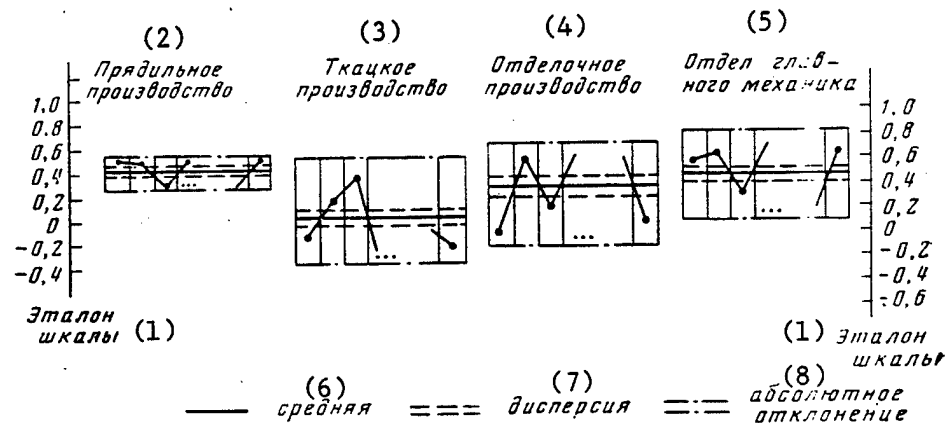


Fig. 1. Range of variations in the fulfillment of output norm indicators (variations in the values for individual PPK [primary production collectives] indicated for each type of production).

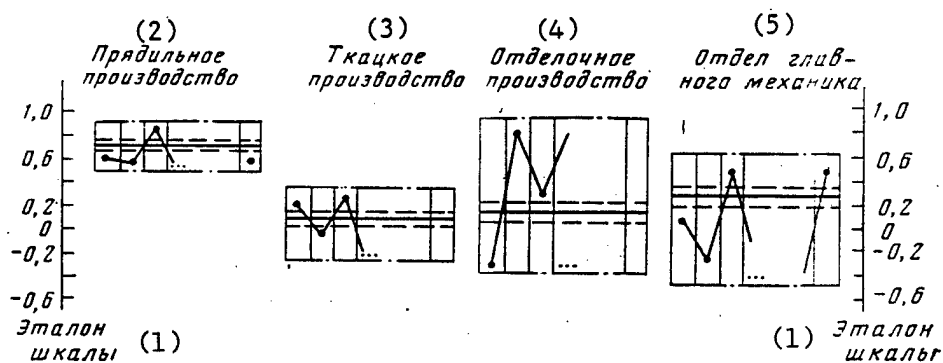


Fig. 2. Range of variations in assessing unity within a collective (variations in the values of individual PPK indicated within each type of production; the symbols are the same as in Fig. 1).

Key:

- | | |
|-------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Scale standard | 5. Chief Mechanic Department |
| 2. Spinning | 6. Average |
| 3. Weaving | 7. Variance |
| 4. Finishing | 8. Absolute Deviation |

A special method for the study of empirical data was developed for the trinomial system. The Trekhgornaya Manufaktura Textile Combine in Moscow¹ was taken as the basic research target. The combine has four production facilities: spinning, weaving, finishing and machine workshops of the chief

mechanic's department (OGM). The types of output are characterized not only by a relative organizational autonomy but also by identical labor content, nature and conditions, i.e., by the "third term" of the suggested system.

Table 1--Range of Variations in the "Satisfaction With the Work Indicator,"
-1 -- +1 Scale Rating

<u>Production Type</u>	<u>Average</u>	<u>Variance</u>	<u>Maximum</u>	<u>Minimum</u>	<u>Absolute Deviation</u>
Spinning	0.74	0.01	0.87	0.65	0.22
Weaving	0.23	0.03	0.45	-0.02	0.47
Finishing	0.27	0.12	1.00	-0.45	1.45
OGM	0.56	0.04	0.86	0.12	0.74

Table 2--Range of Variation of the "Output Norm Fulfillment" Indicator,
-1 -- +1 Scale Rating

<u>Production Type</u>	<u>Average</u>	<u>Variance</u>	<u>Maximum</u>	<u>Minimum</u>	<u>Absolute Deviation</u>
Spinning	0.37	0.006	0.45	0.27	0.18
Weaving	0.06	0.079	0.50	-0.40	0.90
Finishing	0.23	0.044	0.64	-0.12	0.76
OGM	0.36	0.050	0.71	0.01	0.70

Table 3--Range of Variations of the "Unity Within the Collective" Indicator,
-1 -- +1 Scale Rating

<u>Production Type</u>	<u>Average</u>	<u>Variance</u>	<u>Maximum</u>	<u>Minimum</u>	<u>Absolute Deviation</u>
Spinning	0.67	0.04	0.86	0.41	0.45
Weaving	0.05	0.03	0.33	-0.23	0.60
Finishing	0.14	0.13	1.00	-0.46	1.46
OGM	0.33	0.09	0.67	-0.50	1.17

The computation of the average values, variances and absolute deviations² indicated that the features which characterize unity and labor activity within primary collectives form quite compact variance ranges for each type of production facility in the combine (see Figs. 1, 2). It was established that for two types of production (spinning, weaving), different in terms of nature, content and organization of labor, the compactness prerequisite³ was met for a number of features even including the absolute deviation (see Tables 1-3). This means that in the spinning facility not one primary production collective had labor activeness and interpersonality relation indicators lower than in any of the collectives engaged in weaving. Therefore, spinning led to higher labor activeness and better interpersonality relations compared to weaving.

Labor conditions, rhythm and organization in the former were better than in the latter. Differences in labor activeness between them cannot be explained in terms of differences in the sociodemographic characteristics of the workers, for they were quite similar from this viewpoint (see Table 4). Spinning workers rate their labor conditions higher than do the weavers. This affected interpersonality relations and attitude toward the work, which were better in spinning.

Table 4--Sociodemographic Characteristics of Surveyed Workers
at the Four Production Areas in the Combine

<u>Production Type</u>	<u>Age (Years)</u>	<u>Education (Years of Schooling)</u>	<u>Qualification (Grade)*</u>	<u>Length of Work (Years)</u>	<u>Wage (Rubles per Month)</u>
Spinning	35.7	8.2	5.1	13.6	142.2
Weaving	33.6	8.4	5.3	12.0	132.5
Finishing	35.9	8.0	4.5	13.2	120.0
OGM	40.7	8.0	5.1	15.2	136.6

* In this case skills do not match grades entirely, for the average was computed as follows: 1) work without grade; 2) apprentice; 3) first grade, and so on.

The range of feature variations clearly proves the possibilities provided by sociopsychological factors within the primary collectives in developing the labor activeness of the workers. Whereas the objective conditions within a given type of production provide a statistically general standard, within it the labor activeness of individual primary collectives is determined by the influence of some internal factors. As the study indicated, the labor activeness level was partially influence by the sociodemographic characteristics of the individual collectives, such as the average worker age, length of work, level of education, etc. (for example, youth brigades are more frequently found in the lower part of the respective indicator variation ranges). However, sociodemographic parameters alone do not explain variations in the indicators of output norms, satisfaction with the job, skill, etc. In some cases worker brigades of higher average age and length of work were less active and united than brigades made up of less experienced people. Labor activeness indicators are more consistent with interrelationship indicators in brigades than with sociodemographic characteristics of primary collectives.⁴

Although the level of worker labor activeness may increase under the influence of sociopsychological factors, and does so quite substantially in some cases, as a whole, such changes are of a limited nature, for the sociopsychological factors themselves are influenced by objective circumstances. From the viewpoint of managerial practice this means that psychological methods of influence cannot radically change the situation in a collective unless they are supported by improved labor conditions and wage systems.

If we bear in mind that high-level interrelationships are combined with high-level labor activeness, the qualitative influence of material collective-

shaping factors on the psychological climate becomes obvious. Said factors unite the collective by contributing to improved interrelationships and by shaping their specific trend of development.

The fact that the frequency, periodicity and length of contacts at work, based on the technological aspect of the nature of the work, are a direct prerequisite for the shaping of interpersonality relations but that the extent of their influence on the collective's unity should not be overestimated should be considered an essential feature. In this case the nature of the production process plays a determining role. However, the dependency between the socioeconomic development of the production collective and the status of psychological relations do not mean their full coincidence. A collective with developed interrelationships based on a conscientious attitude toward labor can successfully surmount objective difficulties (shortcomings in labor organization, etc.), demonstrating a so-called above-norm activeness, i.e., an activeness higher than its statistical average under specific socioeconomic conditions. The determining role of the latter is manifested both in the fact that they influence labor activeness to a greater extent than interrelationships within the collective, but also that such relations themselves depend on production conditions. The main source of sociopsychological factors depends not on the frequency of contacts among people but on the efficient organization of the production process, the use of progressive labor incentive methods and improvements in worker working and living conditions.

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FOOTNOTES

1. The study was made in 1975-1977 by a group for the study of social problems of labor collectives of the USSR Academy of Sciences ISI [Institute of Sociological Research] with the participation of this author. The survey covered about 1,000 workers from 56 primary collectives (brigades, sectors) of the combine's basic production facilities. The values obtained for each collective covered 38 features characterizing the various aspects of interpersonal relations and labor activeness and satisfaction with labor conditions, organization and wages and sociodemographic composition. Although a great deal has changed in the combine in recent years, a technical reconstruction has taken place and the labor organization has improved significantly, the basic trends determined as a result of the study remain. A second survey was made of the combine's workers and of weavers and spinners in textile enterprises in Moscow and Rostov oblasts (263 people) to refine assessments of production activities.
2. The calculations were made with a computer at the Computer Center of the USSR Academy of Sciences ISI, under the supervision of Candidate of Philosophical Sciences V. A. Malakhov.
3. A shifting of the ranges of variances relative to each other was a prerequisite for adequate compactness. The lower limit of each range was set above the upper limit of the next.
4. For results of the correlation and regression study see (7).

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CSO: 1806/26

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT DYNAMICS INDICATORS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84
(signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 70-75

[Article by S. N. Zhelezko: "Dynamics of Social Development Indicators."
Sergey Nikolayevich Zhelezko is a candidate of economic sciences and head of sector at the Institute of Economic Problems of the Comprehensive Development of the National Economy in Moscow. He is the author of the monograph "Sotsial'no-Demograficheskiye Problemy v Zone BAM" [Sociodemographic Problems in the BAM [Baykal-Amur Mainline] Zone] (1980). He is the author of several articles published in our journal (No 3, 1976; No 1, 1980; No 1, 1981; and No 3, 1982)]

[Text] Assessing the level of social development in a sector as a system of labor collectives is an important component in social planning. The normative approach is usually used in the practical solution of this problem, although it is not free from shortcomings. In particular, the sectorial and territorial differentiation of conditions and nature of population activities require the development of "local" standards. However, the method used in determining them is hardly perfect. This lowers the efficiency of social development plans.

In this article a method is suggested for structuring a situational or dynamic standard which will enable us to assess with sufficient accuracy the level of social development in one economic sector or labor collective or another.

Each social development indicators is described with the help of two statistical parameters: average value ($\bar{K}$) and the average quadratic deviation (β). The classification of enterprises by value of computed coefficients for each social indicator changes in accordance with the level of sectorial development. In other words, the higher the value for $\bar{K}$ is, the closer the classification of enterprises is to the normal. Let us use as an example the diminishing curves of enterprise classifications of Glavmosgortrans [Main Moscow City Transport Administration] based on the level of worker labor discipline. The nature of the classification and its changes in time may be interpreted as follows. The limited nature of resources at the disposal of the sector determine the evolutionary nature of social change. As we know, the overall law of evolutionary development of any set (in this case enterprises within the sector) is manifested in the growth of variety and, consequently, the variance in its characteristics. If the acquired feature

contributes to the functioning and development of the system, as a rule it develops and the number of members of the set possessing this feature increases. That is why at the early development states the distribution of enterprise sets based on social characteristics is in the nature of a hyperbole or similar to Poisson's distribution.. The consolidation and development of the social features in the group of enterprises leads to a modification in the distribution, for the largest number of enterprises show minimal and maximal values for the social indicator. Most enterprises hold an intermediary position (a distribution with a strongly manifested right asymmetry). The development of the enterprise group based on the social indicator is paralleled by the increased mean value of the group indicators (Fig. 1).

Such trends are clearly manifested in other social areas as well such as, for example, in the study of the population's education level (Fig. 2). Its increase is paralleled by changes in the nature of the distribution (from a hyperbole to an asymmetric normal).

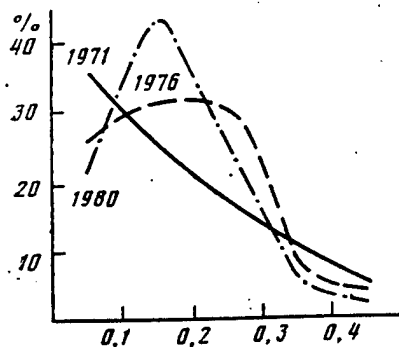


Fig. 1. Distribution of enterprises according to the value of the labor discipline indicator.

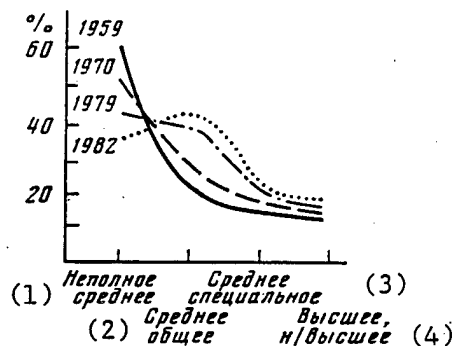


Fig. 2. Distribution of the USSR population by level of education (1).
1--incomplete secondary; 2--secondary general; 3--secondary specialized; 4--higher, incomplete higher.

The study of the value figures in their dynamics, conducted for a Moscow economic sector revealed three types of enterprise distribution: hyperbolic, right asymmetric from the normal and close to the normal (3). Obviously, a similar pattern is characteristic of the national economic management standard.

Indicators with a distribution close to the hyperbole indicate the "early" stage of development of the social feature studied. Indicators with a distribution with a right asymmetry from the normal characterize a higher level of development of the object. The distribution of enterprises close to the normal indicates an average level. As the social subsystem develops, the distribution for all indicators will be as follows: (1) at the early development stages, the nature of the distribution resembles the hyperbole or the clearly expressed right asymmetry; (2) with an average development level, the distribution is close to normal; (3) with a high level of social development,

the distribution is with a left asymmetry from the normal and within the range of the converse (negative) hyperbole.*

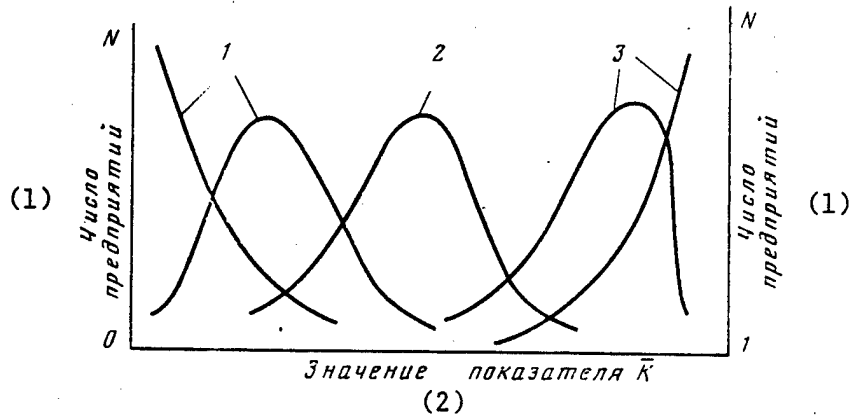


Fig. 3. Types of enterprise distribution according to the social development level. 1--Number of enterprises; 2--value of $\bar{K}$ indicator.

This trend is quite general. However, this does not exclude deviations in which at one stage or another distribution becomes more complex. If a sector reaches a high standard for any indicator, i.e., if the distribution of enterprises based on this indicator is in the nature of a negative hyperbole, this does not indicate that the limit (boundary) of social development in this direction has been reached. It merely proves that the indicator no longer adequately reflects social development and must be replaced.

The graphic recording of the distribution of enterprises by each plan indicator enables us to convert from a qualitative assessment to a quantitative description of trends and rates of social development of the production system on the basis of a rather simple statistical method. A comparison of data on social changes and production outlays over a 5-year period presumes the formulation of time and resource standards. In other words, a real possibility is created of assessing the effectiveness of the entire social development plan and of individual measures. The creation of an algorithm (a method) for such an assessment will enable us to formulate for the planned period the main objectives of social development and, assigning them priority, to concentrate efforts and resources on their implementation.

The social indicators operate as comprehensive targets of purposeful activities: some act as the formulation of objectives (assignments); others again, as a means of achieving or realizing the target; third, as results. The targets, the means and the results achieved in the area of social policy are, as a rule, real phenomena (material and ideal) of social reality (2).

* The possibility of introducing a formal criterion in assessing the level of sectorial social development is determined by the fact that each computed indicator is a relative (dimensionless) value which changes within the 0-1 range.

The social development indicators form a system based on the observance of the following conditions: (1) each indicator describes a separate aspect (feature, quality) of the social object--the labor collective, the overall sectorial worker, or the population employed in the city's economy; (2) the sum total of indicators provides a complete description of the social project, i.e., provides an overall concept of the project; (3) the indicators reflect the principle of "emergence" in the transition from one level to another (such as individual to a group, a group to a collective, a collective to the overall manpower in the sector, etc.); (4) each indicator acts as a criterion and a yardstick of changes in the social object and, consequently, must be presented as the structure of the social object based on one ground or another; (5) systems analysis of functioning and development of the national economy, the sector and the enterprise and their social subsystems is the ground for the determination of the structure which reflects the characteristic (quality) of the social object; (6) each plan indicator is a target in the development of the social subsystem at the respective management level, expressed quantitatively.

The observance of these stipulations enables us to describe the social development of the object with the help of a small number of plan indicators (3). This is a very important circumstance, for the current stage in the development of the national economy is characterized by the further development of the autonomy of labor collectives and the enhancement of their role in resolving production and socioeconomic problems. However, the increased autonomy of the collective is inconceivable without reducing the number of plan indicators issued "from above."

In addition to plan, computation and analytical indicators exist as well. These three groups are closely interrelated. We know that the mechanisms, determinants and indicators of the social development of the individual, the collective and the sector do not coincide and that social changes in the collective, not to mention the national economy, may not be reduced to a simple sum of personality changes. This circumstance is frequently ignored. Researchers, who analyze the social development of a sector, approach such processes with a yardstick based on the mechanisms and laws of individual or, at best, group development. In other words, one level of social organization is replaced by another. For example, in analyzing the sociopolitical activity of workers in a sector, they frequently proceed from the fact that the corresponding indicator should reflect subjective-personality characteristics as well. On the sectorial level, however, it would be more appropriate to use the characteristics of group or mass consciousness.

Those characteristics which describe the condition of the subject (employed urban population) are the natural results of its development. The target indicators, consequently, act as the desired result. In that sense, the indicators of the development target of the employed population may be considered not as reflecting the course of the process and the laws governing its development but as the consequence, the result of all occurring changes. We must bear in mind that the indicators which describe the objectives of the development of the social object do not identify the mechanisms of social processes or explain intrasystemic development laws. On the one hand, the

target indicators reflect social development trends; on the other, they are "centers" in which the interests of the different population groups become interwoven. The labor collective of the enterprise (organization) is the unit of observation in the elaboration of a system of development indicators of the employed population. The plan for the social development of the urban economy is not the simple sum of similar sectorial plans and the latter are not the sum of the plans for the social development of subordinate enterprises. The basic methodical difference among national economic, sectorial and enterprise plans is, in our view, the fact that the system of indicators of the social development of the employed population is more aggregated. Frequently it is based on data characterizing the features of all labor collectives within the sector or the basic sociodemographic worker groups.

A similar situation prevails in terms of the indicators of sectorial and enterprise social development. They are a more detailed characterization of the development targets of the labor collective. Their elaboration is based on the data on the primary collective or the individual workers. Therefore, the computation method and level of details of indicators in the plans for the social development of the national economy, the sectors and the enterprises will differ, although the structure and function of the plans and the methodical principles governing their formulation will remain common.

The basic development target of the employed population will be achieved to the extent to which the leading and individual subtargets have been reached. The social development of the city's economy is reflected in the improved professional-skill structures of the employed urban population and its distribution according to labor conditions, level of material income, cultural-consumer living conditions, sociopolitical activeness and other quality characteristics. Each subtarget must correspond to one or several aggregate indicators. The plan indicator indicates the structure of the employed population, which is the top of the pyramid, the base of which consists of analytical indicators: indicators of primary statistical accountability data and data from sociological research.

Let us now digress. As a rule, the indicators used by demographers, statisticians, economists and sociologists are based on data which characterize one population feature or another but take fully into consideration the institutional structure which exists objectively and has a real impact on its reproduction process.

Another large group which performs a research function exists in addition to the three groups of indicators we listed. No rigid demarcation exists or could exist among them and, to a certain extent, their classification is arbitrary. However, occasionally we find in scientific publications indicators which cannot change their functional affiliation. Consequently, the number of social development indicators for the consolidated social section may reach several hundred. This explains the need for generalized indicators of the sociodemographic development of the employed population, which reflect the institutional structure of the subject. Indicators based on direct computations are convenient for research purposes, for they describe the condition of the subject in its "pure" aspect.

This approach (let us arbitrarily describe it as analytical, unlike the normative, balance, etc.) enables us to formulate in its general aspect the trend of social development of the sector for each indicator, based not only on external guidelines and norms but, above all, on intrasectorial development patterns.

The trend and guidelines of sectorial social development, based on intrasectorial factors, could be described in statistical terms. The official guideline for the early development stages of the social feature (hyperbolic or right asymmetrical distribution) is the following: toward the end of the planned period, the mode (M_0) in the distribution of enterprises based on this indicator should tend toward the average ($\bar{K}$) of the same distribution during the base year, i.e., $M_0 \rightarrow \bar{K}^1$. For distributions close to the normal, the guideline is the following condition: preservation or a certain increase in the value of $\bar{K}$ with a trend of the mean quadratic deviation (β) toward zero. For a high level of development of the social characteristic of the sector (left distribution asymmetry) the guideline may be described as follows: $\bar{K} \rightarrow M_0$ with $\beta \rightarrow 0$.

Let us consider the order of assessment of the general development trend of the sector with the following example. Let us assume that during the first year of the planned period the mean value of one of the target indicators equals $\bar{K}_1$ with a value of the mean quadratic deviation β_1 . At the end of the planned period this indicator will assume the value $\bar{K}_2$ and β_2 . In this case, if $\bar{K}_1 < \bar{K}_2$ with $\beta_1 > \beta_2$, the criterion of "equality" for this indicator has been observed. In the case of other correlations for $\bar{K}$ and β within the planned period, we can speak of a partial, mixed and nonharmonious development. Finally, when $\bar{K}_1 > \bar{K}_2$ and $\beta_1 < \beta_2$, a process of "negative" or dead-end development is taking place, characterized by a lowering of the mean value of the indicator with an increase in disparities among sectorial enterprise collectives.

Let us emphasize that the relations $\bar{K}_2/\bar{K}_1$ and β_1/β_2 have no dimensionality and can be used to compare the social development rates of the various urban economic sectors for each separate indicator. In other words, this procedure used in formulating indicators of sectorial social development enables us to use it on the national economic management level. In this case, we can assess the actual condition, rates and proportions of social development of the individual sectors within the plan period on the basis of this statistical apparatus and the interests of the workers in individual enterprises and the entire population employed in the urban economy.

Naturally, the equal development of all indicators within the sector is impossible. Therefore, the group of social targets to which preference is given will include indicators whose positive influence on production efficiency will be the highest.

The increased complexity of the production process, higher educational and professional standards of the employed population and the general growth of the living standard have entailed changes in the role which labor plays in the workers' value system. A certain range of requirements develops in the population in terms of the application of their work, public production, manpower

utilization conditions, etc. This, however, is not always taken into consideration by the planning authorities.

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CSO: 1806/26

NONPRODUCTION INFRASTRUCTURE OF A REGIONAL CENTER

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84
(signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 75-81

[Article by I. M. Ayzinova and V. V. Patsiorkovskiy: "The Nonproduction Infrastructure of a Regional Center." The authors are associates at the USSR Academy of Sciences Central Economic-Mathematical Institute. Irina Mayevna Ayzinova is a candidate of economic sciences and junior scientific associate. She is specializing in economic-statistical methods of national economic analysis. This is her first article in our journal. Valeriy Valentinovich Patsiorkovskiy is a candidate of philosophical sciences and head of laboratory. He is a specialist in socioeconomic studies of the way of life and living standard. He is the author of several articles and reviews published in our journal (No 1, 1982; No 2, 1983; No 2, 1984 and others)]

[Text] The creation of identical conditions for access to sociocultural benefits and services for all urban and rural population groups is a major sociopolitical task. Its implementation, as was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, can be ensured by equalizing social disparities on the territorial level (1).

In addition to harnessing intensive factors of economic growth and improving distribution relations, the solution of this problem is closely related "to population concentration, intensifying production, cultural and other relations among different population centers and utilizing the high socioeconomic potential of large settlements in the development of small inhabited areas" (2, p 18). Improving planning and developing the social infrastructure--the set of conditions which contribute to the comprehensive satisfaction of the various needs of the Soviet people--should be subordinated to these objectives.

The importance of creating a developed social infrastructure increases because of its special role and specific functions within the overall system of production forces and production relations. As an element of the material base of developed socialism, it ensures conditions for the efficient functioning and further development of the production process.

In ensuring various aspects of human activities, the infrastructure must be based on the essential sociodemographic characteristics of the population (as indices of the level of development of sociocultural requirements attained by

society) and the existing settlement system which noticeably influences living conditions. It must combine sectorial with territorial aspects. As the sum of the individual units servicing the various types of human activities (transportation, health care, consumer services, culture, etc.), the social infrastructure includes all economic-production features inherent in any national economic sector (capital assets, employment structure, etc.). It also has a specific comprehensive integral function: combining the servicing of the individual aspects of human activities within a single entity. The process of meeting the social and personal needs of the population for services, provided by the institutions within the social infrastructure, takes place, as a rule, within the framework of a specific territorial unit. The decisive disparities in its development are manifested above all on the territorial level. That is why we agree with the opinion that "the existing territorial differentiation in the living conditions of the people is determined to a decisive extent by factors related to the economic development of the territory. Insufficient attention paid to the solution of regional social problems, manifested above all in lagging housing construction and shaping the other elements of the social infrastructure, frequently becomes a factor which restrains not only the development but also the utilization of the already acquired production potential" (3).

Disparities in living conditions and, consequently, in the indicators of the standard and way of life of the two basic population groups (urban and rural) are particularly substantial in terms of services offered by specialized institutions within the social infrastructure, which are urban in nature. This includes VUZes and secondary specialized schools, specialized hospitals, polyclinics and other health care institutions; theaters, museums, central libraries, concert and exhibition halls and large sports facilities. They come in hundreds of varieties and their overall number exceeds several thousands. The trend of both features is one of steady growth, which is another reason for considering as relevant the consideration of the distribution of such institutions, the procedure through which their networks are established, etc. Said institutions are of regional significance consistent with the radius of services, the nature of the audience and the level of attendance. They are the first of the three large groups of organizations within the social infrastructure. The second group includes organizations the purpose of which is to meet the sociocultural needs of the population in residential areas, in their homes or in the vicinity of their homes. This includes small stores, consumer service enterprises, preschool institutions, general education schools, medical care offices, pensioners' clubs, various types of amateur and sports cooperative associations, recreation groups, etc. Such forms of sociocultural services (with the exception of schools and preschool institutions) have not been properly developed as yet for a variety of reasons. The third group includes establishments of rayon (city) significance, such as polyclinics, hospitals, trade, public catering and consumer service enterprises, public libraries, movie theaters, city and departmental houses of culture, clubs, etc.

In our view, planning the development of the networks of these three groups of institutions within the infrastructure has its specific features and should take place on different management levels. This would enable us to consider

problems of improving the planning, development and even distribution of the network of specialized institutions within the first group as a separate research topic.

Although it eliminates the contradiction between town and country, developed socialism leaves substantial differences between them. One of them is that the urban and rural systems determine the existence of two basic types of socialist way of life. Both forms of settlement and the systems which exist on their basis have their advantages and shortcomings. Progress toward more advanced forms of settlements presumes the appearance of new forms as well. At the present stage of social development, the trend of progress in this direction cannot be concretized. It is important to improve the existing settlement system, to develop and strengthen the positive features of both urban and rural ways of life and to improve the population's living conditions in all republics and parts of the country.

At the same time, production concentration in urban areas leads to the fact that they remain the focal center of many functions of social life directed not only toward their own development but the development of economic and cultural life in adjacent territories.

The formulation of corresponding integral indicators and their regular computation by statistical agencies and the purposeful planning of measures related to equalizing social territorial disparities on the regional, urban above all, scale ensure relatively equal living standard and way of life for all urban and rural population groups.

A high degree of development of the social infrastructure presumes a sufficiently mature urban environment. Its development requires considerable capital investments and intensive utilization of social spiritual and creative resources. The last two factors have a restrictive influence on the possibility of creating corresponding institutions not only in rural areas but in small and even middle-sized settlements.

In a developed socialist society the creation of relatively equal conditions for activity and the harmonious and creative development of every member of society presumes the development of a network of regional centers of statewide importance with a well-developed social infrastructure aimed on a planning-normative basis, at servicing the urban and rural population of the entire area, i.e., of all cities and other settlements within a conurbation system.

To specialists in economic geography, urban construction and regional planning, the region is a territorial community identified on the basis of the "city-environs" characteristic. "A regional 'city-environ'-type system applies to a system consisting of an urban-type center and its surroundings, united through a pendulum-type migration system. It is based on a settlement and population structure in which the central city has political, economic and cultural priority. The basic function of this settlement type is to meet specific requirements related to work, housing, education, procurements, recreation and organization of leisure time, with a view to providing a socialist way of life to its population" (2, p 183).

For our purposes, this definition should be expanded with characteristics which will enable us to combine the scale of population consumer activities and spatial accessibility of specialized cultural institutions and a definition of the boundaries of one region or another. Understandably, a region based on permanent work relations is substantially different from a region singled out on the basis of permanent sociocultural relations.

As S. S. Shatalin points out, the "region" concept characterizes a specific socioeconomic organization, the structure of which "should ensure the enhanced efficiency of the utilization of social consumption funds and the development of the social and production infrastructures...." (4).

The region is an administrative-territorial community characterized by a uniform relatively highly developed production, transportation and social infrastructure and well-organized permanent labor and sociocultural population connections. In the final account, the existence of a regional type of settlement system and its boundaries are determined by the regularity of most complex and least pressing sociocultural ties and, consequently, by temporal and spatial accessibility of specialized social infrastructure institutions.

In our estimates, already today the sociocultural accessibility zone surrounding many very large cities (regional centers of unionwide importance) has a 250-300-kilometer radius. The development of a network of regional centers leads to the fact that their areas and, therefore, regional boundaries begin to interlap, thus contributing to the creation of a unified settlement system and favorable conditions for accessible sociocultural benefits and services.

In singling out the socioeconomic meaning of the "region" concept, let us point out that a settlement system quite different from the regional system characterizes a number of parts of the country. Therefore, the planned establishment of regional social and cultural centers with a view to their even territorial distribution (based on economic factors and the existing settlement system) is one of the promising means of equalizing territorial social disparities, making cultural benefits accessible and guaranteeing relatively equal opportunities for their utilization.

Naturally, the solution of many topical problems of social development of small and medium-sized cities and villages involves more than expanding and restructuring the work of their institutions. It is related to an even greater extent to the creation of a network of services within the regional centers and a single road-transportation and social infrastructure for both towns and villages. This presumes the elaboration of conceptual systems which will enable us not only to gain a better understanding of the laws governing the shaping of regional capitals and their mature urban environment¹ but also the elaboration of a system of corresponding indicators.

Since many of the disparities in living conditions (nature of housing, level of consumer services, opportunities for cultural recreation, time spent in household chores) are determined by the place of residence, the "town-village" point of view should be applied in the system of indicators formulated with

a view to improving social planning. This approach is based on the need to resolve the most important social problem: the gradual elimination of disparities between town and country.

Such gradation, however, proves to be insufficient in the study of existing territorial disparities in the standard and way of life of the population, above all in terms of the use of the services offered by medical, secondary specialized and higher training institutions, sports facilities, museums, philharmonic orchestras and other institutions, which, as we pointed out, are urban in nature. Furthermore, their availability is characteristic only of cities which have reached a certain development level. In other words, a consolidated grouping of the "town-village" variety equalizes territorial disparities related to the processes which shape a mature urban environment.

The existing methodology is one of determining indicators of development of the social infrastructure essentially in terms of the absolute number of individual indicators combined on the union level. The consumer is by no means indifferent to what lies behind the plan figure, for the results of planning in this area are a direct part of his activities and are reflected in one of the items of outlays (or income) of his monetary and leisure-time budgets. Furthermore, the influence of the level of development and accessibility of institutions within the social infrastructure is initially manifested strictly on the territorial level and only after the plan indicator has been reached can its size be computed for the individual population groups on the basis of social characteristics. Within the territorial unit, the conditions which govern the use of various social benefits and services are unaffected by social disparities which, however, experience the influence of these conditions.

Studies made by the department on living standard problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences TsEMI [Central Economic Mathematical Institute] and by other organizations (5-7) indicate that at the current level of development of the social infrastructure it is the largest cities, with a population exceeding 500,000, which perform the function of national centers. According to our computations, only one-fifth of 141 cities (8) considered base population centers in 1980, was ready to play the role of sociocultural centers of unionwide significance. Yet, in the existing settlement system, many other large and even some medium-sized cities actually play the role of base centers, for which reason their sociocultural potential should be enhanced significantly (7).

Furthermore, the density of the urban network and the territorial distribution of cities in the USSR are such that the need to build new cities, including large regional centers of national significance, will remain for many years into the future. That is precisely why an economical urban construction policy should include both a rejection of any wasteful establishment of new cities in areas with a developed urban network and an orientation toward the creation of large cities as required by societal economic and social interests.

For example, it would hardly be justified to plan the development of Tynda as a medium-sized city and other cities in the area of the Baykal-Amur Mainline

as railroad station settlements. It is no accident that they have already outgrown all planned developments. This must be emphasized in connection with this fact that Chita and Ulan-Ude--the existing regional centers in Eastern Siberia--are lagging in their planned development, for which reason they are poorly prepared for playing the role of sociocultural capitals of a rapidly developing region. It is hardly justified that such very large regional centers as Khabarovsk, Vladivostok, Tyumen, Nizhniy Tagil, Novokuznetsk and Arkhangelsk still have an insufficiently developed network of sociocultural services consistent with their position in the settlement system and the country's economic life.

Computations covering more than 100 of the largest cities in the RSFSR indicate that by 1980 the RSFSR had 10 sociocultural centers of union significance (Moscow, Leningrad, Novosibirsk, Saratov, Gorkiy, Sverdlovsk, Kazan, Rostov-na-Donu, Barnaul and Kuybyshev²).

A potential which, in terms of variety and attractiveness is approaching the potential of all-union centers, is developing within the second group consisting of 14 cities (Omsk, Irkutsk, Voronezh, Ufa, Izhevsk, Cheboksary, Chelyabinsk, Krasnoyarsk, Perm, Tula, Volgograd, Ordzhonikidze, Kemerovo and Krasnodar). The potential of the cities within this group has reached 60-75 percent of its maximum. The population of said cities and adjacent areas enjoys relatively equal living conditions covering a sufficiently wide range of sociocultural services.

The task of equalizing social disparities on the territorial level presumes the elaboration of a related planning system, uniform for all territorial levels. This will enable us to combine plan indicators for inclusion in a consolidated section of the State Plan for Economic and Social Development and the "coordination of the sectorial plan with the plan for the economic and social development of cities and rayons" (9).

The adoption of said approach, which will help to convert the multistructural nonproduction area into a comprehensive planning target is related to the following factors:

Ensuring a purposeful and continuing growth of consumption as a base for upgrading the standard and quality of life and the development and advancement of the socialist way of life. Subordinating the development of the national economy to resolving problems related to the enhancement of the general well-being calls for abandoning the "production concept," which makes the volume and structure of final consumption dependent on autonomous sectorial plans. The rejection of said concept will open the way to financing sectors in the nonproduction area and the entire social infrastructure in accordance with developing needs and consumer demand (10). It is only on this basis that the social development of a territory and equalizing social disparities on the territorial level may be considered a target function in the socioeconomic development of society;

The formulation of indicators characterizing the procedure governing the shaping of sociocultural population requirements and their role in the entire

consumer complex. This means that along with changes in the size of the population, planning the network of institutions within the social infrastructure should take into consideration the population's sociodemographic structure, income, housing conditions and level and popularity of consumption habits;

The formulation of indicators characterizing the prevalence, role and significance of various institutions within the social infrastructure. It is entirely clear, for example, that the network of cultural institutions should be developed in accordance with the attained standard of cultural needs while, at the same time, stimulating their development. In this case, we should bear in mind that some institutions are interchangeable while others are not in shaping and satisfying sociocultural requirements;

Establishing the level of maturity of the environment in the various territorial communities (urban above all) by computing the respective integral indicators (including the indicators of the scientific-educational, sociocultural, cultural-entertainment and other potentials);

Measuring the area covered by and the sociocultural attractiveness of the various towns and regions;

Identifying the individual cities which could and do perform the functions of social and cultural centers of all-union (national) significance. In order for such towns to become targets of planning on the central level, they must be considered separately within the state plan for economic and social development (the overall level attained by the USSR and the annual and five-year plans;

The formulation of socioeconomic standards governing the consumption of various benefits and services by the main sociodemographic population groups and standards for ensuring the population of the individual territorial communities with services by institutions within the social infrastructure, concentrated in centers of national importance.

The solution of such problems will enable us to control the results of the planned influence on the functioning of the network of sociocultural services and to combine them with the activities of the population in the consumption area and to contribute to the overall improvement in the living conditions of the Soviet people.

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FOOTNOTES

1. For more details see (5).
2. Here and subsequently, the cities are listed by order of diminishing potential. The cultural-entertainment potential of a city is determined by calculating the share of each of the 11 types of cultural institutions (legitimate theater, puppet theater, concert hall, circus, etc.) in 100-percent terms. Cities accounting for 76-100 percent of the cultural-entertainment potential (5) are classified as cultural centers of national significance.

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CSO: 1806/26

WORKER ATTITUDE TO WORKING TIME

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84
(signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 98-103

[Article by V. D. Patrushev and L. A. Razmolova: "Attitude to Working Time in Production Collectives." Vasiliy Dmitriyevich Patrushev is a doctor of economic sciences, professor and head of the time budget sector at the USSR Academy of Sciences ISI [Institute of Sociological Research]. He is the author of the following monographs: "Vremya kak Ekonomicheskaya Kategoriya" [Time as an Economic Category] (1966) and "Ispol'zovaniye Sovokupnogo Vremeni Obshchestva" [Utilization of Overall Societal Time] (1978). He is one of the authors and the editor of the monographs "Byudzheth Vremeni Gorodskogo Naseleniya" [The Urban Population's Time Budget] (1971) and "Byudzheth Vremeni Sel'skogo Naseleniya" [The Rural Population's Time Budget] (1981). He is the author of a number of articles published in our journal, including "Satisfaction With Leisure Time as a Social Indicator" (No 1, 1979), "Method for the Study of the Time Budget of Working People" (No 1, 1980), "Basic Results and Tasks in the Study of Time Budgets in the USSR" (No 3, 1981) and "Time Indicators in Socioeconomic Development Plans" (No 2, 1982). Lyubov' Arkad'yevna Razmolova is a postgraduate student at the USSR Academy of Sciences ISI. This is her first publication in our journal]

[Text] Important steps have been taken in our country in recent years to improve the organization of labor and production, as a result of which planning and production discipline has been strengthened significantly. However, the utilization of working time, which is one of the social factors in upgrading labor productivity, cannot be considered satisfactory so far. Idling and intrashift losses and inefficient utilization of working time have not been eliminated as yet and cases of work absenteeism without legitimate reasons are frequent.

The attitude to working time is a real social phenomenon. Here we must distinguish between the normative (or "verbal") attitude, based on socially accepted concepts, and the factual attitude. Ideally, the two should coincide, thus ensuring the maximally full utilization of working time at each work place, enterprise and establishment and in society at large. Achieving this point is a lengthy process. For the time being, a disparity exists between the normative and the actual attitude to working time. How to reduce it and what should be done to improve the utilization of each working minute were the problems we tried to clarify in the course of our studies.

In the study of this problem it is important to have a uniform assessment which would reflect the level of the attitude to the working time. The index used in the qualitative determination of this indicator, based on the logical square system, was computed with the formula:

$$W_{\text{total}} = \frac{(-2)N_1 + (-1)N_2 + 1N_3 + 2N_4}{\sum_{i=1}^4 N_i},$$

in which N_i is the number of workers within the "i" cell of the logical square.

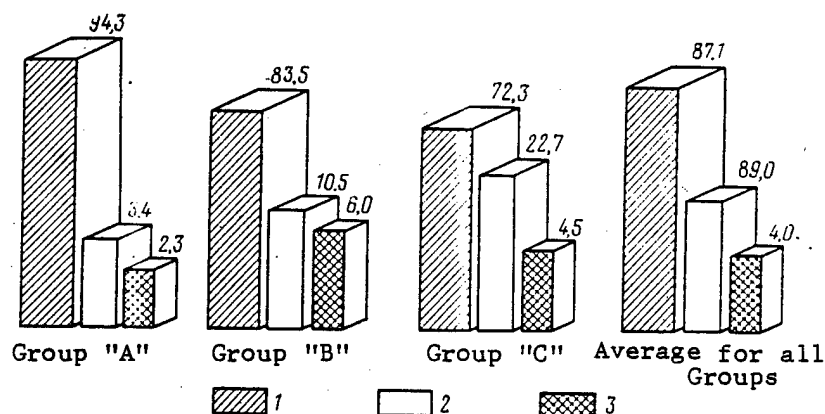
The surveyed workers were divided into three groups, conventionally identified as group "A," "B" and "C," with a view to determining differences in the attitude toward working time. Group "C" consisted of workers who failed to meet their output norms or met them below the general level (the range of this interval was the average-shop indicators for a given skill, plus-minus 5 percent); workers who had committed a variety of labor discipline infractions over the past year; and workers who had not participated in efforts to improve technology and labor organization at the shop or the enterprise. Group "B" consisted of workers who fulfilled and overfulfilled their output norms within the range of the general fulfillment of norms for a specific skill in the shop but who did not participate in efforts to improve technology and organize production and labor. Group "A" workers were distinguished from the others by their display of initiative in improving production technology and labor organization.

The research method called for comparing subjective with objective information on the actual situation. Worker statements were compared with the statements made by experts and managers, whose duties kept them well-informed on the way every respondent used his working time. Furthermore, studies were made of corresponding statistical data.

Before we undertake the direct analysis of the result of the study, let us consider the meaning of the "normative attitude to working time." We already pointed out that it is based on socially accepted concepts which, in a socialist society, are developed since school age. The main prerequisite in shaping such concepts is the awareness that with the elimination of the private ownership of means of production labor becomes work for oneself and one's own society, for which reason the more fully and efficiently working time is used the more efficient the production process becomes and, in the final account, the more the well-being of the entire people is enhanced. The ideal, the "desired" model of the normative attitude to working time presumes steady improvement in its utilization by the workers and their aspiration to surmount negative phenomena such as intrashift losses and absenteeism. In turn, managers must be principle-minded and exigent in resolving such problems. They must seek new means to improve the work in this direction.

The political education activities of party, trade union and Komsomol organizations is directed toward developing a truly socialist attitude to working time. In accordance with the party's resolutions, including that of the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, a number of socioeconomic steps have been taken in this area.

The study indicated that tangible successes have been achieved in developing a normative attitude to working time: society's views have been accepted approvingly by the majority of working people. This is confirmed by the answers given to the question of moral responsibility for the use of working time. As the diagram shows, 87.1 percent of the surveyed workers at the Kirov Nonferrous Metal Processing Plant, said that every member of the collective felt morally responsible not only for the way he used his working time but for the use of the working time of the others as well; 8.9 percent of the respondents answered that the worker should be responsible for himself only and no more than 4.0 percent answered that this question did not affect them, for the use of the working time was the concern of management. Let us note, incidentally, that similar answers were obtained in a survey of sovkhos workers in Moscow Oblast. It is true that among the sovkhos workers the percentage of those who shared the viewpoint that it was the duty of the individual worker to feel moral responsibility for the work of his collective was somewhat lower--73.2 percent. However, we should bear in mind that this study took place almost 10 years ago (1). As to the acceptance of the normative concepts of the members of the groups, certain differences were found here: thus, whereas in group "A" the former opinion was supported by 94.3 percent of the workers, in groups "B" and "C" the same indicators dropped to 83.5 and 72.8 percent, respectively.



Worker views on working time use, %. (1) A worker should feel morally responsible for the use of his working time and the working time of his fellow workers; (2) the worker should be responsible only for the use of his own working time; (3) the worker should not feel morally responsible for the use of his own working time, not to mention the working time of his fellow workers for this is management's concern.

Differences were revealed in the perception of "normative" concepts concerning the use of the working time and also according to the level of education of the respondents. It may have seemed that the higher this level, the higher should the level of perception of normative concepts be. The data, however, confirm an inverse relationship: whereas the first opinion was expressed by 89.0 percent of workers with unfinished secondary and primary education, it was 85.9 percent among workers with general secondary education and 87.5 percent among workers with unfinished higher and higher education. This fact is explained above all in terms of the so-called secondary dependency: the share of young people, whose opinion, as we know, is characterized by a desire for independence and independent judgment, is higher among workers with a higher educational level. This is confirmed by a study of views on the utilization of working time by members of different age groups. Among young workers under 25 (their share of the entire group of surveyed workers was quite significant and their educational level was higher compared to older workers), 80.8 percent in that age group believe that every member of the collective is morally responsible for the use of his own working time and the time of the others; the figure for workers 50 years old and older was 95.6 percent.

Steps Taken by Workers To Improve the Utilization of Working Time,
Based on the Concept of the Attitude to the Use of Working Time, %

Worker Views on Attitude to Use of Working Time

	Every Worker Must Feel Morally Responsible for the Use of His and His Fellow Workers' Working Time	The Worker Must Feel Morally Responsible for the Use of His Own Working Time Only	The Worker Must Not Feel Morally Responsible for the Use of His Working Time, Not To Mention That of His Fellow Workers. This Is Not His Affair
No real action taken	54.2	62.9	66.6
Spoke at worker meetings	17.4	7.5	8.3
Turned to foreman or shop chief	21.2	29.6	25.1
Turned to enter- prise management	0.4	--	--
Turned to party and Komsomol organizations	4.9	--	--
Wrote in the press	1.9	--	--

How are these concepts reflected in the behavior of the workers? Unfortunately, we have no data on the correlation between the most important objective indicator--the utilization of the working time--and the sex, age, education and other sociodemographic characteristics of the workers. Statistical data

provide no more than an averaged figure. Let us point out above all that significant intrashift and full-day losses and inefficient use of working time are still found in industry, occasionally totaling from 13 to 20 percent of the entire working time (2). Furthermore, in recent decades we have been unable to reduce them (3). In RSFSR industry, for example, the coefficient of the possible utilization of the full daily amount of working time declined by 0.7 percent over the past 20 years (since 1960) (4).

The clearest indicator of attitude to working time is the frequency of truancy. Compared with 1960, in 1980 respective figures per worker in RSFSR industry have increased by a factor of more than 1.5. At the enterprise we surveyed, about 26 percent of the respondents had committed labor discipline violations during the past year.

The actual efforts made by the workers to improve the utilization of working time are another indicator of the implementation of normative concepts. Such actions reflect the active or passive life stance of the people.

We tried to determine the nature of the specific steps taken by the members of the collective to improve the use of their working time. The data in the table show the following: some 60 percent of the respondents had done nothing to improve the situation; approximately 24 percent had discussed this matter with the foreman or shop chief, and from 7.5 to 17.0 percent had addressed worker meetings. In other words, a passive stance predominates at the enterprise we surveyed and a clear gap exists between accepted concepts and actual worker efforts. We took this circumstance into consideration in computing the indicator of the actual attitude to working time.

The level of worker labor discipline and extent of initiative aimed at improving the utilization of the working time were included in the characteristics needed for the elaboration of the logical square. As a result, the following types were singled out: I. Undisciplined and noninitiative-minded workers (32 people); II. Disciplined but noninitiative-minded workers (31 people); III. Undisciplined but initiative-minded workers (127); IV. Disciplined and initiative-minded workers (110). Each type was rated according to a corresponding scale, as follows: first, (-2); second, (-1); third, (+1) and fourth, (+2). Then, based on the number of workers in the individual groups, we computed the general average indicator of attitude to working time at the enterprise.

$$W_{\text{total}} = \frac{(-2)32 + (-1)31 + (1)127 + (2)110}{300} = +0.84.$$

Apparently, the same situation is characteristic of other enterprises throughout the country as well. Although the average indicator is positive, the number of undisciplined and noninitiative-minded workers remains sufficiently high, as confirmed by data on substantial losses of full-day (also caused by truancy) and intrashift use of working time.

Another question which was of interest to us was the development trend in the attitude of the members of the collective to working time. To this effect, it

was suggested to the experts to compare the present situation with the situation noted approximately 15 years ago. The majority view was that the situation had not changed. Only between 20 and 30 percent of the experts noted that today the workers are less tolerant of truancy and intrashift time losses. About 70 percent indicated that they considered it very important for the workers to use their working time fully and efficiently. Yet, asked "do you consider admissible the use of the working time by the workers for other purposes unrelated to their main occupation?" approximately 50 percent of the experts and 60 percent of direct managers answered that they saw nothing bad in this providing that the assignment had been met.

Therefore, the study of the resulting data leads to the following conclusions: first, efforts must be made to enhance the level of normative attitude to working time and its utilization, particularly among young people; second, the actual attitude to working time must be improved and the efforts to achieve its more efficient utilization must be energized; third, gaps between words and actions in the attitude to working time must be surmounted.

Steps contributing to upgrading the interest (economic, administrative and moral) of workers and managers in the maximal utilization of each working minute could play a major role in resolving such problems. We must begin by establishing a direct correlation between the level of utilization of the working time and the wage size. The set of measures to be implemented should provide conditions under which the labor collective with reduced cases of truancy and intrashift losses would find itself in a more advantageous economic position compared to collectives which make less effective use of their working time. Although all of this would require many changes in the economic mechanism, such as improving the recording of working time, streamlining labor norming, reviewing wage rates, etc., the expediency of such steps is unquestionable.

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FOOTNOTE

1. The survey of the workers was made in 1983 at the Kirov Nonferrous Metal Processing Plant, one of the leading enterprises in the sector. The multiple-stage selective method was used. The selective total covered 58.8 percent of basic production workers. Also surveyed were 52 enterprise managers and 47 experts. The latter included leading personnel in the plan-economic administration and the wage and cadre administration of the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy and USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems, heads of labor and wages departments of individual enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy and all-union production associations of the USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems, shop chiefs at the Pavlodar Aluminum Plant imeni 50-Letiya SSSR, and shop chiefs, foremen, brigade leaders, shop trade union bureau chairmen and party bureau secretaries at the Kirov Nonferrous Metal Processing Plant.

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5003

CSO: 1806/26

QUALITY OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL PERSONNEL WORK

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84
(signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 103-108

[Article by A. L. Merson: "Quality of Scientific and Technical Worker Labor." Anna L'vovna Merson is a candidate of economic sciences and senior scientific associate at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Socioeconomic Problems. She is the author of scientific works on labor economics and sociology. She is the author of the article "Comprehensive Assessment of Engineer Labor Efficiency" published in our journal (No 1, 1983, coauthored)]

[Text] The study of the social factors of intensification of scientific work becomes particularly significant in connection with the introduction of the new wage systems for ITR [engineering and technical workers] and reductions in such personnel in a number of organizations. Because of wage equalizations and the steady increase in the number of scientific cadres, their certification was frequently formal and used as a base for actual penalties or incentives in exceptional cases only. Today, as a result of the reduced number of such workers and their increased volume of work, wage fund savings could be used (taking the opinion of the labor collective into consideration) to give wage supplements and bonuses. The objective assessment of the individual contribution of such personnel is also needed in making decisions relative to reducing the staff. In many NPO [scientific-production associations] and NII [scientific-research institutes] such decisions are made by brigade councils.

The social factors related to personality and relations in the labor collective play a particular role in upgrading the efficiency of scientific and technical work. The mechanism applied in controlling such factors in NII and KB [design bureaus] is particularly complex, for a number of essential personality features (original thinking, persistence, ability to work, etc.) are not directly related to length of training and work practice but based on ability and the moral-psychological and creative climate in the collective. Furthermore, these factors are influenced by decline in the prestige of engineering work and shortcomings in wages, which are independent of the individual collectives (ways to eliminate them are currently being investigated through large-scale experimentation). The concept of work quality control is based on modeling ties among components and factors which influence work quality. We have classified as quality components: (1) timely implementation of assignments; (2) quality and submission of scientific and technical documentation without subsequent claims; (3) scale of application and number of applied

developments; (4) effect of applied developments related, in particular, to conservation of material and fuel-energy resources and release of manpower; (5) scientific and technical standard of developments, determined by the number of scientific publications, reports, authorship invention certificates and foreign patents; (6) economical use of materials and efficient utilization of equipment in research and development. We made an attempt to sum up these six components in order to obtain a consolidated indicator of ITR work quality, using the invariant rating method (1).

The following were the most important work quality factors we singled out: (1) the associates' labor potential, in which we singled out components based on features such as sex, age and social origin, related to the acquisition of knowledge and labor skills (education, scientific degree, production experience, increased qualifications) and determined by the social psychological structure of the individual (value orientations and attitude toward labor, satisfaction with specialty and the job, and creative capability; (2) labor organization and incentive (particular attention was paid to the correlation between individual and collective forms of labor organization and extent of centralization of scientific and technical services and efficiency of the working time structure); (3) content of the work, related to the position held and the correlation between ordinary and creative operations; (4) moral-psychological climate, social status and intensiveness of professional relations among workers within the labor collective. As a pilot study indicated, improving the organization, incentive and meaningfulness of the work were the most dynamic factors subject to relatively fast changes.

The study covered seven sectorial scientific research institutions and scientific production associations in Leningrad. It was conducted in 1981-1982 (N = 1,500 people). In addition to the study of data provided by the direct manager and the respondents, we assessed indicators of work quality, level, factors and trends of potential cadre dynamics and the extent of dissemination and efficient application of the various forms of management and incentive for high work quality. We determined the relative level of work quality indicators for various position and professional-skill groups and different institutes. This enabled us to establish the closeness of ties among work factors and quality indicators and the value of the individual factors in said groups. We studied the level of information relative to subsystems, elements, criteria and forms of incentive used within comprehensive work quality control systems and the interest of the personnel in the implementation of assignments.

Timely implementation of assignments is one of the important work quality indicators of all ITR categories. According to the study, 11-29 percent of the respondents meet their assignments on time or ahead of time; the highest percentage (25-29 percent) was among ITR in scientific and technical subunits; the lowest percentage was that of ITR employed in other administrative subunits and among chief specialists.

Systematic violations of plan deadlines are frequently compensated by overtime. Among the respondents, overtime is used by 55 percent of scientific associates and senior engineers, 31-39 percent of chief designers and

87 percent of chief specialists. The interconnection between the amount of overtime and the position held is quite substantial ($C = 0.47$)* This indicates the uneven load borne by such personnel in the various job groups, shortcomings in determining the size of the staff and poor labor organization.

Let us note that the timely implementation of assignments has a greater influence on the judgment of the manager regarding the professional competence and feeling of responsibility of the worker compared to the delivery of the work without claims and efficiency. Thus, the closeness of the connection between assessing efficiency and implementation of assignment on time equaled 0.491, which is higher than the closeness of ties between any other pair of parameters we studied. This confirms the subjective nature of management rating, for the quality and efficiency of developments lead, in the final account, to higher end results compared to the strict observance of assignment deadlines as issued by managers.

The most important among the factors which influence the implementation of assignments on time (see Table 1) are the personal qualities of the worker, his overall professional efficiency ($C = 0.491$), feeling of responsibility ($C = 0.448$), adequate professional knowledge and skills ($C = 0.387$) and independence at work ($C = 0.379$).

The study proved that significant ties existed between the timely implementation of assignments and labor organization parameters such as clear definition of the obligations of the associates, existence of autonomous work sectors, availability of standards and personal creative plans. Improving the content of labor has a particularly strong influence on meeting implementation deadlines. Thus, among personnel to which nonstandard solutions are typical, the number of assignments fulfilled ahead of time was 80 percent higher. Specialized brigades proved to be the most efficient among the various forms of labor organization from the viewpoint of implementation deadlines. Fifty-eight percent of their members fulfilled their assignments on time, compared with no more than 24 percent with an individual organization of labor. The level of skill proved to be even more important, for 66 percent of the workers who had upgraded their professional standards over the past 2 years met their assignments on time.

The technical standard and faultless documentation submitted by specialists are of great importance. This component is closely related to the work potential of the associate and his qualities. As Table 1 shows, the coefficient of the closeness of ties between the technical standard of documentations and characteristics, such as independence in the work, adequacy of professional knowledge and skills and responsibility and overall professional efficiency ranges between 0.492 and 0.548. Managers consult three times more frequently associates whose developments maintain an excellent technical standard compared to those who submit substandard work (31.2 and 10.5 percent respectively). Such associates defend their viewpoint in conflict situations much more frequently (51.3 and 28.6 percent) and their advice is sought by the majority (78 percent) of their colleagues.

* C--Pierson's coefficient.

Table 1--Value of Factors Influencing Work Quality
(Closeness of Ties Based on Pierson's Coefficient)

	Quality Components				
	No Claims	Number and Effective- ness of Applications	Comple- tion on Time	Quality and Scientific & Technical Standard of Developments	Participa- tion in the Appli- cation of Developments
Plan fulfillment					
bonus	0.126	0.183	0.163	0.185	0.206
Efficiency bonus	0.186	0.189	0.137	0.186	0.191
Average wage	0.188	0.240	0.138	0.203	0.356
Availability of official instructions	0.127	--	--	0.132	0.130
Centralization of scientific and technical services	0.168	0.147	--	0.126	0.223
Intensiveness of contacts with managers	0.161	--	0.182	0.248	0.115
Labor seniority	0.152	0.150	0.201	0.249	--
Autonomy	0.333	--	0.379	0.492	0.337
Adequacy of profes- sional knowledge and skills	0.325	0.177	0.387	0.504	0.336
Responsibility	0.303	0.222	0.448	0.542	0.455
General professional efficiency	0.319	0.272	0.491	0.548	0.378
Clearly defined obligations	0.206	--	0.139	0.238	0.258
Existence of an autonomous sector	0.257	0.168	0.170	0.292	0.436
Existence of standards	0.172	--	0.113	0.194	0.127
Consideration of implementation of personal creative plans	0.170	0.151	0.210	0.217	0.258
High percentage of nonstandard solutions	0.333	0.188	0.254	0.308	0.393
Substantiation of normative deadlines	0.185	--	--	0.127	--
Implementation of work consistent with qualification	0.316	0.139	0.269	0.318	0.218
Education	0.144	0.166	0.117	0.284	--

Let us point out that a selection based on survey data does not make it possible to single out associates with a higher work quality potential. The connection between this component and education is minimal and no connection at all exists between it and the scientific degree, social origin and sex of the worker.

As Table 1 shows, organizational factors affect more tangibly the quality and scientific and technical standard of developments compared with other components (other than participation in application). The following play a particular role in this connection: implementation of assignments consistent with qualification ($C = 0.318$), content of labor ($C = 0.308$), existence of an independent sector ($C = 0.292$) and clear definition of obligations and intensive contacts with managers ($C = 0.238$).

The advantages of collective forms of work are unquestionable from the viewpoint of quality of developments; 80.6 percent of the associates whose work quality was rated excellent are members of specialized or comprehensive brigades while 35 percent of substandard quality projects come from people working by themselves.

A close tie between delivery of faultless documentation and satisfaction with the nature of the work was characteristic: as such satisfaction increased, the number of people who submitted faultless work increased by a factor of 4.5 (from 18 to 82 percent).

The study confirmed the objectivity of the evaluation of the worker by his immediate superiors in the course of the certification. The greatest closeness of ties (0.32-0.34) was noted between faultless work and the expert evaluation of qualities such as independence in implementation of assignments and adequate professional knowledge and skills.

One of the most important labor quality indicators of ITR is their participation in technical creativity. Whereas to ordinary workers this is an additional form of labor activeness, to ITR it is a necessary work component. Yet at Leningrad machine-building enterprises 57 to 59 percent of rank-and-file ITR do not participate in technical creativity. This group accounts for 10.8 percent of inventions whereas shop ITR and technologists account for no more than 3.5 percent (see Table 2).

The study of the creative activeness indicators proved that many of the traditional concepts were not confirmed. Thus, no connection was established between the level of education and inventions and rationalization suggestions of specialists: personnel with a secondary specialized training were as good as VUZ graduates in this respect. No connection was traced between the existence of a scientific degree and the number of inventions, rationalization suggestions and publications (for the past 2 years). The suggestion that with the existing wage system the creative activeness of the worker drops significantly after the dissertation has been defended and the salary has been raised was confirmed.

Table 2--Significant Indicators of the Closeness of Ties (Pearson's Coefficient) Between the Level of Creative Activeness and Factors Which Influence It Among Personnel of Sectorial NII and NPO

Factors Influencing Creative Activeness	Creative Activity Indicators					
	Publications	Reports	Inventions	Organizational Suggestions	Topic Suggestions	Unplanned Work
Education	0.205	0.268	--	---	0.134	0.209
Scientific degree	--	0.178	--	--	0.130	0.120
Labor seniority	0.264	0.132	0.144	0.225	0.173	0.182
Sex	--	0.179	--	0.200	---	0.120
Age	0.196	0.141	0.122	0.175	0.169	0.126
Same social status as spouse	0.153	0.179	--	0.144	--	0.166
Centralization of scientific and technical services	0.183	0.238	--	--	0.122	0.260
Job meaningfulness	--	0.193	--	0.130	--	0.154
Regulation of rights and obligations	0.162	0.201	--	0.122	0.213	--
Consistency between job and skill	0.205	--	--	0.116	--	--
Professional work outside the regulation work day	0.211	0.199	0.107	0.120	0.120	0.326
Personal qualities	0.125-0.207	0.120-0.820	--	0.104-0.137	0.118-0.132	--
Effectiveness of developments	0.180	0.252	0.154	0.116	--	0.134
General professional effectiveness	0.153	0.194	0.153	0.121	--	0.144
Satisfaction with specialty	0.144	0.212	0.102	--	--	0.180
Participation in production conflicts	0.192	0.132	0.167	0.133	0.182	0.168

persistence and professional duty. A connection was established between the indicators of the worker's creative activeness and his participation in production conflicts. Personnel with the highest creative activeness indicators are more frequently involved in conflicts related to accelerating the experimental testing of their suggestions, obtaining permission for out-of-town assignments, establishing the number of coauthors of inventions, publications and reports, etc.

Many works on philosophy and political economy include objections to the introduction of organizational standards, official instructions and norms governing labor intensiveness and length of scientific activities, for the reason that they allegedly conflict with the creative nature of scientific work. We believe that the industrial methods of labor organization are efficient in sectorial science. The indicators of closeness of ties given in Table 2 were expanded with direct comparisons among groups of workers in different levels of creative activeness based on the form of organization of their work. Thus, nearly 91 percent of personnel with more than five published works over the past 2 years worked in independent sectors; 87 percent had clearly defined rights and obligations, 87 percent worked on the basis of their personal creative plans, 84 percent had been issued organizational standards and more than 40 percent performed no more than their direct duties.

The study enabled us to bring to light factors with the help of which the most efficient management of creative activeness could be achieved. In addition to improving the content and forms of organization of the work, this included a system for upgrading skills, providing information on scientific-creative and production problems and organizing the competition.

A model for a generalized assessment, which could be used in the certification of designers and technologists, was developed on the basis of the factorial study of the quality of labor of scientific and engineering and technical workers by the USSR Academy of Sciences ISEP [Socioeconomic Problems Institute].

Therefore, the study of primary accountability and sociological research data, made periodically on the basis of a standard program, enables us to make a reasonably objective evaluation of the components of the qualities of scientific labor and the factors which influence their change. An objective quantitative assessment and the closeness of ties among factors and the components of qualities and efficiency of labor becomes possible. A consolidated evaluation of the quality of the work of individual associates and its value to the organization become entirely realistic as well. Such sociological indicators may be used in the certification of the personnel, structuring a differentiated wage system, formulating models for cadre placement and promotion and developing a comprehensive system for labor quality and efficiency control.

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DEVELOPMENT OF VALUE ORIENTATIONS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84
(signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 108-118

[Article by V. I. Paniotto: "Formation of Value Orientations in the Process of Interpersonal Intercourse." Vladimir Il'ich Paniotto is a candidate of philosophical sciences and senior scientific associate at the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy. He is the author of the monographs "Struktura Mezhluchnostnykh Otnosheniy. Metodika i Matematicheskiye Metody Issledovaniya" [Structure of Interpersonal Relationships. Method and Mathematical Means of Study] (1975); "Prestizh Professiy i Problemy Sotsial'no-Professional'noy Orientatsii Molodezhi" [Prestige of a Profession and Problems of Socioprofessional Guidance of Youth] (1979, coauthored); and "Kolichestvennyye Metody v Sotsiologicheskikh Issledovaniyakh" [Quantitative Methods in Sociological Research] (1982, coauthored). He has published a number of articles in our journal (No 1, 1980; Nos 1 and 3, 1981 and others)]

[Text] Changes in the value orientations of social groups and strata are caused by several basic mechanisms. One of them involves changes in the structure of personal needs. In considering the question of hierarchical systems of needs, V. A. Yadov notes that "it is commonly accepted to single out within them needs of the primary (lower) level as being psychophysiological or vital, and as loftier, social. The question of a more detailed classification of specifically social needs is debatable" (2). A classification based on the study of the social needs of young people (3) or the one used in the study of labor mobility (4) could be used as examples of the hierarchy of needs.

As material well-being improves, previous personal requirements are satisfied better, triggering the appearance of new ones. This process obeys the law of increased needs (1). Since value orientations, as one of the types of a person's predisposition toward one type of behavior or another, are shaped as a result of a "clash" between needs and situations (Yadov describes this process with the formula N-P-S, in which N stands for need, P for predisposition and S for situation or conditions for activities (2)), it is natural for changes in the structure of personal needs to lead to a restructuring of the person's value orientation system (5).

The growth of material well-being under the conditions of socialist production relations is based on the development of production forces--perfecting technical labor tools and upgrading average worker skills. Therefore, the primary

mechanism of changes in value orientations may be presented as follows: scientific and technical progress--changes in the nature and content of labor--enhancement of professional-skill worker standards--higher wages--saturation of some and updating of other requirements.

This mechanism cannot fully explain the changes which occur in the system of value orientations of different social groups under the influence of scientific and technical progress. This conclusion is confirmed by the results of the sociological study of the influence of the NTR [scientific and technical revolution] on the spiritual world of the Soviet worker (6) (V. Ye. Khmel'ko head of research). In the course of the survey the workers at the Azovstal' Metallurgical Plant (Zhdanov) were divided into two groups of respondents. The members of the first worked in the old rolling shops; the second group worked in the new shop equipped with automated lines. The second group of workers included a significantly higher number of people performing highly skilled work and significantly fewer people were unskilled. The educational level of the second group of workers proved to be higher. Therefore, the two groups were distinguished by characteristics related to the influence of the NTR but were equal in other features (sex, age, social origin, childhood, number of brothers and sisters). Distribution according to income¹ turned out to be similar as well (average monthly per capita income within the family was 84 and 89 rubles for the first and second worker groups). Also equal was the satisfaction of the respondents in both groups with the level of their material well-being (6, p 126). Substantial differences were revealed in comparing the structures of the value orientations of the two groups (6, p 131).² For example, the emotive significance of material well-being in the predisposition structure of the first group (regression coefficient equaling 0.32, i.e., first in the significance rating) was substantially higher than in the second (regression coefficient of 0.20, with fourth and fifth place in the rating), whereas, conversely, the significance of training and education was considered higher by the second group (sixth to ninth place compared to 19th for the first), etc. Since such major disparities cannot be explained by the greater level of satisfaction of the material needs of the second group (the satisfaction levels were equal and the income in this group was only five rubles higher than in the first), we may assume that in this case other mechanisms are at work. They include, above all, the influence exerted by the nature and content of labor on the value structure. More creative and more skilled work brings satisfaction and upgrades the emotional-motivational significance of labor activities; it offers better opportunities for self-realization and for the development of the person's spiritual world. Naturally, all of this substantially influences the motivational structure of personality value orientations. For example, in the study we cited work holds first place in the range of values of the second group (regression coefficient equaling 0.36) and fourth-fifth place in the first (regression coefficient equaling 0.21 and differences on the 1 percent level). On the macrosocial level, this mechanism of changes in value orientations may be described as the following sequence: scientific-technical progress--increased educational-skill worker standard and changed nature and content of labor--changed conditions for self-realization and development of essential human forces--changes in the system of value orientations in social groups.

It is not our intention to provide an exhaustive description of all the mechanisms involved in shaping and amending the value orientations of social communities, for which reason it is entirely possible that other mechanisms as well operate alongside those we mentioned. The purpose of this article is to describe the shaping of value orientations through interpersonality intercourse, which seems to us to be the most effective and universal mechanism. Although the results of the sociological studies described apply to socio-professional orientations, there are reasons to assume that said mechanism is characteristic of other types of value orientations as well.

Indirect data on the nature of the influence of interpersonality relations on individual value orientations were obtained with the help of a number of studies conducted both in our country and abroad. From this viewpoint we find interesting the data obtained by R. Boyle in his survey of 1,636 American high school students (7). Three types of schools were singled out in this study: (1) schools in which the parents of the majority of students were members of the so-called "upper class"; (2) the majority of the parents belonged to the "middle class"; and (3) most of the students were the offspring of the "lower class."³ The education plans of the students were studied on a differentiated basis within the individual schools, on the basis of the four groups of students based on social origin (the difference between this classification and the classification of the children by origin, which was used in classifying the schools, was only that the "middle class" was divided into two subclasses--"upper" and "lower"). It turned out that in the schools with a higher percentage of students from "upper class" families in all groups, based on origin, the percentage of college-oriented students was higher.

This dependency is manifested mostly clearly in the first and second type schools, in comparing the percentage of college-oriented students. College-oriented students accounted for 71 percent among offspring of "upper-class" students in the first type schools and for 48 percent in third type schools; the respective figures for "upper middle class" students were 47 and 32 percent; they were 49 and 26 percent for "low middle-class" students and, finally, 36 and 11 percent for students from "lower-class" families.

This pattern can be explained with the fact that with a higher percentage of "upper class" students in a given school the likelihood of friendly ties among children, whose parents belong to different classes, increases. Since "upper class" offspring are primarily oriented toward continuing their education, this influences the other students through channels of interpersonality relations and increases the percentage of college-oriented students. In order to confirm such an interpretation of the data, E. Campbell and C. Alexander made a special selective study of 30 high school students, which proved that whenever friendship relations were a constant, the connection between the type of school and the percentage of college-oriented students vanished (9).

Interesting data on the interconnection between vocational orientation and the category of friends were obtained by V. A. Matusevich (Table 1).⁴ The table shows that the percentage of people who intend to enroll in a PTU [vocational-technical school] is maximal (compared with other groups in the friendship

categories, i.e., if we look at the columns in the table) among 10th-grade students, whose friends are either attending a PTU or are workers (40.5 and 40.8 percent respectively); the percentage of individuals planning to enroll in a technicum was also maximal among 10th-grade students whose friends are technical school students (29.4 percent); finally, once again the percentage of VUZ-oriented individuals was noteworthy among 10th-grade students whose friends are university students (56.1 percent). Identical results were obtained for eighth-grade students as well.⁵

Table 1--Influence of the Friends' Category on Professional Orientation of 10th-Grade Students From Worker Families

<u>Category</u>	10th-Graders Oriented Toward Further Schooling, %		
	<u>In PTU</u>	<u>In Technicums</u>	<u>In VUZes</u>
High school students	35.0	23.1	41.9
PTU students	40.5	20.0	39.5
Technicum students	33.3	29.4	37.3
University students	21.3	22.6	56.1
Workers	40.8	18.4	40.8
Employees	39.2	27.4	33.3

Although the computations indicate that the coefficient of links among categories of friends and professional orientations are as a whole minor according to the table (Kramer coefficient 0.08, χ^2 equals 13.8, which corresponds to a confidence probability of 0.80), this is related to the "static" created by the asymmetric nature of the table: for example, although some of the friends may be workers, professional orientations do not include the intention to go to work immediately after graduation. The relationship coefficient is lowered significantly also by the "secondary school students" line, for the breakdown of the answers given by this category of respondents coincides with the breakdown of the answers given by all respondents. "Cutting out" in Table 1 a symmetrical table (lines 2, 3 and 4), the Kramer coefficient rises to 0.17 and becomes significant on the fifth level. Furthermore, many differences in the frequencies within the table become significant on the fifth level. Therefore, a substantial connection has been established between categories of friends and value personality orientations (professional in particular).

In itself, however, the existence of such relations does not indicate which of the characteristics are causal or consequential: established interpersonality relations lead to a closeness of professional intentions or else close professional intentions are a factor in choosing one's friends. It is most likely that neither precludes the other. Nevertheless, taking into consideration the fact that a multiplicity of factors influence the development of friendship relations (consequently, it is unlikely that professional intentions play a very great role among them), and bearing in mind the data provided by Boyle, Campbell and Alexander, which allow a single interpretation, we assume that the influence of interpersonality relations on professional intentions are more important than the opposite process. This is equally confirmed by a computation of asymmetric relationship coefficients, such as the Goodman coefficient, the Δ coefficient and the information coefficient equal, respectively, to 0.03, 0.13 and 0.02 in describing the influence of the category of

friends on professional intentions, and 0, 0.07 and 0.01, respectively, in describing the reverse influence (similar data were obtained for eighth-grade students: 0.02; 0.16; 0.01 and 0; 0.07; 0.01).

If we consider the immediate social surroundings of the individual as a multiplicity of small social groups of which the individual is a part, his value orientations may be defined in a first approximation as a function of the predominant value orientations of the members of such groups and the extent to which they influence the individual. Since the latter, who is part of a social group, already has certain orientations, it may be assumed that the value orientation of the individual (using one scale or another in its determination) in terms of a certain target changes in favor of a weighed mean mathematical of the value orientations of the individual himself and the other members of the group and the importance in the sum is proportional to the degree of influence which the other members of the group exert on the individual. The initial stage in modeling the influence of the immediate social surrounding on the shaping of value orientations of the individual is a model based on the assumption that the individual belongs to a single group relatively isolated from others. In our view, the most promising trend in modeling the process of shaping value orientations within a group is the study of the dynamics of its structure.

In characterizing the structure as the sum of elements and relations among them, we single out two classes characteristic of a small group: the characteristics of the elements themselves (the members of the group) and the characteristics of relations among its members (in particular, the structure of interpersonality relations). The development of the structure is the result of the interaction among such characteristics: in the shaping of the group, the characteristics of its members (value orientations in particular) determine the structure of interpersonality relations, which develop on the basis of specific laws and which, in turn, influence changes in the value orientations of the members of this group.

In our view, another promising trend in modeling the dynamics of the structure of small groups includes the following stages: study of the structure of interpersonality relations within the group; study of relation dynamics in a dyad; study of the influence of a third individual on interpersonality relations between two specific individuals; extrapolation of the patterns determined at the previous stage and building a model of the structure of interpersonality relations within the group; and study of the influence of the structure of interpersonality relations on the value orientations of the members of the group.

This enables us to express several assumptions on the nature of the relationship between the structure of interpersonality relations and value orientations among the members of the group (socioprofessional in particular).⁶ We may assume that changes in the value orientations in the individual members of the group are influenced by the other group members. All influence has its specific foundation which consists of a combination of different types of influences (such as influence based on the fact that Y is the superior of X; Y is better informed than X, etc.); the most effective and general is the influence based on interpersonality sympathy (attraction).

The basic assumption is that in the case of any two members of the group, X and Y, the extent to which Y influences X is directly proportional to the degree of sympathy existing between X and Y, and that the extent to which X influences Y is directly proportional to the extent of the sympathy between Y and X. The period of time during which these two members of the group develop a single orientation is inversely proportional to the sum of the sympathy which X feels toward Y and Y feels toward X. If this hypothesis, on which the model is based, is accurate, within a group which has existed for a longer or shorter period of time, the similarity of value orientations shared by any two members should be proportional to the degree of sympathy they feel for each other. It was precisely this consequence of the hypothesis we formulated that we tested.

Therefore, the key variables on which the investigation of the hypothesis was based are the degree of sympathy among members of the group and their value (socioprofessional) orientation. In order to determine the extent of sympathy, we developed a special method which enabled us to determine for any two members of a small social group, i and j , the intensiveness of sympathy s_{ji} which j member of the group felt for i and the intensiveness of sympathy s_{ij} of i for j within the group (11, p 54). The scale used in measuring the sympathy was similar to a scale of intervals (in particular, a measurement unit was used) and the level of sympathy was theoretically rated from 0 to infinity. We must point out that the task of studying the connection between socioprofessional orientation and the intensiveness of interpersonality attractions, even with the use of a scale for determining the latter, is difficult. Its complexity is that the use of the available measures of relations requires a specific organization of initial data. The measures used in determining a relationship between two variables X and Y are determined on the basis of the assumption that both variables have been determined on the basis of a certain multiplicity of objects (selection), i.e., that two vectors exist: $x_1, x_2, \dots, x_n$ and $y_1, y_2, \dots, y_n$, in which x_i is the value of the feature X measured for object i , while y_i is the value of the feature Y measured for the same object i . Depending on the type of scale which was used in measuring variables X and Y, different measures of ties are used (if both scales are nominal, Chuprov's coefficient is used; the rank correlation coefficients are used if they are ordinal, and Pierson's coefficient is used if they are metric). In all cases, however, both characteristics must be measured for the same object. In the majority of cases, in sociology such objects apply to people. The use of this approach in resolving our problem involves the difficulty that the intensiveness of sympathy is not a characteristic of the objects (the school students) themselves but a characteristic of relations between them, i.e., it is the pair of school students which is the object in measuring the intensiveness of sympathy. Consequently, in the study of the dependence between the intensiveness of sympathy and the value orientations of the school student, on which the choice of a profession is based, the sympathy relation must be correlated with a relation based on value orientations.

On this basis, we used the following method in determining this dependency. A study, which included a sociometric survey and a partial determination of prestige and, partially, the attractiveness of a certain set of professions

for the respondents (the prestige and attractiveness of a profession were used as indicators of professional concepts and value orientations) was conducted on the basis of a two-step cluster selection of students in the 10th and eighth grades in Kiev schools. A sympathy intensiveness matrix S was computed for each grade. The element s_{ij} , which was located at the intersection between line i and column j in the matrix was the intensiveness of the sympathy felt by a i member of the group for group member j . We then computed the matrix of closeness of the evaluation of the prestige (or attractiveness) T , the element of which τ_{ij} is the coefficient of rank correlation between the rating of professions by prestige (or attractiveness) by group member i and j . We then computed in the matrixes Pierson's correlation coefficient r , s_{ij} and τ_{ij} , which was the indicator of ties among the variables we sought. In order to measure the prestige (and attractiveness) of professions in the eyes of school students, an envelope was handed out along with the survey form, which included 10 cards listing professions; the student was asked to grade professions according to prestige (or attractiveness). In order to eliminate the influence of a specific choice of profession, we used a separate list for each grade, based on a random selection of 10 out of 40 professions, the prestige and attractiveness of which we had studied in the course of previous research (12). Such previous studies included methodical experiments, the results of which had determined the choice of the method we used to study the prestige and attractiveness of a profession. The data of five representative studies of secondary school seniors in Kiev, conducted between 1971 and 1975 (the position of professions in the lists, evaluation methods and instructions in filling the survey form varied), indicated that the traditional study of prestige and attractiveness--the method of a list of professions--had a number of shortcomings. Another experiment (13) proved that with a small number of objects, the method of direct ranking was equivalent to the most reliable yet labor-intensive method of pair comparisons, which precisely determined our choice of a method for the study of the prestige and attractiveness of various professions.

Let us introduce one more remark on the method of the study. In computing for each grade the sympathy matrix S (s_{ij}) (intensiveness of the sympathy felt by group member i for j) and the matrix of the closeness of ratings of professions T (τ_{ij} --rank correlation coefficients among profession ratings by i and j group members), and subsequently computing the correlation coefficient r between matrixes, we assume a certain inaccuracy related to the fact that matrix S is asymmetric (the element s_{ij} is not mandatorily equal to element s_{ji}), while matrix T is symmetrical ($\tau_{ij} = \tau_{ji}$). Therefore, we convert matrix S into a symmetrical matrix S^* , adding that matrix S to the transposed matrix S^T ($s_{ij}^* = s_{ij} + s_{ji}$).

Furthermore, because of the limited number of sociometric questions we had the opportunity to ask, the overwhelming majority of elements in matrix S (and, consequently, in matrix S^*) equal 0, whereas in matrix T , 0 elements are excluded by virtue of the very logic of its structure. Therefore, we tested the hypothesis through two methods. First, we computed the mean average of the similarity coefficient in prestige evaluations τ_{ij} , corresponding to zero and nonzero elements in the sympathy matrix, thus rating the closeness of prestige ratings for individuals experiencing a feeling of sympathy on any

(even most minimal) level of intensiveness (see the first columns in Table 2). The results are entirely consistent with the hypothesis: the prestige evaluations of individuals who feel a sympathy for one another are closer and the coefficients τ are higher, and differences in all grades were on the 0.01 per cent level (i.e., 0.99 probability).

Secondly, we computed the correlation coefficient r between the corresponding nonzero elements in matrixes S^* and T . The essential meaning of this correlation coefficient may be described as follows: it characterizes the degree of connection between the total intensiveness of the sympathy which any two members in a group feel for one another and the similarity of their prestige ratings or their assessment of the attractiveness of a profession. This tie, however, is defined only for those pairs of members within the group in which at least one person feels for the other a sympathy of a nonzero level of intensiveness.

Therefore, matrixes of sympathy intensiveness and matrixes of rank coefficients of closeness in gradations of professions by secondary school students were computed for each grade; the asymmetric intensiveness sympathy matrix was converted into symmetrical; subsequently, the correlation coefficient r was computed for each grade between the nonzero elements of the matrixes of sympathy and of the coefficients τ (see the data of the last two columns in Table 2).

As we can see, the results in this case were less similar. The coefficient was positive in 18 grades and negative in three. The computation of the indicators of coefficient significance (the last column in Table 2) indicated that 10 coefficients were insignificant on the fifth level, 11 were significant and all significant coefficients were positive. Consequently, as a whole the hypothesis was confirmed. The unanswered question, however, is how to explain the existence of insignificant correlation coefficients. Possibly the connection between the intensiveness of sympathies and the closeness of value orientations is nonlinear; it is also possible that it depends on other characteristics in the structure of interpersonality relations within the grade or on other grade characteristics (unfortunately, we were unable to establish this dependence). Let us merely point out that the contacts of school children are much broader than those within their grade and that changes in value orientations are influenced by mass information media, intercourse with friends outside the grade, intercourse within the family, reading of fiction, etc. All of this partially explains the existence of low correlation coefficients. It would be expedient to test this hypothesis with other types of small groups and for other types of value orientations.

Such data lead to the assumption that interpersonality influences are among the most effective mechanisms in changing value orientations. They ensure, first of all, the transmission of cultural values (and value orientations) between generations in the course of the youth upbringing process; secondly, integration processes and increased closeness among value orientations shared by social groups. Changes in professional-skill structure (14) lead to changes in requirements facing the worker and, consequently, to changes in the system of cadre training, particularly in upgrading general and specialized education of workers and increasing the length of the training process (let

us note that differences in the emotive components of worker groups 1 and 2 in the study made by V. Ye. Khmel'ko (6) are partially related to differences in the degrees of general and specialized education of the members of these groups).

Table 2--Connection Between the Intensiveness of Sympathies and the Similarity of Prestige Evaluations Among Eighth- and 10th-Grade School Students

(1) Номер исследова- ного класса	(2) Среднее значение близости прести- жных оценок (коэффициент t) при интен- сивности симпатий		(5) Их разность *	(6) Коэффициент корреляции (r) между ненулевыми элементами матрицы интенсивности симпатий и соответст- вующими элементами матрицы близости престижных оценок и его уровень значимости (p)	
	(3)	(4)		r (7)	$p_{aj}\%$ (8)
	больше нуля	равной нулю			
1	0,33	0,19	0,14	0,36	0,01
2	0,41	0,29	0,12	0,34	0,01
3	0,32	0,17	0,15	0,32	0,10
4	0,43	0,24	0,19	0,31	0,01
5	0,20	0,10	0,10	0,31	0,10
6	0,26	0,21	0,05	0,26	2
7	0,35	0,16	0,19	0,24	0,20
8	0,31	0,26	0,05	0,20	1
9	0,28	0,17	0,11	0,20	1
10	0,28	0,19	0,09	0,19	1
11	0,25	0,09	0,16	0,18	5
12	0,30	0,21	0,09	0,12	10
13	0,45	0,41	0,04	0,11	H **
14	0,28	0,16	0,12	0,07	H
15	0,36	0,24	0,12	0,06	H
16	0,33	0,20	0,13	0,06	H
17	0,35	0,29	0,06	0,04	H
18	0,31	0,12	0,19	0,03	H
19	0,33	0,22	0,11	-0,01	H
20	0,38	0,20	0,18	-0,06	H
21	0,35	0,23	0,12	-0,11	H

Key:

1. Consecutive Number of Studied Grade
2. Mean Value of the Similarity in Prestige Ratings (coefficient t) With Sympathy Intensiveness
3. Greater Than Zero
4. Equal to Zero
5. Disparity*
6. Correlation Coefficient (r) Between Nonzero Elements of the Matrix of Sympathy Intensiveness and Corresponding Elements in the Matrix of Similarity of Prestige Ratings and Its Level of Significance (p)
7. r
8. $p_{aj}\%$

* All differences (including the minimal--0.04) are significant on the 0.01 percent level.

** H--insignificant

We may assume that not only the content of the courses offered in one school or another but also contacts with fellow students and teachers influence changes in value orientations. The cadre training and general education systems, therefore, are a channel for "mixing" members of different social groups, who are the bearers of different structures of value orientation. Furthermore, changes in the professional-skill structure are characterized by changes in the size of professional-skill (and social) groups and lead to migration processes (in particular urbanization, migration from country to town). Changes in the sizes of said groups lead to changes in probable contacts and the establishment of interpersonality relations among their members at work, in school, at home, in recreation activities, etc. In turn, this as well leads to the reciprocal influence among the value orientations of such groups. For example, if a professional-skill group of workers engaged in highly skilled physical labor (let us identify it as group A) doubles, the likelihood of contacts and the establishment of interpersonality relations with members of a group engaged in less skilled work (let us describe it as group B) will double (all other conditions being equal); in other words, the percentage of individuals belonging to group B who have contacts with representatives of group A will double and, consequently, the likelihood that the value orientations in group B (and group A) will increase.

Let us consider the influence of the social structure of the immediate environment on rating the attractiveness of a profession, based on the study of the employed population in Kiev. For this purpose, let us single out two professional groups: workers (automated machine tool tuner, instrument fitter, turner, die-stamping worker, road equipment worker) and intellectuals (physician, engineer, teacher). The attractiveness of each profession was determined on the basis of the percentage of individuals who expressed the wish to acquire it in a projected situation, while the ratings given by the individual professional groups were based on the mean arithmetical evaluation of professions within the group (the results are shown in tables 3 and 4).⁸

Table 3--Influence of Professional-Skill Group of the Spouse on the Attractiveness of a Profession (for the employed population in Kiev)

<u>Professional-Skill Respondent Group</u>	<u>Profession-Skill Group of the Spouse</u>	Attractiveness Rating, %	
		<u>Physical Labor</u>	<u>Intellectual Labor Requiring Higher Education</u>
Physical labor	Physical labor	5.1	5.4
	Intellectual labor requiring higher education	4.4	8.7
Intellectual labor requiring higher education	Physical labor	2.2	15.7
	Intellectual labor requiring higher education	3.1	15.2

Table 4--Influence of the Professional-Skill Group of the Friend on the Attractiveness of a Profession (for the employed population in Kiev)

<u>Professional-Skill Respondent Group</u>	<u>Profession-Skill Group of the Friend</u>	Attractiveness Rating, %	
		<u>Physical Labor</u>	<u>Intellectual Labor Requiring Higher Education</u>
Physical labor	Physical labor	9.0	4.0
	Intellectual labor requiring higher education	8.7	5.3
Intellectual labor requiring higher education	Physical labor	6.6	9.6
	Intellectual labor requiring higher education	5.2	11.3

As we see, as a whole the differences were minor. We find in Table 3 a significant difference in ratings of professions requiring higher education and among workers whose spouses are workers and workers whose spouses are intellectuals (a disparity significant on the fifth level). Table 4 shows that the existence of a friend with higher education somewhat increases the attractiveness of professions requiring higher education. Although each of these differences is insignificant, the random probability of such a pattern for all four pairs was under 0.05, i.e., the recorded disparities as a whole are significant on the fifth level. Despite their insignificance, it may be assumed that this is due not to the insignificant influence of one social group or another or on the spouse but to the nature of the compared indicators (rating of attractiveness of professions). In the case of individuals with longer seniority changes from physical to intellectual labor or vice versa are considered almost unrealistic. This is confirmed also by the insignificant disparity (regardless of the social group of the friend or spouse) in the evaluation of physical and intellectual professions by the employed population in the city (such disparities were quite substantial among school students) (15). Although such data require an empirical test involving other types of value orientations, we tend to consider them as a preliminary confirmation of the hypothesis of the influence of interpersonality relations on the shaping of value orientations. Another possible assumption is that this influence is maximal during childhood and adolescence and that it declines as the respondent grows older.

Therefore, the mechanism of change of value orientations in social groups through interpersonality relations may be described through the following chain: scientific-technical progress and changes in professional-skill social structure; changes in the size of professional-skill groups and changes in cadre training, system changes in the probability of contacts among groups and, consequently, in the share of individuals belonging to different professional-skill groups with direct contacts among them; changes in value orientations of professional-skill and, consequently, social groups.

Let us note in conclusion that although interpersonality relations are studied primarily in the area of sociopsychological relations, they are an important link in the "society-individual" interconnection. In our view, the most important feature here is the formulation of a methodology for comprehensive research, which would harmoniously combine different levels and aspects of the study (sociological, sociopsychological, psychological), i.e., a study free from unnecessary "psychologism"--transfer of phenomena which take place, for example, in contact groups to society and from "economism, which ignores the human factor and, in particular, the influence of value orientations of individuals and interpersonality relations on social processes.

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FOOTNOTES

1. Significance of distributions computed according to (6, p 310); distribution differences based on the ² insignificant on the fifth level.
2. In this project value orientations were studied on both the cognitive and the emotional levels. The coefficients of linear regression were used, characterizing the dependency of the satisfaction of the respondents with their life and their satisfaction with its individual aspects (6, pp 300-305).
3. The methodological groundlessness of this terminology is obvious, for in this case the concept of "class" actually coincides with the concept of "stratum" (4). For example, the "upper class" includes physicians and lawyers. The middle class includes skilled workers and the lower class includes night guardsmen, stevedores and others (8). For that reason we not use a meaningful comparison but a similar method.
4. Table 1 is based on data computed by V. A. Matusevich and V. L. Ossovskiy (10).
5. The survey covered 437 eighth-graders and 439 10th graders (10, p 132).
6. For the group development method see (11).
7. For the first step we made a random selection of schools in each administrative rayon; for the second, we chose one of the eighth or the 10th grade; a total of 771 students were surveyed.
8. The study was made in 1979. It was headed by V. F. Chernovolenko. The combined use of interviews and surveys sent by mail covered 3,514 respondents based on a representative selection of the employed population in

the city. The survey was conducted at the place of residence of the respondents and the selection was random based on electoral lists with subsequent random choice of respondents to be surveyed among all individuals residing at said address. The survey contained questions on the profession of the spouse and the friends of the respondent (15).

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CSO: 1806/26

LIMITING THE GROWTH OF LARGE CITIES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84
(signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 129-135

[Article by G. L. Yepiskoposov: "On the Question of Limiting the Growth of Large Cities." Grant Levonovich Yepiskoposov is a doctor of philosophical sciences and professor at the chair of philosophy in the humanities departments of Moscow State University. He is the author of the following books: "Atomnaya Sotsiologiya--Ideologicheskoye Oruzhiye Amerikanskogo Imperializma" [Atomic Sociology--Ideological Weapon of American Imperialism] (1953), "Tekhnika i Sotsiologiya" [Technology and Sociology] (1967), "Sovremennaya Epokha i Krizis Burzhuaiznoy Sotsial'noy Filosofii" [Contemporary Age and Crisis in Bourgeois Social Philosophy] (1979), "Sotsiologicheskiye Problemy Sovremennoy Nauchno-Tekhnicheskoy Revolyutsii" [Sociological Problems of the Contemporary Scientific and Technical Revolution] (1982) and others. This is his first article in our journal].

[Text] The resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress pay great attention to the imminent problems of urban construction, surmounting existing disparities between town and country and limiting the growth of large and developing small and medium-sized cities (4, p 138).

The problem of the large cities, their present and their future has drawn the attention of the public at large, urban construction specialists, architects, economists and sociologists. This is no accident, for this problem affects all aspects of social life and its gravity is particularly tangible in the light of the scientific and technical revolution under way; the growing scale of urbanization and the increased threat of a global ecological crisis.

Considerable work has been done by Soviet scientists in recent years in the study of urbanization processes and the characteristics of urban development under the conditions of a socialist society. However, although pointing out the major advantages of socialist urbanization, some authors have formulated insufficiently substantiated or simply erroneous views on the role of large cities and their future. In their view, the larger the city the faster it should grow and, in general, as long as the population grows, the growth of large cities cannot be stopped.

"...As it expands," V. I. Perevedentsev writes, for example, "cities acquire certain properties of spontaneous development and growth, certain inner

factors of such growth, which makes it more stable and less dependent on factors outside the city" (5, p 16). Having formulated such a general sociological rule, the author supports it with data on the growth of the large cities in our country and the increased number of cities with a population in excess of 1 million and, on this basis, concludes that "the growth of the largest cities cannot be stopped so long as the population keeps growing. The optimal way to develop them must be found" (6). In other words, we must support the growth of such cities and encourage the appearance of new cities with a population in excess of 1 million, for this "would have a very favorable impact on the country's further economic and social development, for million-population cities are the main "focal points" of this development and are the motors of the scientific and technical revolution which has a powerful influence on their surrounding areas" (ibid.). All of this was reflected also in the article "We Are Growing With Every Passing Year...", which was a study of the results of the 1979 all-union population census. In noting the increased number of large cities in the country, V. Perevedentsev's conclusion is that "we have known for a long time that the population is increasingly gathering within the large cities and agglomerations. The new census not only confirmed this but revealed something new: for the first time in the country's history, the absolute population growth in the large cities was higher than the overall population growth" (7).

Let us immediately point out that as centers of industry, science and culture, and as a base for the development of the scientific and technical revolution, the large cities indeed play and will continue to play a leading role in the building of socialism for a long time. However, it does not follow in the least from this that they must necessarily expand and grow allegedly by virtue of some almost fatal demographic law. We can hardly agree with such conclusions which inevitably lead us to demographic determinism and fatalism.

They clearly reveal an underestimating of the social controls of demographic processes and the role and possibilities of planning in the organization and functioning of socialist society and its cities. This inevitably leads to a contemplative approach in practical affairs and to merely recording cases of continuing expansion of large cities without the required study of the reasons.

In emphasizing the advantages of cities with populations of 1 million or more, we cannot ignore the negative consequences of their steady expansion. This involves primarily high operational and construction costs, laying of engineering and transportation facilities and constant reconstruction. For example, per capita urban construction in the largest cities is twice the cost of the national average (8). The cost of intraurban transportation per 1,000 population is 57,900 rubles for cities with a population of 50,000 to 100,000 and 278,000 rubles for cities with a population in excess of 100,000, i.e., higher by a factor of 4.8; in the latter case operational costs of transport enterprises are higher by a factor of 2.1 (9). Commuting time increases sharply and the stress in the rhythm of urban life and the activities of consumer services grows. Difficulties appear in providing drinking water, energy and fuel, which aggravates the ecological situation even further. All of this affects the life, health and work-related activities of the population. The growth of the largest cities creates difficulties in the efficient

utilization of material and labor resources and, to a certain extent, hinders the development of small and medium-sized towns and surmounting disparities between town and country.

Equally groundless are the arguments of supporters of priority growth of large cities relative to the scientific and technical revolution. Here again a one-sided approach is used, which ignores the latter's most important features and requirements. The development of a new technological production methods, characterized by comprehensive automation, involving cybernetics, computers and robots, is related to the scientific and technical revolution. This means that the number of people directly engaged in production will be declining sharply and that the concentration of the population in the largest cities will be held in check.

Therefore, the real objective factors of social development, environmental conditions, material production, scientific and technical progress and the interests of the people themselves are by no means in favor of the further growth of superlarge cities.

Urban development in the capitalist world inevitably assumes an uncontrolled nature and distorted forms: huge population masses pile up in small areas, thus making the cities virtually unsuitable for living. Having reached critical mass, some of them are facing the threat of total catastrophe. Such is the case of Tokyo, where the streets are in the grip of the flow of transport and can no longer be widened, and where water and electric power are in short supply. A similar situation is noted in New York, London, Paris, Los Angeles and other very large cities in the capitalist world. According to the American scientist W. Bear, entire cities and many urban districts in the United States are "sick" or "in a state of crisis." "The death of cities or, at least of urban districts," he notes, "is already occurring on a countrywide scale" (10). And here is what the noted French sociologist F. Saint-Marc writes about Paris: "Locked within a cell made of concrete, the Parisian population is breathing poisoned air. Automobiles, plants and residential heating are steadily discarding huge masses of dust and noxious gases.... All of these pollutants form an "atmospheric slime" and Paris is covered by a dome of gaseous filth 2 kilometers high and with a 20-kilometer radius, which blocks like a screen the penetration of ultraviolet sun rays.... From 1952 to 1970 the speed of Paris buses dropped from 14 to 8 kilometers per hour, equaling the speed of a 19th-century horse-drawn streetcar; in some routes it does not exceed the speed of a pedestrian...." "It is theater of the absurd!" he exclaims. "Wasting huge amounts of money on the development of megalopolises, France is destroying itself for the sake of creating vast pauperization centers which will begin to fade away or turn into deserts by the end of the century.... Unless there is a fast-changing policy in the immediate future, all that will be left of Paris will be a lifeless skeleton. Paris will kill Paris" (11).

Capitalist urbanization has become a tragic consequence in the developing countries, where the urban toiling masses are deprived of elementary living conditions. Here population concentration has assumed fantastic dimensions; millions of people are forced to live in slums and hovels and many are homeless, sleeping in the streets. In Calcutta alone they number no less than

200,000 (12). The difficulties experienced by many large cities in capitalist and developing countries were discussed at a special conference on population and urban development, which was held in Rome in 1980. The following data were cited: the Brazilian cities of Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo are expected to merge soon into a single city with a population of some 50 million; Mexico City will have a population in excess of 30 million (13). All of this is an indictment of the capitalist system under which the greatest achievements in the material and spiritual culture are turned against man.

Having failed to find a sensible solution to the problem of giant cities under capitalism, some bourgeois theoreticians accuse urbanization and scientific and technical progress, proclaiming urban life to be "dehumanized" and calling for a rebirth of rural civilization ("ruralization"). Others, conversely, are in favor of the unlimited expansion of agglomerations with populations into the millions and the creation of new megalopolises, "supercities."

Extensive research on the cities of the future, space architecture and the building of air and lunar cities, based on the achievements of the NTR [scientific and technical revolution] (14) have been actively conducted in the West of late. Many such projects are striking by their scale, creative imagination and daring. However, their creators overestimate the architecture's ability to resolve the sociopolitical problems of contemporary capitalist society. Let us recall the outcome of the efforts of Le Corbusier, the world-famous architect, to build an ideal city and, with the help of architecture, to transform society and create a new world of human relations. He witnessed the way the housing complexes he had designed on the basis of an aesthetic ideal, founded on the principles of social justice, changed irrespective of his objections and assumed features typical of a private ownership society (15). A similar case was that of the plans of another one of the greatest architects of our time, Oscar Niemeyer, who designed Brasilia, the new Brazilian capital. His dreams of building a city where everyone would be free of exploitation and would confidently contemplate a happy future, were not fated to be realized. In the admission of Neimeyer himself, Brasilia soon turned into an ordinary capitalist city with all its faults and inequities (16).

The worsening contradictions which afflict the contemporary bourgeois city are yet another proof of the inability of capitalism to control urbanization processes in the interest of society. "Society alone," Engels wrote, "can achieve the harmonious combination of its productive forces on the basis of a single general plan and allow industry to be deployed throughout the country, in a way which would be most convenient for its development and preservation and the development of the other production elements.... The elimination of contradictions between town and country is not only possible but has become a direct necessity for industrial and agricultural production. Furthermore, it is necessary for the sake of social hygiene" (1). In developing this concept, Lenin described the features of a new form of settlement which, in his words, should be characterized by the elimination of "rural neglect, alienation from the world and running wild as well as the unnatural concentration of huge masses of people in the big cities" (2).

The conditions of a socialist organization of society alone make possible the planned control of urban expansion on the basis of the efficient and equal

deployment of production forces and population, thus eliminating the gap between town and country once and for all.

The "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR...", which were approved at the 26th CPSU Congress, stipulate the implementation of large-scale measures aimed at resolving urgent urban construction problems, developing small and medium-sized towns and creating a uniform settlement system.

For the first time in worldwide architectural practice, a general settlement plan is being developed, covering the territory of the entire country. This will contribute to the elimination of social disparities on the territorial level, create better working, living and recreation conditions in all districts and ensure high urbanization and comfort standards consistent with contemporary requirements. Already now some 80 percent of the urban population have their own apartments (4, p 134). A large housing construction program is being implemented in the 11th Five-Year Plan, totaling the construction of 530-540 million square meters (4, p 181). Housing allocations will be based on the principle of each family having its separate apartment.

Major steps will be taken to intensify further the preservation and landscaping of the environment and preserving the purity of the air above the cities (4, pp 183, 184). This is a state law in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

A characteristic feature of urban and rural development under socialism is that it is inseparably related to the entire system of socialist social relations which assert the new way of life free of exploitation, crises and social and national oppression.

However, despite a general trend of comprehensive development of all parts of the country and rational deployment of production forces and optimal distribution of the population, some of our old cities have grown beyond measure. This was not in the least because of a fatal demographic growth but by virtue of the characteristics of historical conditions, in the course of which the industrialization of the country had to be completed within an exceptionally short time and large-scale industrial construction had to take place in the old industrial centers, where relatively lesser capital investments were required compared to the development of new areas. As early as 1931, the construction of industrial enterprises in large cities had been banned by decision of the party's Central Committee (3). A number of similar decisions were made in subsequent years. However, they were frequently violated by ministries which continued to build new industrial projects in the large cities. The major errors which were committed in the past in agricultural management and violations of the principles of material incentive in the kolkhozes, which resulted in the mass population outflow from lagging kolkhozes, also contributed to the unjustified growth of some large cities.

The 1979 all-union population census showed that the population of the largest cities had increased significantly and that new cities with a population in excess of 1 million had appeared. From 1970 to 1978 their number increased

from 10 to 18 (17), and it is hardly likely that this trend will be reversed in the future. A. V. Dmitriyev and M. N. Mezhevich justifiably point out the "chronic gap between population size, as stipulated in the general plans for the development of the largest cities, and the actual growth rates" (18). Thus, for example, the size of Kiev's population has already outstripped the figures stipulated in the city's general plan for the year 2000 (19).

Why is it that we are still unable to hold back and limit the growth of the largest cities?

The reasons are numerous. The principal one is shortcomings in controlling the development of the cities, omissions by planning organs and their ineffective influence on city-forming factors. The gigantomania of some local managers, who are trying to intensify the growth of large cities through a variety of artificial measures, the increase of production capacities by some ministries and departments, imperfections in the administrative-territorial structure in many parts of the country (such as the Transcaucasus, shortcomings in consumer services, trade and living conditions in medium-sized and small towns and the absence in some of them in modern communal facilities, which intensifies migration flows in the direction of the large cities, have a negative influence as well. In turn, this contributes to the lack of resolution of many problems related to the reorganization of rural areas and the conversion of villages and settlements into urban-type comfortable settlements.

Socialism created objective prerequisites for the planned control of urban expansion and for surmounting the unnatural concentration of huge population masses in cities. The implementation of such possibilities requires the adoption of a number of steps aimed at limiting the growth of cities with populations of 1 million or more and their reduction. Naturally, this is not a question of purely administrative steps, although they may be necessary in a number of cases. Prime significance is assumed by improved planning systems, optimizing the deployment of production forces and the territorial division of labor, conservation of material resources, limiting the construction of new production projects in the European part of the country and drastically lowering ceilings for manpower recruitment outside the specific city and its more efficient utilization. As many as 90,000 so-called quota workers have been settling in Moscow every year for the past 20 years. In frequent cases they are not specialists urgently needed by industry but rank-and-file workers in the service industry. It is obvious that such practices introduce additional difficulties in the life of a large city and in the work of the transportation and communal service institutions and worsen the solution of the housing problem. In order to eliminate the disproportion we mentioned, we should engage in the more efficient utilization of labor resources through technical progress, improving organization of labor and management and taking additional steps to provide material labor incentives for the retired, housewives and students.

The implementation of the Food Program, which was adopted at the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, will be of major importance in limiting the growth of large cities. In addition to the uplift contemplated for the entire agricultural production system, the program stipulates measures to eliminate as

rapidly as possible lags in housing, cultural-consumer and road construction in rural areas. Particular attention should be paid to the formulation of scientific long-term socioeconomic and cultural development forecasts (for 50 and 100 years) with corresponding amendments in the general plans of large cities.

The time has come for a total and comprehensive study of demographic processes in the country and the formulation of practical recommendations to help reach optimal decisions in urban construction. We believe that a differentiated approach to stimulating the birth rate and population growth by region should be formulated. It has become necessary to undertake extensive comprehensive studies in urban construction, to seek new forms of settlements and to surmount erroneous views on the problem of the large cities, which harm practical activities and disorients specialists.

It is difficult today to anticipate in great detail the specific changes to which huge cities will be subjected in a communist society. It may be assumed, however, that improvements, reconstruction, limiting further expansion and the even distribution of production forces will lead to a reduction in the size of their population, the expansion of park areas, etc. Naturally, this is a long and complex process, for we are dealing with a phenomenon which is part of the long-term development of societal material-production and spiritual life. It becomes relevant, on the one hand, to make comprehensive and full utilization of the possibilities of the large cities as important centers for the development of production forces, science and culture and, on the other, to put an end to their uncontrolled development and to make use of the unquestionable advantages of socialism, thereby preventing a repetition of the diseases which afflict the huge capitalist cities, which find themselves in a dead end as a result of excessive industrial and population concentration.

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5003

CSO: 1806/26

WATCH METHOD OF LABOR ORGANIZATION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84
(signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 136-139

[Article by A. I. Kulyabin and O. K. Mishina: "The Watch Method of Labor Organization." The authors work at the Tyumen Design and Scientific Research Timber and Timber Processing Institute. Anatoliy Ivanovich Kulyabin is the head of the sociological research sector; Ol'ga Konstantinova Mishina is a junior scientific associate. This is their first article in our journal]

[Text] The watch labor organization method has been used with increasing frequency in our country over the past 10 years (1, 2). In Tyumen Oblast 44.8 percent of all timber procurement is based on this method; by the end of the five-year plan it will account for more than one-half of the overall volume of timber procurements.

The application of the watch method helped to improve labor efficiency and to eliminate the need for the hiring of seasonal workers. However, this method did not become particularly popular among lumberjacks. Whenever assigned to a watch, many of them try to join another subunit and sometimes will even resign. In many cases the members of lumberjack families as well show themselves as opponents of the watch method.

It was precisely these circumstances which drew our attention and were the reason for our study of the watch timber procurement method.¹

The study was conducted in two stages. The first--a pilot survey--indicated that the negative attitude of lumberjacks toward the watch method was due above all to their lengthy stay away from home: 85 percent of watch workers are married with an average of two children per family. Housing conditions of the overwhelming majority of them (90 percent) are such that male labor is always needed. Furthermore, the temporary settlements lack adequate conditions for proper relaxation: many sectors have no radio, television or itinerant movie shows; libraries consist of randomly selected books; periodicals are slow in arriving; no sports facilities exist. Such shortcomings are worsened by the fact that the working and recreation schedules of ordinary lumberjack brigades which have a 7- or 8-hour-long working day have been applied to the conditions of a watch work system and the fact that irregular helicopter transportation schedules have extended the length of the working week.

The study indicated that most such problems could be resolved by instituting a 12-hour work shift. For this purpose, the brigade is divided into two equal groups, one of which is at work while the other is resting. Depending on the distance to the work site and the type of transportation, watches of different length are used but in all cases the arrival of one shift coincides with the departure of the other. This procedure offers a number of advantages: workers spend most of their leisure time with their families in familiar conditions; no more than one-half of the lumberjacks are at work, which makes their sleeping and recreation conditions more comfortable; the 12-hour shift excludes overtime, for which no time is left, and reduces commuting fatigue as a result of a drastic reduction in the number of trips. Such are, briefly stated, the social advantages of the watch organization of labor. From the economic viewpoint, this method enables us to make efficient use of the shift by reducing the volume of preparatory or finishing operations. The lengthy idling of equipment and empty runs of transport facilities in the daily transportation of the workers to the watch area and back are eliminated.

Coefficient of Worker Satisfaction With Different Systems
of Work and Leisure Time Organization

<u>Work System</u>	<u>Timber Industry Enterprise</u>	<u>Brigade</u>	<u>Length of Shift (hours)</u>	<u>Length of Watch (days)</u>	<u>Length of Free Time in Base Settlement (days)</u>	<u>Satisfaction Coefficient</u>
Traditional	Komsomol'skiy	I	7	6	1	0.44
	Torskiy	II	7	12	2	0.03
	Samzasskiy	III	8	12	3	0.56
	Sovetskiy	IV	9	20	10	0.67
Experimental	Komsomol'skiy	V	12	7	7	0.97
	Un-Yuganskiy	VI	12	7	7	0.70
	Pionerskiy	VII	12	15	15	0.80
	Sovetskiy	VIII	12	15	15	0.79

By recommendation of the NIIPlestrev [Tyumen Design and Scientific Research Timber and Timber Processing] Institute and by permission of the oblast timber industry worker trade union committee, several brigades at the Sovetskiy Timber Industry Combine and the Komsomol'skiy, Pionerskiy and Un-Yuganskiy timber industry enterprises were converted to this type of labor system with extended 12-hour work shift. The second stage of our project was the study of the new system in these sectors and comparing it with the traditional system. The survey of watch workers enabled us to determine their attitude toward these work organization methods and to compute satisfaction coefficients for the new work and leisure time systems (see table). The data proved that the workers were more satisfied with precisely the extended shifts. All workers, other than those who were already working 12 hours daily, preferred the longer shifts and spending their leisure time in the base settlements.

We compared the satisfaction coefficients for mechanizers of different age groups to determine the attitude of the workers within such age groups to the

experimental system. It turned out that the watch work schedule was most liked by workers between the ages of 25 and 29, belonging to the physically most active age group (see Fig. 1).

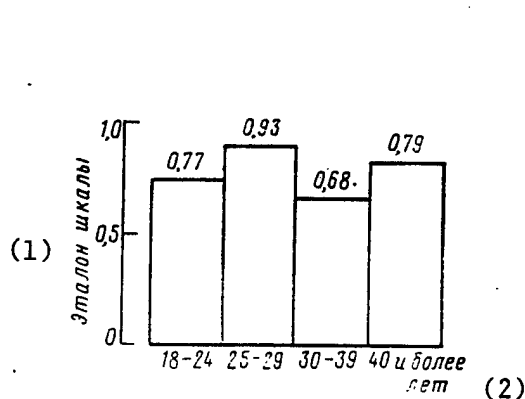


Fig. 1. Coefficient of worker satisfaction with the experimental work system by age group. 1--scale standard; 2--and older.

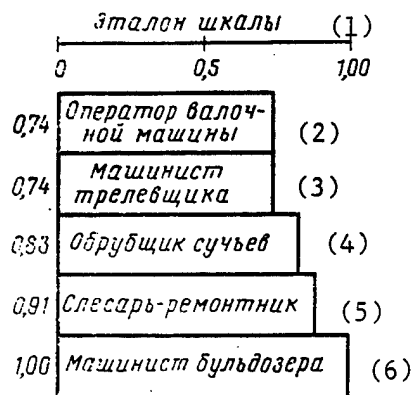


Fig. 2. Coefficient of worker satisfaction with the experimental work system according to skill. 1--scale standard; 2--tree-felling machine operator; 3--logging machine operator; 4--branch trimming operators; 5--repairmen-fitters; 6--bulldozer operators.

We then studied the attitude toward the new work system by workers with different skills but only within the largest age group--aged 25 to 39. As the data showed (Fig. 1), satisfaction with a continuing work system is inversely proportional to the level of labor intensiveness. The attitude toward the experimental system turned out to be virtually independent of family status: the satisfaction coefficient among bachelors or people without children was 0.88, compared with 0.92 for people with children (for the 20-30-year-old age group).

A particularly noticeable shift in assessing the new work system was noted among urban residents and those who had spent most of their lives in a timber settlement or rural area: the satisfaction coefficient among the former equaled 0.90, compared to 0.72 among the latter. Bearing in mind that the share of urban residents among watch method workers as an ascending trend, this provides yet another argument in favor of the introduction of the watch work system.

The study of the data revealed the close connection between satisfaction with the organization of the work and potential cadre turnover: the potential turnover coefficient equaled 0.28 for traditional work systems as compared to 0.16 with the new ones. The highest percentage of people who listed as a

reason for leaving the job "long separation from the family" and "short leisure time between trips" was found among members of timber industry enterprises with lengthy 12-day work periods and 2-3-day rests (see table). They accounted for 35 percent of those surveyed and 49 percent of those who wanted to change jobs. A close dependence was traced also between the duration of the shift and resigning because of the high volume of overtime. The lesser the nominal duration of the work shift was and the more time was left for various types of overtime work, the greater was the number of respondents who listed "overtime work" as a reason for quitting. They accounted for 16, 8, 7 and 5 percent of the respondents for 7-, 8-, 9- and 12-hour work days, respectively. A longer leisure time between shifts presumes well-organized recreation, which is quite difficult to organize under watch method conditions. It was natural, therefore, that half as many workers in the 7-8-hour watch shift listed the poor organization of the leisure time as a reason for quitting, compared with those with a 9-12-hour shift.

Workers with practical experience with the new system (5-8 brigades) were asked the following: "What work and recreation system do you consider to be the best for you?" According to 57 percent of the workers, increased leisure time between stints was a positive factor of the watch method; 31 percent of the respondents pointed out that living conditions in the watch method settlement had improved (housing space had increased, cafeteria lines had become shorter, etc.). In listing the negative aspects of the new system, 16 percent of the workers pointed out difficulties in passing on equipment and 9 percent mentioned lower wages (the bulk of the workers who emphasized this factor were young people under 29, consisting mainly of servicing personnel and repairmen-fitters: they were no longer being paid for overtime).

Therefore, the introduction of the continuous work schedule creates a number of new problems. However, it contributes to the successful resolution of a much greater number of problems.

Some managers thought that production indicators at watch sectors with a 12-hour shift would drop because of additional fatigue, compared with the usual 8-hour system. The results of the study, however, indicated that production efficiency at watch sectors under the experimental work system was higher than in the conventional sectors, despite a certain increase in the number of servicing personnel. In this case, as in many other parameters, our data coincide or are similar to results obtained by other researchers (see, for example, (2)). The introduction of the new work and leisure time system saved on unproductive outlays, for the need for empty runs by helicopters and wage differentials "for separation from the family" was eliminated. In the course of our study we noted an increase in labor discipline and competition effectiveness. The watch method workers acquired the possibility of making better use of their night and correspondence studies. All of this combined increased the stability of the collective and reduced cadre turnover.

Based on the data from the survey of watch brigade members, the institute's sociologists formulated practical recommendations. In particular, they considered optimal a work system with 12-hour shifts and 15-day watch stints with helicopter transportation and 7-day watch stints with bus transportation.

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FOOTNOTE

1. The study was conducted in 1982-1983 by the sociological research sector of the Tyumen Design and Scientific Research Timber and Timber-Processing Industry Institute (NIIPlestrev). The survey covered 252 workers in eight brigades (four using the traditional and four the watch organization of labor). The method developed by the USSR Academy of Sciences Socioeconomic Problems Institute was used.

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CSO: 1806/26

5 April 1985

TRAINING OF ENGINEERING-PEDAGOGICAL CADRES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84
(signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 139-142

[Article by G. Ye. Zborovskiy and G. A. Karpova: "On the Training of Engineering-Pedagogical Cadres." The authors are associates of the Sverdlovsk Engineering-Pedagogical Institute. Garol'd Yefimovich Zborovskiy is a candidate of philosophical sciences and docent at the chair of Marxism-Leninism. He has coauthored the monograph "Dosug: Deystvitel'nost' i Illyuzii" [Leisure Time: Reality and Illusions] (1970) and is the author of "Prostranstvo i Vremya kak Formy Sotsial'nogo Bytiya" [Space and Time as Forms of Social Life] (1974). He is the author of a review published in our journal (No 2, 1984). Galina Andreyevna Karpova is a candidate of pedagogical sciences and docent at the pedagogy and psychology chair. She is a specialist in sociopedagogical problems. This is her first article in our journal]

[Text] One of the tasks included in the "Basic Directions in the Reform of General Education and Professional Schools" (1984) is to broaden the training of skilled cadres within the vocational education system. This increases the role of engineering-pedagogical cadres who largely determine the nature of tomorrow's labor replacements. The qualitative improvement of school faculties is considered a matter of major governmental importance (1).

Today engineering-pedagogical workers (IPR) constitute quite a large group, the size of which has nearly doubled over the past 10 years. The country's PTU [Vocational-Technical Schools] employ 330,000 vocational training foremen, teachers of social, specialized and general education subjects, and educators. This is a specialized professional group consisting of skilled and essentially intellectual workers, professionally engaged in the spiritual and practical training and education of the future workers and, as a rule, graduates of universities or secondary specialized schools.

The vocational training foremen and special-subject teachers are the leading categories of PTU personnel the pedagogical and production-technological aspects of whose work may be clearly singled out. This is confirmed by the results of a study of the activities of school teachers¹ conducted by the Sverdlovsk Engineering-Pedagogical Institute and of the work of vocational training foremen, conducted in Leningrad by personnel of the All-Union Vocational-Technical Training Scientific Research Institute (2).

Educational work aimed at developing the ideological concepts and the communist morality of the young worker is an important part of the activities of the engineer-pedagogue. The responsibility of educators in this case is particularly great, for in the case of most students the vocational technical school is the stage link in exerting direct and immediate comprehensive educational influence. However, the educational function of teaching engineers is not only responsible but difficult, bearing in mind the specific nature of PTU students. Another circumstance to be considered is the fact that PTU students include many educationally neglected adolescents. This demands of the pedagogical engineer basic knowledge of civil and labor legislation, engineering psychology, ergonomics and labor physiology and safety.

No less complex is another aspect of educational activities: the teaching of a skill. The pedagogical engineer must have extensive methodological training. PTU curriculums are being constantly updated. In this case the educator is also a method worker, who must introduce the new technical information into the class material by himself.

In recent years a number of PTU have assumed the features of socialist enterprises: they have their own production base which manufactures and sells goods (sometimes greatly needed). Increasingly, young workers are being trained while manufacturing complex items. Thus, during the 10th Five-Year Plan students at Leningrad's PTU produced almost 20 million rubles' worth of turning and drilling lathes, fitting and assembling tools, simulators, nonstandard equipment, furniture, clothing and shoes (3).

This aspect of IPR activities is particularly noticeable in the work of production training foremen who are responsible for simple repairs, setting and tuning up production facilities, drafting production and technical documentation, conducting computation and analytical operations and observing the rules of labor safety in the training and production process and doing highly skilled work (in their field) on the fourth- and fifth-grade levels.

As to teachers of general technical and specialized subjects, they make simple repairs and organize training and demonstration classroom equipment and basic work methods and operations on a level deemed sufficient for demonstrations in the course of the training process. They draft production and technical documents and provide computation and analytical data for didactic support of the training process and guide the technical creativity of the students.

The study indicated that 10 percent of the working time of the engineer-pedagogue is taken by production-technical activities. Naturally, this is not to say that 90 percent of the time is used in strictly pedagogical work. The characteristics of specific engineering pedagogical work lie precisely in the fact that frequently the basic forms of activity take place simultaneously. This is confirmed by the study of the basic types of pedagogical work in PTU. For example, it was established that production-technological activities (on both the engineering and worker levels) occupy a firm and sufficiently noticeable place in the process of lesson planning and teaching, simple repairs, fitting and tuning technical training facilities and equipment, making samples for classroom and technical circle use, classroom equipment, studying new equipment and of technical and reference publications.

participation in VOIR [All-Union Society of Inventors and Rationalizers] and other technical societies and directing extracurricular technical circles.

Under contemporary conditions, production training foremen must have higher technical training, particularly those who teach complex skills related to servicing automated lines, programmed and automated machine tools, etc. Because of the scarcity of skilled foremen cadres many schools are forced to use the services of base enterprise engineers.

However, a differentiated approach is necessary in resolving this problem. In our view, foremen teaching particularly complex skills must be VUZ graduates, whereas secondary technical training is perfectly adequate for foremen training construction, light industry and agriculture cadres.

The educational standard of PTU specialists is rising: over the past 10 years the number of diplomaed people has quadrupled among them. Today 95 percent of the principals and 81 percent of special subject teachers are university graduates. The educational level of vocational training foremen has increased particularly: whereas 10 year ago only one half of them had specialized secondary training and a few individuals were university graduates today 14 percent are VUZ graduates and 70 percent are graduates of technical schools.

However, a certain contradiction may be noted between the relatively high level of education and its content. The point is that the overwhelming majority of graduate PTU specialists have acquired either technical or pedagogical school-oriented rather than pedagogical engineering training. Thus, our research shows that at the PTU in Sverdlovsk 62 percent are specialists-VUZ graduates, one-third are graduates of pedagogical VUZs or universities and only 5 percent are graduates of engineering-pedagogical departments of technical or agricultural institutes. Similar data were obtained from a study in Leningrad and its oblast: 29 percent of school principals had a degree in education and 53 percent had technical training (3).

Practical experience proves that a specialist without basic engineering-pedagogical training experiences major difficulties in resolving education, method and production problems. In the final account, this adversely affects the quality of training and education. The engineers experience difficulties in resolving problems of a didactic, methodical and psychological nature, whereas educators have difficulties in resolving problems related to specific production matters and the professional development of the students. It is no accident that the question is raised today of having school principals and their assistants supplement each other, so that if the one is an engineer the other must be an educator (4).

Naturally, today the higher and secondary specialized schools are unable to meet all demands for engineers-pedagogues. Most of them are specialists in a variety of national economic sectors. Our study shows that 74.4 percent of teachers of vocational subjects in Sverdlovsk came from production enterprises; 5 percent came from secondary schools and 4 percent from various institutions, scientific research institutes, VUZs and technical schools. The situation with foremen is somewhat different, for 36 percent of them are graduates of industrial-pedagogical technicums.

The existing staffing practice has resulted in the current disproportion in the age structure of PTU teachers and foremen, among whom the percentage of young people is relatively small (11.4) while that of pre-pensioning and pensioning age individuals is significant (25 percent); 63.6 percent of the specialists are between the ages of 30 and 50. We believe this age ratio to be inadequate in terms of the development of the vocational training system. To begin with, it does not ensure the reproduction of personnel with practice and experience among the young specialists. Secondly, in order to ensure the successful implementation of educational functions in schools whose students are in the difficult age group of maturing and civic development a greater representation of young specialists is required. This would create prerequisites for closer contacts between teachers and students. A certain "rejuvenation" of cadres may be achieved by increasing the number of specialists under 30 by developing higher engineering-pedagogical training.

The PTU need broad specialists. Currently it employs production training foremen and teachers of general technical and specialized subjects, whose functions are rigidly demarcated. This leads to a certain gap in the training and education process, although the mastery of the theoretical and practical-production aspects of their profession should be a single, integral and continuing process with a single target.

The contemporary PTU need foremen-teachers, i.e., engineers-educators with a broad range of knowledge. A group of production training foremen teaching theoretical subjects has appeared in the schools. Their number is increasing steadily. In Sverdlovsk this group accounts for 11 percent of the total number of foremen.

Does the higher engineering-pedagogical school take into consideration the need for new-type specialists? So far, poorly. The 32 chairs and two departments in which they acquire their training are still oriented toward graduating teachers and only three VUZs in the country (the Sverdlovsk Engineering-Pedagogical Institute and the general technical discipline departments at the Kherson and Mozyrsk pedagogical VUZs) have undertaken the training of foremen-teachers.

In order to staff the vocational schools with cadres able to perform the vital tasks of the present, the system for engineering-pedagogical training must restructure its work on a qualitatively new basis.

To begin with, we must upgrade the quality of training of production teaching foremen in industrial-pedagogical technicums and include in the curriculums a psychological education cycle close in terms of volume and level to the corresponding cycle of pedagogical institutes.

Second, the network of engineering-pedagogical VUZs and departments must be expanded. The traditional form of training engineers-pedagogues in a technical VUZs should be abolished. It is economically unprofitable (most frequently, it trains no more than 20 or 30 specialists); the quality of its pedagogical and methodological training is low (as a rule, the technical VUZs do not employ highly skilled educators and psychologists). Serious training in worker professions is virtually absent, although the engineer-pedagogue

must be familiar with its skills and features on the 4th-5th grade level in order to be able to demonstrate to the students the various operations and provide competent supervision. The organizational ties between chairs and departments, on the one hand, and the vocational technical education system, on the other, are weak. As a result, more than half of their graduates immediately abandon production work, and 3 to 5 years later only one third of the graduates are still within the vocational technical education system.

Things are different in an engineering-pedagogical VUZ which can develop a training and education system consistent with the content and specific nature of engineering-pedagogical activities and a proper material and technical base and maintain strong ties with PTU both in terms of the recruitment and assignment of students as well as in the areas of research and scientific-methodical and educational work.

Third, it is necessary to increase the number of broad specialists (foremen-teachers) in the engineering-pedagogical VUZ. This will provide conditions for resolving the problem formulated in connection with the reform of general education and vocational schools of training educators with a higher education for all the levels of the training and education process.

This will require the optimal organization of the system of teaching worker skills, improving the psychological-pedagogical and methodical training for educational work, creating a specialized material and technical base (training plants and workshops, laboratories and facilities for the teaching of psychology and education) and implementing a program for the specific selection of students for engineering-pedagogical work in vocational technical schools.

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FOOTNOTE

1. The study was assigned by the USSR State Committee for Vocational Technical Education in 1981-1982. It covered teachers in all 27 Sverdlovsk schools, or 24 percent of the sum total of vocational subject teachers in Sverdlovsk Oblast PTU. The method used involved the study of statistical data of the oblast vocational technical education administration, individual files, certifications, biographic data, surveys (written and oral) and a "self-photograph" of time breakdown. A comparison between

our selection and the overall number of vocational teachers in the oblast by basic characteristics (sex, age, education and pedagogical experience) confirms that the differences do not exceed admissible limits.

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CS0: 1806/26

EIGHTH-GRADE GRADUATES' ADAPTATION TO SECONDARY VOCATIONAL-TECHNICAL SCHOOLS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84
(signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 142-145

[Article by D. D. Nauruzbayev: "Characteristics of Adaptation of Eighth-Grade School Graduates to Secondary Vocational-Technical Schools." Dzhumagali Dzhukayevich Nauruzbayev is manager of the Political Education House of the Dzhuzkazan Party Obkom. This is his first article in our journal]

[Text] At the present time eighth-grade graduates account for two-thirds of all vocational-technical education students; in the immediate future, as a result of the implementation of the measures stipulated in the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On the Further Development of the System of Vocational-Technical Education and Upgrading Its Role in Training Skilled Worker Cadres" (1), their number will become even greater. In this connection, the adaptation of the students to PTU [vocational-technical school] conditions is one of the most important problems which arise with the school reform.

In our study¹ adaptation was examined as a process consisting, first of all, of gradually entering the microclimate of the collective and establishing durable interpersonal relations and ties; second, mastering social norms, developing a behavioral stereotype and individual experience and, finally, becoming accustomed to working and living conditions.

The data were gathered through investigations conducted over 3 years. This enabled us to establish the degree of work effectiveness and the disparity between experimental and control groups. The following aspects were considered in formulating the questions: factors determining the condition of preprofessional adaptation; level of adaptation at school; level of involvement in the set of educational measures; satisfaction with training and life in a PTU; self-assessment of one's future profession and prospects in the chosen field. Four surveys were conducted during the first year of training: 20 days after PTU enrollment and, subsequently, once every 3 months at school. Subsequently, there were two surveys annually.

Within that time we made an expert survey of production training foremen and teachers in the specific groups: the respondents used a 10-point system in grading the attitude of their pupils to their chosen profession, grade success, discipline, participation in social work and level of adaptability.

On our request, foremen and educators also answered questions on the attitude of the students toward the work, the pace and accuracy of their work, their status in the collective, etc.²

Regular sociometric measurements were made to determine the level of group cohesion, to establish the existence of informal groups and leaders and people with zero sociometric status. The results were supplemented with talks, selective observations and surveys of 620 engineering-pedagogical workers, vocational-technical school principals and deputy principals, and specialists and organizers of vocational-technical education in 10 oblasts in the Kazakh SSR and Alma-Ata and 782 parents of students.

The results of the experimental work enabled us to determine the mechanisms and content of the adaptation process at school and define its characteristics, which would enable us efficiently to manage the process. We proceeded from the fact that the adaptation process takes place throughout the entire period of education. However, we singled out a determining period, when the very first and most necessary features of becoming accustomed to the new conditions are manifested in the person, helping him to cover the entire subsequent period more quickly. The faster the organizational process and the initial adaptation period are completed the more efficient student training and upbringing become.

Therefore, the problem arises of defining the optimal time for adaptation and its pedagogical support, particularly among first-year students. A comparison between the results of the general and expert surveys, which were made 20 days after the children had begun school, and research observations indicate that in the experimental groups the set of pedagogical and psychological steps which had been taken, and the creation of an optimal training and upbringing infrastructure had helped in these very first weeks to relieve the stress caused by the difference in circumstances, the unaccustomed PTU style and system of training, the new interpersonal relations and the sharp increase in the variety of specialized, production and general educational subjects. No more than 10 percent of the students in the experimental group answered that they would transfer to another group or school given the opportunity. In the control groups a similar answer was given by 24.1 percent of the respondents. According to foremen and teachers, poor relations with their comrades in the group were noted among 8.9 percent of the students; normal relations were noted in 32.2 percent and good relations in 57.9 percent of the students. In the control group the same indicator was considerably worse, respectively averaging 14.4, 52.7 and 32.9 percent. In the first group, 16.8 percent of the students were indifferent toward the profession they had chosen, compared with 23.9 percent in the control group (Fig. 1).

The overall conclusion is that a relatively stable favorable situation for the adaptation of students to PTU conditions and, consequently, for their training and education, is established in the course of the very first month. This period is described as initial, unlike the subsequent one, during which the students become more clearly aware of the specific nature of their studies in a vocational-technical school and the purpose of the special and general education subjects and acquire a clearer idea of the nature of their future

professional activities. The last period, which was somewhat longer in the experimental groups, was described as the period of differentiation.

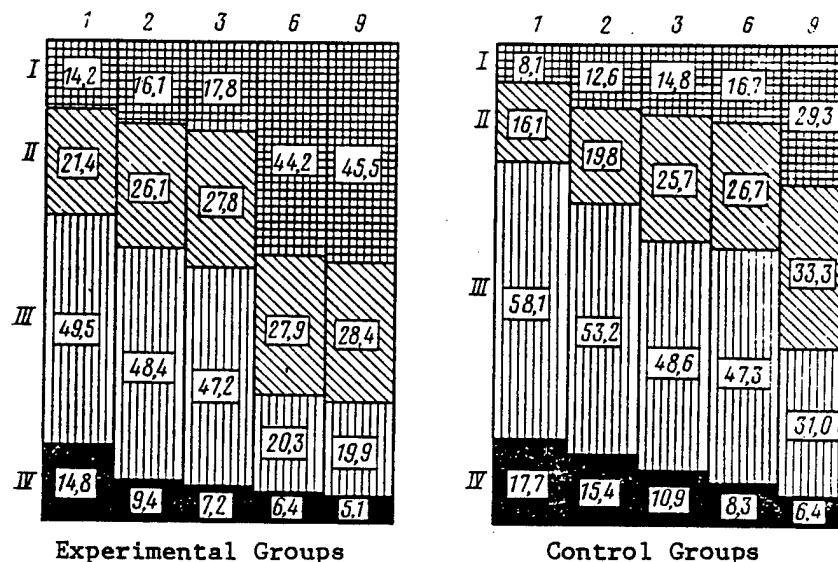


Fig. 1. Diagram of the adaptation stage of first-year PTU students. 1, 2...9 months in the school year; I (excellent), II (good), III (satisfactory) and IV (poor): Self-assessment of satisfaction with PTU training.

Therefore, in the course of the first 2 months the overall stress and the difficulties of the adaptation process were eliminated.

In the course of the subsequent experiments, we singled out one more phase of adaptation, described as the integration period. In the experimental groups it lasted about 1.5 months, whereas it was 50 to 100 percent longer in many of the control groups. At that stage the students consider themselves quite consciously part of a specific social group within the context of their specific professional and labor activities. They easily find their way among the specific equipment of workshops, are able to identify work tools and equipment and have become entirely accustomed to PTU training. The number of failing students diminishes, and the children become more active in sociopolitical activities and intercourse. Thus, according to production training foremen, 38.9 percent of the students in the experimental groups actively participate in social work (as against 27.4 percent in the control groups). Many work-related difficulties remain: 25 percent of the students in the experimental groups and nearly one-third of the students in the control groups maintain a below-average work pace and the rate of defective work is, respectively, 36.8 and 44.8 percent (Fig. 2).

However, the study indicated that with the help of efficiently planned organizational-pedagogical measures, many problems related to the adaptation period can be resolved within 3 months. Subsequently (from the third to the sixth month) the process is accelerated, after which a sufficiently stable situation

develops. Thus, whereas the number of students satisfied with PTU training conditions, choice of profession and microclimate in the group and who consider themselves ready for independent work increased on an average by 2-5 percent from the first to the third and the sixth to the ninth month, it increased from 8 to 25 percent over the 3 following months (in the control group this adaptation level was reached only toward the end of the school year). It is precisely during the last adaptation period that new student dropout declined sharply.

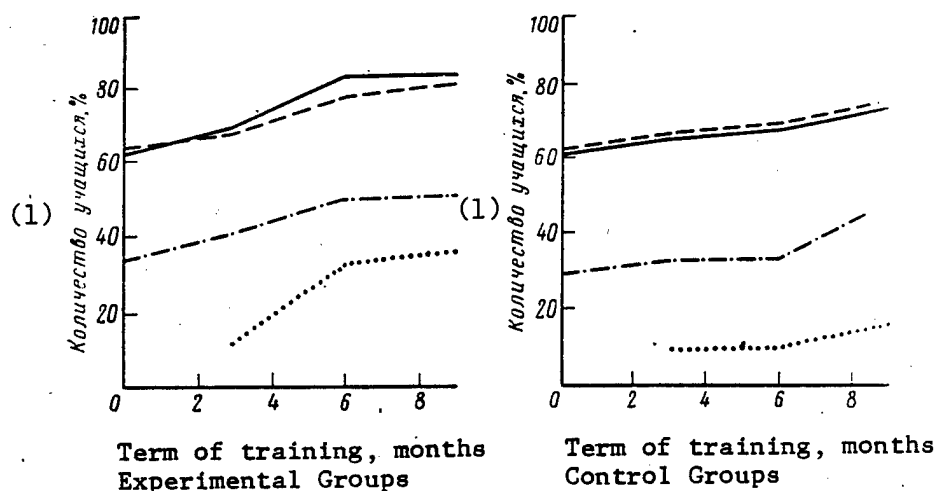


Fig. 2. Adaptation dynamics among first-year PTU students. ---- Satisfied with PTU training conditions; - - - - satisfied with their chosen profession; - . - . - . - . - . - . consider their group united; consider themselves ready for independent work. 1--Number of students, %.

The convincing disparity in all adaptation criteria between students in the experimental and control groups confirms the basic conclusion drawn from the study: preparatory work with the students, teachers, educators and foremen helped to smooth over the difficulties of the adaptation period, to shorten it significantly and to lower the dropout rate. The resulting data enabled us to formulate specific practical recommendations, essentially reduced to the need for specific preparatory work along two basic lines: with schoolteachers, educators and school foremen (lectures on education and psychology were drafted, covering a 10-day period, for such classes; materials with a study of data for each of the surveyed schools, and so on, were prepared) and with future PTU students and their parents (a detailed system of vocational guidance steps was formulated). In addition to everything else, such preliminary work creates in the children, their educators and the foremen a certain psychological tuning and contributes to their immediate involvement with the training and education process.

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FOOTNOTES

1. Eight experimental and as many control groups were set up in secondary vocational-technical schools in Dzhezkazgan Oblast, Kazakh SSR. The experimental groups consisted of children who had been subjected to some vocational guidance while in high school. The study covered three stages by year of training. In the course of 3 school years 497 students in the experimental and 508 students in the control groups were surveyed.
2. The texts of the "Survey Form" and "Evaluation" were based on A. A. Kyveryalg's work (2).

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Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84
(signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 149-151

[Article by B. Falussy: "Characteristics of Use of Holidays by the Population in the VNR [Hungarian People's Republic]." Bela Falussy is a scientific association at the Central Statistical Administration of the Hungarian People's Republic and specialist in population time budget. This is his first article in our journal. The manuscript received by the editors was in the Russian language]

[Text] One of the basic trends in the drawing closer together among the social groups and strata is the equalization of differences in leisure time use. The daily fluctuations in the structure of leisure time have been studied in sufficient detail in sociological publications. As to the nature of the spending of leisure time and recreation features, the study of the problem requires the use of special methodical procedures, questionnaires for determining the average annual time spending rhythms in particular.

Studies of the time budget of the Hungarian population, carried out by the Central Statistical Administration, directed by R. Andorki in 1976-1977,* established that the nature of utilization of the leisure time and, consequently, of the possibilities for meaningful recreation, substantially differ according to the socioprofessional affiliation of the respondent (Table 1).

The most rational form of utilization of leave is freedom from official obligations for the entire stipulated period. However, as the study indicated, most respondents divide it into several parts. Twenty-two percent of people engaged in management divide their annual leave into four to six periods; the same indicator averages 18 percent for other categories of the intelligentsia and the employees, and some 10 percent among skilled industrial workers engaged primarily in physical work. A correlation exists with skill and education standards. If we consider as the base the leave utilization indicator, so to say, "discreetly" (from 1 to 3 days), the opposite trend may be noted: quantitatively, the dominant group is that of agricultural workers. To a certain extent this is explained by the fact that the leave granted a farm worker does not, as a rule, relieve him from working his private farm. Thus,

* A number of local studies made in recent years confirm the stability of the established trends.

nearly one out of three private cattle owners does not make full use of his leave but takes 1-3-day recreational breaks (Table 2).

Table 1--Characteristics of the Use of Annual Paid Leave According to Socioprofessional Group and Type of Settlement, %

<u>Category</u>	<u>One Time, Total</u>	<u>Number of Days of Leave Used</u>			<u>No Infor- mation</u>
		<u>In 2-3 Segments</u>	<u>In 4-6 Segments</u>	<u>In 1-3-Day Periods</u>	
Socioprofessional Group					
Management Workers	15.3	55.3	22.4	7.0	--
Intelligentsia	22.3	54.7	15.9	4.8	2.1
Other mental work categories	22.4	43.2	19.7	12.7	2.0
Highly skilled workers	21.3	36.1	17.1	24.0	1.5
Medium-skilled workers	22.0	34.3	13.0	27.3	3.4
Auxiliary workers	18.1	35.5	12.2	31.5	2.7
Agricultural workers engaged primarily in physical labor	11.2	35.0	9.8	36.1	7.8
Place of Residence					
Budapest	27.9	41.0	16.1	10.1	4.9
Provincial cities	22.8	42.3	15.8	18.2	0.9
Rural areas	14.9	34.1	14.9	32.8	3.3

Table 2--Use of Annual Paid Leave by the Rural Population Based on Privately Owned Cattle, %

<u>Existence of Cattle</u>	<u>Once, Total</u>	<u>Number of Leave Days Used</u>			<u>No Information</u>
		<u>In 2-3 Segments</u>	<u>In 4-6 Segments</u>	<u>1-3 Days</u>	
Yes	14.9	34.3	15.2	32.3	3.3
No	25.1	41.6	15.9	15.0	2.4

A scientific understanding of the nature of spending the leave time requires a consideration not only of the quantitative breakdown of the time but the qualitative features of the rest. Let us consider one aspect of this problem: does leave involve a trip and a change of environment for a certain period of time? Studies have indicated that here as well we note a substantial (almost quadruple) differentiation between intellectuals and agricultural workers. The number of trips per 100 people was 140 for the first group and no more than 15 for the second (Table 3). The data prove the dominance of socioprofessional differences with a minor differentiation by sex (Table 4).

As far as the purpose of the trips is concerned (Table 5), it was predominantly recreation for the intelligentsia and the skilled workers and visiting relatives in the case of unskilled workers. The share of rural residents involved in tourism is low but 14.9 percent of them take trips for treatment purposes. This considerably exceeds the respective indicator for the other socioprofessional groups. For the year which preceded the study, trips longer than 3 days were averaged by 77 percent of the members of the intelligentsia, 40 percent of the skilled workers, 25 percent of the auxiliary workers and 13 percent of unskilled workers employed in agriculture (Table 6). Interestingly, as the number of travelers diminishes, so does the number of trips for recreation purposes while the share of trips more than 3 days long for the purpose of visiting relatives and acquaintances increases. Whereas as a rule the annual leave is the "base" for long trips, short trips (3 days or less) are made primarily during free days. In the 2 months which preceded the survey, such trips were made by 43 percent of the intelligentsia, 32 percent of skilled workers, 24 percent of auxiliary workers and 18 percent of agricultural workers. As with the previous case, the differentiation among social strata was quite substantial.

Table 3--Frequency of Trips Exceeding 3 Days for the Year
Preceding the Survey, by Socioprofessional Group and Sex

Category	No Trips	1 Trip	2 Trips	3 or More	No of Trips Per 100 People
Socioprofessional Group					
Intelligentsia	23.0	37.3	25.8	13.9	140
Skilled workers	60.3	30.1	7.3	2.3	52
Auxiliary workers	75.2	20.0	4.0	0.8	30
Agricultural workers engaged primarily in physical work	87.3	10.6	1.4	0.7	15
Sex					
Male	63.1	26.7	7.4	2.8	51
Female	58.4	28.8	8.9	3.9	60

The results of the study lead to the following assumption: social differences in the structure and means of spending one's leave and recreation are eliminated more slowly than in labor activities. The technical retooling of the production process, the increased share of mental labor and the reduced share of heavy physical labor determine the equalization of its nature and content among various classes and social strata. Matters are much more complex in nonproduction activities. Changes in the way of life and sociocultural behavioral models have greater inertia and obey their own quite autonomous laws.

Table 4--Purpose of Trip in Excess of 3 Days Taken the Year Preceding the Survey, Separately by Socioprofessional Group and Sex, %

<u>Category</u>	<u>Rest</u>	<u>Visit to Relatives and Friends</u>	<u>Tourism, Sports, Culture</u>	<u>Treatment</u>	<u>Job- Related</u>	<u>Other</u>
Socioprofessional Group						
Intelligentsia	52.3	19.5	18.1	2.1	3.8	4.2
Skilled workers	47.1	26.4	20.9	2.2	2.0	1.4
Auxiliary workers	34.8	41.1	16.5	3.2	3.8	0.6
Agricultural workers engaged primarily in physical labor	29.8	41.8	4.5	14.9	6.0	3.0
Sex						
Male	46.3	22.8	20.7	2.9	4.8	2.5
Female	50.7	27.1	14.8	2.4	3.4	1.6

Table 5--Purpose of 1-3-Day Trips During the 2 Months Preceding the Survey, Separately by Socioprofessional Group and Sex, %

<u>Category</u>	<u>Rest</u>	<u>Visit to Relatives and Friends</u>	<u>Tourism, Sports, Culture</u>	<u>Job- Related</u>
Socioprofessional Group				
Intelligentsia	30.2	31.5	26.0	12.3
Skilled workers	11.3	38.1	34.3	16.3
Auxiliary workers	10.9	48.3	19.1	21.7
Agricultural workers engaged primarily in physical labor	9.6	43.9	18.5	28.0
Sex				
Male	17.1	35.5	27.6	19.8
Female	16.5	40.5	27.8	15.2

Table 6--Frequency of 1-3-Day Trips During the 2 Months Preceding the Study, Separately by Socioprofessional Group and Sex, %

<u>Category</u>	<u>No Trips</u>	<u>One Trip</u>	<u>Two Trips</u>	<u>Three Trips</u>	<u>Four or More</u>	<u>No of Trips Per 100 People</u>
Socioprofessional Group						
Intelligentsia	56.9	14.9	9.3	4.9	14.0	112
Skilled workers	68.2	17.3	6.2	3.8	4.5	61
Auxiliary workers	75.8	12.1	7.3	1.7	3.1	46
Agricultural workers engaged primarily in physical work	81.8	9.7	5.7	1.2	1.6	32

Table 6--Cont'd

<u>Category</u>	<u>No</u> <u>Trips</u>	<u>One</u> <u>Trip</u>	<u>Two</u> <u>Trips</u>	<u>Three</u> <u>Trips</u>	<u>Four or</u> <u>More</u>	<u>No of Trips</u> <u>Per 100 People</u>
Sex						
Male	70.9	14.6	6.2	3.0	5.3	60
Female	69.1	15.3	8.0	2.4	5.2	62

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CSO: 1806/26

K. E. TSIOLKOVSKIY'S SOCIOPHILOSOPHICAL VIEWS CHARACTERIZED

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84
(signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 152-154

[Article by I. A. Dudkina: "Characterization of K. E. Tsiolkovskiy's Socio-philosophical Views." Irina Aleksandrovna Dudkina is a candidate of philosophical sciences and junior scientific associate at the USSR Academy of Sciences ISI [Institute of Sociological Research]. She is specializing in the philosophical problems of forecasting. This is her first article in our journal]

[Text] Today the sociophilosophical problems of the conquest of space have assumed a special conceptual significance to philosophy and sociology, for as the process of development of space science and technology intensifies, they will inevitably be changing their form under the influence of extremely major changes in the areas of human knowledge and practice.

It was precisely Tsiolkolovski who laid the foundations of cosmonautics and of its sociophilosophical interpretation. The social views of the scientist were the legitimate consequence of the age of radical breakdown of previous scientific concepts, which had brought to life numerous schools and trends in Russian philosophical thinking. His "cosmic philosophy" (the term Tsiolkovskiy used to characterize his concept) followed the fairway of Russian progressive non-Marxist philosophical thought of the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. Let us mention in this connection natural scientists, such as V. I. Vernadskiy and N. A. Umov. Their great interest in philosophy led them to the creation of concepts which were similar in terms of the formulation of problems and ways to resolve them. Tsiolkovskiy's idea of the development of society in the direction of outer space, Umov's characterization of mankind as an anti-entropic factor in relation to cosmic chaos and Vernadskiy's view of human activities as a factor in the history of the universe unquestionably reflect a similarity of views. This similarity was manifested above all in the fact that the question of the place and role of the "human factor" in the universe and the question of the meaning of human life were considered by them in their cosmic aspect.

Tsiolkovskiy's concept is a blend of philosophical, ethical and social ideas on the way to achieve universal happiness and perfection. Let us note that in Tsiolkovskiy's creative workers philosophical elaborations are not only an ideological base but, to a large extent, a starting point for his scientific

creativity as a whole. This scientist's thinking was directed from philosophy and social ethics to cosmonautics. This is a clear example of the implementation of the forecasting function of philosophical-sociological knowledge. As we follow Tsiolkovskiy's line of thought, we can determine the tremendous role which his philosophical-sociological concept and social-value research orientation played in shaping his specifically scientific views.

The assertion that "nothing is more important than our happiness and the happiness of everything alive in the real future" (2, p. 1) is the cornerstone of Tsiolkovskiy's social theory. According to him, every person realizes his natural aspiration to be happy consciously or subconsciously. Aware of the practical impossibility of achieving such objectives in a capitalist society, Tsiolkovskiy tried to elaborate his theory on the basis of principles which would make it universal and would contribute to the harmonious realization of individual and social interests.

Tsiolkovskiy's search for ways to improve mankind are original. Under the conditions of a capitalist reality, where egotism is a characteristic feature of life, he greatly exaggerates this characteristic. However, the very search for "reasonable foundations" for egotism already contains the possibility of its negation. Although unaware of it, in this case the philosopher occasionally describes the social features of the world of the future. The principle of true love of self becomes the principle of collectivism and the postulate of "universal happiness" becomes the foundation for building a new society on principles qualitatively different from the extant ones. In considering man as an innate egotist, who lives and acts on the basis of his personal interests, Tsiolkovskiy spoke of the need for a type of moral doctrine based on the principle of sensible egotism. By true egotism Tsiolkovskiy meant concern for the prevalence of universal goodness and happiness on the scale of the earth and the universe. Such egotism, directed at the future, so to say, is aimed at achieving the universal aspiration for happiness. Man can satisfy his own interests and achieve his aspirations only by engaging in socially useful activities. As a result, personal egotism turns into its opposite--altruism (3): If a person is to be happy he must make everyone else happy. Hence the categorical imperative that "by doing good for others you do it for yourself" (4). This is not Kant's "You can, for you must"; nor is it a blind observance of Hegel's idea of the absolute but the performance of universal duty for the sake of the universal good.

The topic of Tsiolkovskiy's social structure is inseparably related to morality problems. In his effort to find a certain common ethical principle on which the social system of society would be based, Tsiolkovskiy comes closer to older philosophical traditions, the essence of which was most fully expressed in Kant's views and to some of the humanistic ideas of the 20th century, the ethical doctrine Albert Schweitzer, in particular. However, this approach to the study of sociophilosophical problems has substantial shortcomings. For example, Tsiolkovskiy failed to understand the class nature of the state, which was not reflected in his ideal plans for a social system. Characteristically Tsiolkovskiy considered the question of the foundations of a sensible and just legislation also in its ethical aspect, trying to resolve it by drawing ethics closer to the law, which is an original anticipation of their actual synthesis.

In his work "The Social System," Tsiolkovskiy attempts to depict an ideal society and points to mankind the possible ways of achieving universal well-being and perfection. The very heading of one of his chapters--"The Root of Laws or Ethics" confirms that Tsiolkovskiy considered ethical postulates the foundations of legislation. According to the scientist, social laws should be drafted in the spirit of a categorical imperative according to which anything which leads to evil must be banned (5).

Marxist-Leninist philosophy and sociology explain the ethical requirements, norms and postulates of the characteristics of social life. Therefore, Tsiolkovskiy's requirement may be described as utopian: the concepts of good and evil have differed at different periods and have a class nature. However, we must not forget the prophetic nature of Tsiolkovskiy's social theory, the fact that it is aimed at the future.

In his sociophilosophical elaborations, Tsiolkovskiy touches upon the important topic of the role of the individual in history, reducing it to the problem of the search for "geniuses"--the best people who could manage society. It is precisely they who the scientist considers the true leaders of mankind. "By finding geniuses," he writes, "the most horrible misfortunes and calamities which we consider today inevitable could be avoided" (2, p 1). According to Tsiolkovskiy, the categorical imperative of "scientific ethics" can be implemented through the historical activities of individuals. This confirms the materialistic orientation of his sociophilosophical views.

However, Tsiolkovskiy is utopian in the formulation of the problem, for geniuses unrelated to the movements of popular masses, remaining outside the specific historical conditions of social progress, are helpless: it is not the individual who creates society but society which creates the individual ("the genius"), whenever this becomes vitally necessary. The value of Tsiolkovskiy's considerations is that he brought to light the dependence of social progress on the existence of "geniuses," who become aware of the requirements of social development earlier and better than others, who realize more profoundly and fully the need to change the existing system, who find the tools with which to struggle for such changes and who lead revolutionary transformations. Essentially, Tsiolkovskiy raises the relevant question of shaping the individual and preparing him for social management.

In his efforts to create an integral cosmic outlook, Tsiolkovskiy developed the theory of the social transformation activities of mankind on the scale of the universe. The scientist believed that mankind's progress, universal good and happiness are possible only if its further development were to be directed toward the universe and that the person could realize all of his aspirations to happiness and perfection only through creative efforts at transformation. This was an essential feature in Tsiolkovskiy's concept. He considered activity a cosmic form of life of all humankind and of every individual person, and a factor which would turn him into a being of a superior order, a member of the great family of intelligent communities in the universe. According to Tsiolkovskiy, purposeful transforming activities are a law of humankind's existence and progress. Having emphasized its cosmic nature, the scientist brought to light a new aspect in the active approach to the problem

of man. The emphasis on the universal nature of knowledge and practice indicates a qualitative change in the structure of human life and anticipates many of today's philosophical summations and conclusions.

Tsiolkovskiy assumes that a world concept turned to the universe and the self-realization of man alone provide the answer to the "eternal questions" and make profoundly meaningful the existence not only of the individual but the entire society. According to him, the search for the meaning of life by the individual should become a search for the meaning of life of all humankind. He believes that the first step in the cosmic development of civilization on earth is that of global change. It is necessary, Tsiolkovskiy believes, to achieve a radical change in the social structure of humankind, which should be communist in nature. In commenting on his pamphlet "Grief and Genius," Tsiolkovskiy noted that it consists of "clearly presented thoughts on a social communist system" (2, p 2). The scientist believed that science and technology "bring calamities to the working people and trigger their fully justified indignation if deprived of socialist measures" (6). This is one more proof of the materialistic trend of Tsiolkovskiy's views.

Tsiolkovskiy was interested in the conquest of space from the viewpoint of the immortality of human civilization as well. "The length of social life can even become infinite," the scientist believed (7, p 57). As the universal community spreads throughout the universe, new types of matter and energy will be discovered and new space will be conquered. In other words, a qualitatively new base for its further development and consolidation will appear. The power and strength of the person will increase to such an extent that "it is not nature which will play with and handle man but vice versa" (7, p 102). This, precisely, is the meaning of Tsiolkovskiy's familiar statement that "man is a factor in the evolution of space" (ibid.). It is worth noting that F. Engels as well had pointed out the endlessness of the development of human society: "...All social orders which replace each other in the course of history are merely transitional steps in the infinite development of human society from a lower to a higher stage" (1).

Tsiolkovskiy's contribution to sociological theory should be considered by contrasting his ideas with Marxism. Marxism took shape by developing the theory of the socioeconomic means of achieving universal goals, whereas Tsiolkovskiy developed the technical method, i.e., cosmonautics. Marx spoke of free associated producers, whose development was consistent with the true nature of man; Tsiolkovskiy spoke of the consistency between human nature and the natural foundations of the universe and its general laws. These general laws are filled with a humanistic content in the views of both Marxists and Tsiolkovskiy.

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CSO: 1806/26

SELF-ASSESSMENT OF SATISFACTION WITH MARRIAGE

Moscow SOCIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84 (signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 155-164

[Article by V. M. Kishinets: "Thesaurus Self-Evaluation Test of Satisfaction with Marriage." Vladimir Mikhaylovich Kishinets is a postgraduate student at the USSR Academy of Sciences ISI [Institute of Sociological Research]. He is the author of reviews published in our journal (No 1, 1982; No 1, 1984)].

[Text] The functional efficiency of the family on the social and individual levels and the stability of a marital union are largely determined by satisfaction with the marriage. Determining this "integral characteristic of the attitude of the husband and the wife to their marriage" (1) is very important in the study of the various aspects of family activities. However, the accuracy of the results of such measurements based on traditional methods is low. This limits the use of formal-mathematical methods. The suggested method is conventionally described as a self-expert thesaurus test (AT test). It enables us to define a satisfaction index with a relatively high degree of accuracy, characterizing the determined value and enabling us to establish a relation scale.. The method was tested by the author in 1982-83 in Moscow with a survey of 400 respondents.¹

Test elements. The satisfaction of an individual with any kind of complex item is arrived at via a subconscious "summation" of satisfactions with the individual components of the item. However, since the person is unable to correlate with a sufficient degree of adequacy his rating with a high grading rate (from 0 to 100, for instance), verbal order scales are usually used: "perfectly satisfied," "satisfied," "somewhat dissatisfied," etc. The small number of gradations (as a rule, no more than seven) and the impossibility of direct interpretation of such scales in mathematical terms considerably hinder the solution of such problems. A solution can be achieved by separating the "basic" qualities of the subject and establishing the degree of satisfaction with them, with a subsequent reconstruction of a uniform satisfaction indicator, considered as a multifactorial value.

In the formulation of a sociological test all the necessary "basic" qualities are considered as judgments (question). They are usually drawn from different sources, such as publications, materials of other studies and, finally, newly developed ones (3). In order to present all the qualities of the studied subject more completely, the set of judgments must be expanded to an excessive

degree (usually to 200-300 (4)). Naturally, this complicates the survey procedure and the subsequent processing of its results.

However, a method free from such shortcomings exists. This applies to the compilation of thesauruses² (topic dictionaries), from which one can subsequently select all features of interest, expressed with the help of individual most frequently used (and, therefore, most commonly understood by the majority of the respondents) words and word combinations. It is precisely this method that was used in the questionnaire part of the test.

The working hypothesis (supported by the high degree of validity of results), satisfaction with the personal qualities of the marital partner is the determining indicator of the satisfaction of the spouses in a modern marriage.³ This basic premise which, actually, is not essential in terms of the basic idea of the AT test, enabled us to shorten somewhat the questionnaire part and to exclude questions pertaining to external noninterpersonal characteristics of the marriage.

Forty-four of the 78 positive personal qualities (5) were selected as repeatedly pointed out by the respondents as being of certain significance in family life. This was followed by a listing of corresponding negative individual features (see appendix and first and second parts of the survey).

Self-evaluation of the importance of qualities. Direct closed questions are usually asked in determining the degree of satisfaction, such as "to what extent are you satisfied with the following personality features of your spouse?" with a choice of alternative answers, such as "perfectly satisfied," "satisfied," etc. In this approach, however, the level of importance which each individual characteristic has in the eyes of the respondent, compared with all others, remains outside the field of vision of the researcher. Indeed, if the respondent has indicated as "satisfied" with "sense of humor" and "thrift," this does not mean in the least that said characteristics play an equal role in the overall satisfaction with the marriage, for, in the opinion of the respondent, their importance in terms of family life may be quite disparate. Some methods try to consider this circumstance with the help of a group of significance coefficients for each individual feature, as determined by experts. However, such coefficients are nothing other than the averaged opinion of the experts, which does not necessarily coincide with the viewpoint of the specific respondent.

We tried to resolve this problem by comparing the personal ("self-expert") assessment of the respondent on the significance of each individual quality in terms of family life (first part of the survey) with the answer to the existence of said quality in the partner (second part). In this manner the respondent correlates each singled-out feature with one of 28 variants of combinations of answers in both parts of the investigation (see appendix).

Data processing. In order to convert from the variants of the combination of answers to mathematical values which would characterize satisfaction with individual qualities, we must determine the distance (in the mathematical sense) between the various combinations of assessments of significance and

existence of qualities. In other words, we must introduce significance coefficients which form a scale of relations⁴ between combinations of assessments covering all possible variants. In other words, we must determine, for example, the extent to which a variant "is significant"--"exists" (answers No 2 and No 2 for the first and second parts of the survey, respectively) is different from the variant "is of great importance"--"exists" (answers No 3 and No 2). We shall not discuss here the description of the procedure used in defining the significance coefficients, which would take excessively long, but will list their values in the table (Table 1).

Table 1--Value of Significance Coefficients in Combining the Answers of the First and Second Parts of the Survey

Answer Number First Part	Answer Numbers, Second Part						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	+1	0	0	0	-1	-2	-3
2	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
3	+3	+2	+1	-2	-3	-4	-5
4	+4	+3	+2	-3	-4	-5	-6

The significance coefficients make it possible to subordinate the assessments of satisfaction with the individual qualities of the person to mathematical laws, thus allowing us to submit such assessments to a mathematical procedure for computing the summed-up satisfaction indicator. This requires: (a) to determine the number of identical variants of combination of answers in the survey; (b) to multiply the values by the corresponding coefficients; (c) to compute the balance of negative and positive ratings according to the formula:

$$Y = Y^+ + Y^-; Y^+ = \sum n_i \cdot K_i^+; Y^- = \sum n_j \cdot K_j^-$$

in which Y^+ is the sum of positive ratings; Y^- is the sum of negative ratings; $n_i(n_j)$ is the number of identical combinations in the investigation, corresponding to the positive (negative) significance coefficients; K_i^+ are the corresponding positive and zero significance coefficients; K_j^- is the corresponding negative significance coefficients; (d) to compute the coefficient of satisfaction by standardizing the balance⁵:

$$Y = \frac{Y}{Y^+ - Y^-}$$

Let us illustrate the processing of results with the example given in the appendix.

We shall compute the number of identical variations of combinations (the results are shown in Table 2, similar to Table 1).

Table 2

Answer Number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1		1	1			1	
2	2	7	2	3	1	1	
3	1	3	3	4		1	1
4				5	4	3	

By multiplying the number of combinations times the respective coefficient, we obtain:

Table 3

Answer Number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1		0	0			-2	
2	4	7	0	-3	-2	-3	
3	3	6	3	-8		-4	-5
4				-15	-16	-15	

$$Y^+ = 4 + 7 + 3 + 6 + 3 = 23$$

$$Y^- = -(2 + 3 + 2 + 3 + 8 + 4 + 5 + 15 + 16 + 15) = -73$$

$$Y = 23 - 73 = -50,$$

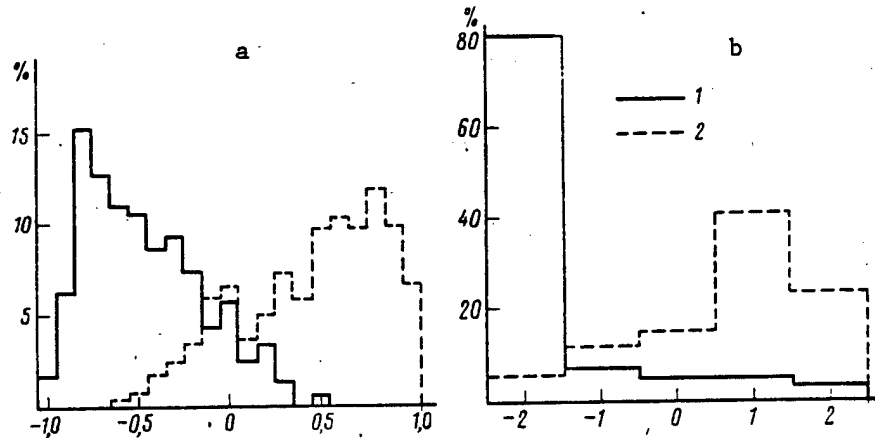
hence

$$Y = \frac{-50}{23 + 73} = \frac{-50}{96} = -0,5$$

Therefore, in this case the satisfaction coefficient is quite low.

Metrological characteristics and degree of information. The use of this test is considerably more complex than the direct grading method, for instance. However, it is expedient if greater accuracy and reliability in determining the level of satisfaction with the marriage are required. In our study both methods were used on a parallel basis. Let us compare some of the metrological characteristics of the test and the rating.⁶

Twenty-five respondents were tested again to determine the stability of the data, with intervals between questions ranging from several minutes to 3 days. The test results coincided for 22 of the respondents. In both cases the rating was on the same level and in one case on two. Therefore, stability averaged 88 percent. A similar indicator characterizes the stability of answers given by the same respondents in the use of the grading method. In this case we had three cases of grading disparity.



Breakdown of testing (a) and grading (b) results by group of coinciding (1) and noncoinciding (2) results.

The main summarized characteristic of the sociological measuring method is its validity, i.e., its ability to determine precisely the required feature. Such validity also includes a characterization of reliability or, in other words, the valid method is mandatorily reliable (7).

- The test and rating validity were checked with the "known groups" method. We took out of the entire group those who had filed a divorce petition at the time of the study, i.e., individuals whose dissatisfaction with family life was extremely low (163 people) and people who had no such desire, i.e., who were on an average highly satisfied with the marriage (237).

The validity criterion was the statistically reliable difference in the ratings of satisfaction with the marriage in the first and second groups. In this case, the sociodemographic similarity of the respondents is a necessary prerequisite. In our study the breakdown of the respondents in both groups was virtually identical in terms of sociodemographic characteristics.

The breakdown of the testing and rating results is shown in the diagram. We see that the use of both methods as a whole provides a statistically reliable disparity in group assessments, i.e., it is consistent with the validity criterion. The results of the grading, however, were less valid (and consequently, less reliable and accurate), for in this case the "dissatisfied" answer (5 percent) was received from the group of respondents who had no intention of divorcing, whereas the answers "perfectly satisfied" (2.6 percent) and "satisfied as a whole" (4.4 percent) came from the group of people who had filed for divorce. In the case of all such logically conflicting cases, the test coefficients of satisfaction are within the group of non-

diverging coefficients (no less than -0.6) and the diverging coefficients (not higher than $+0.5$). Let us also point out that whereas the correlation between group affiliation and respective points in the scale was quite natural, in the testing in the course of which direct survey results are subject to significant changes in order to obtain the satisfaction coefficient (the correlation of answers between the two parts of the survey, introduction of significance coefficients, standardizing), in itself the existence of such correlation is proof of the validity of the test and confirms its internal logical substantiation.

These facts of noncoincidence between the real intentions of the respondents and the results of the rating may be explained with the low "error-proof" nature of the method, in which a random error or a deliberately wrong answer substantially distort the overall measurement results.

Similar errors are possible in the test as well. However, a person unfamiliar with the principles of answer processing is virtually unable to distort them consciously or with adequate verisimilitude. Accidental errors affect the end result of the measurement significantly less than in the rating.

The low margin of error in quantification is a major advantage of the test. In the study of the satisfaction coefficient, which assumed practically uninterrupted values in the range between -1 and $+1$, the figures were rounded to the first decimal, i.e., our quantification interval equaled 0.1 with a number of ratings equaling 21 . Therefore, the quantification margin of error in the test in our case was lower than in the quantification of the scaling by a factor of more than 4 . In other words, the degree of sensitivity of the test was higher by a factor of 4 .

Such sensitivity is related both to the accuracy parameters and the other important feature of the measurement method: the level of information provided by the results of the measurement, i.e., the measure of the value of the latter from the viewpoint of the amount of information they contain. In practical terms, a lower level of information provided by the measurement method means that the study of group characteristics requires a greater number of measurements. However, in the case of some questions asked on the basis of a low sensitivity method, no answer is possible. This becomes obvious if we consider the results of the testing and rating of those seeking a divorce as shown on the diagram. The first method shows the existence of extremes, which is not detected in the second.

Another essential advantage of the testing is, as we pointed out, the fact that satisfaction indicators have mathematical features and can be studied with any mathematical method desired. As to the results of the rating, essentially they allow us to compute individual answers only.

The important problem of the meaningful aspect of the information acquired in the course of the testing will not be considered in this article. Let us merely point out that the test enables us to obtain not only formalized data, such as satisfaction indicators, but also rich meaningful data, to study the views and needs of the respondents in the field of marital relations, to determine the specific reasons for dissatisfaction, etc.

Some investigation results. Let us cite some actual data obtained to illustrate the possibilities of the method.

Let us introduce the divorce threshold concept, i.e., a marriage satisfaction value (in this case it would obviously be more expedient to speak of a dissatisfaction value) at which the individual decides to divorce and takes certain steps in that direction. The results of the study indicate the existence of a specific range of values for the threshold of such actions for different individuals and different sociodemographic groups. The values of the action threshold for some categories of people seeking a divorce are shown in Table 4 (for the sake of greater clarity the satisfaction coefficients are rated from -100...to +100).

The lowest divorce threshold was noted among young couples. The indicator rises with age, reaching its peak between the ages of 30 and 34, after which it begins to decline. The divorce threshold is inversely proportional to education: the highest figures are for people with incomplete secondary education and the lowest applied to university graduates. On an average, the social status has virtually no influence on the threshold level (the somewhat higher figure for the workers is clearly related to the education factor). However, the size of the threshold is greatly influenced by the existence of children; childless couples tend to break up their marriages at a relatively minor degree of dissatisfactory family relations. Such are some of the correlations obtained in the study of unstable marriages.

Table 5 shows data on satisfaction with family life by various categories of stable marriages.

As we can see, satisfaction increases with age, reaching its peak between the ages of 30 and 34, after which it declines gradually. On an average, a greater satisfaction with family relations is characteristic of respondents with higher education, employees and childless couples.

Survey features. The study indicated that the respondents willingly participated in the survey. The percentage of refusals, even among a specific category such as those seeking a divorce, was statistically acceptable (approximately 5 percent). The form took between 7 and 12 minutes to fill out.

Conclusion. The AT test can be used as a standard element in conducting a variety of studies dealing with family and marriage problems. It can be used also in diagnosing the state of family relations by family services, in counseling, etc. Equally important is the fact that the extensive use of the AT test enables us to compare results of different studies.

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Appendix

Survey

Self-Expert Thesaurus Test of Marriage Stability (Answering Illustration)

I. Based on your personal experience, please rate the importance to family life of the following qualities of your husband (for wives) or your wife (for husbands).

Mark with X under the number of the rating you have chosen against each listed quality as follows: 1--unimportant; 2--important; 3--very important; 4--exceptionally important.

<u>Number</u>	<u>Personal Qualities</u>	<u>Ratings</u>			
		<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
1	Practical experience		X		
2	Beauty, attractiveness	X			
3	Skill, practical efficiency		X		
4	Practicality		X		
5	Education, cultural standard		X		
6	Sense of humor				X
7	Comprehensiveness of interests	X			
8	Strength, endurance		X		
9	Self-control, restraint			X	
10	Intelligence, quick-wittedness		X		

Number	Personal Qualities	Ratings			
		1	2	3	4
11	Taste, feeling for beauty		X		
12	Impressionability, emotionality		X		
13	Energy		X		
14	Civic-mindedness, responsiveness to social affairs		X		
15	Precision, punctuality			X	
16	Love of children		X		
17	Love of knowledge and reading			X	
18	No excessive garrulity	X			
19	Neatness, cleanliness		X		
20	Cheerfulness, optimism		X		
21	Communicativeness		X		
22	Independence of judgment, free-thinking		X		
23	Reasonableness			X	
24	Respect for the law and the rules of communal life			X	
25	Moderate use of alcoholic beverages			X	
26	Industriousness			X	
27	Thrift, economy			X	
28	Loyalty, devotion				X
29	Healthy ambition, aspiration for success, recognition	X			
30	Goodness, responsiveness				X
31	Respect of parents				X
32	Obligingness, lack of stubbornness				X
33	Lack of suspiciousness				X
34	Ability to express gratitude				X
35	Modesty, simplicity				X
36	Truthfulness, sincerity				X
37	Self-critical attitude, lack of self-confidence		X		
38	Conscience, feeling of duty				X
39	Feeling of justice, objectivity				X
40	Respect for people, politeness			X	
41	Moral purity				X
42	Honesty, incorruptibility			X	
43	Feeling of personal dignity				X
44	Generosity, hospitality			X	

II. Please rate the extent to which the positive or negative features listed in the table are present in your spouse.

To this purpose, determine the positive or negative feature inherent in the spouse and follow it with your rating.

This positive quality in my spouse is:

1. Clearly manifested--3
2. Manifested--2
3. Somewhat manifested--1
4. If you are embarrassed in your rating, make an X in the 0 column.

A negative feature in my spouse:

5. Present to a certain extent-- -1
6. Extant-- -2
7. Clearly manifested-- -3

		Column Number								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
		Rating								
No	Positive Feature	3	2	1	0	-1	-2	-3	Negative Feature	
1	Practical experience		X						Absence of practical experience	
2	Beauty, attractiveness						X		External unattractiveness	
3	Skill, practical efficiency		X						Inefficiency	
4	Practicality			X					Impracticality	
5	Education, cultural standard		X						Low cultural standard	
6	Sense of humor		X						No sense of humor	
7	Comprehensiveness of interests		X						One-sided interests	
8	Strength, endurance				X				Physically underdeveloped	
9	Self-control, restraint		X						Lack of restraint	
10	Intelligence, quick-wittedness		X						Lack of intelligence	
11	Taste, feeling for beauty					X			Lack of taste	
12	Impressionability, emotionality		X						Indifference, lack of impressionability	
13	Energy						X		Sluggishness, passiveness	
14	Civic-mindedness				X				Indifference to social affairs	
15	Precision, punctuality				X				Lack of punctuality	
16	Love of children				X				No love of children	
17	Love of knowledge and reading			X					Lack of inquisitiveness	
18	Brevity		X						Garrulity	
19	Neatness, cleanliness			X					Sloppiness	
20	Cheerfulness, optimism		X						Pessimism	
21	Communicativeness	X							Unsociable	
22	Independence of judgment	X							Thoughtlessness	
23	Reasonableness	X							Unreasonableness	
24	Respect for the law and the rules of communal life			X					Scorn for behavioral norms	

		Column Number								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
		Rating								
No	Positive Feature	3	2	1	0	-1	-2	-3	Negative Feature	
25	Moderate use of alcoholic beverages			X					Tendency to overuse alcoholic beverages	
26	Industriousness						X		Laziness	
27	Thrift, economy			X					Wastefulness	
28	Loyalty, devotion						X		Unreliability	
29	Healthy ambition, aspiration for success				X				Envy	
30	Goodness, responsiveness					X			Lack of responsiveness and goodness	
31	Respect of parents				X				Lack of respect for parents	
32	Obligingness						X		Stubbornness	
33	Lack of suspiciousness				X				Suspiciousness	
34	Ability to express gratitude					X			Ingratitude	
35	Modesty, simplicity				X				Pretentiousness, immodesty	
36	Truthfulness, sincerity					X			Mendacity	
37	Self-critical attitude							X	Self-confidence	
38	Conscience, feeling of duty				X				No sense of obligation, irresponsibility	
39	Gentility, tolerance					X			Rudeness, harshness	
40	Respect for people				X				Impoliteness, rudeness	
41	Moral purity						X		Slackness	
42	Honesty, incorruptibility				X				Dishonesty, corruptibility	
43	Feeling of personal dignity				X				Absence of sense of personal dignity	
44	Generosity, hospitality	X							Greed	

FOOTNOTES

1. The essential ideas on which the AT test is based are presented in (2).
2. For the methods used in formulating the thesaurus of personality qualities see (5).
3. This is not to say that the other factors are of no significance whatsoever. It is a question merely of assessing the degree of satisfaction with the marriage. The fact that the satisfaction indicator for the marriage as a whole is the satisfaction with the personality of the spouse allows us to assume the existence of a psychological phenomenon of transference of external (favorable and unfavorable) conditions to the perception of the personality of the spouse.

4. Naturally, strictly speaking, it would be more accurate to describe this scale as "scale of relations with an accuracy to the level of erroneousness of the method" or a scale of quasirelations (6).
5. The choice made by the respondent among the variety of answers depends to a certain extent on his emotionality and customary means of expressing feelings verbally. The norming operation reduces such answers to a uniform scale.
6. The levels of satisfaction were rated on the basis of a five-point system: -2 --"dissatisfied"; -1 --"somewhat dissatisfied"; 0 --"difficult to answer"; +1 --"satisfied as a whole"; +2 --"perfectly satisfied."

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SURVEY TECHNIQUES AND POSSIBILITIES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84
(signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 164-172

[Article by M. I. Zhabskiy: "Survey Possibilities, Limits and Techniques." Mikhail Ivanovich Zhabskiy is a candidate of philosophical sciences and head of sector at the All-Union Scientific Research Cinematography Institute, USSR Goskino. He is a specialist in the method and methodology of sociological research and author of the monograph "Metodologiya Prikladnogo Sotsiologicheskogo Issledovaniya" [Methodology of Applied Sociological Research (1976). He is also the author of the articles "Reliability of Sociological Measurements" (No 2, 1982) and "The Social Drama of American Cinematography" (No 4, 1983) and others, published in our journal]

[Text] Two features of a survey are frequently noted in method literature: seeming simplicity and exceptional actual complexity. This is no accident. It is as simple to establish contact with the respondent, to ask a question and to obtain an answer as it is difficult to recreate through such answers the true picture of the phenomenon or process. By no means does the researcher always take this into consideration, which lowers the reliability and the practical significance of the survey. Some sociologists begin to doubt the method itself while practical workers mistrust the possibilities of applied sociology in general.

Surveys are not a specifically sociological tool. They are extensively used in many social sciences. Furthermore, surveys are not the only method for gathering prime data in sociological and a sociological study goes far beyond an empirical analysis. "The main content...of a specific sociological study," A. G. Kharchev points out, "is the scientific-theoretical analysis of social problems..." (3).

Although we reject the interpretation of a survey as a purely sociological method, we nevertheless can and must discuss the specifics of its application in sociology. A survey may be described as sociological only if it is part of the type of concept of the world and the style of thinking which is inherent in applied sociology, when the standards of application of this method, specific to this science, are used. Otherwise it cannot be described as a sociological survey. In the best of cases it is applicable to other scientific disciplines or to extra scientific knowledge and at worst it is a scientific reject.

The boom in surveys, which was noted in the 1960s and 1970s, created the false idea of the similarity between surveys and applied sociology and a certain doubt as to the possibilities of the latter. These concepts took into consideration merely the "proclaimed" status of the surveys--the fact that they were conducted by research collectives which described themselves as sociological. The conventionality of this status was ignored. Today this must be pointed out most clearly and definitely.

The sociologist comes across numerous individual rules in publications dealing with surveys. The situation with explaining the nature, cognitive possibilities and limitations of the method as a whole and its individual varieties, are in considerably worse shape. Nevertheless, we should remember that "whoever undertakes to deal with a specific problem without having previously resolved general problems will inevitably and subconsciously be facing such general problems along every step of the way" (1).

Cognitive possibilities of the survey. In a first approximation, a survey may be defined as a method for gathering prime sociological data by asking questions of a group of people of interest to the researcher. Taking into consideration the features which indicate how and under what circumstances such questions may be asked, we can obtain operational definitions for individual survey varieties. Their cognitive possibilities, however, are by no means identical. Substantial differences exist between questioning experts and respondents.

Let us compare these methods according to the following parameters: object of the survey; method of obtaining information by the sociologist from the respondent and the expert; type of reported information and language of communication. With the help of a survey or interviews, the sociologist turns for information to a representative of the group he is studying. The subject of the survey is phenomena and processes characterizing the respondent (his status and consciousness, and conditions, process and results of activities). The ordinary knowledge of the respondent, obtained spontaneously and empirically, not necessarily a product of and prerequisite for his specialized professional activities, is the source of prime data. The language level is conversational. A different picture prevails in a survey of experts. Here the subject is not the expert himself but external phenomena and processes. The information which the sociologist obtains from the expert is reached on the basis of scientific or spontaneous-empirical knowledge which, however, is a mandatory product of and prerequisite for specialized activities. Therefore, professional knowledge is a primary data source.² The language of the survey is both conversational and specialized.

We see, therefore, that these two methods are essentially different. Their similarity resides in the fact that access to the source of primary data is obtained through interpersonal contacts and questioning. However, these are derivative actions which appear as a consequence of the fact that in order to obtain primary information the sociologist turns to the external nonobjectivized awareness of the people (respondents or experts). The main factor here is the type of knowledge to which the sociologist addresses himself: ordinary or professional.

In establishing the relation between the survey of respondents and of experts, we must clarify the inner features of these methods. An operational definition is inadequate even when it is a question of cognitive possibilities and limits of a respondent survey.³ A survey may be defined as a method for gathering prime sociological information on a studied problem, in which the source of the information is ordinary, stemming from spontaneous-empirical knowledge of people who are the subject of the study and in which the means of utilization of the source is intercourse based on the exchange of information through the "question-answer" system.

This definition shows that in the course of the survey the sociologist finds himself in a somewhat paradoxical situation: as a scientist and a specialist, who must provide answers to vital problems of phenomena and processes which characterize one social community or another, he himself asks questions of ordinary people, relying on their ordinary knowledge. How does this method acquire a scientific value?

This contradiction is resolved by "enriching" ordinary knowledge. With the help of the survey the sociologist acquires a sum of individual empirical statements from which he develops a knowledge of the subject of the study, either entirely or partially. The logical form of knowledge changes. Individual views are transformed into separate and general (on the level of description of the research subject). Furthermore, uncoordinated information, contained in the ordinary knowledge of many people, is "condensed" on a new higher level of reflection and reduced to a sum of essential social indicators. In turn, the latter are grouped around the research problem and, through it, become related to the topical tasks of development of theory and practice, as a result of which the defined boundaries of a specific social community become comprehensively clarified (in their essential aspects). The data based on ordinary knowledge are converted into elements of scientific knowledge, as confirmed by the parameters of the cognitive image developed by the sociologist: the object (phenomena and processes important in terms of social practice), the subject, the social role, the extent of penetration into the essence of the matter, the consolidation method, etc. Therefore, sociological knowledge operates here as a manifestation of the dialectics of ordinary and scientific knowledge. It would be hard to find another case in which science can assimilate ordinary knowledge so energetically.

The transformation of ordinary into scientific knowledge becomes possible through the application of the methods of representative selection (observation units are considered in their totality as a model of the research subject), the group analysis of data, mathematical statistical methods and sociological theory. The latter determines the selection of research topics, understanding the origin, place and functions of the phenomenon under study within the system of social relations, the search of facts, the productive classification of empirical data, etc. Let us particularly single out the methodological principle of unity between theory and practice. The systematizing and conversion of data-based on ordinary knowledge from the level of the individual to that of the social group and, on this basis, the formulation of significant social indicators of specific activities and "tying" the latter to topical problems of theory and practice are the essence of the means of

"enrichment" we mentioned. Through such methods initial information changes radically. A dialectical leap takes place and the sociologist obtains something which is essentially inaccessible through the spontaneous-empirical knowledge of the respondents. Suffice it to point out established facts of mass behavior, the close connection among various types of variables, etc.

The survey method provides information which may be taken as raw material in obtaining essentially new scientific information. The tasks of the experienced sociologist, which may seem paradoxical on the surface, are entirely clear: he tries to formulate the main question to himself and the basic question to the respondent. Having obtained the basic knowledge, thanks to the "enrichment" of such information, the sociologist recreates the true, the "essential" knowledge.

It is these two circumstances which determine to a decisive extent the cognitive possibilities of the survey. The problem is how to use them accurately. Research practice indicates that obstacles in this area are abundant, ranging from shortcomings in the professional training of the sociologist to negative influences of the overall social context. In a socialist society, the use of surveys has specific characteristics. The increasing level of conscious and active participation of the individual in social affairs, continuing improvements in the population's educational standards and steady progress in technical communications facilities (4) create opportunities for the efficient application of the survey method.

Limits of survey effectiveness. The use of the survey method has its limits. They begin at the point where precise information needed to test a hypothesis cannot be drawn from the ordinary knowledge of the people concerning themselves and their surroundings. The sociological approach to this phenomenon is distinguished by its comprehensiveness and consideration of a wide range of economic, sociopolitical and spiritual factors (5-7). Understandably, the features of many of them are not reflected in ordinary knowledge. Therefore, the survey should be combined with others methods for gathering prime data. V. I. Dobren'kov justifiably points out that nothing can replace a survey when "complete information concerning subjective opinions, feelings and reasons for individual behavior" must be gathered (8). However, this too has its limits. Practical experience indicates that the respondent may be asked questions which he is objectively unable to answer accurately. Nevertheless, in the majority of cases the method works. But how well? The results may be misleading.

In speaking of the limits of a sociological survey, we must point out that some publications rate it quite skeptically. The argument here is the fact that the recorder of prime data does not have the possibility of directly observing the studied features. Indirect observations, however, are not sufficient reasons for rejecting the suitability of studying reasons, interests, and so on, with its help. We disagree with B. M. Teplov,⁴ who opposed the study of secondary school student interests through surveys (9, p 32). In his view, the reason for which psychologists resort to such surveys is "the still-extant vestige of the belief that man has a kind of tool inaccessible to others in the consideration of his interests" (ibid.). Had psychologists been

convinced that a range of interests of respondents can be defined only indirectly, according to B. M. Teplov they would apply questionnaires not for the sake of determining the interests of the people but of establishing the way the latter describe their interests and the adequacy with which they realize them (ibid.). It is erroneous to reject the legitimacy of studying interests through questions on the basis that the person does not have a tool for their "direct consideration." The researcher could proceed from the fact that such considerations are known to the respondent albeit on a limited and partial basis. This would provide adequate grounds for careful use of surveys.

We find in literature (10-13) many valuable indications of the limited nature of cognitive possibilities offered by the survey method. This, however, does not eliminate all problems which arise in research practices. In our view, the limits of a survey should be considered in two aspects.

The first may be described as methodological. At the early stages of the study, when nothing but the decision to use a survey in gathering prime data has been made, thought should be given of its suitability. The ordinary knowledge of the respondent is insufficient to ensure the profound and full study of any problem with the survey method. It can satisfactorily reflect features or indicators or else a certain share of phenomena. Let us assume that we want to study reserves for upgrading labor productivity at an enterprise. To the extent to which they are related not only to the subjective attitude of the workers to their jobs but also to the labor organization and conditions, the nature of job-related illnesses, etc. (14), a simple survey would not do. A variety of methods will have to be used in acquiring prime data.

The second aspect may be described as technical. Subsequent to the empirical interpretation of the terms used to formulate the problem and the research hypothesis, and after determining the fact that the necessary data can be essentially obtained with a survey, the sociologist undertakes to draw up the questionnaire and to convert programmatic into technical questions. It is precisely the technical question which contains the specific problem which the respondent must resolve. In developing and defining the circumstances under which the question will be asked, we should consider the limits of the method, for a technical question sometimes includes a problem which the respondent is unable to resolve objectively. But even were he able to do so, this is not to say that the limits of the effectiveness of the method have been observed. A specific problem should be formulated in such a way and under such circumstances that the respondent would like to resolve it. Other conditions exist as well but that was the main one: on the technical level the researcher does not go beyond the limits of the effectiveness of the method only if he asks of the respondent a question which contains the problem which the latter is objectively able and willing to resolve within the specific situation of the survey (for he is the holder of the respective information).

Such an understanding of the limits of the efficiency of this method applies to the direct survey and is not oriented toward covering the range of features per unit of observation, which theoretically could be accurately reflected in prime data with the help of direct questions. On the contrary, it proceeds

from the specific situation of the measurement. Hence the dynamic nature of thusly interpreted boundaries. Expanding the range of efficiency of a direct survey may be achieved by improving applied procedures. For example, the willingness of the respondent to provide truthful information and thus to broaden the actual boundaries of the efficiency of the survey may be intensified with the help of a psychologically substantiated formulation of the question.

The features which are accessible through direct surveys on the level of the individual measurement include all those which are adequately reflected in the mind of the respondent. Naturally, however, this is providing that the accurate transmission of existing information is supported methodically. We shall not discuss the limits of effectiveness of indirect surveys on the technical level. This method enables us to obtain information about which the respondent either has no awareness or is unwilling to communicate and which, essentially is one of the means of "enriching" initial information.

We frequently notice in research practices that on the technical level the limits of survey efficiency are violated. Questions are frequently asked which the respondents are either unable or unwilling to answer. Leading questions are asked, and so on. Errors in this respect are sometimes so gross that a survey of respondents begins to look like a survey of experts. Such transformations usually take place in unprogrammed surveys. The logic of resolving a research problem demands of the sociological to provide initially a conjectural answer to the cognitive question, presented as a "problem." This answer is subsequently converted into a series of logical consequences which, in turn, are converted into program and only then into technical questions. In an unprogrammed survey the logical stages are arbitrarily omitted, at which point, in an effort to fill the gap, the sociologist asks respondents, in a somewhat amended form, naturally, research questions. Although the respondents may answer the question, in this case they are expressing more their confusion with the problem rather than their true concepts, motivations, etc. The unsubstantiated orientation of the researcher toward cognitive possibilities in the survey of experts occurs also when the questionnaire includes the formulation of a practical problem adapted to the measurement. By omitting a maximal number of consecutive links in the research process, the sociologist directly asks the respondent how to improve the work of the enterprise, lower cadre turnover, etc. Naturally, questions formulated in the language of managerial decisions do not yield substantial results. The logic of the survey is such that the answers to multiple-level and problem questions are uninformative. Furthermore, their interpretation becomes quite problematical (15). In order for such errors to be avoided, we must thoroughly substantiate the empirical level of the study and conservatively assess the information possibilities of the respondents, their readiness to supply accurate information, etc.

It was already pointed out that sometimes the sociologists doubt the cognitive value of surveys. Such doubts arise mainly among theoreticians. Conversely, practitioners show a sometimes excessive optimism. This applies less to assessing the essential possibilities of a survey (the methodological level) than the rating of its techniques. It is precisely at this point that we must

remember that the method of observation of characteristics in a survey is quite vulnerable. This circumstance should be compensated for with corresponding technical support which we shall now discuss.

Survey techniques. The quality of prime data is the derivative of a number of factors operating within the situation of the measurement. Methodical control achieved through the technique of this survey should, naturally, be comprehensive. This is insufficiently considered in the method for the presentation for such technique in various publications: the thorough description of its components and the virtually total neglect of system-forming principles and structures, which complicates the development within the researcher of an overall view of the technique of the survey and his comprehensive mastery of the latter. It would be useful to refine the concept of "research technique" (prime data gathering) and to single out within it the aspect related to the technique of the survey. The inner interconnection, structure and reciprocal influences are easier to detect in the components of the survey technique.

In order to obtain the desired information by gathering prime data, the sociologist uses accessible subjects as technical tools. The method used in including them in the research process is technical. The combined tools and means of their utilization are the technique of the study. In the actual scientific process they come as an entity. Their various combinations (usually consisting of several tools and methods) constitute the individual procedures. The technique of the survey is the sum total of tools and methods, used in "converting" the ordinary knowledge of the respondent into prime sociological data may be divided into strategic and tactical.⁵ (Respectively, we can speak of two levels of conversion of programmatic into technical research questions on the strategic and tactical procedural levels.)

The procedure of recording the individual feature is divided into two stages. Initially, a general decision is made on how to record all (or virtually all) characteristics which are the subject of the specific study: through a verbal or written survey, standardized or nonstandardized interview, etc. This includes the formulation of strategic procedures which characterize the measurement of the characteristics within a specific study. Then, taking into consideration the content of the specific characteristic, the researcher develops the procedure for its detailed measuring. Guided by specific rules, he adopts tactical procedures (direct or indirect, leading or neutral questions, etc.).

We see, therefore, that the specific tactical procedure is used within the limits of a stipulated strategy. Its possibilities depend on this context. For example, in a written and oral survey the same formulation may assume different technical shades for the simple reason that in the course of the interview the respondent perceives it as though through the lens of his own image of the interviewer. This is particularly typical of an open question (17).

Some strategic procedures are variants of the solution of the same problem of the survey technique and various methods of "handling" one and same subject. They can be combined into autonomous units based on the nature of the influence--the means of communication, topic of the survey, the interviewer, the

respondent, the external conditions of the measurement situation or the time needed for the survey. Let us particularly single out procedures which characterize the communicating method the measurement of which includes sociopsychological problems which must be resolved with the help of the survey technique. Therefore, strategic procedures in this area are the base of the survey. It is they which define the limits of the cognitive possibilities offered by this method in its specific application. The point is that each survey strategy has its own characteristics. In this connection, let us consider personal interviews and written surveys by correspondents.

In the personal interview the recorder of prime data is the representative of the research organization, whereas the respondent himself becomes the recorder in a written survey. Hence the differences in the method of using the source of prime data common to the survey. In the first case, the recorder begins by encouraging the external targeting (verbally) of the ordinary knowledge of the respondent, which he subsequently observes and determines the condition of the feature (objective observation). In the second case, the actions of the recorder are reduced to updating his own knowledge of the features of interest to the sociologist (subjective observation). He turns for information to his own externally not objectivized awareness. In both cases technical indicators (subjects observed by the recorder) and empirical correlations at the lower "level" of conceptualization, included in the hypothetical-deductive research system (recorded features) do not coincide. This is the indirect observation method which may assume different contents.

In applying the survey method, the sociologist looks at the recorded feature through the eyes of the respondent who is either the subject of the observation or both the object and recorder of the observation. In a written survey the respondent is part both of the system and the subject of the observation; in a personal interview he is exclusively the subject. Differences among compared strategies in the structure of empirical measurements are related to this as social situations. In a written survey the recorder is never included in the structure of the administrative hierarchy. This leads to the appearance of specific "gaps," which is reflected on the quality of the prime data: from the viewpoint of the process of obtaining scientific information, the recorder acts as member of the research group (for it is he who records the prime data in the research form). However, not being part of the group organizationally, he is not an actual member of the research collective. For this reason the behavioral norms adopted by the respective collective do not apply to him, which triggers certain difficulties. For example, recorders-interviewers must be carefully chosen and paid for their work. This ensures more or less reliable incentives for observing research standards. The respondent, however, becomes a recorder by the will of fate, the possibility of training him is virtually nil and no research standards are stipulated. One is forced to rely on the general "inertia" of social behavior. Since the respondent is given the necessary information in writing, in filling the form he is essentially left to his own devices. The lack of impetus provided by the member of the research organization is an essential feature in this type of survey procedure.

These and other characteristics of a written survey by correspondence modifies its cognitive possibilities. It is particularly important to bear in mind the

shortcomings of a selected strategy. Thus, by no means could any problem be studied with the help of a written survey by correspondents, for within the framework of this approach it is practically impossible to secure a representative group. Many respondents either refuse to answer the survey questions at all or fail to answer many of them. Another major shortcoming of the written correspondence survey is the lack of guarantee that the survey is independently filled by the selected individual. Furthermore, the questionnaire should be brief and include relatively simple questions. The possibility of using sequential questions as a technical method is virtually excluded, for the respondent will read the questionnaire before filling it. This eliminates the possibility of conducting a survey within a strictly specified period of time, one day for example. The time needed for a survey is, as a rule, quite long.

The use of the strategy of the written survey, whatever its form, presumes a certain level of literacy and the physical ability to read and fill the form. Such simple conditions are not always available, should the survey apply to broad population strata, for the sociologist frequently has to deal with children, sick people or the very old. In such cases a written survey may be used only if combined with an interview, which severely hinders data comparability.

The task of tactical procedures is to obtain accurate information by utilizing the possibilities inherent in the chosen strategy. We shall discuss here procedures which play a central role in the tactical arsenal of surveys: closed and open questions. These procedures are described in literature in a variety of ways, not always accurate. Thus some researchers claim that with the closed question the respondent is given a set of possible answers with the request to select "his own" variant; in an open question, he formulates his answer freely. Others consider as a characteristic feature of the closed question the fact that the classification of the answer is subject to direct measurement. In an open question the answer is entered in the minutes of the study and subsequently classified at the office.

We can easily notice that these viewpoints are conflicting. Let us assume that the interviewer asks: "What do you consider to be the most valuable aspect of your job?" And gives a corresponding rating to the answer. In this case the respondent is not given alternative choices. From one viewpoint (offering or not offering to the respondent a choice of possible answers), this question is open; on the other (the existence or the absence of field classification) it is closed.

The following detail will enable us to understand to a certain extent the reason for the coexistence of such disparate viewpoints. In a written survey—which predominates at the initial stages in the development of applied sociology—a field classification always accompanies the set of possible answers. In terms of this survey strategy, the two viewpoints do not appear to be mutually contradictory. In a verbal survey, however, which becomes popular at a latter time, it is no longer the respondent but the interviewer who grades the answer. In this case a field classification is possible without offering the respondent alternative choices.

In our view, this contradiction can be resolved quite simply by eliminating the second viewpoint as logically incorrect. A question is above all an instrument in data gathering. Therefore, the classification of its various types cannot be based on data processing (field or nonfield answer classification).

The first point of view should be concretized, for in the opposite case an erroneous identification of the type of question may result. Thus, based on the classification of procedures for the abstractly formulated criterion of "Was the respondent offered or not offered a choice of possible answer categories," the conclusion is sometimes possible and indeed drawn that usually open questions are asked in an interview. This survey strategy becomes actually deprived of an important tactical method such as the closed question and its possibilities become substantially impoverished.

Without additional explanations, said criterion does not provide a sufficiently clear idea of the nature of closed and open questions as specific research procedures, which makes their utilization more difficult. The required concretizing of the criterion consists of indicating the fact that "closed" questions may be asked through different means--in writing or verbally, within the limits of the formulation of the question itself or by offering a list of possible answers. It is clear, therefore, that closed questions are applicable in interviews as well. The "closed" feature is achieved with the help of a card or a corresponding formulation of the question as it is read.

In order further to refine the nature of closed and open questions, let us consider the expressed suggestion of distinguishing between "categorized" and "noncategorized" questions. This suggestion was made by FRG sociologist F.-R. Stroschein (18). His suggestion has a grain of rationality, although it contains illogical inaccuracy in the choice of criteria in distinguishing between the two types of questions. As interpreted by Stroschein, the categorized question contains an indication of the criteria on the basis of which the sum total of answers are classified (categorized) as the prime data are processed ("how many days in a week do you listen to radio advertising: 2-3, or less; 3-4 or 5 or more?"). If the criterion used in classifying the answers is not indicated within the context of the question, we have a non-categorized question ("To what degree are you aware of radio advertising?"), which does not make the specific subject clear (18, p 49).

In this case the inaccuracy resides in the fact that the systematizing of tactical means for gathering prime data is based on a criterion selected from the area of information processing rather than gathering. The criterion and the purpose of the systematization, therefore, lack the necessary coordination. This leads to the fact that the subsequent breakdown of categorizing questions into four groups (based on the extent to which the respondents have been informed of the categories), Stroschein distinguishes between strictly categorized and conventionally categorized questions which he defines, however, in such a way that on the level of the survey tactic there are better reasons to describe as conventionally categorized those which he describes as strictly categorized, and vice versa.

Stroschein describes as strictly categorized questions in the course of which the respondents are precisely informed not only of the criterion of setting up the category, important in terms of data processing, but also the distinction between all contemplated categories by enumerating them within the context of the question (an example of this is the question of the frequency with which the respondent listens to radio advertising). The conventionally categorized questions indicate, in addition to the criterion important in terms of data processing, that the only information provided is that of distinctions among answers or else that the set of categories is only partial. Accordingly, the strictly categorized question we mentioned could be considered, in Stroschein's opinion, as conventionally categorized, if subsequent to the survey and in the processing of prime data, the answers are classified not into three categories (2 days or less, 3-4 days, 5 days or more) but two (between 2 and 4 days or less, and 5 days or more).

This post facto operation does not change anything in the tactic of the survey itself, for the accuracy of the "protocol suggestion" remains unchanged. Furthermore, if we assume that it is precisely this secondary formulation that was used in the rating, there still is no reason to ascribe it the feature of being more strictly categorized. Rather the opposite, for we should consider as fully categorized the question in which all possible answer categories are enumerated. Any one of their combination which limits the length of the scale adds the element of conventionality.

The classification of technical questions into closed and open (or, which is one and the same, categorized and noncategorized) is expedient when the respondent is asked, verbally or in writing, as part of the survey or as a list of possible answers, the aspect and the categories within which he should classify a corresponding feature. We must consider as a classification criterion the existence of instructions issued the respondent concerning the logical base used in rating the status of the measured feature and the enumeration of the divisions within the measurement scale. The subsequent classification of closed questions may be based on the way and the extent to which all of this is reported to the respondent. It is entirely obvious that we must distinguish among several types of closed questions. So far, the sociologists limit themselves to singling out the "semiclosed" question, which substantially narrows the range of the technical means of measurement they use.

The conversion from the professional language of the sociologist to the ordinary language of the respondent is completed with the drafting of the questionnaire. The reverse also becomes possible in the subsequent study of prime data. The quality of the translation from one to another language is checked on the basis of a large number of criteria, many of which used at earlier research stages. At this stage the problem of preserving the meaning becomes particularly important, i.e., of seeing to it that, after reading or hearing the technical questions, the respondent will supply the sociologist precisely with information on the features stipulated in the research program. The meaning must be preserved also in the counterflow of information--in making respondent answers fit previously earmarked categories and the subsequent ascension on the stepladder of the hypothetical-deductive system. Here

the sociologist encounters major difficulties, which largely stem from the fact that he is forced to be guided to a considerable extent by his ordinary concepts of the respondent as a source of prime information (19). It is important for this circumstance to become a subject for more thoroughly planned research solutions.

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FOOTNOTES

1. For a substantiated criticism of this viewpoint see (2).
2. The concept of the ordinary in scientific knowledge is inadequate in providing a precise description of differences in the source of prime data in surveys of respondents and experts. Ordinary knowledge is used in both cases. However, the sociologist addresses himself to different levels of ordinary knowledge, to which we draw the attention of the reader.
3. In distinguishing between surveys of experts and respondents we must note a certain conventionality of this division, for in answering the question the expert willy-nilly performs the role of a respondent. However, he is no longer the type of respondent we usually have in mind. Henceforth, a respondent's survey will be cited merely as a survey.
4. His view is shared by many researchers.
5. The concepts of survey strategy and tactics were introduced by West German sociologist K. Chr. Behrens (16).

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CSO: 1806/26

EXPERIENCE OF KAMAZ SOCIOLOGICAL SERVICE DESCRIBED

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84 (signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 173-175

[Article by A.K. Zaytsev: "From the Experience of the KamAZ Sociological Service." Andrey Kirillovich Zaytsev is a candidate of philosophical sciences, chief of the KamAZ social planning and development department. He is the coauthor of the article "Problems of Plant Sociology" published in our journal (No 3, 1977)]

[Text] The creation of large production associations in the motor vehicle industry significantly complicated sociological management tasks. Sociological services are called upon to play a major role here. Sociological bureaus, laboratories and departments appeared in many sectorial enterprises (AvtoZIL, AZLK, KamAZ). However, they are suffering from serious shortcomings in their activities. So far, sectorial coordination is lacking. In this connection, it would be expedient to consider plant sociology problems based on a decade of experience.

In our opinion, the basic problems of enterprise sociological services include the following: 1) clarification of the functions of the sociological service (consultation-propaganda, social engineering, planning-forecasting, information-investigative) and determination of their significance (presently, the most important being consultation-propaganda, i.e. training managers and rank and file members in the fundamentals of social management); 2) introducing the specialization of sociologists (aside from the general management of the social development and planning department, the association plants have groups in which sociologist-planners, research sociologists, psychologists, sociologist-mathematicians and technical sociologists are employed); 3) clear definition of the official duties of any type of sociologist; 4) selection of a relevant problem, its analysis and solution by one of the collectives, generalization of the acquired experience and its dissemination in other subdivisions; 5) maximal use of achievements of other enterprises (for example, we solve the cadre retention problem using data from the Perm telephone plant experience; we studied the informal investigation method used at the Tiraspol garment production association and so on). It is important to emphasize that no investigation of ours is conducted without request by the data users.

Let us consider the functions of sociological service in detail.

The strategic planning-forecasting function is related to the development and fulfillment of a social development plan for an enterprise's collective. The sociological service organizes and coordinates these activities. It formulates plans and improves the legal base of social planning. The execution of the planning-forecasting function requires the determination and substantiation of plan goals, based on the development of a social situation in the collective, setting and assignment of technical tasks for completion by enterprise services, gathering primary data, drafting the project, coordination of views and approval of the final document, a social development plan and organizing control over its implementation.

A social development plan for 1 and 5 year periods is being formulated in the KamAZ. It includes plans for plants and services numbering more than 1,000 persons. Social documentation of collectives of plants, services, shops and departments (numbering more than 50 persons) is drafted annually.

By our calculations, putting this system into operation would require 6 to 8 years. We began with a prototype documentation system. The first collection of social documentation would take almost a year, the second about half a year, and the third would be conducted in less than a quarter. The degree to which automated methods for social information and analysis also influences the time needed for developing social documentation.

Of course, the purpose of a sociological service is not the complete and detailed formulation of a social development plan. This is a task for the entire collective. The direct responsibilities of sociologists are to coordinate association services participating in plan drafting, to sum up material development and create a uniform comprehensive document. Experience shows that it takes from 6 to 18 months to develop a social plan. Therefore, attempts to create one in a month or two at the least, are not serious. At best, limited data on the collective's manpower structure and a study of individual social aspects, even with the availability of a sociological service, can be provided within such a time period.

The least developed aspects of social planning are the forms and techniques needed to encourage execution of the social development plan. Therefore, control over execution of measures of the social development plan and the monthly socialist competition results deserve particular attention.

The activity of sociologists in a production collective is inseparably linked to the execution of the information-research function. Further improvement of social management is hindered to a certain degree by insufficient study of the processes occurring in collectives and the poor development of applied sociological studies in enterprises.

The KamAZ conducts studies to substantiate steps for the improvement of individual aspects of the collective's activities and to meet association management needs for sociological and sociopsychological data. For KamAZ, where thousands of people work, sociological data to support plan developments requires the completion of roughly 14 research programs which include as many as 50 topics. It is necessary to consider that social data become obsolete

rather quickly (over approximately 3 years). This requires repeated studies, and some questions return annually.

Experience shows that it is extremely important to develop research programs which enable us to raise the quality of the tools used, to clearly formulate problems for machine data processing, to speed report drafting, to raise the level of substantiation of recommendations proposed by sociologists, psychologists, economists and other specialists. The gathering of objective data is also significant, since accurate conclusions can be formulated only on its basis. Often, an investigation ends with an enumeration of obtained data, statements of facts and very general wishes, the practical value of which is minimal.

As a rule, production managers are interested in functional data (according to our data, many managers run collectives by the "fire" principle: when something is "burning" it receives all the attention). That is precisely why express-analysis, usually based on expert surveys, is preferred. With the aid of simple programs, a sociologist can place a list of relevant socioproduction questions, corroborated by empirical data, on the manager's desk in 3 to 4 weeks.

The success of the sociologist's activities often depends on how well he presents the results of conducted investigations to the collectives' managers. Often the most brilliant reports gather dust in safes because they were composed without regard to the nature of the manager's work and the limited time at his disposal for making one managerial decision or another. Most frequently, the manager simply never reads the hefty volumes, containing data useless to him, such as, for example, description of the means used.

Our experience shows that it is completely justified to draft reports for the management on conducted research, and also short, analytical notes based on reports on personnel, discipline and so on. A suitable method for this is the 15-page "Social Problems of the Collective" information bulletin, which could be a bimonthly. Such information is easily mastered and is a good support for decision making.

The socioengineering function is related to resolving cadre retention problems and perfecting ideological activities in the collective. The consultation-propaganda function is related to the training of managers and rank and file members of the collective in the basics of social management, and of workers, who are functionally responsible for one section or another of the social development plan, in basic social planning. The lack of such knowledge is one of the main obstacles in the application of sociological recommendations. In our opinion, foremen and brigade leaders should attend 30 to 60 hour-long courses in basic social management, while shop and department managers should attend 80 to 100 hour-long courses.

Presently, sociologists are working in all sorts of subdivisions: personnel departments, NOT [Scientific Organization of Labor], labor safety, etc. In our opinion, a similar introduction of sociologists into the enterprise structure should be considered a temporary stage, which allows them to adapt to the collective and study its problems. However, there should be other

considerations regarding the sociological service as well. We think the collective's head sociologist should be assistant director for personnel and social development.

Just what is the structure of the sociological service of our production association?

At KamAZ there is a multilevel sociological service, which includes the following subdivisions: 1) a department of social development and planning (22 employees). This includes three structural units -- bureaus of social planning, sociological research and cadre retention. The department directs the drafting of sociological documents and the social development plan for the association collective. It supervises the fulfillment of projected measures and the development of long-term forecasts. It provides for methodical and organizational unity in social development planning, standardizes socioengineering developments and supports research and informational services (based on computers) to management and subdivisions. The department coordinates the activities of sociological groups in subdivisions, etc. 2) a sociological subdivision (from one to five employees) in each large production unit employing no fewer than 2,000 people. Subdivision sociologists are assigned the following tasks: social documentation and planning the social development of the primary collective, the application of socioengineering developments, conducting limited studies, counseling managers and spreading sociological knowledge. 3) public aktiv and specially trained personnel (assistant heads of shops for cadres, foremen and brigade leaders and organization engineers).

We deem it expedient to combine the efforts of psychophysicists, psychologists, sociopsychologists and sociologists, who often work independently, within the bounds of the social development service.

The unification of all aspects of sociological activities, beginning with the drafting of standardized research programs and ending with official instructions for sociological subdivisions, planning methods and lectures [part of sentence omitted] is an important problem. This is necessary for the development of research and planning methods, lecture courses and so on.

Problems regarding the organization of sociologists' work which deserve special consideration are labor norming, a planning system, etc. The optimal proposed situation would be one staff sociologist per 1,000 workers. Regarding normed labor outlays for the various aspects of sociological activities, the social planning department in the KamAZ is substantially influenced by the level of personnel qualifications.

Such are the basic "parameters" of the KamAZ sociological service. It continues to improve, guided by the progressive experience of the country's plant sociologists.

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CSO: 1806/26

AUTOMATED PUBLIC OPINION DETERMINATION IN ENTERPRISES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84
(signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 176-178

[Article by L. I. Men'shikov: "Automated Accounting of Public Opinion at an Enterprise." Leon Ivanovich Men'shikov is a candidate of economic science and sector chief of the Kommutator Production Association in Riga. He is a specialist in the field of labor organization and management. This is his first article in our periodical]

[Text] Practice shows that traditional methods of studying public opinion, particularly verbal and written surveys, are very labor-consuming and costly. An enterprise spends 500-550 rubles for developing and processing a survey consisting of 10 questions and designed for 1,000 respondents. Four hundred rubles are spent in conducting the investigation, verifying the answers, and coding the surveys. 2,400-2,500 rubles are spent for data processing and drafting of reports. The production cost, due to the distraction of the respondents from their main work while filling out a form (an estimated 0.5 hours per person) is 4,000 rubles. Thus, 7,000-7,500 rubles are spent to conduct a single survey. If one considers that in the course of a year, two or three surveys are conducted at an enterprise, the total expense increases to 15,000-20,000 rubles per year. Surveying uses up scarce paper. So, for a survey of 1000 workers with a three to-five page form, 15-25 kilograms of paper would be needed. One must remember the considerable time interval (up to half a year) between the time of conducting the surveys and obtaining their results, due to the labor-intensive processing. All of this reduces the effectiveness of applied measures, hindering the dissemination of sociological methods for public opinion study in enterprises.

Today, less expensive and more efficient methods are required of sociological investigations in industrial collectives. It is time to convert from manual methods for gathering and processing sociological data to the use of computers.

An automated public opinion determination system (ASUOM) has operated at the Kommutator Production Association (Riga) since 1976. The structural principles of the system were presented at the general meeting of the Latvian branch of the Baltic Department of the Soviet Sociological Association in 1978. At that time a model of a technical support system and a peripheral unit was demonstrated. In April 1981, experience gathered from a developed

and functioning system was considered at a seminar on problems of social planning, organized by the CP of Latvia Central Committee. The system was displayed at the Exhibit of the Achievements of the National Economy of the Latvian SSR and was awarded a 2nd Class diploma. It is currently operating successfully in the Kurganpribor Plant and some other enterprises in Siberia and Kazakhstan.

ASUOM (see picture) was intended for current gathering and processing of data obtained from the workers of industrial enterprises, on various social and industrial questions [1,2]. Its operation provides a set of technical data in two versions -- centralized and autonomous. The first includes a peripheral console on which is placed a question with prepared answer versions and their selection buttons. The peripheral consoles are connected through communication lines with a recording center, where the answers are counted. The second version uses individual consoles, consisting of a panel, recording instruments, and an answer counter. Both versions ensure the recording of the six possible answers. Twenty stationary peripheral units are installed in all basic subdivisions.

Sociologists draft lists, relevant to collective associations, of problems for a stipulated period (1 year, 5 years). So, a long-term list of problems in the 10th Five-Year Plan included 67 surveys, in which there were 16 items on industry, 11 on amenities and medical facilities, 11 on sociopolitical questions and increase of general education standards, nine on mass cultural and sports subjects, and 20 on sociopsychological aspects of management. The 11th Five-Year Plan provides for 104 surveys. Worker participation in production management will require 15 surveys, sociopsychological problems of improving industrial management -- 6; improvement of working conditions -- 9, spare time, study of value orientations, and workers' needs -- 15, improving skills and education levels -- 12, questions on pay and work incentive -- 11, strengthening labor discipline -- 10 surveys, etc.

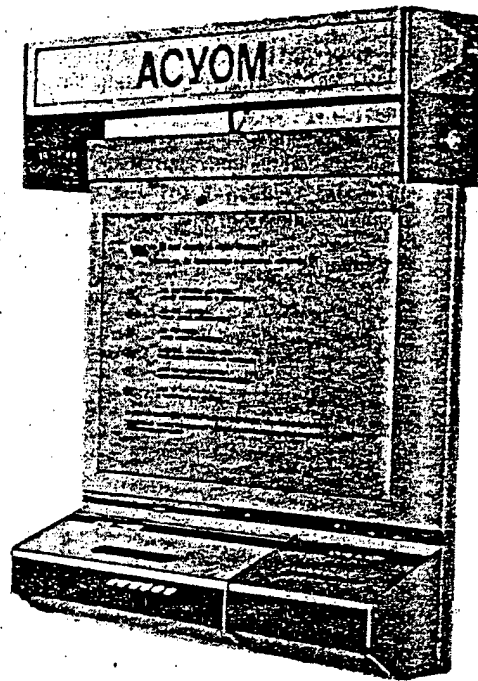
Questions with answer choices are placed on the peripheral console. Possibilities of data processing with the aid of a computer are considered. The resulting processing should produce detailed analytical tables with an alphanumeric printer (ATsPU).

Use of the system economizes on funds and time necessary for drafting and duplicating surveys, and conducting the surveys or interviews. It permits reduction of survey time as a whole, and for each respondent individually. It offers an opportunity to examine simultaneously a wide range of respondents, hardly distracting them from their main work.

This way, the administration and the party, trade-union, and Komsomol organizations are regularly informed about public opinion on one or another aspect of collective activities. Brief reports on surveys analyzing their results are continually published in the association's newspaper.

The cost of making the system is relatively low; the cost of the centralized version is 8,130 rubles and that of the autonomous version is 4,000 rubles. Operation expenses are 673 rubles per year. The system pays for itself in the very first year of its operation. Further improvements are projected,

particularly the inclusion of a set of automatic units based on a minicomputer for conducting surveys by telephone.



More than 50 surveys were conducted in the association, i.e. an average of 6 per year, twice as many as with traditional methods. For example, the "Your Free Time" series (1977) included 6 surveys; the "Organization of Your Labor" series (1978) had 5, and "Book and Reader" (1980) had 11 surveys. Nearly 64,000 answers were obtained. This means that on the average, more than 1,000 workers participated in each survey. The level of participation in surveys increases with the length of the entire period of system operation. Whereas an average of 460 persons participated in surveys in 1976, 814 participated in 1977. In 1980 there were 1,473 participants, and in 1983 - - more than 2,000. This is evidence that the system had won the trust of the collective.

In our opinion; ASUOM can be used not only in industrial enterprises, but also in agriculture (by means of installing separate consoles in mobile stations, in passenger cars, for example). Its application would be expedient in a system of public amenities, public catering and trade. Of course, this would require further improvements of the system: increasing the number of tabulators for recording additional choices and developing safeguards to

prevent unconscious use. Such expenditures, however, will pay for themselves quickly.

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CSO: 1806/26

Political Consciousness of FRG Workers

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84
(signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 184-186

[Article by Yu. N. Antrushin: "Features of the Political Consciousness of FRG Workers." Yuriy Nikolayevich Antrushin is a candidate of historical sciences and docent at the chair of the international labor movement of the Komsomol Central Committee Higher Komsomol School. He is author of the monograph "Ideologicheskaya Bor'ba i Molodezh' Kapitalisticheskikh Stran" [Ideological Struggle and the Youth in Capitalist Countries] (1976) and co-author of the monograph "Profsoyuzy i Klassovaya Bor'ba v FRG" [Trade Unions and Class Struggle in the FRG] (1982). This is his first article in our journal]

[Text] The protracted economic crisis has led to a considerable worsening of the material situation of the West German working people. A lowered industrial output and reduced demand for manpower contributed to the growth of mass unemployment which, even according to official data, had reached an unparalleled level at the start of 1983, exceeding 2.2 million people or 9 percent of the total hired labor (3). Increased inflation paralleled unemployment, entailing price increases of food and consumer goods and communal and medical services (4). All of this was paralleled by the increased attack on the democratic rights of the working people and the trade unions. In 1979 the Federal Association of Entrepreneurial Unions adopted the document "Catalogue of Problems Subject to Coordination in Rate Policy," according to which many trade union demands were considered "anticonstitutional" and "inconsistent with general economic interests." The entrepreneurs began widely to resort to lockouts and other methods of "disciplining" strikers and to apply refined tactics with a view to dividing and weakening the labor movement.

The monopolies' withdrawal from the policy of "social partnership" and their aspiration to pull out of the crisis by intensifying the exploitation of the working class became increasingly obvious.

The workers' reaction was more than merely making trade union demands. To an increasing extent such demands are becoming interwoven with clearly expressed political slogans dealing not only with class but with intergovernmental relations as well. The shifts which are taking place in the sectorial structure of the economy are helping the process of intensive ideologization of the consciousness of the FRG working class. The share of workers employed in machine building and the electrical engineering, chemical, radioelectronic and

nuclear industries has increased with the acceleration of the scientific and technical revolution. A considerable percentage of the workers are concentrated in the pace-setting economic sectors distinguished by their high level of production concentration. In turn, this has increased the economic and political role of the working people. As V. I. Lenin noted, "...large plants (and factories) contain not only the numerically predominant segment of the working class but to an even greater extent the segment which predominates in terms of influence, development and ability to fight" (1).

The results of the sociological study of young workers, conducted by the Institute of Marxist Research in 1978, confirm the growth of the sociopolitical activeness of the working people in the FRG and the appearance of the new trends in the development of their political consciousness.¹

According to the majority of respondents, big capital plays the main role in the country's politics and true democracy can be achieved only if the ruling class is removed from power. Thus, according to 88 percent of the respondents, private ownership is created not through the personal efforts and zeal of the entrepreneurs but through the exploitation of hired labor; almost two-thirds are convinced of the existence of antagonistic contradictions between labor and capital; 92 percent favor participation of the working people in managing the country's production and economy; about 30 percent believe that the vocational training system could be improved by limiting the power of the large concerns.

However, changes in the political consciousness of the contemporary working class in the FRG are still taking place very slowly. As a rule, the attitude of the worker toward the capitalist class is expressed above all as dissatisfaction with the owners of the monopolies without, however, developing into an opposition to the bourgeois government as the overall spokesman for the owners' interests. Furthermore, by considering the bourgeois government as the representative of the interests of all citizens, the workers hope that it could protect their rights from monopoly encroachments. According to the study, 78 percent of the respondents are expecting the state to resolve all such problems (5, p 135). What is the explanation of this stance? Above all, we must acknowledge the strong influence which social reformism continues to exert on the FRG working class. The active promotion of a reformist ideology, the variety of means and methods used to influence industrial enterprise workers through the policy of social partnership and the key positions held by the SDP in the trade union movement cannot fail to influence the shaping of the workers' class consciousness. This is confirmed by the fact that some toiling strata accept (although not unconditionally) the capitalist system, believing that a "social and legal state" has been created in the FRG and that all that is necessary is to perfect the political mechanism.

In turn, both right-wing reformist and bourgeois ideology and politics are influencing the development and shaping of the political thinking of the young generation. The monopoly bourgeoisie, which has acquired tremendous experience and is resorting to skillful demagoguery, is still able to keep a certain youthful segment under its ideological control (6). The CDU/CSU claim that their policy allegedly leads to "peace at home and abroad, freedom, security,

social justice and economic prosperity" is the starting point of all demagogic CDU/CSU maneuvers. The aspiration to present the big capital party as the party of the "small people"--pensioners, young people, and the poor--is characteristic of CDU/CSU social demagogy. The bourgeoisie considers the promotion of political indifference as a means of drawing over to its side population strata which are either totally uninterested in politics or whose interests are limited to consumerist conformism.

The fear of losing their jobs and the weak links with trade unions and political organizations encourage some of the workers to remain passive. As the results of the study indicate, exploitation and unemployment are considered by some respondents as something stable, inviolable and even eternal, which one must tolerate. Many young people consider their rightless status at the enterprise "natural." They seek no means of changing the existing situation. Instead, they would like to change jobs, dream of another profession, etc.

Meanwhile, the worsened socioeconomic situation of the working people is triggering an energetic protest and is energizing the class struggle. In noting conflicting trends in the development of the awareness of the working class, V. I. Lenin emphasized that "the working class is spontaneously attracted to socialism. However, no less spontaneously is the most widespread (and constantly resurrected in a great variety of forms) bourgeois ideology being imposed on the worker (2).

According to the survey, more than 68 percent of the respondents are confident that "blue- and white-collar workers can earn just wages only through struggle." However, 86 percent are convinced that "whenever the entrepreneurs have a good income the workers as well can have good earnings" (5, p 28).

Views on the reasons for unemployment are equally conflicting. More than 40 percent of the respondents said that unemployment will not be eliminated as long as private enterprises exist, the purpose of which is to earn profits by exploiting the working people. Some workers, however, consider unemployment a "secondary" and temporary phenomenon caused by the economic crisis; "Unemployment is not typical of our state" (5, pp 52-53).

The pseudodemocratic concept of "social partnership," which is the backbone of bourgeois propaganda concerning the creation of prerequisites for prosperity in a capitalist society, plays a major role in shaping an integrative "above-class" approach in assessing the bourgeois state among the workers.

The results of sociological surveys conducted by the printing workers' trade union in 1979 give an idea of the conflicting views of the workers on social partnership (7). Asked "Do you consider that trade unions and entrepreneurs could cooperate as partners?" nearly 50 percent of the respondents answered in the negative. In commenting on this fact, Marxist researchers point out, however, that it would be erroneous on this basis to conclude that the workers were rejecting the very idea of partnership. Thus, 61 percent of the respondents believe that although "capital and labor have different interests, if both sides would take the common good into consideration conflicts could be avoided" (7, p 49). No single view exists on this problem also among those

who share the principles of this concept. In particular, more than 70 of its supporters believe that such relations are practically impossible, for the main objective of the entrepreneurs is to earn profits at the expense of hired labor. Most respondents consider that social partnership conceals the true nature of social relations in society.

On the basis of the views expressed on social partnership, West German Marxist researchers classify the respondents into four groups (7, pp 51-56). The first group (18.29 percent) consists of people with considerable experience in class actions and active participants in strikes and demonstrations. They reject any form of partnership cooperation consistently and on a principle-minded basis, proceeding from the fact that irreconcilable contradictions which can be eliminated only with class struggle exist between labor and capital. The members of the second group (28.66 percent) also have a negative attitude toward social partnership but favor the limited power of entrepreneurs at the enterprise. Nevertheless, most supporters of this viewpoint believe that both sides should avoid confrontation and aspire to trusting cooperation on the basis of equal participation in production management and control of investments. In this case antimonopoly views coexist with the social partnership idea of the need to pursue the "common good." The same view is shared by the members of the third group (23.78 percent). However, they formulate specific requirements for cooperation between trade unions and entrepreneurs, emphasizing that the latter frequently violate assumed obligations. Finally, those belonging to the fourth group (29.27 percent) essentially approve of social partnership, although they acknowledge that it conceals the nature of true relations in society.

Therefore, the studies reveal that anticapitalist feelings are largely spontaneous and have still not become the dominating feature in the awareness and behavior of the bulk of West German workers. Opposition to social inequality coexists in their minds with support of ideological concepts reflecting a bourgeois outlook. A considerable percentage of the workers have still not adopted conscious antimonopoly positions and share illusions according to which all problems can be resolved within the framework of the existing system.

As V. P. Iyerusalimskiy justifiably notes, the bourgeois, paternalistic social partnership interpretation of society has had a limited effect as a whole on the bulk of factory and plant workers. Its results, however, are reflected in the weakening and loosening of class guidelines (8).

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FOOTNOTE

1. The study was conducted in an industrial city on the Rhine River with a population of 170,000. The chemical concern was the main enterprise in the city, employing some 40,000 blue- and white-collar workers and vocational training students. Working youth aged 15 to 24 totaled 1,300 people. Two-thirds of them were men and one-third were young workers. The survey covered young male workers and vocational training students.

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CSO: 1806/26

Comments on Contents of SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84
(signed to press 19 Jul 84) p 200

[Letter to the editors by P. G. Znamenskiy, Strelkovoye village, Kherson Oblast: "Bolder Look at the Future"]

[Text] Dear editors! I am a retired miner. I read SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA regularly. With every passing year the journal is becoming increasingly interesting and meaningful. I very much liked R. G. Yanovskiy's article about the practical returns on social science (No 2, 1984). This is a militant and truly party-minded article. Allow me to express my view on the problem discussed by the author.

Our party calls upon the scientists daringly to conduct their research and expects of them the development of reliable means of upgrading production efficiency, establishing a classless structure, developing socialist democracy, etc. Yet the impression arises that some scientists deal with problems alienated from life and argue more about terminology than action. I agree with R. G. Yanovskiy that this conceals the "inability to pose and resolve practical problems."

I think that more practical returns will be achieved by the social scientists if they are considered as scouts for the future, which they must discover and to which they must lay a path. It is not excluded that some people may not choose the best way and that some may become lost. However, a good military commander usually sends his scouts in several directions and makes his decision on the basis of a comparison among the various types of information received from different sources. Today some "scouts of the future" march behind rather than ahead of the advancing forces. Naturally, it is safer to be in the tail. Such scientists do not err merely because they fail to carry out their social assignment and gain new knowledge. Personally, I believe that scientists must be in the lead. In this connection let me cite V. I. Lenin: "Anyone who would like to describe any live phenomenon in its development inevitably and necessarily faces the following dilemma: either to rush ahead or fall behind. No middle way is possible.... Such anticipation is not at all an error" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 3, p 322). It is also pertinent to recall the French saying that "he who tails someone is never ahead."

I would like to see in the journal specific forecasts rather than considerations of the difficulty of predicting social changes. In particular, I would be interested in the following: how are forms of ownership and distribution changing, what will happen with commodity-monetary relations and how will the family and the educational system develop in the future?

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Author's Views Questioned

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84
(signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 200-202

[Letter to the editors by L. P. Verevkin, Ashkhabad: "What Is the Author's Position?" and answer by author A. G. Vishnevskiy, Moscow]

[Text] Dear editors! I read in SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA (No 2, 1984) two reviews of A. G. Vishnevskiy's monograph "Vosproizvodstvo Naseleniya i Obshchestvo" [Population Reproduction and Society]. As is usually the case, I hoped to gain from the reviews a general idea of the new book which deals with problems which are of no direct concern to me (I am not a demographer but a social science teacher). In this case, however, this proved to be mutually exclusive. One of them says that the book "will be a major contribution to the general theory of population, historical demography and family sociology...", whereas the other describes it as a "theoretical barren flower." The first emphasizes the usefulness of using the author's conclusions in practical demographic policy whereas the other purely rejects this possibility. Which review to believe?

I was particularly disturbed by what one of the reviewers wrote on the attitude of the book's author to the possibility of controlling demographic processes. According to him, based on a recognition of the ability of the demographic system to manage itself, A. G. Vishnevskiy concludes that no conscious influence on this system is necessary, i.e., of the impossibility of charting any kind of demographic policy. Yet one does not proceed from the other. We acknowledge that society is a self-governing system without, however, drawing on this basis the conclusion of the senselessness of political activities and revolutionary struggle. This year will mark the 90th anniversary of the publication of V. I. Lenin's work "Who Are Those 'Friends of the People' and How Do They Struggle Against the Social Democrats?" It would be strange to go back to the populist myth, which was debunked in this work, of the insurmountable "conflict between the idea of historical necessity and the significance of individual efforts" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 1, p 159). Does the author nevertheless assume that the "self-regulation" of demographic processes would make them independent of human activities? Was it not possible for the editors to ask the author to explain his view on this important problem?

The editors acquainted Dr of Economic Sciences A. G. Vishnevskiy with this letter to the editors. Following is his answer to the questions raised in L. P. Verevkin's letter.

The work of a researcher does not end with the publication of results. The discussion which follows is a normal stage in the research process, for science is dead without clashing viewpoints. Having had the good fortune to write a book which has triggered debate among specialists, I deem it very useful to acquaint the readership with the positions of the arguing sides, for which reason I value exceptionally highly the editors' decision to publish two different reviews of my book.

It is not up to me to decide whose arguments--of the supporters or opponents of my concept of the demographic process--will be found more convincing by the reader. If a final judgment is possible at all, it will be passed by the development of demographic knowledge itself. Let us assume that V. I. Kozlov is right and that my work is no more than a theoretical barren flower. In such a case it will soon be entirely forgotten, and rightly so. If the assessment of my book by E. A. Arab-Ogly (and of authors of reviews in some other publications) proves to be more objective and better substantiated, perhaps something I have accomplished will endure. Possibly, those who are starting in their scientific activities today or will do so tomorrow will consider my views productive and will develop them even further. It would be useful, in such a case, for them to know that these views were defended in the course of an argument and had their opponents. This too would be just.

Now as to the self-organization of the democratic system and demographic policy. I did not pit one against the other in my book. The contraposition appeared in V. I. Koslov's review. My position on this matter agrees with yours. I emphasized that an understanding of the objective laws of the self-governing of the demographic system is important precisely because it enhances the effectiveness of demographic policy. "Could it not be, I wrote (p 233), 'that the policy pursued by the people is a manifestation of the forces of a self-regulating demographic system? Could it be something else? Self-regulating processes may be both spontaneous and conscious. In the second case people use the objective trends of this development for purposes of accelerating and facilitating the development of their understanding of the objective trends of this development.'"

My book deals precisely with the development of the scientific understanding of these trends, unlike their understanding from the position of "ordinary common sense." Hence the attention to processes of self-organization paid in it, for in a scientific approach "the main attention is focused precisely on determining the source of the movement itself" (V. I. Lenin, op. cit., vol 29, p 317), unlike the other possible approach with which, as V. I. Lenin said, "the movement itself remains in the shadow, its motive power, its source and its motivation (in other words, the entire source is transferred to the outside--God, subject, etc.)" (ibid.). V. I. Lenin wrote about "knowledge of all processes in the world in their 'self-dynamics,' their spontaneous development...." (ibid.). It would be strange for the study of demographic processes to follow laws other than those of studying "all processes in the

world." Let us add to this that whereas to V. I. Kozlov demographic processes are "fundamentally biological," while the social factor influences them from the outside, in my view, such processes have a social base. The social factor is found not outside but within them (I try to explain the content of this inner social nature through the concept of "demographic relations"). In this sense all of us are "within" a demographic system and we alone (rather than "God, subject, etc.") could change it in some ways.

That is what can essentially be said in a short answer to your letter. A more detailed answer may be found in the book.

FOOTNOTE

1. See VOPR. ISTORII, No 4, 1983; VOPR. FILOSOFII, No 12, 1983; EKONOMIKA I MATEMATICHESKIYE METODY, No 6, 1983; VOPR. EKONOMIKI, No 1, 1984; and SOV. ETNOGRAFIYA, No 1, 1984, the editors.

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CSO: 1806/26

ASSESSING MEDIUM-LEVEL MANAGEMENT QUALITIES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84
(signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 202-203

[Letter to the editors by S. M. Balanovskiy, Omsk: "On the Question of Assessing Managers' Business Qualities"]

[Text] Omsk sociologists have gained experience in the expert evaluation of moral-political, practical and personal qualities of enterprise managers on different levels (foremen, shop chiefs, their deputies, department chiefs and chief specialists). Such work was done at the Omskshina, Omsknefteogsintez and other associations. Expert evaluation is one of the mandatory procedures in the selection and placement of leading cadres and has become an element in the system for training a management reserve (1). For that precise reason we were interested in the article "Attempt at Assessing the Practical and Personal Qualities of Medium-Level Managers According to the Standard Criterion" (2) by L. I. Dubinskiy, A. L. Lutskiy and V. V. Shcherbin published in your journal. We are puzzled, however, by the approach suggested by the authors: the experts used to assess the work of Glavmosavtotrans [Main Moscow Automotive Transportation Administration] managers consisted of higher personnel only. Most of the methods used today proceed from the fact that a person must be assessed by his superiors, his fellow workers and his subordinates. In our practice, this involves two immediate superiors, two of his colleagues (holding the same position) and no fewer than three subordinates.

Our method has found support among specialists. For example, the authors of the monograph "Assessing Management Workers" believe that "the main assessment must come from the group of experts, for assessment by a group is more objective than by individuals" (3). Other authors have written that "one of the basic principles governing the assessment procedure in our country is its democratic nature. Hence, certification commissions must mandatorily include representatives of public organizations: party, trade union and Komsomol. Their participation would protect managers from possible errors in making their assessment on the basis of factors requiring objective judgments as well as in determining the results of such assessment" (4).

Therefore, in order to ensure the accurate, objective and democratic expert evaluation, a minimum of six experts should be used, including subordinates well-acquainted with the assessed manager. Naturally, this makes the procedure more labor-intensive and difficult. But its results become more representative.

The authors of the article justifiably note certain shortcomings in the method of expert surveys related to manifestations of the (gallo) effect and the effect of shifting scales, which stem from the characteristics of the psychological perceptions of experts. The Glavmosavtotrans sociologists tried to eliminate such distortions during the mathematical processing of the results. In our view, such errors can be reduced with the help of a clear uniform terminological dictionary of practical and personal qualities of evaluated managers.

In selecting experts we try to make sure that they are neither inimical to nor friendly with the assessed managers. This, however, is insufficient. The selection of experts must be based on scientific methods (testing, possibly).

Let us describe our experience in greater detail. For example, in developing models of the moral-political, organizational and practical qualities of a chief of sector or a senior foreman, on the party committee's recommendations 10 experts were selected, including chiefs of production lines and chiefs and secretaries of party bureaus of leading shops. They were given a list of practical and personal qualities which can positively influence the activities of those evaluated. The experts were allowed to extend the list. They were also asked to rate on a 5-point scale the significance of each quality (for some reason the authors of the article used a 7-point rating system in the expert evaluation, giving no reasons for their decision).

Let us assume that 10 experts will rate a specific quality as 3, 4, 4, 3, 2, 4, 4, 3, 4 and 3. The mean arithmetical (3.4) will be considered the level of development of a given quality in the assessed group of managers. If the mean arithmetical evaluation of all experts turns out to be higher than 3.4, the quality is considered as sufficiently developed in the assessed manager; if it is below that figure, it is considered insufficiently developed.

The Glavmosavtotrans sociologists have done what is required and which is of both practical and theoretical significance. Today a number of methods are used in the expert evaluation of managers, developed by social psychologists and sociologists. The time has come to create a uniform unionwide method. This could be undertaken by centers such as the ISI [Institute of Sociological Research], ISEP [Socioeconomic Problems Institute] and VNIISI [All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Sociological Studies].

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CSO: 1806/26

Conference on Shaping a Scientific Outlook

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84
(signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 204-205

[Report by A. V. Voropayeva: "Conceptual Foundations of Educational Activities"]

[Text] An all-union practical science conference on "Forming a Scientific Outlook--Foundation of Communist Upbringing" sponsored by the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy and Philosophical Society of the Moscow State University imeni M. V. Lomonosov was held in Moscow in April 1984. The conference was attended by scientists, ideological workers and workers in culture and education.

World outlook is a theoretical and practical problem which becomes drastically more relevant at the stage of the developed socialist society. As the pivot of the inner world of the individual, it substantially affects all possible forms of individual activities. The opening speech by G. L. Smirnov, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, dealt in detail with the tasks of research in this area and means of upgrading its practical returns. A world outlook, the speaker stressed, is above all a scientific picture of the world, a sum total of philosophical, political, legal, moral and aesthetic views. However, it is not merely the sum of views but their definite assessment by the individual. In terms of professional and personal qualities and manifestations of the character of the individual, a world outlook is a common feature, which determines the mechanisms which shape it. On the meaningful level, said process is an "adaptation," a mastery on the part of the broad toiling masses of a system of knowledge developed by science. The comprehensive approach to shaping a world outlook, substantiated by the speaker, was received with interest by the participants.

One of the most topical problems is that of upgrading the level of political consciousness of the Soviet people. This topic was discussed in detail by Dr of Philosophical Sciences R. G. Yanovskiy.

The proceedings of the first section on "World Outlook as a Theoretical Problem" were opened with the report submitted by A. G. Spirkin, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member. In order to ensure a proper understanding of the structure of a world outlook, the speaker emphasized, three aspects

within it must be clearly separated: the informational, emotional and value. This will enable us to determine more profoundly the relationship between knowledge and conviction and the role and place of ideals and other components and their connection with the behavior of the individual. According to Dr of Philosophical Sciences V. S. Shvyrev, the structure of a world outlook consists of knowledge, convictions and personal views. Therefore, it represents a unity of understanding, attitude toward and perception of the world.

In this connection, an extensive discussion took place on the types and forms of world outlook. Dr of Philosophical Sciences R. S. Karpinskaya suggested that the classification be based on the means of converting knowledge and experience into factual outlook. Candidate of Philosophical Sciences R. A. Artsishevskiy considers necessary to distinguish among its four basic types: mythological, religious, speculative-philosophical and scientific-philosophical.

The question of ideal met with a profound response. An interesting concept was formulated in this connection by Dr of Philosophical Sciences O. P. Tselikova. In her view, programs, tasks and concepts of the future are expressed in a concentrated aspect in the ideals held by society, which are also a pivot, a "focal point" of the world outlook of the class, the social stratum or the group.

As a whole, the work of this section indicated that in resolving theoretical problems the majority of specialists try maximally to combine a general philosophical viewpoint with approaches used in other areas of the humanities. Unquestionably, this is consistent with the main "quality" of a world outlook —its social nature.

The main topics of discussion by the second section were perfecting the ideological-political, atheistic, moral and aesthetic upbringing and the place and role of the teaching of social and natural disciplines in shaping a communist world outlook. Thus, a number of speakers (Dr of Philosophical Sciences L. P. Buyeva, Candidate of Philosophical Sciences O. N. Krutova and others) stressed that the study of the interaction between the ideal and reality in the awareness of the various population groups and the mechanisms for mastering and applying socialist values and norms plays an important role in providing ideological education with scientific support. One of the restraining factors here is their interiorization: the existence of religious prejudices in some of the people. In this connection, Dr of Philosophical Sciences M. P. Novikov analyzed the religious situation and the condition of atheistic propaganda in the country. He expressed interesting considerations relative to atheistic education at home and at school and on the mentality and features of the personality of the believer.

A lively discussion was held on the subject of improving and aesthetic upbringing and the role played here by the teaching of the respective disciplines. This is understandable, for so far the molding of an aesthetic and moral culture has been excessively rationalized and sporadic, i.e., it has not been consistent with the task of comprehensively developing the personality at the contemporary stage. Developments in the field of ethics were extensively

criticized, for today such work deals essentially with the problem of the moral ideal which, furthermore, it frequently considers unrelated to actual moral processes. Another grave problem is that of the correlation among the explanatory, conceptual and standardizing functions of science. The speakers submitted a number of interesting suggestions on surmounting such shortcomings and intensifying the educational role of ethics and aesthetics in conceptual training.

Another important underdeveloped topic was also considered at the section: the laws governing the development of a collective of children and its role in communist upbringing. In particular, Dr of Pedagogical Sciences L. I. Novikova analyzed in her paper the philosophical-methodological problems of communication, shaping creative capabilities and individual features, etc.

The proceedings of the third section on "Culture and World Outlook" were opened by Dr of Philosophical Sciences A. I. Arnol'dov. He also raised theoretically and practically topical problems, such as including a scientific picture of the world in the cultural life of society and the influence of a scientific outlook on artistic creativity. The topic was extended by workers in the arts, such as ballerina O. V. Lepeshinskaya, Ye. R. Simonov, chief director at the Theater imeni Yevg. Vakhtangov, V. N. Pluchek, chief director at the Satirical Theater, playwright V. S. Rozov, Yu. I. Simonov, chief conductor at the Bol'shoi Theater, motion picture actor M. I. Nozhkin and painter B. I. Nemenskiy. The leitmotif of their statements was strengthening the conceptual content of art and increasing its humanistic potential.

The fourth section, which dealt with "Shaping a Scientific World Outlook and Problems of Counterpropaganda," concentrated on the struggle against the bourgeois-religious outlook and studied the content and means of Western propaganda. The intensification of imperialist ideological attacks on real socialism, Dr of Philosophical Sciences V. D. Granov emphasized, is the consequence of the severe crisis experienced by the capitalist system. The maximal consideration of this circumstance in the area of counterpropaganda activities is a most important factor in upgrading their effectiveness.

The participants received with interest the presentation by Dr of Philosophical Sciences I. S. Kulikova. In her view, a new stage has taken place in the development of spiritual culture in the West. Today it is marked by a rejection of elitist art and the modernism of aesthetic theories. Mass art is being ascribed the leading role in influencing the people. All such new manifestations must be taken into consideration in counterpropaganda work and resistance to bourgeois mass culture must be intensified.

It can confidently be said that the conference was of great importance in the further development of research in the field of world outlook and improvements in communist upbringing. Preparations for the publication of the conference materials are under way.

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SYMPOSIUM ON YOUTH VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84
(signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 206-207

[Report by Z. I. Paliyeva and M. I. Sergeev: "Vocational Guidance of the Youth Under the Conditions of the School Reform"]

[Text] The Krasnoyarsk Party Kraykom and kray executive committee of the soviet of people's deputies and the Order of the Honor Badge Krasnoyarsk Pedagogical Institute sponsored a symposium in April 1984 on "Topical Problems of the Theory and Practice of Youth Vocational Guidance Under the Conditions of the Reform of General Education and Vocational Schools." The symposium was attended by members of scientific institutions, VUZes and public and vocational-technical education schools in many cities throughout the country.

N. P. Silkova, secretary of the kray CPSU committee, who opened the symposium, emphasized that problems of perfecting education are of important general political significance. Helping the party and the state accurately to define the nature of the restructuring of the soviet school and means of combining education with productive labor is a topical task of Soviet scientists.

The development of production forces in Siberia is taking place under the conditions of manpower scarcity. However, so far the kray has not developed a comprehensive scientifically substantiated vocational guidance, labor upbringing and training system consistent with the region's socioeconomic potential, V. N. Semenov, deputy chairman of the kray soviet executive committee, pointed out. Yet this five-year plan one-of-a-kind enterprises will be commissioned. The accelerated development of the kray's national economy on the basis of the utilization of the latest achievements of scientific and technical progress will be inconceivable without making good use of labor resources. In order to ensure the solution of this problem, a great deal is being done to expand the set of vocational guidance offices. The first centers for vocational guidance are already operational. Positive results in guiding young people in the agricultural professions have been achieved in Shushenskiy, Altayskiy and Krasnoturanskiy rayons and in the area of worker professions in Norilsk. As a whole, however, as sociological studies have indicated, the professional preferences of eighth- and 10th-grade graduates are by no means consistent with the needs of the kray's national economy.

The sociological laboratory of the pedagogical institute in Krasnoyarsk made a comprehensive study of vocational guidance problems. Its experience and

results of the study, which covered a wide circle of students in general and vocational-technical schools, young workers, parents, teachers and administrators of schools, were described by institute rector A. N. Falaleyev and Prof A. M. Gendin. They analyzed the effectiveness of the various means and methods of vocational guidance in the schools, described the interconnection between the reasons for the choice of a profession and the value system of the students and their moral concepts, and indicated the importance of such correlations in optimizing the process of shaping the professional interests of school students.

According to A. M. Gendin, the strategic target of vocational guidance in secondary schools should not be to achieve a consistency between the professional choices of young people and the job structure. It is important to develop in the students industriousness as such, to secure their profound understanding of the social significance of labor and raise them in the spirit of readiness to work wherever their efforts are needed by society. By participating in productive labor the students not only acquire the necessary skills and habits in mass professions but also "test" themselves in the various types of labor activities. This will create a foundation for a substantiated and firm social and professional self-determination.

Prof F. R. Filippov (USSR Academy of Sciences ISI [Institute of Sociological Research]) spoke of the objective prerequisites for the reform of general and vocational education. The school reform, he pointed out, is related less to organizational and pedagogical problems than to objective changes in production and social life. Said changes raise in a new way problems of vocational guidance and substantiate new criteria to govern its effectiveness. Student labor upbringing can become truly efficient only within the context of upgrading the level of general culture among the youth, based on the harmonious development of the individual as a whole and combined with education in the humanities and upbringing, without which young people cannot realize the social value of labor. Sociological, pedagogical and psychological studies of vocational guidance problems, the speaker further emphasized, must not end, although this is frequently the case, with merely noting determined facts and trends. Their end result must be the development and practical testing and, subsequently, application of recommendations. However, it is precisely the latter which is one of the worst lagging sectors in research. This may be explained by the insufficient knowledge of the theory and practice of managing social processes in specific areas of social life.

Professor I. V. Bestuzhev-Lada (USSR Academy of Sciences ISI) spoke on the social aspects of vocational guidance. The concept of "education" in the broad meaning of the term organically includes not only a certain amount of mastered awareness and behavioral stereotypes and a sum of knowledge and skills but also the readiness by the participant in public production to play one role or another--his professional readiness. This presumes a more or less thorough familiarity with one's future profession, which will make it possible for society to judge objectively and for the future worker subjectively the worker's actual inclination to and suitability for a specific type of activity. The main reason for youth infantilism, according to the speaker, is the fact

that a 16-year-old graduate of an incomplete secondary school has not mastered a single ordinary skill and frequently has no serious idea whatsoever of his subsequent career. The speaker believes that vocational guidance as such should be completed within the incomplete secondary school, so that a secondary education certificate may also be a certificate of professional preparedness of the young person for work in public production.

V. A. Malova (USSR Academy of Sciences ISI) spoke on the results of the study of the social efficiency of secondary vocational training. This effectiveness, in the opinion of sociologists, has two components: the quality of training of skilled specialists and their efficient utilization in production. A disparity between vocational guidance and the job structure lowers the prestige of common professions and leads to a decline in the status of education. Studies have indicated that the effectiveness of vocational training is determined not merely by the number of trained skilled workers and specialists but by the extent to which their work, knowledge and skills are efficiently used. On the basis of the results of sociological studies, V. A. Malova suggested that a number of technical schools be converted into secondary vocational-technical schools for the training of skilled workers, while other technical schools be reorganized as first-level VUZes which would train higher grade technicians.

Prof P. P. Kostenkov (Altay State University) shared his experience in the establishment of a unified territorial service for youth vocational guidance. In the Altay such work is based on the joint activities of schools, vocational-technical schools, interscholastic training-production combines, enterprises and farms. A great role is assigned to the family, to secondary specialized and higher educational institutions and to extracurricular establishments. Coordination-methodical centers are being created to provide permanent guidance of such activities in the kray.

The disparity between the requirements of the national economy and the flow of able-bodied population, Prof P. P. Velikiy (Krasnoyarsk State University) believes, is related to reasons such as the "verbal" nature of vocational guidance, lack of personal labor experience by school students and tentative job changes. The participants in the symposium showed great interest in the substantiation suggested by the Krasnoyarsk sociologist of the mechanism for upgrading the responsibility of ministries and departments in the reproduction of the enterprises' professional structure.

On the initiative of the kray Komsomol committee, the participants in the symposium held a round-table discussion with young Krasnoyarsk sociologists.

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CONFERENCE ON SOCIOLOGICAL CADRE TRAINING

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84
(signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 208-209

[Report by Ye. Yu. Meshcherkina: "On the Training of Sociological Cadres"]

[Text] The problem of perfecting the training of sociologists was the topic of a scientific conference which was held in Riga in February 1984. It was organized by the applied sociology chair of the Latvian State University imeni P. Stuchka. The conference was attended by members of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences, practical sociologists from Riga enterprises and scientists from Moscow, Kirov and other cities.

In opening the conference, Docent A. I. Ivanov, head of the applied sociology chair and candidate of historical sciences, noted that in connection with the need to mobilize social reserves for upgrading labor productivity, the republic's VUZs must organize the training of skilled sociological cadres. The speaker suggested two models: that of the research sociologist dealing with theoretical problems, and the practical sociologist properly familiar with industrial production. For this reason, the economic faculties must expand the teaching of methods and techniques of sociological research in training sociological cadres.

Candidate of Juridical Sciences E. N. Ozhiganov, docent at the applied sociology chair, discussed difficulties encountered in the training of sociologists. The philosophy student, inclined toward abstract-theoretical thinking, is not practically prepared for the study of specific social phenomena, social problems of the contemporary enterprise in particular. The teaching of research methods and techniques, the speaker noted, is more part of the curriculum of the economic rather than the philosophical department.

Docent I. A. Kraukle, candidate of biological sciences, pointed out the poor knowledge which philosophy students have of the features of a contemporary enterprise and their inability to undertake the solution of practical problems. In her view, the main reason for this is that they do not intend to work at an industrial enterprise after graduation. If the republic Gosplan were to coordinate enterprise needs for sociological cadres with the university's study plan, the training of third-year sociology students could be undertaken on the basis of a special curriculum.

Senior Scientific Associate R. E. Munkevitsa spoke on the need to enhance the level of mathematical training of sociologists. The plant sociologist must be able to use computers, make multidimensional studies and interpret data independently. He could expand his knowledge in the university's special departments and at seminars for industrial sociologists sponsored by the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences. Senior teacher R. S. Miyezitis spoke on upgrading the skills of sociologists. He pointed out that the republic has created a system for the retraining of sociologists at the philosophy and economics departments of Latvia's state university, the Marxism-Leninism University in Riga, the Znaniye Society and the political and economic training system.

R. I. Yegorova, head of the sociopsychological studies bureau at the VEF Production Association imeni V. I. Lenin, noted that in addition to knowledge of political economy, mathematics and social psychology, it is important for the plant sociologist to be informed in matters of industrial production management. Another area of application of the efforts of the sociologist is the enhancement of the sociological knowledge of managers on whom the application of study results depends. The same thought was expressed by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences I. N. Shuklin (Kirov), who believes that under contemporary conditions "education" is one of the main functions of the industrial sociologist. The results of special studies have indicated that the sociological knowledge of management cadres is insufficient. At Kirov enterprises, for example, only 12 percent of managers on the middle and higher levels read works on social production problems.

V. A. Zemniyek (VEF Industrial Association), who agreed with R. I. Yegorova, pointed out that the practical sociologist must be able to use data banks. Practical experience has indicated that the training of the sociologist does not always enable him to use the data gathered at the enterprise. In discussing the functions of the industrial sociologist, the speaker expressed the view that the principal function is the mobilization of social reserves for upgrading labor productivity.

The address by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences A. K. Meshcherkin dealt with requirements confronting the sociological service at the enterprise. The country's industrial sociologists constitute an important detachment of the intelligentsia. However, the delayed institutionalization of this profession has led to the loss of specialists needed in production. In order to reinforce the status of the industrial sociologist, a standard regulation must be approved clearly stipulating the functions, rights and obligations of the plant's sociologist, the speaker noted. His view was supported by Candidate of Economic Sciences L. I. Men'shikov, head of the social service at the Kommutator Production Association in Riga. In his view, the service should study an entire set of social, psychophysiological and other problems. In terms of its tasks it has long outgrown the individual enterprise subunits--scientific organization of labor, cadre department, etc. Making this service independent would broaden its research possibilities. In his discussion of cadres the speaker noted that the production incompetence of the sociologists can be partially eliminated by organizing the enrollment of last-year students in the night-school departments of VUZs is organized by assigning such studies

to practical sociologists in enterprises. Furthermore, it has become necessary to undertake the professional selection of future sociologists by testing their ability to communicate, psychological compatibility, etc.

Recommendations were drafted at the conference aimed at improving VUZ sociology training, establishing a coordinating center for methodical support and improving the professional selection of future sociologists.

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CHRONICLE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84
(signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 209-210

[Text] A meeting of the sociological public of Belgorod, Voronezh, Kursk, Lipetsk and Tambov oblasts was held in Voronezh. A report on topical problems of development of Soviet sociological science was submitted by Dr of Philosophical Sciences Zh. T. Toshchenko, vice president of the SSA [Soviet Sociological Association]. The following participated in the discussions of the report and of problems of the organization of sociological research in the Central Chernozem oblasts of the RSFSR: Candidate of Historical Sciences V. I. Zarubin, Voronezh CPSU obkom secretary, Candidate of Economic Sciences V. N. Eyttingon, head of chair at Voronezh State University, Candidate of Philosophical Sciences V. S. Borovik, chief scientific secretary of the SSA, and Candidate of Philosophical Sciences E. N. Fetisov, member of the board of the SSA.

It was decided at the meeting to establish a Central Chernozem department of the Soviet Sociological Association and elect the department's bureau and auditing commission. Candidate of Philosophical Sciences V. S. Rakhmanin, head of chair at Voronezh State University, was elected chairman of the new department. Contributed by A. B. Doveyko.

An expanded session of the Sociology of Education Central Scientific Research section of the SSA was held on the tasks of Soviet sociologists in the light of the "Basic Directions in the Reform of General Education and Vocational Schools." The session was attended by associates at scientific research institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and academic institutes in a number of union republics, as well as members of VUZ centers in the country. As the debates which took place at the meeting indicated, Soviet sociologists have acquired extensive data on the development and functioning of the educational system and its impact on social processes and relations. The results of sociological and sociopedagogical studies conducted in various parts of the country reflect as a whole the problems which are now topical in light of the implementation of the education reform. Recommendations were adopted at the session defining the future trends of sociological studies related to the implementation of the steps included in the school reform. Contributed by N. V. Andrushchak and V. A. Malova.

A practical science conference on "Study of Problems of the Communist Education of Youth in the Light of the Decisions of the 26th Party Congress and Subsequent CPSU Central Committee Plenums" was held in Zhdanov. It was sponsored by the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research and the social science chairs of the Zhdanov Metallurgical Institute. The main reports were submitted by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences N. V. Andreyenkov, head of the group on labor collective problems, USSR Academy of Sciences ISI, and Dr of Philosophical Sciences, professor and Lenin Komsomol Prize laureate V. A. Miroshnichenko, head of the scientific communism chair at Tula Polytechnical Institute. The means and methods of upgrading the education potential of Komsomol-youth production collectives and problems of training future specialists for active social work were discussed at the meetings of the session and the round table debates. Contributed by A. V. Vasil'yev.

Considerable experience in training and upgrading the skill of plant sociologists has been acquired in Kuybyshev. Thus, the graduation of the first class of the sociological research department of the Marxism-Leninism University at the city party committee took place in 1983. The oblast Home of Scientific and Technical Organization of Labor Techniques organized for the benefit of sociologists a permanent method consultation service. Furthermore, cycles of lectures are being offered and quarterly seminars held on topical social problems. A "School for Sociologists" was also opened through the efforts of the local SSA branch and the Technical House. The courses (weekly, during working time) take 60 hours. They include, first of all, theoretical training and, secondly, independent training in sociological research. As a rule, the latter is based on a specific problem facing the enterprise where the future sociologist works. The school graduated its first 50 students recently. Contributed by A. S. Gottlieb and O. K. Samartseva.

A seminar on problems of applied sociogeographic research was held in Tartu on the initiative of the Baltic Department of the SSA. It was attended by scientists from seven union republics--geographers, sociologists, jurists and urban construction workers. The materials of the seminar were published in the collection "Prikladnyye Sotsial'no-Geograficheskiye Issledovaniya. Tezisy Dokladov Republikanskogo Seminara-Soveshchaniya" [Applied Sociogeographic Studies. Theses of the Reports Submitted at the Republic Seminar-Conference] (Tartu State University, Tartu, 1984). Contributed by T. Ye. Raytviyr.

A practical science conference on "Reflection of the Soviet Way of Life on the Screen," organized by the All-Union Scientific Research Cinematography Institute together with the Chief Scenario Editing Collegium of the USSR Goskino and the USSR Union of Cinematographers, was held in Moscow. Papers on the sociological aspects of the problem were presented by Prof. A. I. Rachuk ("The Soviet Way of Life on the Screen in Light of Contemporary Sociological Research") and M. I. Zhabskiy ("The Motion Picture in the Structure of the Way of Life of the Soviet People"). The speakers analyzed social reserves for improving the aesthetic upbringing of the population through the motion picture. Contributed by Ye. N. Vuss.

A meeting between cinematographers and members of the editorial collegium and the authors' aktiv of the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIY ISSLEDOVANIYA took place

at the Central House of the Motion Picture. Members of the editorial collegium G. S. Batygin, V. A. Popov and F. R. Filippov and permanent contributors to SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA Yu. N. Davydov, M. Illner (Czechoslovakia), M. I. Zhabskiy and O. I. Shkaran discussed the interconnection between sociology and cinematography, the social factors which determine the success of a motion picture and the work of the journal's editors.

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CSO: 1806/26

5 April 1985

YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russia No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84 (signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 211-212

[Review by T. S. Mochul'skaya of the book "Vkl'yucheniye Molodezhi v Sotsial'nyu Strukturu" [Including the Youth in the Social Structure] by A. A. Matulenis (based on sociological studies in the Lithuanian SSR). Mintis, Vilnyus, 1983, 208 pp]

[Text] This monograph was written on the basis of data obtained in the course of many years of genetic studies (a variety of repeated panel surveys), conducted under the supervision of the author since 1976. It covers key stages in the social development of young people. This promising trend enables us "to bring to light the dynamics of a process or phenomenon, which is particularly important in terms of its forecasting, and to determine the effectiveness and efficiency of the influence exerted by social institutions as well as the level of influence exerted by social processes on social factors" (p 49).

In the opinion of the author, the involvement of young people in the social structure is not a short-time act of choosing a profession or social status but covers a considerable period. A generation was selected (those born in 1958) and their self-determination was subsequently established. A genetic study was conducted as well. At the first stage (1976) 8,215 graduates of secondary schools of different types were surveyed or one-fifth of the total. A second survey (1979-1980) covered 2,399 people or about one-third of the initial number. In both stages an adequate level of representativeness was ensured for the entire group and the individual subgroups. This enabled the author to extend his conclusions to the entire group.

Among the dynamic processes which influence the shaping of social homogeneity, Matulenis considers in the first place the moving of young people from less to more socially developed types of settlements, related to their education. Thus, the number of secondary school graduates who moved to more developed types of settlements is higher by a factor of 3-4 than that of graduates of technicums and secondary PTU [vocational-technical schools].

The author discusses the characteristics of the development of the social structure in the Lithuanian SSR and analyzes the essential features of its urban infrastructure. The growth indicator applied by the author has been meaningfully interpreted. The Lithuanian population is considerably younger

than that in the other Soviet Baltic republics, which results in increased youth labor resources. Therefore, changes in the social structure here are more dynamic compared to Estonia and Latvia. This circumstance predetermines the greater possibilities of social and professional choices and place of residence, which directly influences the inclusion of young people into the social structure.

The author studies in detail the educational situation, which reflects three levels of development of the republic's population: retrospective, current and future. The last is particularly important in terms of the development of the educational system, for it identifies the basic factors for the lagging of the Lithuanian SSR in terms of the population's educational level (for example, in 1979 Lithuania had 919,900 individuals with primary education) behind average union indicators and the indicators of the other Baltic republics and Belorussia.

The monograph confirms the high methodical standards of the author and his ability to present theoretical concepts in a matter suitable for empirical verification. The diagrams, tables, indices and charts presented in the book take the readers inside the author's research laboratory. Thus, the social determination item (p 128), which includes indicators of intergeneration social youth changes, makes it possible to single out three separate groups of indicators which characterize the territorial factors, the professional career and the social roots of the studied contingent. By using association indices, Matulenis has analyzed the influence of the type of secondary school on the intergeneration mobility and self-reproduction of social groups.

The book contains important conclusions on the influence of the educational system on shaping the societal social structure. Let us consider some of them. The first is the insufficient interconnection among the basic links in the educational system: full-time general education secondary school, evening (shift) school, vocational-technical school and technicum. The result is that a significant percentage of rural youth failed to acquire a secondary education on time and do not continue with their training (p 110). The educational system should strive to achieve a balance in the settlement and socioclass structures and to ensure the enhanced development of students in all types of schools. The author assigns an important role to the coordination among the various units within the educational system, which should ease the consequences of the demographic situation and ensure manpower reproduction.

The qualitatively new interpretation of the problem of including young people in the social structure of socialist society and the high level of sociological analysis of the genetic study are unquestionable merits of the book.

In our view, however, the author should have described in greater detail the migration of youth along the various secondary education channels. The cultural-educational level of a significant percentage of young people outstrips the industrialization of production processes in agriculture and the possibility of satisfying spiritual needs in the countryside. This intensifies the migration to the cities and hinders the self-reproduction of the rural population. The author believes that it is possible to return technical and other

school graduates to the villages by assigning to school kolkhoz and sovkhos scholarship students on a more centralized basis. This is a necessary but insufficient step.

In describing the role of the educational system in the reproduction of the social structure and indicating the influence of the effectiveness of this system in shaping the socioclass, sociosectorial and socioprofessional and settlement structures, the author should have indicated specific means of solving the problems confronting the educational system in the Lithuanian SSR. The reform of general education and vocational schools is scheduled to play a major role in this area.

The shortcomings we noted do not detract from the overall high rating of this monograph. The book contains valuable presentations of methodological approaches to the study of the inclusion of young people in the social structure of the Lithuanian SSR and provides a constructive study of the conceptual apparatus of one of the most complex trends in domestic sociology: the study of the social structure of the developed socialist society.

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CSO: 1806/26

REVIEW OF THE SOCIOLOGIST'S WORKBOOK

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84
(signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 212-215

[Review by G. S. Batygin of the book "Rabochaya Kniga Sotsiologa" [The Sociologist's Workbook]. Second corrected and expanded edition. Nauka, Moscow, 1983, 477 pp]

[Text] Upgrading the role of the science of sociology in perfecting the developed socialist society largely depends on the efficiency and quality of research and the training of highly skilled specialists. Today students and graduate students have the possibility of studying the foundations of sociology on the basis of a wide range of dozens of Soviet and translated publications, the list of which is rapidly growing. Yet as late as the beginning of the 1970s, beginning sociologists had to prepare for their candidate examination mainly on the basis of a few books which had practically become rarities immediately after their publication. The first edition of the "Rabochaya Kniga Sotsiologa" in 1976 was a noteworthy event in the country's scientific life.

The quantitative changes which have taken place over the past year have been unquestionable. They reflect the increased prestige of sociology, which earned deserved recognition. However, practical experience has raised new and stricter requirements concerning the quality of sociological works. Today the social prestige of sociology depends less on the number of surveyed people and the complexity of procedures and methods used than its orientation toward the study of real problems of the social development of Soviet society and the constructive and profound nature of recommendations suggested. We believe that the requirements relative to the second edition of "Rabochaya Kniga Sotsiologa" should be much higher than of any other sociology textbook. As a result of the collective efforts of a number of specialists, it must be of a generalizing nature and reflect the best achievements of Marxist social science. It must define future trends and guidelines for sociological research. "Rabochaya Kniga Sotsiologa" is a characteristic report on the condition of the science of sociology in our country. Furthermore, we cannot ignore the fact that it is by no means the only sociology textbook and that the trained reader will rate the book and its individual parts by comparing them with similar works including those in related scientific areas (this particularly applies to methodical support of data gathering and analysis. It is a question of nothing other than the ability of this publication to become a manual in the training and professional activities of sociologists and to be accepted as a true workbook.

We can confidently say that the group of authors headed by Dr of Philosophical Sciences Prof G. V. Osipov, consistently essentially of leading specialists from the USSR Academy of Sciences ISI [Institute of Sociological Research] has been able to create a textbook which fully reflects the contemporary level reached by sociological studies in our country.

The book consists of four sections, each one of which is a separate link or stage in sociological research. The first section discusses theoretical and methodological problems of Marxist sociology. It is followed by mathematical-statistical methods for data analysis, procedures for gathering sociological information and, finally, the concluding stage in a sociological study: summation of results and preparation of the report. Therefore, the logical presentation of the material is consistent with the inner logic of the research process itself, thus unquestionably justifying the structure of the textbook.

The starting point in the presentation of the foundations of Marxist-Leninist sociology is the definition of its subject and structure. On this question inadequate and sometimes even contradictory viewpoints may be found in literature. A certain vagueness of the subject is inherent to one extent or another in all social and natural sciences. In sociology, however, the solution of this problem is of basic ideological, gnosiological and practical significance, for attempts to reduce it to the description of the daily behavior of people and to separate it from the study of the development and functioning of the socioeconomic system have still not been surmounted. The formulation cited in the book that "sociology is a science of the general and specific laws governing the development and functioning of specific types of societies --socioeconomic systems--and science of the mechanisms of action and forms of manifestation of such laws in the activities of individuals, social groups, classes and nations" (p 8) can be hardly accepted as exhaustive. However, it singles out the main feature of Marxist sociology: its organic tie with the philosophy of historical materialism, i.e., the general sociological theory. It is true that the extent to which the general sociological theory, as an aspect of historical materialism, is a philosophical science and the extent to which it is a separate scientific discipline remain unclear. The book under review notes that historical materialism "is...on the one hand a philosophical theory of society and, on the other, a general sociological theory. The philosophical content of historical materialism--the dialectical materialistic view of history--is brought to light in Marxist philosophy and the specific sociological aspects are revealed in Marxist sociology" (p 27). Is the general sociological theory as an aspect of historical materialism nonphilosophical in terms of content? So far no entirely clear and single answer can be given to this question.

The attention of the readers will unquestionably be drawn to the interpretation of the individual sociological theories (sectors) which, in the authors' opinion, are used as bridges and which synthesize two levels of sociological knowledge, the first represented by the general sociological theory and the second by specific data obtained in the course of empirical research (p 41). Priority is given here to the criterion used in the formulation of individual sociological theories, which enables us "to separate the grain from the chaff"

and to limit the process of unrestrained multiplication of petty theories, such as "umbrella studies," which lay a claim to autonomy. The authors quite legitimately relate this criterion to the objective existence of relatively independent areas of the social organism or the most important sides of its development and functioning.

On this level, the brief essays on basic sociological sectors are of particular interest. We single out among them sociological studies of the way of life, sociology of labor and labor collectives, sociology of the way of life and time budgets, studies of social structure and social relations, sociology of law, sociology of politics and international relations, sociology of education, sociology of science, sociology of marriage and family, sociology of mass information media and public opinion and social planning. The quality of the essays is not uniform. In our view, the most thorough are the parts dealing with the various aspects of the societal social structure, with their clear encyclopedic style of presentation; their authors draw our attention to the key aspects of the specific trend followed in research. As to parts discussing the way of life, the social significance of the scientific and technical revolution and labor sociology, in frequent instances they deal primarily either with excessively general or excessively specific problems and the specific nature of the given sector of sociological knowledge is not clearly presented. For example, the interaction between the conditions and forms of activities does not in the least constitute the specific nature of the way of life as a sociological category and it remains unclear as to whether or not the "way of life" is simply a generic name given to all realms of activities considered in subsequent sections.

One of the purposes of "Rabochaya Kniga Sotsiologa" is to be a textbook. In this connection, particular attention should be paid to the method sections which describe the basic stages in a program for sociological research and the methods used in information-gathering and analysis. The authors provide efficient thought-out formulations of problems, targets and subjects of research, empirical interpretation of concepts, operational definitions and operational structure, although here again we find some errors. Thus, in considering the conceptual model (p 122), the example borrowed from the practice of sociological research takes 20 times more space than the concept it is supposed to prove. Naturally, the inexperienced reader will consider this "example" a separate part of the text, for it includes a system of objective laws of the functioning and development of the socialist society and their mechanisms of action (pp 123-127). Without evaluating this diagram, let us note that, in our view, it should not have been included in the "Rabochaya Kniga Sotsiologa."

The second section deals with problems of measurement and the application of mathematical-statistical methods in sociological research. Its significance lies above all in training sociologists in achieving a proper understanding and correctly using scales, distribution series, main trend measurements and fluctuation of characteristics and the variety of connection coefficients. The authors concentrate on the "technology" of computations and examples and demonstrations of the areas of applicability of one mathematical-statistical formal method or another. The chapters on the choice and method of data gathering, which is the "nucleus" of the method and technique of sociological

research, are adequately compiled. We can confidently say that this part of the book will perform the functions of manual and method guide. Particularly successful is the material on methods of surveys, reflecting the state of the art.

It would be unfair to blame the authors for the fact that not all problems of the theory and practice of sociological research have been interpreted in detail and exhaustively. The interested reader will have the opportunity to increase his knowledge of all discussed problems by reading the thoroughly selected bibliography accompanying each chapter. It is precisely this circumstance, as well as the availability of statistical tables, a brief terminological glossary and an item index which make "Rabochaya Kniga "Sotsiologa" an irreplaceable aid for students, postgraduate students and anyone engaged independently in the study of Marxist-Leninist sociology. However, a remark, more rhetorical than specific, is in order at this point. The section on the concluding stage of a sociological study, the purpose of which is "the analysis and interpretation of data, summation of conclusions and formulation of recommendations" accounts for no more than 18 of the 470 pages. Furthermore, data preparation and processing with a computer are quite indirectly related to their summation. Based on content, the "description and explanation" part should have been presented in the first section whereas the methods for testing a hypothesis should have been described in the fourth chapter. What is left? We find here that virtually nothing remains to be said on the substantiation and application of practical results. This remark, as we pointed out, is rhetorical, for "Rabochaya Kniga Sotsiologa" can include only that which has already been scientifically attempted. Yet no works on the method for the application and substantiation of recommendations have been published in our country.

Unquestionably, "Rabochaya Kniga Sotsiologa" will be positively rated by specialists and the need for a subsequent edition will appear after a while. In this connection, our advice to the authors would be substantially to update a number of sections (dealing with the concepts of measurement in sociology, graphic interpretation of statistical observations, materials on semantic differential) and to improve the structure of the book and the literary standard of the text which, unfortunately, leaves something to be desired.

The extensive development of sociological research in the USSR has created considerable interest among people in different professions for such specialized publications. Therefore, we can only agree with the assessment of the book we find in IZVESTIYA, in which the book was reviewed under the heading of "Not for Sociologists Alone." The main task of the book is to help party, soviet, Komsomol and economic workers and practical sociologists to master basic theoretical and practical knowledge needed for the organization and conduct of sociological studies.

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CSO: 1806/26

BOOK ON THE REPRODUCTION OF THE SOVIET POPULATION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84
(signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 215-219

[Review by S. I. Golod and V. B. Golofast of the book "Vosproizvodstvo Naseleniya SSSR" [Population Reproduction in the USSR]. A. G. Vishnevskiy and A. G. Volkova, editors. Finansy i Statistika, Moscow, 1983, 303 pp]

[Text] The establishment of a modern type of population reproduction over a considerable territory in our country is drawing the attention of many specialists. Regional and ethnic differentiation among demographic indicators and the large number of interacting sociopsychological and socioeconomic factors which set the level and basic components of birth and mortality rates make the study of the demographic situation in the USSR extremely difficult. The task of substantiating the means and methods of social regulation of family-demographic processes is particularly urgent.

Today, when Soviet science has representative information on the condition and trends of population reproduction in various parts of the country and its dynamics and differentiation, the need for the further development and refinement of corresponding theoretical concepts becomes increasingly urgent. Active research is taking place in this area, in the course of which various viewpoints have appeared on the nature of population reproduction. Some demographers ascribe a broad meaning to this concept, interpreting it as the creation of "people with a specific historical social quality, i.e., people who have the social features the existence of which enables them to act as social subjects" (1, p 9). In this manner the population is identified with society and its development with that of society. This raises demography to the level of metascience. "The demographer, whose objective is to study demographic factors and relations among them," writes, for example, V. P. Piskunov, "must frequently take to its 'demological end' work done in the other social sciences, in political economy and theoretical sociology above all, and to draw the necessary demological conclusions which proceed from the social studies of a specific study, the base and the superstructure, and production forces and production relations" (1, p 35). This interpretation, however, does not clarify the effect of the population reproduction mechanism.

Some aspects of the "narrow" interpretation of the term as well are ignored in the search of the immanent mechanism. They turn to the family, arguing that in the contemporary type of reproduction the natural growth is established

primarily on the basis of the birthrate. "...Efficient measures aimed at upgrading the birthrate," A. I. Antonov and V. A. Borisov believe, "are necessarily measures taken to strengthen the family as the intermediary in the interconnection between society and the individual" (2). What type of family should we have? According to said authors, we must make extensive use of the possibilities of the modern expanded family. Unquestionably, the more archaic the relations, the more intensive procreational activities become. However, bearing in mind the objective trends of the development of monogamy, one could confidently state that reliance on patriarchal family forms is futureless.

Let us emphasize an important stipulation: shifting research emphasis to the family does not mean in the least that the study of its specific laws will identify all determinant of the birthrate. Knowledge of the population reproduction mechanism requires the study of the inner logic of its functioning. This precisely is the path followed by the authors of this monograph written by a collective of scientists of the USSR Central Statistical Administration Scientific Research Institute. The theoretical foundations of this capital work were laid with a number of previous publications by its authors (3) and are the result of more than 20 years of comprehensive studies. As supporters of the "narrow" view of population reproduction, the authors analyze demographic processes in the context of all social changes.

The empirical base of the book consists of materials of Soviet population censuses and current statistical data, and seven selective all-union and local studies of the birthrate conducted between 1960 and 1978. The authors have made skillful use of traditional (mortality and marriage tables) and later (mathematical-demographic models) methods in analyzing empirical data. On this level, this book is unique. Unquestionably, it is a fruitful effort at synthesizing everything valuable acquired in the area of domestic demography, statistics and population history in our country from the middle of the 19th century to the present.

The monograph consists of four parts. The first is an expanded theoretical introduction which acquaints the reader with the features of the demographic revolution in the USSR. The second and third parts are a study of the basic components of population reproduction: mortality and birthrates; the fourth deals with the process of reproduction as a whole and the changes occurring within it.

Let us begin with the theoretical concept of the study provided in the book. We consider accurate the very idea of the consideration of population reproduction as a systemic unity of opposite processes--births and deaths. The correlation between the types of deaths and births is indeed detected in history as an inner reproduction feature, continuously extended through the reproduction of generations. Viewed as a theoretical principle, this correlation offers a general view of the totality of demographic processes and enables us to assess them, to divide them into time periods and to project future development trends.

The results of this collective study convincingly prove that for the past 100 years something more than a simple alternating of demographic systems has taken place in our country. The changes which took place were of a principled, a qualitative nature. They are justifiably interpreted in the book as a change from one type of reproduction to another, as a demographic revolution.

Let us name some of these changes to illustrate this. From the turn of the century to the beginning of the 1970s the average lifespan increased by 33 years for men and 40 for women (pp 101, 107). Approximately three-quarters of this "gain" was obtained by reducing the mortality rate of children under 15, thanks to which the need for the previous high birthrate was eliminated. Whereas a married woman born in the 1890s gave birth to an average of more than five children, the figure was under 2.5 for the generation of women born in the 1950s (pp 159, 184). A mass conversion to a voluntary limitation in the number of births took place and the length of the women's procreation cycle declined sharply, i.e., the period between the marriage ceremony and the birth of the last child (from 20.7 years in 1935-1940 to 6.7 years in 1975-1979) (p 224). These and other quantitative changes described in detail in the book, indicate rather profound qualitative changes which affect the mentality of the people, the structure of their family life, relations between spouses and between parents and children, correlation between family and non-family roles, position of women in the family and society and many others. The nature of the social determination of demographic processes changes and the controllability, rhythm and stability of population reproduction increase.

Systematically observing their point of view on the social determination of demographic processes, the authors consider the features of the development of the demographic revolution in our country, concentrating on two groups of factors. The first and most important group is related to differences in the social system: the demographic transition is taking place essentially under socialist conditions. The second covers the variety of more specific circumstances "determined by the concrete-historical specifics of the development of the demographic revolution in a huge multinational country at a time when it was involved in resolving economic, social and political problems of unparalleled complexity" (p 26). The authors prove quite convincingly that the radical changes in the demographic area are the result not only of the objective laws of social development but of the purposeful policy of the communist party and the Soviet state. They also justifiably point out that phenomena which adversely affect the course of demographic processes and hinder the completion of the transition to a contemporary reproduction mode still exist.

The authors consider changes in the type of mortality an important social process, for it was this that resulted in an increase in the average lifespan unparalleled in the history of mankind. Equally important from the sociological viewpoint is the changed attitude toward life and death and the place which the length of human life occupies in the scale of social values, organically "imbedded" in the fabric of the new type of reproduction. Equally just is the remark that for the first time target-setting and decision-making mechanisms appear on the level of the family, specifically involving problems of having children. Intrafamily control of having children is inherent in a contemporary birthrate type. Furthermore, it becomes a mass phenomenon,

obtains legal and moral recognition and becomes an inseparable feature of the way of life. This changes the entire structure of demographic relations and the entire system of views on the rights and obligations of parents in the matter of having descendants. In noting the progressive nature of the new type of population reproduction, the authors do not idealize it. They point out that under the new conditions "the potential possibility of the disparity between the interests of society and the family in terms of the number of children per family has appeared along with features that this possibility is being realized in mass procreation behavior" (p 287). The contradiction between the individual and the social factor in the demographic area, according to the authors, does not disappear with the establishment of a modern type of population reproduction. The means of its resolution, however, become more flexible and more consistent with the nature of the individual, the family and society under socialism.

The work under review convincingly proves that in the recording of facts and their interpretation demographic research is inseparable from sociological, economic and cultural-historical analysis and that comprehensiveness in contemporary social science is a methodological requirement as important as disciplinary precision, consistency and adoption of a specific demographic viewpoint on social facts. The book is distinguished by the aspiration to follow the pure logic of the demographic approach wherever possible. The authors are well aware of the need for an interdisciplinary synthesis as well. They formulate a number of hypotheses on the connection between social processes, population mobility, different value systems and types of individuals and families, on the one hand, and specific features of demographic processes on the other. Although such hypotheses do not always have an inner streamlined and detailed structure, their appearance in a demographic text is a characteristic feature of the rapprochement between demography and the other social sciences.

The quantitative and systemic methodology of demographic analysis developed by the authors and used in the book may be considered, without exaggeration, a model for the other social sciences and humanities--economics, sociology, history, social geography and theory of culture. Naturally, this methodology enriches research possibilities and the population reproduction processes themselves. The acknowledgment of the relative autonomy of the demographic system enables us to understand better the tasks and methods of demographic policy and to upgrade the substantiation of forecasts. Nevertheless, the use of abstractions in the demographic system has its limits. Let us note, above all, that from the theoretical-methodical viewpoint the demographic system is considered a closed, global and self-regulating entity. If confronted with historical facts, these three features may lead to an excessive simplification of the matter. External migrations were of no essential demographic significance to Russia in the second half of the 19th century and the country as a whole during the 20th century and can be quite justifiably ignored. However, a regional study (the internal breakdown of the system) leads to a dilemma in its explanation: should the dynamics toward a new type of birth or marriage rates be interpreted merely as a manifestation of the internal mechanism of changes within the way of life of the population itself or simultaneously (perhaps even mainly) as a result of the spreading of new behavioral models

borrowed from other territorial or social groups (pp 134-136, 242, etc.). The reason for which a "European"-type marriage system has remained a European event in the history of the demographic revolution and the reason for which its alternative--intrafamily control of the birthrate is now becoming so widespread cannot be explained without the methodological formulation of the question of the specific nature of social mechanisms influencing strictly demographic events.

Finally, a few words on the reasons for the drop in the birthrate to extremely low levels and prospects for controlling this process. This demographic "damn problem" can be formulated as follows: Is the necessary level of procreation determined by individual or family motivations or are the social foundations for determining the level of the birthrate broader, i.e., related to institutional features of individual-family behavior as a whole and the entire contemporary way of life? The impression is created that neither those who are looking for "the need to have children" as a motivational force in procreation nor those who appeal to "children-centrist" values note the first of these two views. It seems to us that this entire effort to analyze the demographic transition is in favor of the individual and even intrafamily forms of determination of demographic events (naturally, without excluding them but subordinating them to a broader range of social postulates). The demographic revolution is an essentially macrosocial institutional change in society, in which individual motivations and strictly family control methods are the essential but not the only nucleus. This circumstance is repeatedly emphasized in the book. The overall quantitative feature of the demographic transition is presented quite fully and, we would say, in a virtuoso manner. As to quality features, they are by no means clear in their totality....

In assessing the book as a whole, let us single out the following merits which rank it among the best domestic works on demography. Above all, despite the great number of authors, it is an integral research monograph. This is greatly determined by the fact that the entire work was based on the same concept: the concept of the demographic revolution. Furthermore, this work is not of a declarative nature, for it is based on extensive factual data and the skilled analysis of the latter. Along with the authors, the reader is given the opportunity to see the way purely quantitative changes lead to the appearance of new qualities. Finally, the correlation between qualitative and quantitative aspects of demographic processes is within the framework of a typological analysis and, by virtue of this fact, is raised to the level of a forecast.

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5003

CSO: 1806/26

MANAGEMENT AS TYPE OF HUMAN ACTIVITY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84
(signed to press 19 Jul 84) p 219

[Review by Yu. A. Kryuchov and E. N. Fetisov of the book "Organizatsionno-Upravlencheskaya Deyatel'nost': Problemy i Perspektivy Razvitiya" [Organizational-Management Activities: Problems and Prospects of Development] by G. A. Zhebit]. Nauka i Tekhnika, Minsk, 1983, 189 pp]

[Text] Upgrading the quality and efficiency of the scientific management of society requires the joint efforts of sociologists and practical workers.

G. A. Zhebit offers a philosophical-sociological study of the "phenomenon of organization and management as a definite and very specific type of activity" (p 4). Organizational-management activities as a "meaningful-procedural integrity" (p 49) is differentiated by the author in accordance with basic varieties, which enable him to formulate a number of interesting and original conclusions.

In describing the basic trends of the theory and practice of management, the author emphasizes the dialectical unity among ideological, organizational, centralized, initiative-minded (decentralized), sectorial and territorial principles. He ascribes particular attention to the intensification of the systemic, comprehensive and planned aspects of resolving the problem of organizational-management activities.

Let us note the skillfully systematized factual materials and the extensive utilization of the results of interdisciplinary studies of the functioning of organizational structures.

The fact that many of the problems discussed in the book are formulated as questions is related to the need to refine the categorial apparatus of the subject of study. Unfortunately, the lack of clear terminology not only complicates our understanding of the author's concept but makes us question the accuracy of some stipulations. Thus, the author believes that "design activities include forecasting, designing in the strict meaning of the term, programming and all stages of planning: long-term, long-range, current and daily." He also claims that "the nature and significance of planning as the most extensively developed component of design activities are universally familiar" (p 51). We cannot agree with this interpretation, for design

activities do not include other types of administrative activities but assimilates their methods and some of their principles used in resolving specific design problems. In management designing exists as a separate stage, along with forecasting programming and planning, enabling us to optimize the actual technological process of managing socioeconomic processes. However, despite certain errors the monograph will unquestionably be welcomed with interest by social scientists and practical workers.

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CSO: 1806/26

BOOK ON ENGINEER TRAINING

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84
(signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 220-221

[Review by V. A. Dunayev and V. Ya. Kochergin of the book "Rozhdeniye Spetsialista" [Birth of a Specialist] by A. B. Kaganov. Belorussian State University imeni V. I. Lenin, Minsk, 1983, 110 pp]

[Text] A. B. Kaganov's monograph acquaints the readers with the various aspects of the professional development of the engineer and is based on extensive specific materials: data from the mass survey conducted in Odessa, Sevastopol, Nikolayev and Kirovograd, expert evaluations by specialists, results of a sociopedagogical experiment and, finally, study of the experience of leading technical VUZs. The author also uses data of the all-union research project "The Higher School as a Factor in Changing the Social Structure of the Developed Social Society," which was carried out in accordance with the program of the USSR Academy of Sciences ISI [Institute of Sociological Research] in 1973-1975.

We know that engineers are the largest and fastest-growing detachment of specialists. How is it shaped? The future engineers reach the decision to acquire higher technical education later than other secondary school graduates (1): more than one-quarter of them make this decision during their senior year, and nearly one-half of those surveyed chose their specific VUZ and specialty immediately prior to their enrollment. Such a delayed choice of profession has its corresponding reasons. No more than one-half of students who enroll in polytechnical institutes relate their choice to their abilities and interests. Unquestionably, this circumstance adversely affects the quality of the professional training of future engineers, designers and captains of industry.

The author extensively discusses the criteria of the efficiency of higher educational institutions. He calls for assessing higher school activities on the basis of end results: the quality of specialist work and, from this viewpoint, proves the limited nature of school activity indicators used within the USSR Ministry of Higher Education System: the percentage of dropouts and graduates and the average grades. Such criteria, Kaganov justifiably claims, are quite indirectly related to the future socioprofessional activities of the engineer. In contrast to this practice, the author substantiates as the main indicator of the professional development of the students the degree to which

he has developed the basic socioprofessional qualities of the engineer: interest in his profession, a creative approach to his job, readiness to lead the labor collective and professional independence. The tools formulated by the author enable us to determine the student's level of development of basic socioprofessional qualities, reducing them to a single indicator and thus obtaining practical information.

The author singles out the basic stages of the professional development of young people in the higher technical education institution: transitional (first-third semester), period of accumulation (fourth-sixth), and determining period (seventh-tenth). The first, transitional, period is the most difficult for students in technical VUZs. The adaptation to the new training conditions is paralleled by the need to gain a certain sociopsychological status and reputation among fellow students. This task, which is subjectively felt by the students as the most significant, makes engineering activities secondary. The knowledge of the novices concerning their profession is superficial and remains virtually unchanged. The survey indicated that 30.4 percent of the surveyed students had learned nothing new concerning the content of their future professional activities during the first to the third semesters; 33.7 percent knew nothing of the business qualities needed by an engineer, and 64.9 percent of advancement possibilities. This situation noted by the author adversely affects the shaping of vocational and practical guidelines of the future specialist.

The development of professional qualities cannot be reduced to involving the student in scientific research. In studying the experience of leading VUZs, the author reaches the conclusion that the best results are achieved by combining the training process with practical experience, such as the creation of specialized VUZ chairs at leading enterprises and plant-VUZs and involving production specialists as teachers.

We know that approximately 3 years after graduating from an institute, one out of three young engineers becomes the manager of a section, group, sector, department, brigade, shop, etc. The author notes that a considerable percentage of students (more than 60 percent) are encouraged to develop managerial qualities during their training. However, most students are unable to accomplish this. No more than some 25 percent of graduates consider themselves ready for organizational and educational work in the collective. Addressing himself to the experience of leading VUZs, the author reaches the conclusion that a special theory course, combined with a planned and thoroughly thought-out sociopolitical practice by the students, can help the future managers to master organizational-managerial and educational work not through the method of trial and error but in the course of purposeful training. The most important prerequisite for the successful development of management skills, the author believes, is the professional trend in the sociopolitical practice of the future specialists.

The work ends with a description of the results of the sociopedagogical experiment aimed at optimizing the process of guiding the professional establishment of engineers. The results of the experiment were determined with the help of multidimensional investigations and a specially organized observation,

the thoroughness and comprehensiveness of criteria and programs are unique in published higher school sociological data (pp 80-82). The experiment made it possible to formulate a set of measures which would contribute to the professional development of the students. They were the base of the model program for the professional upbringing of technical VUZ students formulated by the author.

Naturally, a small book cannot cover the sociological study of all problems of development of the young specialist. Nor does the author lay a claim to this. The questions he raises, however, are by no means exhaustively covered. Furthermore, the incompleteness of the study can be clearly detected in virtually all chapters.

Kaganov's monograph is of interest not only to sociologists, psychologists or students of higher school problems but also to practical workers engaged in the training and upbringing of student youth.

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5003

CSO: 1806/26

DEVELOPMENT OF LABOR RESOURCES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84
(signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 221-222

[Review by V. V. Travin of the book "Sotsial'nyye Problemy Razvitiya Trudovykh Resursov" [Social Problems of Development of Labor Resources] by B. I. Kononenko. Uzbekistan, Tashkent, 1982, 191 pages]

[Text] For a long time manpower resources have been studied primarily in economics. The monograph under review concentrates on the social aspects of their formation and utilization. The author studies changes in the content and nature of labor, the increased role of spiritual factors in public production, the development of the ability to work and the significance of education, professional training and subsequent labor activities in this process.

The author discusses at length the "labor resources" category. He correlates it with the similar category of "manpower:" "Labor resources are a category which sets the boundaries of the socially necessary utilization of manpower" (p 11). The author considers labor resources as "coinciding with manpower in terms of qualitative characteristics and correlated as a whole with the quantitative expression in which manpower is the basic and determining link" (p 17).

The study undertaken by Kononenko of the interconnection between the "division of labor" and "change of work" categories will be unquestionably of interest to sociologists. As we know, the division of social labor is an objective process which has played a tremendous role in the development of production forces. It assumes different aspects under capitalist and socialist social conditions. The author's subsequent train of thought is as follows: Thanks to the high pace of technical progress, in a number of sectors the law of work change begins to operate (p 66). In accordance with this law, "the person must acquire the ability to switch to new types of activity, mastering and perfecting his skills in them as dictated by his inner motivations or changed production conditions" (p 70). The monograph intensifies our concepts of social processes in the light of labor relations and of the spiritual social production factors and their influence on the shaping and development of the worker as the main productive force in society. The author describes the development of the "person-science-technology-production" system.

Konenko's views on the study and development of the capabilities of students, his suggestions on the improvement of the training process in schools and PTU [Vocational-Technical Schools] and means and methods of training young people for socially useful work in the course of their training process are relevant. Let us point out that many of the author's ideas coincide with the USSR Supreme Soviet decree "On the Basic Directions in the Reform of General Education and Vocational Schools." This is particularly noteworthy if we consider that the monograph was written long before said legislation was drafted and passed.

Equally relevant is the author's treatment of social problems of distribution and further utilization of manpower resources in the various parts of the country. From the sociological viewpoint, we find interesting the author's analysis of the interaction between the objective needs of society for specialists in different areas and the professional intentions of young people, secondary school students above all.

The final part of the monograph deals with the sociodemographic and regional features of the deployment and effective use of labor resources which the author discussed by taking Uzbekistan as an example. He points out the low migratory mobility of its population. This republic still retains substantial labor resources consisting of women, who either hold no jobs or cultivate their private plots. Between 1940 and 1978 the number of employed people in the republic quintupled while that of women alone increased sevenfold (they account for slightly over 40 percent of the total employed population, which is considerably below that national average). In addition to the insufficient development of the service industry and preschool institutions, the republic is facing specific problems of a socioeconomic and psychological nature, which hinder the extensive involvement of women in socially useful labor.

Unfortunately, all of this is analyzed in the book superficially. The picture of regional features would have been clearer had the author made a comparative study. Based on the secondary study of scientific data, the monograph offers few new data, and although a secondary analysis of socioeconomic data is entirely proper, in this case it has prevented the author from fully displaying his creative potential.

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5003
CSO: 1806/26

SOCIAL PLANNING IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS BODIES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84
(signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 222-224

[Review by G. I. Chernenko of the book "Sotsial'noye Planirovaniye v Organakh Vnutrennikh Del" [Social Planning in Internal Affairs Bodies] by V. G. Kutushev. Saratov University Press, Saratov, 1983, 232 pp]

[Text] So far monographs on the social development of labor collectives in one sector or another have been rare. As to a specific system such as the institutions of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, where social planning has begun to spread relatively recently, works on this subject can literally be counted on one's fingers.

First of all, V. G. Kutushev's book raises important theoretical-methodological problems of social planning, concretizing its basic principles in terms of the activities of internal affairs agencies. Secondly, an effort is made to provide a comprehensive study of essential organizational and legal problems of social planning within the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] system. Thirdly, it substantiates practical recommendations aimed at its improvement. The persuasiveness of the author's views and conclusions has been greatly helped by the use of extensive empirical data, including results of sociological studies.

The purpose of social planning, the author believes, is not limited to raising living standards and improving production efficiency. In our view, Kutushev develops a promising approach according to which social planning should contribute to achieving social equality and social homogeneity. How to relate this objective to the specific tasks, possibilities, means and conditions of development of the collective? He divides these levels into common and separate (p 60). The interaction between them makes possible a structural analysis and the building of the "target tree." The targets are divided into general, specific, long-term and immediate. However, the author does not make sufficiently clear distinctions among them.

Thus, in terms of the MVD, the long-term objective is the perfecting of the social structure of the collective. This could hardly be achieved "on the level" of a single albeit large professional group, the employees, in this case. Furthermore, the immediate targets suggested by the author (pp 61-62) lead either to equalizing intragroup disparities (bringing closer to each

other the levels of education and skills of the personnel) or the solution of problems common to any collective (development of labor and social activeness, creating a favorable sociopsychological climate and improving the conditions and organization of the work, life and recreation of the people). Obviously, the concretizing of general objectives should proceed from the basic areas of administrative activities. In this respect, Kutushev's plan structure (improving the social structure of the collective; communist upbringing and enhancing the social activeness of the working people; improving sociopsychological relations in the collective; improving working, living and recreation conditions for its members (pp 94-95)) is a suitable base for social planning. We can only regret that said indicators characterize in a most general fashion the specific nature of the social approach to these aspects of collective activities.

The author considers in detail the factors which determine the specific features of planning within internal affairs bodies: their complex structure; the intensive influence of negative phenomena of reality on the personality of the worker; considerable legal and, in a number of cases, economic autonomy of some services; the limited effectiveness of the principle of material incentive, etc. Social planning, the author emphasizes, must ensure close unity among the basic functions of the collective: the specific-target administrative function--involving the person in the administration of governmental and social affairs and upgrading his social activeness ("external" rights); regulating the activities of the collective itself ("internal" rights); educational; and the function of meeting the social needs of the members of the collective. This viewpoint deserves support above all because it directs us toward the fuller utilization of social reserves in intensifying the efficiency of the work of internal affairs bodies.

Nevertheless, we consider controversial the interpretation of social planning as a management function (p 19). In our view, it would have been more accurate in this case to speak of the method for regulating social processes in which, unquestionably, management plays an important role.

The author pays considerable attention to organizational-methodical problems. He provides a network of basic operations on the formulation and implementation of the plan, from the stage of psychological preparations of the members of the collective to the submission of the plan to those who will implement it. Unquestionably, this will contribute to streamlining such a complex organizational activity.

The specific suggestions included in the monograph on assessing the effectiveness of social planning, its legal support and codification within the MVD system and the establishment of a sociological service in this department found in the monograph are of great practical significance. The book includes an extensive appendix with a list of social indicators and other documents relative to social planning.

Only one important problem has been insufficiently discussed in the monograph: the correlation between the plans for the social development of internal affairs bodies and the socioterritorial communities they serve. The unity

of such plans is a mandatory prerequisite for upgrading the efficiency of the law enforcement system, preventing crime and improving the staffing of MVD agencies and the way of life of the personnel.

Kutushev's book is a good study of the characteristics of social planning within the MVD system and a good aid to practical workers.

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CSO: 1806/26

CHANGING POSITION OF WOMEN. A COMPARISON

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84
(signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 225-227

[Review by M. M. Malysheva of the book "The Changing Position of Women in Family and Society. A Crossnational Comparison." E. Lupri, editor. E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1983, 462 pp (in English)]

[Text] "Whereas in the past women were engaged in menial work at home only, today they are forced to do the same work in public production." This statement by O'Neill is the epigraph of the first chapter of a collective monograph written by sociologists from 18 countries. Actually, the description of this book as a collective monograph would not be entirely accurate. To begin with, the situation of women in the family and society is considered in the book from different conceptual positions. Secondly, the study of the actual processes which are taking place in countries such as the USSR, the United States, China, the Republic of South Africa and Ghana, is not a single entity. However, E. Lupri, the monograph editor (the Netherlands) was able to find the optimal way of structuring the material on the "regional" basis, with each chapter dealing with a separate country. Furthermore, the authors consist of specialists on different levels. Some parts are written by noted scientists, whose works define the status and trends of development of "women's" problems. They include Andre Michel (France), Elina Haavio-Mannila (Finland), Alessandro Cavalli (Italy), Kiyomi Morioka (Japan) and G. A. Slesarev (USSR). Other sections are written by beginning authors--students attending various universities. Therefore, the book under review is a broad and quite variegated survey of the status of women in the contemporary world.

Understandably, the leitmotif indicated in the epigraph pertains exclusively to the status of women in the developed capitalist countries. The fast growth of their employment in public production is justifiably described in the book as "dramatic." The lack of legal guarantees ensuring the right to work and to education, equal to that of men, and the social policy practice in the areas of perfecting motherhood and childhood and the scarcity of preschool institutions greatly determine the low level of women's skills and aggravate the contradiction between their professional and family roles. This contradiction is most typical of married women and mothers of small children. Yet it is precisely they who have been the main source of reinforcement of labor resources in many capitalist countries during the last 30 years.

It would be simplistic to ascribe negative trends in the professional work of women exclusively to capitalist contradictions. The scientific and technical revolution not only restructures labor tools and objects but substantially influences the way of life of the individual, the family and society as a whole. In this respect, the problems discussed in the book are of unquestionable constructive interest to Marxist sociologists.

It is unlikely for the reader to find in this monograph essentially new concepts replacing the contemporary scientific views on the role and place of women in society. Some of the articles are of an expository nature characteristic of the feminist interpretation of the problem; others are of a scientific-analytical nature. However, the researchers have concentrated on the contradiction between "job" and "home." In Soviet literature this range of problems was given a clear sociological interpretation in the monograph "Professional'naya Rabota Zhenshchen i Sem'ya" [Women's Professional Work and the Family] (1971) by A. G. Kharchev and S. I. Golod. However, despite certain positive changes, the contradiction between the professional and family role of women has not lost its urgency in the least. New studies have made it possible to present the existing situation on a more differentiated basis and to refine the significance of demographic, sociopsychological and ethnic factors. What is obvious, however, is that the negative influence of the involvement of women in public production on the level of the birthrate and family stability remains. The monograph treats this problem on the basis of extensive statistical and sociological data, which enables us to make interesting comparisons and classifications. Unquestionably, this is the merit of the editor-compiler who carried out this painstaking work.

International studies convincingly prove that the technical and economic development of capitalist countries not only does not contribute to the emancipation of women but intensifies sexual inequality. The data which characterize differences in the income levels of men and women prove that the gap is steadily widening. This is particularly characteristic of Canada and the United States. A similar feature in the development of most countries is the rigid classification of work into "male" and "female," and the concentration of women in feminized professions.

The authors pay considerable attention to the increased level of education and job training of women. This factor is considered one of the main social indicators of their status. The chapter on "Soviet Women in the Family and Society" convincingly proves that the Soviet state has always considered full equality between the sexes a most important objective of social policy. Today Soviet men and women have an equal level of education, a level which is even growing faster among women.

In recent decades many countries have made significant progress in broadening the opportunities for women's professional training. The gap in higher education has been narrowed although, as in the past, in the capitalist countries, men enjoy advantages in acquiring a university education. Intensified class differentiation is a contributing factor in this case. As crossnational studies made in Western Europe, the United States and Canada indicate, achievements in education directly depend on class origin. This affects women more than men.

The professional training of women substantially influences the structure of their employment and levels of skill. Although women account for a considerable share of the size of the economically active population, their share in some types of occupation remains insignificant. In particular, there are virtually no women on the "higher" levels of the socioprofessional structure. Thus, in the United States women account for 13.7 percent of physicians and 5.2 percent of architects and painters.

In the USSR, women work in the "privileged" sectors and hold creative jobs on an equal footing with men. "For the first time in history socialism turned professions which require maximal creative effort into mass women's professions," the monograph notes (p 266). However, it would be erroneous to consider the feminizing of some professions as being only positive. This applies, above all, to the predominance of women among teachers and physicians.

Has the mass involvement of women in public production affected the evolution of family roles? The answer which the monograph authors give to this question is negative. International studies confirm that women are more frequently dissatisfied with marriage than men, consider their marriage unhappy and initiate divorces. In all countries working women spend an average of 2.5-3 hours more than men in dealing with household chores (p 20). This situation has remained virtually unchanged since the mid-1960s, when a crossnational study of time budgets, directed by A. Salai, was made. Working women continue to be subjected to the "double" load for the substantial inequality in the division of labor between spouses remains. In this connection, E. Lupri notes that the nuclear organization of the family remains one of the main barriers in attaining equality between men and women.

"For a long time combining holding a job with family obligations was considered a 'women's' rather than 'men's' problem," emphasizes the Dutch scientist. "However, this is a general social problem which can be resolved only by restructuring the entire system through the redistribution of 'male' and 'female' roles" (p 33). Here the editor-compiler differs with the view of Robert and Rona Rappaport (Great Britain), who believe that a "symmetrical" assignments of family roles and jobs will take place by itself, in time. According to Lupri, this assessment is excessively optimistic. Crossnational studies prove that there are no reasons whatsoever to expect that the inequality between sexes will be eliminated "automatically." "The exploitation of women will remain for as long as the very foundation of the existing social system is left unchanged," E. Lupri emphasizes (p 34). This conclusion is unquestionable.

Comparative studies are an effective means of summation of sociological information. They enable us to determine whether or not identified patterns are valid for a separate country or are internationally applicable. In the study of relations between sexes, i.e., in the area in which different theoretical concepts and results of data interpretation are determined by the authors' ideological concepts, the need for crossnational studies is particularly great. A comparative approach enables us to study similar trends in different

social and cultural conditions. From this viewpoint, the monograph will unquestionably draw the attention of anyone interested in problems of changing the status of women in the contemporary world.

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CSO: 1806/26

SOURCES AND MEANING OF CLASS PLURALISM

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84
(signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 227-228

[Review by M. A. Manuil'skiy of the book "Burzhuaznyy Plyuralizm: Istoki i Klassovyy Smysl" [Bourgeois Pluralism: Sources and Class Meaning] by V. I. Il'in. Mysl', Moscow 1983, 199 pp]

[Text] Soviet and foreign Marxists pay great attention to the study and criticism of the concept of pluralism. However, such studies essentially focus on individual aspects of the problem, its political-legal aspects above all. As to socioeconomic publications, here the specific nature of the topic is frequently diluted within other problems. Il'in's work is an effort to consider pluralism in its theoretical and practical unity: as one of the fundamental principles of the bourgeois outlook and a most important mechanism in the functioning of capitalist society in its main areas--economic, social and political (each one of them treated in a separate chapter). The author studies these problems with the help of extensive factual data and words by noted Western scientists and political leaders, such as D. Bell, J. Galbraith, R. Darendorf, H. Arendt, V. Giscard d'Estaing, B. Levernet, C. Loewenstein, T. Parsons, H. Kohl, and others.

What is the bourgeois ideologue's concept of the specifics and social significance of pluralism? In their view, it is a necessary characteristic, a guarantee of freedom and democracy, an indicator of its "nonclass nature," a prerequisite for the efficient functioning of the industrial socioeconomic system and the antithesis of monopoly and totalitarianism. In this connection, the intensified unity between the worker and the democratic movements is considered a threat to freedom and democracy, and socialism as a form of totalitarianism. In exposing the ideological-theoretical sources of such views, the author justifiably draws attention to two main characterizing features: the mechanistic (the interpretation of society as a sum and result of interaction among private interests) and metaphysical (a consideration of human nature as strictly individualistic). These aspects are the base of such concepts, for the source of social development is "free play" among equal interests and reciprocally "balancing" forces, the "integrity" of society being a compromise among them (p 8).

The characterization of the ideological-theoretical foundations of pluralism provided by the author extends Marxist tradition to the development of this problem. The novelty of the author's methodological approach consists of the

following: said views on human nature and society are inherent (overtly or covertly) in the overwhelming majority of bourgeois sociopolitical concepts (consequently, it becomes proper to define, on the one hand, the elements of this ideology in various theories and, on the other, to present it as a relatively independent (yet quite contradictory and eclectic) system of views on social, economic and political life.

Unquestionably, this viewpoint is substantiated. Its fruitfulness is confirmed by the postulates of pluralism enumerated in the work. Along with already familiar "traditional" principles (limited and dispersed central power, inadmissibility of acute forms of class struggle, etc.) Il'in singles out a number of "recently" adopted new principles: priority of multiplicity and variety of interests, ways of life and systems over their unifying factors; the conflicting nature of social relations on any level as a natural and necessary prerequisite for collective life; and the stability of a system being a balance, a compromise, a result of reciprocal group pressures (pp 6-7).

The author convincingly describes the methodological contradiction, pragmatism and apologetic nature of the various variants of pluralism. For example, the idea of worker "participation" in management is extensively used by the ruling circles in the capitalist countries in defending and securing bourgeois interests. In addressing himself to the idea of "separating the party from the state," Il'in proves that it is not only directed against the leading role of the Marxist Party under the conditions of real socialism but also serves the bourgeois leaders as a cover whenever they refuse to honor electoral promises. The same thesis properly fulfills the role of a smokescreen for unprincipled compromises in forming coalition governments. It makes it possible to present presidential nominees with less than 50 percent of the popular vote as representing the interests of the entire nation and to limit the influence of party masses on the state (p 173)..

Il'in has been less successful in his study of the social area. This is partially explained by the underdeveloped nature of this problem in scientific publications. However, since the author raises the question of the multiplicity of ways of life under capitalism, in our view, he should have clearly indicated whether we should speak of such a variety within the framework of a single way of life, which does not exist in the least, rather than of a new "variance"? For this deals with one of the key problems of social development.

As a whole, this study profoundly substantiates the main conclusion of the author: the class meaning of pluralism is to serve as a tool for smoothing over social antagonisms and a refined form of struggle against real socialism and a defense of the bourgeois system. The author has avoided the simplistic approach to the assessment of this phenomenon.

This is essentially a sociological book for it is an attempt at adopting a comprehensive approach to the problem. It is written on a good professional level and is distinguished by the high standard of organization and presentation of the data. The latter circumstance is largely the merit of the publishers.

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CSO: 1806/26

SYNERGY CONCEPT IN THE STUDY OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA IN Russian, No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84
(signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 229-231

[Review by Yu. K. Kachanov of the book "Concepts and Models of a Quantitative Sociology. The Dynamics of Interacting Populations" by W. Weidlich and G. Haag. Springer Verlag, Berlin-Heidelberg-New York, December 1983, 217 pages. Bibliography pages 209-213 (in English)]

[Text] Integration between the natural and the social sciences on the basis of the systems approach is a characteristic feature of contemporary science. In this respect, the attempt by W. Weidlich and G. Haag, theoretical physicists at Stuttgart University (FRG) to develop a conceptual apparatus for the study of social systems with the help of the synergy concept is indicative.

The "synergetics" concept (from the Greek synergos, acting together) was introduced by H. Haken (1, 2). It indicates an interdisciplinary area of study of functional structures developing as a result of the interaction among elements of self-organizing systems. The concepts of synergetics is based on the existence of a striking similarity among systems on the macrolevel of the manifestation of their space-time features, whereas on the microlevel (within themselves) they contain unique elements, specific to them alone and, correspondingly, "their own" intraelement relations. It may appear that the dynamics of subatomic formations, biological organizations and human communities have nothing in common. The synergetic view of systems offers hypothetical grounds for singling out an aspect of reality which may be described somewhat conventionally as hyperobjectival.

The authors of the monograph define synergetics as a science of "collective static or dynamic phenomena in closed or open systems with the cooperated interaction among elements" (p 1). They look at cooperative interactions which cause the uneven transition of systems to a qualitatively new condition (such as from chaotic to totally orderly). According to this concept, irreversible qualitative changes in the system are "collective" in nature. By this the authors imply their dependency on element interaction. The accumulation of element changes within the parameters of the system is subordinate to quite autonomous "macrotrends." The latter make sense only in terms of the system as an integer but not of its separate elements. The "superproblem" of the use of mathematical models based on the synergetic concept is to explain the behavior of the system as a whole on the basis of elements or of

subsystems close to the "critical point," the point of spasmodic transition to a qualitatively new condition.

These are Weidlich's and Haag's initial general methodical views which, unless applied to terminological problems, do not create major objections. Unquestionably, the sociologist will be interested mainly in the possibility of using synergetics in the study of social processes. At this point, we must frankly say that here the authors have followed a false track.

In considering society as an open system consisting of a large number of individuals, each one of whom adopts one line of behavior or another, depending on the complex interaction among conscious and subconscious, emotional and rational and genetic and ecological factors, they assume, correctly as a whole, that the "microscopic" details of the interaction are not precisely known. After "averaging" the dynamics of individuals on the basis of statistical populations, however, this does not prevent Weidlich and Haag from explaining global societal dynamics and cause and effect relations in connection with changes in its elements. The behavior of individuals on the microlevel (which the authors describe as the sociopolitical mentality of the individual) with the help of functional averaging by global development factor is converted into material and economic societal structures on the microlevel. Therefore, this system lacks original features, and its sociophilosophical origins may be traced to 19th century adventurism, and the arguments against the "monatomic" model suggested by the authors are well known from Marx's works and his devastating criticism of I. Bentham's elaborations.

But let us go on. What is the explanation for the applicability of the formalism of statistical physics to the "dynamics of interacting populations?" To begin with, both physical-chemical and sociological systems consist of a large number of elements, each one of which may be in one of several possible states. Therefore, on the microlevel the dynamics of the system is one of interrelated conversions of elements from one condition to another. Secondly, the precise initial conditions of elements in sociological and physical-chemical systems are insignificant in the computation of macrochanges. The latter can be entirely replaced with statistical assumptions. Since there is a reciprocal single consistency between elements, and changes in the condition of elements and the nature of variables in physical-chemical systems, on the one hand, and sociological systems, on the other, it has been established that particles or individuals are officially proclaimed as identical and independent of nature by the "dynamists." This, precisely, is the basic error of the West German scientists.

By maximally simplifying the task of the critique, we can say that the "litteral" transfer of formalism and the mathematical foundations of statistical physics to sociology is the result of the lack of understanding of real sociological problems. However, the considerations of the authors contain an initially unnoticeable stratum of methodological reflections imbued with faith in the necessity and inevitability of the total application of mathematical models in sociology. This idea should be discussed in greater detail, for it is a question of the interpenetration between sociology and mathematics, which is a universally acknowledged but difficult task.

Without engaging in a discussion of the philosophical antinomy of the soulless rationality of figures and the unique nature of human existence, let us concentrate on the specific problems of sociological measurements and, in the broad meaning of the term, experimentation.

To begin with, unlike experimentation in "classical" natural science, sociological experimentation is random. This means that the interaction between dependent and independent variables takes place in the presence of so-called obstructing factors the number of which could be infinite. Naturally, this is inevitable in a natural science measurement as well. The sociologist must present obstructing factors as random values and "average" the studied total. Unfortunately, it is hardly possible to guarantee the randomizing of all obstructing (and substantial!) factors in sociology. The type of "averaging" interelement interactions described by Weidlich and Haag can be achieved, as a rule, only within the framework of the interpretation of the analyst's activities. Secondly, the essential distinction of a sociological experiment is that singling out one independent variable usually leads to elaborations which have nothing in common with reality. A multifactorial approach is required here, which would take into account the effect of many variables. Thus, in their study "Man After Work," L. A. Gordon and E. V. Klopov convincingly proved that the stage of the family-age cycle is an immeasurably stronger factor than the simple sum of age and family status. Thirdly, the use of mathematical methods in sociology requires substantial modifications of the theory of planning experiments.

All of these requirements are ideal to a certain extent. However, even were they to become attainable it would be difficult to imagine the actual area in which the synergetic mathematical model developed by Weidlich and Haag could be applied. They proceed from mathematics to sociology forgetting that a mathematical model is structured to meet some abstract never actually occurring situations and mediates the attitude of the sociologist to the tangible reality he is investigating and is a sui generis cognitive map of this reality. Ignoring this means engaging in fruitless theorizing.

Naturally, the mathematization of science is not self-seeking, and the translation of the conceptual apparatus of sociological theory into the language of mathematics and the manipulating of formal structures not only do not increase the logical substantiation of a scientific conclusion but, conversely, confuse the essence of the matter, for the mathematical copy of a sociological "content-rich problem" is nothing but an unfocused mathematical thought deprived of its inherent clarity and transparency.

In sociology models are created on an ad hoc basis and combine a purely quantitative definition of mathematical elaborations and meaningful sociological knowledge. The method used for such a combination is provided by the objective of the research process. If the creation of a global synergetic picture of "interacting populations" is the method selected by Weidlich and Haag, the subject of sociology would disappear within an alien methodological context and a great deal of imagination (nonmathematical!) would be required to decode and reconstruct the realities in which the sociologist deals. Actually, paradoxically enough, ignorance of sociology helped the authors to develop an entirely valid, albeit unacceptable, concept, which makes us doubt,

look for counterarguments, refute and doubt again. It would be difficult to say today what type of contribution could synergetics make to the sciences of man and society. What is unquestionable, however, is that the radical destruction of enduring paradigms and the qualitative growth of scientific knowledge are possible only at the interface among different disciplines.

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CSO: 1806/26

SOCIOLOGIST'S BOOKSHELF

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep 84
(signed to press 19 Jul 84) pp 232-233

[Text] "Materialy Plenuma Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS" [Materials of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum], 26-27 December 1983. Politizdat, Moscow, 1984, 32 pages.

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