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**TOPICAL PROBLEMS
OF CZECHOSLOVAK
SOCIOLOGY**

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I.

STUDIES

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Since 1958 when Czechoslovak sociology had resumed its place in the system of social sciences its development has been a tempestuous one from the first attempts at reestablishing the violently interrupted continuity with the preceding (particularly pre-war) period of its evolution, and at seeking contacts with world sociological thought, from attempts at returning to the „authentic Marx“ through the stage of a hypertrophy of haphazard and not always sufficiently methodologically informed empirical researches and quasiresearches up to the present state when one can speak of a well constituted, consolidated and institutionalized discipline of science which has essentially overcome its „infantile disorders“, and has begun to fulfil its basic social functions. The authors of the present volume which we recommend to the reader's kind attention have not aimed at presenting a historical reconstruction of the development of Czechoslovak sociology in the years 1958—1968 (this might not even be too interesting for the foreign reader), nor a complete description of its contemporary state (this, in view of the limited capacity of the group of authors, would not in any case be easily possible). The aim pursued by their efforts is a more modest one - what they wish to give is an account of the development and present state of those disciplines in which they themselves have been active for some years, i. e. of some problems of general sociological theory, of the development of empirical sociology in Czechoslovakia, of the sociology of industry, of youth, of intelligentsia, and of small groups. Admittedly the subjects chosen do not cover the internal differentiation of *interests* of Czechoslovak sociology as a whole, the authors, however, do try to indicate the ways in which the internal differentiation of *views* is projected into the individual sociological disciplines, and thus to bring to the reader's attention the principal problems, both theoretic and methodological, under discussion, and to acquaint him - as far as this is possible within the given scope - with the basic relevant findings of empirical researches. However, the authors have intentionally not subordinated their papers to any formally uniform approach, some emphasizing problems of categories and of conceptual analysis and questions of general theory, while others reproduce, and comment upon, the results of empirical investigations undertaken in a way which corresponds to their interest as researchers and to their basic orientation.

As a supplement to the papers the volume brings a bibliographical survey,

including both books and periodicals, of sociological literature published in Czechoslovakia in the years 1957—1967. This is intended to help the reader in completing his picture of the development of sociological research as well as of its present state in Czechoslovakia. It includes, however, not only texts that are „specifically sociological“ but also studies and papers from disciplines closely related to sociology — demography, social psychology, pedagogics, etc. The reason for their inclusion being not only the fact that it may often be disputable to define precise border lines between these disciplines and sociology (particularly in the field of empirical research which often employs the same methodological tools). Another reason is that in the period when sociology was not „officially recognized“ it was these disciplines which filled the place of its cognitive and, to a certain degree, practical functions as well. As a matter of fact, a similar position was held by the discipline called „scientific communism“ which was fulfilling not only strictly ideological functions but in many cases even those of empirical research. Moreover, at a certain period some problems of general sociological theory were being developed not only on the theoretical basis of the materialistic conception of history, i. e. of a certain philosophical approach, but direct in the formal and „institutional“ context of historical materialism. Thus the aims of the volume are modest: if it succeeds in acquainting the reader with the way a number of Czechoslovak sociologists approach certain aspects of social reality and with the present state of some sociological disciplines, and possibly in stimulating his interest in contact and discussion with Czechoslovak sociologists its objectives will have been amply accomplished.

Prague, May 1968

Miloslav Petrusek

EDUARD URBÁNEK

ON THE CONCEPTION OF GENERAL SOCIOLOGY

An essential condition for a successful development of sociology in Czechoslovakia after the enforced interruption of almost fifteen years when sociology had been suppressed as an alleged bourgeois pseudoscience has been the question of elucidating a certain fundamental conception of sociology as a modern social-science discipline. This is the question of a fundamental conception of sociology which includes a number of important problems that have been the object of disputes and discussions even in those countries where sociology has been developing without any interruption and where it has had a very long continuous tradition. It is concerned, above all, with the relationship between sociology and the other, particularly the closely related social sciences (philosophy, history, economics, etc.), with the relation between theory and empirical research as well as the basic problems of the relation of sociology to practice, to political power, to possible consequences of the use and abuse of sociology for the purposes of practice, whether industrial, political, military, or commercial.

One of the most significant questions is undoubtedly the relation between general sociological theory and concrete sociological researches. Any answer to this question is always bound to include a certain conception of sociology and it depends both on historical traditions, on the specific features of the development of sociology in the individual countries and on personal predilections and bends of the individual representatives of sociology whether stress is laid on general theoretic and methodological questions of the discipline, or whether sociology is conceived primarily only and predominantly as a concrete sociological research and the theory is either underestimated, or it is emphasized that sociological generalization is as yet impossible owing to a lack of maturity and elaboration of sociology as a relatively recent science.

Sociologists in Czechoslovakia had - at the very beginning or the process of the restoration of sociology - also been obliged to pose the question of how to conceive sociology and what the relation as between general sociological theory and concrete systematic sociology as a discipline and between actual empirical research which had been - and often still is in many countries - identified with the one and only possible exact conception of sociology in general.

There has been a certain possibility of carrying on the tradition of the development of sociology in Czechoslovakia despite the fact that this development had frequently been broken so that it is no exaggeration to say that sociology in Czechoslovakia has always had something to catch up with, and always had dealt in one way or another with, problems that had been posed elsewhere and also solved with differing results. Irrespective of the various periods of interruption and suppression of sociology, irrespective of the various complex and roundabout ways of development of sociology in Czechoslovakia we can say that in the past a certain tradition of sociological work as well as a certain conception of sociology had been created. Nor have been the individual partial results achieved in the past without significance, and they can serve as a basis for further development.

Already Gustav Adolf Lindner had laid certain foundations for social psychology in his work *Ideen zur Psychologie der Gesellschaft als Grundlage der Sozialwissenschaft* of 1877, nor is it without significance that Masaryk had concerned himself with the burning problem of modern times - suicide - earlier than E. Durkheim (as early as 1881, whereas Durkheim did not publish his work until 1897). Břetislav Foustka interested as he was in the problems of people on the margin of society and socially weak, approaches very closely those among contemporary sociological schools and authors who deal with the so-called marginal types. The works of Chalupný, Bláha, Král, Ulrych, Uhlíř, Merti, Galla, Machotka and other representatives of pre-war sociology have also had their importance and bearing. It is certainly necessary to examine and evaluate all their important works and conceptions. However, it is only true to say that not a single of the outstanding representatives of Czech, and even less of Slovak, sociology, which had been even less developed than the Czech, has had any particular influence on moulding the contemporary conceptions of Czechoslovak sociology being restored in recent years.

A majority of those representatives of social sciences who have now passed over to work in sociology (philosophers, psychologists, economists, historians, and others) as well as those none too numerous sociologists with their own sociological university education had been objectively influenced by Marxism which they in an overwhelming majority also subjectively embraced and with which they had also identified themselves. That is why in its very beginnings the reborn Czechoslovak sociology had been consciously conceived and theoretically unambiguously declared as Marxist sociology. It is here, however, that a series of grave problems have had their beginning which cannot be concealed or eliminated by subjectively well-meant intentions and proclamations to build sociology in Czechoslovakia as a Marxist sociology. After the exposure of the so-called personality cult when at the same time the very external and ostensibly monolithic unity of Marxism in social sciences that had been maintained and also kept within certain limits by the official interpretation disappeared

it is very difficult to determine in an unambiguous and exact way what is Marxist sociology, and what is not. Nor does the contemporary state in Marxist social sciences and sociology in other countries give any unambiguous and exact reply. In the course of the more than a hundred years of the development of Marxism various schools of thought and trends have arisen within both Marxism and Marxist sociology that are far from being uniform or identical. There are a number of names, of movements and trends, individuals and their works who have embraced Marxism and declared themselves as Marxist, side by side with them a number of runners sympathizing, independent Marxists, crypto-marxists, various actual and imagined revisionists of Marxist theory.

In a most general form it can be stated that in social sciences in general and in sociology in particular a Marxist is he who embraces Marxism subjectively, wishes internally to be a Marxist, and also in his own work endeavours to put into effect his idea of Marxism in conformity with the level of his own education, his erudition, and the cultural and historical specific features of the country and the environment in which he pursues his activities. This subjective will and desire or endeavour to be a Marxist and to work as a Marxist poses a number of questions and problems the solution of which gives only an indication of an answer. This is in the first place the question what it means to be a Marxist, or more exactly, to wish to be a Marxist. To be a Marxist also implies taking up certain stands towards the founders of Marxism, towards those who are unequivocally regarded as Marxist. Above all, it is the question of the attitude to Marx and his spiritual heritage as well as to those of his closest followers whom it is usual in Marxism to designate as classics of Marxism. These are, as it is well known, primarily Engels and Lenin. In recent times it is beginning to be generally acknowledged that it is impossible to identify Marx and Engels in all things, that there are certain differences and shades between them, that Engels differs from Marx's conception in many problems, or takes up an attitude to certain questions that Marx did not endeavour to solve, or did not state his point of view towards them (the dialectics of nature). In the same way it has become clear today that not all philosophical conceptions held by Lenin are identical with the conception of Marx. It is particularly his conception of materialism in his Materialism and Empiriocriticism that his conception differs from that of Marx. Thus it is, above all, the relation to Marx's work and Marx's heritage that matters. This question can also be formulated as a problem of the so-called orthodoxy in Marxism. This was the formulation put forward early enough by G. Lukacs in his well-known book „Geschichte und Klassenbewusstsein“, and particularly in his study entitled „Was ist orthodoxer Marxismus?“ In keeping with his conception Lukacs also answers the question. It is necessary to add, however, that this question had been asked by Marxists before Lukacs, and that they all tried to answer it in a certain

way. In the personality cult period a certain conception of the orthodoxy of Marxism was also being enforced, this time rather in a practical way than in a theoretical form. What was considered as orthodoxy was a painstaking meticulous adherence to the text of the classics, and each deviation from the text was regarded as revision, as turning aside from, or as treason to, Marxism. This primitive conception reinforced by the official interpretation of texts and by determining what is orthodox and what is not, fell along with the most extreme phenomena of the system which is, in an abbreviated and inexact way, referred to as the cult of personality. Of course, it is necessary to point out that in the period of the personality cult it was primarily and particularly Stalin's works that were adhered to, Lenin, Engels and especially Marx being quoted only in a limited way. As part of the other, this time less primitive conception of orthodoxy in Marxism, we can classify those views which see orthodoxy in emphasizing the results, theories and theorems of the classics of Marxism as a basis the preservation of which is a proof of orthodoxy. In this case there is no question of a parrot-like repetition of quotations; this time certain of essential principles, theories and theorems of the classics of Marxism which the so-called classics have arrived at in their analyses. These theorems - results of a certain historical research in historically conditioned situations - are regarded as eternally unchangeable, solely correct and always valid. This applies e. g. to Marx's conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat which had been worked out in a certain period and based on certain theoretic and historical studies. Already in Lenin's work do we find a statement by the use of which we could refute Marx's conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a singled out isolated theorem. In fact Lenin states that „we could even do without dictatorship if we had really positive knowledge that the petty bourgeoisie would back the proletariat in carrying out its proletarian revolution“.¹⁾

To conceive of orthodoxy in Marxism as an insistence on each historically conditioned theorem or thesis means to find oneself - while analyzing new situations and conditions — in conflict with reality which is constantly changing by applying a theorem that can prove to be incorrect or overcome. That is why Lukacs stresses the point that in his view the essence of the orthodoxy of Marxism consists, above all, in its method, in the application, development and deepening of this method.²⁾

I consider this conception to be relatively the most correct as it lays stress not on the importance of the individual theorems and their eternal validity but on the significance of the method as an instrument of analysis and reproduction of reality. At that time Lukacs had as yet no knowledge of Lenin's early writings. It is interesting to note, however, that his conception is almost identical with

1) V. I. Lenin, Collected Works 6, p. 45—46.

2) G. Lukacs, Geschichte und Klassenbewusstsein, p. 13, Berlin 1923.

that of Lenin who also makes the point that „what the Marxists take over unconditionally from Marx's theory are only the invaluable methods.“³⁾ Thus orthodox in Marxism, in the social sciences which proceed from Marxism and wish to pose and work as Marxist consists in fidelity to Marx's method. This therefore applies to sociology as well. Marxist sociology exists where and when its representatives succeed in employing and applying and developing Marx's dialectical method of concrete totality in investigating social problems. In Lenin's and Lukacs's conception Marx's method may not be the only possible method and the only one which can be used in examining social reality; however, both hold the opinion that hitherto no other methods that have been applied in social sciences have brought results bearing comparison with those achieved by Marx. This is the reason why for them Marx's method is synonymous with scientific method even though Lenin himself admits the theoretical possibility of Marx's method being surpassed in its application to the study of the capitalist formation in case someone surpassed Marx's analysis in a scientific way by another method. It is obvious that any decision as to which work is better or more fruitful that any decision as to which work is better or more fruitful scientifically is always bound to include evaluation, involving an element of choice. However, taking up an attitude to methodology and theory in social sciences is always a matter of choice, and thus of evaluation as well. Any opposite assumptions have always proved illusory in practice.

It can be urged against the above-mentioned conception that even in interpreting Marx's method in social sciences and subsequently in applying it no uniform conception can be arrived at, the interpretation of any author who is no longer alive and the application of this methods being subjective and individual. And this is a fact. Objectively a certain conception and application are always bound to differ individually, nor are they ever identical even with those who subjectively declare their allegiance to one theoretical and methodological school of thought. The result always depends on the individual theoretician's erudition, education and his measure of skill in applying the method and the conception he professes.

Marx's method is the method of concrete dialectics as interpreted in Czechoslovakia e. g. by Karel Kosík.⁴⁾ It is clear that in terms of the conception referred to above — i. e. only the sociology which employs Marx's method and applies it in analyzing reality can be regarded as Marxist sociology — one cannot classify as Marxist sociology that sociology which acknowledges concrete research alone without both the preliminary methodological and theoretical presuppositions and without sufficient interpretation with regard to concepts and categories of data and findings obtained by various methods and

³⁾ V. I. Lenin, Collected Works (Spisy) 1, p. 205.

⁴⁾ Karel Kosík, *Dialektika konkrétního* (The Dialectics of the Concrete), Prague 1966.

techniques which in themselves do not yet constitute a precondition for belonging to a certain school. However, merely to stick to concrete research can in itself be a certain theoretical approach, an approach which tends to confuse the ways of obtaining data on society with the scientific work itself.

Marx's dialectical method as a method of concrete totality, as a manner of actually reproducing reality as a concrete totality has been worked out and applied to examining social reality. This being so represents at the same time a definitive system of categories and basic concepts which permit us to approach social reality and to interpret this reality in a certain a priori way within a certain conceptual scheme of basic categories. This is Marx's well-known materialistic conception of history, later described as historical materialism though Marx himself never referred to his conception as historical materialism always describing it as a materialistic conception of history.

The materialistic conception of history as a definite theoretical system of categories and concepts enabling us to interpret and analyze social phenomena has been the subject of disputes and controversy in socialist countries. In its first stage in Czechoslovakia interest in sociology had primarily taken the form of a discussion concerning the relation between the so-called historical materialism and sociology and also concerning the relation between historical materialism, sociology and the so-called scientific communism. I regard the discussion concerning the relation between historical materialism and sociology as a useful one whereas that concerning the relation between sociology and the so-called scientific communism must be considered as rather sterile and superfluous. Scientific communism is a seasonal boom product of a certain stage of development of the Departments of Marxism-Leninism and of some of their workers. There does not, and cannot, exist an independent scientific branch of scientific communism in the same way as there is no scientific liberalism though both communism and liberalism can be subjected to scientific investigation, and socialism as a movement can be based on scientific principles of social sciences. In Marx and Engels their conception of socialism which they set up consciously as an opposite pole to Utopian Socialism cannot be divorced from the scientific principles of history, economy, and philosophy.

In this connection I am not out to examine the discussion concerning the relation between the materialistic conception of history and sociology. It is certain, however, that Marx worked out a definite system of concepts, of categories which conceives and interprets social phenomena in a certain way as being the most important and fundamental object of interest for sociology. Here I think it is possible to agree with R. König who distinguishes a general system of categories and concepts and a doctrine of concepts and categories without which there can be no sociology as a social science and a science dealing with social phenomena, and finally a general sociological theory which in König's view is almost non-existent and can only be created on the basis of

a certain system of concepts by generalizing the findings established by concrete sociological research. Furthermore, we can also concur in König's view that sociology cannot exist but as empirical social research.⁵⁾ It is really impossible to create a Marxist sociology only on the basis of general deduction methods without actually examining social reality, a fact that applies to any science. Nor can sociology be set up as a science without certain basic concepts and categories which enable us to approach reality, and to interpret this reality within this conceptual scheme. Viewed in this light it is Marx's materialistic conception of history that constitutes such a doctrine on concepts and categories which interpret social phenomena and make it possible to analyse them in terms of concepts. Such concepts of Marx's as those of practice, labour, objective activity, productive forces, economic structure of society, production of consciousness and others are not immediately verifiable in the same way as no general theoretical system in social or in natural sciences can be directly verified. However, without this it is impossible to interpret reality and to examine it in actual research. Nor is it possible in the absence of such concepts to arrive at partial or allround generalizations. Even those attained on their basis bear the stamp of the degree of maturity achieved by the particular science and of the level reached by its individual representatives.

This set of basic categories or concepts can be described as a social teaching on categories or concepts (*Kategorienlehre*) — the way König does — or one can speak of a materialistic conception of history as one does in Marxism; however this may be, sociology, being as it is a concrete science dealing with concrete social reality, cannot do without this system of categories. Wherever it pretends it can do so or declares it does not require any general theoretical system of categories its results are necessarily very poor; then it essentially does not exceed the description level, or one establishing mere regularities.

Marx's materialistic conception of history can also be described as systematic sociology or general sociology if what we mean by systematic sociology is a system of categories and concepts that enable us to apprehend social phenomena. We can also accept König's conception who adds general sociological theory conceived by him as a certain high degree of sociological generalization and of sociological theory which has still to be worked out for the most part, since contemporary sociology in his view contains as yet no generalizations of a high degree of complexity, one exception being e. g. the general sociological theory of organization, or the sociological theory of groups. It can be added that this conception includes e. g. Marx's general sociological theory of both classes and the state, even though in Marx it does not appear in the form of a textbook, or in that of classical school-bench definitions, which in present-day

⁵⁾ René König, Handbuch der empirischen Sozialforschung, Einleitung pp. 3—16, Stuttgart 1962.

sociology tend to be regarded as conclusive evidence of a scientific approach despite the fact that as early as in Hegel we find by no means isolated statements on the limited character of a definition which cannot cope with the whole wealth of definition of the subject under examination.

There are numerous objections that might be raised against the above mentioned materialistic conception of history as worked out by Marx. As a matter of fact, one of these does frequently appear: Can one, it asks, make do with a system of categories dealing with society which had arisen in the last century, considering that the development of thought as well as that of social sciences has been going on ever since? This objection is in the main justified, it is true that the store of thought contributed by a particular thinker in social sciences is not always the greatest asset where the contribution is the most recent. Though it must be admitted that Marx's teachings on categories, his general system of concepts regarding social phenomena, his method of spiritual reproduction of social totality must be supplemented, developed, and enriched by all categories evolved since his days which have contributed to a deeper and more perfect apprehension of social reality and to its more scientific analysis. This problem of incorporating some of the present-day categories and concepts of social phenomena into the Marxist network of concepts is one that I consider among the most significant and most difficult ones. This also appears to me to be the main problem which sociologists in Czechoslovakia have to contend with if they wish to develop sociology as a general theoretical discipline and in so far as they proceed from Marx's theoretical system of materialistic conception of history.

MATERIALISTIC CONCEPTION OF HISTORY AND THE CATEGORIES OF CONTEMPORARY SOCIOLOGY

Marxist sociologists (i. e. those who desire, or declare themselves, to be such) having Marx's theoretical system of categories to draw upon are turning to those among present-day sociologists who have tried to work out, or have already succeeded in working out — at least in some sort of definite shape — a general theoretical system of categories that are to serve as a basis for research in contemporary sociology, i. e. to serve as an effective tool of empirical research. It is therefore by no means a matter of accident that it is Parsons's attempt at setting up an up-to-date modern theoretical system of categories and concepts that has attracted a great measure of attention among sociologists in Czechoslovakia. Of special appeal has been the structural and functional basis of this system, the use of concepts current in a number of modern sciences, ranging from chemistry to linguistics and aesthetics. The concepts of structure, function, system and equilibrium seem to possess a kind of

magic power, and a great deal of interest has been aroused in interpreting these categories and incorporating them into Marxism.

The structuralist conceptions in contemporary sociology are highly differentiated depending both on their country of origin and even on the person of their creator. Of all the well-known and outstanding representatives of today's structural and functionalist school it is T. Parsons whose work has aroused greatest attention in Czechoslovakia. It has been frequently commented upon, and the basic concepts of his general theory of action such as action, social and cultural system or structure, function and equilibrium have flooded sociological studies, articles and lectures. The great interest taken in the problems of structure is exemplified by for instance the large publication about social structure dating from 1966.⁶⁾

How is it possible to account for so wide an interest taken by Czechoslovak sociologists primarily in Parsons's conception when most of these sociologists embrace both the theoretical assumptions of Marxism and its revolutionary consequences? As a matter of fact, Parsons had been criticized on many occasions in Western sociological literature, his theoretic system being accused - the charge being, in my view, fully, justified - of potential conservative consequences and of subservience to an objectively apologetic ideological function.

The appeal of Parsons' conception may have stemmed from the way he stresses the importance and necessity of having a general theoretical system, the requirement of combining empirical research with general theory, and the stress he lays on the importance and necessity of co-operation between the individual, or to be more precise, between some social science disciplines. As a matter of fact, Parsons intentionally works out his general theory of action to cover all social sciences. Another important feature is his way of utilizing and elaborating some basic concepts of contemporary modern sciences in sociology. This applies in particular to such concepts as structure, system, function and equilibrium. These concepts are among those most frequently employed in modern disciplines connected with cybernetics; structuralism in linguistics, aesthetics or cultural and social anthropology having acquired considerable prestige, these concepts are associated in the minds of those working in sociology with many successful analyses carried out in the above disciplines.

It goes without saying that the reception of the structural and functionalist conception in general and of Parsons's conception in particular has been by no means unequivocal. Rather the necessity is being emphasized for a certain flexible and creative synthesis of the basic concepts of social dynamics in Marx's conception where there commonly appear such concepts as antagonism, conflict, contradictions, class struggle, evolution, revolution, with the basic notions

⁶⁾ Social Structure of Socialist Society. Sociological Problems of Contemporary Society, Prague 1966.

of Parsons's conception whose use of the concepts of function, equilibrium, consensus is more like a recent edition of the old conceptions of social statics.

As compared with Parsons's one-sided conception Marxists generally emphasize — and are fully justified in doing so — certain significant deviations in the way certain notions which have been taken over into the open system of categories of Marxist sociology are being conceived. Particularly in the concept of structure the genetic and the historical aspects are emphasized, nor is it possible to ignore the rise and development of structures, or even the obliteration of the old social structures and the rise of new ones. Any neglect of the genetic and historical aspects inevitably results in making one lose historical sense and the time dimensions of human history. Structuralism conceived in the static and non-genetic way objectively constitutes a perpetuation of the category of the present, evolution ceasing to be evolution in time and being acknowledged merely as innovations and changes within the structure. Actually only changes in the sphere of production, science and technology are acknowledged as such while social changes are taken into account only insofar as they do not exceed the given structure which is also conceived as the limits of the system.

As opposed to the element of uniformity, stability and harmony in the conception of structure it is the internal, natural contradictory character of the structure that is emphasized by Marxism, conflicts, contradictions and encounters being a natural phenomenon in any social structure. It is in the spirit of the classical conception of dialectics as a principle of negativity and contradiction and change that conflicts, contradictions and the struggle of contradictions are conceived as the driving force of development, of changes and modifications of structures and of the possibility, or its perishing or passing into a new structure.

In this conception we are obviously concerned with structure as one endowed with objective existence, here structure holds an ontological status. A certain shortcoming lies in the fact that in Parsons's conception as much as in Marxist descriptions and interpretations of structure it is not always clearly stated what the concept of structure is meant to signify. Also the fact that the concept of structure is contained in Marx's work (e. g. as early as in his *German Ideology*) and that it is subsequently applied by Marx primarily in terms of economic structure as a system, as a set of economic production relations of a certain society. It is in Marx where — in harmony with his whole conception of objective human practice — a major aspect in the conception of structure could be found which has been entirely neglected. In Marx's way of thinking the concept of structure is always understood as not being something self-supporting and independent but a product. The economic structure of a society has always been an objective result of substantive human historical activities. Structure, therefore, is not self-supporting, nor is it absolutely independent of

human activity. Its objectively substantive character and — in a society of alienation — an objectively substantive existence and one ostensibly independent of man cannot veil the derived nature of structure and its dependence on human activity. Social structure in its objectively substantive existence provides a certain external determining space and a limit of human activities; however, being a historical and man-made creation it can be altered, modified, or liquidated, and a new structure can be established. This conception of structure as a product and at the same time as a space limiting and canalizing human activity is more profound and more dynamic than the one that conceives structure as a given entity, as a certain limiting factor confronting man, which is separated from activity and set against it as something extraneous and independent of it. Structure is not only borne along by human substantive activity: it is at the same time a certain foundation which, in its turn, supports certain social phenomena as a kind of superstructure which is conditioned and determined by it. What we are, therefore, concerned with is to differentiate elements of structure from non-structure elements, and structure-generating activities from such activities as are not structurized. This differentiation is made possible by structure being conceived in a genetic and historical way as a product, as a result of activity, and at the same time as a factor structurizing and determining historical activity. This potential conception of structure is pointed out e. g. by H. Lefèbvre, while certain elements of such a conception can be found in the conception of structure propounded by G. Gurvitch.

In addition to this, structure can be conceived above all as a certain type of model, as a tool for analyzing reality, some authors even going so far as to associate the conception of structure as a model with notions concerning the possibility of measuring social phenomena. The conception of structure as a model for the analysis of reality can be found in C. Lévi-Strauss who for his own part, of course, rejects in express terms any necessary connexion between the model of structure and the possibility of measuring social phenomena.⁷⁾

Among the varied — and internally very different — conceptions of structure there is one that conceives structure rather as a substance. This interpretation is congenial to those authors who lay stress upon stability, uniformity of, and the possibility of reproducing, social structures while neglecting or denying the genetic, historical aspect. Certain signs of this conception are to be found in the work of Parsons who, in my opinion, vacillates between the model conception of structure „structure is a static aspect of the description of the system“) and the essentialistic conception in which the element of equilibrium, stability and duration has been overestimated.

The conception of structure as a product of activity, as a phenomenon end-

7) H. Lefèbvre, *Critique de la vie quotidienne*, Vol. II, pp. 161—162, Paris, 1961.

owed with ontological status, does not exclude the conception of structure as a model and as a tool of analysis. If reality is objectively structurized it is only logical to conclude that it can be described and analyzed by using structural models as an instrument of cognition.

The possibility of conceiving and interpreting structure in differing ways makes it imperative for anyone who employs the conception of structure or system to explain his own interpretation and the meaning he ascribes to the concept. It is certainly justified to receive — and to incorporate into a certain system of categories — new categories or concepts, the necessary condition being a certain logical purity and clarity, a deep knowledge of the sources used, and, last but not least, knowledge of the history of the concept or category, and of what they may convey to, and how they are likely to be interpreted by, various schools and individuals. Lack of critical approach and of reserved attitude to various interpretations and the onesided reduction of the structural conception primarily to that advanced by T. Parsons is what I consider to be one of the main shortcomings of contemporary Czechoslovak sociology in taking over some of the basic concepts of structural and functionalist school. Apart from Parsons there are by far more profound and more critical authors such as R. Merton. The work of M. Levy also deserves attention. The French structuralist school can boast of a number of finer, deeper, and more dialectical conceptions than those put forward by American structuralism. The work of G. Gurvitch has hitherto evoked far less interest in the ranks of Czechoslovak sociologists, little use is being made of suggestions made by C. Lévi-Strauss, H. Lefèbvre, or of contributions made by the younger representatives of structuralist conceptions (Althusser). It is to be regretted that the suggestions and contributions made by the Czech linguistic structuralist school and the works of those authors who, inspired by R. Jakobson and Trubetzkoy, had as early as before the Second World War - developed a very original conception of structuralism in literary science and esthetics (J. Mukařovský) seems to have fallen on an entirely barren ground. For it is to Jakobson and Trubetzkoy that C. Lévi-Strauss expressly refers in his account of the conception of the structuralists method.⁸⁾

The only attempt so far at formulating a synthetic and a more profound conception of the concept of structure, system and function - while drawing upon extensive literature, both French and American, has been made by Z. Strmiska in his hitherto unpublished work¹⁰⁾ in which he has also made an attempt at giving his own interpretation based on Marxism of these fundamental categories.

⁸⁾ C. Lévi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology*, p. 283, New York, 1963.

⁹⁾ C. Lévi-Strauss, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

¹⁰⁾ Z. Strmiska, *Otázky marxistické sociologické teorie* (Problems of Marxist Sociological Theory), MS. of a Thesis, Prague, 1967.

The manner in which stimuli from other world sociologists both of the past and of the present are made use of in Czechoslovak sociology is far from satisfactory. The impression one gathers is as if there were almost no other conceptions and other schools than the structural functionalist one. Only isolated studies bear witness to the fact that some Czechoslovak sociologists draw upon the work of M. Weber whose conception of ideal types I consider to be one of the most valuable aspects of Weber's sociological heritage. At the same time the fact that it was Weber himself who pointed out that the ideal types had been used as a tool of analysis in Marx's *Capital* is very little known.¹¹⁾ Who else but Marxists could, and should, study the interesting connections between Marx and the conceptions of Max Weber who not only criticized Marx and Marxism (and particularly Marxism as interpreted by Marx's disciples) but on whom the impact of Marxism exercised a very strong influence. A certain interest has also been aroused by F. Tönnies whose well-known dichotomy *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* had its predecessors not only among German romanticists but was commonly employed by Marx whose terminological peculiarities in describing the differences between types of community in the pre-class society (*Gemeinschaft, Gemeinwesen*) and in class society (*ökonomische Gesellschaftsformation*) have escaped the attention of Marxists as well as of numerous marxologues distinguished by a critical attitude to Marx.

Another man who after M. Weber had been discovered in the last two decades in particular by American sociology and who is little known among Czechoslovak sociologists is Georg Simmel. It is rather curious to note that American sociology which had revived interest in social conflict and begun to investigate both its integrating and its negative functions approached the problems of antagonism and conflict through Simmel (Cosser) and not through Marx in whose work the problems of conflict, antagonism and the struggle of contradictions form an immanent part of his conceptions of dialectics as a principle of negativity. In any case, however, it is incontestable that outstanding works and studies in contemporary sociology tend to revert, in a greater or lesser extent, to the classics of sociology, to the original sources from which a great many of the concepts and categories used by sociology today have been derived. Not even sociology that professes Marxism can limit its conception of the system of categories to Marx's own system alone. Wherever in Marxist sociology, the theoretical system of categories and concepts enabling us to analyse and interpret social phenomena is conceived as an open system there it is necessary to accept all valuable and useful contributions made by the sociological authors of the past. In this connection it is possible to agree with C. W. Mills and the stress he lays upon tradition in sociology.¹²⁾ For it is a ge-

11) M. Weber, *Soziologie, Weltgeschichtliche Analysen*, pp. 250—251, Stuttgart, 1964.

12) C. W. Mills, *Images of Man*, New York, 1960.

nerally well-known fact that there is perhaps no other social science than sociology that has to contend with greater lack of unity, with greater ambiguity and confusion in apprehending, interpreting and applying general concepts and categories. Knowledge of history of sociological categories, research into their origins and primary meaning can contribute at least in part to bringing about a higher degree of accuracy, clarity and unambiguity in interpreting the individual categories though it is to be expected that this lack of uniformity and this ambiguity will always tend to be invigorated by the impact of world outlook, of ideology and of social influences.

So far we have been concerned with the problem of incorporating important categories and sociological concepts into the framework of the general theoretical system of Marxism. I suggest it would be exaggerated modesty on the part of representatives of Marxist sociology should they content themselves with just taking over suggestions, categories and concepts from the great figures of sociological theory of the past, or from contemporary influential trends. Apart from critical and selective choice of categories, concepts and results generalizing sociological theory it is possible to make a contribution - within the framework of Marxist sociology - to the study of a number of important problems for which basic concepts and categories are to be found in Marx's system of categories. This refers, above all, to such problems as the conception of social phenomena, the basic conception of society as the sum total of relations of individuals, of questions concerning the relationship between the biological and the social, between the natural and the historical. Marx's stimulating reflections on social roles and masks and character have remained practically untapped until quite recent days. In one of my studies I tried to demonstrate the significance and possible utilization of Marx's concept of social role and of mask and character.¹³⁾ This conception forms a suitable theoretical and methodological point of departure for investigating non-adequate roles when individuals represent and personify alien social forces as those of their own personality and character.

A great deal has been written about the various points of contact between Marx and Freud. Marx's conception contains (not infrequently, of course, in embryonic form only) various theoretical points of departure which could be utilized for a fertile examination of human personality, such as the category of wants, of human nature, of interest, of substantive human activity, and the like. Valuable reflections on these problems are given by J. Cvekl in his treatise on „Marx and Psychology“.¹⁴⁾

Marx is one of the thinkers who in analyzing capitalist formation applied the

¹³⁾ Roles, Masks and Character: A Contribution to Marx's Idea of the Social Role, *Social Research*, Vol. 34, No. 3., Autumn 1967.

¹⁴⁾ J. Cvekl, *Marx a psychologie, Marx a dnešek* (Marx and Psychology, Marx and the Present), Svoboda, Praha, 1968.

typological method and did so successfully. For Marx it was quite common to examine reality in an ideal cross-section, or to evaluate it from the point of view of how it approaches, or corresponds to, its ideal conceptual type.

It is obvious that the extent to which these stimuli will be utilized depends on the abilities, erudition, and qualifications of those sociologists who have embraced Marxism. Furthermore Marxist sociology in Czechoslovakia has a certain chance to solve, or to try to solve successfully, the problem of relationship between the general theoretical system and concrete actual sociological research. In this connection it is, of course, necessary to stress the point that the claims of those who being influenced by positivism declare that a general theoretical system cannot be directly verified, and that these categories are in fact metaphysical and thus even unscientific, are nonsensical. It is really true that a general theoretical system cannot be directly verified, which applies to all sciences, not to sociology alone. A general theoretical system of categories can be used and applied, it can constitute a point of departure in an approach to the study of society where it can be subsequently verified as effective or ineffective, as fertile or sterile, useful or useless. This is also the view held by T. Parsons, and in this one cannot but absolutely agree with him.

Marxist sociology is not represented by Marx and Engels alone. It has passed through more than a hundred years of development when a number of more or less successful, of more or less creative minds have endeavoured to take their contribution within the framework of Marxism to the enrichment of sociological theory. The significance of these individual thinkers varies in the same way as do their contributions and their respective levels. However, such names as Lenin, Plechanov, Kautský, Cunow, M. Adler, Renner, Labriola, or Gramsci, Lukacs or Bucharin are well-known even to the wider public and their work is esteemed not only by Marxists but by non-Marxists as well.

Marxist sociology in Czechoslovakia, and general sociology in particular, has therefore certain possibilities and prerequisites of further development in which it can apply its own theoretical and methodological departure points. There are, of course, a great many other problems that are being discussed by Czechoslovak sociologists. To work out and to solve these problems is a task which must primarily be accomplished by proper professional activities of sociologists. Clarification of certain important conceptual questions, and particularly of the basic conception of both general sociology and general sociological theory, is a necessary precondition for these professional activities of Czechoslovak sociologists to be pursued successfully.

JAROSLAV KAPR

TEN YEARS OF CZECHOSLOVAK EMPIRICAL SOCIOLOGY

The last ten years have witnessed a restoration of Czechoslovak sociology liquidated by power politics and administrative measures in the years 1948—1950. Thus its development has been marked both by this liquidation and its „re-instatement“.

The newly permitted and reinstated sociology has not developed in an autonomous manner alone, having been shaped by this gradual process of relaxation of political pressure and by the gradual abolition of the administrative measures taken.

This is borne out by the rapidity with which continuity with the European and world level has been restored, by the width and depth of analysis permitted by censorship (including self-censorship), and particularly by the choice of subjects.

As I see it the beginnings of this restoration were marked by the following characteristic features:

1. Situation of official ideology
2. Body of Experts - i. e. those who regard themselves as sociologists
3. Sources and premises from which Czechoslovak sociology proceeds.

1. OFFICIAL IDEOLOGY

Understandably enough, sociology like any other sphere of our life did not escape the impact of political conditions. Among the other social sciences it held the peculiar position of being until quite recently, regarded as „bourgeois pseudoscience“. Even after radical condemnations had subsided it had to contend with this odium. Grammatical adjustments such as the adoption of the attribute „Marxist“, on the one hand, and demonstrative assertions of its utilitarian character were made to serve this purpose.

Pressure exerted on research workers for many years resulting in the prevention of all creative work, the farcical conditions in acquiring scientific information, the impossibility of maintaining contacts, whether professional or personal, with departments of sociology in the rest of the world, all this regrettably brought about a state of affairs in which it was sociologists in a socialist country

who were unable to make any positive use of what had been achieved in sociology by Marx.

Political pressure, different residues of vulgarized Marxism, and the merely gradual loosening of censorship had its repercussions in the selection of subjects for empirical research. A great majority of researches were focussed upon cultural problems. However, here the term *cultural* is not used in the sense it is generally used in sociology, but in the narrower meaning of definitive concrete activities concerned with culture and adult education (e. g. studies of readers' interests, interests of film-fans, of theatre-goers, and the like). Problems of this kind seem to have appeared the least dangerous ideologically. Yet this trend has now held ground for rather a long time.

The following structure of investigations carried out by the organizations for culture and further education sponsored by the Ministry of Education in the last two years:

cultural interests	30 %
cultural and educational activities and their problems	20 %
set of cultural institutions and equipment and their utilization	30 %
leisure time	6 %
structure and qualifications of educational workers	4 %
others	10 %

(The data refer to ninety cases of research)

It might appear that this is so because these are institutions whose proper province is to carry on cultural and educational activities and thus this appears to be only natural. However, similar results are obtained if the themes of other, for the most part directly sociological, institutions are examined.

If one surveys the themes of about eighty research projects organized by the large variety of institutes and sociological departments, 38,6 p. c. of the themes are found to be concerned with problems of readers' interests, with characteristics of viewers of, and listeners to, mass communication media, with leisure, etc.

Similarly, from the point of view of interest in social groups, the themes are also rather monotonous. Thus, for instance, from this point of view the above-mentioned eighty cases of research can be classified as follows:

workers	32 p. c.
peasants	23 p. c.
intelligentsia	6,5 p. c.
youth	26 p. c.
old age pensioners	1 p. c.
women	4 p. c.
the army	4 p. c.
others	2,5 p. c.

These to my mind are the most pronounced vestiges of the over-simplified conception of the class structure of society. This conception had to make do with the rigid terminological triad — the working class — the peasants — the „working“ intelligentsia. These terms — for it is hardly possible to speak of analytically defined concepts — were endowed with a definite hierarchized emotive and evaluating content. Moreover, in this conceptual scheme difficulties were encountered with regard to the intelligentsia, which was not regarded as a class. Any other pattern than the class structure of society conceived in this way was open to the suspicion of revisionism. Therefore, this sphere of study of social structure, and particularly of political system remained a taboo for Czechoslovak sociologists for a longer period than any other. It was not until the last two years that some authors (Z. Strmiska, V. Tlustý, J. Klofáč and others) attempted to gain open insight into the analyses of social structure, of the theory of stratification, etc.

To acquire an empirical view of these problems has been the endeavour of a group of sociologists headed by Associate Professor P. Machonin which has been preparing an extensive research project of the social structure of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

The sphere that had until recently been most neglected — this from purely political reasons — was that of political system. Yet even this field has lately seen some revival of activity. A group of sociologists headed by Associate Professor Z. Mlynář has been set up to deal with these problems. However, the question is whether their work is not being affected by various kinds of political pressure even now. Empirical work in this sphere has been embarked upon by the Institute of Public Opinion Research, and its first results have been encouraging enough to justify some hopes for the future.

Another matter worth mentioning in this connection is the relationship between empirical and theoretical sociology, a specific result of the country's political conditions. The subconscious idea of sociology contained in the public mind in Czechoslovakia is that of an empirical sociology as a utilitarian science organized for sociotechnical purposes, the reason being that it was in this particular form that sociology was sanctioned in this country. Throughout the past

years the theses asserting the all-embracing scientific character of Marxism had been put forward. The only acknowledged scientific theory of society was the so-called historical Materialism. Any other interpretation of even the simplest and most concrete social phenomena than that afforded by historical materialism, or one that could have been deduced from it, was not tolerated. Thus from the very outset the only room for sociology had been for sociology as sociotechniques. It is only now, and slowly and with great difficulties, and often merely thanks to problems arising from sociotechnical needs and from the findings or hypotheses of empirical investigations, that theoretical sociological analysis begins to be applied. All this and a number of other secondary factors has had a profound bearing on the last ten years of the development of Czechoslovak sociology.

2. BODY OF EXPERTS

An absolute majority of those who have begun to work in the field of sociology are in their thirties and forties, i. e. people who had been studying and working in the period of dogmatized Marxism and many of whom had absorbed a great deal from it.

Thus, for instance, in the early years of this decade there had been pseudo-disputes on the relationship between „historical materialism“ and sociology, and the notion was being forcibly put forward that in sociology it was necessary to examine largely and above all material conditions, which are objective and primary in social life while subjective attitudes, opinions, values are supposed to be something less important, dependent and derived. In the immediate sphere of empirical investigations the notion of „complexity“ had been untiringly advocated to the effect that the only research worthy of being considered as scientific and Marxist was the one which encompassed the greatest number of factors, the largest social space etc., while an analytical reduction of social reality was being regarded as something improper, as „flat“ empiricism.

On the other hand, it must of course be admitted that the most capable ones among our sociologists even while paying lip-service to the prevailing terminology, and some of them while formally preserving the „obligatory“ terms did try to make a rational analysis of problems, utilizing their knowledge of sociological theories. Admittedly, these were merely attempts which hardly proved an unqualified success though even so they did provide a certain general basis for future developments.

Only in isolated cases did the knowledge of modern sociology join forces with an undogmatized ability to proceed from Marx's analyses of society into a fertile symbiosis upon which a modern sociological analysis could be founded.

Many of us lacked access to the fundamental theoretical and methodical knowledge of results achieved by sociology in the last twenty years.

A certain proportion of the younger members of these generations organized their studies in defiance of the so-called „theoretical“ historical materialism, seeking salvation solely in empiricism, the exactitude of natural sciences and of mathematics. This „human“ equipment of Czechoslovak sociology has continued to play a significant part in its development to the present day.

3. SOURCES

To begin with, for a number of years Polish sociological literature had been the chief source of information. However, Polish literature very often drew upon American literature, and thus as ideological pressure gradually decreased sociologists in Czechoslovakia turned to „first-hand“ sources using original literature, whether German, French, or American.

What may also be of interest is the relation to our own sociological tradition. The School of I. A. Bláha and number of other sociologists (of the empiricists let us mention J. Obrdlík) had reached a fairly high European level before the Second World War. The gap caused by the Second World War and the subsequent one in the fifties, which was even a more complete break with the past, brought about too large a distance between what had been in this country before and what is now in the world at large so that our own traditions remain a thing of the past. Another characteristic feature in the development of our sociology is that practically until 1966 we were deprived of any possibilities of supplementing and refreshing our knowledge by direct studies in departments of sociology abroad while our facilities for keeping in touch with these places were extremely limited. This lack of contact has persisted until today, and it may appear paradoxical to the outside observer to find that this equally applies to sociological departments in socialist countries.

Yet even though labouring under these difficulties Czechoslovak sociology has gone through an overwhelming development.

The system of higher education in Czechoslovakia included the teaching of social sciences, and each higher educational establishment contained the following departments: Department of Dialectical and Historical Materialism, Department of „Principles of Communism“, and the Department of „Political Economy“.

In the course of the last then years various sociological sections were set up within the above departments. A number of universities have restored the traditional Departments of Sociology with a view to training undergraduates and thus producing new graduates in sociology. This applies to the Departments established at the Philosophical Faculties in Prague, Brno, and Bratislava. There

are however, various other independent departments of sociology at various other higher educational establishments and in research institutes. Even in the larger industrial enterprises, at ministries and at the larger institutions of culture and further education posts for sociologists are being established and departments of sociology are being founded. To make my survey complete I will give a list of the principal places quoted in the „Study Concerning the Development of Czechoslovak Sociology until 1980“ written by Assoc. Professor P. Machonin and published in the Sociological Review (Sociologický časopis), 1967, No. 4.

A. Academic Departments

Sociological Institute of the ČSAV — Prague
Sociological Institute of the SAV — Bratislava
The Institute for Public Opinion Research — Prague
A Detached Department of this Institute — Bratislava
The Institute of Science-Planning — Prague

B. Departments at Institutions of Higher Education

The Institute of Marxism-Leninism — Prague
Philosophical Faculties (Departments of Sociology)
 Charles University — Prague
 Comenius University — Bratislava
 J. E. Purkyně University — Brno
Prague School of Politics — Prague
Prague School of Economics — Prague
School of Economics — Bratislava
The Faculty of Adult Education and Journalism — Prague
Pedagogical Faculty (Laboratory of Social Research) — Prague
Pedagogical Faculty — Olomouc
Faculty of Law, Charles University — Prague
The Department of Mechanical Engineering
 Czech Technical University (ČVUT) — Prague
The College of Agriculture — Prague
The Faculty of General Medicine - Charles University — Prague

C. Departments of Various Ministries

Czechoslovak Research Institute of Labour — Bratislava
Research Institute of the Economics of Mining — Ostrava
Research Institute of Construction and Architecture — Prague
Institute of Construction and Architecture — Bratislava
Institute of Rural Sociology and of History of Agriculture — Prague

Institute of Rural Sociology and of History of Agriculture — Bratislava
State Statistical Office — Prague

The Secretariat of the State Population Commission — Prague

Institute of the Revolutionary Trade Unions (ROH) — Prague

The Scientific and Research Department

of the Slovak Trade Unions — Bratislava

Institute of Adult Education — Bratislava

The Military and Political Academy — Prague

A survey of the numbers of staff employed in these departments:

	1966	1980
1. Academies	53,5	241
2. Universities and Colleges	116,5	338
3. Ministries	99	254
	269	833

Naturally enough, each of the above departments is anxious to work in the sphere of empirical sociology, or at least give signs of such activities, the result being an enormous inflation of various research projects. Even Party organs have been ordering sociological investigations on various problems. It is estimated that in recent years about 2000 sociological research projects have been carried out, or are still in progress. As to membership Czechoslovak Sociological Society ranks second or third in the world.

These developments have contained a number of positive aspects: interest in sociology has been aroused, a number of investigations and researches are in progress which are bringing interesting findings, it has been shown what empirical sociology can and cannot do, practical experience being acquired in organizing, carrying out and evaluating empirical investigations, etc.

Nevertheless, it is the negative aspects that seem to predominate. Most of the researches are being organized without adequate theoretic and practical background, their effectiveness is limited, since they are undertaken for their own sake, and frequently debase and „infest“ the social field. In my estimate when considered from the purely utilitarian point of view about 90 per cent of these researches remain unutilized for practical sociotechnical purposes.

Even so there is no need for pessimism in looking back at the past ten years.

The best way to exemplify the development of Czechoslovak empirical sociology may be to quote the case of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism. Originally, this body had been designed to give tuition to, and to improve the scientific standards of, lecturers in Marxist philosophy at higher educational establishments. In the course of time, however, it developed into an independent scientific department, a scientific institute which now serves the needs of sociology. The first sociological research carried out by the Institute was organized by its

Director, Associate Professor P. Machonin, and was concerned with teams of „the Brigades of Socialist Labour“ in one of the large Prague enterprises. The goals pursued (the project was undertaken in the early sixties) were characteristic of the day. What was singled out for investigation were elements of „Communist relationships“ among the working people, and the study was to apply an entirely special „Marxist“ method of personally involved research. This was to have represented a higher stage of research compared with the „falsely objective“ sociological methods undertaken by unconcerned, „objective“ observers, whereas Marxist sociologists were supposed to engage in the discussions and to propose measures to be taken for solving any difficulties that might be discovered. Any comment on the results of this is more than superfluous. Yet even in the study based on such a conception certain interesting hypotheses were arrived at yielding certain results. However, — and this is more important — after less than six years this very Institute headed by the same expert has managed to organize and carry out a thoroughly prepared research into social structure in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic with all the necessary prerequisites currently demanded in countries with rich sociological traditions. There is a very detailed project which has been opened to international discussion, preliminary research has been carried out and evaluated, and in the course of the evaluation original processes have been proposed. This research has world priority in covering 20000 households and has been well prepared, so there is every reason to hope that it will be equally well interpreted and evaluated. The interpretation programme includes the use of various mathematical patterns (Markov's chains, taxonomic tasks, etc.) so that the findings are sure to be of interest and value not for Czechoslovak sociologists alone.

The adduced example can, of course, serve only as an illustration though I am convinced that even a more detailed analysis would yield similar results. Czechoslovak empirical sociology has overcome the handicaps which had impeded its progress at the beginning of the present decade with admirable rapidity and though certain elements of haste and megalomania do occasionally appear, it has gradually managed to re-establish the links with world developments interrupted by power-politic methods. The pace of this progress is bound to increase provided that political conditions in Czechoslovakia are normalized, and sociology is given the necessary facilities for its own autonomous growth.

JITKA HAVLOVA

CHIEF TRENDS IN CZECHOSLOVAK INDUSTRIAL SOCIOLOGY

As a corollary to the growth of interest in sociology which has been in evidence in Czechoslovakia for a number of years now growing attention has been focussed on problems of a sociological treatment of the working process and of social relationships and groups connected with it. This has largely been brought about by the pressure of objective social conditions in which the management cannot omit or leave out of account any of the scientific tools for investigation and influencing social activity if the latter is to be adequate to the needs of its development.

In its efforts aimed at ensuring rapid development the sociology of industry has — not unlike the other branches — had to contend with a number of difficulties. There is practically nothing to go on, since industrial sociology — in spite of the existence of one of the best organized industrial conglomerations in Europe, the Bata Works in Zlín — had not developed even in pre-war Czechoslovakia.¹⁾ The new branch lacks any continuity of development and is starting from scratch proceeding only from the knowledge of the important trends in the sociology of industry and labour in other countries. The possibility of applying such experience is, however, greatly limited by the differing character of the socioeconomic conditions, by the specific nature of Czechoslovakia as an industrially developed country with a social ownership of the means of production.

Socialization of the means of production constitutes the most conspicuous differentiating feature in socialist economic relations. The characteristic of the new manner of ownership is that labour is not socially separated from means of production. The working people are both producers and owners, of course not private but mediated ones, which makes it possible to utilize national income in harmony with the interest of the whole society but does not exclude the possibility of a subjective interpretation being put on the limits and content of the term „interest of the whole society“. Socialist ownership creates prerequisites for a change in the character of work, for its humanization as

¹⁾ For a more detailed account see B. Lehar: *The History of the Bata Concern*, „Dějiny Baťova koncernu“, SNPL (State Publishing House of Political Literature), Prague, 1960.

well as for directing the course of the development proper both on a nation-wide scale and on the level of the individual components of national economy, yet it is not being felt as such by the rank and file of the working people. In one investigation a mere 35,7 p. c. of respondents felt themselves to be co-owners of their enterprise whereas 40,6 p. c. did not share this feeling.²⁾ The differences between socialist and capitalist economy acquire a more pronounced character, the closer the given sphere is to the political and power aspect of society. On the other hand, this is in the character of the material and technical basis of production that a great many concurrences can be found, particularly with regard to the general application of the division of labour and the degree of equipment with mechanization and automation means. The extensive division of labour results in an internally intertwined continuous and determined society as a whole, but at the same time, in a peculiar kind of personal isolation of both individuals and social groups. Man finds himself in a position analogous to this position in modern industry, in the possibilities of his self-realization in the course of his labour activities, in an alienation which the socialization of the means of production is unable to prevent.

Contribution to the shaping of the socialist pattern of industrial relations is made by industrial sociology focussing its attention on gradually overcoming all forms of social alienation inherent in labour activity. This is to be achieved primarily by rationalization of production processes, by democratization of social relations and, based on these processes, by integration not only of individual enterprise or branch but of the society as a whole.

The necessity for rationalizing the system of industrial relations has its technological, economic, organizational, and social aspects. It is one of the permanent conditions of development of industrial society which is indissolubly associated with scientific and technical progress. In Czechoslovakia these processes are usually described as scientific and technical revolution, and include efforts aimed at discovering a model of rational management corresponding to the specific nature of our social situation. The socialization of the decisive part of production implies the necessity of practical planning and management of the economy on a nation-wide scale, i. e. to an entirely unprecedented extent. This also affords unusual possibilities of a unified orientation of economic development, of regulating its development trends in a planned way. At the same time, however, planning within such an enormous whole implies the necessity of a wider anticipation of perspectives the exactness of which is not achieved without considerable difficulties. The extended range — both in terms of time and space — increases the responsibility of the manager and thus the serious-

²⁾ Sociological Research into the Relation of Workers to Work and Working Conditions in SOLO Enterprise Sušice — The Scientific Centre in the Institute of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement — unpublished.

ness of the impact of any wrong decisions. This is why planned management is one of the chief economic as well as sociological problems particularly as along with ownership it creates the basic framework of social relations in industrial production.

A new level in the efforts to find a model of planning and management corresponding to the present stage of the economy, and thereby to arrive at an optimum form of the existing pattern of socialist industrial relations, is represented by the theory of the new system of economic planning and management which has been worked out by Professor Ota Šik and his team and is being gradually applied in practice. Based on natural economic relations utilized for weakening the centralization of management and bringing decision-making closer to enterprises or direct to enterprises themselves, it aims at differentiating material incentives and focussing them on the lower economic elements, which is to remove the existing state of levelling of incomes under which the negative consequences of inferior quality of the economic management work have been borne by citizens in an approximately equal measure irrespective of the degree of blame attaching to them. At the same time the new planning and management has created the prerequisites for strengthening the powers and responsibilities of economic operatives, requiring a high degree of professional skill knowledge while creating space for increasing the qualified participation of the working people in planning and management and for its not ideological but direct material motivation. The theory thus reverts to the natural character of the economic laws of production and to their association with natural social relations. It reckons with a wide application of sociology as an instrument of bringing planning and management to the level of science not only for the purpose of acquiring information by sociological research but particularly for export appraisals and for making suggestions for the solution of social relations in industrial production. A greater degree of independence of enterprises tends to increase efforts to make production more effective even by enlisting the aid of enterprise psychologists and sociologists.

To put the new economic theory into operation in economic practice makes it imperative to ensure a wide democratization of the authoritative prerogatives of producers which is also necessary in view of the fact that without accepting the aims and effective co-operation of all workers and other employees it is impossible to intensify a regular operation of the given enterprise in its productive and social functions. That is why institutional conditions for the participation of the working people in decision-making and implementing are being purposefully created. Mass participation of employees in the management of national economy appears to be fully possible in conditions of social ownership of means of production as part of the process of development of all-society self-government. At the same time the nation-wide organization of production makes it imperative to utilize different forms of participation to make them

serve as a tool for improving management, for recompensating the lack of satisfaction derived from partial labour activities as well as of control over ones own and all-society activities. The participation of rank-and-file workers and staff in the management of industry comes to the fore primarily in the enterprises where the contradiction between the need for democratizing and humanizing social relationships in industry, and the necessity of manipulation as a means of management is ventilated. As a rule participation is founded on the collective interest of working teams, or it is the expression of the individual's efforts at self-realization. It is based on initiative making use of informal relationship for strengthening the formal aims pursued by the enterprise.

Participation in management has a whole number of organizational forms being realized through the intermediary of the political institutions (particularly of the CPC), of trade-union institutions, and is also being organized by the state and economic direction of enterprises (production meetings). In the spring of 1968 the Working People's Councils arose spontaneously as organs of participation whose official legal statute is under preparation.

On the one hand, this excessive number of organizational forms of participation makes it possible to take advantage of the various shades of initiative, while, on the other, it tends to atomize joint efforts. There are a number of factors bearing on the activities exerted by the working people while partaking in the management.

A sociological preliminary research on this subject was organized in 1963 in two Prague enterprises where 200 respondents had been selected by fortuitous choice, out of whom 100 were members of the CPC. On the strength of the interviews they were classified into five groups. Group I implying absolute passivity and absence of interest, while Group V implied immediate participation in the management of all-enterprise affairs — the middle comprising No 2 Group (passive but interested to a certain extent and having their own views on problems of planning and management), Group III (active participation in the solution of partial problems of technology and organization in their own section), Group IV (active in solving deeper economic and organizational problems — planning, technical development etc. in the operational sphere).

It was Group III that proved to be the strongest, 46 out of the total of respondents falling into this category. Group I and III comprised 43 people each, Group IV 30 and Group V 38 men and women which is indicative of a greater tendency towards passivity (stronger in the case of women and non-members of the Party) than towards an active share. The grounds for passivity as seen by the respondents were taken to consist especially in personal reasons of a subjective (48), or of rather objective, character (46). Subjective reasons were generally specified as shyness or selfconsciousness (33), the objective ones as their having only recently taken up their job in the enterprise (18), or lack of experience (12). Lack of confidence in their views being taken into

account and fear of consequences of their having criticized things appeared in the answers in a comparatively limited number of cases. Positive motivation seems to consist — judging by the findings of the investigation — primarily in professional interest and in efforts to fulfil the plan (37 cases). The notion of active mass participation of the working people in the management of the enterprise motivated by their interest in the development of society as a whole was not borne out by the findings.³⁾

One of the institutions mediating this participation are the trade unions which — in the context of socialist society — hold a special, bilateral and contradictory position. They are supposed to represent the working people, to protect their interests, and to invest them with a measure of social security, security against limitations imposed by the economic management which usually forms part of the state economy apparatus. At the same time they are part of the political system of power and in this „state-forming“ function they are expected to further the aims of society as a whole.

The central state organs and the Communist Party exert pressure on the trade unions to assist in solving economic problems while rank-and-file members expect them to defend their immediate interests. Moreover, the task of the unified trade union organization had often been reduced in terms of the simplified and fetishized Lenin's thesis on „trade unions as a transmission lever“ serving to ensure communication between state and Party organs and the employees without any significant activities of their own. This conflicting situation coupled with the institutionalization (or even formalization) of trade union activities has brought about a strong social isolation of rank-and-file members, a crisis in the trade union movement, and the present-day efforts to find „their own face.“

Evidence of the existing state of affairs is afforded by the investigation carried out at the engineering works at Brandýs nad Labem where 95 per cent of the employees are trade union members. The question „Are you satisfied with the activities of your trade union organization?“ was answered „Yes“ by 18,8 per cent (out of them 18,8 per cent of technicians and administrative staff, 18,9 per cent of manual workers) — while a negative answer was given by 53,4 per cent (including 50,1 per cent of technicians and administrative staff, 55 per cent of manual workers). The answer „only at times“ was given by 17,7 per cent while in 10,1 per cent of cases there was no answer at all. The basic task of the trade unions was taken by the respondents to consist primarily in defending labour, wage and other interests of its members (63,5 per cent), while the narrowly economic tasks, such as ensuring planned production or

³⁾ See Dragoslav Slejška: Motives and Obstacles in Working Peoples Activities while Participating in Economic Management - Survey of the Scientific and Pedagogical Work Done by the Departments of Marxism-Leninism Prague 1963, No. 6.

organizing competition or promoting production is relegated entirely into the background (3,6 per cent or 2,7 per cent positive answers). It is not without interest to note that 10,4 per cent of the respondents regard the trade union organization as unnecessary although they are its members.⁴⁾

The degree of democratization of an industrial enterprise is closely connected with democracy in the society as a whole. The measure of the employees' participation in the management depends on the degree of autonomy, on the range of decisions it is able to take, and by the influence it actually exerts on administrative organs. The extent of autonomy of the enterprise forms the inner framework of enterprise democracy, the outer one being constituted by social powerpolitics relationship. If this framework is narrow or only formally secured participation in management becomes fictitious rather than real as borne out by our own experience.

Nor can a sufficient level of integration be achieved without a thorough rationalization and democratization of social relationships in an industrial enterprise. The process of integration occurs on the basis of economic relations being influenced by institutions and formal forms until a common ideological notion of social order and a unity of opinion on the individual's or the group's own share in the overall organization of the society is achieved. This either tends to bring to a head former economic and organizational changes in which the partial elements adjusted to one another, or were brought into harmony, or else the question arises of creating the ideological prerequisite for completing integration by further changes in economy and organization. There is no question of full integration until the basic values of the system have been accepted and integration has become a permanent component part of the organization's further existence and activities. Thus two aspects in the process of harmonizing units into a whole are involved: one of organization's aims and of interests of a majority of units becomes a prerequisite for organizational measures, and a social aspect when the content, extent as well as character of the ties between members of the organization become enriched in the process.

A number of sociologists take the view that the existence of social ownership as the deciding factor of national economy tends to create unparalleled conditions for integration. In socialist society there are three ways in which the individual's interests are linked with the aims of the organization.

In the first place, the individual as an element of society participates in the results of his own activities. Secondly, the results achieved by enterprise members form the basis of certain collective enterprise privileges — in particular of money bonuses. Finally, the size, quality and importance of the indi-

⁴⁾ See Jiří Cysař — Vilém Dolejška — The sociological preliminary research in the BSS (Brandýs Engineering Works) — Odbory a společnost (Society and Trade Unions.

account and fear of consequences of their having criticized things appeared in the answers in a comparatively limited number of cases. Positive motivation seems to consist — judging by the findings of the investigation — primarily in professional interest and in efforts to fulfil the plan (37 cases). The notion of active mass participation of the working people in the management of the enterprise motivated by their interest in the development of society as a whole was not borne out by the findings.³⁾

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individual's contribution to the social system affects his individual chances of promotion and of acquiring social position, and plays its role in the advancement of the society as a whole. However, though work for the society had been officially declared as the decisive factor for social advancement, in the period of bureaucratic and administrative forms of management preference was being given to other viewpoints, especially those of acceptability and usefulness for the political organs.

As compared with the capitalist system integration is of special significance in socialism, the possibility of punitive sanctions and repressions being limited by full employment and by the social security system. The possibility of using planned unemployment to act as an incentive to work and integration has not been explored so far though this is not excluded by the new system of planning and management.

What was to have become part of enterprise integration was a qualitatively new level of attitude to work. In political terminology this new attitude to work was generally referred to as „socialist attitude to work“, a term derived from that society in which it was supposed to become a general phenomenon. The characteristic feature of the model created on the theoretical level was that a man works not only for himself, for his own material subsistence, but also and even primarily because he is aware of his responsibility towards society, and feels the need to contribute to its development. The notion of a socialist attitude to work had taken shape in the first place thanks to the socialization of means of production which implies a certain liberation of human labour and enables men to extend the scope of economic co-operation. However, it was also influenced to a significant extent by the wave of enthusiasm, patriotism and self-sacrifice typical of the years immediately following the Second World War.

The correctness of the theory of a new quality of working morale was being documented by giving concrete indices, by quoting typical representatives of the given attitudes to work. In the first period, i. e. in the years 1945 to 1948, these were the so-called „brigade workers“, men and women who without claiming any bounties engaged in various socially useful activities in their spare time — helping the farmers, tidying up their towns, villages etc. The voluntary brigade movement spread far and wide and taking part in such brigades came to be regarded as a matter of course, a patriotic duty. After February 1948 which advanced revolutionary development in Czechoslovakia to a new level, the hero of socialist labour was transferred direct into the workshop. He is „the shockworker“, a notion created on the Soviet model of the Stakhanovite⁵⁾, a man who identifies himself with the production target irrespective

⁵⁾ [So termed after the miner Stakhanov] — a worker overfulfilling permanently his labour norms. In Czechoslovakia the term that came to be generally adopted was

of the nature of work done, or of a number of variables inherent in the production environment, the stress being laid on individual output.

The conception is that every worker has the possibility to increase productivity as an expression of his attitude to socialism irrespective of what technical means he is able to use in achieving it. About ten years ago a return to collective models set in — the model of the hero of socialist labour being supplemented by one of „brigades of socialist labour“ where the quantity of work done is not the only consideration and the objectives are conceived in a more complex way. What matters is the quality of work done, the workers' qualification, the way they apply modern technology, the slogan of a socialist way of work being augmented by that of „a socialist way of life“ — which implies informal relationships of friendly cooperation not only in the working process, but also outside the process itself.

What differentiated Brigades of Socialist Labour from current work teams was the degree of internalization of the common objective of the individual's identification with his group often exceeding the boundary of his work — and a voluntary conscious nature of work discipline. The group standards set in these groups of non-formal origin were definitely eufunctional with regard to the production and social objectives of the enterprise — members endeavouring to overcome, in an essentially non-formal way, deficiencies in the formal structure, particularly in management methods, and to increase the productivity of labour and, at the same time, to improve substantially the social climate in the enterprise. However, these elements taking shape in a spontaneous way were soon to be caught up in the mesh of institutional relations. It was not long before their activities were being planned and co-ordinated, numbers (i. e. how many brigades and in what places were to be set up) being laid down institutionally, and it was by these numbers that the political maturity of the town, the district and the region came to be measured. Originally the brigades of socialist labour had combined a formal organization — in view of their place and function in the enterprise system and of their fulfilling its internal goals — with a non-formal organization which manifested itself in personal ties between group members, in a wider range of needs and interests than that obtaining in a formal organization, in the way it applied the means of group pressure. The non-formal features predominated and were being purposefully developed. However, subsequent institutionalization resulted in formalism brought in from outside, a deadening of inner initiative, brigades of socialist labour losing their specific character in the process.⁶⁾

„úderník“, i. e. shockworker (employed to denote a worker fulfilling his norm above 130 per cent).

⁶⁾ (For a detailed discussion of this problem see M. Petrušek, *Malé sociální skupiny* (Small Social Groups) — Svoboda, Prague 1969.

Models of top achievements were given all possible publicity, and if they did not prove attractive enough, or attain mass proportions, their occurrence was influenced by bureaucratic and administrative means (this applies, above all, to the period of brigades of socialist labour). No possibility of alienation in socialist conditions was admitted, labour power was not conceived as an object of purchase and sale — arguments taken over from Stalin being used to prove that workers cannot sell labour power to themselves.

However, reality has been substantially different from models created and enforced by propaganda means. Actually, the period of voluntary brigades after 1945 and 1948 did exercise profound influence on people's attitude to work, and in the case of a great number of the working people — revolutionary pathos served to invest it with genuine enthusiasm.

However, subsequent development — though individual cases persisted — did no longer follow the preconceived model. That is why sociologists in studying the existing forms of attitude to work are once again talking of alienation, which even in socialist conditions is affected by the type of work done, and by the possibilities of personal development, by the position taken up by the individual in the social division of labour, and by the role enacted by him at his workplace, by the relationship between the position in the division of labour and the degree of accessibility of satisfying material and cultural needs. Work has not become a necessity in life, the majority of the working people regarding it as the decisive means of subsistence. The co-ownership of means of production is so mediated and so remote from the individual that it does not act as an incentive, and to rely on socialist work discipline arising automatically and spontaneously as a consequence of the socialization of property relations has proved far from substantiated. On the contrary, reduction in control has resulted in lowering working people's discipline. Socialist attitude to work as a life necessity has remained an ideal, in actual fact good attitude to work in general has been impaired in consequence of a series of flaws in management as a result of which work was being exerted with a lack of purpose, went into the making of products for which there was no demand on the market and which thus did not fulfil their function. Irregular supplies of material had its repercussions in the non-uniform rate of production, economic pressure for quantity lowering the credit of good quality work. Moreover, the working morale has been influenced by the nature of work done, which owing to the existing state of technical equipment has still often been physically exacting or exhausting by its monotonous character.

These views hitherto hypothetical and borne out by economic indices rather than by sociological data accord at least in part with the partial investigations into work morale. One of them undertaken in the SOLO Works at Sušice established the fact that a great many workers regard their work as tiring (58 %), done under bad climatic conditions (76,2 %) and with absolute

technical equipment (33,8) as against 28,7 % of answers „adequate up-to-date equipment“, and the same percentage of „up-to-date but inadequate“. That is also the reason why most respondents, seek the road to improved results at their workplace in better supplies of better-quality material (25,7) and in better technical equipment (19,6 %). In spite of the above-mentioned negative characteristics, however, most respondents declare they are satisfied with their work (41,9 %) fully satisfied, 30,8 % satisfied rather than otherwise, 18,2 & neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, 4,2 % dissatisfied rather than otherwise, 1,4 % entirely dissatisfied). As to their earnings they regard them as adequate (47,5 %) and are satisfied with them (42 %) but relatively often enough also as inadequate (34,3 %) and are dissatisfied (35,7 %) — some being dissatisfied though recognizing it as corresponding to their working effort. Furthermore, the higher-wage factor was regarded as substantial for improving labour productivity, this being the case in 23,6 % of answers. However, the focussing upon wages is not onesided. A mere 18,2 % of those interviewed regard good wages alone as the principal asset of work, a majority of the workers also appreciating its social usefulness (37,8 %), or in a reversed order social usefulness and earnings (20,3 %) declared the „ideal“ value of work — the work for the society — as being most important.

During the study the average type of worker in the SOLO Works was arrived at based both upon objective data and on views held by the foremen. The typical work attitudes are as follows: the rate of fulfilling the output norm (55,6 %), medium work quality (68,8 %), capability for performing responsible work (71,5 %), and good work discipline (63,2 %). At the same time, however, the average worker does not evince creative activity in his work (47,9 %), and generally a low degree of activity at production conferences (47,3 %). The positive deviations from this average take the form of overfulfilling (30,6 %) and high overfulfilling of output norms (11,8 %), high work discipline (24,4 %), initiative with regard to rationalization of labour (14,6 %) and high activity at production conferences (24,3 %). On the other hand, negative deviations refer to non-fulfilment of norms (2,1 %), low quality of work (4,9 %), lack of discipline (17,4 %), unexcused absence (6,9 %).⁷⁾

Thus the typical worker is no monumental „hero of labour“ but rather an industrious employee with positive work characteristics, showing considerable interest in his earnings — as a means of maintaining or increasing a certain standard of living. At the same time, however, he appreciates the social usefulness of his own work and is concerned about it though he shows no special preference for values of creative work activity, participation and political activity.

⁷⁾ Sociological research into workers' attitude to work and into working conditions at the SOLO Works at Sušice — unpublished.

The existence of alienating factors derives only in part from the essence of the socialist system, more often from its deviations. The task of removing these and disalienating labour depends on the development of the society as a whole, particularly on the development of technological devices and on employment structure, on a more perfect organization and on the democratization of the management of both work activities and of the society in general. The humanization of work can also be positively affected by an increase in qualifications and by increased participation in the management. For this there are potential prerequisites inherent in the socialist system.

A number of problems are connected with the rationalization, democratization and integration of the economic system whose solution should be sought by Czechoslovak sociology. So far no model of the social system of an enterprise has been worked out, it is necessary to throw light upon the social aspect of the new system of planning and management, to ensure qualified and purposeful participation by the working people in decision-making, in humanizing labour, in raising work discipline, and it would be possible to enumerate a whole series of other subjects to be dealt with. However, industrial psychology focussing its attention on the sphere of socialist productive activities is only in its first stages of development. The extensive conceptions of researches suffer from a lack of qualified experts who would be in a position to carry them out, all this being repercussions of the many years of absence of sociology in Czechoslovakia.

Nevertheless, recent years have witnessed the emergence of a number of research teams whose ambition it is to fill the gap and gradually to create sociological theories reflecting Czechoslovak social reality and applicable to it. The most extensive research in this direction is being prepared in the Sociological Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences by the team headed by Associate Professor Dr D. Slejška. It concerns the process of identification with the enterprise and is designed to show:

„to what extent does a consciousness of belonging to the enterprise exist, or is being newly formed, and to what extent does this consciousness affect, or can affect, economic results of the enterprise —

— and to what extent is the creation and permanence of a firm relationship, and of a feeling of belonging to the enterprise, affected by the level of wage, social and staff policy of the enterprise and the workshop, and by the personal relationship between the individual and the team and of the team to the individual“.

[Quoted from the theoretical project of the research „Enterprise and Man“ prepared by the team headed by Dr. D. Slejška]. It contributes, at the same time, to modelling the social system of the enterprise and to establishing the social conditions of the process in the course of which work in industry can

gradually become not only effective but interesting as well. Preliminary studies on this subject have already been carried out in two enterprises.

The Department of Sociology at the Prague School of Economics led by Professor Dr. J. Kohout has focussed its attention primarily on sociological aspects of management and on the model of a socialist enterprise. One of their projects was the complex sociological research carried out in the Tesla Enterprise in Pardubice designed to obtain a series of findings which could be utilized for putting management on a more scientific basis. The research was carried out in the following prefabrication sections: of television sets, the preassembly department, the assembly, and the development and design centre, the number of respondents being 694. Among the findings the most interesting are those on social values, particularly on the values that are given preference by the working people. Correlations of life values with occupation indicate that the basic life values are health (33,33 p. c.) for workers, peace and quiet for foremen (66,66 p. c.), feeling of satisfaction for clerical staff. The hierarchy of values is closely connected with the respondents' work and their style of life, even according to other available sources the technicians' group is generally more dynamic, that is also why it lays stress on prosperity as an indication of success in work. Foremen and clerical staff definitely prefer calm, quiet and feeling of ease — probably as a desirable antidote to the neurotizing occupation. Apart from work and the way of life another decisive factor is the respondent's age — thus, for instance, health as a basic life value is quoted by 75 p. c. of respondents above the age of 60, 30 p. c. of those over 45 and a mere 7,32 p. c. between the age of 15 to 19. Conversely, prosperity is preferred by young people, being regarded as the highest value by 15,3 p. c. of those aged 15 to 34, while by a mere 2,9 per cent in the 45 to 54 age group. Very striking indeed are relations between the scale of life values and the size of income. Those with a lower income of 1000 to 1200 Kčs unequivocally give the pride of place to health. Those with a higher income prefer peace and quiet, those up to 1400 Kčs 28,2 p. c., up to 1600 Kčs p. c., up to 2000 Kčs 26,4 p. c.

In examining the attitude to work the findings have shown that in all income categories the percentage of employees who are satisfied does not drop below 60 p. c. Those who are quite discontented are most numerous in the lowest income group (up to 800 Kčs — 7,6 p. c.). A total of 67,58 p. c. of respondents preferred being content with their work (the answers given being „very contented or contented rather than otherwise“) while, on the other hand, only 21, 78 p. c. expressed a negative evaluation (the answer is rather No than Yes, definitely No). In most cases, however, satisfaction with one's job is not combined with aspiration for a higher function. In none of the occupational categories does this exceed 8 p. c., which exemplifies the conviction on the part of a great majority of employees that it is not worth while (at least in the existing situation) seeking advancement in one's function. This, however, does not mean

total resignation, a higher number of respondents, especially technicians 34,8 p. c. and people with higher qualifications, express their willingness for advancement under certain conditions. Correlation with the income group indicates unwillingness for advancement in the case of those with an income exceeding 1000 Kčs a month, the correlation with age being indicative of highest aspirations in the 25—29 age categories (28,2 pc.). The relationship between aspirations and social activity is expressed in the higher aspiration of men members of the CPC (6,4 p. c. as against 4,16 p. c. in the case of the others), in the case of women the relationship being balanced.

The same research department effected the first research project of this kind as part of a nation-wide project on the status and role of leading operatives in socialist enterprise — the case in point being 307 operatives ranging from General Director to Works Manager in the Škoda Works. The findings proved relative independence of leading operatives, a strong horizontal orientation — the chief criterion in decision-making being the view held by the other leading operatives — and dominating group solidarity and cohesion, occurring more frequently between the individual professional sections than between these and organs of political power.

The Sociological Group at the Technical University of Prague (České vysoké učení technické — ČVUT) has focussed its attention upon the relationship between technology and social relations in an industrial system. Its head, Associate Prof. Dr. B. Weiner, also carries out researches into leisure time for the UNESCO. This research has been included in the book by B. Weiner *The Working Man's Day*, Práce Publishing House, Prague, 1968. The Department of Sociology College of Technical and Electrical Engineering in Plzeň (headed by Associate Prof. Dr. Eduard Jukl) has been chiefly concerned with the ways in which technical intelligentsia apply their qualifications on the labour market.

The position of Trade Unions in socialist society and the shaping of socialist attitude to labour comes within the scope of investigations carried out by the Scientific Centre of the Trade Unions Institute (directed by Dr. F. Velek) while research into potential fluctuation in the Ostrava region was undertaken by the research Institute of Fuel and Power in Ostrava (Associate Prof. K. Wysocki).

The Research Institute of Vocational Education in Prague has published findings obtained by research focussed as to content primarily on the objectively structural aspect of the character of work in engineering, a representative set of 8000 workers and 2500 members of technical and economic staff twelve different engineering enterprises being investigated. The most positive contribution of this research and of the analysis of its results consists in its having established connections between technical development and the professional qualification structure of the employees. The findings indicate that the introduction of automation leads to a reduction in the numbers of productive wor-

kers parallel with a rapid increase in the numbers of fitters, repair and maintenance men, while among productive workers a decline in the proportion of qualified ones can be observed. The research has confirmed facts established by findings in the industrially advanced countries, i. e. at a certain stage of technical development a qualification polarization sets in, an increase in the qualifications of representatives of certain trades who have hitherto belonged to those possessing highest qualifications goes hand in hand with a drop in the qualifications of the other professions.

There is an outstanding Research Institute of nation-wide significance headed by Dr. Stefan Hora in Slovakia, where studies have been devoted primarily to consequences of industrial changes, particularly the way they affect the migration of the population. One of its research men is Dr Mydlík, the Czechoslovak guarantor of international research concerned with participation of the working people in management, a project coordinated by the Centre des études industrielles, G n ve, in eighteen countries.

In the Sociological Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava (headed by Associate Prof. Dr Rober Rařko) some aspects of the attitude to labour in socialist conditions are being studied while the Department of Sociology at the Bratislava School of Economics (headed by Associate Professor Ing. Milly) has been concentrating on the application of sociology to problems of management and of education of leading operatives.

A series of partial investigations has been undertaken by various Research Institutes at the Ministries, Branch Head Offices and directly in the enterprises, especially in the chemical, engineering and building industries. However the level attained by these researches has varied, the validity of their findings often not exceeding the immediate sphere in which they were carried out. Their significance lies in their relatively quick application to practical problems, while at the same time they constitute a potential basis for more extensive researches into, and even for a more general theory of, a model of industrial relations in socialist society which the Czechoslovak sociology of industry has yet to evolve.

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JAN SEDLÁČEK

SOCIOLOGY OF THE INTELLIGENTSIA IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN THE LAST DECADE

I. SUBJECT AND CONCEPT OF THE SOCIOLOGY OF THE INTELLIGENTSIA

Prior to going to the actual substance of our informative article it is essential to point out certain fundamental problems with which the notion of the intelligentsia to designate a certain category of members of the society is closely associated. The fact is that while in some national sociologies this concept is usual and common, there are others where it has not been used at all. If we are to be explicit it is necessary to state that the concept of the intelligentsia in the above-mentioned sense has been employed traditionally roughly from the middle of the last century particularly in Russian and Soviet sociology, in German, Polish, Czech, Slovak, Yugoslav sociology as well as in other sociologies of a majority of the nations of Eastern, South-Eastern and Central Europe, whereas in the national sociologies of Western Europe and the United States it has been used only by social thinkers with Marxist orientation. Whenever the concept of the intelligentsia in the sociological sense has been used it has been taken to describe and include those members of a given society who earn their means of subsistence by intellectual work, are distinguished by a higher level of education than that existing as a rule in the given society, while performing functions bound up with intellectual work, etc. (There is a whole series of classifications and definitions of the intelligentsia, and thus also of features that are regarded as substantial. Nevertheless, all of these contain the performance of intellectual work as a key characteristics.) After what has been written there is a question that suggests itself with impelling irresistibility, i. e. why it is in some national sociologies (as well as in the way of thinking of certain nations) and with sociologists of Marxist orientation that this concept is usual and of considerable frequency, while in other places this has not been the case. It is evident that in seeking an answer to this one has to go back into history.

The concept in the above-mentioned sense of the term had acquired currency in the last century primarily in those countries where there the capitalist forms of

economy had been relatively late in developing, where there had been a strong national oppression, where feudal forms of political power had not been abolished, and where not only higher but often even secondary education had been for the whole of last century, and in some places even at the turn of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, a privilege of only a narrow social group, or even of individuals alone. Under these conditions education had itself been a social factor of such significance that it meant, on the one hand, apart from the privileges of birth and property, the only possible road to social advancement for some individuals from the so-called lower strata, while, on the other hand, it also resulted in the formation of certain links and of a feeling of fellow-being among those who had acquired such education and by that very fact became substantially differentiated from both those groups who had secured their privileged position through other means and from the masses of the uneducated rest of the population.

There had, of course, been other circumstances that had led to the formation of the feeling of belonging together and of certain internal links inside the so-called intelligentsia. In countries with predominating feudal political relations this had been primarily the fact that here a large part of the intelligentsia saw its main political mission in the struggle against the crudest form of state oppression and for installing democratic methods of government. This had been typical e. g. for the overwhelming majority of members of the so-called intelligentsia in Russia.

In Bohemia, in Slovakia, in Poland and some other countries of Central and Eastern Europe a majority of the intelligentsia had again stood in the vanguard of the struggle for national liberation. It had been particularly typical of both Czech and Slovak intellectuals during the whole of the last century that in their own notions but also in those of public opinion they were the only actual representatives of the nation that had been deprived of its fundamental political and cultural institutions. Here the so-called intelligentsia had for a certain period of time fulfilled the role of the leading national power, for those social groups that played this role in other nations were — for certain historical reasons — not in existence: since the second half of the seventeenth century one could hardly speak of there having been any Czech national aristocracy, while the bourgeoisie itself was still too insignificant and the proletariat had not yet organized itself as a social force.

For all these reasons, therefore, intellectuals in all the above-mentioned countries in the last century had been a far more integrated group than had been the case in the West where the objective development had gone different ways. This fact had, of course, spread even into the consciousness of the society, whether into the current forms, or into forms of scientific reasoning. Here the intelligentsia was — and as we shall yet see has been up to the present day — conceived as a relatively well integrated social stratum endowed with

special functions, with an important social mission (sometimes being referred to as the so-called conscience of the nation) as well as possessing specific views, attitudes, a specific style of life, and so on. To put it briefly, those forms of existence that had for certain concrete historical reasons been regarded as being typical of the intelligentsia in the last century are being regarded as realistic even today.

It was Marxist theory as well that had contributed to the conception of the intelligentsia as a relatively well integrated social group. In particular Kautsky and Lenin were those who at the turn of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries devoted rather a great deal of attention to the problem of the so-called intelligentsia, especially with regard to its role in political life. Both Kautsky and Lenin after him were seeking an answer to the question of the extent to which the intelligentsia could make its contribution to the development, organization and instilling class-consciousness into the working class movement. It was these two thinkers who had laid the foundations for a Marxist theory of the intelligentsia from which Marxists were to proceed for many years to come and which used to be taken for a point of departure. This, in my opinion, was to lead to two consequences for the subsequent development of Marxist thought. In the first place it was the fact that there had often been a mistaken tendency (which was of course in contradiction both with the methodological prerequisites of Marxism and with the intentions of Lenin himself) to transfer whatever had been said by Kautsky about the intelligentsia of Germany and by Lenin about the intelligentsia of Russia, as about certain groups existing in concrete time and space conditions, to intellectuals in other countries and societies as well. Secondly, the fact that even in later times the approach to the so-called intelligentsia was a onesided one, i. e. in terms of its political qualities and political differentiation, in terms of its relationship to the working class movement and to the socialist revolution, other important and substantial aspects of its existence and inner differentiation being overlooked. This accounts for the fact why some Marxists particularly in the period of the dogmatization of Marxism tended to see a certain relatively well integrated stratum in their own intellectuals as well although here there had never been a group with such characteristics as those, e. g. in Russia or in Poland in existence for historical reasons.

There is another fact worth mentioning. Among Marxists the intelligentsia is generally defined as a social stratum comprising people who obtain their means of subsistence by intellectual work. This definition — however current it may be among theoreticians as well as politicians and in the way of thinking of the wide masses of the population in socialist countries — has its weak points which are quite evident. The two basic concepts on which it rests are unfortunately nowhere defined with any exactitude, nor can they be said to be employed in anything like a unified way. Marxist theoreticians (as a matter

of fact not unlike as those of their colleagues who proceed from other theoretical positions and traditions of thought) do not even agree as to what is meant by a social stratum or on how to define exactly intellectual work to make it unequivocally distinguishable from physical work, and to make it capable of becoming an exact criterion for the identification of the so-called intelligentsia.

There is yet another fact that deserves mention here and that has contributed to the simplified conception of the so-called intelligentsia in the national sociologies of the socialist countries and with Marxists in the West. In the dogmatized Marxism of the thirties to fifties of our century, particularly under the influence of some of Stalin's works, a wrong conception of the class structure of socialist society began to spread in which the undifferentiated intelligentsia is supposed to take — side by side with workers and peasants — a certain unified position with the same roles and functions. This fact was pointed out and poignantly expressed by the Polish sociologist Jan Szczepanski when he wrote: „Here intelligentsia was promoted from diffused categories — from the point of view of class — and groups of professions to a status of one stratum. And it is here that an error is being committed consisting in a number of qualities, both objective and subjective, being ascribed to it. It is often said that the fact that one belongs to this stratum is given by a certain type of personality, that a person coming from the ranks of the intelligentsia must possess certain psychic characteristics and must take up certain political attitudes. This stratum is believed to create certain consciousness of its own interests, to constitute a certain unified stratum. Hypotheses and simplifications of this kind seem to be a general phenomenon in discussions on intelligentsia.“¹⁾

From the above-mentioned brief observations it may be at least roughly evident why it is that in certain national sociologies a special branch of researches and reflections referred to as the sociology of the intelligentsia has come into being, why these problems have traditionally had their own significant position even in Marxism, and why, on the other hand, in other national sociologies problems relating to the various categories of intellectuals and educated strata have been solved within some other sociological disciplines.

If the question is asked what it is that the sociology of the intelligentsia is concerned with the answer is made difficult by the deficiency just referred to, i. e. lack of clarity and definite classification of the concept of the intelligentsia. On the basis of the literature available it can be said that as far as the deliberations of Czechoslovak sociologists are concerned the subject of the sociology of the intelligentsia has been conceived in a very wide way. It includes the problems of social position, role, and of social functions of all the cate-

¹⁾ Jan Szczepański: *Struktura inteligencji w Polsce, Kultura i Społeczeństwo* (Structure of the Intelligentsia in Poland, Culture and Community), Nos. 1—2, 1960, p. 31.

gories of intellectual workers, ranging from those who work predominantly in a mechanical way (e. g. some categories of clerks and officials) through those in whose work elements of mechanical work intermingle with creative work (e. g. some categories of teachers, physicians, lawyers etc.) to those with whom elements of creative work quite evidently predominate (creative artists, writers, scientists and others).

Thus conceived the sociology of the intelligentsia is not only connected with a number of other disciplines but at the same time takes its cue from the findings of some related social sciences. Out of these there are three to be mentioned here which from this point of view are the most important: history, psychology, and political economy. History affords the sociology of the intelligentsia valuable data on the problems of the emergence of the division of labour into manual and intellectual, and on the problem of the development of the social position, the role and functions of intellectuals in history. Psychology can be of assistance here by its attempts at defining more precisely the concept of intellectual work, as much as by its efforts aimed at noting substantial features of creative activity. (This concept is of particular importance in the analysis of the so-called creative intelligentsia, or in other words, of intellectuals. Finally it is political economy that helps the sociology of the intelligentsia by its analyses of various economic aspects of intellectual work and of those performing it. Here the question is one of evaluating the importance of this work in the production process, one whether it is possible to describe this kind of work as productive, etc.)

Among sociological disciplines the sociology of the intelligentsia is most closely connected with the sociology of classes and social stratification, with the sociology of knowledge, the sociology of politics, the sociology of culture, and the sociology of professions. The results of all these disciplines are taken as points of departure in one way or another for the sociology of the intelligentsia, of course, this dependence cannot be understood to work one way alone. The fact is that the sociology of the intelligentsia reciprocally makes its own contribution to the development of the above-mentioned sociological disciplines.

II. RESULTS HITHERTO ACHIEVED

Before embarking on enumerating some of the principal questions which have been dealt with in works written by Czechoslovak authors in the field of the sociology of the intelligentsia, and prior to describing basic results achieved by these authors in these studies it is impossible to omit recalling one work which though falling as to its time of origin outside the scope of the period which it is intended to follow here must be mentioned in view of the im-

portance attaching to it. It is the extensive monograph written by the Czech author Inocenc Arnošt Bláha *Sociologie inteligence* (The Sociology of the Intelligentsia, Prague, 1937) which, in its own day and in its own sphere of investigation, had been a unique work, not only within the context of our own national sociology but it is no exaggeration to say on the European and world scale as well. Whatever exceptions and critical comments one may have to Bláha's conception of the intelligentsia, its social functions and to the general theoretical starting-point adopted by the author — and there may be a great many of these — it remains an undeniable fact that especially by its extent and profundity this work was at the time of its publication, and has remained until now, a most significant attempt at a comprehensive monographic treatment of problems attaching to that part of society which in certain spheres came to be termed the „intelligentsia“.

The definition of the concept of the intelligentsia being one of the most problematic questions in any sociological analysis of this social category (as has already been pointed out), Bláha himself could not help attempting to render it more precise. This is what he does in the first pages of his book. Having rejected the views asserting that the intelligentsia is a state or a class, part of the bourgeoisie, or a middle estate he goes on to make an analysis of his own. The theoretical point of departure adopted by Bláha is the functional conception of society. In harmony with the views of Alfred Weber and Karl Mannheim Bláha's conception of the intelligentsia is to regard it as fully unclassifiable as to class and estate but as something that „floats freely in the social space“²⁾. The basic „crystallizing principle“, „the unifying axis“ of all intelligentsia is not the fact that each of its members possesses a certain modicum of education“ but „participation in a certain function, in the function directed towards creating intellectual values, towards organizing and integrating society in their name, in short, towards a spiritualizing function“³⁾.

In Bláha's view the intelligentsia is thus characterized, above all, functionally — i. e. by its social functions. Of course Bláha's conception of these functions and thus also of the intelligentsia — is extremely wide. He includes not only the so-called „intelligentsia by virtue of its chief profession“, i. e. those „for whom their social function, whether directed to creating spiritual values, or to organizing society in their name, is at the same time the main source of sustaining their existence, but also the so-called „intelligentsia by virtue of its subsidiary profession“ which may be taken to include all those (workers, peasants, employees, intelligentsia etc.) who, while active in another principal profession in their own social category, are operative in view of their secondary function as

²⁾ I. A. Bláha, *Sociologie inteligence*, (The Sociology of the Intelligentsia), Prague, 1937, pp. 58—59.

³⁾ *Ibidem*, p. 59.

a factor of spiritualization, of intellectual organization.⁴⁾ Already this departing and untenably wide definition of the so-called intelligentsia tends to make the concept that was to have been defined into an extraordinarily hazy one, which cannot but reflect in a negative way on the entire subsequent analysis undertaken by Bláha. Bláha goes on to specify this spiritualizing function of the intelligentsia by classifying it into four groups. These are the functions of 1. spiritual creation, 2. of organization and circulation, 3. of unification, 4. of spiritual consumption.

Throughout Bláha's work the underlying leitmotif is his conviction about the intelligentsia's specific mission in society which at times even assumes certain traits of a Messiah mission. Thus, e. g. one reads: „Of course, the power-wielding and economic circles, too, have their ideologies and their emotional systems, i. e. a certain measure of spirituality. However, these ideologies and emotional systems could become an element tending to disintegrate society if there did not exist a sphere possessed of „totalizing“ ideology and emotional system, i. e. one canalizing all particular systems and ideologies to make them fit into a generally spiritual order of all-society continuities. It is only here that there arise ideas that are all-embracing, emotional systems that are all-including, ideals under whose standards all people can close their ranks in a fighting, serving as well as loving manner. Here ideas and ideals are worth more than power and the economic situation, while these are valid only in so far as they serve ideas and ideals.“⁵⁾ It is this province that it is the domain of the working of the intelligentsia's spiritualizing function. It seems that the above statements by Bláha can be regarded as a particular form of utopia rather than a reliable description of a really existing social situation. It is difficult to conceive that in a society where there are very substantial social conflicts between various large social groups the intelligentsia as a whole could manage to disentangle itself from this conflicting situation. The experience hitherto gained proves conclusively that this has never been the case and that even the so-called intelligentsia has always been internally differentiated, in a way not unlike that characterizing the rest of the society.

Let us add a brief mention of the contents of the remaining parts of the book where Bláha gives an outline of the historical development of intellectuals, analyzes the functions of the intelligentsia, its functional types, psychic prerequisites of its functioning, social origin of its members, consequences of its functioning in its material and spiritual life (standards of behaviour and social and psychic features), and finally the internal and external conditions of what he calls a crisis of the intelligentsia.

Repeating the point made earlier in this study we must say that regardless

⁴⁾ Ibid., p. 60.

⁵⁾ Ibid., p. 65.

of numerous reservations we have to Bláha's book this work has a bearing upon contemporary Czechoslovak sociology of the intelligentsia as an inspiration in many respects: one cannot deny it possesses a number of bright partial observations and valuable conclusions, and another fact is that as to its width and universality it has not yet been surpassed by any further works in this field.

However, let us now proceed to that part of our report which should be its real core, i. e. an outline of the most substantial results achieved in the field of the sociology of the intelligentsia in Czechoslovakia in about the last ten years. The choice of this period has not been accidental. A more pronounced revival of interest in the problems of the so-called intelligentsia among theoreticians of society with Marxist orientation occurred at the time when the apparently impenetrable armour-plate of dogmatized Marxism began to break following some outstanding events which had taken place in the world Communist movement and in socialist countries in the course of 1956. Though this period cannot be said to have meant a final farewell to the old methods in political as well as scientific work it is necessary to realize that since that year the salutary process inside Czechoslovak society has never ceased in spite of the recurrence of the past and of the repeated tendencies to put a stop to it. The first more significant results of the heightened theoretical interest in the problems of the intelligentsia who in the dogmatism period had been — for a number of purely practical but also some pseudotheoretical reasons — relegated into the background (though there has never been any lack of vague and uniformly propagandist articles regarding the so-called „important role of the intelligentsia under socialism“) began to appear around the year 1958. However, it must be borne in mind that these are not as yet works written by authors regarded as sociologists (sociology not being officially recognized in Czechoslovakia until as late as 1963) but by people who had devoted their attention to these problems largely within the framework of very widely conceived historical materialism.

It stands to reason that in their theoretical works Czechoslovak sociologists did not immediately discard their simplified views of social problems. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that in the last ten years a pronounced progressive tendency towards greater objectivity in their own studies can be observed. This, of course, also applies to those concerned in one way or another with the intelligentsia.

Which were the questions in the field of the sociology of the intelligentsia that had stood in the forefront of interest among Czechoslovak theoreticians? It appears that they may be summarized into about five main sets of problems: 1. the question of defining the concept of intelligentsia in sociology, 2. problems of the place of the intelligentsia in the social stratification and the implied problems of the division of labour into manual and intellectual; a more profound characterization of intellectual work, 3. problems of the advent of the

so-called intelligentsia, of its historical development in general up to the present times, of evolutionary changes within the intelligentsia in Czechoslovakia in the recent decades in particular, 4. problems of the role of the so-called intelligentsia in political life, particularly problems of its relation to the working class movement and to socialism, 5. questions of inner differentiation of the so-called intelligentsia and specific problems of its individual components.

1. Problem of Defining the Concept of the Intelligentsia in Sociology

The earliest more profound attempts at defining the intelligentsia as a sociological category which are to be encountered in the works by Czechoslovak sociologists in the late fifties and early sixties still bear many traces of the entirely traditional approach. In spite of programmatic declarations on the necessity of a concretely historical investigation of every phenomenon there is a strong and repeated trend to form a definition of the intelligentsia valid once and for all, that could be applied to intellectual workers in all societies at all times, thus a trend that is essentially a historic one. In defining the intelligentsia as a component of socialist society one tends to overemphasize those characteristics which are common to all intellectual workers, while, on the contrary, the problems of the inner differentiation of this category is frequently being overlooked, or else reduced to class differentiation alone. As *genus proximum* of the concept of the intelligentsia the concept of *stratum* is commonly used in definitions; this concept, however, itself not being as a rule exactly defined or clarified. This is all the more relevant as neither in Marxist theory nor in the works of its founders this concept is applied in anything like a uniform way. The same applies to the concept of intellectual work which is not lacking in any of the above mentioned definitions, unfortunately without having been satisfactorily defined anywhere.

As far as the actual definitions of the so-called intelligentsia as they are encountered in the works of Czechoslovak theoreticians are concerned, a very rough division into two groups appears to be possible: 1. those who in defining this social category lay stress primarily on functions performed in society by its members, and 2. those who emphasize chiefly their socioeconomic status and their position in the class and stratification structure and in the division of labour.

The first standpoint is most poignantly represented by Jan Macků who basing his view on the enumeration of the fundamental functions performed by members of the intelligentsia defines the volume of the concept of the intelligentsia as follows: „Intelligentsia is an independent social stratum of people engaged predominantly in intellectual work whose members perform the following functions on the basis of social division of labour: they create scientific, artistic

and world-outlook philosophical ontological values, disseminate and apply these values, while taking part in economic and organizational as well as public administration activities“.⁶⁾ This definition of the intelligentsia „as such“, of the intelligentsia „in general“ seems to suffer quite obviously from that ahistoricism that has been referred to above. This is, indeed, pointed out by Karel Linhart who — while dealing with the same set of problems — commented on J. Macků's definition in the following way: „This deficiency is a consequence... of the endeavour to define the concept of the intelligentsia in such a way as to make it applicable to all socioeconomic formations.“⁷⁾

The other point of view is represented by a whole series of authors all of whom mainly emphasize the fact that the intelligentsia gains its means of subsistence by selling intellectual labour or its products, that the conditions of this sale used to change considerably in the process of historical development, and that it is substantially differentiated as to class and functions no less than as to spheres in which it is active. Thus, Miloš Húsek writes: „Intelligentsia is a socioeconomic category, consisting of intellectual workers for whom intellectual work is a source of existence, to whom the exercise of the social functions of intellectual work is entrusted as to a particular social group — nowadays of predominantly salaried workers. It includes intellectual workers from material production and from the circulation sphere as well as from from other fields of the non-productive sphere of social activity activities. Intelligentsia is no kind of „above-class“ extrasocial economic category as alleged by many bourgeois sociologists, no kind of genuinely merely „cultural stratum“ (Theodor Geiger) that forms its ranks around „the spiritualizing function in society“ (I. A. Bláha) and „floats freely in social space“ (Alfred Weber). Nor can it be included as a whole at the present juncture in the individual principal social classes as some Marxist authors have tried to do, dividing the intelligentsia into bourgeois, petty bourgeois and proletarian. This division did have and still retains its justification and significance, however, it must be enlarged upon“⁸⁾ Similar features of the intelligentsia are so emphasized by Karel Linhart:

⁶⁾ J. Macků: K otázce postavení inteligence ve společnosti v díle Sborník prací filosofické fakulty brněnské university, řada sociálněvědná (On the problem of the position of intelligentsia in society in Volume of Studies by Members of Philosophical Faculty, University of Brno, Social Science Series, G 4, 1960, pp. 47—48.

⁷⁾ K. Linhart: K problematice vymezení pojmu inteligence a vztahu buržoazní inteligence k základním třídám v kapitalistické společenskoeconomické formaci v díle Sborník prací Pedagogického institutu v Brně k 40. výročí KSČ, (On the Problem of Defining the Concept of the Intelligentsia and the Relation of Bourgeois Intelligentsia to the Basic Classes in the Capitalist Socioeconomic Formation in The Memorial Volume of Studies by Members of the Pedagogical Institute in Brno in Honour of the Fortieth Anniversary of the CPC), Vol. X, Social Science Series, II, Prague 1961, p. 330.

⁸⁾ M. Húsek: Místo a funkce inteligence v soudobé kapitalistické společnosti v díle Intelligence za kapitalismu a socialismu — The place and function of the intelligentsia in contemporary capitalist society in Intelligentsia under Capitalism and Socialism], Prague 1962, p. 27.

„Intelligentsia in capitalist socioeconomic formation is a social interclass stratum of predominantly intellectually working people who for the most part do socially essential work. Its members derive their living either from the sale of the capacity for qualified intellectual work, or from that of its results. On the basis of social division of labour they perform the following fundamental functions: they create scientific, artistic and world-outlook philosophical ontological values, disseminate and apply these values, being active in the economic and organizational, educational sphere and in that of public administration.“⁹⁾

A similar standpoint is taken up in the works by the following authors: L. Dziedzinská¹⁰⁾, E. Kadlecová¹¹⁾, J. Kohout¹²⁾, G. Riedel¹³⁾, B. Weiner¹⁴⁾, and J. Sedláček¹⁵⁾.

In connection with this outline of attempts at defining the so-called intelligentsia we cannot omit mentioning one view of intellectual workers which has been in evidence particularly in current thinking yet an echo of which can be very clearly detected also in one definition claiming scientific objectivity. It is that sort of approach to intelligentsia when this category is defined as a stratum of people doing economically unproductive work. What we have in mind is the study by G. Riedel referred to above where he says: „... intelligentsia is a so-

⁹⁾ K. Linhart, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

¹⁰⁾ Intelligence — její místo a funkce ve společnosti (Intelligentsia — Its Place and Function in Society), Hradec Králové 1958, p. 8; Příspěvek k charakteristice inteligence za kapitalismu (A Contribution to the Characteristic of Intelligentsia under Capitalism), Přehled (Survey), No. 2, Vol. IV, 1959, p. 61; K otázce existence relativně samostatné vrstvy inteligence v díle Základní teoretické otázky výstavby socialismu a komunismu ve světle výsledků společenských věd (On the problem of the existence of a relatively independent stratum of intelligentsia in Fundamental Theoretical Problems of the Building of Socialism and Communism in the Light of the Findings of Social-Sciences), Prague, 1962, p. 481.

¹¹⁾ Několik poznámek k procesu vzniku socialistické inteligence v Československu v díle Základní teoretické otázky výstavby socialismu a komunismu ve světle výsledků společenských věd (A few observations on the process of the rise of socialist intelligentsia in Czechoslovakia in Fundamental Theoretical Problems of the Building of Socialism and Communism in the Light of the Findings of Social Sciences), Prague 1962, p. 467.

¹²⁾ Intelligence a soudobá buržoazní sociologie (Intelligentsia and the Contemporary Bourgeois Sociology), Prague 1962.

¹³⁾ K definici pojmu inteligence (On the definition of the concept of intelligentsia) in Sborník prací filosofické fakulty brněnské university, řada sociálních věd (Volume of Studies by Members of Philosophical Faculty, University of Brno, Social Science Series), Brno 1958, p. 50.

¹⁴⁾ Postavení inteligence v socialismu (The Position of the Intelligentsia under Socialism), Prague 1960, p. 3.

¹⁵⁾ Poznámky o inteligenci a jejím vztahu k proletariátu za kapitalismu v díle Sborník za kapitalismu v díle Sborník k šedesátinám prof. dr. Ludvíka Svobody (Remarks on intelligentsia and its relation to the proletariat under capitalism „in Memorial Volume on the Sixtieth Birthday of Prof. Dr. Ludvík Svoboda), Acta Universitatis Carolinae — Philosophica et Historica, No. 2, 1963, p. 271. Tvůrčí inteligence a dělnické hnutí za kapitalismu v díle Sborník k šedesátinám prof. dr. Jiřiny Popelové, (Creative intelligentsia and the working class movement under capitalism“ in Memorial Volume to the Sixtieth Birthday of Prof. Dr. Jiřina Popelová), Acta Universitatis Carolinae — Philosophica et Historica, No. 1, 1964, p.71—72; Intelligence (Intelligentsia) in Stručný filosofický slovník (A Short Dictionary of Philosophy), Prague 1966, pp. 193—194.

cial interclass stratum performing predominantly economically unproductive yet socially necessary work in the sphere of qualified intellectual activities, and in exploiting formations making its living by selling its capacity for this kind of work, or by selling of its results."¹⁶⁾ This view has been criticized by L. Dziedzinská in her study Contribution to the characteristic of the intelligentsia under capitalism.

Let us, for the moment, leave aside the disputable question which appears to be of decisive importance in judging this conception of the so-called intelligentsia: what is in fact productive work and what are its distinctive features? As sociologists we are primarily interested in what the consequences are of the above approach to the intelligentsia say in our own society. And here we can answer directly that these consequences are extremely negative in the extreme. From the so-called non-productive character of those engaged in intellectual work the general run of people in their way of thinking seem to derive deduce certain conclusions concerning a moral evaluation of the intelligentsia, of its significance for social life and the like. These views if allowed to spread on a mass scale and if they are not opposed effectively sow the seed of artificial discord between those working manually and those working intellectually, are being misused by some conservative elements inside the working class, and tend to impair seriously the conditions for successful work of the intelligentsia without which the existence of modern society is unthinkable, without which modern society can hardly be expected to exist.

At the same time the view that intellectual work in all its aspects is unproductive while all physical manual work is held to be productive is profoundly mistaken. Apart from this, the viewpoint of productiveness need not always necessarily coincide with viewpoint of social significance of the work done as had been pointed out some time ago in a very poignant way e. g. by Jiří Cvekl.¹⁷⁾

Since the question of what is productive work is one for the economists to solve, not for sociologists, let us refer — to conclude our brief remark — to one of the most recent works on the subject whose author is Eugen Löbl. This is what he writes: „It can be a matter of dispute which kind of intellectual work can be regarded as a production factor. Is it only that type kind of intellectual work which has its immediate share in the process of transforming a force of nature into a force of production? (After all, the same debatable question can be raised in connection with manual work as well. Here, too, there is a whole series of working acts actions that have nothing to do in the immediate sense with this transformation process.)

The answer should essentially be as follows: every kind of work without

¹⁶⁾ G. Riedel, op. cit., p. 50.

¹⁷⁾ J. Cvekl: Lid a osobnost v dějinách (The People and Personality in History), Prague 1961, p. 176.

which the given production is unthinkable and which constitutes an integrating component of production is productive work. This kind of work has then to be conceived as a production factor. There is no sense in making a distinction whether a certain type of work is performed in the workshop or outside it, and whether it alters the properties of the thing or not, etc. . . .

The same applies to intellectual work. If we wish to establish whether a certain type of intellectual work is a productive one it is essential to find out whether modern production could do without it, or whether it forms an inseparable part of it.¹⁸⁾

Obviously, the border line between productive and non-productive work does not coincide with that between manual and intellectual work. This is why the criterion of „non-productivity of work“ is unsuitable in defining the so-called intelligentsia. It is equally obvious that any negative moral or other evaluation and the depreciation of the importance of the social role of the so-called intelligentsia by referring to its alleged non-productivity is scientifically untenable, and is always bound to have some other foundation than rational argumentation.

2. The problem of the place of the intelligentsia in social stratification and the parallel problem of the division of labour into manual and intellectual; a more profound characteristic of intellectual work

All these are questions to which a definite attitude is taken by all the authors whose studies we have quoted here. Particularly the question of the place of the intelligentsia in the social stratification, of its relation to the other social classes and strata has been a subject of repeated heated discussions in recent years, the reason being, among other things, that its solution may have significant consequences also in the realm of practical politics. Yet even in this sphere a dogmatic, and in many respects schematic, approach could often be observed. A great number of opinions bore a considerably speculative character, the main reason for this being the fact that the foundation for general judgments did not rest on a sufficient amount of objectively established and verified empirical data. It was only in connection with the exchange of views on the condition of the working class in capitalist countries that took place on the pages of the journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism*,¹⁹⁾ and in connection with an important conference on social structure of socialist society organized by the University Institute of Marxism-Leninism in co-operation with the Philosophical Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences at Hrazany

¹⁸⁾ E. Löbl: *Úvahy o duševnej práci a bohatstve národa* (Reflections on Intellectual Work and the Wealth of a Nation), Bratislava 1967, p. 94.

¹⁹⁾ What changes are taking place in the composition of the working class, *Problems of Peace and Socialism* Nos. 5, 9, 12 of 1960, Nos. 4, 5, 6, 9 of 1961.

in June 1964²⁰) that the first intimations of a more responsible and more objective approach began to appear. However, this set of problems has been reported on for the benefit of those sociologists in foreign countries who might be interested relatively in detail and substantial outline by Jan Macků in his paper *Zur Diskussion des Begriffs „Intelligenz“ auf der Konferenz in Hrazany*²¹) we will not deal with this problem in the present paper, and will concentrate on how Czechoslovak authors in recent years have approached a question connected with it, i. e. the question of the division of labour into manual and intellectual and a deeper analysis of intellectual work.

Though this is a question to which attention is devoted in one way or another by most authors who try to analyze the problems of intelligentsia hitherto the most extensive and most profound attempt at its solution is represented by the studies of Zdeněk Valenta.²²) In particular the book by this author entitled *Physical and Intellectual Work under Socialism* is an attempt to give an all-round solution of a number of key questions concerning the two kinds of work referred to above. Though we are not always disposed to agree with the author's conclusions it is not possible to deny that he has succeeded in posing correctly those problems which are really of greatest importance in this field. It may become more apparent from a brief enumeration of problems analyzed in the book.

What Valenta tries to do in the first place is to explain the reasons for the existence of the division of labour into manual and intellectual, coupled with the question whether the material and technical basis of socialism in Czechoslovakia helps to remove this, or, on the contrary, to make it more profound. He goes on to give a more general characteristics of both kinds of this work, and states his objections to the simplified views to the effect that the problem of intellectual and manual work has already been solved in Czechoslovakia. This part is followed by a comparison of the economic condition of groups of intellectual workers and those of manual workers, whereupon he tries to answer the question whether there are profound differences in the cultural and technical level between the two groups. In the subsequent chapter Valenta investigates the relation between brainwork and manual work and between those performing each of them as a problem of ethics. In the concluding chapters

²⁰) The main contributions by the participants of this conference are contained in the work *Social Structure of Socialist Society*, Prague 1966.

²¹) See *Sborník prací filosofické fakulty*, Volume of Studies by Members of the Philosophical Faculty, Brno, G 9, 1965.

²²) *Některé charakteristické rysy duševní práce za socialismu v díle Inteligence za kapitalismu a socialismu* (Some characteristic features of intellectual work under socialism in *The Intelligentsia under Capitalism and Socialism*), Prague, 1962, p. 100; *Fyzická a duševní práce za socialismu* (Physical and Intellectual Work under Socialism), Prague 1965; *Některé otázky postavení socialistické inteligence v díle Sociální struktura socialistické společnosti* (Some of the Condition of Socialist Intelligentsia in *Social Structure of Socialist Society*), Prague 1966, p. 436.

he goes on to consider to what extent the present-day trends in the material and technical basis of society (especially automation) help in removing, or conversely in deepening, the differences between manual and intellectual work, and even attempts to give certain predictions concerning this problem.

Valenta's treatise *Some Problems of the Condition of Socialist Intelligentsia* is of importance primarily because of his endeavour to define more closely the features of intellectual work, and to compare these with those of manual work. The conclusions the author arrives at are as follows:

„1. In intellectual work it is the expenditure of spiritual energy that predominates, as compared with manual work where the expenditure of muscle energy predominates. In intellectual work muscle energy plays only a subsidiary role.

2. In intellectual work it is the second member of the reflex arc that is much more involved, while in manual work the predominating part is played by the third member, i. e. the actual performance put up by man's physical organs. In intellectual work the same as manual work the first member of the reflex arc plays but a subordinate role. Both kinds of work begin to differ in the function of the second member which while playing a subordinate role in manual work plays, on the contrary, a dominating role in intellectual work. For the third member of the reflex act intellectual work has almost „everything ready“ through the activities of the second member while in manual work this is the principal act, and there is almost nothing „ready“ beforehand.

3. In intellectual work the chief organ employed is the brain unlike manual work where this is chiefly the hand called figuratively „the tool of tools“.

4. In intellectual work there are wider means of activity applied than in manual work. This is due to a number of reasons, among other things to its lower rate of technical equipment, and thus also to an altogether lower degree of subordination to rhythm and to requirements of machines in general, and therefore even to a lower degree of overall splitting caused by the necessity to perform more functions at the same time, to intertwining with power aspects, i. e. with asserting and enforcing wider interests than those of individual and contradictory activities. All this results also in an average higher degree of complexity of intellectual work and of its relatively higher cultural and technical requirements as compared with the analogical parameters of manual work. All this necessarily results in a higher objective possibility of creative activity in intellectual as compared with manual work.

5. The product of intellectual work generally does not appear in the shape of a material utility value but rather in a form that prepares the ground for their making, transpiring into operations of manual work in the check-up, etc. Therefore, intellectual work generally does not affect the work object immediately but rather the consciousness of those who actually manipulate the work object.

6. If performed for a long period a certain kind of intellectual work may result in certain consequences even for man's own development, which are relatively different from those brought about by manual work. These cannot be analyzed here both on account of their multiplicity and of their complexity. Yet it is possible to point out here that the „professional idiotism“ referred to by Marx concerns far more the sphere of intellectual work than the traditional spheres of the performance of manual work. This is not at the same time merely a negative phenomenon particularly if one considers the possibility of a phenomenon that is directly opposite to „professional idiotism“ and in our own days more harmful.²³⁾

Of course, in connection with this enumeration Valenta points out three important circumstances: 1. all these features are highly relative, 2. there is never „pure“ manual, or „pure“ intellectual work, 3. the actual work done depends also on the man performing it who may raise but also reduce the degree of participation of consciousness and of creative elements.

To conclude this part of our argument it is necessary to point out that a series of interesting new ideas concerning intellectual work and its performers is contained in the work by E. Löbl already referred to as well as in a book by M. Kusý „O vztahu tělesnej a duševnej práce“ (On the Relation between Manual and Intellectual Work.²⁴⁾

3. Problems of the rise of the so-called intelligentsia, of its historical development up to the present time in general, of development changes inside the intelligentsia in Czechoslovakia in recent decades in particular

A number of authors have posed themselves the question what historical causes had brought about the separation of the functions of manual and intellectual work, and what changes had been undergone by those performing either of them. As far as the position of intellectual workers in the social structure of various societies is concerned there are roughly two standpoints that have crystallized among Czechoslovak sociologists. There are those who stress the point that the so-called intelligentsia as a special stratum differing quite ostensibly from the other classes and strata arises at the moment of separation of manual from intellectual work. This is the standpoint held e. g. by J. Macků, K. Linhart and others. Others believe that the performers on intellectual work had always until the advent of capitalism — from the point of view of their class position, their social interests as well as of their way of life —

²³⁾ Z. Valenta: Některé otázky postavení socialistické inteligence (Some problems of the condition of socialist intelligentsia), op. cit., pp. 443—444.

²⁴⁾ Bratislava, 1962.

essentially been, with extremely few exceptions, members of the ruling class, and it was only the specific conditions of social life under capitalism that had turned them into a special social group separated from the ruling class. This standpoint is one professed e. g. by L. Dziedzinská, and in the past it was also the standpoint taken by the author of the present paper.²⁵⁾ It appears, of course, that both these standpoints have not yet been sufficiently worked out, what they lack in particular is a deeper hinterland of historical facts, and that is why the solution of the problem in question undoubtedly deserves further well-founded studies.

Another aspect of the difference between the social status of performers of intellectual work in pre-capitalist socioeconomic formations and under capitalism was pointed out by E. Kadlecová when she wrote: „Earlier societies made it possible for people who made their living by intellectual work to exist inside its pores, but the existence itself of the society was independent of them. If they appeared on something like a mass scale they were either a sign of the decay of society, or a presage of new relations“.²⁶⁾

The same idea is developed and more profoundly elaborated also in the book by E. Löbl who states: „Intelligentsia is being spoken of or referred to as a new social stratum. Is an appellation of this kind at all justified? For don't we know that as far back as in ancient times there had been intellectual workers?

A whole number of qualities possessed by intellectual workers today and centuries ago are the same. They are characterized by a certain level of education and by being intellectually active against the background of their education and intellectual faculties. Yet all the same from the sociological point of view present-day intellectual workers differ substantially from the intelligentsia of past centuries.

A teacher in the old economy need not have been any less educated and any less capable than his colleague of today. However, without the existence of teachers the volume and the mode of production of those days would not have changed.

If there were no teachers today the entire economic structure would break down. Without an educational system the rise and existence of that economy in which we are living is utterly unthinkable. And as has been pointed out in another connection this goes for all branches of intellectual work.

While at one time intellectual workers formed only a handful of people who differed from the others by their education, this feature has now ceased to be a characteristic one. The other social strata can reach the same level of education as a large proportion of the intellectuals, which means that the latter

²⁵⁾ J. Sedláček: K otázce vzniku inteligence v díle *Intelligence za kapitalismu a socialismu* [On the problem of the rise of intelligentsia in *Intelligentsia under Capitalism and Socialism*, op. cit., pp. 9—18.

²⁶⁾ E. Kadlecová: op. cit., p. 467.

do not differ so much by the level of their education as by their function in society. The contemporary economy, and more particularly that of the future, is not the work of a handful of educated men but literally of all intellectual workers who are distinguished, among other things, by the fact that as a social stratum they tend to grow in numbers continually, and that by their activities they create new working possibilities for other intellectual workers.²⁷⁾

As far as the development transformations of Czechoslovak intelligentsia in recent decades are concerned, particularly those after the Second World War which as being extremely topical are understandably of greatest interest to us, these have not as yet been — with very few exceptions — accorded a more profound and well-founded theoretical treatment. There are quite a few empirical studies dealing with these problems but their empirical background is relatively rather weak.

The problems of differentiation of views in Czechoslovak intelligentsia in pre-Munich Republic were dealt with by J. Macků in one of his treatises.²⁸⁾ Here he devotes his attention to problems that had so far received only isolated treatment, i. e. basic factors affecting the psychology and ideology of the intelligentsia, the bearing of national tradition upon the development of opinion of the intelligentsia, and finally the fundamental aspects of the development of thinking of our intelligentsia in the pre-Munich Republic.

The attempt of L. Dziedzinská at determining the character of the changes in the status condition of the intelligentsia in the process of the building of socialism also belongs to this group.²⁹⁾ Here the author endeavours to answer — upon a relatively small area — questions of such significance as those about the character of the changes in the status condition of the intelligentsia resulting from the abolition of private ownership of means of production, changes in the social function of the intelligentsia issuing from the new foundation class of state power, the attitude relation of scientific intelligentsia to socialism, the numerical growth of the intelligentsia and the changes in the status condition of technical intelligentsia have been dealt with by Bedřich Weiner.³⁰⁾

An interesting set of subsidiary problems of the constitution of a certain group of Czechoslovak intelligentsia after 1948 was tentatively dealt with by J. Čejka

²⁷⁾ E. Löbl: op. cit., p. 84.

²⁸⁾ J. Macků: K otázce názorové diferenciacie inteligence v předmnichovské republice v díle *Intelligence za kapitalismu a socialismu* (On the problem of differentiation of opinion in the intelligentsia in the pre-Munich Republic in *Intelligentsia under Capitalism and Socialism*), op. cit., pp. 42—55.

²⁹⁾ L. Dziedzinská: *Změny v postavení inteligence v procesu budování socialismu v díle Intelligence za kapitalismu a socialismu* (Changes in the status condition of the intelligentsia in the process of the building of socialism in *The Intelligentsia under Capitalism and Socialism*), op. cit., pp. 86—99.

³⁰⁾ B. Weiner: *Úkoly technické inteligence v díle Intelligence za kapitalismu a socialismu* (The task of technical intelligentsia in *Intelligentsia under Capitalism and Socialism*), op. cit., pp. 114—130.

in his study „State courses for the preparation of working people for admittance to universities and their contribution to the rise of working-class intelligentsia.“³¹⁾ (In the years 1948 to 1954 the state courses for the preparation of working people for admittance to universities were designed to make it possible — in an accelerated form — for the most capable members of the working strata to pass the school-leaving examination, and thus to prepare them for entry into universities and other higher educational establishments.)

A number of valuable data and evaluations concerning changes inside Czechoslovak intelligentsia in the last twenty years is brought also by all the studies by Z. Valenta referred to above.

Very well-informed and well-founded studies as to empirical material concerning some aspects of the development of Czech intelligentsia in the years 1945 to 1948 are the two treatises by J. Maňák recently published in the Sociologický časopis (Sociological Review). The first of these entitled Početnost a struktura české inteligence v letech 1945—1948 (Numbers and structure of Czech intelligentsia in the years 1945 to 1948) brings valuable statistical data on the composition of the intelligentsia in the Czech Lands in the given period, while at the same time endeavouring to give a certain appreciation of the situation of those days from the point of view of the needs of the development of society. The general conclusion reached by the author is as follows: „In the years 1945 to 1948 a considerable increase in numbers of Czech intelligentsia can be observed. The average number of active intellectuals can be given as ranging between 580 and 590 thousand. An overwhelming majority of them were salaried employees. The numerically strongest part, more than two-thirds of the total, is represented by officials and clerical staff of state and enterprise administration. Practically the whole numerical increase in intelligentsia is accounted for by the increase in the numbers of office staff, while in the other groups increase is only very slight, or they are seen to be stagnating. From the point of view of numbers the statistics of those days were by no means so entirely unjustified in referring to all members of the intelligentsia who were employed as „officials“ — the administrative official being at the time the most frequent representative of Czech intelligentsia. Only far behind him there follow in the descending scale production technician, teacher, artist, clergyman, physician, lawyer, judge etc., the very last place being occupied by the scientist.

The structural set-up of Czech intelligentsia, particularly the growing predomination of administration officials, was a burning problem in the years 1945 to 1948. Its most poignant expression was the contradiction between the numbers of civil servants and the amount of means available for their remuneration — the so-called problem of civil servants concerned primarily intel-

³¹⁾ See Intelligentsia under Capitalism and Socialism, op. cit., pp. 69—85.

lectuals employed by the state, but certain of its aspects were in evidence even in the economic sector with unfavourable impact on economic results.

The decisive cause of the growth in the numbers of office staff was economy based on rationing and the abolition of the brutal restrictive measures dating from the times of the occupation. A subsidiary concomitant cause were the consequences of the struggle for power, since each official post represented at the same time a certain power position.³²⁾

The second treatise by J. Maňák entitled *Problematika odměňování české inteligence v letech 1945—1948 — Příspěvek k objasnění počátků nivelizace* (Problems of remuneration of Czech intelligentsia in the years 1949 to 1948 — A contribution to throwing light on the beginnings of levelling) endeavours to answer the question what are the roots of the problem which weighs very heavily upon contemporary Czechoslovak society acting as one of the serious brakes of its more rapid progress — the problem of unjustifiable levelling of wages and salaries probably not to be met with in any other society, this being the case both as regards the remuneration of the individual professional groups and of their individual members. Here, too, the author endeavours to give a certain evaluation of the processes he has succeeded in establishing on the basis of statistical data in particular, and arrives at the following more general conclusion: „Immediately after the liberation some of our economists had pointed out that from the economic point of view a certain levelling in remuneration could be justified only in countries with a high productivity of labour and with supply predominating over demand in the commodity market; at that time only the USA and Sweden were regarded as falling within that category... In this country, however, levelling took place under exactly opposite conditions. The reason for this was that in the revolution just under way in that period mass notions on better life asserted themselves. There were practically only two roads towards making these notions a reality. One was the road of positive construction, creation of new values, after the revolution had swept away obstacles standing in the way of increasing the wealth of the society as a whole. The fruits of proceeding along this road could not make themselves felt until after a longer period of time, and their amount and quality would be influenced not only by the effort exerted but also by objective preconditions, internal as well as external. The other road was one of redistribution of the existing social wealth, the road of change in the portion allotted to the individual classes and strata. It was with this road that the majority of the working people associated their efforts at attaining better life. And the less a revolution is able to achieve tangible results in the field of production, the less it is able

³²⁾ J. Maňák: *Početnost a struktura české inteligence v letech 1945—1948*, (Numbers and structure of Czech intelligentsia in the years 1945 to 1948), *Sociologický časopis* (Sociological Review), No. 4, 1967, p. 409.

to improve the living conditions of the people, the more and the more deeply it is bound to reach into the sphere of distribution where it favours those forces on which it leans, which are the mainstay of the revolution, and afflicts those who oppose it, or who move aside from the main revolutionary stream. These old findings are also borne out by the manner and extent of „doing away with unsound differences“ in remuneration in our own conditions which can be regarded as an emergency measure, exacted by socioeconomic needs of the developing revolution in conditions of general want. When judged from this aspect then levelling has the merit of ensuring that the masses of the working people worst remunerated in the past regard the new, the people's democratic regime as their own. In the conditions prevailing at the time levelling could ensure a „socially more just“ distribution of economic goods and chattels, but could not ensure their rapid growth. And it is here that lies one of the reasons for the failure of our postwar consolidation as well as for its limited character. Levelling could have only a temporary justification dictated by the needs of the struggle for revolutionary transformations in the sphere of power politics and of property ownership, whereas the perspective interests of the development of production and society called for its abolition. In any case, our present-day situation only goes to confirm that the solution was being deferred beyond a bearable limit without affording the possibility of avoiding the accompanying difficulties.“³³⁾

4. Problems of the role of the so-called intelligentsia particularly the problems of its relation to the working class movement and to socialism

An objective treatment of the above questions, yet particularly of the problems of the role of the so-called intelligentsia in the political life of socialist society has until recent days when fundamental changes in the leadership of the Czechoslovak state as well as in that of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia encountered considerable — and one might even say — insuperable obstacles. In the framework of the officially proclaimed theory on the leading role of the working class until the period of completed building up of classless society there was understandably enough no room for acknowledging the fact that the intelligentsia might play anything like a more substantial role in social and particularly political life. Intellectuals, including scientists, writers and artists, were being officially regarded as essentially merely a kind of servants whose

³³⁾ J. Maňák: Problematika odměňování české inteligence v letech 1945—1948 — Příspěvek k objasnění počátků nivelizace [Problems of remuneration of Czech intelligentsia in the years 1945 to 1948 — A contribution to throwing light on the beginnings of levelling], Sociologický časopis [Sociological Review] No. 5. 1967, pp. 539—540.

purpose was to fulfil the tasks laid down by the ruling political elite. As to their own activity, this they were expected to show only within the limits this laid down. This, of course, resulted in the most intrinsic role of the intelligentsia, and especially of intellectuals as mappers out of new ways and problems and as critics of the negative aspects of social and political life being considerably tied up. It is easy to understand that one has never entirely succeeded in imposing this subordinate role on intellectuals. Nevertheless, a series of repressive measures tended to drive them more and more into this position. In Czechoslovak conditions this was, of course, more than paradoxical, since hardly in any other country have there been as many eminent intellectuals who were members or sympathizers of the Communist Party, this dating back to the times of the bourgeois republic. Though in the period under review no theoretician could afford to come into the open with the idea that it is in particular some intellectuals who have been the most consistent critics of the deformations of socialism this was actually the case. This notion was pointed out in a very impressive way on behalf of Czechoslovak theoreticians by the outstanding Austrian Marxist Ernst Fischer in his treatise „The Intellectual and Power“ published in the weekly of the Czechoslovak Writers' Union *Literární noviny* in 1966.³⁴⁾ This treatise by the very fact that it outlined some new functions that the intellectuals should have in a socialist society as well encountered strong opposition among official theoreticians and politicians. In this respect the stand taken by Jan Fojtik was specially typical, the latter not hesitating to subject Fischer's conception to sharp criticism in a series of articles published by *Rudé Právo*, the daily of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.³⁵⁾ Even though it is of course possible to argue with Fischer's conception in some points, the way this was done by J. Fojtik and the time context in which this occurred was not designed to contribute to the development of Marxist theory of intellectuals but pursued an entirely obvious political aim: to deter any intellectuals who might dare claim their own natural function in society.

One of the ways of expressing certain antiofficial ideas concerning the role of the intelligentsia in politics was to evaluate the part played by intellectuals in the development of the revolutionary workers' movement in the past, and to point out that every time in the past when certain anti-intellectual tendencies began to appear in this movement the result would be failures and defeats. A number of authors often drew the attention of readers to the great part taken by the intelligentsia in the creation of socialist ideology as well as

³⁴⁾ See *Literární noviny*, Vol. XV, No. 25 dated 18. 8. 1966, pp. 1 and 3.

³⁵⁾ J. Fojtik: *Intelektuál — hrdina moderní utopie* (The Intellectual — Hero of a Modern Utopia), *Rudé právo* of 29. 7. 1966, p. 3, of 2. 8. 1966, p. 3, 5. 8. 1966, p. 3 and 9. 8. 1966, p. 3.

in laying down the political line of Communist and workers' parties in the past, and the conclusion they would draw from this fact was that at the moment when these parties assume power, it cannot be otherwise.³⁶⁾ A certain positive role in gaining ground for this point of view has been played by some ideas of such Marxists as Kautsky, Lenin, and Gramsci. All the same, the fact is that the whole set of problems of the role of the so-called intelligentsia has yet to be subjected to a more profound theoretical treatment.

5. Problems of inner differentiation of the so-called intelligentsia and specific problems of its individual components

Czechoslovak sociological literature does not in any way abound in outlines and summaries of the question of what possibilities there are of an internal differentiation of the intelligentsia. As far as the differentiation of the intelligentsia in capitalist society is concerned the main emphasis placed by Czechoslovak theoreticians — not unlike by Marxists in other countries — was on the class characteristics of the individual components of this category. Here most authors proceeded primarily from Marx's — well-known ideas from *The Capital*, and especially from *The Theories of Surplus Value* in which Marx deals chiefly with the position and role of the so-called technical intelligentsia in the labour process, and goes on to classify intelligentsia from the point of view of the product which is the result of its labour. These observations of Marx's are extraordinarily stimulating, and particularly in discussions on the socioeconomic status of the intelligentsia under capitalism have been paid justified attention in this country in recent years. Let us not forget, however, that these questions were being solved by Marx in a more or less marginal way, the problem of the so-called intelligentsia not being in the forefront of attention at all in his day. After all it was Marx himself who wrote in conclusion of the discussion referred to above: „All these expressions of capitalist production in this sphere (i. e. in the sphere of intellectual labour — J. S.) are so insignificant in comparison with production as a whole that we need not pay any attention to them whatsoever.“³⁷⁾

A series of new suggestions was brought into the investigation of different-

³⁶⁾ Cf. especially the following: J. Kohout: *op. cit.*; E. Kadlecová, *op. cit.*; J. Sedláček: *Poznámky o inteligenci a jejím vztahu k proletariátu za kapitalismu* (Notes on intelligentsia and its relation to the proletariat under capitalism), *op. cit.*; J. Sedláček: *Tvůrčí inteligence a dělnické hnutí za kapitalismu* (Creative intelligentsia and the working-class movement under capitalism), *op. cit.*; F. Červinka: *Polemika o poměru tzv. akademické inteligence k dělnické třídě na konci minulého a počátkem našeho století* (Polemics on the relation of the so-called academic intelligentsia to the working class at the close of the last and the beginning of this century) in *Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis 1961, tomus II, Fasc. 2.*

³⁷⁾ K. Marx: *Teorie o nadhodnotě I* (Theory of the Surplus Value I), Prague 1958, p. 420.

iation of intelligentsia by V. I. Lenin. In his day the problem of this category was already more topical than in Marx's day, and even from the point of view of the development of the working-class movement and its policy was acquiring ever greater importance. Lenin's views on the differentiation of Russian intelligentsia can be summarized into a finding that the basic criterion of this differentiation in these views was the criterion of class, finding its expression before the October Revolution primarily in the socioeconomic status of its individual components and in their ideological orientation, while after the Revolution in their attitudes to, and opinions of, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of the new society. It was this approach to the differentiation of the intelligentsia that survived for many long years among sociologists with Marxist orientation — and also among Czechoslovak sociologists in the period after 1948 — even though in view of the changed conditions it would have been necessary not to remain satisfied with this premise and to search for further motives and elements of differentiation that had been constituting themselves along with the transformation of the socialist society.

Theoreticians of society had been — for a relatively long time — influenced by the official idea that after the socialist revolution the intelligentsia split into two components, i. e. the so-called old intelligentsia educated still in the capitalist society and marked by various „survivals“, and a new, intelligentsia sprung from the people, etc. This division which in Czechoslovakia has never corresponded with the actual situation in the ranks of the intelligentsia was very often associated with extremely negative consequences for the activities of some eminent scientists, writers and artists. Apart from this, at the most one other differentiation was recognized, i. e. into the so-called humanistic and technical intelligentsia which, in view of its being far too general one, could not do either in any more respectable theoretical as well as research tests.

Nor can a more profound approach to this problem be met with until quite recent years. Thus, for instance, J. Macků no longer makes do with a mere class differentiation of intelligentsia and lays stress on differentiation as to function connected with a classification according to the large spheres of social life such as social consciousness and social being.³⁸⁾

In a more elaborated form this notion is contained in M. Húsek and Z. Valenta.

In his study *Místo a funkce inteligence v soudobé kapitalistické společnosti* (The Position and function of intelligentsia in contemporary capitalist society), M. Húsek comes to the conclusion that in the process of the social division of labour the following seven spheres of social labour and all-society functions

³⁸⁾ See J. Macků: *K otázce postavení inteligence ve společnosti* (On the problem of the position of the intelligentsia in society), op. cit., pp. 42—53.

become gradually independent according to which it is also possible to classify the intelligentsia:

1. The sphere of economics, production and distribution involving the function of production, organization, records and control, and planning.
2. The sphere of politics and law involving the functions of political control, legal system, and public administration.
3. The spheres of ideology, philosophy and religion involving the function involving the functions of creating and disseminating ideology, development of philosophy and religion.
4. The sphere of art involving the function of developing both creative and reproductive art.
5. The sphere of education, further education, enlightenment and propaganda involving the respective functions.
6. The sphere of health and social welfare involving the functions of health service and social services.
7. The sphere of science involving the functions of developing natural and social sciences, of developing scientific knowledge.³⁹⁾

In a similar way Z. Valenta in his treatise *Některé otázky postavení socialistické inteligence* (Some problems of the position of socialist intelligentsia) distinguishes six basic spheres of intelligentsia's activities: 1. management of production, 2. social administration, 3. social consciousness including ideology, 4. social being from the point of view of „simple and extended reproduction“, 5. health and social care, 6. sciences (gnoseological, ideological, and applied).⁴⁰⁾

The author of the present paper holds — as he has after all already indicated in the entry „Intelligentsia“ in the *Short Dictionary of Philosophy*⁴¹⁾ — that the so-called intelligentsia is a highly differentiated category, namely in several respects.

1. From the viewpoint of conditions in which it validates its intellectual work or its result. This can take two forms: a) by way of mercenary sale of labour power to the entrepreneur, b) by way of independent sale of intellectual labour power or its results directly to the consumer.

2. From the viewpoint of the inner functional division of intellectual labour. Here two criteria are of greatest importance: a) which class the intelligentsia serves for the most part by performing intellectual work, b) in what spheres of social life it is chiefly active.

3. From the viewpoint of the character of intellectual work itself. The intelligentsia is thus divided into a) that part which is engaged in that kind of intellectual work that is largely of mechanical, ever repeated in substantial features, and so almost of automatized character (majority of administrative staff

³⁹⁾ See M. Húsek, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

⁴⁰⁾ See *Sociální struktura socialistické společnosti* (Social Structure of Socialist Society), *op. cit.*, p. 458.

⁴¹⁾ See *Stručný filosofický slovník* (A Short Dictionary of Philosophy), Prague 1966, p. 193.

and lower technical workers), b) that part whose activities involve seeking new ways, discovering means hitherto unused, and attaining qualitatively new results and goals, i. e. creative intelligentsia sometimes referred to as intellectuals. Hence follows the considerable economic, political and ideological heterogeneity of this category in modern societies.

The outline given above makes it clear that the criteria of the inner differentiation of the social category of intelligentsia can be varied and very numerous. In a sociological analysis, however, one should not apply criteria of any and every kind, one should not create statistical criteria from outside out of the various groups of the intelligentsia that are not integrated in any way internally, but one should look for such features as are so substantial and significant that out of individuals and aggregates which are characterized by them they form internally integrated strata who need not but can be aware of this integration, or can invest it also with a certain formal political framework.

III. GOALS AND PERSPECTIVES

It is evident from our brief outline of some of the basic results in the sphere of the sociology of the intelligentsia in Czechoslovakia that a great number of studies dealing with these problems have been in many respects largely of speculative character, and have not been based on data obtained by empirical researches. This fact is understandable if one considers that until recent years researches of this kind — within the officially proclaimed theory of empirical sociology as „bourgeois pseudoscience“ — had been regarded as undesirable and anti-Marxist. In our opinion the main task now facing the sociology of the intelligentsia in Czechoslovakia consists, therefore, in embarking upon field research work oriented at various categories and strata of intellectual workers. Results obtained in these researches will be at least of double importance:

1. In confrontation with them it will be possible to verify the existing hitherto purely theoretical reflections on intelligentsia, and it will be established how far these are true to facts and what is not in keeping with reality. It will be of particular interest to find out whether it is still possible in our society to speak of anything like a relatively unified and internally knit stratum of intelligentsia, or if this is no longer possible.

2. In these researches new concrete findings will be obtained regarding the structure, roles and functions of the individual categories of intelligentsia in our society, findings that are absolutely essential for both practice and further theoretical considerations.

It appears that the only viable road in this sphere can no longer be under any circumstances to try and proclaim some kind of general and speculative

opinions on the so-called intelligentsia „in general“, intelligentsia „as such“, but to focus one's attention on an acquaintance with, and a description of, the individual strata and categories. This is also the direction taken by the first researches that are being embarked upon in this country. It is only on their foundation that it will be possible to make an attempt at a certain theoretical synthesis concerning the position of the so-called intelligentsia in Czechoslovak society.

At the moment the project that can be expected to bring most in the way of findings seems to be the research into vertical social differentiation and mobility of the population in the ČSSR organized by the research team centred around the University Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Charles University, Prague (in cooperation with the Sociological Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and the Slovak Academy of Sciences, of the Department of Sociology at the Prague School of Economics, and the Department of Philosophy at the Faculty of General Medicine, Charles University).⁴²⁾ This research is — as regards extent and depth — unique not only in socialist countries but also in countries with high sociological culture and with rich traditions of empirical sociology. The problematics of the sociology of the intelligentsia will no doubt profit particularly from those parts of the research project that are concerned with questions of work and professions, with political system, the way of life, leisure time, with education and qualification, the prestige of occupation, social interaction, preferences and aloofness, and with notions about the social stratification and self-identification of the population of the ČSSR.

In addition to this, there are many other partial preliminary researches under way which it is often impossible even to register in their entirety, the most important results of which, however, are sure to be published in one way or another in due course. A certain outline of the problems that are the object of most intensive efforts in this field at the moment was recently given by the scientific conference on the sociology of the intelligentsia held in Brno in December 1967, whose participants concerned themselves with questions that could be divided as to their subjects into three large groups:

1. General problems: the subject of the sociology of the intelligentsia, criteria of the status of the intelligentsia in socialist society, social functions of the intelligentsia, vertical social mobility and the intelligentsia, intellectuals and politicians.
2. Problems of the individual categories of the intelligentsia: status and functions of the propagandist, students as a special group of young intelligentsia, the possibilities for the graduates of the College of Agriculture in Brno of finding jobs and utilizing their knowledge in practical life, the prestige of an officer, and of a woman-intellectual.
3. Methodological problems of the

⁴²⁾ For detailed information on the research project see Sociologický časopis [Sociological Review], No. 6, 1967.

research into intelligentsia: theoretical approach to research into technical intelligentsia, questions of research into the ways the graduates of technical universities and colleges assert themselves in practical life, problem of the teacher's working load outside the classroom, social function of the intelligentsia in the local community, methodology of research into the relationship between the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the intelligentsia, and the ideological attitudes of Czechoslovak intelligentsia in the years 1945—1948.

In conclusion it is necessary to point out that the publishing plans of Czechoslovak Publishing Houses have made provisions for publishing, in the nearest future, several new works dealing with some aspects of the problems of the sociology of the intelligentsia.

JIRINA ŠIKLOVÁ

SOCIOLOGY OF YOUTH IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The sociology of youth holds a kind of exceptional and at the same time also more difficult place among sociologies of the various branches concerning as it necessarily does a whole series of other scientific disciplines, being something like their specific cross-section. It is closely connected with pedagogics, psychology, philosophy and ethics, with economics, medicine as well as some disciplines of law, being closely associated with historiography, demography, and politics. It does not possess its own narrowly circumscribed field but selects as it were certain aspects of these other disciplines whose findings it homogenizes by its specific approach. It is a segment from all the above disciplines, one delimited primarily by a certain age group. In the same way as young age cannot be isolated from the life of an individual, so youth cannot be separated isolated from society and cannot be analyzed in any other way than in relation to adults, to society, to its institutions, and to its social order. This is, of course, the reason why the sociology of youth as a discipline of science depends to such a great extent upon the development and the level achieved by the remaining branches of social sciences, and unless these branches have reached an adequate level the sociology of youth cannot surpass them, or supplant their function. It goes without saying that the sociology of youth cannot do without a theoretical analysis of the whole society, without a well elaborated conceptual scheme of general sociology, or without data obtained by empirical investigations in the respective branches, or finally, without statistical data applying to the society as a whole. This also makes it impossible to write on the sociology of youth in Czechoslovakia without avoiding a certain „historical“ introduction which in this case appears an absolute necessity. Otherwise it might remain incomprehensible for a majority of readers why in mid-sixties of the twentieth century such terms as the beginnings, initial steps, or perspectives and plans are used in discussing the state of sociology in a country situated in the heart of Europe. Moreover, the sociology of youth is no new discipline in Czechoslovakia, for as early as before the Second World War in the period of the so-called First Republic there had been a number of investigations, and very solid ones at that, considering the time and the standard of methods used, and a series of studies had been written. Among theoretical works it is particularly necessary to note those written by Inocenc Arnošt

Bláha, especially his book entitled *Sociologie dětství* (The Sociology of Childhood, first published in 1927) and „*Dnešní krize rodinného života*“ (The Contemporary Crisis of Family Life) of 1933, and the book written by Jaroslav Šíma (a pupil of Emanuel Chalupný's) bearing the title *Sociologie výchovy* (Sociology of Education) of 1938.¹⁾ The central sociological periodical The Sociological Review likewise regularly brought treatises dealing with problems of youth (for the most part written once again by Bláha, or else by J. Uher) together with reviews of foreign, mostly German, sociological works on youth. Nevertheless, in those days there was no centre, no definite department or seminar dealing with these problems in anything like a systematic manner. However, a number of sociologists, predominantly educationists by profession, carried out investigations among young people, the result of their efforts being quite a number of interesting sociological studies in which the authors' attention was focussed on individual social and moral problems of the youth of their day, particularly on destitute and unemployed youth, on delinquency, on the influence of alcohol and disturbed family education, or on the state of health of adolescents.²⁾ This orientation towards ethical and social problems was no doubt influenced by I. A. Bláha and in particular by Břetislav Foustka, Professor of the Philosophical Faculty in Prague, who deliberately directed the attention of his pupils to problems of „those endangered“ in our society. Of course, a systematic analysis of the youth of that time, or at least of youth movements (which are also the concern of sociology) is still lacking for the period in question. The history of the youth movement was not recorded until after the Second World War; even so the historians' attention was mostly concentrated on youth groups of leftist orientation, even this history being not infrequently misrepresented for propaganda reasons.³⁾

Immediately after the Second World War a number of youth organizations

¹⁾ A detailed list of studies, articles and books on the sociology of youth is given by Karel Galla in his book. *Úvod do sociologie výchovy* (Introduction to the Sociology of Education) which also contains a rich bibliographical supplement. The book was published in Prague in 1967.

²⁾ A partial list of articles published in those days, and of papers dealing with these problems is quoted by K. Galla in the book referred to above, p. 162.

³⁾ Here I give only some books which are of value as historical works:

Josef Bartoš, *Československý svaz mládeže v letech 1945—1955* (The Union of Czechoslovak Youth in the years 1945—1955), Prague 1958.

Josef Bartoš, *Pod praporem socialismu* (Under the Banner of Socialism), *Příspěvek k historii ČSM v letech 1948—1960* (A contribution to the history of the UCY), Prague 1963.

1. František Budský: *Historie dětského pokrokového hnutí*, (History of the Progressive Children's Movement), Prague, 1961.

2. H. Mejdrová: *Svaz mladých* (The Union of Youth), Prague, 1958.

H. Mejdrová: *Z dějin čs. komsomolu z let 1924—29* (From the History of the Czechoslovak Komsomol in the years 1924 to 1929), Prague, 1961.

3. Jiřina Šiklová: *Československá YMCA v období první republiky. Dizertační práce* (The Czechoslovak YMCA in the Period of the First Republic) — A Thesis — Prague, 1966.

resumed their activities, and today the programmes, conceptions of work, surveys of their activities can serve us as sociological material for a subsequent analysis of that period. Part of this movement has already been recorded in a thesis (already published in parts) written by Dagmar Cahová who fittingly combines historical and sociological approach. However, the other works (excepting those quoted under Note 3) comprising the period of 1948 to 1960 have borne a propaganda character, and will one day serve as a material for throwing light on a problem of general sociology, i. e. on the ways in which the new class after its accession to power wins over, and makes use of, youth, and what methods it applies in doing so. A really scientific work, whether with a historical or a sociological orientation, dealing with the period after 1948 is still missing. Nor is there unfortunately any sociological material that would record this indubitably interesting epoch in a reliable and relatively faithful way.

In the fifties of this century, in the period of what has loosely been called the period of the cult of Stalin's personality, sociology ceased to exist in Czechoslovakia, having been abolished as a scientific discipline. There were no lectures in sociology at universities, the publication of sociological periodicals was stopped, and all empirical investigations were forbidden. The causes of this course have been analyzed on many occasions, and apart from political grounds they derived from a mechanical misinterpretation of Marx's teaching and its reduction to class struggle, to the relations between basis and superstructure, and to a simplified doctrine of historical inevitability and of spontaneous transition to socialism. Historical materialism with its predetermined categories took the place of the acquaintance with actual social reality which was regarded as being constituted by what ought to be rather than what really was.

A restoration of this „new though really old“ discipline of science occurred

Akademická YMCA v Československu (The Academic YMCA in Czechoslovakia), Acta Universitatis Carolinae Philosophica 1/1967.

4. Ivan Tesár: Komunistické studentské hnutí na pražských vysokých školách (The Communist Student Movement at Prague Universities), Acta Universitatis Carolinae, 1962.

5. D. Cahová: Příspěvek k boji za jednotnou organizaci mládeže. Sborník: Vznik a vývoj lidově demokratického Československa (Contribution to the Struggle for Unified Youth Organization. Collection: The Rise and the Development of People's Democratic Czechoslovakia), Prague 1961.

D. Cahová: K vývoji poválečných generací mládeže v Československu; in Vývoj poválečných generací v Československu (On the Development of Post-War Generations in Czechoslovakia; in: The Development of Post-War Generations in Czechoslovakia), Prague 1967.

6. Josef Bartoš: Československý svaz mládeže v letech 1945—1955 (The Union of Czechoslovak Youth in the Years 1945—1955), Mladá Fronta 1958.

7. Vladimír Ferko: Cesta k jednotě mládeže 1945—1948 (The Road to Youth Unity 1945—1948), Bratislava, 1961.

8. J. Michňák — L. Niklíček: Příspěvek k historii mládežnického hnutí v ČSSR (A Contribution to the History of the Youth Movement in the ČSSR), Prague, 1962.

in most socialist countries, excluding of course Czechoslovakia, after 1956. Whereas in Poland sociologists set to work immediately after the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (since when events had taken a new turn), in this country the aversion, and the cold shoulder given, to sociology — though not officially proclaimed — lasted for another five to six years, a time lag which has rather serious consequences for a modern branch of science. That is why we still lack an adequate sociological analysis of the social structure of our present-day society, and of individual social phenomena (it was not until 1967 that a research into social stratification was carried out), or even exactly defined theoretical concepts of Marxist sociology in general and of the sociology of youth in particular. It is evident from the attached Appendix that a whole series of large-scale empirical investigations have been carried out in Czechoslovakia including those in the sociology of youth. However, what we have learnt so far is not enough to make a synthetizing view possible, and it would be unscientific and hazardous to make hasty conclusions and generalizations. The fact is that the sociology of youth is of necessity connected with an analysis of phenomena of society as a whole, and an adequate description of the changes and the new state of our society is still outstanding. For this reason a great number of hypotheses and opinions I have arrived at in the present study are the result of rationalized primary experience, or have been formed on the basis of an analysis of statistical data, or on that of analyses of an economic, historical and philosophical character, while the sociological investigation proper only serves to complete the picture.

The object of the present study is, therefore, to give the first complete general information both on the sociology of youth and on youth itself. Of course, the desire to reach these two exacting goals imposes the necessity of considerably simplifying the whole problem, for which the author wishes to apologize beforehand.

In much the same way as in the West youth in our society finds itself in the centre of general attention, its problems being the point of intersection of more general social problems which it reflects in a specific way. And it is easy to understand why after many years of voluntarism in social sciences when we used to either summarily extol, or condemn youth or some of its sections in keeping with what slogans happened to arrive, interest has been aroused in this country in empirical sociology which tends to evoke a solid and „calming down“ impression with its numbers, percentages and graphs though it cannot be said that any uniform stress is being laid on any of its aspects. The errors committed in the past urge us to proceed with care and circumspection, to reject onesided methods, and bring about a tendency to distrust empirical sociology.

Apart from our own errors we have now had the possibility and enough time to learn even from the mistakes made by scientists in the other countries, and

our certain way of approach (a critical attitude) to empirical sociology has also been conditioned by our awareness of the unpropitious consequences of the onesided orientation of American sociology in the twenties and thirties focussed on empirical research alone. That is why we are trying today to avoid both of these extremes and to combine empirical sociology with theoretical analysis.

The starting point for a majority of sociologists in Czechoslovakia is authentic Marxist philosophy — (at times we feel how vague the attribute „authentic“ really is) — and not its caricature of interpretation in the fifties which was unable to register and reflect its own changing reality. This means that we reject the interpretation of Marxism as a mere theory of class conflict — though we realize it is ourselves who have devalued it in this way, and apart from the ownership aspect we lay stress on the following additional aspects: division of labor, control, political power, and in no less definitive way the aspect of spiritual activities, style of life, the importance of family, of groups, and of age and generation differences. It is only natural that in studying our social system we emphasize the primary nature of objectivity, i. e. of functional incorporation of relatively repeated social relations, and the derived nature of their subjective aspect (e. g. motivation or evaluation), which, of course, does not mean that we tend to reject the importance of the individual's activity, or his specific contribution. What this entails for our conception of the sociology of youth is that we do not deduce the principal changes in youth merely from the psyche of a young person, merely from microgroups, or from the imitation of the so-called models, but conceive youth as a whole which is moulded by a whole conglomeration of influences while laying a relatively greater stress upon objective conditions in which the young person develops. Thus we have tried to proceed from the totality of economic, social as well as psychic connections though it is only natural to add that in the individual researches — in keeping with their orientation — one or the other aspect is seen to predominate.

The prevailing approach to problems of youth today is a differentiating one, i. e. one proceeds from the presupposition that youth, being a social and age group possessing in addition to specific biological qualities specific characteristic features of social nature, is structurized in approximately more or less the same way as the society as a whole. As already mentioned it reflects the problems of the whole society in a specific way, and that is why one can no longer interpret contradictions and incompatibilities and negative phenomena in youth — as was the case in the fifties — in terms of survivals of the past, i. e. capitalist social order, by putting them down to intoxication from the West, but above all, as consequences and a reflection of our own reality for which we ourselves are responsible.

In view of the fact that the study and orientation and position of youth are

also being conceived as a study of the actual future of our society, the significance of these problems is also appreciated by the state organs who are interested in this peculiar kind of self-reflexion so that at the moment the sociology of youth has excellent conditions for its development and application. This interest is borne out by the fact that even very expensive representative nation-wide researches have been carried out, or are being planned, financed by the state, and that since 1964 when one stopped flirting with sociology and began to do it earnestly nearly one hundred departments have come into being oriented at youth alone. That is why one of the main problems today is co-ordination of researches and their timely and complete registration. Regular annual conferences are being convened on the sociology of university students, on youth movement, and on problems of deviant behaviour among young people, and non-periodically those dealing with the condition of woman in our society and with changes in the family. The development of individual special branches of the sociology of youth is not centrally controlled, and depends more or less on the initiative of the respective work teams of sociologists. As appears from the above by no means exhaustive list of principal workshops of sociology sociological centres are being created chiefly at universities and other establishments of higher education, at centres of education and culture which focus their attention particularly on problems of social groups in their own working environment, i. e. on research into university students, youth of grammar school age, on choice of vocation, while relatively less on working youth and in a quite inadequate measure on youth working in agriculture. One of the reasons for the present state of affairs is that the role and importance of the intelligentsia had not been sufficiently appreciated in this country, the result being that now with the transition to the new economic system this realization is being brought home to us and the inadequacy of the fundamental description of this particular social group is felt in sociology.

The most important researches have been carried out, or are just being completed, in the Ostrava region where a complex investigation of young workers and apprentices was undertaken, further a research project in Prague 9 where youth working in engineering has been studied. Research into grammar school and vocational-school youth is the concern of the Laboratory of Sociology of Youth which also keeps a record of all researches into youth problems in the ČSSR. Researches concerned with university students are co-ordinated by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Prague where a nation-wide research of university students in the Republic has just been completed. The Pedagogical Faculty in Olomouc is the centre of researches into problems of teachers-to-be. The specific character of Slovak students — secondary school leavers — is regularly studied by a team of the Slovak Sociological Institute in Bratislava. The world outlook and interests of youth not differentiated beforehand as to trades and professions have been investigated as part of a research carried

out by the Institute of Adult Education in Prague, while research into religiousness of youth has been undertaken by the Department of Theory and Sociology of Religion in the Sociological Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences.

And it is here that the results of the international research into the views of the young regarding the future entitled „The World in the Year 2000“ organized by the European Centre of Social Sciences in Vienna and by the International Institute for Research into Peace in Oslo are at present being evaluated. What is envisaged for the near future are comparative researches of youth, particularly a research into Ideals, Aspirations, and Life Values organized by the Laboratory of the Sociology of Youth in Prague and among socialist countries. Young men serving in the army form the subject of investigation undertaken by the Sociological Department of the Military Political Academy in Prague and a team of sociologists set up at the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Youth Union devotes its attention to the administrative bodies of the Youth Organization. Another two research projects which have been completed are research into juvenile delinquency and one into the entrance interviews for university studies the results of which have already been adopted in practice. Further examples could be quoted though we are of the opinion that those already given will do as basic information. (It is on the investigations referred to above that our present study has been based).

In the course of all these researches a whole series of difficulties have been encountered, all of them to be ascribed primarily to the fact that after 1948 when power had been taken in this country by the working class far-reaching changes occurred in our society. In fact, social status of more than 70 per cent of our population underwent a change, other revolutionary changes having taken place in the social status and function of the family, in the relationship between parents and children, the educational system being re-built, a change having set in social prestige and in the value orientation of all classes as well as social and age groups. As a result there is nothing to go on in the formation of hypotheses. Each particular item of research must, apart from the research project, at the same time „map“ the social group beforehand. While doing so we come to realize on every step that the differentiation criteria applied hitherto — class origin, membership of certain organizations — cannot be successfully utilized in analyzing the problems of youth, on account of the substantial structural changes that have occurred in the whole of our society in the last twenty years.

In addition to this, the youth we are investigating today has never had an experience of class struggle, having grown up in a period of relative comparative welfare prosperity and, which is more specific, of a strong social and economic levelling out, and of differences between individual regions — (the liquidation of socially neglected regions in Czechoslovakia, etc.). For this reason

the class differentiation of youth strongly recedes into the background, and is not manifested as is generally supposed in differing political and social views, or in different moral criteria, or by another scale of values. This is by no means to say that Czechoslovak youth is not differentiated in any way. It *is* differentiated indeed and in a very pronounced way, yet this differentiation has been brought about by factors which though anticipated and presupposed have not yet been verified empirically, and not infrequently since we presuppose another kind of differentiation have not even been in the centre of our attention. What we are still ignorant of are social mobility and the system of values of a young person, of prestige and, in a majority of social groups of youth even political standpoints. What stands out particularly are differences between generations, for natural biological and age differences have been enhanced by qualitatively different experiences of life so that the respective postwar generations lend a decisive character to social and political life in the ČSSR. I am aware that to reduce the problematics of youth to a conflict of generations is unforgivable simplification, nevertheless I will at least outline a certain account of these intergenerational shifts. This reductionism enables us as it were to give even with relative briefness a certain survey affording us at the same time a very much simplified direction for an analysis of topical problems. The fact is that specific historical events in Czechoslovakia had prevented a continual intergeneration mobility, and the result was that in a few years there took place an extraordinary strong intergeneration movement which was connected with the change in social order and with a transformation in the criterion of social selection. Following this sudden change when central positions had been occupied by a certain generation the new social system became stabilized in the late fifties, and the members of the generation that had taken power being all of approximately the same age, the principle of natural exchange according to age was violated. It is only in recent years that in connection with increased demands for qualification and with political changes intergeneration and intrageneration mobility has tended to increase. This succinct statement may it is hoped help throw light on the rather more extensive and perhaps a little imaginative account of these problems.

In post-war years, i. e. in the years 1945-52, this country saw a most profound sociopolitical and economic reconstruction in which a decisive role was played by the first post-war generation that had been homogenized by the intensive experience of the war. The war and the closing down of universities in the so-called Protectorate Böhmen und Mähren had prevented it from asserting itself, and that is why in the first years after war this generation literally „inundated“ the river-bed of political events. This first generation had experienced an enormous elation over the possibility of asserting itself in life, over the intervention of their own person into „history“, having experienced the feeling of being able to act, to mould and formulate its world outlook, and of having

the possibility of putting their own ideals and plans into practice without any distortions. No one else could labour under this illusion any more. Subsequent homogeneity was lent to this generation by the group that was the most numerous and revolutionary as well as best organized at the time, i. e. youth in the ranks of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. (In those days 38 per cent of young people organized in various political parties were members of the CPC plus 450.000 in the Union of Czech Youth whose stand was clearly one for socialism as well). And it was this expressly political generation that took direct part in the struggle for political power in February 1948 and regarded itself as a history-shaping factor, which inspired it with the feeling of transcendency over itself and made it ready for the future and prepared to bring any sacrifices for making their ideals a reality. In the eyes of its members political activity has not been devalued even today. The second postwar generation wave entering the political scene around the years 1949 to 1955 was captivated by political success and by revolutionary enthusiasm as well as by slogans asserting the possibility of changing the world has continued to constitute part of a first generation to this day, tending to merge with the latter in some ways. This second wave, however, was more romantic, or better still politically romantic, than the stratum preceding it since it had no longer any possibility of confronting its opinions with opponents and thus tended to accept the simplified doctrine of socialism as a religious creed which it was a heresy to discuss. As far as the question of asserting itself in political power was concerned it no longer had the optimum conditions enjoyed by the preceding generation stratum. It was more limited both as to its power political influence and in its views. At that time the conflict in Korea flared up, and cold war sealed the frontiers hermetically on both sides. And the iron curtain was not drawn merely in the direction of the Greenwich meridian but also in relation to our own revolutionary past. Even the Soviet Union itself becomes a legend, its frontiers having been closed, too, and the young get to know it merely through the prism of leaflets and the brief summaries of the individual of the history of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). Marc Chagall, Mejerchold, Kandinsky, Jesenin, Babel and even Mayakovsky and in part Lenin himself, all this had been pushed into the background and stifled by the bulkiness of the gilded statues of square-built women collective farmers and by the pomp of socialism. There was nothing to learn from, and there were many of those who did not even seek after new knowledge, convinced as they were that they were creating an epoch of such magnitude that there was no need to look back, or to try and build on something that had gone before. Those who were really seeking continuity of the communist epoch and of socialist humanism with the past formed a negligible minority. In those days one had to make do with proclamations on inheritors of great traditions of the past coupled with a consciousness of belonging among the elect.

To understand this first generation is a matter of immense importance for understanding the whole subsequent development of our youth, including the youth of today. The uncritical enthusiasm shown by this first postwar generation, its successes in work as well as sacrifices brought by its members at a number of (often not well considered as we can see today) socialist construction ventures are being used as criteria for young people today, and are of similar significance for Czechoslovakia as the generation of the so-called Wandervögel for the youth of Germany, a menacing spectre of an anachronic „absolute“ criterion. And it was this first postwar generation, and within its ranks especially the first generation stratum, that had also a maximum possibility of finding its place in public life at the time. In the fifties after the various purges these young people, often without professional qualification and with no experience to go on, almost at one go replaced a large part of the leading functionaries in the ministries, in factories, cultural and social organizations, in editor's offices, in political bodies at the universities, the natural migration in central social organizations being thus impaired. These two generation strata which I have referred to as political and political-romantic respectively were also those to be most profoundly affected by the criticism and self-criticism effected at the Twentieth Congress in the USSR and the realization of the mistakes made in the Stalin era in which they, too, took their part. They were shaken by this, but most of them had already been moulded and consolidated as well as disciplined to such an extent that the sincerely conceived ritual of self-criticism enabled them to carry on with undisturbed conscience and equanimity as leading functionaries of our society. In spite of all disappointments these people remained a political generation even then. Until this very day they evince vivid interest in political problems, taking part in political life, and they suffer literally physical pains from the lack of interest in this sphere on the part of their successors though they themselves had once been responsible for having unwittingly provoked it. Other distinguishing features are their manner of speech, rhetoricism, a certain schematization of thinking, their capacity for enthusiasm and the unequivocal reaction to concepts once regarded indiscriminately by all of them as taboo. The stigmatization by events experienced together is so strong that present-day harmony between those who used to be antipodes inside this generation is more vigorous than harmony with the successors.

The generation following close in the wake of this „diune“ „stage of builders of socialism“ did not actually take part either in the creation of values in the period of the so-called personality cult, or in their destruction. Its strongly active predecessors had turned it into mere spectators watching their successes, and thus it was not affected even by the criticism and self-criticism which followed after 1956. The younger generation not having identified itself with earlier successes did not have to identify itself with the guilt

either, and so they observed everything rather with malicious joy and a feeling of satisfaction. They had been growing mature at a time (approximately in the years 1956 to 1960) when disillusion and disappointment spread all around them, and never having themselves experienced genuine enthusiasm they were incapable of appreciating its loss in others. At the most they had a feeling of sympathy and pity, and political activity declined sharply in their scale of values. The absolute certainties of the generation of the first postwar years were replaced on the part of the younger ones by exaggerated uncertainty and doubts on anything connected with public life and politics. What took a foremost place in the scale of values was personal happiness, material welfare, family life, professional knowledge and esteem of a personality possessed of knowledge and skill irrespective of political views he or she may happen to hold, which is an understandable reaction against the period intoxicated merely with ideas and hackneyed phrases. An unproclaimed programme embraced by this age group came to be a high degree of tolerance of views culminating even in reluctance to take up any attitude whatever. This became evident, among other things, in the investigation into religiousness in Czechoslovakia carried out by the Sociological Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in the North-Moravia Region in 1965. Apart from an investigation into religiousness among adults a special research was undertaken among young people forming a representative specimen of the whole region. Though this is one of the most religiously minded regions in the Czech Lands the numbers of young people professing definite religious or definitely atheistic views were relatively small, i. e. 25 per cent of believers and 31 per cent of atheists. On the other hand, the greatest part of them, i. e. full 44 per cent of young people between the ages of 21 and 30 — therefore people who had grown up fully in the postwar period and thus had passed through our own, i. e. socialist education — answered the question whether they believed in the existence of God by an indecisive „I don't know, I can't tell, I am undecided, both the ones and the others may be right“. There was no other age group in which the researchers encountered a similarly undecided ambiguous standpoint. On the contrary, the greatest number of confirmed atheists was established in the 31 to 40 age group (39 per cent), and among those age ranged from forty to sixty, where the percentage was 38. In addition to general tendencies this is due to the influence of modern society, representing at the same time conclusive evidence of the failure of our school education as well as of the effect of official propaganda means which have only been teaching world outlook without giving young people the possibility of actually developing it on their own.

The dividing line between the second and the third generation (or possibly merely a generation stratum) is difficult to draw today, and it appears that its exact identification by researches and analyses will not be possible for

another ten to twelve years. Of course, even so a certain divide can be observed. This is represented by the years 1961, or 1962, or possibly 1963 when young people reaching maturity in that period were becoming aware that substantial changes had occurred, and when politics once again became more attractive and more interesting for them. This relatively higher interest in politics exactly in the youngest generation can even be expressed in numbers. It had been stimulated by relatively open discussion on economic problems in our country on the wireless or television, by critical articles in the critics in the early sixties. Moreover, this youngest generation is neither paralysed by having played the role of mere spectator for a long time, a role adjudged to it by the preceding older generation through the latter's exaggerated activities, nor is it fettered by prejudices or its own exertions. What remains a problem, however, is the concept of „politically minded attitude“ itself. As a matter of fact, each period has its own expression of this attitude which may not necessarily coincide with what had been understood under this concept in earlier times, or in countries with a different political regime. If the expression of politically minded attitude had once been the backing of, and participation in, strikes, and later on taking part in public meetings and in various kinds of voluntary work in one's own spare time, nowadays an adequate expression of this attitude is seen to consist in criticizing the management at one's workplace, in increasing one's qualification, in championing a mate's cause, or taking part in students' gatherings. The political attitude of the young has an entirely different form in the West as compared with this country, and need not, or even cannot, be manifested in the same way. (This, too, is one of the reasons why researches are difficult to compare). What the concept of politics suggests to young people in the West is, above all, the notion of pre-election fights and backbiting on the part of the various political parties, of rhetorical skirmishes between politicians on the television screen, or of attending a peace march. What the notions of our own youth are is hitherto known only from direct observation, whether our own or of many educationists, teachers, and officials and from one research project carried out by Associate Professor Jaroslav Krejčí at the Pedagogical Faculty in Ostrava.

In investigating the undergraduates at the Pedagogical Faculty in Ostrava the following open question was put to the respondents: „What is politically minded attitude, and in what ways in your opinion is a real political attitude of a young man or woman expressed?“ 24,5 per cent answered that genuine political involvement was interest in everyday events, 15,5 per cent that it meant to have one's own critical opinion, but a mere 4,4 per cent conceived political involvement as an actual process of changing reality and as public activities, 1,67 per cent as struggle for peace and against armament drives, and 1,04 as work in functions and in a political party.

An analogous conception of political involvement based primarily on interest

in political problems has been observed among young workers and other employees in a Prague engineering works, 31 per cent of them regard political knowledge and clear view of facts as an essential complement to professional and general education, and 83,3 per cent regularly, daily, or almost daily follow political events in the papers, and 61,1 per cent of young people discuss „daily“ or „at least often“ political problems with their friends and acquaintances.

Interest in political events — not unlike in the West — correlates conspicuously with educational level, and among students even with the measure of success achieved in their studies and of satisfaction with the branch studied, which implies a hypothesis that a good adaptation to microstructural relationships influences relation to the macrostructure of the given society. In a number of researches one can detect a tendency to the effect that students with better study results are generally more active in official political activities, and have a more positive attitude to the socialist social order so that the current trend that students and particularly university students are relatively the most politically involved group of youth can be observed in Czechoslovakia as well. This was particularly emphasized in the spring of 1968 after the so-called January Plenum when the democratization process brought about a pronounced increase in activity in practically all the strata of our nation. However, the least measure of activity, participation in discussion, meetings, participation in preparing resolutions was to be observed among young workers and officials.

As we have already indicated political involvement — judging by the analyzed empirical data obtained before January 1968 — is being conceived by young people for the most part as a verbal, cognitive, and ethical attitude. However, only in extremely few cases it is conceived as a unity of opinion and of action, and but very rarely it is associated with activities in some organization, or in a power (pressure) group conceived in some other way. This negative attitude to political involvement tied up with one organization or another is the consequence of defects in the approach to youth in the last decades.

In an effort to win over all youth for the idea of building socialism all the youth organizations were gradually abolished after 1948, and a unified, and at the same time an exclusive, organization of youth was set up which was under a direct control of the CPC. In the early years after the revolution this organization fulfilled its mission, but later when opposition ceased to exist in this country the Union of Czechoslovak Youth was turned into an organ voicing nothing but official state ideology. Concurrence in this ideology had lost the appeal of being in opposition. Youth was not given any room for negating anything. In the discussion on youth which filled the pages of the *Plamen* magazine in 1967 this was stated in very appropriate terms: „There was so much fear that youth might take a stand against society that it eventually got almost

outside it. Actually what young people were offered by the older generation was a world where everything had been solved, a ready-made world, and thus youth was deprived of cherishing great ideals, of negating something and of creating something. And so what could become its ideal was merely dutiful motion within the space mapped out by preceding generations."

To be member of the Union of Czechoslovak Youth was a matter of course, it was taken for granted, as late as five to six years ago anyone applying for enrolment at a university was expected to be member of the UCY before being considered for admittance. Thus young people lost the possibility of anything like inner differentiation among themselves. Virtually all young people were members, which therefore amounted almost to no one being member. No single research indicated that the UCY members would have reacted in any significant way differently from non-members, this being true of both student and worker youth. In quite a number of researches each individual question was correlated with data on whether the respondents came from the so-called Communist or non-Communist families (i. e. whether at least one parent or both were members of the Communist Party). In none of the researches referred to above was there any major difference between the views and attitudes held by youth from the so-called Communist families and that coming from non-Communist families, this applying equally to young workers no less than to young students. The nation-wide research into university students' attitudes carried out in 1966 proved that students coming from Communist families did not show any keener interest in ideological issues than other students, that they were as a rule more ready to serve in committees, or that they were not much keener than the others to join the Party.

Similarly in a majority of questions designed to establish political attitudes the class point of view did not come to the fore in any significant way, and in the research into students of Pedagogical Faculties (carried out in Ostrava by Assoc. Professor J. Krejčí) the findings even suggested that the interest in joining the Party shown by young people did not spring from the consciousness of class appurtenance (children coming from working-class families do not evince any keener interest than the rest of youth, nor do they differ from them in their political attitudes).

The non-existence of class struggle together with social equality amounting almost to levelling has resulted in a situation where the factors that used to motivate workers to join the Party are now wanting, or are so weak that they no longer affect the successive generation. (This is to be put down to the reduced influence exerted by the family on the new generation which has been established in many Western studies as well). In present-day altered situation the Communist Party has ceased to being an instrument of protest, of revolt and at the same time of emancipation of the worker, class consciousness being no longer a means homogenizing various generations of workers. This

very fact — provided it is borne out by further researches and investigations — is a proof of a substantial economic change of individual classes and strata in this country, and is to be evaluated as a positive phenomenon. Of course, a negative consequence of this change in the position of the working class and in the central position of the Communist Party is the fact that youth has formed an instrumental relation to membership in a political party, or even to serving on the committee of the UCY, this attitude being evident both among students and young workers. Thus e. g. only 15 per cent of respondents from among young workers are convinced that youth functionaries are people who discharge their functions out of genuine interest and enthusiasm and not for personal gain. And in the investigation just referred to above also the following question was put to respondents: „Which are the factors that in your opinion have decisive bearing on the position of an individual in our society?“ Out of the ten possible variants it was party membership that was quoted in the third place. The answer „Man's position in our society is influenced primarily by his own endeavour to assert himself in life“ took up the fifth in the total scale, and the answer „One's own good work“ finished seventh. (It is interesting to note that the most frequent answer was „man's good health“, knowing people and favouritism ranking second in the scale). These findings are of importance not only for finding out how the so-called leading role of the Party is being reflected, but also for comprehending the character of a young person of today, being a sign of something that may paralyze our country for decades to come.

What clearly follows from this is the under-estimation of one's own activity, of the possibility of an individual to assert himself by his own activities, by efforts of his own. This is naturally connected with man's individual psychic traits; if certain traits appear on a mass scale it is necessary that they should become food for thought for sociologists as well. The ideological roots of this attitude lie in the ideology which was being spread in this country and which exaggerated its emphasis on the law-given inevitability (i. e. one that could be taken for granted) of attaining a certain goal or stage in the future. In popular explanations of Marxism, in various pamphlets and in Party schooling as well as in school textbooks the law-given inevitability of the advent of the revolution, of the victory of the proletariat, of attaining socialism or communism would be emphasized. Our aim was to give people strength by these statements and to win them over, and we forgot that law-given inevitability could also be interpreted as something to be taken for granted, which tends to disarm people. In dogmatic Marxism economy, the so-called objective conditions, „the course of history“ had been turned into fetishes against which an individual, a powerless subject, is unable to intervene. And since this would often be borne out by actual practice there is no wonder that this realization became deeply fixed in people's consciousness and in that of their children, and that we come up against it nowadays.

In the investigation of undergraduates of Pedagogical Faculties in Ostrava and Nitra carried out and analyzed by Associate Professor Jaroslav Krejčí the students were asked a number of questions with a view to finding out the degree of their own feeling of importance. In other words the degree of feeling: Can I or can I not actively intervene in our reality, do or don't I matter? The findings were that 74,6 per cent of university students of pedagogical faculties have the feeling „I don't matter in any case“ (to be precise: this investigation was by coincidence carried out only at faculties not situated in capitals, and we have not established yet whether this feeling is not enhanced even by locality). A similar investigation was also carried out among apprentices. There, too, the feeling of „I don't matter, I can't do anything about it“ ran high, yet even so did not exceed 55 per cent.

Thus it appears that university students have a stronger feeling of helplessness than apprentices. It is only natural that this feeling is connected primarily with education, for it is education that conditions an understanding of the intricacies and complexities of the given social system, but also and in no small measure with our actual political practices which tended to underestimate the importance of the intelligentsia and to glorify manual work out of all proportion. In the nation-wide research into university students similar findings were obtained. There the question was put in rather a more general way. What we were trying to find out was the opinion on the possibility of the man in the street intervening effectively in events of an all-society character. One half chose the middle answer that „it is possible up to certain limits“ but 21 per cent answered that the man in the street had no possibility at all to intervene. And among these pessimists there were more than twice as many men as women. Thus students proved decidedly more pessimistic. Another question showed at the same time that men-students had been twice as much involved in matters concerning all-society interests, and that, therefore, the pessimistic answer might also have been conditioned by a negative experience and the feeling of helplessness. Another point we were trying to establish was whether the respondent preferred the socialist or the capitalist social order in this respect. Only 40,5 per cent were of the opinion that the man in the street had a higher possibility of intervening in events of all-society character under socialism, more than one fifth did not see any difference between the two systems while 21,8 per cent preferred capitalism in this respect. However, it would be a mistake to interpret the above data as a possible expression of resistance to the principles of the social system prevailing in this country. On the contrary, youth does not at all reject the fundamental ideas and principles of socialism. Socialism in the general plane, i. e. as a social system, is being given preference to a conspicuous degree. (Thus, for instance, in the nation-wide research into university students' attitudes only 6,1 per cent were unequivocally in favour of capitalism). A negative attitude is being taken above all against methods and

against the existing practices. In 1966 the following were the replies given to the question „Do you wish the world to develop towards socialism?“ by young working people, predominantly manual workers:

Yes	... 32 p. c.
Rather yes than no	41,4 p. c.
Rather no than yes	15,6 p. c.
Definitely no	7,8 p. c.
No answer	2,7 p. c.

At the same time, however, 58 per cent of manual workers hold the opinion that our society is not making use of the possibilities accorded by the socialist system, and 36,4 per cent that these possibilities were being made use of only partially, the latter opinion being shared by 74 per cent of university students. Thus while acknowledging the essence they have their reservations to the actual practice. This is a criticism of our present-day reality primarily from the standpoints of the ideal, and thus it differs substantially from the preceding generation. The older generation has been comparing our reality, i. e. that which has been achieved, with the starting point, i. e. with the reality of capitalist society before the Second World War. That is why they can see all the things that had changed for the better in this country. The young, of course, ignorant of the reality of those days, compare things achieved above all with capitalist states, often in an entirely ahistoric way. Not realizing what had been the original preceding economic differences as well as the condition of some of these countries they tend to interpret drawbacks or advantages solely in terms of successful functioning of one or the other social system. Thus we once again come across a certain contradiction between the generation of parents and that of children, between the young and the old, but also a peculiarly particularly impaired intergeneration relationship. Though this is connected with the general decline in the influence of the family to be encountered in all modern societies, and with the reduction in its functions, this tendency has its specific causes in this country. In times of social upheavals the influence of the state and of social organizations tends to increase at the expense of particular relationships and relationships in primary groups. In our own case this was coupled with the change in the social status of a considerable proportion of our population after 1948, and a considerable amount of migration in consequence of the building of new industrial centres. This process had been enhanced by the nationalization of private property and restrictions in the rights of succession (this also being a factor that tends to strengthen the ties between parents and children and to promote family tradition). In the ideological sphere this tendency had been invigorated by the underestimation — current until quite recently — of the influence of family education

and by the emphasis laid primarily on the influence exercised by the school and the collectivity. Another factor that is sure to have played its part in the loosening of family ties was the mass exodus of women to take up employment which still has a rising tendency (in 1955 women made up 32,7 per cent of the total of the employed while in 1966 as many as 42,6 per cent). Though the theories underestimating the influence of family education had been revised in the last few years the continued absence of mothers still tends to impair intergeneration ties. The generation discontinuity referred to above has also been one of the consequences of the several revaluations of social values and norms and of the attendant periodically recurring frustration in the sphere of ideal and of personal as well as social values which occurred in the case of almost every individual. Young people have acquired the habit of accepting all further values and ideals without emotional involvement, with certain reserve, having at the same time evolved reserve wants and ideals of so unexpected a nature that the older generation has so far been unable even to take cognizance of them. This has resulted among other things in methodological difficulties, for our sociologists in the sociology of youth concerned with problems of youth have immediately passed into the stage of empirical sociology, having begun to simplify the reality which was entirely unknown to them, and to apprehend it primarily through the intermediary of qualifiable factors. The newly created system of wants and value patterns is characterized not so much by deliberate antagonism to the value system of parents as rather by a total lack of interest in the older generation. In fact, apart from the political sphere, there was nothing to negate in a pronounced way, the new values in parents' way of thinking not having become as yet sufficiently stabilized to be able to provoke young people. Thus the aloofness springs not so much from differences in quality but rather from lack of interest and from isolation. This state of isolation is not only an intergeneration one prevailing as it does even between individual socioeconomic groups of youth, it has no class background, is not determined by social origin but has been brought about by the disruption of all past forms of communication of youth of various strata among themselves, and by their forcible severely functional separation into special-interest organizations based on the school or the place of work. Following the disruption of the earlier forms of association of young people, e. g. on the ground of the Sokol, of scouting, of religious congregations and the like, there has been a lack of room for non-formal unstratified organizing of youth in the last twenty years. And it is this fact from which there derives not only the profound state of isolation on the part of individual social groups of youth, but also their mutual lack of familiarity, of interest, and their inability to get organized, and at the same time an overestimation of the education factor as the only tolerated and possible differentiation of people.

In spite of the intergenerational differences referred to in this study on seven-

ral occasions there still persists a large degree of dependence in the economic sphere, much the same as in other countries, resulting primarily from the still prevailing housing shortage. Investigations carried out by the State Population Commission in 1966 had shown that a majority of young people — both married and betrothed couples — counted entirely as a matter of course on their parents' financial support as late as at the age of twenty-six. At the same time, of course, the differentiation between the generation of parents and that of children is considerable with regard to their views. The conspicuously differing views of young people on marriage, sex as well as divorce to be observed in our society is connected to a substantial degree also with the change in the position of woman in this country. Apart from many difficulties resulting from the high employment rate of women this employment seems to exercise a positive influence on the woman's self-confidence and her self-realization in her job. Young women in Czechoslovakia count entirely as a matter of course on being employed as well as on their own income and the resulting relative economic independence, this fact being also conspicuously reflected in their psychic dispositions. This stimulates their interest in acquiring education and professional qualification so that the number of girls with both secondary and university education has shown significant increase in this country in recent years. If in the school year 1955—1956 girls made 36 per cent of all students at General Secondary School, ten years later they represent as many as 67 per cent of all students. At the Vocational Schools their numbers have grown from 49,6 to 57,5 per cent in the last ten years, the numbers of employed women possessing university education having doubled since 1961 (from 36.633 in 1961 it rose to 62.441 in 1966). In choosing their employment or branch of study girls seem to go by their own interest more so than boys who more often seem to take an account of even economic aspects devolving from the occupation they think of choosing. Subsequently in the case of girl students this choice comes to be expressed in a higher degree of satisfaction derived from the branch chosen and in an altogether more optimistic view they seem to take of things in general. The self-confidence deriving from actual equality and economic independence finds its expression, among other things, in considerably outspoken views on marriage and family life differing to a substantial degree from those held by the generation of parents. Thus, for instance, two-thirds of young women declared in the course of the above mentioned investigations that in case of discrepancies arising in their families they would solve these discrepancies by divorce provided, of course, the children remain in their own care. A mere 7,8 per cent of women would be willing to preserve the marriage even at the expense of their own contentment. The solution resorting to divorce appears significantly more in the case of women with higher qualifications and thus also with higher incomes, and significantly less in the case of young women in Slovakia where the rate of employment as well as qualifica-

tions are lower. (In the latter case we cannot even exclude the influence of religiousness which is higher in Slovakia than in the Czech Lands.) There were also significant differences to be observed between girls from Bohemia and those from Slovakia in their views on sexual life. In the Czech Lands twice as many girls admit premarital sexual intercourse, and twice as many have also applied for abortion. Otherwise there have been no significant differences between young people coming from towns and those from the country. If Kinsey and Friedeburg state that most young people admit to having premarital sexual intercourse our own youth does not differ even in this respect from youth in Western Europe.⁴⁾

Approximately 85 to 90 per cent of young people at the age of eighteen agree and approve of premarital sexual intercourse, girls starting their sexual life about the age of seventeen (approx. 40 per cent), but between the age of eighteen and nineteen, i. e. after coming of age, those who have already commenced sexual life represent a majority. However, there can be no question in the case of our youth — and this is where it differs from the youth in the West — of promiscuity, or of the so-called cool sex. On the contrary, the investigations have shown that at this age a more frequent change of sexual partners without previous acquaintance does not occur. Thus 87,9 per cent of boys and 89 per cent of girls made it quite clear that physical intercourse should be associated with emotional relationship, even a considerable degree of romanticization of love between young people and its having been raised among the fundamental values of human life is to be observed. Within their own subculture, which of course is not so conspicuous as the subculture of the youth in the West, young people set up their own standards, not trying to conceal sex but also not devaluing it by promiscuity. And there are no outstanding differences between young apprentices, young workers, and young students in this respect. A majority of parents of our young people tolerate sexual intercourse in their children. In the course of an investigation among secondary school students in the Hradec region (carried out by V. Boukal) it proved that only 6 per cent of parents — judging by the answers given by the students — clearly forbid their children to have sexual intercourse, 25 per cent approving of

⁴⁾ The main data on sexual relationships and views on sexual life of youth were published in the following periodicals and reports:

Průzkum státní populační komise z roku 1966 (Research of the State Population Commission in 1966) — published in part in *Demografie* (Demography) for 1966, III, No. 2—3, 1967.

Průzkum sexuologického ústavu v Praze provedený v letech 1963—1964 (Research of the Sexuological Institute in Prague carried out in 1963—64).

Enquiry carried out and evaluated by Otakar Nahodil — published in the *MY 65 Magazine*, Nos. 1—5.

Research undertaken by Vítězslav Boukal among secondary-school youth in 1967 — worked into a Diploma Thesis — deposited at the Philosophical Faculty of Charles University, Prague.

these relationships with certain reservations, while 37 per cent of parents neither intervene nor make any definite statements on this question. A similarly small influence on their children's views could be observed as well with regard to the choice of occupation where (judged by the students' answers) most parents had had no direct bearing on their choice of occupation, or of the study branch selected by their children. However, these data were obtained only from answers given by juveniles, and it is most likely that a large proportion of young people do not even realize their parents' influence, or if so are unwilling to admit it. On the other hand, even in a study of university students carried out in 1965 it was established that it is friends, schoolmates, the class, i. e. their own microgroup, who exercise a significantly larger measure of influence than parents do.⁵⁾

The general reduction in the influence of parents on their own children can also be observed in the negligible rate of „heredity“ of occupations. A conspicuous connection, i. e. choice of the same or very closely related profession in the case of a son or a daughter, was established merely in the case of a few worker professions that have retained the character of a trade, and in some specialities at universities (such as faculties of medicine, or some disciplines of the humanities).

Though we had been assuming for years that our youth, being youth who had grown up and been brought up already in the socialist social order, would possess an outstandingly positive attitude to work of any kind, the researches carried out hitherto have not borne out these hypotheses. Young people are resolute in declining work in agriculture, exacting work, and work in the open

⁵⁾ Research into Prague University students was carried out in 1965 at the suggestion of the University Committee of the CPC (KSČ) in Prague. The analysis of the research was worked out by A. Matějovský.

a) The representative character of the data given here has not been verified, and they are likely to hold good only for a part of youth employed in engineering in Prague and for a part of secondary-school youth in the capital.

b) In the study carried out among 17-year-olds in Prague and evaluated by Dr. J. Lukš 42 possibilities of a life career were quoted out of which the respondents could choose 10. The first places were taken by very feasible life possibilities such as: traveller, to gain a life partner, to know foreign languages and the like. Significant was the degree to which choices in the social sphere remained in the background, such as an exploit for the nation, or even the spheres of career proper. The least number of choices was by the chances of the type: to become a famous traveller (2,4), an inventor (2,7), a film-actor (5,8), to prove one's bravery (2,8). Analogical results were obtained in the case of working youth employed in engineering, the first place being taken by family happiness, the second by love and friendship, material security coming third. Similar tendencies were to be observed among university graduates. The preliminary conclusion to be drawn, therefore, is that the youth of today tends to prefer values connected with private life, while being more indifferent to higher social values, and what it declines to accept as a value is one's own career, glory, or renown.

c) A really representative research into ideals, aspirations, life values and purposes of youth is only now under preparation and is not to be undertaken until the spring of 1970. It is anticipated that a number of other socialist states are going to participate in this scheme so that comparable findings may be obtained.

(though the latter is better paid) while preferring work with firm working hours in which up-to-date technical devices are used and which requires higher qualification. Particularly in the first years after entering work young people tend to be rather disillusioned, this being caused in the first place by their lack of knowledge concerning the actual working process, and chiefly by the time of their apprenticeship isolated from actual practice. This may have been the reason why 60 per cent of young employees having been asked a question designed to find out the extent of satisfaction with their present work answered they would like to change their employment. However, the principal reason for satisfaction or dissatisfaction quoted is not adequate or inadequate financial remuneration but, above all, the interesting or uninteresting character of work done, and satisfaction or dissatisfaction with relationships between people at their place of work, which again is in keeping with the general trend in the contemporary industrial society in the West. A conspicuous difference can be observed in the attitude to work between young people with higher qualifications and education and young people working in those branches where no greater exigencies are demanded of them. While students and young people with higher qualifications (e. g. in engineering are ready to prefer interesting work, even though less paid, to work that is uninteresting, the exact opposite can be established in young people with lower qualifications and education. For the latter work is but a means of gaining money so that they can really live only in their so-called leisure time. Thus the syndrom which had been at one time assumed by Karl Marx to arise in the attitude to work only in the capitalist system is seen to persist even in a socialist state including the youngest generation.

In the scale of values which were being investigated in some social groups of our youth express preference seems to be given to values connected with personal, private life while values of social nature are significantly relegated into the background.⁶⁾

In recent years a series of researches in this country have been devoted also to leisure and to cultural interests of the young. The findings of the individual researches vary considerably, which is not merely a sign of considerable structurization of our youth but also of differing and mutually incomparable methods and techniques applied in the respective research projects, and we are, therefore, very reluctant to express general conclusions and evaluations.

⁶⁾ To quote only some of these:

Eva Turčinová-Davidová: *Kulturní zájmy a potřeby mládeže* (Cultural Interests and Needs of Youth), Osvětový ústav (Institute of Adult Education), Prague 1966 — mimeographed.

Antonín Červinka and team: *Práce a volný čas* (Work and Leisure), Prague 1966.

L. Šilhánová: *Průzkum čtenářských zájmů mládeže* (What Young People Read) — *Sociologický časopis* (The Sociological Review), III. Vol. 3, p. 385.

Yet if in spite of this we do summarize the results of these investigations the conclusion to be drawn is that youth is — more than their parents — affected by cultural models inculcated to it by mass communication media. At the same time a pronounced tendency can be established in all strata to depart from active participation in amusement (going in for sports, playing musical instruments) and to pass to passive participation. An important divide appears to be the age of fifteen with our teen-agers. From this year on an outright consumer attitude to culture, amusement, and even to sports predominates with our young people. From among the mass communication media the highest degree of influence on youth has been exercised by programmes and broadcasts on the wireless, the second place being taken by newspapers and magazines, and only the third come television programmes and the cinema though television programmes are followed by considerably high numbers of viewers. In general, less interest is being shown during leisure time in politics and in political and social public activities, a feature distinguishing prominently the youth of today from the preceding — early postwar — generations who had been strongly involved in politics.

With the stabilization of our society there is a literally visible decline (by generation strata) in revolutionary mood and thereby also the different character of our young people from those in other countries with approximately the same living standards. Socialism as a social order and the positive social it had brought with it and which no doubt exercised substantial influence on our youth have now become as far as a young man or woman in the ČSSR is concerned an entirely matter-of-course phenomenon, an analogical objective reality to that experienced by youth in the West in the form of capitalist social order. In view of the fact that in this country social reality changed much more quickly than the psychic qualities of a young person could have changed, socialism has become a criticized matter-of-course reality for our young people, a reality in relation to which the young person asserts himself or herself in the usual "traditional" interaction not differing in any great measure from the interaction of a young person in another society. The psychosocial qualities of our youth are not, nor can they be, diametrically different from the psychic qualities of youth in the West, and as far as we used to proclaim this it was to my mind our self-illusion and self-deception having its roots in an overestimation of the automatic influence exercised by changed objective reality upon man's psychic qualities. That is why the traditional rebellion of the young — by which the young person primarily clears the space for himself — must have, and shall have, the character of a critical or even negative attitude to the existing regime, and it is as such that it must be taken into account, and neither made light of, nor have a peculiar political „spiced“ significance attached to it which can subsequently become an obstacle to a really scientific discussion. If in the past in the first postwar generation as well as in the fifties many

young people were seeking their relation to society primarily on the all-society level, on the level of world outlook, and only after having solved this conflict, after having identified themselves with the principles of the socialist social order they sought their place in the working process and tried to solve their own individual interests and their place in life (and possibly even doing violence to themselves) the reverse is true today. The revolutionary enthusiasm had died down, the all-society movement and revolution have become stabilized, and so young people in Czechoslovakia today tend to seek in the first place their vocation, an occupation that suits them, being desirous of asserting themselves and of realizing their interests, and only in accordance with the way the existing social order saturates these individual needs and ambitions, i. e. according to the way it enables them to attain their self-realization, they develop their attitude to socialist society as a whole. This no doubt includes less pathos, less enthusiasm, less romanticism and less dwelling on basic principles, and as far as the older and the middle generations are concerned too much realism and utilitarianism unacceptable to the latter. Nevertheless, this is understandable, since the exceptional character of revolutionary youth was undoubtedly bound to finish one day, and this is a fact that one must willy nilly reckon with. This is also the reason why today no division takes place among young people on the basis of a differing attitude to problems of world outlook but rather a differentiation based on microstructure, on socioeconomic professions, on the level of education reached, on the education (but not on the social status) of both parents which in its turn is projected in no insignificant way into all-society attitudes, values and into political opinions held by a young man or woman. What has taken place is structurization according to „peace conditions“, and this kind of scaling is always finer, more precise, more difficult to generalize and to perceive than scaling in times of great social shifts. And parallel with this „normalization of conditions“ new spheres of conflict tend to arise in this country the solution of which becomes a driving force of social progress. Out of these influences let us quote at least a few. In the first place there are conflicts arising from the new restructuring of our society, from the influence of technical development which is in its turn reflected in the increased demands for young people's qualification and education. A further source of these conflicts is to be sought in the persisting differences between intellectual and manual work which we had wrongly supposed would become levelled rapidly, in contradictions between town and country, and last but not least, in the fact that under socialism the alienation of labour takes place as well even though this kind of alienation springs from rather different causes and bears a different character than in countries where the capitalist social system prevails. A certain fatigue has also set in caused by the long proclaimed collectivism which is compensated for today by opposite tendencies to be observed among young people, and by the frequently and rapidly changing scales of

values of our society which finds itself in permanent motion. And last but not least what arises particularly in the groups of young people possessing higher education is a conflict in political attitudes brought about by a confrontation of the ideal model of socialism which they are being taught and which they embrace in no insignificant way, with its actual social practice. And it is from these standpoints that the existing reality is being subjected to criticism by the young.

A Survey of Research under Way or Just Completed in Czechoslovakia and a List of the Most Important Research Posts

Title of Research Project	Number of Respondents	Research Post-Head (or researcher responsible)	Present Stage
Social profile of 9th-form pupils of the Nine-Year-School with special reference to choice of occupation	5 949	Laboratory of Social Research of Youth, Prague 2. M. D. Rettigová, Assoc. Prof. Dr. F. Kahuda, CSc.	Completed Report available
Research into personality of the Pedagogical undergraduate	500	Pedagogical Faculty of Palacký University Olomouc, Ass. Prof. Dr. F. Koudelka, CSc.	
Psychological profile of working youth, esp. its adaption and socialization	100	Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University, Prague I, Celetná 20, Prof. Dr. F. Hyhlík	
Relation of apprentices to professional training and foremen	1 722	Research Institute of Criminology, Prague 4, nám. Hrdinů, Dr. O. Osmančík	
Causes of Juvenile Delinquency whole territory of the ČSSR		dto	
Structure of social activities of undergraduates	2 700	University Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Prague 1, Celetná 20, Dr. Eliška Freiová, CSc.	First stage completed Reports available
Description of a Pioneer group	513	Research Institute of Pedagogy, Prague 1, Mikulandská ul. Haškovec, Steiniger, Žáková	
Children's relation to the Pioneer Organization	1 200	dto Steiniger	
What do young people read?	5 670	Prague School of Economics-Institute of National Economy Planning, Prague 1, Černá ul. 13 Libuše Šilhánová	Completed Report available

Title of Research Project	Number of Respondents	Research Post-Head (or researcher responsible)	Present Stage
Causes of change of jobs with apprentices in an Engineering Works	610	Research Institute of Pedagogy, Bratislava, Štúrova 5, Dr. Martin Jurčo, CSc.	
Getting to know the interests of secondary-school youth	1 500	dto	
Research into antisocial manifestations in children and juvenile delinquency	102	Research Institute of Psychiatry, Praha 8, Bohnice, MUDr. et JUDr. Otakar Kučera, CSc.	Completed
The soldier's leisure during military service	892	Sociological Group in the „Lidová armáda“ (People's Army) magazine Praha, Lieut. — Col. A. Zrústek	Completed
The staff of the District Committees of the ČSM (Union of Czechoslovak Youth)	147	Sociological Department of the Central Committee of ČSM, Prague 1, Gorkého nám.	Completed Report available
A newspaper inquiry on the composition and views of readers	10 000	Mladá fronta — a daily Prague 1, Panská ul. M. Kabrt	
Interests of undergraduates at the Philosophical Faculty		Department of Psychology — Philos. Faculty, Charles University, Prague, Soňa Hermochová	Completed Report available
Investigation of factors bearing on study success and failure of medical students		Faculty of General Medicine Charles University, Prague Zd. Šafář	Completed
Research into Entrance Interviews at higher educational establishments		dto Lad. Sobotka	
Student's relation to the ČSM (Union of Czechoslovak Youth)		Faculty of Construction Engineering-Technical University (Vysoké učení technické) Brno Zdeňka Brodská	Completed Report available

Title of Research Project	Number of Respondents	Research Post-Head (or researcher responsible)	Present Stage
Psychological mechanism of choice of occupation		Sociological Institute Slovak Academy of Sciences Bratislava Ladislav Macháček	Completed
Graduates		Faculty of Chemistry, Slovak Technical University (SVŠT) Bratislava E. Fabián	
Undergraduates of Pedagogical Faculties		Pedagogical Faculty in Ostrava, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Jaroslav Krejčí	First stage completed
Political views of Prague undergraduates	4 000	University Committee of the CPC (KSČ) analyzed by A. Matějovský	Completed
Cultural interests and needs of youth		Institute of Adult Education (Osvětový ústav) Prague	Completed Report available
Somatic characteristics of youth of gypsy origin	children Slovakia	Faculty of Medicine, Assoc. Prof. Dr. J. Suchý Department of Biology, Pedagogical Faculty	
For a higher quality of education of working youth		Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University, Prof. Dr. Hyhlík	
Social profile of 9th-form pupils with special reference to choice of occupation		Pedagogical Faculty, Prague 2, M. Rettigové Dr. Klímová	Long-term project till 1970
Education of morally affected and delinquent youth		Faculty of Law - Department of Special Pedagogy — Dr. V. Kalibán	Completed
Contribution of youth in capitals of socialist countries		Sociological Institute Prague 1, Jilská 1, Dr. Kadlecová	
Finding jobs for handicapped youth		Research Institute of Social Security, Prof. MUDr. M. Sovák, DrSc. Department of Special Pedagogy, Pedagogical Faculty, Prague 1, Kaprová 14	

Title of Research Project	Number of Respondents	Research Post-Head (or researcher responsible)	Present Stage
Aspiration levels of adolescents and their dependence on interindividual relationships		Faculty of Law of the Univ. J. B. Purkyně, Brno, Dr. J. Hraše	
Pedagogical psychology and sociological diagnostics of a gifted pupil		Faculty of Law, Brno O. Michalička, CSC.	
Moral-political attitudes of youth between 14 and 18 years of age		Philosophical Faculty Dept. of Education, Palacký's University Olomouc, Dr. K. Jochman	till 1972
Leisure time of masters and students at secondary schools and of Philosophical Faculty undergraduates		dto	First stage Completed A long-term project
Notions and life aspirations of undergraduates in the sphere of material consumption		Research Institute of Living Standard Ing. Hana Schusterová	Begun 1968
Relation of youth to wireless, television and film		Czechoslovak Broadcasting, Bratislava Josef Orgoň	Completed June 1968 (3 stages)
The world in the year 2000 An International Research		Sociological Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences Dr. J. Soukup and team	Completed
Attitudes to work, sociopolitical activity and some political views of youth in Prague engineering works	3 871	Municipal Committee of the CPC (KSČ) Šafeti, Matějková, J. Lukš	
Comparative research of interest and values of undergraduates and working youth		The Institute of Social Research of Youth and Working Advisory of Youth Dr. Miluše Kubičková, CSC	

Title of Research Project	Number of Respondents	Research Post-Head (or researcher responsible)	Present Stage
The investigation of value orientation of grammar-school youth	1 800	Dpt. of Sociology at the Faculty of Philosophy of Charles University Dr. Jiřina Šiklová, CSc and Sociological Institute of ČSAV - team for the research of the way of life Dr. Ivo Fišera	

This list includes only researches registered at the Social Research Laboratory and in the University Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Prague. The author does not vouch for its completeness or for exactness of data on the progress made in individual researches. May the fact that a complete list of researches does not exist in Czechoslovakia be acknowledged as her apology.

In obtaining records of these researches as well as in the selection of literature the cooperation of Mrs. Věra Hnátková, documentation secretary of the Department of Sociology, has been most helpful.

MILOSLAV PETRUSEK

SOCIOLOGY OF SMALL GROUPS AND SOCIOMETRY IN CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIOLOGY

Neither research nor theory in the field of small social groups can boast of anything like a long tradition in Czechoslovak sociology. The early more significant empirical studies of the thirties were centered on research into individual social strata, i. e. the working class, the intelligentsia, the peasants, on problems of local communities, to a certain extent on those of urban agglomerations but not of small social groups. A certain exception can be seen in the work pioneering to a certain degree — of Otakar Machotka *K sociologii rodiny* (On the Sociology of the Family)¹⁾ in which family is conceptually analyzed, from the point of view of a group, on the one hand, the group being defined in the given context primarily by the fact of interaction between individuals of whom it is made up, and from an institutional point of view, on the other. As for methodology, Machotka lays stress on empirical approaches — e. g. observation, use of questionnaire, statistical evaluation processes, etc. and rejects the a priori construed conceptual scheme that is not sufficiently based on empirical material.²⁾ Yet not even in Machotka's study was the concept of „small group“ applied as an analytical conceptual tool, which is easy to understand if one considers the fact that in the early thirties the sociology of small groups was virtually only making first steps towards constituting itself. Rather different view-points were applied to the problem of the family by Arnošt Bláha, the most eminent representative of the Czech Structural School in sociology,³⁾ who set out to follow — though not in a strictly empirical way — the changes in family relationships and in the social functions of the monogamous family which in their sum total are described as a state of crisis the causes, conditions and consequences of which must be subjected to careful analysis. It is not without interest to note that in his study Bláha anticipates a great deal of that which today forms the subject of literature — nowadays already extensive — which examines the bearing of industrialization

1) O. Machotka: *K sociologii rodiny. Příspěvek k metodám empirické sociologie* (On the Sociology of the Family. Contribution to Methods of Empirical Sociology), Prague, 1932.

2) The results of Machotka's researches were not published until 1939—41.

3) E. g. *The Contemporary Crisis of the Family*. Prague, 1933.

processes and of industrial society upon the structure, position and function of the family in modern societies.⁴⁾

Thus family was the only type — moreover, an outstandingly specific one — of a small social group that had been investigated in greater detail and theoretically analyzed in the first stages of development of Czechoslovak sociology. This, for that matter, is in harmony with development trends in world sociology where, too, research into family (e. g. in the work of Durkheim, Le Play, in the American sociology of Elwood, Cooley, Ogburn and Groves) preceded the study of other types of small groups and the development of a general theory of small groups.

However, in the forties and fifties Czechoslovak sociology not only lost continuity with its own earlier development but also its contacts with world sociology.

In the first stages of its further development, this time on the basis of Marxist philosophy and general sociology, it had suffered from supercritical and often oversimplifying approaches to microsociological problems which were in many respects not unlike those criticisms of empirical sociology that we can read in Sorokin's works or, though admittedly from other points of view, in a study written by Horowitz.⁵⁾ The classical Marxist tradition of thought, moreover conspicuously deformed in the fifties, had laid stress on the study of macrostructural movement and changes, the study of microstructural problems being regarded as a kind of escape from the topical problems of restructuring the property and social relations. It was only the relatively stable way in which the newly set up social structure worked that made it necessary, even on practical grounds (in much the same way as in the American society of the thirties) to undertake a more systematic study of small social groups which operate in certain organizational systems and modify their working. Leaving out of account the shortlived period of opposition to microsociology based on ideological grounds then not even this phenomenon — the relatively late awakening of interest in microsociological problems — was historically unique or exceptional, a systematic investigation of microsocial processes and structures, their control and restructuring being possible only in a society where the fundamental problems of macrostructural set-up have either been solved to a substantial degree, or where this set-up is at least stabilized.

Unlike Polish sociology Czechoslovak sociology did not pass through a pronounced stage of „Americanization“, this being the case in spite of the extraordinary attention which has been devoted e. g. particularly to American microsociology. To avoid terminological misconception let us put it on record that

⁴⁾ For survey and critical analysis of these writings, particularly of those published in the USA and in Germany see J. Klofáč and V. Tlustý, *Soudobá sociologie* (Contemporary Sociology), Vol. II. of their extensive monograph, Prague 1967.

⁵⁾ Cf. *The New Sociology*, New York, 1965.

we share a certain reserve towards the term „microsociology“ as formulated by Lazarsfeld⁶⁾ in group situations (social psychological aspect), the study of the rise, development, functioning and structural characteristics of small groups, of their mutual relations and their relations to organizational system with which they are connected (sociological aspects). Thus this set of problems had not been taken over „from outside“ but began to develop on the basis of internal social needs and the research interest evinced by Czechoslovak sociologists. The consequences of this were, on the one hand, positive in having prevented a mechanical transfer of empirical findings which has been formulated in a different sociocultural sphere to an inadequate environment, while, on the other hand, the set of terms already worked out and conceptual schemes and especially the available research techniques and procedures were not utilized.⁷⁾

To begin with, interest in small-group problems is focussed almost exclusively on the research of work groups, and especially on their specific type arisen in the late fifties, on the so called *Brigades of Socialist Work*. Though this problem orientation did to a great extent reveal ideological pressure to the effect that a majority of the studies devoted to these problems consisted of apologies of the social significance of the Brigades of Socialist Work rather than their actual sociological analysis, the choice of the problem in question was in itself justified. The fact is that in 1962 the Brigades of Socialist Work movement involved 905527 persons, i. e. 7,9 per cent of the economically active population, the number of groups competing for the title of Brigade of Socialist Work amounting to a total of 83963. From the sociological point of view the interesting aspect of the problem was that it was an attempt to utilize systematically non-formal interpersonal relationships in the work group as well as interaction outside work itself (joint attendance of entertainments, mutual visits, excursions, etc.) for raising the effectiveness of work, for modifying the psychological atmosphere in the group, and for internalizing social norms. However, an analysis of this movement in current sociological terms formal and non-formal structure and organization, internalization of norms, identification with the group, attractiveness of the groups etc. — was practically not effected until the time when the movement had become formalized to such a degree that it ceased to fulfil its planned social mission.⁸⁾ The first extensive

⁶⁾ P. F. Lazarsfeld „Methodological Problems in Empirical Research“ in *Transactions of the Fourth World Congress of Sociology*, Vol. II, London, 1959.

⁷⁾ This phenomenon was also undoubtedly connected with the absolute shortage of foreign literature as late as the late fifties, most of the information being frequently taken over „secondhand“, e. g. from Polish sociological literature, particularly from works by Matejko, Hirszowic, Kowalewska and others.

⁸⁾ See M. Petrušek: „Non-formal structure and formal organization of an industrial enterprise in: *Sociální struktura socialistické společnosti* (Social Structure of Socialist Society), Prague, 1967.

empirical research into Brigades of Socialist Work, (i. e. in effect the first major empirical sociological research after 1948 in general) was undertaken by a research team headed by Pavel Machonin in 1960. The conception of the research proceeded from the presupposition that Brigades of Socialist Work can be conceived as very special social groups in which the basic development characteristics of processes in the society as a whole are reflected.⁹⁾ As a result, the subject of the analysis was the link between these groups and certain organizational or macrostructural processes and characteristics rather than an analysis of internal structure and workings of these groups themselves. Thus the analysis had been carried out still in terms of the classical Marxist socio-political theory (division of labour into physical and intellectual, consciousness, spontaneity, collectivity, etc.), the ultimate aim being an attempt at working out a synthetic, complex characterization of socialist society. It is only natural that the logical continuation of an investigation conceived in this way was not a systematic examination of microsociological problems but an extensively conceived empirical research into the social structure of Czechoslovakia, particularly of vertical social differentiation (stratification) and mobility.¹⁰⁾

It is interesting to note that even in this investigation a certain attention was paid to microsociological problems which were empirically investigated on the basis of a modified sociometric technique. We proceeded from the presupposition that analysis of interaction patterns derived from the analysis of the respondent's basic social characteristics which in their sum total made it possible to construct a synthetic index of social status (income, occupational position, education, part taken in power and control, style of life), and a number of other characteristics (prestige, mobility path, ethnic and nationality membership, age, locality etc.) will enable us to give at least a partial answer to questions relating to the open or closed character of social strata, social distance, and to some potential determinant of interaction and sociopreferential orientation.¹¹⁾

Microsociology itself then developed — with continuing specific interest in Brigades of Socialist Work — on the basis of special sociological disciplines, particularly of the sociology of industry, of agriculture, of the army, and of education. However, investigations carried out after 1960 already bear marks of familiarity with the basic microsociological literature as well as with research techniques currently applied in western sociology.

⁹⁾ Brigády socialistické práce a sociální přeměny naší společnosti (Brigades of Socialist Work and Social Changes in Our Society), Prague, 1963.

¹⁰⁾ For an account of the project of this research see the *Proceedings of the Sixth Sociological World Congress at Evian*, 1966.

¹¹⁾ Cf. M. Petrušek, Contribution to the Problems of Social Interaction, Preference and Distance in the Research into Vertical Social Differentiation and Mobility of the Czechoslovak Population, *Sociologický časopis* (Sociological Journal), Vol. 6, 1967.

Let us give at least by way of illustration an outline of the information on two interesting investigations of *work groups*. E. Horáková studied a set of work groups in agricultural production. The basis adopted for a description of the set was the kind of work performed (animal and plant production, use of agricultural machines and others), age and sex (let us mention an interesting fact that 99 per cent of all the kinds of work in which agricultural machines are used are performed by men); work groups were subdivided as to size (74 per cent of all groups studied being composed of 3 to 10 members, the rest of 11 to 21 members). Other problems studied by the author included the problem of leadership in the work group, the character of inside-group relationships, identification with the group, and interaction outside work itself. Thus it was ascertained that 94 per cent of the group leaders had been elected by the group members, the criteria for the leaders' choice having been laid down by the group itself — so that at least in the initial stages of development of these groups the leaders' non-formal authority had been ensured. 30 per cent of the leaders were at the same time formally nominated leaders of workplaces in which several groups were concentrated from the organizational point of view.

The analysis of the leaders' psychological and social characteristics yielded an unambiguous conclusion that leaders were capable people with regard to their profession, their character and the quality of their work, their age being lower than the age average of the groups they were leading. (This phenomenon is, of course, to be attributed to the generally high age average of persons engaged in agricultural production). Intragroup relationships were studied, the technique applied being that of interaction observation and consequently not one of the sociometric techniques. 59 per cent of the collectives studied bore the characteristic traits of solidarity, a high degree of cooperation and mutual assistance, in 41 per cent of those collectives major or minor elements of strain, conflict and contradictions were to be observed. Working efficiency was in an unequivocally positive correlation with the characteristics of intragroup relationships. Further, it was established that the type of intragroup relationships depended, to a significant degree, on the basic characteristics of the workplace, particularly on economic results achieved, on technological processes applied, and on the way work was organized. What the analysis of group behaviour proceeded from was an analysis of the manner in which group norms arise, especially those governing group co-existence coupled with an analysis of deviant behaviour. It was ascertained that in most groups these questions were not topics of discussion or of more general interest so that notions about the norms of group life were rather vague, or at any rate — since the problem under examination were Brigades of Socialist Work — not specific, only 8 per cent of the groups being an exception. It does not, therefore, occasion any surprise to find that in 82 per cent of the groups norms of group co-existence were being violated to a prominent degree, only 21 per cent of them reacting in one

way or another to deviant or non-conformist behaviour. An interesting item of investigation with the group: the index of identification selected for this purpose being whether or not the member-group also served as reference group for individuals. 33 per cent of the persons did not regard their own group as a reference group in any way whatever, 16 per cent did so only in the sphere of behaviour at work. Consistent interaction outside work was observed only in 5 per cent of the persons studied, in 82 per cent there was such fortuitous occasional interaction as is common in a local community and thus — from the point of view of the problem under observation — non-specific. However, in 13 per cent of cases interaction occurred between families, in 10 per cent of them even marital relations being affected. Thus although the findings reviewed here do not in any substantial way deviate from what is comparatively well known from sociological literature on the degree of interrelation between the individual variables studied, the entire investigation (in the same way as a series of analogically conceived researches) brought positive results, by having, on the one hand, enabled the investigators to verify a number of statements derived from literature in the specific sociocultural field, while, on the other hand — from the point of view of the social function of the research undertaken — it enabled us to formulate certain empirically justified objections to be raised to the above-mentioned movement being idealized: the fact is that 31 per cent of the work teams studied did not fulfil the basic conditions for being actually regarded as Brigades of Socialist Work.

In the sphere of *industrial sociology* there have been quite a number of investigations, the most prominent among these being research into the shaping of non-formal relationships inside the work groups and their bearing on the feeling of satisfaction on the part of their members in their work, on work efficiency, as well as on the occurrence of negative concomitant phenomena (absenteeism, changing jobs, accident rate, wastage etc.) Relations between the degree of cohesiveness of the given work group measured by sociometric techniques and labour productivity, and the occurrence of negative concomitant phenomena, as well as between the type of leadership and the feeling of satisfaction resulting from work activity were examined by D. Langmeierová.¹³⁾

As can be readily seen both the formulation of the basic relationships between the variables under examination and the choice of basic hypotheses was the „traditional“ one, not differing in any significant way from the current approach to these problems adopted by industrial sociology. However, some findings were interesting, as some of the presuppositions which had currently appeared in literature upon the subject were not borne out by the investigation. What the

¹³⁾ D. Langmeierová: Influence of Interhuman Relations in Small Work Groups on Work Productivity and Negative Working Behaviour, *Sociologický časopis* (Sociological Journal) 1967, Vol. 5.

author proved in the first place was that in all groups with prevailing positive sociometric mutual selections a positive correlation between a high degree of the group's cohesiveness and work efficiency can be established quite unequivocally: this was typical of the highly cohesive groups that they, at the same time, interiorized the norms laid down by the enterprise management. Furthermore — though an indirect proportionality between group cohesiveness and the rise of negative phenomena with regard to work it proved impossible to confirm — the existence of a direct relationship was established between them (e. g. between absenteeism and the accident rate etc.). Nor was the presupposition that the number of dissatisfied persons will be considerably higher in groups with an authoritarian type of control borne out by the evidence in the same way as one failed to prove the dependence between the qualification index of the employees and their work efficiency. Of particular interest was the finding that the index of dissatisfaction was higher in cohesive groups than in groups with prevailing relationships of indifference or antipathy: here the more general hypothesis of Dragoslav Slejška seems to have been confirmed claiming that though cohesive groups may be more efficient they do possess a remarkably more positive attitude to work, at the same time being more significantly critical of working conditions, manner of management, organization of labour, etc.

Slejška devoted an independent investigation to this problem which though rather outside the scope of the context of sociology of small groups is, nevertheless, of extraordinary interest in view of its conclusions. What he studied was the relation between attitudes to the individual factors of the work process and the measure of satisfaction accorded to employees by the enterprise.¹⁴⁾

The investigation included, on the one hand, attitudes to social relationships in the work groups, to the organization and economic position of those working in the enterprise, to the character of work done, and to the physical conditions of the working process, and, on the other hand, the degree to which the employee identified him or herself with the enterprise, the criteria used being those of the willingness to self-denying and exacting work, of the feeling of satisfaction prevailing in the enterprise as a whole and the willingness to stay on, or possibly even to recommend to one's own children to choose work there as a career. The investigation has shown that there is a conspicuous relation between the positive attitudes to the individual factors of the work process and the decline in the measure of satisfaction accorded by one's enterprise, and, conversely, a relation between the growth of negative attitudes to the above-mentioned factors and the measure of satisfaction with the enterprise.¹⁵⁾

¹⁴⁾ D. Slejška, Tendencies to the Reversibility of Factors of the Workers Identification with the Social Systems of an Industrial Plant, *Sociologický časopis* (Sociological Journal, 1967, Vol. 3.

¹⁵⁾ Of course, it is necessary to remark that it was only in the case of workers that this phenomenon was observed unequivocally; the interrelations between findings in the

This phenomenon is obviously rather difficult to interpret, if only because here we are concerned with a highly specific phenomenon valid more appropriately for economic systems with a highly centralized and bureaucratic system of management. Here an assumption suggests itself — which would, of course, have yet to be verified by independent research — that the negatively evaluated factors are of long-term character and that the workers believe any change in them to be, for the moment, impossible and that moreover, these phenomena are to be encountered universally in the entire sphere of industrial economy so that one's negative appreciation of them cannot, for instance, motivate one's leaving the enterprise: these factors can therefore be termed „habitually negative“. In a similar way, positively evaluated factors are generally experienced as „pleasant“, yet at the same time, as „matter-of-course“, and thus cannot be acknowledged as a sufficient reason for one's being satisfied with the enterprise as a whole. On the contrary, it is the factors which are of an exceptional rather than of long-term character that underlie actual satisfaction with the enterprise. In this context the hypothesis on the dominating role of the character of interindividual relationships in the enterprise suggests itself since it is these phenomena that belong to the category of those that do not bear universal and unchangeable character.

Slejška's researches into work groups have resulted, among other things, in an interesting attempt at working out a structural typology of small groups.¹⁶⁾ Theoretically, Slejška had originally proceeded from the more or less traditional Marxist notion regarding the collectivist character of socialist society as a whole in which attention was focussed on how to integrate the work group into the wider structural set-up and, conversely, to project collectivist social relationships and norms of social co-existence into the life of the work group in modern industry.¹⁷⁾

These rather *a priori* notions were gradually overcome, this being also due, not in the last instance, to the fact that the methodological tools available at the moment do not make it possible to verify them adequately. On the other hand, particularly the use of sociometric techniques, including those methods which had until recently been viewed rather as an object of „academic interest“ (e. g. multiplication of matrices) has resulted in a reorientation of problems, in the reformulation of hypotheses and of research aims. After a whole series of sociometric researches carried out in the environment of indu-

group of technicians and officials correspond to the „common sense“ presupposition that the growth of positive attitudes to individual factors tends to increase the measure of satisfaction with the enterprise as a whole.

¹⁶⁾ D. Slejška, *Sociometrické studie* (Sociometric Studies), Military Political Academy of Klement Gottwald, 1965.

¹⁷⁾ Cf. „Work team in the structure of socialist society“ in: *Social Structure of Socialist Society*, Prague 1967.

strial enterprises Slejška suggested a preliminary typology of work groups based on the following indices:

1. degree of differentiation of the group into subgroups;
2. the group's degree of cohesiveness;
3. character of non-formal authority in the group: whether non-formal authority is concentrated in the „core“ of the group, i. e. in a subgroup made up of a few members attached to one another by positive selections, or whether non-formal authority is vested in an individual, or in a number of mutually unattached individuals;
4. degree of concentration of group structure: the author proceeds from the presupposition that the existence of subgroups need not always necessarily entail mere decentralization of non-formal structure, in the case when all the subgroups are oriented towards the same central non-formal authority.

Thus on the basis of these indices the groups under examination were differentiated into five fundamental types:

1. groups with dispersed structure and no subgroups: these are groups where sociopreferential relations are only in the process of formation, or where there is no objective precondition (e. g. one given by the character of the production process) for such relationships to arise;
2. groups with concentrated structure and no subgroups: these are groups where non-formal authority is vested a single definite individual, or in a group „core“ which is not regarded as a subgroup in the proper sense of the term, since the positive orientation of the other members of the group to this core results in the latter not being perceived as a separate subgroup with decentralizing effects;
3. groups with concentrated structure and subgroups: the subgroups that have arisen within the group are mutually linked by sociopreferential relationships and show a uniform orientation to the same non-formal authority;
4. dispersed structure with subgroups: there is no non-formal authority within the group and the subgroups that have constituted themselves are not mutually linked with sociometric selections, not even in a mediated way.

There are three obvious merits in the proposed typology: 1. it is deduced from empirical materials, and thus is neither an a priori construction, nor an ad hoc typology; 2. it enables the investigator to study changes in the structure of the group in time and as depending on various factors in operation; 3. it can serve as a departure point for a finer typology which would also include „transitional“ types, or even those groups (generally more numerous) in which the structural characteristics of a number of specified „ideal types“ are seen to appear. Finally, let us note that the typology has been derived from an analysis and comparison of differentiated structures which appear and can be identified) in the application of differing sociometric criteria.

Apart from the researches quoted here by way of illustration which — as can be seen — were of theoretical character (the departing hypotheses were formulated, the variables to be studied were specified and operationalized, the conceptual scheme to be applied having been preliminarily analyzed and some generalizations and hypotheses for further possible investigations having been formulated), a whole series of investigations were carried out which were rather of a utilitarian, practical, i. e. sociotechnical character. No useful purpose would be served by describing them in greater detail, since these were current, essentially traditional investigations designed to restructure the groups, to modify interpersonal relations, identify authorities, to describe specific group norms, etc. Yet it is essential to state this fact as one bearing evidence on the contemporary, and, to a certain extent perspective, orientation of Czechoslovak sociology. The „renaissance“ of Czechoslovak sociology was associated, among other things, with widespread publicity given to social functions of sociology with special emphasis on its sociotechnical application, i. e. on the transformation of sociology into engineering. Thus in the minds of public opinion including those of the leading politicians a simplified, yet unfortunately unequivocal notion of sociology as an empirical discipline became fixed whose only sense is to gather together data relevant for practical life, regarding social processes and social behaviour. Thus sociology was reduced to a single one of its dimensions, to a single model of its internal structure, to its single social function. This trend which is being only gradually overcome naturally affected the sociology of small groups as well. It is only recently that a greater analytical and critical attention has been devoted to the existing microsociological theories, e. g. to the conceptions of Homans and Gurwitsch, yet even this seems to be motivated by general theoretical interests rather than having a space for developing within a specifically microsociological context; thus for instance Homans's way of building up a sociological system has been studied as one of possible „ideal types“ of the building up of general sociological theory without taking into account its departing „object orientation“ (the analysis of the so-called elementary behaviour, etc.).

One of the attempts at gaining a more theoretical approach to some of the problems of the sociology of small groups is represented by Petrussek's study on sociometry¹⁸⁾ which in addition to the necessary instructive aims pursues some generally methodological and theoretical questions. The choice of sociometry as a point of departure for an analysis of some pertinent questions of the theory of small groups and interpersonal relations was by no means fortuitous, particularly as within the context of sociology going through a process of development on a basis of Marxist thought shared a paradoxical fate. The fact

¹⁸⁾ M. Petrussek: *Sociometrie-teorie, metoda, techniky* (Sociometry-Theory, Method, Techniques), Prague, 1969.

is that it had been analyzed either exclusively as a substantive general sociological theory in the classical shape that had been impressed upon it by Moreno as far back as the mid-thirties, i. e. as a conception which is anxious to interpret some macrostructural phenomena and processes in a microsociological „sociometrical“ way and which leads to certain generally known ideological consequences; or, on the other hand, it was rather artificially segregated, only its concrete methodological, theoretical as well as generally methodological analysis. Thus a paradox occurs, sociometry being, on the one hand, rejected *en bloc* as an unacceptable general sociological theory, since it has been — in a not entirely justified way — identified with its „classical“ development variant while no account was being taken of its further development metamorphoses, while, on the other hand, sociometric techniques have been applied indiscriminately without the necessary preliminary analysis; frequently even without using the „compromising name“ (thus sociometric test has been referred to in some East German works as “test of the selection of partner“, in Soviet studies as „quantitative measurements in the investigation of a collectivity and the like), as the term sociometry appeared to some authors to be encumbered with „undesirable theoretical implications“. In Czechoslovakia only a few isolated studies in sociometry as a research technique had appeared soon after the war, i. e. in 1948, and particularly in connection with pedagogy,¹⁹⁾ and following the artificial intervention from outside into the natural development of sociology not again until after 1963 when I tried to point out how unjustified it was to reduce sociometry both to its departure development variant represented by Moreno's classical work *Who Shall Survive* and to its partial research technique.²⁰⁾

Thus the above mentioned work shows sociometry to be an influential component of contemporary substantive theories (the already mentioned Homan's theory of elementary behaviour, frustration theory, theory of cognitive dissonance, etc.), and outlines prerequisites for converting sociometry into an independent substantive theory of sociopreferential behaviour. It goes on to analyze this as a research technique both from the viewpoints of the traditional, „text-book“ concrete sociological methodology (typology of tests, validity of data, reliability of sociometric techniques, choice of sociometric criteria etc.) and from the viewpoint of general methodological problems which in sociometry have become „entangled“ in an extraordinary and very inspiring manner (operative defining, choice of indicators, character of sociometric indices, etc.) and which have not yet been analyzed in any greater detail in sociology oriented in the

¹⁹⁾ Cf. the study by V. Gádorová; The Sociogram Method, *Pedagogická revue* (Pedagogical Review) 1948, II. pp. 86 ff.

²⁰⁾ M. Petrušek, Sociometrické techniky a marxistická teorie společnosti v *Otázky marxistické filozofie*, pp. 486 ff. (“Sociometric techniques and the Marxist theory of society” in “Problems of Marxist Philosophy”).

Marxist way, and last but not least even from theoretical points of view which cannot, of course, be separated from a recapitulation and appreciation of its historical development.

I proceed from the presupposition that in the development of sociometry all substantial trends of development of American sociology from the thirties are projected which are in their turn affected by sociometry as a research technique (and thus as an instrument of the cumulation of immense empirical material). Thus the development of sociometry from the speculative vision of organization or restructuring of society (the stage of pseudounity of substantive theory of the speculative type and of the relatively exact methodological points of departure in the beginning of Moreno's creative activities in the USA) through its link with a pronouncedly empirical current of American sociology to the contemporary stage of „searching for new theories“ which are influenced by sociometry not only by its conceptual scheme and the immense number of empirical generalizations which it affords but also by having opened up a new set of research problems as far as their objects are concerned, and thus even a sphere of a new possible substantive theory.

An interesting — and to my mind rather essential — problem of sociometric theory is implied in the character of sociometric indices and of the central concepts of the sociometric conceptual scheme. It has been pointed out on more than one occasion that the construction e. g. of sociometric indices (and thus also the determination of central concepts) had been an *ad hoc* construction.²¹⁾ Most of the central sociometric concepts had been derived from a certain kind of arrangement of the empirical material which had been obtained by the application of sociometric research methods, and thus was not deduced from any explicit theory of behaviour. Thus sociometric operative definitions are „quasi-operative definitions“, as they have not been introduced in dependence on some of the existing alternative definitions of theoretical concepts but, on the contrary, their relation and the degree of their approximation to these alternative theoretical definitions being sought *ex post*. Thus e. g. sociometric indices of cohesiveness, integration, coherence etc. though serving today as a useful tool for comparison of data obtained in several comparable groups have a small and often problematic explanatory value since they can hardly be brought into relation with any of the more elaborated theories of small groups: they do not by themselves explicitly relate anything about group cohesiveness, integration, coherence etc. in the theoretical sense. Thus it appears that a more viable road towards theoretical integration of empirical material accumulated by sociometry is one of building up a partial substantive theory of sociopreferential behaviour the

²¹⁾ Cf., for instance, J. Coleman, *Mathematical Models and Computer Simulation*, in: R. Faris (ed.): *Handbook of Modern Sociology*, Chicago 1964

subject of which is indirectly defined by the sphere of applicability of the sociometric research techniques, rather than one of seeking to link „sociometric empiricism“ with the existing theoretical conceptions. It appears that the existing empirical material could now be gathered into a partial — relatively closed — system which would have the status of theory.

Another problem implied in this formulation is the problem of universal or, conversely, of specific character of sociometric findings. Though most authors presuppose sociopreferential behaviour which can be convincingly established in all sociocultural spheres to be a universal human phenomenon, there has not yet been a sufficient number of empirical studies which would permit us to formulate more significant statements concerning the specific or, conversely, general character of certain concrete expression of sociopreferential behaviour, of sociometric configurations, their determinants etc. Thus while, on the one hand, a relatively universal applicability of sociometric techniques appears to have been more or less established as a fact, no „transfer“ of relevant findings on sociopreferential behaviour from one sociocultural sphere to another appears to be feasible. This naturally tends to complicate the problem of building up a more general substantive theory whose expositional, or possibly, predictive value would not be limited to one or several outstandingly similar sociocultural spheres.

In this connection it is fitting to observe that in works written by some sociologists of Marxist orientation a notion has cropped up that sociometry — but also sociology of small groups in general — is firmly linked not only with the specifically American social environment but also with the practical needs of the American society in a certain stage of development.²²⁾ Of course this ~~notion was not meant to discredit sociology of small groups in general but~~ rather to point out its specific contemporary form, its being tied down to a quite definite sociocultural sphere, and thus also the risk of transferring basic empirical findings (but possibly even conceptual schemes) to other spheres in a mechanical way. As it happens this notion is in harmony with Cartwright and Zander who state the place and time of the rise of group dynamics is conditioned by the existence of American society in the thirties which had created favourable environment for this intellectual movement to develop in.²³⁾ This statement is acceptable in so far as we assume — as referred to above — that the problem of research but also of influence upon group life is conditioned by the existence of a relatively industrially advanced and stabilized society where the need for such research is felt more intensively than is the case in less developed and less stable societies. The development of sociological thought in

²²⁾ For instance in the study by the Polish sociologist A. Kloskowska, „The problem of small groups in sociology“, *Przegląd socjologiczny* (Sociological Review), 1968, XII.

²³⁾ Cf. *Group Dynamics. Research and Theory*, New York, 1960, p. 10.

Czechoslovakia (but not merely in Czechoslovakia)²⁴⁾ to prove that here, too, a similarly „suitable environment“ has been formed. However, one question though supremely interesting one from the sociological point of view has not been posed yet, i. e. the question of a programmatic comparison of obtained empirical *generalizations within the framework* of differing socioeconomic formations, i. e. of social systems with differing property relations, differing structure of political power, differing mechanisms of integration of individuals into organizational wholes and their substructures, etc. Put in a very general — and thus in a not sufficiently exact — way the problem has not yet been posed whether the change in the macrostructural system that had — in its basic dimensions — been stabilized at least in the sense that no qualitative transformation can be anticipated, has also led to a change in interpersonal relations, interaction patterns, sociometric configurations, etc. The results achieved by research into the style of life of economic and political élites in Czechoslovakia though not yet evaluated seem to offer such comparison at least to a partial and limited extent.

Further more, the idea suggests itself that the pedagogical system of A. S. Makarenko; the Soviet educationist which had for a long time dominated not only Czechoslovak educational theories but also research into interpersonal relations in the class at school (i. e. a sphere which is, after all, the traditional sphere of research in the sociology of small groups) represents a specific Soviet variant of „group-dynamics“, a variant brought to life by the specific social conditions and practical requirements of Soviet society in the twenties and the thirties, i. e. by circumstances and requirements of similar specific character as those in the USA in the thirties. Makarenko's pedagogical system was not unlike the analysis — including sociological analysis — in the sixties, particularly in Poland. It has been essentially established and wellnigh generally acknowledged that it represents a system whose pedagogical generalizations and sociotechnical directives are not universally valid for social systems of the socialist type in so far as they do not apply the „Soviet model“ of socialism.²⁵⁾ Makarenko's model of an ideal small group in which the educational and specially reeducational process is to be put into practice is based on the

²⁴⁾ Apart from Polish researches (Matějko, Malewski, Malewska and others) one can quote the comparatively intensive development of microsociological researches in the USSR some of which of course still persist — verbally at least — in taking up a hypercritical attitude to any attempt in the West pursuing anything like a more theoretical aim. Nevertheless, it is not difficult to note a rising standard of these researches, particularly in their methodology (e. g. in studies by Olshanskiĭ), nor to discern first trends aimed at constituting a microsociology conceived in a Marxist spirit though formally this appears to be developing in psychological rather than specifically sociological context.

²⁵⁾ Even in the latter case as proved by no other than the experience of Czechoslovakia in the fifties a mechanical application of Makarenko's pedagogical system results in a whole series of undesirable deformation in education.

fact that Makarenko was working with youth that was morally neglected, often even delinquent, whose notions about the norms of group co-existence are simply unacceptable for any educationist as a starting point for the process of re-education. Thus the group had to lean back on norms that had been motivated from outside, on a set of comparatively tough sanctions by means of which the observation of these norms was being enforced, on the domination of the so-called „active“ of the group's „core“, i. e. a limited number of persons who were, on the one hand, able by reason of their non-formal authority to influence the other members of the group, while, on the other hand, forming at the same time a connecting link between the pedagogue and the group, etc. These were in fact strongly autocratic groups which demanded of the individual to involve his entire personality in group life, while not admitting of any plurality of group membership (these were young people without any family ties, their „group background“ generally being the gang), and in which ideological determinant of the ties between individuals etc. were strongly accentuated. Makarenko's conception of „collectivism and especially of the so-called basic collective“ some characteristics of which are not unlike those of the primary group found in Cooley influenced for quite a long period researches into small groups carried out within the framework of pedagogy. Makarenko's emphasis on functional elements in interindividual relations, his efforts to prevent the basic collective from reverting into a merely friendly configuration, into a „closed group of friends“ inspired some studies in which „personal-selection“ and „functional“ relations were differentiated also in terminology, the highest level of personal selection relationships being designated as „friendship“, while the highest level of functional ties was referred to as „comradeship“. It is only natural that any attempt at measuring either of these types of relationships called for the application of sociometric technique modified in one way or another, although verbally critical objections to sociometry were still being raised. The most substantial of these was that sociometry overestimated the subjective realization and experience of interindividual relationships while underestimating the significance of the „objective situation“: thus, for instance, it was claimed that in the research of leadership sociometry neglected the individual's objective prerequisites for leading people, and overestimated the views of group members on some individuals' capacities for leadership.

This objection rests partly on misunderstanding, or lack of methodological knowledge (the question here being particularly one of relation between observation techniques and the sociometric test in a complex research into the basic structural characteristics of small groups), partly on a mechanistically interpreted Marxist conception of the Object-Subject relation.

It is only recently that a number of interesting empirical researches in the field of youth pedagogy and sociology have been undertaken which have not been tied down by an inadequate conceptual scheme, nor have proceeded from

unverified ideological premises, particularly from the presupposition of a „collectivistic character“ of interindividual relationships which is more or less given by the collectivistic type of property relations. These include the researches of an extraordinary significance by Juraj Čečetka,²⁶⁾ a Slovak pedagogue, who has tried to establish the specific character of the formation of small groups among adolescents, both of those with a task dominant and of those formed spontaneously and based, therefore, primarily on socioemotional contacts and relationships. What the author has above all established is readiness on the part of adolescents to join groups comprised of a larger number of members (10—13) which interestingly enough essentially corresponds to the „limit number“ of the basic collective arrived at from observation by Makarenko, while, of course, it holds good that those groups in which more exacting claims were put on the partners were less numerous (about 8 persons). On the other hand — as can be easily surmised — in all larger groups there arose a comparatively small core, relatively more stable than the group as a whole. Furthermore, the fact conclusively established by the author is that the smaller groups formed by adolescents do not fulfil merely the function of a „defensive set-up“ of youth in the sense of the so-called generation struggle between adolescents and adults but also the function of protecting them from the anonymity of mass society. Independent attention was paid by Čečetka to problems connected with leaders and leadership in small groups of young people. He examined — essentially in keeping with analogical classical investigations pursued in other countries²⁸⁾ — a set of psychic and personality characteristics which are relevant for assuming the leading position in the group, and came to the conclusion, which appears to be convincing enough, that these traits include in particular such characteristics as authority, organizing abilities, resourcefulness, resoluteness, sociability, popularity in the group, and energy. Though he did not examine the ways in which these traits were apprehended inside the group (what may be assumed here is the possibility of tension between the „objectively“ established characteristics and its evaluation by members of the group, an assumption that is implied primarily in the sociometric approach to the problem of leadership) he essentially proved the interdependence between the leader's role and situational factors: leadership is a function of the situation, a finding that is borne out by a number of empirical studies as well as theoretical reflections in other countries. From the empirical material he went on to deduce three sociologically relevant conclusions which in their turn are not contradicted by findings established in different sociocultural conditions: 1. the leadership role is un-

²⁶⁾ Čečetka, *Medziludské vzťahy a zoskupovanie mládeže* (Interhuman relations and the grouping of youth), Bratislava, 1967.

²⁸⁾ Let us refer at least to the well known research and secondary analysis carried out by Charles Bird as early as 1940: *Social Psychology*, pp. 377 ff.

stable in groups of adolescents; 2. adolescents are not willing to accept the leadership role if it is formalized or institutionalized in a prominent way even if they possess the required personality prerequisites, with the proviso that the acceptance or refusal of the leadership role is substantially conditioned by its general evaluation in the group's "public opinion"; 3. in some informal groups it was impossible to identify the leader so that it is evident that the presupposition — sometimes too apodeictically assumed — that the leader's role is occupied even when members of the group do not acknowledge its existence has no universal validity.

Let us also refer here to sociometric researches that were carried out — with regard to age characteristics — in analogical conditions, i. e. in the army.²⁹⁾ In one of these researches the way non-formal authority depends on the extent and the clear-cut character of interests of sociometric "stars" was examined. The investigations have shown that non-formal authority is highly correlated in a positive way with a smaller number of clear-cut interests, i. e. that natural authority in groups of soldiers is enjoyed by individuals possessed of more profound knowledge and skills in one or but a few (usually related) clearly defined spheres of activities rather than those with many none too stable interests.

First researches were also carried out among juvenile delinquents serving their time in prison. The investigations of the origin and character of interpersonal relationships led to relatively unequivocal conclusions that the rise of "friendship" in the current as well as the sociological sense of the term in the conditions of serving the sentence in prison is rather sporadic, the sociometric structure of the groups under investigation being dispersed, the absence of non-formal authority being quite obvious, while there is a tendency to refuse sociometric selection ("I have no one to choose", etc.) with predominating mutually negative attitudes, etc. These findings though not having as yet acquired representative character signalize the existence of serious problems in the re-education process, and indicate the necessity of intensive sociological work in this sphere which has hitherto been neglected in this country.³⁰⁾ In recent years there has been some development in *the studies of hospital as a social system* in which researches into interpersonal relationships have also won their place — for the time being, however, between individual doctors, be-

²⁹⁾ O. Píffl: Sociometrie, její vznik, vývoj a možnosti použití v marxistickém sociologickém výzkumu v armádě (Sociometry, its origins, development and possibilities of application in Marxist sociological research in the army), Studies of the Military Political Academy of Klement Gottwald, 1965/4.

³⁰⁾ Problems of deviant behaviour and social pathology have been the object of rather theoretical interest which has not yet found expression in more intense research activities and could not therefore result in any formulation of potential sociotechnical measures.

tween doctors and nurses etc. rather than studies of relationships between patients and the nursing staff, between individual patients, etc.

We now have to add a few observations on a field which — in view of its specific character — had constituted itself a long time ago into an independent sociological discipline which it is not usual to subordinate under the sociology of small groups, i. e. on the *sociology of the family*. The family had been the object of the researcher's interest even in the period when the right of sociology to independent existence had not yet been officially acknowledged. It is natural on the whole, that the family, its position in the social structure, its basic functions and development transformations were the object of theoretical, and not unfrequently of speculative, deliberations rather than of empirical research which has — only in the last few years — very substantially revised and corrected many an inadequate idea. Authors have failed to link their efforts with the comparatively rich theoretical as well as empirical tradition in the study of the family in this country devoting their attention to problems of the family from ethical and sociopolitical rather than sociological points of view. Hence the inadequate notions on the rapid and radical transformation of the family's position in society in connection with the change in the latter's macrostructural organization, on restructuring its functions, on changes in the system of values as well as in relations between partners. These notions, however justified they may be ethically and philosophically, have not taken into account the significance of the time factor, i. e. the fact that substantial changes in this sphere dominated more than others by tradition are not, and cannot be, matter of 10 to 15 years even should the macrostructural changes have such ideal character and social consequences as have been theoretically envisaged. Here not unlike other spheres of social life, a development tendency or perspective has been treated as reality. This is all the more paradoxical since the *historical* development of the family — in a certain though not servile and mechanical dependence upon the analysis made by Engels³¹⁾ — has received intense attention.³²⁾ The first empirical researches had been concerned with the notions about marital co-existence and its conditions entertained by young betrothed couples, while recent studies have been concerned with the family

³¹⁾ Cf. F. Engels, *The Origin of Family, Private Property and the State*. It was only in recent years that a number of misrepresentations of facts by Engels often resulting from undue dependence on literary sources at his disposal at the time have been corrected.

³²⁾ The first Marxist works on the subject appeared as early as in the thirties written by S. K. Neumann, poet and writer. Cf. *Monogamie* (Monogamy), *Dějiny lásky*, 1932, (The History of Love) 1925, *Dějiny ženy* (The History of Woman), 1930. Though undoubtedly works of high originality in their basic polemical cast and appreciation their sociological as well as historical value is problematic in many respects. An attempt at a similarly widely conceived view, though much more precise historically, is represented by the extensive monograph written by J. Klabouch, *Manželství a rodina v minulosti* (Marriage and Family in the Past), Prague 1962, conceived, however, with an emphasis on the legal aspects of development.

as an independent social unit. Actually, the book summarizing the study of 379 married couples³³) is the first empirical — well-grounded both theoretically and methodologically — publication on the subject since the forties. Apart from its informative, i. e. descriptive, sociographical value this study is valuable by rectifying, among other things, some unjustified notions which have become fixed in the public mind and in journalism. Thus, for instance, it modifies the rule formerly formulated in too explicit terms of “the attraction of the same social groups“ and the rule of “the same or approximately the same education of marriage partners“: though 44,5 per cent married couples did have the same education (out of these as many as 46 per cent possessed only elementary or lower secondary education without the school-leaving examination), whereas cases in which women who were university graduates had partners with lower education than themselves represented only 26 per cent. This seems, therefore, to prove the hypothesis proposed by Berelson and Steiner, i. e. that women tend to enter into matrimony with persons possessed of higher education while men tend to marry persons possessing lower education than their own.³⁴)

After all, similar, even more specific findings were arrived at in the preliminary stage of research into social stratification and mobility already referred to above where the object of study was socioprofessional homogamy followed on a six-grade scale of complexity of work: tendency towards homogamy was found to be most noticeable in the first two categories where 67,2 per cent of respondents live in matrimony with a person of the same socioprofessional category: it is seen to be substantially the lowest in the third category which is graded to a pronounced degree “on a descending scale“ (74,7 per cent of wives belong to a lower category than the respondent). An equally low homogamy is also to be observed in the highest categories.

In analyzing their motivation for contracting marriage both men and women attributed essentially the same significance to the same motives (love and desire for understanding, desire for a child, for independence, for a home of one's own, etc.). However, a pronounced difference was established in the evaluation of the sexual aspect of marriage which is mentioned as significant by every second man but only by every fourth woman. Nor do the data regarding the sources of marriage conflict where the first place is taken by the bringing up of children and immediately the second place is occupied by controversies concerning finances and the way they are to be used: thus the existing material condition of the marriages under observation is still far from making it possible for financial questions not to constitute one of the determining factors of marital harmony. The author also focussed his attention as a thing apart on attitudes to the employment of women, i. e. on a question

³³) S. Banhegyi: *Sociológia súčasnej rodiny* (The Sociology of Contemporary Family), Bratislava 1968.

³⁴) B. Berelson, G. Steiner: *Human Behaviour*, New York, p. 306.

which is closely connected with some simplifying views on the emancipation of woman in modern society: 75,1 per cent of men respondents are against women being employed, provided such activity is not absolutely necessary from the financial point of view, while 51,7 per cent of women respondents hold the same view. However, the attitude to wage-earning activity is differentiated according to age (persons belonging to higher age categories taking up more expressly negative attitudes), and according to education (a relatively highest proportion of positive answers come from persons possessed of higher education who naturally often quote other than purely material motivations for taking up employment). All these conclusions essentially fall in with analogical investigations carried out in France,³⁵⁾ in Austria, and in the German Federal Republic³⁶⁾. The extent of the present study does not permit us to report in greater detail on a number of further interesting findings, e. g. on attitudes to divorce, sexual harmony in marriage, on parents' problems and the bringing up of children, etc. What we have been concerned with is rather to illustrate the basic trend in contemporary sociology of the family in Czechoslovakia: its characteristic feature is the stress laid on the cumulation of empirical material, the endeavour to obtain data which could be comparable with those on the situation prevailing in other industrial societies, with the first attempts at generalizations based on the existing theoretical conceptions but also with the traditional interest in historical aspects of the problems and in wider, let us say macrostructural continuities of the problems followed. Further development of the sociology of the family is, of course, not in the least degree tied up with the level achieved in the elaboration of the general theory of small groups and on working out specific research techniques which has hitherto been limited to panel investigations, or possibly a guided interview.

In an attempt to summarize briefly the present situation and the principal trends of development in the sociology of small groups within the context of Czechoslovak sociology let us proceed from the presupposition that apart from non-formal or "unofficial" groups that arise outside the framework of any institutional system there arise, operate, and function small groups in *all* basic institutional systems, i. e. political, economic, religious systems, etc. This underlies the interdisciplinary penetration of the sociology of small groups and of concrete sociological disciplines — i. e. sociology of politics and political behaviour, sociology of industry, rural sociology, sociology of the army, of education, of the family, and so on. We have tried to show at least by way of illustration that research into small groups has been going on in practically all these dis-

³⁵⁾ M. J. Chombart de Lauwe: The Status of Women in French Urban Society, UNESCO, *Int. Social Science Journal*, 1962, Vol. XIV.

³⁶⁾ L. Rosenmayer: The Austrian Woman, *ibid.* E. Pfeil: Die Erwerbstätigkeit von Müttern, Tübingen 1961.

ciplines, with the possible exception of the sociology of politics in which the importance of small groups, particularly of non-formal and non-institutionalized groups (such as cliques, pressure groups, etc.) though verbally acknowledged and appreciated, has not yet been subjected to empirical investigation. This is, not in the last instance, given by the fact that the sociology of politics and political science are at present — for understandable reasons — focussed in a more pronounced way on research into, and analysis of, political systems, on problems of institutionalization of interests, and on the formation of interest groups, on the stage of the mechanism of political power, and on the creation and operation of correctives, whether social or civic, of the ways in which political power is exercised, etc. However, investigations into the structure and division of political power in local communities are under way in which appropriate attention will also be paid to the significance of non-formal affiliations.

The sociotechnical, and thus often onesidedly utilitarian, character of the investigations that were being carried out had largely relegated into the background problems of the *general* theory of small groups which ought to constitute the natural (even theoretical) foundation of the empiric orientation of the individual sociological disciplines. Any cummulation and generalization of empirical material in its present form is an extraordinarily difficult and often practically impossible task to accomplish. Similarly, little has been done in working out some basic methodological problems. An outstanding example of this is the fact that empirical researches employ only a limited body of research techniques among which, as mentioned above, the pride of place is occupied by sociometry. Application of observation techniques has been sporadic, technically far from perfect, and the relationship between data acquired by sociometric methods and observation techniques often remains unclarified. This is, among other things, due to the fact that the importance of general sociological methodology has not hitherto received its due measure of appreciation so that a majority of both methodological manuals and treatises do not rise above the level of information on how to carry out and evaluate empirical research. Without underestimating the importance of such an approach, particularly where more complex quantitative methods are concerned, there appears to be a necessity for devoting a larger measure of attention to the more general implications of empirical research, to social determination of sociology, its social functions, etc.

PETER L. BERGER

SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY AS AN AREA OF INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATION

There can be little doubt about the increasingly international character of sociology as a science. Indeed, it is possible to speak of an international boom in sociology, to the point where sociology appears to be a necessary ingredient in the *Ueberbau* of any self-respecting country from the United States of America to Nepal (I'm not making this up — I happened to notice recently that there actually is a solitary Nepalese member of the American Sociological Association). It is also quite clear that this crosscultural *succès fou* of sociology now bridges the division between socialist and non-socialist countries, as anyone who has attended, successively, the world congresses of sociology in Washington (1962) and Evian (1966) will readily testify. This is not the moment to speculate on the reasons for this (though this, in itself, is a very interesting sociological question). One of the results has been a growing mutual interest among sociologists in different countries and with this the development of a certain „ecumenical“ tolerance at least on the level of good manners. I can personally assure you that F. Konstantinov, of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, and Talcott Parsons, of *The Social System*, had a seemingly jovial lunch together at Evian — so perhaps one can even say that the “central committees“ have begun to get together. All this, no doubt, is a good thing.

If we narrow our focus to the relations between sociologists in the socialist and non-socialist countries, it is perfectly obvious that this new “climate“ opens up possibilities of collaboration in specific empirical areas, both in terms of methods and of research results. The growing interest in comparative sociology is likely to accelerate such collaboration. International comparisons of data in, say, medical sociology or the sociology of education are of obvious interest to anyone working on these problems, no matter where he is. And the developments of new research techniques, such as new applications of computers to sociological materials, are of equally obvious international interest. When it comes to theory, however, the situation is rather different. Here, the long shadow of Karl Marx continues to divide those who sit in the darkness from those who walk in the light (the respective allocation of light

and darkness depending, of course, on which side of the fence one puts' oneself). In other words, it is more difficult to bracket the question of whether one is or not a Marxist in dealing with problems of sociological theory than in dealing with concrete empirical data — and since Marxism is a fundamental theoretical position with implications for all the social sciences, it is quite proper that this question *should* not be bracketed. This has lead, however, to a paradoxical consequence — namely, to the fact that those who can talk most easily with each other across the dividing line are the narrowest empiricists, the technologists, those with least affinity to the humanistic tradition in sociological thought. This, I believe, is unfortunate.

Let me assure you that I have no hostile feelings against technologists — some of my best friends are computer men. But I really think that the fact that a computer man from New York can communicate with a computer man from Leningrad does *not* represent a tremendous achievement of international understanding. What can one do about this? Very few of us, I hope, whether Marxists or non-Marxists, would like to go back to attitudes which, on the one side, viewed western sociology as *nothing but* a bourgeois ideology and, on the other side, viewed Marxism as an anti-scientific dogma. Most of us, I believe, have come to regard these rigid positions as unreasonable. What, then, are the reasonable options? I can see three principal options.

One option, of course, is simply to avoid theoretical problems and collaborate, where convenient, on research data and methods. I have already said that I find such a prospect unfortunate. I do so as a non-Marxist sociologist, with a rather strong commitment to the idea that our science is, by its very nature, a humanistic discipline. But, it seems to me, that the prospect of a sort of scholarly internationale of positivists — „computer men of all countries, unite!“ — must be equally unappealing to a Marxist, especially at a time when there is a deep concern within the Marxist camp to arrive at a fuller definition of Marxist humanism. There is a certain attraction to what American sociologists like to call „hardnosed empiricism“ — a no-nonsense attitude of sticking to verifiable facts and leaving the theorizing to the philosophers if not to the posts. This, of course, is a very prevalent attitude among sociologists in America and in western Europe today, but what I have been able to see of sociology coming from the socialist countries during the last decade makes me think that, perhaps for understandable reasons, this attitude has a certain frequency here as well. I suppose it all depends on what one thinks sociology is capable of doing. If one simply looks on it as an instrument of „social engineering“, the empiricist attitude makes sense. My own view is somewhat more ambitious and, consequently, I am reluctant to abandon sociology to the technicians altogether. I am even more reluctant, because I believe that such a divorce from theory (which also means a divorce from history and from

philosophy) eventually makes for sterility and distortion even on the strictly empirical level.

A second option would be direct and intensive discussion of precisely those issues that divide Marxists and non-Marxists in the interpretation of social phenomena. This would entail the method that the Germans, rather nicely, call *Streitgespräche*. Under the right circumstances this can give a lot of satisfaction to all concerned, but I am rather sceptical whether it gets anyone very far intellectually. For example, one can have endless discussions about the possibility or impossibility of a „value-free“ social science, or about differing conceptions of „class“ and „class struggle“, without getting to anything beyond the place from which one started — namely, the understanding that Marxists and non-Marxist disagree on these things. Quite apart from the likelihood that such head-on discussion will simply become political controversy, I strongly suspect that intellectual progress is usually made by less dramatic means.

The third option would be to begin with *common* theoretical problems and then to discuss these with some readiness to learn from one another. This is the option I very much prefer. Since I am speaking here in a Marxist milieu, it would be both impolite and (more important) illogical to speculate on what Marxist sociologists might learn from non-Marxist theory. Clearly, this is something they must decide themselves. But it is pertinent to indicate the areas in which I see common theoretical problems and the points where those of us outside the Marxist camp might look for help from Marxist work in sociological theory.

Before I do this, however, it may be useful to make a few brief remarks about the state of theory in western sociology. In this, as in other areas of the sociological enterprise, American sociology occupies a dominant position today. I think it is fair to say that the „hardnosed empiricism“ for which American sociology, or at least a major portion of it, is correctly known, has exerted a very strong influence on sociologists in western Europe since World War II. The United States today is to sociology, at least in the west, what Germany was to philosophy in the 19th century — a kind of Mecca, to which academic pilgrims come with expectations which, for someone inside the American situation, are rather ridiculous. I myself was amazed to see, when I was a visiting professor at the University of Cologne three years ago, how students applied themselves to newly arrived copies of the *American Sociological Review* and the *American Journal of Sociology* as if these were so many oracles of profound wisdom — hardly a plausible attitude in view of the mass of triviality with which these publications are usually filled. The result of all this has been that, by and large, sociology in western Europe has been as dependent on America for theory, such as it is, as it has been for other aspects of the discipline. There are, of course, some exceptions to this (particularly in France and in the

German Federal Republic), but I don't think that these have as yet begun to change the general picture.

American sociology has been viewed by some observers as a theoretical Sahara. This is not quite accurate. If nothing else, of a course, there is the massive presence of structural-functionalist theory, which (for reasons that brevity forbids going into here) has almost attained a sort of „semi-official“ status in the American sociological establishment. By this I don't only mean the position of great prestige occupied by Talcott Parsons and his work, but (actually more important) the fact that the theoretical parlance of structural-functionalism has become a *lingua franca* even among sociologists with little theoretical interest of their own. Other theoretical approaches have been very much put in the shadow by this dominant orientation. The approaches of the generation of European „masters“ — Emile Durkheim, Max Weber, Georg Simmel and so on — have become „classic“ in the most depressing sense of the word — that is, relegated to prefaces and footnotes, where they are given a cursory and ritualistic obeisance. Often, „theory“ is equated with „methodology“, in the sense of a systematic reflection about the logic of empirical research — certainly a necessary undertaking, but also a great shrinkage in the scope of theorizing. There are, indeed, two indigenously American approaches that continue with some vigor — the one, a generally „left“ (though hardly Marxist) approach, in the footsteps of Thorstein Veblen and C. Wright Mills — the other, the approach commonly known as symbolic-interactionism, derived from the theories of George Herbert Mead. Lately, however, these approaches have themselves emphasized empirical analysis over theoretical construction — in the former case, critical analysis of present-day American society and politics — in the latter case, the analysis of concrete problems of social psychology of occupations or in medical sociology. I think it is fair to say that no one coming from any of these other directions has been able to match Parsons either in quantity or in scope when it comes to theoretical work.

I think it is also fair to say that there has been a growing malaise about this situation, and a rather vague groping for a way out of the unedifying alternative „*aut* Parsons *aut nihil*“. Some of this malaise has probably come from disappointments with the results of Parsonian theory itself. This is not the place for a criticism of Parsons — though I should say that I would not associate myself with the more violent criticisms, which, in my opinion, have been inaccurate and unfair (for instance, the widespread criticism that there is no place for social change in the Parsonian system is quite simply, factually, incorrect); and, if nothing else, Parsons deserves a great deal of gratitude for making theorizing once more a respectable activity within American sociology. My own trouble with Parsons is less with what he says than what he leaves

out. When all is said and done, the Parsonian system thus far is mainly an immense array of classificatory schemata, which only rarely help us to grasp the concrete, historical reality of social events. There are indications in the most recent work of Parsons's, particularly in comparative sociology, that he is moving beyond this and modifying the system accordingly, but it is in earlier version that his theory has attained its present status. In any case, I would agree with the current malaise in feeling that important tasks of sociological theory still lie ahead of us.

Let me now mention briefly a few problems, which, in my opinion, constitute such tasks. I shall not do so in any particular order of respective importance or with the aim of being exhaustive, but I want to pay special attention to problems where conversation between Marxists and non-Marxists theorists is most likely to be productive.

It seems plausible to me that the border territory between the social sciences and human biology will be of great importance to sociological theory in coming years. It is clear that the revolution now taking place in the biological sciences will posit problems in the area of social policy, of law and morality, but this is not what I mean here. The great strides in the advancement of biological knowledge about man (and not only in genetics) also posit problems for anthropological theory, problems that must not be ignored by the sociologist. Non-Marxist sociological theory, at least since Herbert Spencer and William Graham Sumner, has been quite oblivious of and even inimical to biological considerations — for understandable reasons, perhaps, in visum of the theoretical fiascos of „social Darwinism“. Some neo-Darwinistic noises have been made by a few sociologists since the celebration in 1959, at the University of Chicago, of the 100th anniversary of *The Origin of Species*, but there have been few concrete results of this. Parsons has liked to use the term „evolution“ in his recent work, but I have the strong feeling that if one simply substituted „history“ for this, one would not distort his meaning. In other words, what has been called a new evolutionary emphasis in sociology is not really the result of a serious encounter with modern biology. The most interesting indications of what such a result might bring come, I think, from recent German work, particularly that inspired by the human biology of F. J. J. Buytendijk and Adolf Portmann, and by the ethological school of Konrad Lorenz. The theory of institutions of Arnold Gehlen should be specially mentioned in this connection. I do not know what the situation is in this regard among Marxist sociologists, but I have not seen anything that would seem to come from a confrontation with new biological insights.

It seems to me that sociologists, almost *a priori*, are disposed to avoid biological explanations of social phenomena. I fully share this disposition and am certainly no advocate of some new version of biologism. What we need in

sociological theory, I think, is a fuller grasp of the *dialectic* between society and its biological substratum. By this I don't mean so much the interaction between any human community and its natural environment — on that, after all, we have a good deal of knowledge, most of it coming from ethnology and cultural anthropology — but rather the interaction between socialization and organism. We owe to Marx the fundamental categories of *praxis*, of labor as the human world, eventuating in an anthropology that understands man as his own product. I think that we still have not come fully to terms with the radical transformation in man's self-understanding that these Marxian insights entail. Man's world-production and self-production, however, take place within a condition that has biological determinants. *Praxis* can never be a magical sovereignty over its biological circumstances — but neither is it mechanically caused by these circumstances. The real relationship can, I think, only be grasped in dialectical terms — but to say this is the beginning, not the end, of a mass of theoretical problems. Specifically, sociological theory will have to clarify how the organism imposes limits upon the scope of social phenomena — and it will also have to clarify in what manner society modifies the organism in its turn, in collective *praxis* and in the socialization of the individual. Let me only mention sexuality as the most obvious area in which these theoretical problems may be concretely dealt with.

Another area in which (contrary to superficial appearance) essential theoretical tasks remain to be accomplished is that of social psychology. In this area, of course, there has been an enormous amount of work, particularly in America, but I would argue that the basic theoretical task still remains undone. Speaking of the American situation only, this is due, I think, to an unfortunate dichotomization between experimental and clinical approaches in psychological work — the former dominated by behaviorism and learning theory, the latter by various psychoanalytical approaches. But neither behaviorism nor psychoanalysis, in most of their varieties, will satisfy the requirements of a sociological perspective. Both (though for different reasons) are really not capable of dealing with the social as a phenomenon. My own conviction is that the tradition of American social psychology that started with George Herbert Mead, and particularly the work of Mead himself, ought to be the starting point for viable theoretical work in this area — specifically, because Mead gives us the basic categories for a truly dialectical understanding of the relationship between society and individual consciousness (including individual identity). It seems to me, incidentally, that for this very reason Mead ought to be of special interest to Marxists — much more so than Freud, whose anthropology, in my opinion, is essentially non-dialectical.

Sociological theory will have to insist on the necessity of what may be called a sociological psychology, that is, on consciousness and identity as products

of social processes (socialization, in the broadest sense of the word). But such an axiomatic statement is not enough. Sociological theory will also have to clarify what some French Marxists have aptly called the problem of mediations, that is, the problem of the concrete interaction between social structures and psychological phenomena of all sorts. This is lacking in Meadian social psychology — Mead never developed a conception of social structure and his followers, quite logically, have usually concentrated their attention on microsocial phenomena. The theoretical bridge still to be built, however, is that between macrosociology and social psychology. You may recall the famous question of Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes* — „how can one be a Persian?“ We are still faced with this question in trying to understand sociologically any given individual — how can he be a *Persian* (that is, representing in his person a multitude of things pertaining to a specific, historically formed social structure) and, at the same time, a *concrete individual* (that is, an individual with a specific biography that is not simply the mechanical particularization of the social structure within which it has unfolded)? It seems to me that the theoretical clarification of these problems is a particularly fascinating intellectual task.

Further, I believe that much work remains to be done on a comprehensive sociological theory of institutions. To be sure, there is a large literature dealing with institutional problems of one kind or another. But the existence of institutions is usually taken for granted in this literature, posited as an unexamined starting point for the investigation of particular empirical questions, or alternatively dealt with in terms of more or less complex classificatory procedures. My opinion is that we have not yet reached the point of theoretical clarity where we can afford to do this, but rather that we must return once more to the very fundamental question, „what are institutions in the first place?“ This will appear as a naive step mainly to those who have left unexamined their own theoretical presuppositions (perhaps in the, much more naive, faith that all such questions have already been „taken care of“ by the „classics“). Of course, it is quite possible to undertake useful sociological work without returning to such root questions. But, I think, that in the long run a re-examination of these questions will be fruitful even in terms of very „hardnosed“ empirical work.

It seems to me that a number of avenues might be pursued here. One, already mentioned, is an inquiry into the biological presuppositions of institutionalization. Another is the phenomenological analysis of the *Lebenswelt* in its social dimensions, an enterprise where special attention must be given to the work of Alfred Schutz (whose *Collected Papers* are now finally available in a three-volume English edition). Another avenue might lie in an intensive confrontation with recent work in linguistics — something that few sociologists have done so far and where they might learn a lot from their colleagues in cultural

anthropology, not least from Claude Levi-Strauss (without necessarily becoming „structuralists“, in the sense now being given to this term in France). I also think, though, that here too the contribution of Marxist sociologists could be of very great importance. It is to Marx that we owe the fundamental insight into the processes of objectivation (*Versachlichung*) and into social institutions as products of objectivation. It is also to Marx that we owe the fundamental analyses of reification (*Verdinglichung*) as a social phenomenon. Seen in a Marxian perspective, a good deal of sociological theorizing appears as a deificatory enterprise, as the distortive hypostatization of social reality, or, if you wish, as the production of „fetishes“. Conversely, Marxists particularly should be interested in the potential of sociological thought as a *de*-reifying, and thereby humanizing undertaking.

If institutions are understood as collective objectivations, and if the full theoretical implications of such an understanding are realized, then sociological theory will be compelled into an intensive conversation not only with philosophy but also with history, that is, with historical scholarship. Institutions are not only human products; they are products with a history. Only if this history is understood, can any given institution be grasped in its present state (including its present „functionality“). For this reason, the historical study of institutions is of great relevance to sociological *theory* (quite apart from the interest sociologists might have in this or that particular historical development). For example, it seems to me that any sociology of contemporary religion (to mention an area in which I have done some work myself) will be hopelessly inadequate unless it is undertaken against the background of a broad knowledge of the historical roots of the present situation — and, furthermore, any sociological theory of religion will have to take cognizance of the history of religion if its concepts and generalizations are to be adequate.

Another important area of theoretical work is the sociology of knowledge, including the critique of ideologies. It is most regrettable, I believe, that, at least in western sociology, the sociology of knowledge has been a peripheral sub-discipline, of interest only to a few people concerned with sociological aspects of the „history of ideas“. It was one of Schutz's important achievements to have shown that the sociology of knowledge ought not, primarily, concern itself with „ideas“, but rather with „commonsense knowledge“, that is, with the whole range of (mainly pre-theoretical) taken-for-granted cognitive and normative assumptions that make everyday social life possible. In other words, the sociology of knowledge ought to concern itself with everything that passes for „knowledge“ in society. As soon as this is granted, the sociology of knowledge will be seen to deal not with peripheral but with the most central questions of sociological theory — first of all, with the central question, „how is a social reality produced and maintained?“

Since this is the area to which I have devoted most of my time in the last few years, I shall refrain from the temptation to start a long discourse on this here, though I shall take the liberty of pointing to the recent book I wrote about this with Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality*. But I would like to make one observation that might be relevant to you — namely, the dialectical perspective into which we found ourselves led by the intrinsic logic of our inquiry. This was not the result of any previous predilections on our part, and neither of us is a Marxist in any sense. We found, however, that a dialectical understanding of the relationship between society and consciousness, between the objective reality of the institutional world and the subjectivity of the individual acting in that world, was the only one that was adequate to our theoretical problem. We began with Schutz's definition of the problem. We were then led to seek a theoretical solution to the apparent contradiction between a Durkheimian and a Weberian view of social reality. It is at this point that we found Marx of very great importance indeed. As a result of all this, I would feel that Marxists have an important contribution to make in this area, not only because they have a predilection towards ideological analysis and because they are prone to operate with concepts such as "false consciousness" or the like, but rather because they have a predilection towards dialectical perspectives on these matters. It seems to me that, in this connection, a fuller confrontation between Marxism and phenomenology (particularly the phenomenology of the *Lebenswelt* would be very useful).

Needless to say, these remarks have been exceedingly sketchy and programmatic. Perhaps a few of the questions I have raised may be clarified further in discussion. But I hope that I have at least made clear the general character of the task as I see it for sociological theory. The practical implications are fairly obvious. Sociological theory cannot be undertaken in some sort of disciplinary isolation. It will have to be in an ongoing conversation with other sciences, both social and biological. It will also have to retain its "classic" connection with both philosophy and history, and with the humanities at large. Indeed, a good case can be made that sociology itself must be counted among the humanities, in the very specific sense of those disciplines that deal with man *as man* rather than in terms of abstractions that lose the concrete, historical reality of human life. Sociology in this sense, and particularly sociological theory, has a considerable contribution to make to the construction of an adequate anthropology and thus to the intellectual classification of a truly contemporary humanism.

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METHODOLOGICAL REMARKS ON PROGNOSIS IN THE FIELD OF DEMOGRAPHY

SOCIAL PROGNOSIS

Secular social change is typical of the human community. On the great stage of social reality the scenes are continually changing; cultures rise, flourish and fall; economic systems replace each other; populations show rapid growth and then stagnate.

The rapid social changes in the beginning of the 19th century, and especially the disastrous shocks which accompanied them, supplied the psychological conditions necessary for the birth of sociology. Perhaps it is for this reason that since the time when Comte first gave its name to this science, no social phenomenon has been studied so intensively as that of social change. It was not so much scientific curiosity that drove the scientists, as the expectation that, in gaining insight into the conditions under which these changes occur, man would at the same time discover the instrument with which he could influence them. The idea of social planning has accompanied sociology from its inception.

For many decades this idea went no further than the writings of scholars and politicians. A liberal society offered no opportunity for its realization. This opportunity came in the Netherlands for the first time after the First World War, when it was introduced in the field of town and country planning, which remained for a long time the only field to which it was applied. A prolonged economic depression and a Second World War were necessary before social planning could be developed more extensively. Now social planning is to be met with in almost every section of social life, especially where government is intensively interested in its development and where extensive investing of public funds is involved. As an example I need only mention the amount of work which goes, in these days, into the preparation of governmental decisions as to the extension and localization of higher education. This example could easily be supplemented by dozens more. Next to economic planning, social planning has become the hallmark of modern government. The society of today cannot be imagined without it. This applies equally to social prognosis.

No prognosis is valid without knowledge of the facts. Where — as in the early years of sociology — systematized knowledge of social facts is lacking, a reliable statement as to the future of social events cannot be expected. The early statements bore more the character of prophecies. They bore witness to the ideals of their authors rather than to their scientific insight. Later — at about the beginning of this century — with the increasing knowledge of the facts of social life, the pronouncements became more realistic, but even then they were little more than naive extrapolations of macro-sociological phenomena. Modern social prognosis, the taxation of future social developments based on quantitative analysis could only appear when, with the help of modern statistics, the registration of the quantifiable aspects of society was begun on a large scale, with great regularity and entering into the smallest details.

The first modern prognoses, in the meaning of the word indicated here, appeared in this country soon after the First World War, at the same time that social planning also began to make its humble appearance. They belonged to the field of demography. Work on prognosis certainly made no rapid progress here. The number of population prognoses, national or regional, prepared in this country between the two world wars, scarcely amounts to a dozen. I know of no examples of long-term economic advance calculations in this country for the same period. Demographic prognosis was then, almost without exception, the work of individuals feeling their way in spite of many setbacks. Nowadays the preparation of prognoses is for the most part concentrated in specialized institutions — both in the demographic field as in that of other, e. g. economic or socio-cultural, phenomena.

The production amounts to many dozens of prognoses a year, and proves that it is almost universally realized how indispensable prognosis has become.

It proves nothing, however, as to the evaluation of the product. The more prognoses that are published which contradict (or seem to contradict) each other, the more prognoses that are disproved by the facts, the greater the distrust on the part of the consumer as to the usefulness of the calculation results offered him. Of this the customers often make no secret. Amongst the researches a weariness can sometimes be detected, sometimes an obvious dislike for this work which, since it is nearly always carried out professionally, cannot be avoided. This mood is not without its importance as an aid to administration. Since prognoses will be asked for and made as long as planning takes place, it must be worth while to subject the whole prognosis problem to an investigation. It is interesting to deal here with the problems connected with prognosis and especially with population prognosis.

I shall begin with a few remarks of a theoretic nature. The theory of social prognosis is scientifically underdeveloped territory. The makers of social prognoses — whom for brevity's sake I shall now call researchers, although there

is no question of research in the actual making of a prognosis — do not as a rule much about the theoretical basis of their work. Here and there in the literature of demographic prognosis one comes across a modest attempt in that direction — but a serious endeavour to lay bare in a monograph the basic ideas of prognostic thought — such as Morgenstern¹⁾ for example has already done, more than thirty years ago, for economic prognosis — hat not yet been undertaken.

This weakness of the theoretical basis is reflected in an inexact use of words and causes confusion. Thus far — following the terminology used in the Netherlands — I have been using word prognosis. Wherever possible, however, it will be wiser to avoid doing this. The word forecast is no better in this respect. For in its original mythical meaning 'forecast' implies the announcement of an inevitable future event, knowledge of which has been arrived at by non-rational means. The word suggests, as does the French word 'prévision' or the word 'prognosis', that the developments calculated in advance are inevitable. This is by no means always the case.

The rational counterpart of the forecast is the advance calculation. An eclipse of the sun or the moon is not forecast, but calculated in advance, („vorausberechnet“). An engineer calculates the results of the work he is planning to carry out.

Both the examples of advance calculations given here, have this in common, that their results are given with two reservations: rebus sic stantibus et ceteris paribus. There is not absolute certainty that the phenomenon will indeed take place as calculated.

The two examples given above show also an essential difference, precisely in connection with the subject under discussion. Man cannot influence the stars in their course. Only because the astronomer is exactly informed as to the position, the mass and the speed of the celestial bodies in the neighbourhood of the sun, and because he has at his disposal an excellent theory describing the movement of those bodies in relation to each other, do astronomical advance calculations bear the character of inevitability that is implied in the word prophecy. In this case the use of such words as prognosis, forecast and prediction can cause no misunderstanding. The calculations of the engineer, on the other hand, have the character of an imagined experiment. The results of his advance calculations can lead to an alteration in his design or even to its rejection. The character inevitability is lacking.

The prognostic work of the demographer — as also that of other social-scientific investigators — bears neither the prophetic character of the astronomer's advance calculations, nor the character of the imagined experiment. The demographer occupies a position between the astronomer and the engineer. His

¹⁾ Morgenstern, O. „Wirtschaftsprognose“. Eine Untersuchung Ihrer Voraussetzungen und Möglichkeiten, Wien 1928.

work can be compared to that of the astronomer in so far as society, like the solar system, shows a certain tendency to autonomous movement. The structure of society changes even though no one tries to alter it. Often the social forces behind such changes are not at all or only slightly capable of being influenced, either because haven't sufficient information as to the conditions which call them into being or because no agreement exists in the community as to the direction in which it is desirable that such changes should be guided.

An example of such an autonomous demographic movement has been seen in western Europe, and can still be seen in the Netherlands, in the decrease in marital fertility. This process appears under the influence of a complicated pattern of interdependent social, cultural, psychological and economic factors, difficult of approach for quantitative analysis. Apart from the occurrence of wars and other social disasters, which are merely incidental and therefore incalculable, this process runs an extremely regular course. Its further course, therefore, *ceteris paribus*, seems to be more or less „predictable“. Other demographic processes show the same characteristic — though perhaps rather less obviously — as for instance the rise in the marriage frequency and the fall in the average marriage age. Similar movements are also to be found outside the field of demography, for example in the increase in the density of cadre functions in industry and society, in technological development, in the decreasing importance of agriculture, in urbanisation and so on.

When making advance calculations in the field of such phenomena, all the demographer can do, as a rule, is to suppose that the observed trend will continue unaltered. Here certain subjective moments inevitable intrude; for example the choice of the period of which the observed series will be extrapolated into the future, the choice of formula to describe the observed series, the duration of the projection period and similar factors. As far as possible the investigator must try to reduce these subjective moments to the minimum, for example by taking into account the course the phenomena to be observed have taken in analogous cases. This can lead to the choice of some formulae and the rejection of others.

Before proceeding to the extrapolation of a series of observations one should first find out if it is possible to analyse it in other series which are basic to it. The basic series should then be extrapolated. In an advance calculation of births, for instance, the future absolute numbers will be calculated not directly by extrapolation; but undirectly by an advance calculation of the absolute numbers of women capable of bearing children in combination with the extrapolated general fertility rates. This indirect method in no way guarantees a regular course for the absolute numbers of births. This is no objection, however; the regular course of several basic series gives more confidence than the regular course of a series resulting therefrom. Since experience has taught that differences in fertility appear even within the population group which is capable of

reproduction, preference will be given to the use of a series of fertility rates specified according to age rather than to the use of general fertility rates. In making advance calculations of birth rates one is drawn into increasingly detailed specification.

This refining process comes to an end, in practice, when the point is reached where further specification has no influence on the final result, or experience as to the deeper lying basis series is lacking. The aim is to achieve by means of extrapolation the highest possible regularity within the system of the elements which call the final phenomena into being.

When considering this aspect of advance calculation one realizes that in the last resort the question as to the trustworthiness of an advance calculation cannot be posed positively, but only in a negative sense. Not: „What reasons have we to suppose that the phenomenon calculated in advance will indeed take place as expected?“, but: „What reasons are to be found for supposing that the end result will give the lie to the advance calculation?“ The absence of such reasons is experienced as a positively coloured confidence which, however, is misleading in so far as the absence of such reasons by no way excludes the possibility of the emergence of a behaviour pattern of the phenomenon not hitherto experienced and deviating from the calculation.

Here we are concerned with the attitude or procedure of the investigator when faced with social processes which are almost or entirely incapable of being influenced. This must be an attitude of expectation, trusting in the invariability of surrounding reality, in constant relations, regular movements.

Frequently the demographer finds himself faced with processes which show a less regular course and are, moreover, susceptible to influence. Amongst these — with a certain reserve — one can count migration. In such cases the demographer, in making advance calculations, has to rely on ad hoc hypotheses and then his calculations will obviously bear the character of an imagined experiment. One may not conclude from this that the investigator may give free rein to his imagination. If his calculations are to make sense he must draw up his hypotheses with extreme care. He may not be in any way arbitrary; as for example when calculating the consequences of certain political measures or when testing the possibility of realizing certain aims. In every case it is advisable to introduce hypotheses which are closely connected with recent experience and which therefore answer the question as to what situation will arise if no influence is exerted on the process or if — supposing policy has already exerted influence thereon — policy itself undergoes no change. The position of the demographer then resembles to a certain extent that already described above; an expected situation is calculated on the supposition that no change will take place in the elements that have called it into being. There is, however, this essential difference: the situation calculated in advance is not inevitable.

The comparison of demographic with astronomical phenomena is limited in that the astronomical phenomena in question — the movements of the solar system — are periodical, which demographic phenomena are not. This has consequences for extrapolation. For example, extrapolation of the series of observations describing the fall in marital fertility in this country leads to the unimaginable situation that in the near future almost every marriage will be childless. Experience warns us against the acceptance of such a result. The fall in marital fertility began earlier in other west European countries than in the Netherlands. In some of these countries the process has already come to an end, and marital fertility has become stable with a figure of two to three children per family. So long as there is no reason to suppose that such a stabilization will not take place in this country we will be wise to reckon on its appearance here within a short time. According to the results of the Netherlands statistics for marital fertility this stabilization is already to be seen; amongst the non-church-going section of our people and those belonging to the majority of the small protestant denominations, a low and stable level has already been reached. With such knowledge available it is unreasonable not to use it. It must be supposed that in a continued fall in marital fertility in other denominations the observed limit will not be passed. It is not easy to give this hypothesis because it is based on wider experience receives more confidence than a „blind“ one.

In determining what limit is suitable for a certain development, the conventional character that will always be typical for advance calculations is clearly revealed. Sometimes experience offers various limits and the choice between these can lead to differences of opinion amongst investigators. The precept which the investigator must then follow lies in a careful motivation for his choice, in which all the available information must be assimilated. If he doesn't succeed in convincing his opponent, then the task of proving the 'uselessness' of the chosen limit rests with the latter. If, after careful analysis the investigator is unable to give preference to any one of the possible limits, he must then use them all. Of necessity such a situation leads to more than one observation period to be used for extrapolation and in the choice of the formulae to be applied.

Where no limits are available, the investigator has to rely on blind extrapolation. It is then advisable to keep the projection period as short as possible, especially where he is faced with quickly moving phenomena. For in that case the uncertainty, which arises where there is more than one formula available for extrapolation, is considerably lessened; as a rule the results given by different formulae applied during a short period do not differ greatly from each other.

In theory, when preparing a population projection, it is desirable to make first a projection of marriages according to the age of the wife, whether or not combined with the age at marriage of the husband. Based on this projection of the forming of families, the births should then be calculated, using data connected

with the order of birth and the parity of the mother. Furthermore in this model, dissolution of marriages should be taken into account as well as the re-mariages of the divorced or the widowed. Statistical material for the application of this model is usually lacking. Irrespective of this, one comes up against problems of a mathematical nature hitherto unsolved, proceeding in part from the interdependence of the marriage chances of men and those of women, owing to which some rather inelegant adaptations are necessary.

In practice, therefore, a simpler model is used for population projection. For this the population is divided according to age and sex, projected in periods of five years, with survival rates. The population is then divided into unmarried, married etc. in every age-group, with the help of percentages obtained through extrapolation. The extrapolations can be based either on the percentages, placed consecutively for every civil status in each age group, or on the course of these percentages for separate generations (cohort-method). The female population divided thus according to age and civil status is considered as being subject to specific chances of childbirth and supplies the new generations. In broad lines this is the model hitherto followed by the Netherlands Central Bureau of Statistics. The future figures for marriages, divorces and dissolutions of marriages due to the death of one of the partners need not be calculated.

The forming and dissolution of families is not taken into consideration.

Projection of numbers of households

(In collaboration with Dr. A. Vermeulem. Tilburg.)

Data referring to the numbers of households are usually collected during a population census. Occasionally these data are obtained by means of a separate census, as in the Netherlands by means of the housing census of 1956. The fact that not always the same definitions are used makes it difficult to draw comparisons in time and space. The U. N. O. is now trying, as far as possible, to reach agreement on this point.²⁾ Without going into details we give here the chief categories to be distinguished, namely between *private* households and *institutional* households. In the latter category are reckoned those who live in boarding schools, hospitals, hotels, boarding-houses etc.; which concepts, however, need further definition. For instance, a household in which the number of paying guests exceeds five is counted as a boarding-house. By a private household is understood a number of persons really making use of one dwelling³⁾ to live in, or of part of the same, who take their main meals together and who share the provisions for the primary necessities of life. A *person living alone* or using a

²⁾ *Handbook of Population Census Methods*. Vol. III. Demographic and Social characteristic of the population. Studies in methods. Series F. no 5 Rev., statistical office of the United Nations, New York 1959.

³⁾ U. N. O. Demographic Yearbook 1962, page 36. U. N. publication (statistical office) sales no. 63. XIII — 1.

separate room in part of a dwelling, without in any way joining up with the rest of the occupants to form a plural household or sharing their meals, is considered to be a separate household. Private households are for the most part *family households*, that is to say, they are bound to each other by a parent-child relation or by adoption.

Servants, lodgers (less than 6) and other members of the family living with them are also regarded as members of the private household.

A brief but extremely clear exposition of the problems relating to the differentiation of private households according to their composition is to be found in Calot and Febvay.⁴⁾

The numbers of households in a certain population and their distribution among certain categories (purely family households, households of single persons, households where families share with other persons) changes under the influence of a complicated pattern of interdependent social, economic and demographic factors. Of great importance is the development of the supply of dwellings and also of the number of marriages contracted and dissolved. These in their turn are dependent on the changing age structure of the population. Among the social (cultural) factors must be reckoned for instance, the tendency — to be seen in most western countries — to marry at an earlier age and to be content with a simpler housing than in previous generations. It is important for the projection of the numbers of households to know the future significance of these factors as they react on each other. On this point, however, our knowledge falls short. Only in connection with the development of a few demographic factors reasonable expectations can be formulated, as for instance in relation to development of the total number of the population and its structure according to age, sex and civil status. In practice one is forced to restrict oneself to the measurement of the importance of these demographic variables, so that the *ceteris paribus* clause soon enters into the model.

The methods to be used in estimating the future numbers of households can be divided into two categories, namely:

A. Methods which depend on the extrapolation of the average size of households.

B. Methods depending on the extrapolation of percentages of heads of households in different categories of the population.

The methods ad A can vary from very simple to highly differentiated. By means of extrapolation of the future population is divided into one part (a) living in institutional households and another part (b) living in private house-

⁴⁾ Calot, G. et Febvay, M. "L'analyse de la composition des ménages dans le Recensement français de 1954", from Union internationale pour l'étude scientifique de la population. *Congrès international de la Population*. New York 1961. Tome I: 206—215. London 1963.

holds. In the least detailed model the number of household is taken as increasing at the same rate as the population indicated under (b); in other words the average number of the private households is kept constant. If sufficient information is available the average size can be projected into the future. A rough estimate of the age distribution of the population can be made by making separate calculations for (a) and (b) for persons over and under a certain age (e. g. 20 yrs).

Assuming then that the number of private households increases as rapidly as the population (b) of 20 years and older (in other words the average number of those over nineteen in private households is kept constant) then by adding a more rapidly or more slowly increasing youth population (b) the average size of the private households can increase or decrease. A further refinement can be obtained by taking into account the distribution of private households into different categories and by using different extrapolations of averages next each other. In doing this, changes which have taken place on the past in this distribution, must be taken into account; for this, distribution formulae must be used.

The working methods described sub B are clearer than those described above. If more detailed and refined population projections are available the use of this method is to be recommended, e. g. if the projections described previously are possible.⁵⁾ These methods rest on the definition that each household has only one head. The population of heads of households is then divided according to the same demographic characteristics as the population as a whole, that is according to age, sex, and civil status, whereby, in the most favourable case a distinction is made between unmarried (never having been married), married, divorced and widows or widowers. For every such class of combined characteristics the percentages of heads of family households is then determined. If sufficient information is available these percentages can be subjected to extrapolation. In general the variability of these percentages is not great and there is no objection to considering them as constant for not too long a period.

The extrapolated percentages are then applied to the projected population. Finally summation will give the number of private households. In order to determine the average size, it is necessary to know the size of the population denoted as (b). From the averages thus obtained, with the help of empirical or theo-

⁵⁾ As counterpart of the model for population projection mentioned, the ideal method for projection of households has to rely on relative frequency, which gives the "changes" for certain individuals in the course of a certain period — i. e. a period of five years — to change from one status to another. E. g.: the chance that an unmarried man of a certain age, and who is not the head of a household, will marry within years and — married and still living — at the end of the projection period will be present in the population as a head of a household, or the chance that a divorced woman who at the same time is the head of a household, will re-marry within a certain period and lose her status as head of he household and will still be alive at the end of the projection period. Up to now, both the knowledge and the skill to put this method into practice are lacking.

retical distribution formulae, the distribution according to the size of the households can be calculated.

The methods described above give an insight into the expected netto-result of the changes in the number of households during the projection period. From the point of view of market analysis it is also important to know the number of new formations. In so far as new family formations are not directly dependent on the disappearance of existing households — in which case, as a rule, part of the durable household articles in the first household pass on to the new household — they are very important for the acquisition of new household articles. By far the greatest number of new formations is the result of marriage. According to the calculations of the Central Bureau of Statistics the numbers of heads of families increased by 43 000 in 1956.

A good 85 000 marriages made a positive contribution to the netto result.⁶⁾ It is thus important to pay attention to projections of marriages. In connection with the difficulties noted above, a rough estimate will have to suffice. The use of the general marriage rates, that is the number of marriages per thousand of the population in a year could be considered for this purpose. The size of the figure must be inferred from experience over a long period in the past.

An extremely detailed application of method B is to be found:

Mr. D. M. and Paul C. Glick „Illustrative projections of the number of households and families.“

Current Population Reports, series P-20, nr. 90 from U. S. Departement of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Washington. December 1958 and in the series P-20, nr. 123 April 1963 from Parke, R. and Glick, P. C.

For further application of this method we can refer you to:

Calot, G. „Perspectives du nombre des ménages de 1954 à 1976“.

Etudes Statistiques 12e année, no. 2.

Supplément trimestriel du Bulletin Mensuel de Statistique. P. U. F. Paris 1961.

And to:

Pressat, R. „Une essai de perspectives de ménages“.

Internationaler Bevölkerungskongress, Wien 1959, 112—121.

Edition from „Union Internationale pour l'étude scientifique de la population. Wien 1959.

See also the contributions to the conference of this organisation held in Washington in 1961 and those for that held in Beograd for the World Population Conference of the U. N. O.

Finally two exceptionally fine studies from the Netherlands Central Bureau of Statistics published in „Statistische en Econometrische Onderzoekingen“, for

⁶⁾ „Calculations concerning changes in the numbers of households in the Netherlands“. *Statistische en Econometrische Onderzoekingen*. 1959: page 130—156. Central Bureau of Statistics, Zeist 1959. See page 148.

the years 1955 and 1959 must also be mentioned. The formularium developed and described there is closest to the model for population projection described in par. 19. It can however, only be used to determine changes in the numbers of households in a short period, using known data as to the numbers of marriages, divorces, immigration, dissolution of marriages due to death. For projection it cannot be used.

Finally we mention the articles of:

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Population Studies, november 1958: 131—148, London 1958.

And from the same periodical:

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II.

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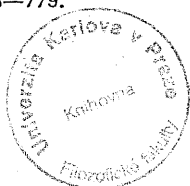
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