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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.

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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 obsolete

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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