

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 Wandervogel 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 řiklová, CSc and Sociological Institute of řSAV - team for the research of the way of life Dr. Ivo Fiřera	

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.

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