

Social Ties and Social Mobility

Author(s): O. I. Shkaratan

Source: *International Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 3, No. 1/2, Social Stratification and Mobility in the USSR (Spring - Summer, 1973), pp. 289-319

Published by: Taylor & Francis, Ltd.

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20629651>

Accessed: 19-12-2019 11:30 UTC

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <https://about.jstor.org/terms>



JSTOR

Taylor & Francis, Ltd. is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *International Journal of Sociology*

15 Social Ties and Social Mobility

O. I. SHKARATAN

The material we have collected on social ties embodied in friendship patterns and in family and marriage relations permits us to study more concretely the degree of "openness" of social groups, i.e., the intensity of intergroup contacts.

Let us begin with the friendship patterns of the respondents.* The instructions made it clear that we were interested in individuals who were not members of the respondents' families. As far as we know, this question has not been posed in current or past sociological studies. The absence of comparable material requires that our findings be checked in other surveys. It should

From O. I. Shkaratan, Problemy sotsial'noi struktury rabocheho klassa, "Mysl' " Publishing House, Moscow, 1970, pp. 426-455. Notes numbered 1-9 below correspond to footnotes numbered 116-124 in Chapter 3 of Shkaratan's book. Tables numbered 1-7 below correspond to Tables 59-65 in Shkaratan's book.

*This selection covers the same categories of employed personnel and the same areas as those covered in the selection on pp. 63-105. Shkaratan's data are based on empirical investigations conducted among employed personnel of (1) seven machine-building enterprises in Leningrad in 1965-1966, (2) the firm Krasnaia zaria, with plants in Leningrad, Pskov, Porkhov, and Nevel, in 1967, and (3) a variety of economic enterprises in three cities of the Tatar Republic — Kazan, Almetevsk, and Menzelinsk — in 1967-1968. For details on sample size and characteristics of the cities see pp. 63-64 above.

Table 1

Social Contacts Depending on Membership in Socio-Occupational Group,
Leningrad Machine-Building Personnel, 1965 (in %)

Groups of respondents	Closest friend (friends)							total
	worker	technician, others with secondary specialized education	engineer, others with higher education	other categories of employees	collective farmer	stu- dent	house- wife	
Unskilled personnel in manual labor	77.6	9.2	5.0	2.5	1.6	4.1	-	100
Personnel in nonmanual labor of medium skills	46.5	17.6	13.2	11.8	0.4	7.4	3.1	100
Personnel in skilled, primarily manual labor, employed on machines and mechanisms	68.8	12.5	6.7	4.3	1.2	4.7	1.8	100
Personnel in skilled, primarily manual, hand labor	60.3	13.3	11.0	4.3	1.4	7.0	2.7	100
Highly skilled personnel combining manual and mental work	60.9	18.9	14.4	2.9	-	2.9	-	100
Personnel in skilled mental work	20.2	27.3	32.5	7.9	1.2	7.2	3.7	100
Personnel in highly skilled scien- tific and technical work	9.1	21.5	50.3	6.7	-	8.6	3.8	100
Organizers of production collec- tives (from foremen to enter- prise executives)	21.2	23.3	41.7	5.4	1.2	5.4	1.8	100
Total	51.9	15.9	16.4	6.0	1.1	6.0	2.7	100

be clear that there could be two or three answers to this question and that the total number of answers exceeds the number of respondents. (1)

It is evident from Tables 1 and 2 that varied social ties are exhibited by all the socio-occupational groups, that there is an absence of "exclusiveness," of caste-like elements, of avoidance of contacts with individuals in the extreme socio-occupational groups. Although their friends are chiefly other workers, unskilled workers employed in manual labor have extensive contacts with individuals employed in positions requiring secondary specialized or higher education. On the other hand, personnel in highly skilled mental work have a certain proportion of their friends among workers. It is characteristic that among executives of production collectives, whose social ties are more varied by virtue of their work activity, the proportion of friendships with workers exceeds 21% in Leningrad and 10% in Pskov. The executives of our labor collectives are recruited from individuals who are in active contact with representatives of all social groups, and consequently they do not themselves form a caste-like, exclusive group, but rather one which is open and actively absorbing information from different strata of the population. Personnel in nonmanual labor of medium skills and skilled workers have the most widely dispersed social ties.

We obtained the same findings in Kazan, where the classification of both the respondents and their friends was close to the one utilized in Leningrad and Pskov. The fact that the association between socio-occupational status of respondents and social position of their friends is not very "strong" is apparent from the Chuprov coefficients, which in this case were: $T = 0.140$ in Kazan, $T = 0.126$ in Almetevsk, and $T = 0.101$ in Menzelinsk.

The data for Kazan confirmed that two groups of working people — skilled workers and executive personnel in various branches of the economy — had the widest range of ties. Moreover, the most open category of workers consisted of those who were employed in highly complex labor which combined manual and mental functions in the work process. Only 14.3% of this group's friendships were with urban workers. A considerable

Table 2

Social Contacts Depending on Membership in Socio-Occupational Group,
Automatic Telephone Station Factory, Pskov, 1967 (in %)

Groups of respondents	Occupational status of friends (in %)							Number of respondents	
	collec- tive farmers	workers in agri- culture	unskilled workers in city or workers' settlement	skilled workers in city or workers' settlement	employees without specialized education	personnel with secondary specialized education	personnel with higher specialized education		others
Unskilled personnel in manual labor	—	—	47.0	15.6	18.7	—	—	18.7	32
Personnel in nonmanual labor	—	1.4	22.6	25.3	16.9	19.7	9.9	4.2	71
Personnel in skilled hand labor	—	0.7	6.1	67.1	3.0	10.7	4.5	7.9	265
Personnel in skilled manual labor, employed on machines and mechanisms	0.9	0.9	6.9	74.0	5.2	7.8	1.7	2.6	146
Personnel in skilled mental work and scientific and technical work	—	—	—	20.8	22.2	22.2	32.0	2.8	72
Executives of labor collectives	—	—	—	10.0	5.0	30.0	50.0	5.0	20

proportion of its friends came from the countryside (7.6% were agricultural workers and 5% were collective farmers). A high proportion of friendships were with individuals having a specialized secondary or higher education (42.9% of friendships were accounted for by these groups). This is the most open of the groups employed in executor-type labor.

It must be assumed that these results of our observations are not accidental. Labor that combines mental and manual functions is the most promising type of work; it is the work of the future. This group, which is the most advanced socially, is characterized by broad contacts with all groups, including those far removed from its direct occupational and socio-occupational surroundings.

The second group — executives — whose formation reflects the results of Party and state policy in the selection of executive personnel, is also characterized by social ties that are adequate for the nature of our social structure (21.5% of the friends of this group are workers and collective farmers, 17.5% are employees without specialized education, etc.).

Let us now examine family and marriage relations.

The investigation of Leningrad machine-building personnel provided data on the association between an individual's membership in a particular socio-occupational group and his social-class origins (the social position of his parents). Table 3 shows that the offspring of different classes and social strata may be found in all the groups. At the same time, it is characteristic that among all personnel in skilled, primarily manual labor, among those employed on jobs which combine mental and manual labor, and among personnel in nonmanual labor of medium skills, we find that a particularly large proportion — significantly more than one-half — are the children of workers. On the other hand, among personnel employed in scientific and technical work, children from employees' families predominate, while workers' children account for 31.9% of this group and collective farmers' children account for 3.5%, i.e., less than in any of the other categories of personnel employed in industrial production. This latter indicator testifies to the fact that there is still an inadequate flow of individuals of rural

Table 3

Influence of Social Position of Parents on Socio-Occupational Status
of Employed Personnel in Leningrad Machine-Building, 1965

Groups of employed personnel	Social position of father (in %)				Number of respondents
	worker	collective farmer, individual farmer	employee	other	
Unskilled personnel in manual labor	43.9	37.5	8.4	10.2	107
Personnel in low-skilled labor of mixed type (storeroom personnel)	47.9	37.9	11.6	2.6	269
Personnel in skilled, primarily manual labor, employed on machines and mechanisms	55.6	24.7	15.4	4.3	693
Personnel in skilled, primarily manual, hand labor	58.6	17.9	19.0	4.5	829
Personnel in nonmanual labor of medium skills	57.9	14.2	20.6	7.3	316
Highly skilled personnel combining men- tal and manual work	53.5	22.4	15.5	8.6	58
Personnel in skilled mental work	46.6	10.6	33.9	8.9	245
Personnel in highly skilled scientific and technical work	31.9	3.5	54.0	10.6	113
Executives of production collectives, in- cluding lower group (from foremen to enterprise executives)	42.8	20.5	31.5	5.2	248
Total	52.9	20.8	20.8	5.5	2,878

origin into the ranks of the scientific and technical intelligentsia.

These conclusions were verified in the more thorough investigation conducted in the Krasnaia zaria combine in 1967. Here it turned out that the family background of unskilled workers was as follows: collective farmers' children — 36.4%; agricultural workers' children — 15.2%; urban unskilled workers' children — 16.7%; urban skilled workers' children — 21.2%; and children of nonmanual, including skilled mental, workers — only 10.5%.

The situation was markedly different among workers in skilled, primarily manual, hand labor. Children of different social categories of the country's population were widely represented in this socio-occupational group: children of collective farmers constituted 18.7%; children of agricultural workers — 2.2%; of unskilled urban workers — 17.2%; of skilled urban workers — 34.9%; of employees without specialized education — 13.8%; of personnel with specialized secondary education — 3.4%; and of personnel with higher education — 4.9% (about 5% were children of "others," i.e., those with a social status other than the ones we have considered).

Let us now turn to scientific and technical personnel (designers, scientific workers). In this group there are considerably fewer collective farmers' children — 3.9%, no children at all of agricultural workers, a relatively small proportion of unskilled urban workers' children — 7.8%, a substantial proportion of children from families of skilled urban workers — 17.9%, of employees without specialized training — 25.1%, of personnel with secondary specialized education — 16.4%, and of personnel with higher education — 20.3%. The children of "others" comprise 8.6%.

The findings for the Krasnaia zaria firm deserve particular attention because the grouping of parents is based on a more detailed classification of social groups in our society. These findings also confirm the observations summarized above for the survey of Leningrad machine-building personnel.

And the findings obtained in the survey of urban residents of the Tatar Republic are not significantly different. As Table 4 shows, all social strata of our population are broadly represented

here in all the socio-occupational groups. Only two special features should be noted. First, most groups in Kazan have a larger proportion of individuals from rural backgrounds than is the case in Leningrad.

Second, in many groups the children of all categories of employees constitute a smaller proportion than they do in Leningrad, with their share of the total constituting 12% compared to 19% in Leningrad. However, the data on children from employees' families are not fully comparable since the investigation in Kazan covered all branches of the economy while in Leningrad it covered only machine-building, and naturally there is a greater inflow of the more socially advanced groups into machine-building. Therefore, we can only repeat that in the second half of the 1960s all the socio-occupational groups were recruited from the same social sources, although a certain inequality in socio-occupational status still remained because of the different conditions in which children were reared. This is particularly evident in the groups of highly skilled personnel employed in scientific and technical work and in the so-called "creative occupations." In Kazan, for example, the proportions of these groups drawn from children of collective farm families were 8.2% and 4.6% respectively, and the proportions coming from unskilled workers' families were 7.2% and 9.3%, while the proportions drawn from families of highly skilled personnel in mental work reached 27.0% and 25.6%. (2)

The material available from the investigation of Leningrad machine-building personnel included information on the current social position of the individual, on the jobs held by his adult children and, finally, on the social-class status of his parents. Thus, it was possible to trace the fates of families of working people over a span of three generations. Naturally, the group of employed personnel with grown children was a relatively small one, and thus it is difficult to accept the data for this group as representative. Nonetheless, the available information is highly interesting from the standpoint of identification of trends. The group of individuals who had grown children currently employed and whose fathers were workers comprised 252 persons. Thirty-seven percent of this group's children

Table 4

Distribution of Employed Personnel Depending on Social Position of Family Head of Respondent, Kazan, 1967

Groups of respondents	Social position of family head of respondent* at the start of the latter's work activity (in %)								Number of respondents
	collective farmers or individual peasants	agri-cultural workers	unskilled manual workers	personnel in skilled, primarily manual labor	employees not requiring specialized secondary education	employees requiring specialized education	employees requiring higher education	those who did not answer	
Unskilled personnel in manual labor and low-skilled personnel in non-manual labor without specialized training	41.7	7.4	16.7	18.6	2.6	4.4	0.8	7.8	562
Personnel in skilled, primarily manual labor, employed on machines and mechanisms	25.9	8.4	23.5	22.7	5.2	5.3	1.9	7.1	1,045
Personnel in skilled, primarily manual, hand labor	33.2	6.1	18.0	22.6	5.6	4.9	2.2	7.4	1,049
Personnel in skilled nonmanual labor without specialized education	24.3	4.4	18.4	26.9	7.9	9.2	2.0	6.9	452
Highly skilled personnel combining mental and manual functions	13.3	16.7	13.3	20.1	3.3	10.0	10.0	13.3	30
Personnel in skilled mental work	10.4	2.3	15.4	12.3	14.9	21.5	16.8	6.4	656
Personnel in highly skilled scientific and technical work	8.2	1.2	7.2	17.6	14.1	18.8	27.0	5.9	85
Highly skilled personnel in the so-called "creative occupations"	4.6	2.3	9.3	9.3	20.9	23.4	25.6	4.6	43
Executives of labor collectives and state organizations	27.9	1.1	9.7	23.7	12.9	10.7	8.6	5.4	93

*Shkaratan's "respondent" covers all those who were questioned, including those who did not answer.

(93 persons), i.e., the grandchildren of workers, became workers themselves. But not all of their fathers (the intermediate generation) were workers: in 27 cases (out of 93) they were engineers, technicians, and employees. Thus we do not find a continuous series in the succession of occupations. This is understandable, since a high level of social mobility, the rapid intermingling of social strata, and the absence of caste-like elements are distinctive features of our society's social structure. Among the grandchildren of workers, in addition to the 93 persons who also became workers in primarily manual labor, there were 56 technicians, 30 engineers, and 45 who were students at higher educational institutions or technicums.

The fate of collective farmers' grandchildren is an interesting one. The proportion who have become workers in primarily manual labor (34.1%) is about the same as in the case of workers' grandchildren. Moreover, the fathers of this group (the intermediate generation, i.e., those who were surveyed) were workers themselves in 49 cases out of 56, while in 4 cases they were engineers and technicians, and in 3 cases they were employees. Thus, in contrast to the intermediate generation of workers' children, the intermediate generation of peasants' children is more homogeneous in its social composition. In other words, the representatives of the generation which begins work in the city for the first time remain workers as a rule, but their offspring follow the same path in life as do the children of hereditary workers. We traced the genealogy of a total of 164 grandchildren of collective farmers and individual peasants, and of these, 56 became workers, 41 became technicians and entered other fields requiring a secondary specialized education, 13 became engineers, doctors, etc., 14 became employees without specialized education, and 26 were pursuing their studies at higher schools or technicums. All this testifies once again to the high social mobility of the population.

Let us now examine in greater detail what happens to grown children depending on the jobs and differing socio-occupational status of the surveyed parents. We should note, first of all, that in the present generation we do not find a social rigidity of employments. Among workers' children, 34.9% became workers

themselves, 7.9% became employees without specialized education, while the remainder were either pursuing their studies or had already received a secondary specialized or higher education. Among executives of enterprises, heads of shops, and other executive personnel, 8.4% of the children had become workers, 11.6% had become employees without specialized education, and the remainder had either received a secondary specialized or higher education or were continuing their studies. We see that there was not a single category of employed personnel in industry that was not represented, through its grown children, in the different social groups. There is clearly no evidence of caste-like elements or of rigidity of groups. It is true, however, that a certain amount of continuity may still be observed in the employments of groups in intellectual or primarily manual work.

The same conclusion follows from Table 5, which groups the respondents according to the nature of their labor. It is noteworthy that even in the group of highly skilled workers combining mental and manual labor, in which the material possibilities and conditions of life provided by the families create all the necessary prerequisites for the children to enter preferred occupations and to acquire the corresponding social status (although the small number of individuals in the sample limits the significance of our conclusions), 40% of the grown children have taken the same path as their parents and have also become workers. At the same time, even among personnel in highly skilled mental work, a considerable proportion (26.3%) of the grown children have chosen workers' occupations. It should be noted once again that such a high level of social mobility is evidence of the deep-rooted nature of socialist democracy.

This is also suggested by our findings on the association between educational level and the social origins of the respondents' children. In the latter group the proportion having an education of up to 7 grades is greatest among the children of peasants (31.1%), followed by the children of workers (16.9%) and the children of employees (7.6%). The proportion of individuals with an education of 8 to 11 grades is highest among the children of workers (64.9%), followed by the children of peasants (53.2%) and the children of employees (52.6%). The proportion

Table 5

Employment Status of Grown Children Depending on Socio-Occupational Status
of Parents, Leningrad Machine-Building (in %)

Groups of respondents	Employment status of grown children (in %)					
	workers	personnel with secondary specialized education	personnel with higher education	em- ployees	stu- dents	house- wives total
Unskilled personnel in manual labor	37.3	20.9	11.6	13.9	16.3	—
Personnel in nonmanual labor of medium skills	37.6	22.8	11.3	7.9	15.9	4.5
Personnel in skilled, primarily manual labor, employed on machines and mechanisms	43.2	21.6	7.5	7.5	16.5	3.7
Personnel in skilled, primarily manual, hand labor	34.4	23.4	14.3	7.5	17.7	2.7
Highly skilled personnel combining manual and mental work	40.2	19.9	—	—	34.9	5.0
Personnel in skilled mental work	28.6	27.0	17.5	4.7	14.3	7.9
Personnel in highly skilled scientific and technical work	26.3	10.6	26.3	5.3	31.5	—
Organizers of production collectives (from foremen to enterprise executives)	13.0	39.4	19.7	6.5	15.9	5.5
Total	32.9	24.8	13.2	8.1	16.6	4.4

of specialists with higher or secondary education is highest among the children of employees (39.5%), followed by the children of workers (17.7%) and the children of collective farmers (15.3%).

Other data indicate that with the passage of time the role of social-class differences in determining the amount of education received is declining. For example, 15% of the grown children of employed personnel with a 5th-6th grade education are students, while among employed personnel with a 7th-9th grade education and among specialists with a secondary or higher education, 13% of the grown children are students.

The information on the social composition of students who are combining work and study is of particular interest. Of this group, 47% are workers' children, 25% come from a collective farm background, and 23% are employees' children.

Among workers' children, a total of 24% are continuing their studies, while among collective farmers' children the figure is 23%, and among employees' children — 31%. But the differences between the social-class groups are greater when we consider the proportions of children from each of the groups who are combining work and higher education or postgraduate study. Among workers' children the proportion of such individuals is 5.5%, among collective farmers' children — 6.9%, and among employees' children — 10.1%.

The first stages in the working careers of youth are significantly affected by social origin and the cultural and educational level of the family. But in the subsequent advancement of youth the role of these factors is substantially reduced by the social institutions of the socialist society operating through the system of correspondence and evening education. The performance of the individual in production and his social and political activity assume increasing importance.

In this connection, V. N. Shubkin's findings in his study of the realization of the career plans of youth completing secondary school in the Novosibirsk region in 1963 are significant. It was determined that a certain association exists between the realization of the career plans of secondary school graduates and the social position of their parents. Most young people aspire

to the creative occupations. However, the social status of parents exercises a definite influence even in the development of orientations toward the choice of an occupation.

Thus, the children of collective farmers and agricultural workers do not expect to begin their working careers in mental work, but in contrast to the position of their parents, they see their advancement through transfer to employment in the city, in industry. Among urban children, the career plans of those who come from families employed in primarily manual labor differ relatively little from the plans of those whose families are employed in mental work.

It is true, of course, that the conditions of life in intelligentia families provide their youth with greater opportunities for achieving their career plans. Nonetheless, a considerable proportion of workers' children achieved theirs as well. Collective farmers' children were less successful in solving their problems. (3) It should also be noted that some of the children from the lower-paid and less cultured groups of the population drop out of school in the senior grades.

The authors of a Moscow study present the following data for the first half of the 1960s: in the 10th-11th grades of secondary school, 42.8% of the pupils are children whose fathers have highly skilled jobs, while in trade schools and factory schools this group of children constitutes 4% of the student body; in 4th grade classes the proportion of children having both a father and mother accounts for 81.4% of the pupils, while in vocational-technical schools such children comprise 57.6% of the pupils. The writers' justifiable conclusion is: "As we move from class to class, a considerable number of children whose parents are employed in unskilled and average-paid work drop out, and the percentage of children whose parents are employed in highly skilled work increases sharply." (4)

Similar findings were obtained by I. M. Musatov in Novosibirsk. He showed that pupils from the socially less advanced groups drop out because of poor performance. This circumstance, of course, is not biologically predetermined; it is socially conditioned by the level of cultural development in the pupils' environment. According to the results of Musatov's

sample study of the performance of schoolchildren in the Novosibirsk secondary schools in the 1963/1964 academic year, an average of 8% of all pupils did unsatisfactory work, but among the children of unskilled workers this proportion was 15.6%, and among skilled workers' children it was only 7.8%; among the children of low-skilled employees it rose to 8.8%, while among the children of highly skilled personnel it fell to 3.2%. Although only 16% of all pupils were the children of unskilled workers, this category accounted for 40% of all retarded children and 34% of those who had to repeat a grade. (5)

According to the findings of the State Committee of the Council of Ministers on Vocational-Technical Education, children from low-income groups of the population, because of all the factors indicated here, frequently do not complete a full secondary education but enroll in vocational-technical schools after the 8th grade. Thus, 30.9% of the pupils in the schools studied (who accounted for 65.5% of all students in this system) did not have one or both of their parents. Of those who did have both parents, 56% came from families with an income per family member of up to 20 rubles per month, 22.3% — with an income of 21-30 rubles per month, and only 4.3% — with an income of more than 50 rubles per month. (6)

Hence the fundamental importance of the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers providing for the gradual transformation of schools of the vocational-technical type into special kinds of educational complexes which will provide three to four years of instruction and in which youngsters who have no parents or who come from low-income families will be able to obtain a complete secondary education and thereby will have a real possibility of choosing a life path corresponding to their abilities and inclinations.

We may also add that, according to the findings of the already cited investigation of students graduating from Leningrad secondary schools in the 1963-1967 period (with E. K. Vasil'eva and G. G. Zaitsev heading the project, and the author of this book acting as consultant), the proportion of those who could not pursue a higher education because of financial difficulties fell from 21.4% in 1963 to 7.3% in 1967, relative to the number of employed secondary school graduates.

Thus, by the end of the 1960s our socialist system had, in effect, eliminated in the great majority of cases the influence of economic circumstances on the achievement of the career plans of children from different social groups. However, the influence of inequality in social and cultural background still remains. Thus, the same investigation of graduates of Leningrad secondary schools shows that 52% of those entering higher schools were youngsters whose parents had a higher education (this comprised 80% of all such youngsters), and 31% came from families in which the parents had a secondary specialized education.

Is the influence of family status on the future social position of the individual just as strong as it is on the start of his independent working life? The investigation conducted in the Tatar Republic permits us to verify to some extent the hypothesis of the equalizing effect of social institutions on the individual's subsequent work career. Our findings show that in Kazan the association between social origins and education at the start of an individual's work career can be expressed as $T = 0.198$, while the association between social origins and education at the time of the survey was $T = 0.203^*$. In the language of statistics this appears as follows. Of the Kazan residents who had a higher education, 7.8% were the children of collective farmers, while only 2.9% of those who began their work careers with a higher education were the children of collective farmers. Of all residents with a higher education, 10.3% were the children of workers in unskilled manual labor, but the latter category constituted only 7.4% of those who began their work careers after completing a higher education. The gap for children of skilled urban workers is less — 11.4% and 10.3% respectively. But the relationship is reversed among children from families employed in positions requiring a higher education. Such children comprised 25.6% of all personnel with a higher education, and 32.5% of those who began their work careers after receiving such an education.

Similar findings, testifying to the declining influence of social origins on the social status of the individual in the course

*In the light of the material that follows, the values for T given here by Shkaratan appear to be reversed.

of his work career, were obtained for Almetevsk and Menzelinsk.

Let us now examine the influence of social origins on work performance and social and political activity.

According to data obtained in the study of Leningrad machine-building personnel, the average skill grades of workers were as follows: 3.75 for children of workers in manual labor, 3.67 for children of collective farmers, and 4.55 for employees' children.* These differences are closely related to differences in the average length of vocational training, which was 12 months in the first case, 9 months in the second, and 20 months in the third.

The value orientations of hereditary workers are of special interest to enterprises. Among children of workers in manual labor, the majority (56%) were satisfied with their specialties. Among employees' children, partial satisfaction was typical ("In general I like the work").

No clear association between work performance and social origins can be observed among workers in today's Soviet industry. Thus, among Leningrad machine-building personnel, 36.8% of workers' children overfulfilled their shift assignments, while 39.4% of collective farmers' children did so. On the other hand, there were hardly any hereditary workers who failed to fulfill their shift assignments (only 0.8% of the total), while 4.2% of those of rural origin failed to do so. The reason for this does not lie in differing attitudes toward work (such differences do not exist) but in the special circumstances of being raised in the countryside. Most of those who do not fulfill their shift assignments are rather young children of peasants who have not yet become accustomed to the city or to the enterprise. The slight superiority of children of rural origin with respect to the overfulfillment of output norms is associated with the longer work experience of this group, and also with the fact that the children of workers in manual labor are actively moving into the ranks of the technical intelligentsia, a process which embraces the most energetic and professionally capable portion of hereditary workers. This also explains the difference in the

*Like a number of other Soviet wage scales, that for machine-building workers normally has six skill grades.

extent of participation in rationalization activity (8.2% among workers' children compared to 10.5% among collective farmers' children). There are also certain differences in pay: the average wages of collective farmers' children are 5% higher than those of workers' children. But at the present time it is the length of employment that exercises a considerable influence on many aspects of the work performance of individuals, and this is about three years longer among collective farmers' children than among hereditary workers, which is also the approximate gap in age of these groups. This is fully understandable. Until the mid-1950s the countryside served as the principal source of workers' cadres. Only in recent years has the role of the working class in replenishing itself increased sharply, with the result that the proportion of individuals of peasant origin in the current generation of Leningrad machine-building workers has fallen to 12.3%.

Differences in length of employment, and consequently in social and political experience, also explain differences in indicators of Party membership. Among machine-building personnel who are hereditary workers, 15.2% are Communists, while among collective farmers' children in machine-building the figure is 26.8%. The proportions of Komsomol members are 19.5% and 10.4% respectively. Participation in community life (the holding of elective posts, community assignments) closely follows the same lines: the proportion of hereditary workers who have community assignments is 56.9%, while among collective farmers' children it is 61.5%.

All this makes it clear that social ties in the form of parents-to-children (i.e., social origins) do not have a significant impact on the intensity of manifestation of basic class characteristics. However, in some aspects of daily life and culture these ties (more accurately, the differences between city and countryside that still remain) do show themselves. For example, hereditary workers have more books in their personal libraries (an average of 74 compared to 60 for those of peasant origin), and they read more books per month. Those who have arrived from the countryside are more strongly attracted to television (they regularly view all programs), while the proportion of

Table 6

Employment Status of Wives (Husbands) Depending on Socio-Occupational Status
of Respondents, Leningrad Machine-Building, 1965

Groups of respondents	Employment status of wives (husbands) (in %)					
	workers	personnel with secondary specialized education	personnel with higher education	em- ployees	stu- dents	house- wives total
Unskilled personnel in manual labor	66.4	8.1	5.3	5.3	—	14.9
Personnel in nonmanual labor of medium skills	65.2	13.7	6.6	7.0	3.1	4.4
Personnel in skilled, primarily manual labor, employed on ma- chines and mechanisms	61.5	15.3	5.4	13.0	1.0	3.8
Personnel in skilled, primarily manual, hand labor	52.9	17.3	6.3	16.1	1.7	5.7
Highly skilled personnel combining manual and mental work	47.9	14.8	6.2	24.9	—	6.2
Personnel in skilled mental work	27.9	22.1	31.5	10.7	2.9	4.9
Personnel in highly skilled scientific and technical work	10.5	23.2	53.8	6.3	3.1	3.1
Organizers of production collectives (from foremen to enterprise executives)	25.7	17.4	27.9	17.8	1.7	9.5
Total	51.2	16.3	12.6	12.7	1.7	5.5

workers' children who attend theaters and concerts is higher. These circumstances primarily reflect not differences in material well-being (income per capita and housing space are about the same for both groups) but differences in social traditions and general cultural levels.

Let us now examine the extent of social ties between different groups of employed personnel in industry, and whether there are purely workers' families, for example, or whether families of mixed social composition are now typical. We have already ascertained how complex are the genealogies, how interwoven are the social employments among three generations. Tables 6 and 7 are of interest in this respect. They present data which portray the association between the socio-occupational status of respondents and the employment status of their wives (husbands).

It is clear from Tables 6 and 7 that family and marriage ties are formed in such a way that they embrace the whole society and are not locked within given social groups. However, we cannot help but note that within the extreme groups (workers in unskilled manual labor, on the one hand, and personnel employed in highly skilled mental work, on the other) there is a high degree of homogeneity of marriage ties. The greatest heterogeneity of family and marriage ties prevails among skilled workers, particularly among highly skilled personnel combining manual and mental functions (adjusters, repair-mechanics). Less than one-half of the married couples in this group (47.9%) are of the purely workers' type, while the remainder are of mixed social composition. Marriage ties are also highly dispersed among personnel in skilled mental work requiring primarily a specialized secondary education. In Leningrad the marriage ties of this category are almost equally distributed among three groups: in 27.9% of the cases the spouse is a worker, in 22.1% of the cases — an individual with secondary specialized education, and in 31.5% of the cases — an individual with higher education. A similar situation may be observed at the Pskov automatic telephone station plant, where personnel in skilled mental work are married to workers in 23.8% of the cases and to employees without specialized education in 19% of

Table 7
 Employment Status of Wives (Husbands) Depending on Socio-Occupational Status of Respondents,
 Automatic Telephone Station Plant, Pskov, 1967

Groups of respondents	Employment status of wives (husbands) (in %)							Number of respondents	
	collec- tive farmers	workers in agri- culture	unskilled workers in city or workers' settlement	skilled workers in city or workers' settlement	employees without specialized education	personnel with secondary specialized education	personnel with higher specialized education others		
Unskilled personnel in manual labor	—	—	23.0	26.8	38.6	7.7	3.9	—	26
Personnel in nonmanual labor	—	—	13.2	51.0	5.6	22.7	7.5	—	53
Personnel in skilled, primarily manual, hand labor	—	—	10.2	45.7	9.8	21.6	8.5	4.2	166
Personnel in skilled manual labor, employed on machines and mechanisms	1.2	1.2	13.4	61.0	8.6	14.6	—	—	82
Personnel in skilled mental work, and scientific and technical work	2.4	—	—	23.8	19.0	28.6	23.8	2.4	42
Executives of labor collectives	—	—	—	27.3	9.1	27.3	36.3	—	11

the cases. It is important to note that the dispersion of family and marriage ties, viewed in a social framework, promotes social progress.

Among Leningrad machine-building personnel whose wives (husbands) were workers, 10.9% were continuing their education, with 2.1% attending higher educational institutions, while among those whose spouses were technicians the corresponding figures were 39% and 10.5%. Among those whose wives (husbands) were students, 59.8% were continuing their education, with 17.6% attending higher educational institutions. However paradoxical it may seem, when the spouse was a housewife the husband was less likely to be continuing his education (the corresponding figures were 24% and 5%). Similar results were obtained for the reading of books, theater attendance, and other aspects of the cultural development of employed personnel. Naturally, the data apply to identical (comparable) age groups. Thus, it appears that being married to a housewife does not create better conditions for continuing one's education and for the social advancement of the husband. On the contrary, other things being equal — including age categories — our findings show that the more active participation of the wife in the life of society promotes the social growth of the husband.

In order to obtain a more precise picture of social ties, in the investigation conducted in the Tatar Republic we attempted to examine the integrated socio-occupational status of members of the families of respondents (excluding the latter). The results were highly interesting. The degree of correlation between the socio-occupational status of respondents and that of the members of their families was higher than it was between the socio-occupational status of respondents and that of their friends. This was to be expected of course, although, as we noted earlier, families of mixed social composition predominate in our society. The Chuprov coefficients expressing the relationship between the socio-occupational status of the respondents and that of the members of their families were as follows: $T = 0.172$ in Kazan, $T = 0.150$ in Almetevsk, $T = 0.171$ in Menzelinsk.

In considerable measure the material presented above has

already revealed the nature of social mobility in contemporary Soviet society.

Analysis of the dynamics of the social position of families from generation to generation is especially important in examining social mobility.

The family chart included in the questionnaire used in the investigation conducted in the Tatar Republic contained information on all members of the family who were employed or on pension at the time of the study. The families were divided into ten groups:

1) families in which there was a rise in social level without a transition of members of the family to groups employed in positions and jobs requiring a higher education;

2) families in which the rise in socio-occupational status from generation to generation was associated with the transition of some members of the family to jobs requiring higher education;

3) families in which the younger and older generations retained approximately the same socio-occupational status, but within a range of jobs requiring no more than a secondary specialized education;

4) families in which there was no rise in social status between the older and younger generations, but in which both generations included individuals employed in jobs requiring higher education;

5) families in which there was a fall in status, a shift of the younger generation to a lower socio-occupational status, with both generations remaining within a range of jobs not requiring more than a secondary education;

6) families in which there were individuals in the older generation who had jobs requiring a higher education while there were no such individuals in the younger generation;

7-10) families in which the representatives of three generations were employed. The number of such families, of course, was relatively small, and thus our data are not representative in a statistical sense. However, they may be used to characterize certain processes. The seventh group included families in which the younger generation experienced more progressive

changes than the middle generation but remained in jobs not requiring a higher education. The eighth group consisted of families in which the younger generation underwent more progressive changes than the middle generation and also included individuals employed in jobs requiring a higher education. The ninth group comprised families in which the changes in the younger generation were less progressive than in the middle generation, but the social status of the younger generation remained higher than that of the older generation, with higher education characterizing both the middle and younger generations. The tenth group comprised families in which the changes in the younger generation were less progressive than in the middle generation, with the changes in all cases remaining within the types of jobs requiring no more than a secondary education. In each case the social status of the family was determined by considering the position of the respondent. (7)

Let us now turn to some quantitative indices. Given the statistics available, we must confine ourselves to the data for Kazan.

The first group included 36.2% of the families investigated, while the second included 14.5%. This means that more than one-half of the families (50.7%) were characterized by a high level of social mobility.

A considerable percentage of the families remained at a stable social level. This applies to families of the third (27.6%) and fourth (2.9%) groups.

It is characteristic that families which experienced a decline in family social status represented an immeasurably smaller proportion — 17.1%. The fifth group included 10.5% of the families, and the sixth — 6.6%. But in families of the sixth group, where members of the younger generation had a secondary education, there were still prospects of social advancement. Therefore, it would be rash to accept the figure of 6.6% as representing the proportion of families with declining social status.

Families of the seventh to tenth groups constituted an insignificant proportion of the total, only 1.8%. Hence we need not consider them.

Thus, we do not have the kind of distribution, let us say, in

which 50% of the families raised their social status and 50% experienced a decline. What we have is a situation in which there have been fundamental changes in social structure accompanied by intensive growth in the proportion of upwardly mobile families and an active process of increasing social homogeneity in society.

It is obvious from the material presented here that an extremely important feature of the social structure of socialist society is the absence of stable, self-reproducing, exclusive, "closed" social strata.

The same findings can also be used to characterize the social sources of recruitment of the working class. They show that all socio-occupational groups of personnel in industry are formed today from representatives of different social strata, and that these groups are increasingly similar with respect to sources of recruitment. This conclusion is confirmed by an analysis of data on the social-class origins of different age groups of employed personnel in Leningrad machine-building.

For the older age groups the initial structure of recruitment was different, naturally, than the one recorded in our investigation. Apparently it included more individuals of working class background, who subsequently shifted into the ranks of the intelligentsia, regular armed forces personnel, etc. However, there is no need to introduce such strong qualifications as were necessary in interpreting the data of the census of workers and employees conducted by the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions in 1929. The data obtained at that time really could not be used, without risking serious mistakes, to analyze the sources of recruitment of the working class during the Imperialist and Civil Wars, since the qualitative migration processes which occurred in the 1920s completely changed the structure of the older age groups of the working class in comparison with the initial structure. There are no grounds for assuming that such great distortions were also introduced during the Great Patriotic War and the subsequent period of peaceful socialist construction, since, as analysis of the material presented above shows, social mobility both within the working class and beyond it embraces descendants from all social strata more or less evenly.

For purposes of analysis we took three age groups of Lenin-grad machine-building personnel: 20-24 years, 30-34 years, and 50-54 years. The youngest age groups are not included because they are not firmly attached to their jobs. As for the 55 and over age group, its representation in our sample is too small. The data for the three basic age groups permit us to analyze the structure of recruitment of the working class at the end of the 1920s and the early 1930s, at the end of the 1940s, and during the current period.

Among the older generation of the working class, 58% were of worker origin, 27.7% were children of collective farmers, 10.9% were employees' children, and 3.4% were in the "others" category. Among the postwar generation of the working class, 49.5% were children of workers, 19.8% were children of collective farmers, 24.1% were employees' children, and 6.6% were children of "others." In the current generation of workers, 55.3% are of worker origin, 12.3% are children of collective farmers, 25.9% are employees' children, and 6.5% are children of "others."

Despite possible inaccuracies in these figures associated with the social migration of the past, they suggest conclusions which coincide with the observations of journalists and the testimony of managerial personnel and Party workers: the proportion of collective farmers' children is declining sharply (it is less than 50% of the level prevailing at the end of the 1920s and early 1930s); the proportion of employees' children is rising markedly; and the proportion of workers' children — following a natural decline in the postwar years — is rising somewhat.

In 1965 the Central Committee of the Komsomol conducted a sociological study of the factors determining the degree of satisfaction of youth in automobile and tractor plants with their jobs and their advancement in production (see Chapter 1).^{*} It turned out that among the workers of these plants, which are very typical of contemporary Soviet industry as regards sources of recruitment of the work force, 49.6% were the children of urban workers, 9.8% were the children of agricultural workers,

^{*}This section was not included in the present volume.

15.5% were the children of collective farmers, 21.1% were employees' children, and 4% were the children of "others." However, the figures differ markedly among cities. In Kutaisi and Minsk the cadres are drawn largely from the countryside, while in Lvov and Kharkov, on the other hand, some 75% of the recruits are the children of urban residents.

In a book issued in 1959, the economist M. Ia. Sonin noted that the ranks of manual workers were being replenished both by the children of workers as well as by the children of collective farmers and the intelligentsia. These were also the sources of recruitment of the intelligentsia. The collective farm peasantry is being reproduced primarily from its own ranks, although to a certain extent it is being replenished by working-class and intelligentsia children. Thus, a distinguishing feature of the reproduction of classes in our socialist society is the systematically increasing similarity of the sources of their reproduction. In this connection, the classification of sources according to indicators of social class is inadequate and should be supplemented by several other indicators. Sonin proposes that in regulating the sources of recruitment, primary consideration should be given to two features: (a) the division of the population into urban and rural, in connection with significant differences in their conditions of life; (b) sex and age, as well as the degree of preparation for social labor. (8) In our view these correct conclusions will continue to be significant in the near future.

It is difficult to agree with N. A. Aitov's statement that "at the present time the peasantry is the main source of recruitment of the working class in our country." (9) Aitov cites the following data in this connection: 48% of the workers in Kazan enterprises in 1963 were the children of collective farmers (or peasants); at some Lithuanian enterprises (note the "at some"), 53-56.7% of the workers were the children of peasants (data from Razvitie rabocheho klassa v natsional'nykh respublikakh SSSR, Moscow, 1962, pp. 111-112); in 1960, 37% of the workers participating in communist labor at nine enterprises in Moscow were the children of peasants (from Voprosy organizatsii i metodiki konkretno-sotsiologicheskikh issledovani, Moscow, 1963, p. 124).

Aitov has not considered two circumstances: (1) his examples rely chiefly on areas of high inflow of labor from the countryside; (2) the figures apply to all age groups, while the study of sources of recruitment requires the adjustment of the data on social origins according to the period in which the individual began work in industry. Finally, the figures themselves not only fail to corroborate but seem to conflict with Aitov's conclusion. Aside from the data for Lithuania, they refer to predominantly nonrural sources of recruitment of the working class.

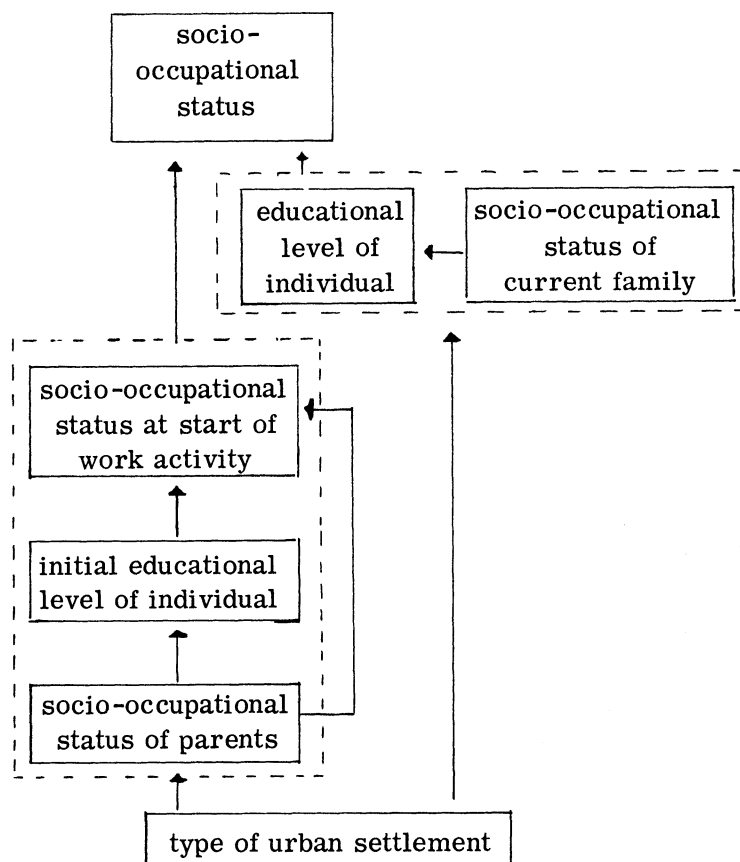
For the contemporary theory and practice of the management of social processes, it is not enough to rely exclusively on social-class categories in analyzing sources of recruitment of the working class. Nor can we confine ourselves to studying these sources only with respect to the working class taken as a whole. By relying on the kind of differentiation of the working class presented in the preceding section of this chapter,* we could then analyze the sources of its recruitment from the standpoint of the socio-occupational status of the heads of families of individuals belonging to different socio-occupational groups. Thus, the analysis should be based on a combination of data relating to the class status, socio-occupational status, and area of origin (village versus city, with subdivisions according to type of city) of recruits to the working class.

Unfortunately, basic data of this type are not at our disposal. All of the findings presented above on the socio-occupational status of the respondents and their grown children help us to understand, in some measure, the main tendency in the development of sources of recruitment of different social groups of the working class, a tendency which reveals a process of steady intermingling of these sources.

* * *

On the basis of all the material presented in this chapter, the process of formation of the principal social, intraclass groups

*Shkaratan is referring here to the material on pp. 63-105 of this volume.



may be presented in the form of the above scheme.

The interaction of the individual elements in this scheme has been the subject of our study. As the scheme shows, the socio-occupational groupings are determined by the initial condition of social relations in society, as these are expressed in indicators of the social status of families in which the rearing of new recruits to the social groups proceeds. The educational level of the individual at the start of his work activity is to a large degree predetermined by the family, and this has a significant impact on the distribution of new members of the work force among the socio-occupational groups. The investigation showed that education acquired in the process of work activity, and the

adjusted [usrednennyi] social status of the new family formed by the individual, have a relatively independent impact on the ultimate socio-occupational status of this individual.

Moreover, there is a rather clear-cut connection between types of urban settlements and the characteristics of socio-occupational groups. It seems clear in general that, as we move from a larger to a smaller city, the demands made on the socio-occupational and social-cultural potential of an individual of given socio-occupational status decline. We may also observe a declining level of social expectations and more modest claims on the part of the population with respect to social advancement. This is explained to a large extent by the fact that a small city expels its surplus, socially active population, while a large city, with a stabilized and relatively conservative system of social groups, retains and redistributes the socially mobile part of city-dwellers within its own limits.

We can recognize that large cities represent a type of intensive, organic urbanization of society, and therefore should be evaluated as a kind of standard, a model of the near future of society. Other types of urban settlements represent less developed types of aggregates of social relations. It is no accident that our scheme includes the type of urban settlement, influencing as it does both the initial as well as the subsequent stages of an individual's social career. The socio-occupational structure itself is set by the type of urban settlement, and this structure — as we have seen — differs markedly among cities primarily in the proportions of socio-occupational groups, and therefore in the scale and rates of social mobility.

Notes

1) It should be noted that, naturally, we could not distribute the friends of the respondents according to the same gradations as were applied to the respondents. Individuals frequently did not have sufficiently precise information on the socio-occupational status of their friends. That is why the friends of the respondents in the 1967 studies were classified into the following categories: collective farmers, agricultural workers, unskilled

urban workers, skilled urban workers, employees without specialized education, technicians and others with specialized secondary education, engineers and others with higher education, students, housewives, and others. In Kazan, as well as in other cities, hardly anyone (from 1% to 2%, depending on the group) was included in the "others" category, i.e., those who were not covered by the selected gradations. We may assume that our classification was satisfactory for the purposes for which it was used in the survey. [Shkaratan may be referring here only to cities in the Tatar Republic. Table 2 shows that in Pskov more than 18% of unskilled workers' friends were in the "others" category.]

2) We omit the data for Almetevsk and Menzelinsk, which do not contribute anything fundamentally new to the investigation of this problem.

3) See V. N. Shubkin, "The Choice of Occupation Under Conditions of Communist Construction (Results of an Empirical Sociological Investigation of Occupational Inclinations of School-children)," Voprosy filosofii, 1964, No. 8, pp. 18, 24, 27; "Youth Enters Life," Voprosy filosofii, 1965, No. 5, p. 65.

4) Rabochii klass i tekhnicheskii progress, Moscow, 1965, p. 258.

5) See I. M. Musatov, Sotsial'nye problemy trudovykh resursov v SSSR (Opyt konkretnogo ekonomiko-sotsiologicheskogo issledovaniia), Moscow, 1967, p. 47.

6) From data obtained in the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Vocational-Technical Education by the author's diploma candidate, L. A. Kesti.

7) The method of classification was worked out by E. K. Vasil'eva. It seems to us that the principles on which it is based can be useful in further studies which rely on more extensive statistical data.

8) See M. Ia. Sonin, Vosproizvodstvo rabochei sily v SSSR i balans truda, Moscow, 1959, p. 59.

9) Voprosy filosofii, 1965, No. 3, pp. 7-8.