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INCOME OF FAMILIES OF SOVIET WORKERS:
ECONOMIC, NORMATIVE AND SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS

by

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#7

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Empirical studies conducted in the U.S.S.R. in the period 1962-1975 have linked the behavior of Soviet industrial workers at their place of employment to a wide range of social, economic, and psychological factors.¹ In examining such matters as attitudes towards work, productivity, work discipline, sense of responsibility and willingness to take initiative, as well as labor turnover and mobility and labor-management relations, some Soviet researchers have included in their studies as an independent variable the level of material well-being enjoyed by the worker's family. For this purpose the most commonly used measure has been the mean net monetary income received per month per family member.

Although as a result of this research some valuable information has been published concerning the living conditions of Soviet industrial workers' families, this material has not yet been presented in full or analyzed systematically either in the U.S.S.R. or elsewhere. Faced with such an information gap, we have no means for evaluating the reliability or the representativeness of the data which have been published; nor can we compare the results of individual research studies with those arrived at through the official budget surveys of Soviet industrial workers' families, since much of the latter data has also been withheld from publication.

Official surveys of family budgets were begun in the U.S.S.R. in 1918.² In 1964-1965, 51,000 families were studied in year-long budget surveys (25,000 were families of workers or

employees and 26,000 were collective farmers' families.³ In 1972 the year-long budget survey covered 62,000 families of workers, employees, engineers, technicians and collective farmers.⁴ In 1958 the Central Bureau of Statistics began one-period (monthly) surveys of family income. The 1958 surveys dealt with 240,000 families of workers and employees in non-agricultural fields; in 1967, 250,000 families of workers and employees were subjected to a monthly check; and in 1972, 310,000 families of workers, employees, and collective farmers were examined.⁵

Yet, for the period of interest to us (1965-1975) it was only in 1972 that the first official data appeared and that dealt only with the (percentage) income structure of Soviet industrial workers' families.⁶ To this day no data have been published concerning average income in rubles, average family size, and the number of wage-earners and their dependents, let alone any information indicating the income distribution of such families.

Several individual researchers in the U.S.S.R. have tried to deal in recent years with the question of family income and income distribution among industrial workers, ostensibly on the basis of the official surveys. Their publications, however, have been largely theoretical and methodological in scope. They have lacked any specific information on income or income distribution apart from some general income distribution curves which, characteristically, were unaccompanied by any statistical data.

Against this background of inadequate access to the data and a certain inability to evaluate systematically the results which have been published, we have pursued three complementary lines of research: to examine the actual level of income, to check the income corresponding to various normative budgets, and to explore different sociological aspects of family income formation and use. In this paper we have tried to achieve the following goals:

(1) To estimate the actual mean net monetary income and income in kind received by an average industrial worker's family in the U.S.S.R. from 1965 to 1975;

(2) To evaluate the data collected on this subject through various socio-economic and sociological investigations in the U.S.S.R. during that period;

(3) To compare the figures arrived at through the above research with the officially recognized income minimum;

(4) To show how Soviet industrial workers evaluate their actual family income and what income level they conceive to be the norm;

(5) To discuss some of the socio-economic consequences stemming from the observed differences in the level of material well-being of Soviet industrial workers' families.

I. The Mean Net Monetary Income and Income in Kind of Industrial Workers' Families in the U.S.S.R., 1965-1975

For the purpose of this discussion gross family income is defined as the sum of all forms of income, in money and in kind, obtained by the family from all sources. In accordance with the classification system accepted in the U.S.S.R., gross family income includes the following elements:

a. Gross wages paid to employed members of the family in return for their work in the public (state and co-operative) sector of the economy;

b. Monetary income from social consumption funds in the form of pensions, grants, scholarships, etc.;

c. Free services provided by social consumption funds (free education, medical care, etc.);

d. Monetary income and income in kind obtained from the family's subsidiary farm;⁷

e. Monetary income and income in kind received by the family from other sources.

Net family income is defined as gross family income minus all taxes and minus the value of the free services obtained from the social consumption funds.

As previously mentioned, none of the publicly available official Soviet statistical publications or individual monographs provide data on the absolute values of mean net income for an average worker's family. Since 1965, however, the official

statistical/yearbook Narkhoz has published a series of data which make it possible to calculate such values (using some approximations and extrapolations). These data cover:

1. The average gross money wages of industrial workers (with and without leave-pay);
2. The average total value per worker employed of monetary benefits and free services obtained by workers from social consumption funds;
3. The structure of all benefits obtained from social consumption funds by the general population of the U.S.S.R.;
4. The average number of family members employed (worker and employee families are treated as one group).⁸

In addition to this information, since 1972 the Narkhoz has included data on the percentage composition of the average gross income of an industrial worker's family. Although these data have been constructed on a narrow base of primary statistical information (budget surveys of industrial workers' families), we have been able to use the official data to calculate the mean net income of industrial workers' families. Our method is described in Appendix I, and the results are presented in Tables 1 and 2.

The following conclusions can be drawn from the data shown in Tables 1 and 2:

1. During the period under discussion (1965-1975) the percentage composition of the net income of industrial workers' families did not change in any essential way. The main source

TABLE 1

**THE AVERAGE MONTHLY NET MONETARY INCOME AND INCOME IN KIND OF INDUSTRIAL WORKERS' FAMILIES
IN THE USSR (1965-1975)**

(Variant A)											
	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
I Total net income per family											
Rubles	188.5	196.7	207.5	226.6	240.3	253.6	267.5	278.0	293.5	314.6	332.3
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Including:											
1. Net wages of family members:											
Rubles	156.3	162.0	170.8	187.5	198.9	210.3	221.4	231.3	242.7	258.8	273.1
%	82.9	82.4	82.3	82.7	82.8	82.9	82.8	83.2	82.7	82.2	82.2
2. Monetary income from social consumption funds											
Rubles	22.7	25.0	26.7	28.5	30.4	32.2	34.6	35.2	37.6	42.7	45.5
%	12.0	12.7	12.9	12.6	12.7	12.7	12.9	12.7	12.8	13.6	13.7
3. Income from individual subsidiary farm											
Rubles	3.9	3.9	3.9	4.0	4.0	4.2	3.9	3.3	4.9	4.0	3.9
%	2.1	2.0	1.9	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.5	1.2	1.7	1.3	1.2
4. Income from other sources											
Rubles	5.6	5.8	6.1	6.6	7.0	6.9	7.6	8.2	8.3	9.1	9.8
%	3.0	2.9	2.9	2.9	2.9	2.7	2.8	2.9	2.8	2.9	2.9
II Income per family member											
In Rubles	49.0	51.2	54.2	59.3	63.1	66.7	70.6	73.5	77.9	83.7	88.6

Sources notes methodological remarks and stages in the calculations for Tables 1 and 2 are given in the text and in Appendix I

TABLE 2

THE AVERAGE MONTHLY NET MONETARY INCOME AND INCOME IN KIND OF INDUSTRIAL WORKERS' FAMILIES											
IN THE USSR (1965-1975)											(Variant B)
	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
I Total net income per family											
Rubles	187.1	193.4	203.1	222.1	234.8	247.4	260.5	271.9	286.6	304.4	322.9
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Including:											
1. Net wages of family members											
Rubles	156.3	162.0	170.8	187.5	198.9	210.3	221.4	231.3	242.7	258.8	273.1
%	83.5	(83.8)	(84.1)	(84.4)	(84.7)	85.0	(85.0)	85.1	84.7	85.0	84.6
2. Monetary income from social consumption funds											
Rubles	21.3	21.7	22.3	24.0	24.9	26.0	27.6	29.1	30.7	32.5	36.1
%	11.4	(11.2)	(11.0)	(10.8)	(10.6)	10.5	(10.6)	10.7	10.7	10.7	11.2
3. Income from individual subsidiary farm											
Rubles	3.9	3.9	3.9	4.0	4.0	4.2	3.9	3.3	4.9	4.0	3.9
%	2.1	(2.0)	(1.9)	(1.8)	(1.7)	1.7	(1.5)	1.2	1.7	1.3	1.2
4. Income from other sources											
Rubles	5.6	5.8	6.1	6.6	7.0	6.9	7.6	8.2	8.3	9.1	9.8
%	3.0	(3.0)	(3.0)	(3.0)	(3.0)	2.8	(2.9)	3.0	2.9	3.0	3.0
II Income per family member	48.6	50.4	53.0	58.1	61.6	65.1	68.7	71.9	76.0	81.0	86.1

Source: as for Table 1

of monetary income remained the net wages of employed family members. This source furnished about 82-85% of the net monetary income and income in kind obtained in the period under review. Money received from the social consumption funds was the second major source of income, accounting for about 10-14% of the family's net income. The family subsidiary farm and other sources contributed relatively little to overall family income.

2. According to our calculations, in 1965 and 1966 the average net monthly monetary income and income in kind of an average size worker's family did not exceed 200 rubles. Only during the latter year did the average net monthly income per family member exceed 50 rubles.

3. From 1965 to 1975 the mean net monthly income of an average industrial worker's family increased by 72-77% to 322.9-332.3 rubles; the mean net income per family member rose 77-81% to 86.1-88.6 rubles a month.

In evaluating the results presented here, it is necessary to take into account the enormous methodological difficulties involved in calculating the income of the families of Soviet industrial workers. The most important of these difficulties are the following:

1. The predominant part of family income -- the net wages

of employed family members -- was calculated using data on the average monthly wages of Soviet industrial workers and the average number of employed persons per family. Yet not all employed persons in a worker's family earn the wages received by industrial workers. Thus, for example, in many families where the husband is a worker, the wife may be a rank and file employee receiving a much lower salary.⁹ According to the 1970 census, in 32% of all urban families the family members did not have the same occupational status.¹⁰ This factor would indicate that the data calculated in this study tend to overstate the net wages of the employed members of a worker's family.

2. It should also be taken into account that the officially published data on average wages cover only those wages received from the main place of employment in the public sector. From all appearances the data do not include wages earned from additional jobs in the public sector. If this is the case, the data calculated here would be too low.

3. Similarly the official data used for our study do not cover income from jobs in the private sector or income not derived from work. Both of these factors would lead to an underestimate of total net monthly income.

4. In estimating the average net monthly income per family member, we defined 'family' to include not only persons enjoying kinship ties who live together and share a common budget, but also those persons living apart from the core family who still participate in the common budget or at least maintain certain financial ties with the family.¹¹ Yet we were unable to ascertain

how the concept 'family' was defined by the compilers of the official data. Thus, calculations based on the officially published data for 1975 indicate that the average number of employed persons in Soviet worker and employee families was 1.8, but it is not clear whether this figure includes employed family members who lived apart from the family, who nonetheless participated in the common budget.¹² Since in calculating the net wages of all employed family members we used the figure of 1.8 employed persons per family, should the official data exclude the latter category of persons from the family, then our data on income per family member are too low.

Since no available official publications provide figures on the average gross and net monthly income and income in kind of workers' families in the U.S.S.R. in 1965-1975, we cannot compare our calculations, data and conclusions with any official government sources. Our results can be compared, however, with data derived from various social-economic and sociological investigations carried out within the U.S.S.R. (Table 3),¹³ with that found in the research of David W. Bronson, Gertrude E. Schroeder and Barbara S. Severin (Table 4); and with the results of our own family budget survey of Soviet emigrants who arrived in Israel during 1974 and 1975 (Table 5).

As is evident from Table 3 the average monetary income per family member, as calculated on the basis of official statistics, falls below that obtained from the spot checks of individual researchers; yet one should not jump to the conclusion that our

TABLE 3

AVERAGE MONTHLY INCOME PER FAMILY MEMBER ACCORDING
TO CALCULATIONS BASED ON OFFICIAL AND INDIVIDUAL RESEARCH DATA

Year the study was carried out	City of the U. S. S. R.	Occupation or skill group of industrial workers	Average monthly income per family member in rubles according to:		
			Research data	Calculation based on official data	
				Variant A	Variant B
1965	Leningrad	Unskilled workers	60.8		
		Skilled manual workers working with machines and machine-tools	58.4	49.0	48.6
		Skilled, mainly manual workers	64.5		
		Highly skilled workers combining manual and intellectual skills	62.6		
1965-1968	Dnepropetrovsk				
	Zaporozhye				
	Odessa		60.0	49.0-59.3	48.6-58.1
	Kostroma				
	Pavlovsk -				
	-Posad				
1967	Novosibirsk	Seamstresses, Cutters, Pressers	54.3	54.2	53.0
1968	Novokuznetsk	Steel foundry workers	62.4		
		Blast-furnace workers, rollers	63.7		
		Steel molders	56.4	59.3	58.1
1968	Novosibirsk	Electric machine-building workers			
		Men	59.7		
		Women	57.2		

Sources and notes are given in the Appendix II

proposed method is therefore unreliable for calculating average income per family member. The differences shown may easily be due to the differences in the groups covered by the two sets of statistics. Whereas the official statistical information applies to all Soviet industrial workers, the data taken from the individual socio-economic and sociological investigations relate only to specific occupational groups and cover mainly industrial workers with relatively high wages. The official statistics concern workers engaged in all Soviet industrial enterprises; the spot checks were made mainly of workers in heavy industry in large plants located in main industrial centers (Leningrad, Novokuznetsk, Novosibirsk, Dnepropetrovsk, and Zaporozhye). Moreover, the official data comprise workers of all nationalities living in all the Soviet republics, while the spot investigations are principally concerned with workers living in the RSFSR and the Ukrainian SSSR, and as is known, such workers are generally more prosperous than those in other regions. In addition, both nationality and republic of residence are highly correlated with other characteristics such as family size and the number of employed persons per family which affect the level of income per family member.

That during the period under review the mean income per family member in Soviet industrial workers' families was somewhat higher than the mean income per family member for the Soviet population as a whole (Table 4), is not accidental. In the first place, the mean wages of Soviet industrial workers

TABLE 4

A COMPARISON OF THE AVERAGE PER CAPITA MONTHLY NET
INCOME OF THE SOVIET POPULATION AS A WHOLE WITH THAT
OF INDUSTRIAL WORKERS' FAMILIES, 1965-1975

	Soviet Population rubles	<u>Industrial Worker's Family</u>			
		Variant A		Variant B	
		rubles	%	rubles	%
	1	2	3	4	5
1965	41.1	49.0	119.2	48.6	118.2
1966	44.2	51.3	116.1	50.4	114.0
1967	47.0	54.2	115.3	53.0	112.8
1968	51.3	59.3	115.6	58.1	113.3
1969	53.7	63.1	117.5	61.6	114.7
1970	57.1	66.7	116.8	65.1	114.0
1971	60.1	70.6	117.5	68.7	114.3
1972	63.0	73.5	116.7	71.9	114.1
1973	66.1	77.9	117.9	76.0	115.0
1974	66.9	83.7	125.1	81.0	121.1
1975	72.6	88.8	122.3	86.1	118.6

Source:

Column 1. Gertrude E. Schroeder and Barbara S. Severin., "Soviet Consumption and Income Policies in Perspective", in U.S. Congress Joint Economic Committee, Soviet Economy in a New Perspective, Washington, D. C. : 1976, p. 652

Columns 2-5. According to our calculations

were higher than the mean wages of all Soviet workers and employees. They also exceeded the mean income of collective farmers.

Table 5 presents the preliminary results concerning 335 workers' families of a family budget survey which covered 1,000 Jewish families of emigrants from the U.S.S.R. who arrived in Israel during 1974 and 1975. The study was conducted by Dr. Gur Ofer and the present author.

In evaluating the results obtained in the survey one must be particularly careful since the sample can in no way be regarded as being representative of the entire population of Soviet workers' families. The survey does reveal, however, and, to a certain extent, even measure other sources of income in addition to the wages earned at a main place of employment. Such additional sources include:

- (1) wages from additional places of employment in the public sector;
- (2) monetary income from private work;
- (3) monetary income from other sources which were not disclosed by the respondents to our survey.

The results suggest that these sources of additional income take on different dimensions according to the main branch of employment of the family head. Thus, money income from private work in families where the family head is an industrial worker accounts, on the average, for only 2.3% of all family income; in families where the family head is a worker in housing and domestic services this share rises to 13.5%. Interbranch differences in the average amount and share of money income from other (undisclosed) sources are also very significant.

TABLE 5

NET MONTHLY INCOME OF WORKERS' FAMILIES BY BRANCH OF EMPLOYMENT
OF HEADS OF FAMILIES (MEN), SAMPLE, 1973

	Branch of Employment					
	I		II		III	
	Amount	%	Amount	%	Amount	%
	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Number of families in category	137		241		94	
2. Total income from all sources	327.01	100.0	338.54	100.0	349.18	100.0
3. Total wages from main places of employment*	296.99	90.8	292.25	86.3	264.76	75.8
4. Total wages from additional public places of employment	6.16	1.9	8.61	2.5	6.24	1.8
5. Money income from social consumption funds	5.97	1.8	7.18	2.1	13.21	3.8
6. Money income and income in kind from an individual subsidiary plot	2.55	0.8	3.72	1.1	1.34	0.4
7. Money income from private work	7.53	2.3	14.91	4.4	47.07	13.5
8. All other money income**	7.81	2.4	11.87	3.5	16.56	4.7
including:						
9. Money income from undisclosed sources	5.33	1.6	8.11	2.4	11.31	3.2
10. Total income minus: (4) + (7) + (9)	307.99		306.91		284.56	
11. Average number of family members employed in category	2.13		2.12		2.03	
12. Total income minus: (4) + (7) + (9), corrected***	273.29		273.61		264.94	
13. Average size of family in category	3.34		3.40		3.32	
14. Income per family member						
15. a. (2) ÷ (13)	97.91		99.57		105.17	
16. b. (10) ÷ (13)	92.21		90.27		85.71	
17. c. (12) ÷ (13)	81.82		80.47		79.80	

* Including value of payments in kind;

** Including: rental income, assistance from relatives, miscellaneous, income, and money income from undisclosed sources

*** See Text

Branches of Employment: I - Industry; II - Industry, Transport, Communications, Construction, Trade, Warehousing, Supply and Marketing; III - Housing and Domestic Services, Public Catering, and others.

If the data obtained in this survey are to be used for evaluating the calculations made by the present author of average net money income and income in kind for an industrial worker's family in the U.S.S.R. as a whole, then the income drawn from the three above-mentioned additional sources would have to be subtracted from the total family income received from all sources. The values which result from such a subtraction are very close to those presented in Tables 1 and 2.

II. A Comparative Analysis of Average Net Income and Various Normative Levels of Income

In order to compare the average net income of an industrial worker's family with what might be considered a normative income for the U.S.S.R., we have chosen to discuss three different normative budgets:

1. The net monthly monetary income of a worker's family of four (husband, wife, and two children -- a boy of 13-14 and a girl of 7-8) which would correspond to the family budget for minimum material well-being for the period 1965-1970, what was termed in the U.S.S.R. in 1967 "the normative minimum (family) budget for the current period."¹⁴

2. The net monthly monetary income of a worker's family of similar size which would correspond to the family budget for minimum material well-being for the period 1971-1975, i.e., the "normative minimum (family) budget for the immediate future."¹⁵

3. The net monthly monetary income for a worker's family of similar size which corresponds to what is termed in the U.S.S.R. "the normative rational family budget."¹⁶

The present study does not intend to analyze critically the different normative budgets developed in the U.S.S.R., nor examine the various definitions of these budgets. At the same time, some main points should be noted about the "normative minimum budget for 1965-1970.

1. According to the authors, "...the budget providing for minimum material well-being is characterized in practice by a minimum level of goods consumption..., with the cost of these goods determining the expenses of the family and also the income the family needs to maintain that level of consumption."¹⁷

2. The budget under discussion is a normative budget, i.e., a family budget in which the expenditure elements are developed on the basis of certain consumption norms of different material goods and services.

3. The budget under discussion reflects a real minimum; it constitutes a subsistence budget for a family. The authors of the 1965-1970 normative minimum budget did not conceal that their intention was to reduce to the utmost possible extent all family expenditures. Sarkisyan and Kuznetsova noted that the market basket of foodstuffs selected reflects the least favorable structure of food consumption possible under the conditions existing in the country at present; it is composed of the cheapest foodstuffs.¹⁸ In discussing other items of consumption,

they added, "the lowest figures on the price list were chosen as prices for clothing, shoes and underwear articles."¹⁹

4. The budget under discussion is the minimum budget for a worker's family of four. In this case the worker is presumed to be engaged in mechanized work. (Sarkisyan and Kuznetsova deal separately with a manual laborer and his family.²⁰)

5. In the family under discussion both the husband and wife work, that is, the work coefficient of the family is 2.

6. The "current period" begins with 1965 (according to Sarkisyan and Kuznetsova) and ends in 1970 (according to Karpukhin and Kuznetsova), i.e., a period of 5-6 years.²¹

After meticulous calculations, using methods not analyzed in this study, Sarkisyan and Kuznetsova come to the conclusion that a worker's family of four needs an average monthly net income of 205.6 rubles, or an average monthly net money income of 51.4 rubles per family member.²² This income is an income minimum adequate only for providing for the minimum material well-being of a family of four.

Similar results were arrived at through a more general approach by Karpukhin and Kuznetsova:

"Approximate calculations show that to satisfy minimum needs under present conditions the mentioned family must have a monthly income of slightly more than 200 rubles, or 50 rubles per family member. An average monthly income of 50 rubles per person can serve at present and in the next few years as a criterion for planning the minimum income of worker and employee families."²³

According to Sarkisyan and Kuznetsova, the normative minimum budget for 1971-1975 corresponds to a net monthly monetary income

of 265.8 rubles, or an average monthly net monetary income of 66.63 rubles per family member.²⁴ According to the same source the third budget mentioned ("the rational family budget") was equivalent to a net monthly money income of 613.2 rubles, or an average monthly net monetary income of 147.2 rubles per worker family member.²⁵ This last case does not refer to any specific time period. The "rational family budget" is based on what is termed "rational consumption," which is in turn determined by scientifically founded consumption norms. According to Sarkisyan and Kuznetsova, scientific consumption norms cover about 3/4 of the rational budget expenses and services.²⁶ We cannot evaluate the scientific basis of these norms here, but, for example, the norm for foodstuffs corresponds to that consumption level "...which provides the best conditions for the comprehensive development of the body, the growth of children, and the activities of adults."²⁷

Tables 6 and 7 present a comparison between: actual per capita monthly income and the per capita monthly income prescribed by the various normative budgets for an industrial worker's family; and the actual monthly income of an average worker's family and the monthly income of a "standard" family as indicated by the various normative budgets. These comparisons lead us to make the following observations:

1. At the beginning of each of the two periods under discussion (1965-1970 and 1971-1975) the actual mean income of a Soviet industrial worker's family was approximately equal to

TABLE 6

A COMPARISON BETWEEN PER CAPITA MONTHLY INCOME IN FACT AND
THAT INDICATED BY THE VARIOUS NORMATIVE BUDGETS
FOR THE FAMILIES OF INDUSTRIAL WORKERS

Actual monthly income per capita as a percentage of the per
monthly income prescribed by:

Variant	Minimum Budget for 1965-1970 (51.40 rubles ¹)		Minimum budget for 1971-1975 (66.63 rubles ²)		Rational budget (147.2 rubles ³)	
	A	B	A	B	A	B
1965	95.3	94.6	73.5	72.9	33.3	33.0
1966	99.6	98.1	76.8	75.6	34.8	34.2
1967	105.4	103.1	81.3	79.5	36.8	36.0
1968	115.4	113.0	89.0	87.2	40.3	39.5
1969	122.8	119.8	94.7	92.5	42.9	41.8
1970	129.8	126.7	100.1	97.7	45.3	44.2
1971	137.4	133.7	106.0	103.1	48.0	46.7
1972	143.0	139.9	110.3	107.9	49.9	48.8
1973	151.6	147.9	116.9	114.1	52.9	51.6
1974	162.8	157.6	125.6	121.6	56.9	55.0
1975	172.4	167.5	133.0	129.2	60.2	58.5

Source: 1 - 3, Sarkisyan and Kuznetsova, op. cit. pp. 66, 125, 166.

Calculations based on the figures presented in Tables 1 and 2.

TABLE 7

A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE ACTUAL MONTHLY INCOME OF AN
AVERAGE INDUSTRIAL WORKER'S FAMILY AND THAT OF A
"STANDARD" FAMILY AS INDICATED BY THE VARIOUS
NORMATIVE BUDGETS

Actual family monthly income as a percentage of the family
income prescribed by:

Variant	Minimum budget for 1965-1970 ¹ (205.6 rubles)		Minimum budget for 1971-1975 ² (265.8 rubles)		Rational budget ³ (613.2 rubles)	
	A	B	A	B	A	B
1965	91.7	91.0	70.9	70.4	30.7	30.5
1966	95.7	94.1	74.0	72.8	32.1	31.5
1967	100.9	98.8	78.1	76.4	33.8	33.1
1968	110.2	108.0	85.3	83.6	37.0	36.2
1969	116.9	114.2	90.4	88.3	39.2	38.3
1970	123.3	120.3	95.4	93.1	41.4	40.3
1971	130.1	126.7	100.6	98.0	43.6	42.5
1972	135.2	132.2	104.6	102.3	45.3	44.3
1973	142.8	139.4	110.4	107.8	47.9	46.7
1974	153.0	148.1	118.4	114.5	51.3	49.6
1975	161.6	157.1	125.0	121.5	54.2	52.7

Source: 1 - 3, Sarkisyan and Kuznetsova, op. cit. pp. 66, 125, 166.

Calculations based on the figures shown in Tables 1 and 2.

the income prescribed by the respective normative budget for minimum material well-being. Thus, in 1965-1966 the actual monthly income per family member was 48.6-51.2 rubles, while the normative minimum income for the period 1965-1970 equaled 51.4 rubles. In 1970-1971 the actual monthly income per family member reached 65.1-70.6 rubles, whereas the normative minimum income for 1971-1975 equalled 66.6 rubles.

2. At the end of each of the two periods under discussion the actual income level exceeded the normative minimum income for the given period by about one-third; nonetheless, it was no higher than the normative minimum worked out for the next five years.

3. In 1975 the actual income of a Soviet industrial worker's family was only half of the income level called for by the so-called "rational budget."

It should be emphasized that at present it is 50 rubles a month per person -- approximately the minimum normative income prescribed for 1965-1970 -- which is officially recognized in the U.S.S.R. as providing for a minimum level of material well-being, and not the 66.6 rubles a month/^{recommended}for 1971-1975. In this case, one observes, the average income per family member in an industrial worker's family in 1975 exceeded the officially recognized minimum of 50 rubles by as much as 70-80%.

III. The Income Distribution of Soviet Industrial Workers' Families

As noted previously, no official data have been published in the Soviet Union on the income distribution of the families of Soviet industrial workers. At the same time, various sociological and socio-economical investigations carried out in the U.S.S.R. provide only an incomplete picture of this distribution and its variations from 1965 to 1975. Since a detailed analysis of these results is outside the scope of this paper, we limit our analysis to the most representative of these studies.

The data from these studies, presented in Table 8, point to the following conclusions:

1. From 1963-1968 the proportion of families with a per capita income of 50 rubles a month or less declined. At the same time the percent of families with an income of 51-70 rubles per capita did not change significantly, while that of families receiving more than 71 rubles a month per capita increased.

2. In 1967-1968 the families were more or less evenly distributed among the three income groups, so that families with per capita incomes of up to 50 rubles accounted for about 30% of all the families.

3. Standing out against this general background are specific occupational groups or workers in particular economic sectors for which the proportion of families with per capita incomes of less than 50 rubles was especially high, while the percentage

TABLE 8

CHANGES IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME (PER FAMILY MEMBER)

AMONG SURVEYED WORKERS AND EMPLOYEES, 1963-1968

Groups of families according to the average monthly monetary income per family member, in rubles			The percentage distribution of the families according to monetary income per family member, in 1968						
			1963	1965-1966	1965-1968		1967	Before Migration	After Migration
I	II	III	1	2	Men	Women	5	6	7
Upto 50	Upto 50	Upto 45	42.7	37.5	30.0	34.0	28.0	30.4	28.5
51-70	51-75	46-75	36.5	46.5	44.0	42.0	36.5	35.3	39.5
More than 71	More than 75	More than 75	20.8	16.0	26.0	24.0	34.6	34.3	32.0

1. Families of industrial workers.
2. Families of industrial workers and employees.
- 3-4. Families of industrial workers.
- 5-6. Families of industrial workers and employees

Sources and notes are given in Appendix III.

of families with a per capita income of 75 rubles or more was relatively low.²⁸

With respect to the period after 1968, very little information is available on the income distribution of Soviet worker families.

Presented in Table 9 are data on the distribution of 335 worker families and 659 employee families according to their family income and income per family member in the U.S.S.R. All of these families are Jewish emigrants who arrived in Israel during 1974 and 1975.

Particular caution should be exercised in evaluating the representativeness of this information, however, because the sample is clearly a 'special case'. The data given in Table 9 are therefore not comparable with those given in Table 8. If, according to our data, the proportion of worker families with an income of 50 rubles per month or less per family member was 5.7% in 1973, this should by no means be taken to mean that the proportion of such families in the U.S.S.R. declined dramatically from 1968 to 1973. The proportion of such families did undoubtedly decrease in this period, but measuring the dimensions of this decline would require a special study.

TABLE 9

INCOME DISTRIBUTION OF THE SAMPLE POPULATION, 1973

Total net monthly family income	Families of workers		Families of employees		Net, monthly income per family member	Families of workers		Families of employees	
	number	%	number	%		number	%	number	%
Total	335	100.0	659	100.0	Total	335	100.0	659	100.0
Up to 200 rubles	44	13.1	30	4.6	Up to 50	19	5.7	13	2.0
201-300	110	32.8	141	21.4	51-75	73	21.8	71	10.8
301-400	80	23.9	199	30.2	76-100	84	25.1	147	22.3
401-500	63	18.8	144	21.9	101-125	73	21.8	168	25.5
501-600	23	6.9	68	10.3	126-150	44	13.1	111	16.8
601-700	6	1.8	46	7.0	151-175	18	5.4	63	9.6
More than 700 rubles	9	2.7	31	4.7	More than 175 rubles	24	7.2	86	13.0

IV. The Relation between the Income Level of Soviet Industrial Workers' Families and that of Other Social and Professional Groups within Soviet Society

The work behavior of a Soviet industrial worker is influenced not only by the actual level of material well-being enjoyed by his family or the extent to which family income satisfies normal needs. In our opinion, this behavior is also affected by the relation between the worker's family income and that enjoyed by families belonging to other social and professional groups in the U.S.S.R.

Although the official surveys of family budgets in the U.S.S.R. do cover all of the various social and professional groups, only the percentage structure of the budget of expenditures for Soviet industrial workers' families has been published; no results have appeared relating to the other groups. At the same time, the findings of various individual social-economic and sociological studies conducted in the U.S.S.R. in 1965-1968 tend to create the impression that the income gap between the families of Soviet industrial workers and families belonging to other occupational groups is not very large, a result indicating a certain egalitarianism in Soviet society.²⁹ The data from these studies, however, do not provide a realistic picture of the actual differences existing between the income levels of the various professional groups, mainly because they deal with large aggregate categories which in almost

every case include highly diverse subgroups (especially with respect to employees).

Through the family budget survey of 1,000 families of Soviet immigrants to Israel previously mentioned, we were able to obtain more detailed data on the incomes of families belonging to different social and professional groups in Soviet society. Some of these results are presented in Tables 10 and 11.³⁰

Were each of the groups of employee families surveyed in our study considered to be more or less representative of the corresponding group in the Soviet Union as a whole, the data shown in Tables 10 and 11 could be compared with that presented in Tables 1 and 2. On the basis of such a comparison, one could make the following observations:

1. In 1973 the mean net income of an average Soviet industrial worker's family (286.6-293.5 rubles per month) was significantly /below the mean income characteristic for the main groups of employees represented in our sample (except for families where the family head was a school-teacher or had only seven to nine years of schooling);

2. The comparable incomes of families in which the husband is a production supervisor, engineer, technician, doctor or dentist, member of the educational or scientific staff in an institution of higher education or scientific research, or an employee involved in economic planning or in trade were above the average income received in 1973 by a Soviet industrial worker's

TABLE 10

THE AVERAGE MONTHLY NET MONETARY INCOME AND INCOME IN KIND OF EMPLOYEES'
FAMILIES ACCORDING TO THE OCCUPATION OF THE (MALE) FAMILY HEAD: SAMPLE,
1973 (in rubles)

Occupation of (Male) Family head:				
	Production supervisors	Engineers	Technicians	Doctors and Dentists
1. Number of employees in category	117	210	20	50
2. Total income from all sources	433.6	377.3	372.7	462.9
3. Total wages from main places of employment*	382.6	330.7	290.4	341.6
4. Total wages from additional public places of employment	19.9	10.8	8.5	16.9
5. Monetary income from social consumption funds	13.0	9.8	17.8	27.8
6. Monetary income and income in kind from an individual subsidiary farm	2.3	1.3		
7. Monetary income from private work	6.3	6.6	26.0	62.4
8. All other money income	9.5	18.1	30.0	14.2
9. Monetary income from undisclosed sources**	4.8	9.0	15.0	7.1
10. Total income minus (4 + 7 + 9)	402.6	350.8***	323.2	376.5
11. Average number of family's members employed	2.20	2.07	2.25	2.22
12. Average family size	3.56	3.38	3.40	3.62
13. Income per family member				
a. (2) ÷ (12)	121.8	111.6	109.6	127.8
b. (10) ÷ (12)	113.1	103.8	95.0	104.0

* Including value of payments in kind

** Approximately 50% from "All other monetary income"

*** Small inconsistencies among some of the figures given are due to rounding.

TABLE 10 (Contd)

THE AVERAGE MONTHLY NET MONETARY INCOME AND INCOME IN KIND OF EMPLOYEES'
FAMILIES ACCORDING TO THE OCCUPATION OF THE (MALE) FAMILY HEAD: SAMPLE,
1973 (in rubles)

Occupation of (Male) Family head:				
	Educational & scientific staff		Planning ¹	Trade ²
	Higher education and science	School- teachers		
1. Number of employees in category	66	37	36	44
2. Total income from all sources	507.1	340.9	374.1	377.3
3. Total wages from main places of employment*	411.5	263.3	327.6	332.6
4. Total wages from additional public places of employment	24.8	13.2	11.8	4.1
5. Monetary income from social consumption funds	27.1	18.3	22.4	16.3
6. Monetary income and income in kind from an individual subsidiary farm	1.5	4.5	2.6	4.9
7. Monetary income from private work	18.8	13.1	4.0	3.4
8. All other money income	23.4	28.5	5.7	16.0
9. Monetary income from undisclosed sources**	11.7	14.2	2.8	8.0
10. Total income minus (4 + 7 + 9)	451.8	300.3	355.4	361.8
11. Average number of family's members employed	2.07	1.84	2.08	2.25
12. Average family size	3.29	3.49	3.33	3.55
13. Income per family member				
a. (2) ÷ (12)	154.2	97.7	112.3	106.3
b. (10) ÷ (12)	137.3	86.1	106.7	101.9

¹ Planning, Accounting, Statistics, Bookkeeping, Credit, Finance.

² Trade, Public Catering, Warehousing, Supply and Marketing, Domestic and Everyday Services.

TABLE 11

**THE AVERAGE MONTHLY NET MONETARY INCOME AND INCOME IN KIND OF EMPLOYEES' FAMILIES
ACCORDING TO THE EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF THE HEADS OF FAMILIES (MEN): SAMPLE, 1973 (in rubles)**

	Educational Level of the Family Head (Male)					
	Doctorate	Candidate of Science	Completed University	Did not complete University	Completed Technikum	10 or more years of schooling
	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Number of employees in category	8	48	356	37	149	36
2. Total income from all sources	657.8	518.2	408.5	377.1	378.3	396.3
3. Total wages from main places of employment*	549.9	444.4	341.9	300.5	316.5	336.7
4. Total wages from additional public places of employment	38.6	20.6	18.9	10.2	9.7	10.1
5. Monetary income from social consumption funds	22.9	32.6	14.2	15.5	12.9	21.8
6. Monetary income and income in kind from individual subsidiary plot		0.2	2.0		2.1	4.9
7. Monetary income from private work	25.0	11.0	12.0	14.9	23.2	13.2
8. All other monetary income including:	21.4	9.4	19.5	36.0	11.9	9.5
9. Income from undisclosed sources**	10.7	4.7	9.7	18.0	5.9	4.7
10. Total income minus (4) + (7) + (9)	583.4	406.2	367.7	334.1	337.4	368.1
11. Average number of family members employed in category	2.25	2.15	2.12	2.05	2.09	2.30
12. Average size of family in category	3.75	3.52	3.46	3.22	3.40	3.33
13. Income per family member						
a. (2) ÷ (12)	175.4	147.2	118.0	117.1	110.7	119.0
b. (10) ÷ (12)	155.6	138.1	106.3	103.8	99.2	110.5

* Including value of payments in kind

** Approximately 50% from "All other monetary income"

family by 37.2%, 19.5%, 10.1%, 28.3%, 53.9%, 21.1% and 23.3%, respectively*;

3. The main source of the disparity between the incomes of industrial workers' families and those of the employee families questioned is the difference in total wages earned at the main place of employment;

4. The differences in income per family member are greater than those in total family income since the average family size of the employee families surveyed is below that of a Soviet industrial worker's family.

It should be emphasized, however, that the professional categories of the employee families surveyed do not embrace all groups of employees in the U.S.S.R. For this reason, our comparison is necessarily incomplete. In addition, at this stage of the investigation we are unable to determine to what extent the socio-economic characteristics of the Jewish employee families questioned can be taken as representative of the families of all Jewish employees in the Soviet Union, let alone those belonging to other ethnic groups there.

* Comparable income is defined as total income from all sources minus: (1) total wages from additional public places of employment; (2) monetary income from private work; and (3) monetary income from undisclosed sources. (See Tables 10 and 11, Line 10). In this case the incomes of Jewish employee families are compared with the average income of a Soviet industrial worker's family as given in Table 1.

V. Industrial Workers' Evaluations of Their Actual Family
Income and Their Concept of Normal Income

In this section we intend to present and analyze some of the results of various sociological investigations conducted in 1965-1970 under the author's direct supervision in a number of cities in Western Siberia. In our research we had three aims:

1. To obtain information about how workers evaluate their own family income; 2. To obtain data on the level of total family income, total family wages and income per family member which the workers themselves consider normal for satisfying their regular family needs; 3. To contrast actual family income with the normal income cited by the workers in order to calculate the extent to which regular family needs, as defined by the workers questionned, are in fact satisfied.

In our study the information required was obtained by interviewing the workers individually; other family members were not questioned. Some of the questions asked were as follows:

I. Questions concerning the net wages of all employed family members:

1. What are the mean net monthly wages (in rubles) received by your family, i.e., the net wages earned by all employed family members?

2. If you contrast the sum of these wages with the expense of providing for all normal family needs (food, clothing, shoes, everyday services and conveniences, cultural needs, etc.), how does it measure up?

- 0 Normal
- 1. Slightly below normal
- 2. Much below normal
- 3. Hard to say

3. If you consider the total wages earned by your family to be slightly below normal or much below normal, what level of total monthly wages, taking all the family's regular needs into account, would you consider to be normal?

- 0 rubles
- 1. Hard to say

II. Questions concerning the actual net monetary income per family member:

1. What is your family's mean net monthly monetary income per family member? rubles.

2. How do you evaluate this sum?

- 0 Normal
- 1. Slightly below normal
- 2. Much below normal
- 3. Hard to say

3. If you consider the actual net monetary income per family member slightly or much below normal, what level of income per family member would you consider normal?

- 0 rubles
- 1. Hard to say

The results of our 1967-1968 investigations as presented in Table 12 lead to the following conclusions:

1. In each professional group the vast majority of the workers with a monthly monetary income of 31-40 and 41-50 rubles per family member evaluated this income as being much below normal.

2. Most of the workers with a monthly monetary income of 51-60 and 61-70 rubles per family member evaluated this income as being much below normal. (According to our calculations in 1967-1968 the average net per capita monthly income of an industrial workers' family in the U.S.S.R. was respectively 53.0-54.2 and 58.1-59.3 rubles.)

3. A significant percentage of the skilled workers investigated considered their monthly income per family member to be normal when this income reached 91-100 rubles or exceeded 100 rubles. Of workers with an actual net monthly income per family member of 91-100 rubles, 66.7% evaluated it as normal in the Novosibirsk Kuzmin Metallurgic Plant, as did 33.3% of the steel foundry workers and 29.4% of the blasters and rollers of the Kuznetsk Metallurgical Combine, 51.1% of the men-workers and 60.0% of the women-workers at the Sibelektrotyazhmash, and 63.6% of the women-workers at the Novosibirsk "Central Committee of the Garment Workers' Trade Union" Clothing Factory. (According to our calculations in 1974-1975 the average net monthly income per capita for industrial workers' families in the U.S.S.R. was less than 90 rubles.)

The data in Table 12 provoke certain questions: Why did a considerable proportion of those surveyed who had a monthly

TABLE 12

**DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS ACCORDING TO THEIR EVALUATIONS OF THEIR
MONTHLY NET MONETARY INCOME PER FAMILY MEMBER (1967-1968)**

Groups of workers with different evaluations of actual monthly income per family member		Groups of workers with different monthly actual income per family member									
		per capita income, rubles									
		Up to 20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	71-80	81-90	91-100	Above 100
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
Rollers workers of Novosibirsk "Kuzmin" metallurgical plant (1967)											
Normal					7.5	8.0	20.7	33.3	66.7	40.5	
Slightly below normal			2.3	7.6	16.0	23.9	27.6	30.8	10.0	21.7	
Much below normal		100.0	97.7	92.4	76.5	67.0	51.7	35.9	23.3	37.8	
Hard to say						1.1					
Steel foundry workers of Kuznetsk metallurgical combine (1968)											
Normal					1.2	3.1	10.6	14.3	33.3	35.0	
Slightly below normal			12.5	11.9	6.2	21.9	34.0	33.8	11.1	12.5	
Much below normal		100.0	83.3	85.1	90.0	75.0	55.4	52.4	53.6	52.5	
Hard to say			4.2	3.0	2.6						
Blasters and rollers workers of Kuznetsk metallurgical combine (1968)											
Normal					1.5	12.5	9.7	17.2	29.4	32.3	
Slightly below normal			19.0	25.0	15.4	15.0	16.1	27.7	5.9	16.1	
Much below normal		100.0	66.7	64.3	67.7	60.0	58.1	37.9	58.8	45.2	
Hard to say			14.3	10.7	15.4	12.5	16.1	17.2	5.9	6.4	
Male electric machine-building workers of the Sibelectrotyazhmash (1968) Novosibirsk											
Normal			2.0	1.8	16.2	16.2	18.5	26.7	51.1*		
Slightly below normal			16.7	15.6	15.6	18.7	36.5	37.1	20.0	20.6*	
Much below normal		100.0	83.3	82.4	78.0	58.8	47.3	40.7	46.7	21.8*	
Hard to say				4.6	6.3		3.7	6.6	6.5*		
Women electric machine-building workers of the Sibelectrotyazhmash (1968-Novosibirsk)											
Normal				5.8	9.5	—	24.1	42.8	60.0*		
Slightly below normal			7.1	17.3	14.3	30.6	41.4	28.6	28.0*		
Much below normal		100.0	85.8	69.2	69.0	61.1	31.0	28.6	8.0*		
Hard to say			7.1	7.7	7.2	8.3	3.3		4.0*		
Women workers of the clothing factory (1967, Novosibirsk)											
Normal			5.3	6.0	4.1	13.6	31.7	50.0	63.6	63.6	
Slightly below normal			18.5	26.3	21.0	26.8	25.0	30.2	23.3	18.2	
Much below normal		100.0	77.8	68.4	60.0	61.9	53.4	31.7	16.2	18.2	
Hard to say			3.7		13.0	7.2	8.0	6.4	10.5	3.0	

* Percentage of the group with per capita income above 90 rubles.

Source: A. V. Vinokur. Materialnaya zainteresovannost rabochikh sotsialisticheskoi promyshlennosti v trude i yego rezultatakh. Ekonomiko-sotsiologicheskii ocherk. Novosibirsk, 1970, pp. 108-109

per capita income per family member equal to 91-100 rubles, or even an income of 100 rubles and more (an income twice as high as the minimum normative income of 50 rubles per family member a month for 1965-1970) evaluate this (actual) income as being considerably below normal? Why did the proportion of such workers differ so substantially among the various professional groups? Thus, for instance, of the steel foundry workers of the Kuznetsk Metallurgical Combine with a per capita income of 91-100 rubles or an income of over 100 rubles, 55.6% and 52.5% respectively considered their income to be considerably below normal; among blast furnace and rolling mill workers (of the same enterprise) with the same income, the percentages were 58.8% and 45.2%. For male electric machine building workers of the Sibelektrot'yazhmash Combine with a monetary income per family member in excess of 90 rubles, 21.8% thought that income considerably below normal, whereas for women electric machine building workers (in the same enterprise) the figure was only 8.0%, and among women-workers of the Novosibirsk Clothing Factory with the same income, 18.2% evaluated it as being considerably below normal.

In dealing with these questions it is necessary to realize that one cannot take as a basis of comparison the monthly income per family member corresponding to the 51.4 rubles prescribed by the normative minimum budget for 1965-1970 previously discussed (Section II). One has to take into account that the normative minimum budget was worked out for a family residing

in the Central European area of the U.S.S.R., and the budget is based on the climatic, geographical, and economic conditions prevailing there. The income and expenditure parts of the budget were constructed, moreover, on the assumption that the head of the family (husband) was an industrial worker, performing simple work under comfortable working conditions (Sarkisyan and Kuznetsova used a definition introduced by Marx in his Capital to mean labor activities devoid of special training and, in this sense, unskilled labor).³¹ The second working member of the family, the wife, was likewise supposed to work under comfortable conditions.³²

The sample dealt with here, however, includes:

(1) the families of industrial workers living in cities in Western Siberia, where the cost of living is significantly higher. According to N.P. Kalinovsky, if the normative expenses on food, clothing and fuel, and transportation expenses in the central part of the RSFSR are taken as 100%, then these expenses in the southern areas of Siberia will amount to 106.7%, 116.7%, and 121%, respectively, with the general material security index being 109%;³³

(2) workers engaged in skilled work of varying complexity;

(3) some workers (steel foundry workers, blast furnace and rolling-mill workers) whose efforts were expended under conditions that could not be characterized as being comfortable.

All of these differences between our sample from Western Siberia and the standard used for constructing the normative

minimum budget point to the need for a larger (normative) budget per family member in Western Siberia.

In our investigation all workers were asked to evaluate their net monetary income per family member as well as the total net wages received by the family. Workers who considered these sums to be less than normal were also asked to specify what level of income (wages) they would view as sufficient for satisfying their regular family needs. On the basis of their responses the extent to which the total needs of their family are satisfied was calculated. The results of such calculations for a family of four (husband, wife, and two children) are presented in Table 13. The following observations may be made:

1. The needs considered normal by the workers questioned are satisfied to nearly the same extent for all professional and industrial groups -- 65.5%-70.2%;

2. Normal income surpasses actual income for the different groups by an average of 89.6 to 116.8 rubles.

The results of comparing normal monetary income for a standard family of four with the monetary income prescribed by the normative minimum budget for 1965-1970, the normative minimum budget for 1971-1975, and the normative rational budget are presented in Table 14. According to the data, in families of workers in different professional and industrial groups the normal net monetary income of families in 1967-1968 exceeded the income called for by the normative minimum budget for 1965-1970 by 41.4-68.1%; and that corresponding to the normative minimum budget for 1971-1975 by 9.4-30.0%. The workers' normal income, however, was only 47.8-56.4% of the normative rational

TABLE 13

CORRELATION BETWEEN ACTUAL INCOME AND NORMAL* INCOME

Group of Workers	Mean money income of family, in rubles		Average degree to which usual needs are satisfied ((column 1 + column 2) × 100)	Average absolute excess of normal income over actual income, in rubles (column 2 - column 1)
	Actual	Normal		
	2	2	3	4
Steel foundry workers of KMC	229.2	345.6	66.3	+116.4
Blast furnace workers and rollers of KMC	221.6	338.4	65.5	+116.8
Foundry workers of KMC	212.8	303.2	70.2	+ 90.4
Electric machine builders of Sibelectrotyazhmash				
Men	201.2	290.8	69.2	+ 89.6
Women	213.6	305.6	69.9	+ 92.0

The data in the table were calculated on the basis of information published in A. V. Vinokur, *op. cit.*, pp. 189, 209

* Normal - according to evaluations of workers

TABLE 14

A COMPARISON BETWEEN NORMAL INCOME AND THE
INCOME INDICATED BY VARIOUS NORMATIVE BUDGETS

Percent of normal mean monetary income of
family, constituted by:

Group of workers	Minimum budget for 1965-1970 (205.6 rubles) ¹	Minimum budget for 1971-1975 (265.8 rubles) ²	Rational Budget (613.2 rubles) ³
Steel foundry workers of KMC	168.1	130.0	56.4
Blast furnace workers and rollers of KMC	164.6	127.3	55.2
Foundry workers of KMC	147.5	114.1	49.4
Electric machine builders of Sibelektrotyazhmash			
Men	141.4	109.4	47.4
Women	148.6	115.0	49.8

1-3, Sarkisyan and Kuznetsova, op.cit. pp. 66, 125, 166

Calculations based on figures shown in Table 13.

budget. In our opinion, these data suggest that the regular needs of the workers' families tested in 1967-1968 sociological investigations should be regarded as being exceptionally modest, a "modesty" which may reflect a certain lack of development of their consumption needs and desires.

VI. Some Socio-Economic Aspects of Income and Work

The income level of the families of Soviet workers, the distribution of this income, and the workers' evaluation of its adequacy have a strong bearing on all aspects of the lives of the workers and their families. Here we can only deal briefly with some observations on the relationship between income and work:

1. In studying income formation in Soviet worker families, one observes, for example, that the average number of employed persons in these families is gradually nearing two. We have no data at our disposal which relate only to the families of workers, but for the families of Soviet workers and employees taken together, the number of employed persons per family increased, according to officially published data, from 1.6 in 1965 to 1.8 in 1973-1975. According to the budget survey of workers and employees of the RSFSR for 1969, the average number of employed persons per family varied between 1.68 (education) and 1.85 (transport).³⁴ According to our own data on Jewish emigrant worker families, the average number of employed persons per family varied from 2.03 to 2.13 (in families whose heads

were workers employed in industry) against an average size of 3.32-3.40.³⁵ There is reason to believe that in most Soviet worker families both the husband and the wife are employed. It is worth noting that the various normative budgets discussed here were all based on the assumption that both the husband and wife are employed. It should be noted, moreover, that in Soviet social and economic literature the situation where both husband and wife work is not only considered a social ideal but also an economic necessity.³⁶ The wages received by a worker simply do not satisfy in most cases normal family needs, and quite often a worker's wages do not even cover the material comforts and everyday services regarded as constituting a minimum for Soviet industrial workers' families. Thus, according to the results of our survey of Jewish emigrants from the U.S.S.R., the net wages received by a worker who is the head of his family for work at his main place of employment equalled 173.0, 173.1 and 149.6 rubles, respectively, for the three employment classifications shown above/ (Table 5). These wages account for 56.2, 56.4 and 52.4%, respectively, of what we have termed comparable family income (total income excluding monetary income from additional public places of employment, private work and undisclosed sources).

2. Surveys carried out in the U.S.S.R. have revealed that voluntary overtime work is undertaken at the main place of employment in order to receive additional wages and thereby increase family income. According to G. Cherkasov, where the

organizational structure of production does not preclude voluntary overtime, more than half the workers, both men and women, work overtime and on rest-days from one to twelve hours a week.³⁷ According to the author's research carried out in 1968 at the Sibelektrotyazhmash plant, Novosibirsk, 39.4% of the male workers (199 out of 505 surveyed) and 27.7% of the female workers (65 out of 235 surveyed) expressed interest in overtime work.³⁸

3. As far back as 1963-1965, sociological research into the problems of leisure-time carried out in the Soviet Union by B. Grushin and his co-workers established that the labor activities of workers and employees are not confined to work at their main place of employment. Apparently, they also undertake additional jobs in order to earn additional wages outside the main place of employment. According to Grushin, this kind of work takes different forms, and was characteristic of 3.4% of the workers surveyed (men and women).³⁹ In our research covering Soviet emigrants we tried to investigate the various forms of additional work as well as the remuneration received. Some of the results obtained pertaining to workers only are presented in Tables 5 and 15.

4. The voluntary practice of undertaking additional work in order to increase family income apparently lengthens the working day for at least some workers beyond the limit prescribed by law. According to our results, out of 335 men workers (family heads) 72.8% worked 41 hours a week, while 24.8% worked

TABLE 15

AVERAGE NUMBER OF WORKING HOURS PER WEEK: SAMPLE

	Total	Work at Main Place of Employment (without overtime)	Overtime work at main Place of Employment	Work at Additional Places of Employ- ment Not Including Private Jobs	Work done privately
<u>All those Employed</u>					
Number	572	571	50	25	58
Hours for those employed in each category	43.5	40.6	11.3	13.9	12.5
Hours for the entire group	43.5	40.6	1.0	0.6	1.3
<u>Heads of Families (men)</u>					
Number	335	335	36	23	44
Hours for those employed in each category	44.7	40.8	11.8	14.4	12.8
Hours for the entire group	44.7	40.8	1.2	1.0	1.7
<u>All Men</u>					
Number	394	394	42	25	50
Hours for those employed in each category	44.4	40.7	11.8	13.9	12.2
Hours for the entire group	44.4	40.7	1.2	0.9	1.6
<u>Women</u>					
Number	178	178	8	—	8
Hours for those employed in each category	41.5	40.3	8.9		14.6
Hours for the entire group	41.5	40.3	0.4		0.7

more than 41 hours per week. Of those who worked more than 41 hours a week, 21.5% worked 50 or more hours, including 9.9% who worked a minimum of 60 hours a week.

5. We believe that the differences in family income and in income per family member among Soviet worker families -- owing to such factors as the occupation, skill group or economic sector in which the employed family members work, family size and composition, etc. -- can be correlated with the marked differences which exist in the workers' labor activities. The results of various research studies in the Soviet Union, including our own, lead one to hypothesize a direct link between family income, income per family member, the adequacy of these sums as perceived by the workers themselves, and the workers' concept of a normal income, on the one hand, and the workers' material interest in work on the other. G. Cherkasov demonstrated in his research the connection between income per family member and the amount of voluntary overtime undertaken at the main place of employment.⁴⁰

At the same time, there are indications that in the Soviet Union workers who belong to relatively poor families display a lower degree of material interest in their (public sector) work and are less satisfied than workers who belong to relatively more secure families. At present, however, we do not know to what extent these relatively poorer workers look for, find, and take advantage of alternating ways of increasing their family income. We are simply unable at this stage of our investigation and on the basis of the data available to decipher in more detail this complex relationship between income and work, work and income.

Appendix I

Methodological Remarks, Sources and Notes for Table 1

1. The main source of net income -- net wages of the employed members of the family -- was calculated in the following manner. From average gross monthly wages we subtracted the average personal income tax and the average small-family tax. Then the average net monthly wage per worker was multiplied by the average number of family members employed.

2. The second main source of net income -- monetary income from social consumption funds -- was calculated in two ways.

Variant A: Using data on the structure of all benefits (monetary income and free services), obtained from the social consumption funds by the entire Soviet population, we calculated the money income received as a share of all benefits and then took the mean value of this income per industrial worker's family.

Variant B: Using data on the structure of the total gross income of industrial workers' families, based on budget surveys, we calculated money income from social consumption funds as a share of total net income and then took the mean value of this income.

3. The remaining sources of net income -- income from the individual subsidiary farm and from other sources -- were calculated in the following manner. Using data on the structure of the total gross income of industrial workers' families, we

APPENDIX I

TABLE 1

THE AVERAGE MONTHLY NET MONETARY INCOME OF INDUSTRIAL WORKERS' FAMILIES.

1965 - 1975

	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Average gross monthly wages per worker (including leave-pay), in rubles	101.7	104.3	108.9	113.6	124.7	130.6	135.4	140.1	145.6	153.9	160.9
2. Average personal income tax, in rubles	8.42	8.76	9.36	10.62	11.41	12.18	12.80	13.41	14.13	15.21	16.12
3. Average bachelor and small-family tax, in rubles	0.23	0.23	0.23	0.23	0.27	0.27	0.27	0.27	0.27	0.30	0.30
4. Average net monthly wage per worker (including leave-pay), in rubles, (1)-(2)-(3)	93.05	95.31	99.31	107.75	113.02	118.15	122.33	126.42	131.20	138.39	144.48
5. Average number of family members employed	(1.68)	(1.70)	(1.72)	(1.74)	(1.76)	(1.78)	(1.81)	(1.83)	(1.85)	(1.87)	(1.89)
6. Average total net monthly wages per family (including leave-pay), in rubles (4) X (5)	156.3	162.0	170.8	187.5	198.9	210.3	221.4	231.3	242.7	258.8	273.1
7. Average gross monthly benefits and free services derived from social consumption funds (without leave-pay) per worker employed, in rubles	37	40	42	44	46	48	50	52	53	56	59
8. Average gross monthly benefits and free services derived from social consumption funds per family, in rubles, (7) X (5)	62.2	68.0	72.2	76.8	81.0	85.4	90.5	95.2	98.1	104.7	111.5
9. Total net monthly wages per family as a percentage of net monetary family income and income in kind.	83.5	(83.8)	(84.1)	(84.4)	(84.7)	85.0	(85.0)	85.1	84.7	85.1	84.7
10. Monetary benefits as a percentage of gross benefits plus free services from social consumption funds	36.5	(36.8)	(37.0)	(37.2)	(37.5)	37.7	38.2	37.0	38.3	40.8	40.3
11. Monetary benefits as a percentage of net income	11.4	(11.2)	(11.0)	(10.8)	(10.6)	10.5	(10.6)	10.7	10.7	10.7	11.2
12. Monetary benefits from social consumption funds, in rubles											
Variant A. $[(8) \times (10) \div 100]$	22.7	25.0	26.7	28.5	30.4	32.2	34.6	35.2	37.6	42.7	43.5
Variant B. $(11) \div (9) \times 6$	21.3	21.7	22.3	24.0	24.9	26.0	27.6	28.7	30.7	32.9	36.1
13. Average monetary income and income in kind from the individual subsidiary farm											
1. As a percentage of net family income	2.1	(2.0)	(1.9)	(1.8)	(1.7)	1.7	(1.9)	1.2	1.7	1.3	1.2
2. In rubles $(8) \div (9) \times (13_1)$	3.9	3.9	3.9	4.0	4.0	4.2	3.9	3.3	4.9	4.0	3.9
14. Other forms of money income and income in kind											
1. As a percentage of net family income	3.0	(3.0)	(3.0)	(3.0)	(3.0)	2.8	(2.9)	3.0	2.9	3.0	3.0
2. In rubles $(8) \div (9) \times (14_1)$	5.8	5.8	6.1	6.8	7.0	6.9	7.6	8.2	8.3	9.1	9.8
15. Average monthly net family income, in rubles											
Variant A. $(6) + (10) + (13_2) + (14_2)$	188.5	196.7	207.5	226.6	240.3	253.6	267.5	278.0	293.5	314.6	332.3
Variant B. $(6) + (11) + (13_2) + (14_2)$	187.1	193.4	203.1	222.1	234.8	247.4	260.5	271.9	286.6	304.4	322.9
16. Average family size	(3.85)	(3.84)	(3.83)	(3.82)	(3.81)	(3.80)	(3.79)	(3.78)	(3.77)	(3.76)	(3.75)
17. Average monthly net family income per capita, in rubles											
Variant A. $(15A) \div (16)$	49.0	51.2	54.2	59.3	63.1	66.7	70.6	73.5	77.9	83.7	88.6
Variant B. $(15B) \div (16)$	48.6	50.4	53.0	58.1	61.6	65.1	68.7	71.9	76.0	81.0	86.1
18. Average annual net family income, per capita, in rubles, Variant A	588.0	614.4	650.4	711.6	757.2	800.4	847.2	882.0	934.8	1004.4	1063.2
Variant B	583.2	604.8	636.0	697.2	739.2	781.2	824.4	862.8	912.0	972.0	1033.2

calculated the monetary income from these sources as a share of total net income and then figured the mean values for these forms of income.

Line 1. Narkhoz 1968; 1969; 1974; 1975, pp. 555, 538, 562, 545.

Line 2. The income tax due was calculated according to the following formula: 8.2 rubles from the first 100 rubles in wages plus 13% of each additional ruble.

Line 3. Bachelor and small family taxes. It is assumed that families pay one third of the total revenue collected from this tax (the rest being paid by single persons). Tax per worker is assumed to be in proportion to the income tax paid as in: Gertrude E. Schroeder and Barbara S. Severin, "Soviet Consumption and Income Policies in Perspective." In U.S. Congress Joint Economic Committee, Soviet Economy in a New Perspective, Washington, D.C.: 1976, Table 3, p. 658.

Line 5. According to our calculation the number of employed persons per family for the Soviet urban population in 1959 was 1.56 (Census 1959, U.S.S.R., Tables 64; 64b, pp. 250-253) and in 1970 -- 1.77 (Census 1970, Vol. VII, Table 33, p. 396). Figures for other years (given in parentheses) are interpolated on the basis of these two figures.

Line 7. Narkhoz 1965-1967; 1968; 1969; 1970; 1972; 1973; 1974; 1975, pp. 566, 656, 554, 538, 518, 515, 585, 561, 545; S.S.S.R. v tzifrakh v 1966 godu. . ., 1967, p. 144; Narkhoz 1922-1972,

A Jubilee Statistical Yearbook, ., 1972, p. 349.

- Line 9. Total net monthly wages per family as a percent of total net monetary family income and income in kind according to family budget studies of industrial workers' families. Our calculations. Sources: Narkhoz 1972; 1973; 1974; 1975; pp. 562, 632, 605, 596. Figures for missing years have been interpolated.
- Line 10. Stipends plus social security payments as a percent of total social consumption fund outlays as in Narkhoz 1975, p. 545. Our calculations. Data for missing years have been interpolated.
- Lines 11, 13₁ and 14₁. As a percent of total net monetary family income and income in kind according to family budget studies of industrial workers' families. Sources: Narkhoz 1972; 1973; 1974; 1975; pp. 562, 632, 605, 596. Our calculations. Data for missing years have been interpolated.
- Line 16. A family is defined as all those persons living together who share a single budget and all those living outside the core family whose budget is still held in common with that of the family. According to our calculations the average size of an urban worker's family was 3.9 in 1959 and 3.8 in 1970. Source: Census 1959, U.S.S.R., pp. 240, 242; Census 1970, Vol. VII, pp. 186, 206. Data for missing years have been interpolated.

Appendix II

Sources and Notes for Table 3

Line 1. O.I. Shkaratan, Problemy sotsialnoy structury rabochevo
klasa S.S.S.R. ., 1970, pp. 340, 392.

Sample: 2,021 families of workers from industrial enterprises of Leningrad.

Line 2. Gordon, L.A., Klopov, E.V., Chelovek posle raboty:
Sotsialnye problemy byta i vnerabocheho vremeni, 1972,
p. 36.

Sample: 1,400 families of workers from the industrial enterprises of Dnepropetrovsk, Zaporozhye, Odessa, Kostroma, and Pavlovski Posad.

Lines 3-5. A.V. Vinokur, Materialnaya zainteresovannost
rabochikh sotsialisticheskoi promyshlennosti v trude i
yevo resultatakh, Ekonomiko-sotsiologicheski ocherk,
Novosibirsk, 1970, p. 209.

Sample: 505 women from the Novosibirsk Clothing Factory, 924 men (steel founders, blast-furnace workers, rollers, and casters) from the Kuznetsk Metallurgical Plant of Novokuznetsk); 505 men-workers and 235 women-workers from Sibelectrotyazmash Combine, Novosibirsk.

Appendix III

Sources and Notes for Table 8

1. L.S. Blekhman, A.G. Zdravomyslov, O.I. Shkaratan. Problemy upravleniya dvizheniyem rabochey sily. In "Trud i razvitiye lichnosti," 1965, pp. 136, 140.
Sample: 10,720 families of workers and single workers from 25 of Leningrad's main industrial enterprises. (Group I).
2. Calculated by the present author from the data published by D. Stadukhin, N. Khaverson. (Ekonomicheskie nauki, No. 12, 1967, pp. 29-30).
Sample: 888 families of workers and employees from industrial enterprises of Sverdlovsk. (Group III).
- 3-4. L.A. Gordon, E.V. Klopov. Chelovek posle raboty. Sotsialnye problemy byta i vnerabocheho vremeni, Appendix (Tables), 1972, p. 7.
Sample: 1,400 families of workers from the industrial enterprises of Dnepropetrovsk, Zaporozhye, Odessa, Kostroma, Pavlovski Posad. (Group II).
5. A. Vasil'ev. A Statistical Comparison of Living Standards in Russia, the U.S.S.R. and the Capitalist Countries. Radio Liberty Research, R.L. 276/74, September 3, 1974, p. 11. Sample: Officially surveyed workers' and employees' families of RSFSR. (Group II).
- 6-7. V.V. Onikienko, V.A. Popovkin. Kompleksnoye issledovaniye

migratsionnykh prosessov, 1973, p. 81.

Sample: 4,521 families and single persons (including both workers and employees). (Group II).

APPENDIX IV - Table 1

**AVERAGE MONTHLY MONETARY INCOME OF FAMILIES OF WORKERS,
EMPLOYEES, ENGINEERS AND TECHNICIANS IN INDUSTRIAL PLANTS OF LENINGRAD, 1963**

Social-professional group	Number of persons questioned	Average family size	Average monthly monetary income per family member, rubles	Average monthly monetary income per family, rubles (2) × (3)
	1	2	3	4
1. Unskilled workers	115	2.9	60.8	176.32
2. Employees with medium skills	353	3.2	62.3	199.36
3. Skilled manual workers working with machines and machine-tools	837	3.0	58.4	175.20
4. Skilled, mainly manual workers	1002	2.9	64.5	187.05
5. Highly skilled workers combining manual and intellectual skills	67	3.4	62.6	212.84
6. Skilled employees	287	3.0	67.2	201.60
7. Skilled employees in science and technology	135	3.2	72.2	231.04
8. Managers of production groups	92	3.2	71.1	227.52

Source: O. I. Shkaratan, *op. cit.*, pp. 392, 420.

Relying on two tables in the original source (Table 52, p. 392, and Table 57, p. 420), we calculated the average monthly monetary income of a family in each occupation group. The headings of some columns have been adapted in accordance with our basic definitions.

APPENDIX IV

Table 2

AVERAGE MONTHLY MONETARY INCOME PER CAPITA FOR VARIOUS
OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, 1967

	Average monthly income per capita (rubles)
Unskilled and low-skilled workers	62
Skilled workers	69
Highly skilled workers	72
Employees in management positions	81
Teachers, scientific, medical, and other specialists not in the sector of material production	81
Engineering -- technical personnel and other specialists in the sector of material production	78
Employees without specialized education	66

Source: L.A. Gordon, E.V. Klopov, Sotsialnoye razvitiye...,
p. 50.

Footnotes

- ¹ Only in the early 1960s did Soviet researchers begin to study this field. Some of their studies are discussed later in the text.
- ² I. Ya. Matyukha, Statistika Urovnya Zhizni naseleniya, M., 1973, p. 72.
- ³ A.I. Ezhov, Sistema i metodologiya pokazateley sovetskoi statistiki, M., 1965, p. 316.
- ⁴ Narkhoz, 1972, p. 562.
- ⁵ Matyukha, op. cit., p. 74.
- ⁶ Narkhoz, 1972.
- ⁷ Wherever the terms free services or income in kind appear, the reference is to a monetary assessment of their value.
- ⁸ All data mentioned are given in Appendix I, Table 1.
- ⁹ In 1975 average monthly wages of Soviet industrial workers were 160.9 rubles, while employees received 131.3 rubles. (See Narkhoz, 1975, p. 546.)
- ¹⁰ Census 1970, Vol. VIII, Table 29, p. 252.
- ¹¹ See Census 1970, Vol. VIII, p. 4.
- ¹² See Narkhoz, 1975, p. 545.
- ¹³ These studies are all spot checks carried out in different parts of the U.S.S.R. They include, however, only a relatively small number of workers' families.

- 14 G.S. Sarkisyan, N.P. Kuznetsova, Potrebnosti i dokhod semyi, "Ekonomika." Moscow, 1967, p. 56.
- 15 Ibid., p. 97.
- 16 Ibid., p. 133.
- 17 Sarkisyan and Kuznetsova, op. cit., p. 56.
- 18 Ibid., p. 59.
- 19 Ibid., p. 63.
- 20 Ibid., p. 65.
- 21 D.N. Karpukhin, N.P. Kuznetsova, Dokhody i potrebleniye trudyashchikhsya. In Trud i zarabotnaya plata v S.S.S.R., M., 1968, p. 423.
- 22 Sarkisyan and Kuznetsova, op. cit., p. 66.
- 23 Karpukhin and Kuznetsova, op. cit., p. 423.
- 24 Sarkisyan and Kuznetsova, op. cit., p. 125.
- 25 Ibid., p. 166.
- 26 Ibid., p. 139.
- 27 Ibid., p. 139.
- 28 See, for example, the distribution of service sector workers surveyed in Novosibirsk and Iskitim according to their monetary income per family member, in A. Yu. Sharipov, "Materialnye i moralnye stimuly k trudu v sfere obsluzhivaniya naseleniya," Izvestiya Sibirskogo otdeleniya Akademii Nauk S.S.S.R., Seria obshchestvennykh nayk, No. 1, Issue 1, 1968, p. 34.

- ²⁹ See, for example, O.I. Shkaratan, Problemy sotsialnoy struktury rabochevo klasa S.S.S.R., Moscow, 1970, pp. 340, 392;
L.A. Gordon, E.V. Klopov, "Sotsialnoye razvitiye sovietskogo rabochego klasa i izmeneniye yego struktury." In Akademiya Nauk SSR. Institut mezhdunarodnogo rabochego dvizheniya. Rabochiy klass, proizvodstvennyi kollektiv, Nauchnotekhnicheskaya revolyutsiya. Nekotorye problemy sotsialnoy struktury, 1971, p. 50, and in this text, Appendix IV.
- ³⁰ A complete evaluation of the authenticity and representativeness of these data is the subject of an ongoing study.
- ³¹ Sarkisyan and Kuznetsova, op. cit., pp. 58, 65, 56.
- ³² Karpukhin and Kuznetsova, op. cit., p. 423.
- ³³ N.P. Kalinovsky, "Mezhrayonnoye vyравnivaniye realnoy zarabotnoy platy kak faktor privlecheniya kadrov," in Narodonaseleniye i ekonomika, pp. 145-46.
- ³⁴ See Problemy ratsionalnogo ispolzovaniya trudovykh resursov, 1973, p. 406.
- ³⁵ See Table 5.
- ³⁶ See A.E. Kotlyar, S. Ya. Turchaninova, Zanyatost zhenshchin v proizvodstve, Moscow, 1975, pp. 20-21.
- ³⁷ G. Cherkasov, Sotsiologiya truda i profsoyuzy, 1970, p. 150.
- ³⁸ A. Vinokur, A. Safronova, V. Tolmachev, L. Perepechina, L. Nekludova,

Sovershenstvovaniye normirovaniya i materialnogo stimuli-
rovaniya truda na mashinostroitelnykh predpriyatiyakh,
Novosibirsk, 1970, p. 102.

39 B. Grushin, Svobodnoye vremya. Aktualnye problemy, Moscow, 1967, pp. 45-46. Grushin's data do not indicate the duration of the various forms of additional work nor the remuneration received.

40 G. Cherkasov, op. cit., p. 150.

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