

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE DISCUSSION ON DEMOGRAPHIC DEVELOPMENT AND FAMILY POLICY^{*)}

In 2006 the Department of Demography and Geodemography at the Faculty of Science, Charles University, published a study by a group of authors titled *Marriage and the Family: A Private or Public Interest?*¹⁾ The book comprises a collection of studies prepared as a parts of three projects, especially as part of work on a project titled 'The Public, Demographic Processes and Population Policy'²⁾. The studies share two broad themes. These are demographic changes in the context of global changes and European integration and the role of population and family policy. The collective of authors included researchers from three institutions that have long specialised experience in the study of these issues: together with the Department of Demography and Geodemography these were the Faculty of Social Studies at Masaryk University in Brno and the Institute of Sociology AS CR in Prague. A basic feature of the authors' approach was their linking of demographic statistical data to findings from sample surveys on the population climate. They primarily made use of the international survey 'The Acceptance of Population-Related Policies' (PPA2).

The publication contains studies that fall into two basic areas: on the one hand, a description and assessment of changes in demographic behaviour, on the other hand, the role of the relevant state policies in these changes. The first part of the publication comprises chapters dealing with the opinions, attitudes, and subjectively interpreted behaviour of people in the area of family formation and partnership behaviour, and chapters devoted to selected 'new' phenomena in Czech society, namely, lone motherhood and unmarried cohabitation. The second part of the publication contains assessments of the development and current conception of family and population policy in the Czech Republic in the eyes of both experts and the general public.

In the first chapter, 'Nuptiality, Unmarried Cohabitation and Public Opinion', Dana Hamplová analyses how different groups of the Czech population (especially by education), view the current changes in demographic behaviour. Although more than one half take a neutral view of the demographic changes, there is some unease in the population over the nature of current trends, most so in the older generation. The author also looked into what people believe to be the causes of these demographic changes, and here the population proved to be divided according to how much of an influence they ascribed to basic groups of factors – economics and values. Like in other studies here again the effect of education on observed attitudes and opinions was confirmed, but this effect was also shown to be complicated and structured. Although it was not the author's explicit focus, her research identified a slight generational shift in a reflection of the demographic behaviour changes.

One of Jitka Rychtaříková's current main research focuses is lone motherhood, and the author addresses this subject again in this publication in a chapter titled 'To Be a Single Mother in the Czech Republic'. Here she assesses lone motherhood both in relation to overall demographic changes in the Czech Republic and from the perspective of international comparison. She attempts to show that the trend of a rising number and growing share of extramarital births and in particular births to lone mothers cannot simply be explained as the result of the westernisation of Czech society. Instead, it is necessary to search for connections in Czech society itself and in its recent social and economic development and possible also in the government's policy. The author poses several key questions (p. 24): whether the increase in the fertility in recent years has really been that dramatic; what role was played by demographic factors; how long do children born out of wedlock live with both parents or just with one; how much is this a long-term trend or part of the social transformation in the Czech Republic; and what is the gradient of differentiation of lone motherhood by education. Her analysis confirmed that despite the unquestionable increase in lone motherhood the change has not been that dramatic. What is more it oc-

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¹⁾ Kocourková, J. and L. Rabušic. 2006. *Sňatek a rodina: zájem soukromý nebo veřejný?* Praha: PFF UK.

²⁾ The project was supported by the Grant Agency of the Czech Republic. The other projects are 'Geographic Systems and Risk Processes in the Context of Global Changes and European Integration' (a research project of the Faculty of Science, Charles University) and 'Active Ageing, the Family and Intergenerational Solidarity' (funded by the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport).

curred in a context where all sorts of other demographic indicators were changing, and this must be taken into account when assessing the demographic and social consequences of the observed phenomenon. She also shows that children of lone mothers more often grow up in lone-parent families, suggesting that unmarried cohabitation is not a significant 'substitute' for married families. However, the author herself notes that this conclusion needs to be verified using other, more evidential methods. The need to complexly examine the phenomenon of lone motherhood using various methods is moreover one of her main conclusions.

The same topic is the focus of a chapter by Tomáš Katrňák, but from a different perspective ('Who Are the Lone Mothers in Czech Society?'). Both chapters have a common interest: to reveal the sources of the rise in lone motherhood and establish the social identification of lone mothers. However, Katrňák works with sample survey data. He surveys the factors that are or could be the cause of lone motherhood as well as the characteristics of lone mothers that are the result of their lone motherhood. He came to a similar conclusion as J. Rychtářková, namely that the increase in the number of lone mothers in Czech society is most likely a result of a reaction of weaker strata to economic conditions and to the parameters of socio-political measures than a sign of a new lifestyle among the more educated strata.

Petra Šalamounová writes about another important demographic trend – the decline in fertility – in a chapter titled 'The Value of the Child and the Natality Plans in Czech Society'. This chapter is more descriptive than the others largely owing to the subject of analysis. The value orientations attached to parenthood and being parents, including the determination of these attitudes and behaviour, are very complex phenomena and any kind of broad generalisation is misleading. In the conclusion the author confirms a fact well known from other studies that children, especially in the emotional sense, are still highly valued. She compares these findings with the natality plans, which are more 'modest' among childless young people compared to the declared importance of children. While most authors note the discrepancy between parental plans and the fulfilment of those plans in reality, here the discussed discrepancy is between plans and the subjective perception of parenthood as such, which is certainly a good incentive for further analysis (even despite the real increase in fertility it is not expected that it will return to a level like that observed in the late 1980s).

Within the first part of the publication the chapter by Ladislav Rabušic is somewhat distinct. It focuses on an international comparison of fertility trends (articulated in the question 'Will Czech Fertility Be One of the Lowest in Europe in the Future?'). The methodology used is again based on value orientations, in this case the value orientations associated with marriage and parenthood. Two basic questions lie at the conceptual basis of this chapter: whether the value of marriage in the eyes of the young generation of Czechs is declining, and whether the decline in fertility (in the end of the 20th and the start of the 21st centuries) is just a reflection of the postponement of marriage and the family formation or a reflection of long-term changes. Rabušic's conclusions about the future of fertility in the Czech Republic tend to be and here again are more 'optimistic' than those of many other authors. He reaches his conclusions using a method that he himself regards as a partial approach to understanding the complex determination and variability of the natality plans of individuals and thus also the future trend in fertility. This 'optimism' does not lie in claims about the future substantial increase in fertility or the top position of the Czech Republic in a European comparison of fertility, but in the expectation that in the future it will not fall below the current European average, which in the given socio-economic circumstances cannot be regarded as bad.

The second part of the book is titled 'Reproductive Conditions, the Expectations of the Czech Population, and State Policy towards Parents', which indicates a certain diversity of texts. Yet here again we can find a basic unifying idea. It concerns relationship between 'the government and the people', namely the required extend of families' autonomy versus the desirable amount of support for parenthood and family life.

In a chapter titled 'Will the Czech Public Succumb to Demographic Panic?', Lucie Vidovičová analytically reflects on the different forms of interpretation of demographic ageing, from the media, to public opinion, to expert analysis. The chapter focuses mainly on admonition against simplified interpretations of demographic data (not just on ageing) and on how the use of such data can be abused to mislead the public or be manipulated by the media. The author appeals for a complex view of data on demographic ageing and the individual aspects of this phenomenon. An attitudes survey confirmed how a lack of information and the amateur handling of data may form the public's fears about demographic development. What is required to counter this are policies shorn of scientifically unsubstantiated viewpoints and narrow perspectives.

The chapter by Zdeněk Pavlík titled 'Population Policy Dilemmas' offers a deeper reflection on the philosophy, the scientific and objective foundation, and the focus and potential of (pro)population policy. The author also identifies certain developmental stages of population policy. In the author's view

what is important for the current conception of population policy is an understanding of the population climate in a given society and of the motives and objectives behind the development of population policy. The author does not reject the legitimacy of efforts to influence fertility through state policy measures, but he notes that natality behaviour can only partly be influenced by such measures. He assigns greater weight to a broadly conceived population policy as an explicit or implicit part of the overall policy of the government and as part of a complex of policies designed to respond to changing social circumstances (e.g. migration, health, etc.).

Jiřina Kocourková describes the most recent development in population and family policy in the Czech Republic in a chapter titled 'From Population Policy to Family Policy: Development in the Czech Republic since the Early 1990s'. The objective of this chapter is to portray the 'development of the conditions that the state intentionally had been creating for families from the start of the 1990s by means of so-called direct measures' (p. 107). She directs her interpretation at the changes in the approach and objectives of state support for families compared to the situation in the 1980s and earlier. The chapter contains a detailed description of the objectives of individual governments over time and the specific measures and general course of development from an implicit to an explicitly defined family policy. One of the author's conclusions is that during the 1990s population policy was gradually supplanted by family policy, but the pro-natal objective remained intact (p. 127).

The next chapter touches on issues of the relationship between family and professional roles of parents raising children and options of support from the state to facilitate the reconciliation of the two spheres. Using PPA2 data, in a chapter called 'Employing Parents, Raising Children, and the Expected Role of the State', Květa Kalibová examines what young families require from the state in order that the needs of families with young children should be satisfied while allowing men and women to fulfil their high professional ambitions. The author found that the expectations are relatively high, in particular among people with lower education, but less obviously the expectations of young people were lower. The author does not analyse these findings further.

The final chapter is a contemplation on the effectiveness of family policy and the perception of its role. In 'Why and What Kind of Family Policy in the Czech Republic: The Czech Public's Attitudes towards Pro-natal Policy Measures', which is something like the culmination of the book, Jiřina Kocourková specifically follows up with her historically oriented chapter in the book, but she concentrates on the possibility to increase the effectiveness of family policy by accepting the demands of public opinion in this area. The author sets out from the theory that in countries with a higher share of unfulfilled parental plans people give more support to family policy measures. Based on this theory she uses PPA2 data to examine the Czech public's expectations from family policy compared to other countries. The opinions of the Czech public on family policy measures are examined again from the perspective of their differentiation but, unlike the previous chapter, their evaluations of the overall focus of family policy are included. The conclusion of this chapter serves as a substitute for the absence of a conclusion to the book.

On the whole the book can be regarded as a rich source of information and stimuli for further research on trends in demographic behaviour, which has moved on somewhat since the time the data used herein were collected. However, that does not mean that the analytical conclusions are in any way out of date. The book is also inspiring for anyone working on the formation of family policy and for anyone evaluating such efforts. The book contains valuable methodological notes from the authors about the processing of PPA data and demographic statistical data in relation to the overall focus of this publication. The book does not provide a straightforward answer to the question posed in the title of the book. It can be deduced that all the authors recognise the complementarity of the roles of both basic subjects in family policy, but the share or distribution of responsibility they tend to view somewhat differently, though they all see how that has varied over time. The authors stuck to their resolution of not always having to provide an answer to the questions posed but helping readers to formulate their own answers.

Věra Kuchařová

RECONSTRUCTING THE DEMOGRAPHIC BEHAVIOUR OF THE JEWISH POPULATION IN BOHEMIA IN THE 19th AND THE FIRST THIRD OF THE 20th CENTURY

At the start of the 1990s historiography emerged with the new concept of not just as usual studying the history of the Czechs but also the history of the German and Jewish populations in this region living long term in a particular place and contributing to its cultivation and changes there. In relation to the globalising world today, the interest of the research community is turning increasingly to the study of multi-ethnicity, acculturation processes, and the coexistence, contact, and conflict between majorities and minorities in different times and places. These new impulses have also led us to devote greater attention to Jewish studies. This area can be approached from a variety of perspectives, one of which is the demographic perspective, but also sociological and historiographic perspectives. This conception has been adopted by the demographer and sociologist Jana Vobecká.

The objectives of Vobecká's study are to reconstruct the trends in the demographic behaviour of the Jews in Bohemia during a period (the 19th and the first third of the 20th centuries) when it was undergoing significant changes and to identify these changes and interpret them in a complex sense that goes beyond the framework of demographic analysis. As Vobecká notes in the opening of the study, to achieve these objectives she chose three basic lines of observation. The first is an examination of the Jews as a specific cultural minority in history and society, the second is a demographic comparison of this population with the majority population in Bohemia and the common trends of both groups, and the third line involved introducing into this systemic approach a wider Central European comparison and context for examining the population development of Jews in neighbouring countries (Moravia, Silesia, Lower Austria, Galicia, Bukovina, and Cisleithania).

A precise, accurate, and meticulously conducted demographic analysis served as the author's tool, but she also understood this approach as a means of making a broader interpretation of the observed phenomena and processes and of putting together a picture not just of the changes in demographic behaviour, but also of the transformation and shifts in the social status of Jews in the given time frame.

Because statistical data were used as the basic research source, she used a definition of the Jewish population that conformed to the concept applied in contemporary official statistics. A Jew is defined as someone who professes the Jewish faith (Judaism) and is a member of the Jewish religious community. During the First Republic anyone of Jewish ethnicity could also declare themselves a Jew, but the author works mainly with the numerically larger, long-term data base that encompasses people of Jewish faith. In the text she consistently uses the term 'Jew' with a capital 'J', which was however the term used for ethnic Jews. She distinguishes between 'jews' with a lower-case 'j' (Jews of faith) and 'Jews' with a capital 'J' (ethnic Jews) [this distinction reflects the difference between the Czech 'Žid' for Jews of faith and 'Žid' for ethnic Jews – translator's note]. However, at the opening of the study the author notes that she intends to consistently use the form with the capital letter (*Žid*) for her sample, which is acceptable. Converts to Judaism are not covered in the study. It is however known that in the period up to the demise of the Austrian Monarchy conversions to Judaism were not that common and are therefore statistically insignificant. During the First Republic the situation was different, as there was an increase in the number of mixed marriages between Jews and non-Jews, which led to the loss of Judaism in the generation of children that followed. The author was aware of these changes and takes them into account in her interpretations. This approach in my view was the only possible approach she could have taken.

J. Vobecká focused the study on the period of advancing modernisation, which brought fundamental changes to the overall population of Central Europe and to minorities, including the Jewish minority. Therefore, at various information levels and in varying scope she examines the entire 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century, ending in 1939 (with the creation of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia), which marks the reintroduction of restrictions on the civil rights and freedoms of the Jewish population, eventually leading up to the Holocaust. This time frame is optimal for adequately observing all the phenomena the study is interested in. My only reservation is the decision to use the year 1939 as the end of the period; I feel that 1938 would have been more appropriate, as after the Munich Agreement the Sudetenland was annexed, an enormous amount of migration occurred, and, in short, the Second Republic treated the given ethnicity entirely differently. The tables and figures run up to the year 1937, which I consider perfectly appropriate. The author speaks of two logical timelines: historical and demographic. However, the historical timeline cannot be regarded as logical (history is

not logical), but given the researcher's objectives it is logical to examine Jewish history from in this context the most appropriate point in time.

The highly professional demographic analysis draws mainly from official Austrian published data and the related Czechoslovak statistics. A consistently macro-analytical approach is used, and only rarely does the author use data drawn from Jewish records and thus apply a micro-analytical approach.

The study is suitably divided into six chapters, which are further subdivided into numerous sub-chapters and sections. An exposition of the research work is concentrated in Chapter Four and partly also Chapter Five. In the analytical section in the extensive and thorough fourth chapter the author has accommodated readers and data users as much as possible by dividing up the form and content of the text in a very rational and effective way. The text is accompanied by numerous tables and figures, and the appendix lists important data files and describes the methodology used in the calculations. The appendix section contains 18 appendices spread out over 30 pages, from which researchers can draw on important hard data from various sources, along with absolute and relative figures, and many characteristics are accompanied by long time series. I find all the figures very useful and well-elaborated, but exceptionally valuable are those that capture the method in which the publication of data on natural population change in 1832–1941 were published, including the source and regional scope of every census, data on the Jewish population of Bohemia for the years 1762–1941, the trend in the size of the total and the Jewish population in selected lands in the Austrian Empire for the years 1785–1910. The appendix contains numerous age structures for the Jewish population combined with marital status in Bohemia and neighbouring lands, the structure of deaths in the Jewish population by sex and age during the First Republic, mortality, the ethnic and religious structure of the population during the First Republic in the Czech lands, and a final appendix indicating natural change and the size of the Jewish population in Bohemia for 1831–1940.

Following the introductory sections, in which the author provides readers with a successful introduction to the state of knowledge, sources, and methodology used to work with the data, the next chapter offers a brief but nonetheless dense excursion into Jewish history, outlining settlement changes in the period after 1948 or 1867 and the trends in the social and economic situation of Jews in the period following complete emancipation up until 1939, or its main features up to the present. In this section J. Vobecká is again draws mainly on domestic and foreign literature and the conclusions contained in the literature.

The key fourth chapter is focused on systematically reconstructing all demographic indicators and processes with the objective of determining the stage of the demographic transition in the Jewish community in Bohemia and situating this knowledge in the wider context of the history and demography of the Jews in Central Europe. The picture she presents begins with a detailed analysis of the settlement changes in the Jewish population in Bohemia. She notes its specificity: from the middle of the 19th century it was increasingly concentrated in towns and cities with a low to negative natural increase and with no capacity for compensating population losses through migration.

The author then presents the population structure by sex, age, and marital status from 1890, with a reconstruction of a series of age pyramids, finding that the Jewish population aged more quickly, had a larger number of singles in the population, married at a later age, and there was also a larger number of divorcees, which all led gradually to the formation of a regressive age structure. These tendencies began to become apparent from the second half of the 19th century.

An important finding is that nuptiality – like many other indicators – can only be traced from the end of the 19th century, when changes in the demographic behaviour of the Jewish population were already in progress. Nuptiality is revealed to be specific, with an overall low marriage rate, the inferred cause of this being the large volume of migration and the break up of traditional communities in which the close community and the family exercised social control. But other factors involved were changes in professional orientation and social advancement, and as the author notes also the increasing intensity of secularisation, individualisation, and changes in value orientations. It is possible to accept the finding the transition to the model of marrying at a late age occurred fastest between the years 1850 and 1870.

The author used the maximum amount of available data (there is a shortage of data) to prepare the key part of the study focusing on the fertility of the Jewish population. Based on her analysis she concludes that significant changes in reproductive behaviour were occurring from at least the last third of the 19th century. She also provides a perfectly acceptable explanation of the causes: both the marriage age rose and the intensity of higher-order births decreased. The interval in which Jewish women gave birth were shorter compared to women in the majority population. In the period after timely completing their reproduction women consciously limited their fertility. The author was aided in arriving at these conclusions by a manuscript of a demographic study by J. Heřman, which was based in excerpts from surviving Jewish records in communities in Bohemia and Moravia and from other statistical sources

dating from 1754-1953. Using a broad database from the census in 1930 she also conducted a comparison of the structure of the fertility of Jewish women with other socio-professional groups. She finds that the reproductive behaviour of Jewish families was comparable with that of urban middle classes in which the household heads had a higher education and were mainly self-employed in public services and the free professions, clerks' families linked to trades, industry, business and finance. These were the categories to which Jews themselves belonged.

An analysis of the mortality of Jews in Bohemia confirmed the assumption that the mortality rate was lower, mainly owing to the lower rate of infant mortality. The positive mortality conditions were most certainly influenced from the second half of the 19th century by the rising social standard of their lives in the city but also by their traditional way of life. The author calculated mean life expectancy in 1930 as 61 years for men and 65 years for women, which is much higher than that of the overall population of the Czech lands (54 years for men and 58 years for women). She also examined causes of death, which confirmed earlier findings (more deaths were caused by diseases connected with old age, fewer by infectious and sexual diseases).

The study also examined the natural population movement of Jews and determined its stages and looked at migration and the nature migration from the start of the 18th century until almost the end of the Second World War.

It was a very good idea of the author to include a chapter on the wider social and economic context of the life of Jews in Bohemia and Czechoslovakia, with a special focus on observing the movement of more secularised minority Jews into majority society. The author looked at colloquial language, ethnicity, education, social stratification, professional structure, and acculturation. The basis of her working approach was again a comparison between countries. In Moravia in the second half of the 19th century independent political communities formed in some traditional urban Jewish religious communities (with or without a land registry), but they were not communities with the status of a political district. Of interest is the author's conclusion about who in Moravia and Bohemia identified most with Jewish ethnicity. In both places it was mainly German-oriented Jews.

Given the topic, an interesting part of the text deals with education, and the author managed to create data files on education from the level of grammar school to university. She reached a conclusion that, while it is often repeated in the literature, is presented here with the backing of a broad base of information. In Bohemia Jews continued their studies at secondary schools and universities ten times as often as the majority population. Even in Bohemia, where the so-called second Jewish assimilation (into the Czech language environment) occurred most extensively, as Jews progressed into the higher levels of education they more often attended German schools, both in the second half of the 19th century and in the interwar period. According to the author, at the end of the 1920s, over 37% of Jews studied at the German university in Prague.

The author captured all the most essential socio-professional characteristics in the section devoted to this area, in particular the traditional dominance of every shape and form of business. Y. Don's hypothesis about the recruitment of new employees into business from the ranks tradesmen and factory workers in the second half the 19th century can – in my opinion – only partly be confirmed as valid in Bohemia, given that the given time frame involved the period of industrialisation rather than proto-industrialisation. Micro-analytical research conducted for Moravia and for the given period based on the manual results of a population census (counters) for individual urban Jewish communities confirm the author's 'pure speculations' about the sons of businessmen and tradesmen who also worked professionally as clerks. However, I cannot accept the author's opinion that the increase in large-scale factory production led straight to the destruction of small-scale production (trades), another area of economic activity the Jewish community was strongly involved in. The situation was more complicated. Many trades went into demise with the emergence of large-scale production, but they also often expanded in rapidly growing industrial centres.

The study also includes a list of sources and literature, including many foreign titles, Czech and English summaries, and extracts from reviews.

This is an exceptionally high-quality publication, presenting a complex and multi-dimensional picture of the demographic development of Jews in Bohemia and neighbouring lands during the period of modernisation and situating it within a wider social and cultural context. It is an example of an interdisciplinary approach, the perfect handling of methodology, the meticulous criticism of sources, and the studied collection of sources. The stylistic quality of the publication is also very high. The work presents many new findings, and it can be regarded not just as an excellent work of analysis but also as a quality monographic study.

Ludmila Nesládková

MORE THAN JUST A DEMOGRAPHIC HISTORY OF RUSSIA IN THE PAST TWO CENTURIES^{*)}

Several years back the well-known Russian demographer and sociologist Anatoly Grigorievich Vishnevsky published an important study on the demographic history of Russia. As implied in its title, *The Sickie and the Rouble* (1998)¹⁾, he took a very broad approach, focusing on the wider economic and social background of this development.

The book is divided into two parts: the period of unsettling revolutions and the agony of the empire. Both parts are divided up into chapters whose titles aptly characterise the content so that the publication almost resembles almost an encyclopaedic work. The first part has six chapters: the Russian crisis at the start of the 20th century: late-stage agrarian society; economic revolution: the horse-drawn automobile; the urban revolution: towns without townspeople; demographic and family revolution: demographic freedom in a bondage society; the cultural revolution: a religious man with a collective (the hard-to-translate Russian term *sobornyy*) consciousness and a university degree; political revolution: marginal people in government. The second part has four chapters: the onset of the Russian empire; empire and modernisation; the empire in crisis; the empire and the world.

In the first part the author describes Russia's backwardness in the context of Europe from the 17th to the 19th centuries. The signs of reforms coming from Europe were only just emerging and more substantial industrial development did not get going until the 1880s. Russia never experienced a Reformation or Enlightenment and the Enlightened Absolutism of some tsars was more of an exception and was short-lived (Peter the Great, Catherine II). The government-supported Orthodox Church suppressed any kind of reform and Enlightened Absolutism did little to change the situation of the rural population. The slow pace of development stemmed partly from the massive area the Russian empire covered, its inadequately developed infrastructure, and its geographic position on the edge of Europe. The underdevelopment of personal ownership and the system of farming commons, a relic of feudal conditions, were also of fundamental significance. Given that the primary economic sector throughout the 19th century was agriculture, this also had an impact on productivity, which in Europe was growing as a result of the development of other sectors and in tandem with them (industry, transport, and trade).

This was the situation that lay behind the position of Russia in economic, demographic and social areas at the turn of the 20th century compared to the advanced states of Europe and the world. The average corn yield per ha in Russia in 1909–1913 was twice as low as that in France and 3.4 times lower than that in Germany. However, much bigger differences existed in industrial production. In 1913 coal production per person was 209 kg (in the US it was 5358 kg), electric energy was 14kWh (in the US it was 176); national income in Russia was 102 roubles per head, which was 2.9 times lower than in Germany, 3.4 times lower than in France, 4.3 times lower than in England, 6.8 times lower than in the US. Corresponding differences exist in demographic indicators. In 1906–1910 infant mortality was 247‰, which is the level observed in the Czech lands in the mid-19th century and at the time indicated it, like in most countries of Western Europe, was 100‰ lower. The life expectancy of men in 1907–1910 was 32 and of women 34; in the Czech lands life expectancy was ten years higher; the situation was similar in the other European countries going through the second phase of the demographic revolution.

At that time the First World War broke out and led up to the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917. By then there already existed the germs of a market economy, and it was possible either to support them or set off out down another path – the author calls this the American or the Prussian path. The Soviet government chose the Prussian path, that is, state-run industrialisation. This could not occur without the help of advanced capitalist countries, which were a source of advanced technology and machinery. This fact was written about publicly in the press until the 1930s, but later an embargo was placed on such information, mainly because industrialisation was focusing on production in the sphere of heavy industry and contributed little to increasing the population's level of consumption, which then lagged substantially behind that of other countries at roughly the same level of development. Industrialisation was given priority, and the countryside remained under-developed; this combined with wasteful collectivisa-

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¹⁾ Вишневский, А. Г. *Серп и Рубль. Консервативная модернизация в СССР* (The Sickie and the Rouble. Conservative Modernisation in the USSR). Moskva: Objedinnoye gumanitarnoye izdatelstvo, 1998, 430 p.; Vichnevsky, A. G. *La faucille et le rouble: la modernisation conservatrice en USSR*. French translation by M. Vichnevskaya. Paris: Gallimard, 2000, 465 pp.

tion resulted in food shortages in some years, so food had to be imported instead. Hunger spread through the countryside and in 1932–1933 resulted in the deaths of hundreds of thousands to millions of people. The construction of housing for workers in industry was financed in a similar way, but little attention was paid to the quality of the construction work.

The author of the reviewed study was the first in Russia to introduce the term ‘demographic revolution’ (1976) to describe the qualitative transformation of the population’s reproductive behaviour²⁾. This is dealt with relatively extensively in Chapter 5. The course of this revolution in Russia was influenced by the two world wars, the political repressions that occurred on a mass scale from 1929 until the death of Stalin, and the above-mentioned famine. These events had a very significant impact on the course of mortality. Nevertheless, official data indicate that the infant mortality rate had fallen by the end of the 1960s to 26‰ and life expectancy rose to age 65 for men and age 73 for women. It is interesting, however, that since then the life expectancy of women has stagnated and the life expectancy of men has even fallen below age 60. The second element of demographic reproduction also decreased during the first sixty years of the 20th century in a manner corresponding to the demographic revolution: total fertility decreased from 7 to 2.6 children, that is, by more than one-half. All the revolutionary changes in various processes relating to people (demographic behaviour, urbanisation, industrialisation, women’s emancipation, changes in the character of the family, progress in education, medical care, and hygiene, etc.) are interconnected and can be described as a global revolution of the modern age. Owing to the lack of understanding of this process – a process that is universal and eventually occurs in every country in the world – it was ideologically rejected and various claims were made that were at odds with reality. So, for instance, in the mid-1950s it was still being claimed that under capitalism the mortality rate rises and the fertility rate decreases, while under socialism the opposite is true. Also for ideological reasons the terms of access to induced abortions were changed several times in Russia. After the October Revolution it was made fully available (like divorce, it had only to be reported); fears about a further decline in the number of births led to the introduction of a ban on induced abortion in 1936 (which was not very effective) and in 1956 that ban was repealed. It is interesting, however, that because at that time (the mid-1960s) there was still a lack of contraceptives, abortion became almost the only available, supplementary method of contraception (in some years the number of induced abortions was as much as four times the number of births).

There is a good deal of interesting information in the second part of the work, too. One such example is a figure describing the territorial expansion of the Russian Empire, which proceeded steadily from the mid-15th century; another figure shows a comparison with the territorial spread of the British Empire, which began three centuries later, but in the 19th century surpassed the Russian Empire in size and remained larger until the loss of Canada. A strong Russification process occurred across its territory, especially in Siberia; the demise of several nations occurred. The Soviet Union continued to reinforce the empire, but after the fall of communism it could not prevent the onset of federalisation and declaration of independence by some republics. The 20th century was an age of modernisation, and the character of the state transformed from agrarian and rural into industrial and urban. However, this modernisation was conservative, a hammer was added to the sickle, but modernisation was prevented from reaching completion as Soviet totalitarianism blocked the growth of a market economy and political democracy. Despite all the contradictions and inconsistencies of Soviet modernisation a foundation was laid on which to build. In the author’s words, in the past Russia experienced great victories, great defeats, and much blood-letting, but the nation, the state, and society have changed. The sickle has become part of the past, agrarian society is spent. Russia has become a country in the modern economy, the rouble state. The author does not try to embellish Russia’s past. He subjects it to a thorough analysis and identifies the causes of the irreversible crisis of the Soviet system. This kind of examination is of exceptional value for pragmatically determining the direction of future development. In the conclusion he exhorts that it is necessary to look back but not in anger.

The book was very positively received and was reviewed in a number of Russian scholarly and political journals. It has been translated into French and was published in Paris (2000).

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²⁾ Višněvskij, A. G. *Demografičeskaja revolucija*. Moskva: Statistika, 1976, 239 pp.