

# *Justice in Times of Rationing*<sup>1</sup>

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As regards Points: Ten, which reads, "Supplies of food to the home market should fully satisfy the needs, and exports should concern the surplus only"; Eleven, which reads, "Specially raised prices and sale for foreign currency (the so-called home exports) should be abolished"; Thirteen, which reads, "Rationing of meat and meat products should be introduced (and should remain in force until the market situation can be controlled)", the following has been agreed:

The supply of meat for the population shall be extended before December 31, 1980, as a result i.e. of increased profitability of agricultural production, reduction of meat exports to the necessary minimum, additional imports of meat. Also before the above date, a programme shall be put forward of extension of meat supplies for the population, including if necessary the introduction of rationing. Scarce articles of daily use produced in Poland shall not be sold for foreign currency in "Pewex" stores. The society shall be informed about the decisions and steps concerning market supplies before the end of this year.

The Inter-Factory Strike Committee moves for the abolishment of special shops where meat is sold at raised prices, and for regulation and unification of meat prices at a medium level

*Official record of the agreement negotiated by the Government Commission and the Inter-Factory Strike Committee in Gdansk Shipyard on August 31, 1980.*

Art. 31.1. The Council of Ministers may pass a decree introducing a full or partial rationing of the basic articles of food and of certain other articles.

*Decree of December 12, 1981, on martial law, Journal of Law No 29, item 154.*

In the post-war history of Poland, as well as in the history of mankind on the whole, rationing of necessities is not a novelty. In Karl Polanyi's outline of the basic types of economic systems, it serves as an example of the mechanism of redistribution which has been practiced from time immemorial by the centralized "Asiatic" systems; that mechanism replaced the principles of reciprocity only to give way to market mechanisms in the Western conditions.<sup>2</sup> According to Zsuzsa Ferge, redistribution is the basic economic and social mechanism in the socialist systems. This is consistent with the opinion about the collective social system which prevails since the first socialist and communist utopias. Leon Petrazyski who was the first to outline the model of centralized economy – before Stammer and the doctrinal disputes of 1950's – treated redistribution in the discussed social system as the basic mechanism to satisfy living needs. The supposed distinguishing mark of the socialist redistribution is the principle of egalitarianism as the substantial rule of a just distribution of goods and services.<sup>3</sup>

Ferge points to the fact that in real socialism, redistribution failed fully to supersede the market mechanisms and the principle of reciprocity which still governs the "border-line" and the family economies, despite the expectations to that effect cherished during the revolution. Nevertheless, such market elements are surrounded and dominated by redistribution, just as the elements of redistribution found in the economy and social policy of modern capitalism are surrounded by the dominating market mechanism. Whenever the supply of a certain type of goods exceeds the perceptible demand, direct redistribution through various allocations, allowances, coupons and ration cards is replaced by free sale. This trend is not the subject of sociological thought and is treated as obvious. Redistribution is assumed to be abnormal from the natural point of view of a member of the socialist society: what is normal, is the possibility to freely buy and sell goods and services on the market. The redistribution mechanism is also assumed to be abnormal from the economic point of view, and the market mechanism to be normal. The latter assumption is historically wrong; the former, on the other hand, has never been submitted to a reliable empirical study. Treating rationing and redistribution in general as abnormal and transient phenomena, we have never given to them the attention they actually deserve. In the socialist society, redistribution is to play the role of the basis of social life (planning being just a means), and its imperfect functioning is the everyday problem of the mass of citizens.

The contractual character of prices, treated as a weak point of the centralized system is a logical component of a system based on redistribution. In the socialist system, social conflicts concentrate on a struggle for a share in redistribution which would be the most profitable for a given social group or category.

The rationing of meat and other basic food products which was introduced following the events in August 1980 is a good example of the above-mentioned theses: in the period from August 1980 till December 1981, overt actions of separate groups of interest were noticeable.

"From the society's point of view, coupons were to guarantee a just distribution of goods and help reduce the lines. From the point of view of the authorities and the economic policy, they were to become an efficient instrument of balancing supplies and demand."<sup>4</sup> The rationing of meat, forced by the strikers on the Coast, expressed both their dissatisfaction with the hitherto employed indirect forms of redistribution through a double, if not triple, system of sale, and their belief in the possibility of creating a more egalitarian redistribution. The insistent demand on rationing alarmed most economists who perceived it to be a threat for the economic reform that was to introduce market instead of redistribution. From the government's point of view, rationing proved to be an effective step: it helped meet the social demands with the overall amount of meat for distribution unchanged, nay reduced. This solution had already been tested for that matter in 1974, when the rationing of sugar was introduced due to the profits then derived from the sale of Polish sugar abroad.<sup>5</sup>

The rationing was introduced during an acute political and economic crises. As Hagemeyer wrote in the summer of 1981,

the market situation gives rise not only to mutual hostility among the population and to hostility towards those in power, but also to conflicts between whole social groups, the regional and professional above all. The central distribution lists that were to secure a "just" distribution of a limited amount of goods all over the country break down. Tendencies can be found in the separate regions to distribute everything that is manufactured in their respective territories and to prevent any exports of such products to other regions; the introduction of local rationing promotes such tendencies. Barter develops between the separate plants where scarce market goods are manufactured. *The system of rationing*

*of meat created conditions in which the separate professional groups rival one another trying to win the recognition of their work as particularly hard and thus to obtain a larger ration...* (authors' emphasis) On the one hand, the universal mistrust in the presented balance resulted in the negotiating of ration norms which allowed for no reserves to cover fluctuations of purchase and irregularities of supplies; on the other hand, the adopted principle of allotting different rations depending on the character of work brought about the frequently successful demands for differentiating rations, voiced by the separate professional groups.<sup>6</sup>

The outcome of that struggle was not obvious. On the one hand, the trend towards equalization of supply norms of the separate regions improved the situation of those living in small towns and agricultural regions to the disadvantage of the hitherto privileged agglomerations of manufacturing industry. On the other hand, a regional structure of the strongest trade union facilitated local corrections through the above-mentioned closing and autarchy of provinces and towns. The economic needs soon led back to a privileged position for certain categories of workers such as those performing harder work, the special miners' privileges – the bone of contention in the disputes between "Solidarity", departmental trade unions, miners, and the authorities – were left out of account here. Undoubtedly, for redistribution of this type to be introduced, the central authorities must be strong in relation to the lower levels. Before December 1981, the Polish government was too weak to realize that task. (Incidentally, also the national leaders of "Solidarity" were too weak to force the separate plants, professional groups, departments and regions to observe the adopted principle of egalitarianism). Just as the local centers of public and economic power tried to avail themselves of the situation and to win over definite circles, also the latter tried to exert a successful pressure on the local authorities in order to obtain larger shares

## **Market or redistribution?**

The demand for rationing of meat and other food products, formulated most clearly in the days of negotiating of agreements, was usually given either of two different interpretations. The first of

them stresses the society's belief that rationing would lead to the disappearance of lines. According to the other one, the demand for rationing resulted from the society's reluctance towards the system of many different markets, operative before August 1980, which created privileges for certain categories owing to their social position (the Party and State machine) and for certain persons with higher incomes (who could buy goods in special stores paying raised prices). Both of these interpretations can be found in the above-quoted article by Hagemeyer. However, the findings of studies carried out after August 1980 make it possible to include still another and more essential motivation.

The Institute of Domestic Trade and Services carried out two studies of an incomplete and yet rather interesting sample of households. The first of those studies was made in November and December of 1980, this actually preceding the introduction of rationing ( $n = 2715$  persons)<sup>7</sup>; the second one took place in April and May of 1981 ( $n = 2326$  persons)<sup>8</sup> during a time of great confusion connected with the introduction of rationing. To begin with, nearly a half of the examined persons (48 per cent) believed that rationing would secure better supplies of meat and meat products for their households, 18 per cent thought it would only make matters worse, and 25 per cent were of opinion that no changes would result from the introduction of coupons. Five months later, a half (50 per cent) of respondents found rationing to have resulted in better supplies, 25 per cent thought the opposite, and 21 per cent thought coupons had brought about no changes in their households. At the end of 1980, as few as 37,5 per cent of respondents hoped that rationing would help abolish lines; instead, as many as 70 per cent thought that rationed meat would still be scarce enough to sometimes make it impossible to buy the entire amount allocated against coupons. Five months later, only 33 per cent stated that the introduction of rationing had reduce lines, and a half (50 per cent) quoted instances of shortage of rationed meat. None the less, most respondents (59 per cent) believed rationing to have guaranteed a just distribution of meat, and only 24 per cent thought the opposite. Furthermore, while as few as 25 per cent were for the rationing of other articles besides meat at the end of 1980, the proportion went up to 66 per cent in April and May of 1981.

These data, as well as the answers to our questionnaire lead to the conclusion that most people are for rationing in the face of scarcity of various goods. This attitude does not result from practical

reasons – e.g. from a hope for full supplies of rationed goods or for disappearance of lines – but is a matter of principle. Rationing has a moral value above all. It satisfies the social sense of justice, creating equal chances of buying the necessary goods. Namely, the approval here concerns egalitarian rationing, the actual contents of that rationing are not necessarily obvious or uniform for all; this problem will be discussed below.

Our questionnaire survey was carried out in November and early December of 1981. The sample was drawn randomly and included 150 inhabitants of Warsaw; the imposition of martial law on December 13, 1981 made it impossible to examine the entire planned sample of 300 persons. The questionnaire included several questions concerning the above-mentioned problem. The first of them (Question IX) concerned the principles that ought to govern the rationing of necessities and their distribution between individuals and different social categories. As few as 19 per cent of respondents declared themselves against the rationing of necessities. A decided majority (78 per cent) were for rationing. The greatest proportion of them (60 per cent) thought that rations should be differentiated according to needs, e.g. of the various age groups of persons who perform a harder vs easier work. The second question (No XXIII) concerned the principles of sale of non-rationed articles. Only 10 per cent of respondents were for unlimited sale of such goods. The greatest proportion (41 per cent) thought that a uniform principle should be introduced here, with the amount of each commodity sold to one person defined in advance (e.g. one bottle of shampoo or one pot, etc). About one third of respondents (31 per cent) left the decision about the amount sold to one person with the salesman who knows both the amount delivered to the shop and the demand for a given commodity. 10 per cent were of the opinion that those who stand in a given line should decide how much they should buy. Thus only an explicit minority (from 10 to 19 per cent) insist on the preservation, or perhaps introduction of market mechanisms to replace any forms of redistribution. The latter statement is of importance since we have hitherto discussed rationing as a form of redistribution, and treated the distribution of coupons as the only form of rationing. Meanwhile, as follows from a more careful analysis, coupons should be treated as what we have decided to call *universal* rationing, while various other socio-economic phenomena connected with the so-called lines are in fact specific forms of rationing; such rationing will be called *situational* in the present paper.

One should bear in mind in this connection that a "line" is not necessarily connected with unbalanced supplies of and demand for certain goods: instead, in its pure form, it concerns the problem of satisfaction of needs at one and the same time. Its point of departure is the distribution of time and not of other goods. The basic principle of "line justice" – *Prior tempore, potior iure*, that is first by time, first by right or first come, first served – does not necessarily mean that only those first in line can buy at all, and the amount they want at that. A line is formed whenever it is impossible to serve all customers at one time. In such a "pure" line which is possible also when the supply generally exceeds the demand, what is rationed is not the commodity but the time the salesman has at his disposal. But if it is the demand that exceeds the supply, which is the case in a vast majority of situations in Poland, a line has a different sense. The position in line determines the very chances of buying a given good. Thus, whenever the supply is greater than demand, sale based on the first come, first served principle may indeed be treated as a form of redistribution of commodities and services according to the amount of time passed waiting to be able to buy. This redistribution is situational since it is enough to change the time and situation for the chances for acquiring a commodity or service to also be changed. At the same time, such a situation of purchase is in accordance with the market mechanism as the customer is allowed to buy what he wants and as much as he wants to buy. No changes of this situation would be necessary had the supply remained greater or at least equal in relation to demand; however, with the actual redistribution done by the salesmen the trade has changed into a normal market situation which it *de iure* is.

Long before August 1980, however, still another model of line situation was shaped which might be called situational rationing *sensu stricto*. In the face of scarcity of goods, the necessity of rationing of commodities was recognized quite soon on a nation-wide scale, in the separate localities, and in shops (e.g. one loaf of bread, two bottles of vodka, or one tin of preserved meat per person). This principle is situational since the would-be buyer may simply go to another shop and line up for the same commodity there. Moreover, he may even line up again in the same shop, provided the commodity in question is still being sold. What connects this kind of rationing, the principles of which can be determined by trade administration, by salesman, or by the customers concerned, with the universal rationing, is the mechanism of redistribution of goods among the greatest possible number of persons who want to buy those goods.

Approval of various forms of rationing was also revealed in the answers to other questions we asked. One of those questions described a situation where great amounts of dressing materials, vitamin tablets, and baby preparations were bought up by one person. All those commodities together constituted a monthly allowance for the entire town. The articles concerned are not rationed through coupons, hence we deal here with a normal transaction of sale from the legal point of view. Yet in our story, the police caused those commodities to be returned to the drugstore despite the fact that their purchase had been legal. It turned out that nearly all of the examined persons (93 per cent) approved of the steps taken by the police. As few as 7 per cent were against a police intervention in such cases. If the possibility of buying a given commodity is to be secured for the greatest number of persons possible, nobody can purchase an unlimited amount of that commodity. Such was the justification given by most respondents. The interest of other consumers and their right to get their share of the redistributed goods is the most frequently quoted motive for accepting a police intervention in the discussed case. What is worthy of attention here is the fact that the respondents are but seldom motivated by a fear of the phenomena frequently quoted on such occasions by the mass media (e.g. as few as 11 per cent were prompted by a belief that the person who bought the commodities up was a profiteer). The Polish society justifies a limitation of the right to buy commodities by referring to the other person's right to buy at least the minimum amount of goods that are in short supply.

Therefore, the arduous scarcity of goods induces the Poles to accept rationing of virtually all commodities, and, as was also found in our study, to demand punishment of those who break the rules of rationing. An emphatic majority of respondents declared themselves in favor of punishing persons who buy up commodities in such a situation (79 per cent). Nearly a half (47 per cent) believed that both parties to the transaction should be punished, while one fourth thought that a penalty should be applied against the salesman. The most frequently proposed penalties were: fine (35 per cent) and admonition (21 per cent) but there were also some respondents who mentioned very severe penalties, e.g. imprisonment (nine persons, 6 per cent). Those more inclined to declare themselves for punishing persons who buy up commodities are women, persons with elementary education, those who define themselves as workers, and those living in worse conditions, both objectively (who actually less often



have meat for meals) and subjectively (who perceive their situation as worse than the average). Among those who were against punishment were a greater proportion men, persons with secondary and higher education who defined themselves as members of the intelligentsia, those whose living conditions were objectively better (who had meat more often), and those who described their own living conditions as average or better than the average.

The above-quoted opinions can be arranged into a consistent system: a prevalence of demand over supply results in a trend towards the rules of rationing which would be known in advance and towards a limitation of the right to buy goods in some cases so as to make it possible for others to exercise their rights. Transgressions of those rules should be punished and the penalty applied towards both parties to the transaction, the salesman and the customer, or only towards the salesman as the disposer of commodities. Among the most punitive persons were above all those for whom the scarcity of goods on the market was particularly painful (the poor, women). The range of proposed penalties was rather broad and included the most severe ones such as imprisonment. Although such acts are not penalized, the transgression of the rules of rationing of scarce goods, infringing other persons' right to their share of redistributed goods, became an offense in the social consciousness: those guilty of such acts should therefore be punished, nay imprisoned.

The questionnaire included another example of conduct inconsistent with the norms of times of rationing. A situation was described where a customer helped himself to a chocolate bar, sold only against children's sugar coupons, and left money on the counter – the equivalent of that bar's price. This situation is unclear from the legal point of view: on the one hand, the customer had no coupon and thus was not entitled to buy; yet on the other hand, there were no provisions to prohibit the purchase of the chocolate bar or to impose a penalty on the person who buys it, and the discussed situation can hardly be interpreted as theft. The opinions about the described conduct proved to differ from one another. A little more than a half of respondents (57 per cent) condemned the purchaser, and nearly a half (42 per cent) expressed no disapproval. In this case, like in the one described above, the norms of the times of rationing were also transgressed: the transgression, however, did not result in an explicit reduction of the rights of others which probably influence the lack of uniformity of the respondents opinions. Only

one trait proved to have an important connection with the opinion expressed: persons with higher education were more inclined to condemn the customer in the discussed situation.

In this case just as before, the respondents were asked about the proposed reaction towards the customer. The most frequently mentioned reactions were admonition (29 per cent) and restitution (of the chocolate bar and of money, 28 per cent). Most respondents (62 per cent) believe that a person who notices such a situation should notify the salesman; 25 per cent would let the customer get away with what he did; and 13 per cent proposed other types of reaction. It appeared that persons with higher education, despite their disapproval of the described act, more frequently proposed reactions other than notifying the salesman or restraint from any reaction. Above all, they mentioned a private intervention: a rebuke etc.

However, the respondents' opinions are generally consistent: those who condemn the customer declare themselves more often for notifying the salesman and for the imposition of penalties *sensu stricto* on the perpetrator of the described deed, the penalties above all including fine (in this case, imprisonment was suggested by only one respondent). These correlations made it possible to construct an index based on which persons were most vs least tolerant towards the customer in question could be distinguished. As shown also by other studies, young persons with a secondary or higher education and living in objectively better conditions are most tolerant.

As shown by the findings quoted above, the respondents aimed at a limitation of the right to buy commodities to the extent which would make possible the exercise of those rights by as large a number of persons as possible if not by all concerned. It sometimes happens, however, that the observance of this principle leads to a reduced usefulness of the purchased commodity. Our respondents were asked to give their opinion about such a situation which concerned the sale of an Hungarian hair preparation. Since there were many customers, each of them was allowed to buy one bottle despite the fact that three bottles are necessary in order for the treatment to bring good results. Most respondents (89 per cent) believed the salesman's decision in this case to be wrong; according to them, it would be better to sell the necessary amount of the preparation to a smaller number of customers. Thus it appeared that the trend towards a just redistribution of goods and towards making it possible for the greatest number of customers to buy commodities is kept within the limits of common sense, marked out by the usefulness of

a given commodity for its purchaser. Nearly a half (48 per cent) of the respondents are of the opinion that decisions concerning the amount of goods sold to one customer in such situations should be taken by the competent domestic trade organization. Instead, the proportion of those willing to leave such decisions to the people standing in a given line was the smallest (19 per cent); according to the respondents, this was due to the fact that the interests of those first and those last in line clash which makes it difficult to reach a decision that would be acceptable for all. Thus, despite the uniformity of opinions in the discussed case, the respondents do not believe in the possibility of the customers' common sense prevailing in a given "line situation".

The question asked in the title of the present section was: market or redistribution? It may be stated based on the findings quoted above that the majority of the Polish people are for redistribution of commodities in the present situation of a total economic crises. With demand greatly exceeding supply which is strongly felt in the society, redistribution is to be carried out through various forms of rationing. The so-called necessities should be included in universal rationing, with situational rationing applied in the case of other articles where the demand exceeds their supplies. Among the forms of the latter type of rationing, there is sale based on principles agreed and known in advance (e.g. one loaf of bread or one pot per person). Another form involves the situation where the salesman or those in line (which occurs less often) decide about the amount of commodities per customer according to the relation between demand and supply in a given case. Infringement of those unwritten laws that are in force in the period of scarcity of market goods meets with disapproval; whenever the principles of just distribution are glaringly infringed, the Polish society is for punishment for those guilty of such infringement.

To end the present section, the problem should be considered of the degree to which the legal regulation of rationing agrees with the society's opinions in this respect. At the time of investigation, uniform rationing involved the sale of some articles only (e.g. meat and sugar). The rationing of other articles differed in the separate provinces (for instance, vegetable fats were sold against coupons only in some regions). In those days, the provinces enjoyed a rather large extent of freedom in deciding about rationing and about the introduction of the so-called interchangeable products (e.g. coffee instead of alcohol, sweets instead of cigarettes etc.). Universal ration-

ing on a nation-wide scale resulted from the subsequent resolutions of the Council of Ministers. The lack of a uniform regulation, the changing provision norms, the different interchangeable goods, the diversified interpretation of provisions, and the differences in the rationing policy from one province to another – all of those factors together made the customer's situation unclear, despite the coupons, both for himself and for the salesman whose interpretation of those factors frequently determined the kinds and amount of goods sold to the customer. At the moment of this writing, the principles of universal coupon rationing are regulated by the resolution of the Council of Ministers of December 12, 1981, "on the rationed sale of commodities". (Resolution No 264, "Monitor Polski" No 32/1981). The Resolution provides for nation-wide uniform norms of sale of the separate commodities which agrees with our respondents postulates, as does the differentiation of those norms in the case of separate groups according to their respective needs related to age or the effort put into the work they perform. The respective findings will be presented in the next section of the paper. The introduction of a uniform regulation is not, however, tantamount to the disappearance of all doubts and to a just distribution of commodities. The recurring shortages of certain goods bring about a situation where a successful purchase of a given article depends not only on coupons and the expenditure of time, but on other factors as well (such as the supplies of definite sorts of meat to a definite shop, the salesman's decision as to the amount of better sorts of meat to be sold to the separate customers etc.). As shown by this and many other examples, despite the trend towards unification, the system of universal rationing is still far from meeting the demand for a just distribution of necessities. Moreover, the question cannot be settled explicitly whether the government, when issuing the so-called coupons, at the same time assumed the duty to secure supplies which would cover the norms it determined itself. As shown by the creation, through a resolution of the Council of Ministers, of a special Interdepartmental Group for Rationing of Commodities tasks of which include supervision of supplies to cover the norms, the government indeed assumed the above-mentioned duty. Had this question been interpreted in a different manner, the whole of the universal rationing system would for that matter be nonsensical.

Situational rationing is obviously more difficult to regulate. There are legal grounds for the use of one of its forms, the rationing done by the salesman: the order of the Ministry of Domestic Trade

and Services which entitles the shop manager to limit the amounts of commodities sold to the separate customer (1978). It should however be added that in some situations the form of rationing was approval where the amount of commodity is determined by order of superior authority (the trade organization in our example of the hair preparation). Yet we failed to find legal grounds for this kind of rationing. Moreover, which seems rather important, while accepting situational rationing done by the salesman, the respondents nevertheless made many reservations in this respect, postulating the salesman's honesty and supervision of his decisions by a "line committee" which would check the invoices of the delivered commodities and supervise the fairness of the principles of sale established by the salesman. Today, due to the fact that the creation of line committees has been banned, the customers are at the salesman's mercy to a much higher degree than before. It is difficult to tell whether this would influence any changes of those customers' opinions about who should establish the principles of situational rationing. There are, however, no legal grounds based on whether such decisions could be vested with the customers.

### **Egalitarianism, the privileged, and the handicapped**

In times of rationing, not only the norms of sale were changed but also certain rules that govern the very order of that sale. There are signboards in all shops providing information that certain categories of persons (the disabled, pregnant women, women with babies in their arms) shall be served before others. The interpretation of this principle is unclear in times of rationing. Two lines were formed in shops: the first one composed of those who enjoyed no privileges, and the other one of persons entitled to be served before others. Therefore, an additional *metarule* of sale had to be accepted. At the time of investigation, a custom was formed in the Warsaw shops according to which five persons from the line of the unprivileged and one person entitled to be served first were served alternately. It should be added here that the related order of the trade authorities gave a much more detailed definition of the privileged categories and of their required certificates as compared with the above-mentioned signboards, but was at the same time most vague as regards

the principles of conduct "if a longer line of the privileged is formed"<sup>9</sup> The norm established in the social practice was both precise and simple: it provided for two classes only, of the privileged and the unprivileged, and one proportion, 1:5.

The bulk of the respondents (76 per cent) accepted that social norm. The justness of the 1:5 principle was usually motivated by the interest of other customers, that is by the fact that if those unprivileged would have to stand in line for too long another principle would have been accepted (38 per cent of answers) and by the fear that there would be an insufficient amount of commodity for the remaining customers in that case (21 per cent).

As can be seen, the solution accepted already under martial law by the Ministry of Domestic Trade and Services, according to which one privileged and one unprivileged person should be served alternately is inconsistent with the customers' opinions. One should bear it in mind here that the existence of persons entitled to be served first has different consequences for the remaining customers contingently upon the relation between demand and supply. The rules according to which pregnant women, cripples etc. should be served first have a different sense in the normal market conditions as compared with the situation of scarcity of goods. "Normally", we let persons recognized as weaker do their shopping before us in order to lighten their effort connected with shopping. In such a case, the rules granting privilege mean that the privileged persons' expenditure of time spent in line (and the related effort) does not influence their chances of buying the article they line up for. Such rules are sensible if there are in principle enough commodities, that is if all those involved in a given situation of sale can buy: if not on that particular occasion, then at least soon and in another shop which is reasonably close to the original one. Instead, with the working assumption that demand greatly exceeds supply, those privileged in respect of the expenditure of time and effort related to standing in line become privileged also as regards the chances of buying the necessary article. It is impossible in the Polish conditions to draw a strict borderline between the two situations described above. However, this can hardly be the only reason of the quantitative relations found here. The smaller the supply in relation to demand, the less the chances of buying the necessary article at another reasonably close place and time. The greater the extent to which a given position in line determines the very chances of satisfying an important need, the greater also the importance of privileges for the weak who

are perceived as a threat and as rivals by the remaining persons standing in line, and the smaller the role played by the rule that grants privileges in respect of time and effort. It seems that the role of time spent while waiting to be able to buy grows small as compared with normal situations. The possibility of joining several lines at the same time, the specific "turns of duty" in lines reservation of positions and lists of those in line seem to speak for that assumption.

Due to the specific character of a normal situation of sale, it is impossible today to differentiate the customers according to their respective rights resulting from various needs, merits, or faults; what differentiates people are instead the most visible features such as pregnancy, disability or special papers which anyway can only be produced with difficulty in a crowded shop. Hence the principle of strict objective egalitarianism (the same portion for everyone) is easier implemented in line situations than other versions of justice.<sup>10</sup> Of course, the situation of buying rationed goods is in reality much more complex, as at least three principles are in force here: 1) all customers are entitled to buy the same amount of goods; 2) the chances of exercising that right depend on the person's position in line according to the principle: first come, first served; and 3) these chances are slightly bigger for certain preferred groups, e.g. disabled etc..

The principle of objective egalitarianism, however, leaves a whole range of the separate customers' needs out of account. A single young man may buy the same amount of commodities as a mother of seven. One can hardly demand that appropriately authenticated papers be produced by the customers, thus making the differentiation of needs, otherwise quite obvious to the people, objective. Moreover, the situational character of rationing (what we mean here is not sale against coupons) makes such a strict objective egalitarianism harmless: shopping can be continued in another situation. Thus as follows from the above, the definite rules of justice accepted in the conditions of situational redistribution should be different from those in the situation of universal rationing. Central redistribution through coupons should secure to everybody the right to buy a definite amount of goods; it is assumed here that the person concerned cannot supplement that amount (such supplements being actually possible through own breeding, trade and gifts, e.g. from abroad). What is more, differentiation of needs can, nay should, be taken into account in the conditions of universal redistribution as

the centre that carries that redistribution into effect through the distribution of rights to buy definite shares of the overall amount of commodities is better qualified to define the differentiated needs both on the universal nation-wide scale and for individuals, through the establishment of appropriate parameters of persons entitled to participate in the distribution.

When asked about the principles that should govern the rationing of various necessities and their distribution between individuals and different social categories, most of the respondents (69 per cent) professed the principle of relative egalitarianism, according to which all people should get more or less equal amounts, but with their different needs taken into account related, e.g. to age or physical strain necessary for performance of work. As few as 10 per cent of the respondents professed the principle of objective and absolute egalitarianism according to which *all persons should get exactly the same amounts*, of soap or sugar, for example. As has already been mentioned above, 10 per cent repudiated the very principle of rationing in general. The acceptance of relative egalitarianism means that the examined persons accept a certain differentiation of allowance beforehand. As concluded in the study carried out by the Institute of Domestic Trade and Services,

Basing on the obtained data, the socially accepted principles of a just distribution of meat may be supposed to result from the existence of two criteria of distribution of goods. The first criterion is that of "biological" needs, and its application in the case of rationing of meat results in a belief which prevails in the society, that larger allowances should be granted to groups such as pregnant women, breast-feeding mothers, or those performing hard physical work. The other criterion seems to follow from the existence of negative social attitudes toward those whose behavior infringes on the accepted principles of conduct. The reduction of rations for groups such as prisoners or persons who neither work nor learn, postulated by most respondents, may be supposed to be a form of punishment. The fact that smaller amounts of meat are conceded to farmers is another problem.<sup>11</sup>

The groups that proved to be most rigorous in this respect in the study carried out by the Institute of Domestic Trade and Services were inhabitants of big cities, white-collar workers with the highest income, and those with higher education. It should be added that



also the negative selection, which is to determine who should have no right to buy or who should get smaller rations, can be carried into effect more easily (though but seemingly) in the conditions of universal as compared with situational rationing. As shown also by our study, only 39 per cent of respondents were of the opinion that a ration of necessities should be secured for all; as regards the proposed groups which should be deprived of rations according to the respondents, the most frequently mention (49 per cent answers) were the so-called "parasites": adult healthy men at productive age who neither work nor study. Instead, as few as 9 per cent were for exclusion from the rationing system of those whose income greatly exceeds the average, and 10 per cent mentioned other categories of persons deserving discrimination.

With supply problems deepening, those proposed exclusions might be expected to broaden to include also other social categories. It is also apparent that the prevailing relative egalitarianism, adopted to individual and group needs and to their external indices, is also related to merits. To all according to their needs, but also to the their work – is the most popular canon of justice according to which the ration should depend on work. A general conclusion may also be drawn here: that in the conditions of crisis, redistribution and its rules create an opportunity to change the "privileged" into the "handicapped" and vice versa. A person who does not work or who has easier access to food is a privileged person – and thus one whom redistribution should handicap. The handicapped, in turn, are those who perform hard work or have particular biological needs – the mechanisms of redistribution should therefore privilege them.

At the beginning of the present paper, the regional, or generally speaking, the territorial conflicts have already been mentioned that are connected with the access to the rationed or non-rationed goods. Most of the inhabitants of Warsaw who answered our questionnaire (84 per cent) thought that the principles of rationing should be the same in separate localities. As regards, however, another and outwardly most similar problem, that of the outsiders' right to buy commodities in a locality they visit, the respondents' opinions were greatly polarized. 49 per cent believed the ban on sale to the outsiders, in force in many localities, to be unjust, while 41 per cent accepted that ban as resulting from the local differences in the living conditions and supplies. The convergency coefficient between the repudiation of limited sale on the one hand and of local differentiation of the principles of rationing on the other hand was, however,

high enough (Yule's  $Q = 0.74$ ) to justify the assumption that in both cases we deal with the action of an egalitarian attitude.

The related summary index of absolute egalitarianism consisted of four items in the questionnaire (Nos VIII, X, XI and XII). Persons who scored highest in that index were those who declared themselves for equal ration norms throughout the country; equal rights to buy commodities for the locals and outsiders; rationed necessities for all without exception; general validity of a rule according to which the urban population would be provided with household equipment and the like in exchange for meat rations for farmers, in case of such an agreement being negotiated by the competent trade unions. Such an extreme egalitarianism concerned 16 per cent of the respondents, while 6 per cent gave no egalitarian answers whatever. The distribution of value of the egalitarianism index shaped similarly to normal distribution which adds to our trust in its value. One should, however, bear in mind when analyzing that index that the highest score fails to reflect the attitude which was most popular among the respondents: not only "equality according to needs" but also "equality according to expenditure of work". Namely, egalitarianism failed to include the most popular opinion that norms should correspond with the needs, and the somewhat less popular one according to which the so-called social parasites should be excluded from rationing. Both these opinions could be found in persons with low or medium index values.

Our next move was to compare with one another the divided categories of respondents, characterized by different index values of egalitarian attitudes, in respect of distribution of their traits; in that comparison, we used the various possible dichotomies and Yule's convergency coefficient  $Q$ :

women = 0.22

younger persons = 0.13

the less educated = 0.26

workers = 0.26

incomes below the median = 0.00

medium incomes (quartiles II and III) = 0.00

meat consumed exceptionally = 0.12

material conditions bad in own opinions = 0.00

material conditions average in own opinion = 0.35<sup>12</sup>

As shown by the examined relations between the respondents' socio-economic status and their egalitarianism, just one of those relations, and a weak one at that, is significant at the accepted level of

0.05. Those who believe their own and their family's living conditions to approximate those of an average Polish family are more inclined to show egalitarian attitudes, while inegalitarian attitudes can more frequently be found in categories with extreme (negative or positive) opinions about their own situation. This finding may seem inconsistent with the popular sociological knowledge according to which egalitarianism can be found in those least privileged: but the index of egalitarianism concerns not exactly the absolute egalitarianism but rather its definite forms. In conditions of a serious threat, the general principles, such as e.g. egalitarianism, are reduced to certain more detailed postulates connected with the given living conditions. One should bear it in mind here that the highest score in the egalitarianism scale means that the person in question accepts a number of opinions: that any agreements on the exchange of manufactured goods for meat rations between those living in rural and urban regions should concern *all* citizens; that rations of necessities should be provided for *all* citizens irrespective of their work or income; that ration norms should be uniform throughout the country since identical conditions must be created for *all*; and that there should be no differences between the locals and outsiders as regards chances for buying goods, again because identical conditions must be created for *all*. If we take a closer look at the above-mentioned opinions, it becomes apparent that what connects them with one another is not egalitarianism in the broadest sense in which it functions as a social principle. This form of egalitarianism may be identified with the principle of universal rationing. A person who is for the above-mentioned principles thus declares himself for a universal validity of the principle of rationing, *and* for all citizens' equality before those rules. The latter element – universal equality before the rules of rationing – seems best to characterize the contents of the discussed attitude and of the index used in its measurement.

## **The rules of private turnover of necessities**

At the time of writing, most necessities have been rationed for several months. This creates an entirely new social situation and forces people to develop new patterns of interaction and new principles of justice to regulate mutual conduct. In the situation where many

people need help in acquiring necessities to satisfy their basic needs, it seems particularly important to investigate the principles that govern the rendering of that help, that is the transmission to others of the goods they need.

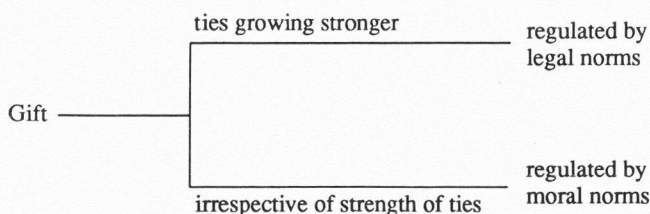
Most respondents (69 per cent) consider it wrong to waste the goods they do not need if those goods might be used by somebody else. Some of them even consider it to be their duty to give such goods to those who need them: not against payment or within direct exchange, but as a gift (47 per cent). The principles that govern donations and possibly return services vary according to the strength of ties between the person who has goods and the one who needs them. The duty to give becomes more bounden with the increasing strength of ties between the parties to the interaction. With the passing from the family to more distant circles, the duty to help those who expect to be helped weakens. In the present interpretation, that "expectancy of help" possesses the character of a claim: a person's right to expect help is tantamount to his right to demand help. Such a right to claims is granted to those in need much more frequently if their ties with the donor are strong. In other words, the stronger the ties between the parties to interaction, the more they are entitled to expect donation. Thus a person in trouble first asks help of his next of kin believing such help to be his due; it is only afterwards, if need arises, that he approaches others, counting on their readiness to oblige. The situation shapes differently if the duties and rights concern a return service and not a gift. Both the duty to requite a gift and the right to expect requital are independent of the strength of ties between the recipient and the donor.

The following data show how strongly the principles concerning gifts and return gifts are connected with the kind of interaction between the partners. If the duty to help a person in trouble is imposed on the disposer of goods no matter how distant the relationship between him and that person, it is bound also to be imposed if the person who needs help is a member of the disposer's family or his close friend. Those who consider it their duty to help a stranger in need, feel even more so obligated to help a next of kin. The most frequent opinion here (45 per cent) is that a person who can help is obligated to help irrespective of the nature of his relationship with the person in need of help. The situation is similar in the case of the right to claim help. If that right is granted to a person whose ties with the potential donor are but weak, it is automatically also granted to those who are in close relationship with the donor, but never

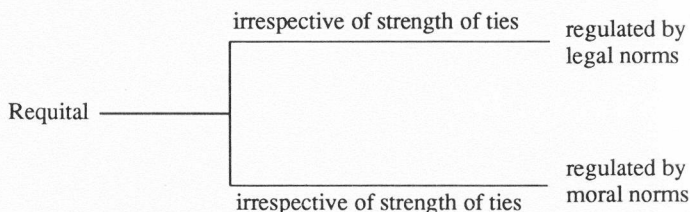
vice versa. Those who demand help from a stranger who can help them, always demand help from their next of kin as well. Most respondents, however (50 per cent), think they have no right to demand help from anybody: helping is a matter of good will.

The same trends can be noticed in the case of the principles that govern requital. Those who expect requital from a next of kin, also, and more so, expect distant acquaintances to reciprocate. Yet the bulk (59 per cent) believe they have no right to claim any form of reciprocation. Those who feel obligated to requite a next of kin for his help, believe that this duty concerns also the situations when the person who helped them was just a distant acquaintance. According to most, however (83 per cent), requital is not obligatory, irrespective of the closeness of relationship between them and those who helped them.

We shall now discuss the normative regulation of principles that govern a private turnover of goods according to the strength of ties between the parties to the interaction. These principles may be based both on moral norms, i.e. on imperative norms of unilateral validity, and on legal, i.e. imperative-attributive norms. The former impose the duty to help on one party, but do not entitle the other party to claim help, while the latter – imposing the duty to help on one party – at the same time entitles the other party to claim help.<sup>13</sup> Legal regulation of the principles of rendering help is more frequent if the parties are in close relationship to each other (41 per cent) as compared with the situation of weak ties between them (21 per cent). As we pass from the family to more distant circles, the role of the legal motivation decreases. People more frequently feel obligated to help and themselves demand help when in need, in the interactions with their family members than with the members of the other groups they belong to. Instead, the moral regulation of the principles concerning gifts occurs with the same frequency irrespective of the strength of ties between the parties to the interaction (26-27 per cent). This can be presented as follows:



As concerns the principles that govern requital, opinions shape differently, both the legal and the moral regulation found with equal frequency irrespective of the strength of ties between the parties. Thus the duty of requital and the right to claim requital is not thought to depend on who has helped or who has been helped.



Private turnover may be regulated by the principles of direct exchange and of gift. We deal with direct exchange if the duty of donation is accompanied by that of requital, and with gift, if there is no duty of requital to accompany that of donation.

Private turnover is governed by the principles of donation more frequently, if there are strong ties between the parties to the interaction. As we pass from the family to more distant circles, the importance of donation decreases with that of exchange growing.

We shall now compare the rights and duties imposed on oneself and on others in identical situations. The rights granted to oneself and to others are in principle the same. What is significant, instead, is that people impose a much greater number of duties on themselves than on others (the difference amounting to about 30 per cent irrespective of the strength of ties) in analogous situations, but they do not consider themselves entitled to expect any form of reciprocity. The principle of positive reciprocity – “something for something” – does not apply here; nor does the one of negative reciprocity, “nothing for nothing”. It is considered a person’s moral obligation to help others; this obligation is added to by the belief that other people are not thus obligated which may also increase the sense of responsibility for others in need. The imposition on oneself of the heavy moral duty of helping others unselfishly if they need help is in accordance with the principle of love of one’s neighbor – *caritas*.

In times of economic crisis, struggle and competition for the means that make existence conformable to the human needs and

habits possible, are said to prevail. Yet despite the endless deterioration of living conditions, charitable attitudes are still widespread irrespective of the chances of getting a requital from the person who is helped. Help is frequently impersonal, for that matter; for instance, people return the coupons they do not need to the office for further distribution among those in need; coupons can also be given away to a stranger who needs them. As may be supposed, the acceptance of the norm of *caritas* results from the belief in reciprocity in another sense: namely, in a society the bulk of which are charitable, anybody in need can expect others to help him, too. It should be stressed here that reciprocity in this interpretation is not contradictory to unselfishness of helping and thus to the principle of *caritas*. In this sense, reciprocity does not involve the element of reckoning which is inherent in the direct positive exchange "something for something". In the former case, we count on others to help us in need basing our hopes on a trust in their kindness and unselfishness only, and not because we expect them to requite us for what we have given them before.

## **General presentation of findings**

We shall now present a summary analysis of the structure of attitudes to and opinions about the questions included in our study, done by means of summary indices, which may be treated here as an outlined answer, so to say, to the separate questions. We realize at the same time that an analysis of relations between simple indices – even if those indices include most of the closed questions of the questionnaire, as was the case in our study – cannot replace a deeper and more detailed analysis of relations between the separate questions and the respondents' social and material standing.

Irrespective of the various aspects of the respondents' attitude towards charitable behavior and the functioning of the principle of reciprocity, a system has been shaped in the social relations of connections between the remaining summary indices we used in the preliminary treatment of the findings. We shall now leave connections that are weak or medium as measured by the Q convergency coefficient out of account and discuss those of the found relations which are significant at the level of at least 0.05. The number of such relations was rather small. The strongest one found was the

symptomatic relation between anxiety and caritas ( $Q=0.81$ ). The respondents' acceptance of carita as unconditional obligation and belief in automatism of charitable actions and inclinations goes hand in hand with their feeling of safety and lack of anxiety in social contacts. One should bear in mind in this connection, that in our sample of randomly chosen inhabitants of Warsaw anxiety and sense of threat were relatively rare, and the belief in unconditional validity of the rule of caritas was very strong instead. This statement is rather important inasmuch as the findings concern the period immediately preceding the imposition of martial law in Poland. The study confirmed our introductory hypothesis, according to which – in the situation of a total economic crisis when it is evidently impossible to work out a system of rationing of goods in short supply which would meet all the individual and group needs – the norm of mutual help grows more and more important which makes a further redistribution of some goods possible according to individual needs and powers. Our study justifies the assumption that what played the decisive role in the process of informal redistribution were not exactly the mechanisms of market but those of unconditional help (caritas) and general reciprocity.

The charitable attitudes are also significantly related to another two summary indices. Firstly, the growth in the index of charitable attitudes, and secondly that of pro-consumer attitudes going up. Despite its weakness ( $Q=0.37$ ), this relation between caritas and consumerism helps explain the interdependence between the separate components of the consumerism index. The conviction that we all ought to help one another to the best of our ability is connected with another, namely, that – with scarcity of goods that are not centrally rationed – the will of those directly involved ought to be respected, the needs of all groups of customers taken into account through appropriate settlements by compromise. Thus the pro-consumer attitudes result not exactly from a denial of the principle according to which those best informed as to the global needs and abilities should carry out a rational distribution of goods. What produces such attitudes is rather the opinion that the possible inequalities as regards the access to goods that are in short supply might be mitigated through a further redistribution of commodities, based on the principles of charity, done by those who own greater amounts of goods. Still another opinion leading to the pro-consumer attitudes is that it should first of all be made possible for the greatest number of those who directly needs certain goods to buy them, provided such



persons at all apply for the goods they need. The other equally obvious weak relation (0.36) could be found between *caritas* and the index of egalitarianism. Egalitarianism whose elements concern the rules to be accepted on the macro-social scale in universal rationing is actually a counterpart of charitable and pro-consumer attitudes at the level of society as a whole. In our sample, however, the relation between consumerism and egalitarianism proved very weak and insignificant. This may result from the character of the questions asked. The contents of questions about universal rationing, that is the rationing on the macro-social scale, directly concerned circumstances and problems other than those described in questions about various conflicts taking place in shops and about what we called situational rationing. Another explanation would involve a direct assumption that the accepted rules of situational vs. universal rationing differ to some extent, while *caritas* in general adds to the egalitarian character of those rules in both cases. This explanation is acceptable due to the above-mentioned differences between the questions used for each of the discussed indices.

Finally, the remaining two relationships found in our study should be mentioned. Egalitarianism is very strongly related (0.63) to intolerance of persons who infringe the rules of rationing. This relationship becomes quite clear if we realize that a tolerant attitude towards such transgressions is actually tantamount to tolerance of infringements of the rules that provide for a possibly equal distribution of goods which is therefore also equitable or at least as close to equity as possible. Another problem is the connection between two indices which failed to enter into relationship with those hitherto discussed. With the growing approval of the centralized mechanism of universal rationing introduced by the authorities, also the approval increases of what we have given a working name of “enlightened rigorism” and what can also be called the opinion according to which some rules have to be adopted in the situation of crisis – just any rules will do as long as we do not let things take their own course or leave everything to individual consumers to decide (0.38). Admittedly, centralism and rigorism are highly independent from each other; what connects them, however, is that they both oppose the principle of *laissez faire* as socially undesirable.

To sum up the problems discussed above, the following can be stated. Rationing of goods, both universal and situational, won a broad acceptance of the Polish society. That rationing was to be based on the principles of egalitarianism. What was meant here,

however, was not absolute but relative egalitarianism with the rations differentiated to some extent. The differentiation was based on the criterion of biological needs and on another criterion resulting from negative social attitudes towards those whose conduct infringes the accepted rules (to all according to their work). The basic canon of justice as regards universal rationing is: to all according to their needs, and to all according to their work.

In the society's opinion, the following principles of justice should govern situational rationing: all those standing in line, irrespective of the order in which they have joined that line, should have equal rights to decide about the rules of situational rationing; it should be made possible for the greatest number of customers to buy the minimum amount of goods, that amount being sufficient, however, to satisfy the customer's needs; a just distribution of commodities should take the expenditure of work into consideration which a given person put into his attempts to acquire a given commodity.

The people believe that the above-mentioned canons of justice will be best carried into effect if decisions concerning the rationing of commodities are taken centrally, with the least possible participation of those directly involved in individual situation. This way the probability of maintaining social order is enhanced. What is indispensable, however, if decisions are to be taken in this manner, is a permanent and efficient system of social supervision exercised by all trade unions, to prevent any deviations from the accepted rules.<sup>14</sup>

Presumably, the society's acceptance of the rationing of basic goods according to the principles of egalitarianism was due to the fact that such rationing increases the feeling of safety in the conditions of a total crisis. Owing to rationing, the right is secured to everybody to buy at least the minimum amount of the necessary goods irrespective of that person's dexterity or shrewdness. The sense of threat and dissatisfaction resulting from the scarcity of desired goods was presumably recompensed with the confidence in mutual help in difficulties and in unselfishness of those who own goods they do not need and would be willing to give those goods to others whose need is more pressing. The inclusion of individual different needs, impossible in the situation of universal rationing, is made possible owing to the mechanisms of exchange and the prevalence of charitable attitudes among the citizens. Thus the principle of *caritas*, both in the shape of informal and institutionalized activities (e.g. of the Church) proves to be an additional support of the rationing system in its practical functioning.

## Footnotes

- 1 The article presents a study carried out by the Division of Sociology of Law and Crime of the Department of Sociological Problems of Social Prevention and Resocialization, Institute of Social Prevention and Resocialization, Warsaw University. The research material was gathered mainly in November 1981 as part of the theme "Pathology of Social Contracts" within the interdepartmental research project MR 18 entitled "Social Pathology", co-ordinated by the Institute of Social Prevention and Resocialization, Warsaw University. Detailed findings have been included in a report (MS) on the study of 1981.
- 2 See Polanyi, K., *The Great Transformation. The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time* New York 1944, London 1945; Polanyi, K., Arensberg, C.M., Pearson, H.W. (ed.), *Trade and Market in the Early Empires: Economies in History and Theory* Glencoe, Ill. 1957; Dalton, G. (ed.), *Primitive. Archaic and Modern Economies. Essays of Karl Polanyi* New York 1968.
- 3 See Ferge, Z., *A Society in the Making. Hungarian Social and Societal Policy 1945-75* Harmondsworth 1979; Petrazycki, L., *Teoria prawa i Panstwa w zwi-azku z teoria moralnosci* (The Theory of Law and State in Relation to the Theory of Morals), Vol. II, Warsaw 1960; J Kurczewski, J., *O badaniu prawa w naukach społecznych* (The Study of Law in Social Sciences) Warsaw 1977.
- 4 Hagemeyer, K., "Społeczeństwo w kolejce" (The Society in Line), *Ruch Zwi-azkowy* 1981, No 1, p. 150
- 5 Rakowski, M.F., *Rzeczpospolita na progu lat osiemdziesiątych* (The Polish Republic on the Treshold of the Eighties) Warsaw 1981, pp 113-114
- 6 Hagemeyer, op cit, pp 148 and 151
- 7 Sobiech, R., *Kartkowy system sprzedaży mięsa w opinii społecznej (wyniki badania ankietowego)* (Rationing of meat in the society's opinion, Findings of a questionnaire survey), Institute of Domestic Trade and Services (undated manuscript)
- 8 Sobiech, R., *Kartkowy system sprzedaży mięsa w opinii społecznej (wyniki badania ankietowego)* (Rationing of meat in the society's opinion, Findings of a questionnaire survey). Institute of Domestic Trade and Services, May, April 1981 (manuscript).
- 9 According to Order No 16 of the "Spolem" Warsaw Consumers' Co-Operative of June 10, 1981, "In all establishments of retail trade with the exception of shops and departments selling alcohol, the following groups of persons shall be equally entitled to be served before others: disabled soldiers and civilians, pregnant women, women with babies in their arms, old people, cripples and other persons with limited locomotive faculties, sisters of the Polish Red Cross and the Polish Committee for Social Aid and other persons in charge of the disabled and chronically ill who need help with shopping... If a longer line of the privileged is formed, those most disabled shall be served first; if the number of privileged is greater, those privileged and those unprivileged shall be served alternately."
- 10 See Eckhoff, T., *Justice. Its Determinants in social Interaction* Rotterdam 1974. The author distinguishes the following ways of distributing goods: (1) equality in respect of the object; (2) random distribution; (3) distribution in respect of priority in time or distance; (4) distribution in respect of needs, sacrifice, or suffering; (5) distribution in respect of qualifications; (6) distribution in respect of rights, merits, and duties; (7) distribution in respect of status.
- 11 Sobiech, R., *Kartkowy system sprzedaży mięsa w opinii społecznej (wyniki badania ankietowego)* (Rationing of meat in the society's opinion, Findings of a

questionnaire survey), Institute of Domestic Trade and Services (undated manuscript), pp 26-27.

- 12 Significant at the level of 0.05 according to the  $X^2$  test.
- 13 See Petrazycki, op cit, Vol 1/II, Warsaw 1959/1960. Petrazycki distinguishes between two kinds of "imperatives", norms and moral principles. Norms of the first kind do nothing but authoritatively define the obligatory conduct. Petrazycki calls them the "imperative" norms. Norms of the other kind perform a double function. On the one hand, they make a certain conduct obligatory, while on the other hand, they grant what is required of the obligated person to somebody else as his due. Petrazycki calls the latter norms imperative-attributive. The attributive norms are legal norms, and those unilaterally imperative moral norms. According to Petrazycki, differentiation between the legal and moral norms takes place in the human consciousness. A norm is legal, not if it prescribes something, at the same time granting somebody else the right to definite claims, but if it is perceived as connected with a bilateral, imperative-attributive emotion. According to Petrazycki, the imperative-attributive consciousness, emotions and motives are more important in the social life from the point of view of preventing individuals and masses from doing what is socially noxious and inducing them to do what is socially needed and useful.
- 14 Among other things, this may explain the fact that of a similar sample of inhabitants of Warsaw examined a year later, as many as 52 per cent were against any rationing of necessities.