

ESforum

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NEWSLETTER
LABORATORY
FOR STUDIES
IN ECONOMIC
SOCIOLOGY

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The Re-emergence of Sociology in Russia

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How Much You Have in Common with Russians?

Dear Readers,

Many of you read the European electronic newsletter "Economic Sociology" maintained by the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies or "Accounts" published by the ASA Economic sociology section. But if you are not a Russian speaker, you might not have come across "ESForum", a research bulletin published since December 2006 by young economic sociologists from the Laboratory for Studies in Economic Sociology (Higher School of Economics, Moscow) for a Russian audience. The "ESForum" is a bimonthly electronic and paper bulletin released in five annual issues. The electronic version can be found at <http://www.hse.ru/mag/newsletter/>. It is not a formal report on recent research findings but rather an attempt to bring academic ideas to an academic audience in a live and engaging way. The "ESForum" credo is "Life as a Research Project" implying that, mainly, our life is a continuous process of revelation and an ongoing search for new ideas and new people.

This is a special issue in English to be distributed among the participants at the Moscow conference on economic sociology.

The title "ESForum" has two senses. First, "forum" from the Latin word for the markets of ancient Rome, that refers to the main topic of current economic sociology. Second, "forum" also has a newer meaning, a tool for mass communication. It is intended to facilitate information exchange between students and faculty & research fellows engaged in economic sociology and related fields. The letters "ES" simply stand for "Economic Sociology".

Each "ESForum" consists of these headings...



- "Personality" includes interviews, autobiographies, biographical essays, etc.
- "Getting to Know" focuses on book reviews and research essays on economic sociology, especially on the sociology of markets.
- "Studying at HSE" describes student life; it presents mini-research results and explores issues related to the educational process.
- "Making Fun" presents a little sociological humor.

The October issue contains an interview with the influential sociologist and political scientist Ronald Inglehart, a founding father of the World Value Survey and, since November 2010, supervisor at the Laboratory for Comparative Social Research at the HSE Branch in Saint Petersburg. In his interview Professor Inglehart shares his experience of working in Russia at the Higher School of Economics.

There's also a short essay by Vadim Radaev demonstrating how Soviet/Russian sociology emerged as an academic discipline and the struggle to maintain its identity.

John Round, who came to the Higher School of Economics from the University of Birmingham, reports on two of his post-graduate courses at the Department of Sociology in Moscow. More specifically, he reflects upon the role of street based learning as a pedagogical approach to teaching.

A method that provides teaching opportunities through "real life" study of economic sociology in action at various sites around Moscow.

Finally, and just for fun, there's a chance to test yourself, how much do you have in common with your Russian colleagues? Possibly ... more than you think... 

Wishing you an enjoyable read!
"ESForum" contributors

Interview with Ronald Inglehart: Why I am in Russia and What I think about This



Ronald Inglehart

Professor, University of Michigan;
Scientific Adviser of LCSR,
National Research University –
Higher School of Economics (HSE)

— **It is really nice that you agreed to give me an interview. So, the first question will be about the Laboratory for Comparative Social Research (LCSR). As a founder of this Laboratory, could you say a few words about it: How did it come about? Why did you choose HSE? How was it established?**

— It started out in 2010. I was looking for a really strong team in Russia to work on the World Value Survey (WVS). We have had really good teams in many countries: Germany, Sweden, Canada, etc. But we did not have a very productive team in Russia. We have been turning out the WVS in Russia and the Surveys themselves were excellent, but we did not have colleagues who were analyzing the data and preparing publications, that's a very important part of WVS. So I was looking for a strong Russian team. I consulted my colleague Prof. Zimmermann, a specialist on Russian politics, he recommended some people here in Saint-Petersburg, probably the best people to work with. So, I get in touch with Eduard Ponarin, Daniel Alexandrov. And I think Bill's advice was very good. I met them at the conference in Moscow, back in May 2010, and we agreed that we'd work together, doing the WVS in Russia. Then, it just happened that a Russian government grant from the Ministry of education and science to bring a leading

scientist to Russia was opening up and being announced. They said why do we not put in an application to cover the WVS in Russia and bring you here. I'd never thought of spending a long time in Russia. I don't speak Russian, I speak several languages but not Russian. So I thought: "I don't think I'd like to spend 4 or 5 months here". But they argued and convinced me that the grant program was so attractive, as you know, research support was so excellent, covering WVS in Russia and in former soviet countries, which is a huge help to WVS, and would provide funding for me to be here. And the idea of spending some time here was interesting. It's just I have many other things to do. But I decided I would, so I came in December and signed the contract, then I came back in April 2011 and spent 4 months here. I must say the idea of working with the Russian group *turned very good well indeed*. Bill had given excellent advice and this program is extremely good. It's new to me, but this program is going to train young PhD level Russian social scientists in international level research techniques and I thought it was a great idea. One of the goals of WVS, besides monitoring changing values and cultures, is learning about how the world is evolving and how people's motivation is changing, because clearly they are. Also, the secondary and the primary one is to spread social science techniques among other countries around the world and to build a global network of social scientists, that was a very important direction, we really needed a Russian component. It is a large country, an important country, we didn't really have a strong partnership here yet. Now we have a really strong partnership. I've been working very happily with Eduard and Daniel and with wonderful students like Egor, Boris and many others. My Russian colleagues (Eduard and Daniel) recruited very good students. There was a national competition in Russia and some were recruited from Belorussia,

Ukraine, and Turkmenistan, and they recruited highly talented BA students. Initially we had 40 people and the next year we got additional 40 researchers. So, now we have a large number of people working on this project. The goal is to have each person doing his or her own project, which they had to design in order to be recruited. Then we gave criticism and suggestions on how they could improve the design. Then we met in April and they were given further feedback, they presented findings and results. We have had a very good and promising group project, as you know. I was able to work not only with strong Russians but I had the chance to bring some colleagues from other countries: from Germany, UK and USA. And the group as a whole is given a feedback, so I have a very good team to provide the students with feedback. They are extremely good students, I've been working with them and I'm really glad to see what progress they've made. Every one of them will produce a list one published paper based on research in this project. They have to undertake the quantitative cross-national comparative research we require. We emphasize comparative methods, advanced quantitative analysis workshops. Last year we brought Professor Hermann Duellmer here to teach multilevel analysis in HLM (Hierarchical Linear and Nonlinear Modeling). And this year we brought Peter Schmidt to teach SEM and some other very solid people. We have training workshops at the summer school where students were given intensive training and they worked hard learning advanced analytic techniques. During these 2 periods they were getting feedback and improving their papers, several already have publishable ones and I think every one of them will be publishable, and published in international journals, peer-reviewed to a high standard. Realistically, we will not achieve 100% success, but we will have a high rate of success. In fact we have some students who didn't make any prog-

ress. But I think we made really good progress in producing a core of young, talented, well-trained Russian social scientists to write internationally peer-reviewed articles. It is very nice to see and it is very nice for WVS to have strong scientists. We need to spur on the WVS in the whole world. I would be foolish to say that I know everything about the whole world; I do not. We have to work with people with inside views, who know their countries extremely well, and we do. I'm working here with my partners, as you know, and producing some publications. We've come up with plans to continue our work on happiness in Russia, which is very interesting...

— **That was my next question...**

— I should mention that we moved towards analyzing the influence of genetic factors on well-being and political ideology. We found, rather to my surprise, that it seems to be a significantly important factor. My previous work emphasizes the importance of economic conditions, which are clearly reversible factors. There is a huge difference between belief systems in rich and poor countries. It's no surprise if you know something of modernization theory, when people expect problems, they get them. There is a huge difference between motivations, belief systems and values of people living in low and high income societies and it's linked to the level of economic security. There is, we found, also a lesser, but significant genetic effect. That is what we are doing right now. I was in contact with a geneticist from Moscow working on that side.

— **Let's move to another question. Could you, please, tell me about your impressions of working with Russian people, academic culture? Does it differ from what you are used to and in what ways?**

— I think Americans work harder, they are very competitive and rather individualistic. My impression is that there is more interaction between Russians. But Americans work very hard. The most striking thing about Russia is how helpful people are. I was, again and again, really quite impressed by Russians being sponta-

neously helpful. Like yesterday when I arrived. 3 of my students in the Lab came to help by meeting me and my wife, when we arrived, and getting our apartment contract signed and things like that. There are many, many examples of people with whom I work here being extremely helpful. Last fall when I had pneumonia, one of my colleagues spent a lot of time finding a good medical specialist to take care of me. One of my students invited us to Pskov for a visit, that part of Russia that tourists usually come to see: old monasteries and castles. It was so striking why Russians are so helpful, that I was wondering why that is. Being a social scientist I fabricated a theory that under the old system, the USSR life was so difficult, that Russians really needed friends to help each other to cope. So they simply became accustomed to cooperation and help.

On the other hand, I have to say the bureaucracy is really complicated. Let me say that I spend far more time filling in forms and signing papers than I do in the USA. There are more bureaucratic procedures here than in the States, and I think there are more than is really needed. When I'm turning my grades to the students I teach, I sign one paper 14 times. I think: "In the USA I could sign it once". I don't really understand why I need 14 signatures on one piece of paper. This is one example. I think Russia hasn't fully recovered from the shadow of this

long tradition of bureaucratization. And this is one thing which I find less agreeable. But in general it's very nice to work in Russia.

— **What about Academia in Russia? I mean the university structure for example. Do people do the same things here or not?**

— No. I think one of the reasons why I was brought here was because they don't do the same things. HSE is one of the most advanced research institutes in social science, certainly, one of the most advanced in Russia. But in general, the use of quantitative techniques is less advanced here than in the USA and Europe. It is hard to introduce some of the most advanced techniques, including some techniques that are new to me, they really are new.

— **So, you have some experience of working with sociologists in Russia, what do you think, which topics or theories are the most interesting? What can you recommend to improve or develop?**

— One of the interesting things about Russia and why I've already written some analysis on it, is the fact that Russia is going through dramatic changes. It has gone through dramatic, difficult changes. That is an experience I don't envy but it's very interesting. Seeing how people cope with collapse of political and economic systems, collapse of the ideology, which is the basis for society. The collapse of



economy, the breakup of the Soviet Union: the breakup of law and order. All these are huge changes. Historically they are very unusual. Russia has this climbing, subjective well-being. I've done research on how happy people are and how they contribute subjective well-being to happiness. I think it is a more important aspect of life, which is beginning to be recognized by economists. Initially it was viewed as a very shallow volatile thing. We've done enough research to demonstrate that it is actually a very central part of people's lives and the level of subjective well-being reflects their whole, in many ways a better indication of how well *gross-national product...* GNP, per capita contributes to subjective well-being, but it does so

in a very interesting way. As you move from extreme poverty to being *fairly prosperous* about the level of Portugal, there is a huge increase in subjective well-being along with the economic development. Above that level it takes off and gets weaker and weaker and subjective well-being is no longer determined by economic factors, it is much more freedom of choice, living in a town and society, the social relations you have, the quality of life. When you are starving, happiness depends on whether you have enough to eat. When you have enough to eat more and more, other factors shape how happy you are. So, to equate people's well-being with how much money they have at the early stage of development is pretty realistic. But in

highly developed societies it is less and less realistic and money contributes less and less to how well off they are. And understanding these other factors is really important. In this context Russia is a particularly interesting case.

In most countries subjective well-being is really stable. We've studied it for 40 years. Most countries are very stable in having high or low level of subjective well-being. For example, Denmark is consistently one of the highest countries in the world. Then there are, not surprisingly, Tanzania, Togo, and some very, very poor African countries. Especially as in the case of Zimbabwe: badly governed, there is crime, corruption and collapse, AIDS. It is not really surprising that they have really low levels, but it tends to be consistent that Denmark, decade after decade remains pretty high and generally poor countries are low. But what is interesting, Russia has had very big changes. The notion that it is built into the culture of the land is obviously not true, because Russia has moved in well-being. The earliest survey in Tambov oblast in 1982, we found (and we've been told that this is representative of the whole Russian Republic) Tambov oblast was above what was expected in terms of its economy. It was about where its economic level was each day. Subjective well-being fell very sharply by 1990 before the Soviet Union broke up. Russia was showing quite low levels of subjective well-being and many other symptoms, like alcoholism and declining life expectancy. The break of the society by 1995 was low. Now it is been recovering. In more recent surveys subjective well-being in Russia is recovering, but it is still *not up to the point* you would expect of its economic level but it is getting near to that. It shows that in this 20 years period there were dramatic changes, it doesn't surprise me at all. It is not just that the economy broke up, it did break up, because the economic level fell, *about 40%* of its former level in terms of GNP per capita, but also life expectancy fell, and I think the important element, which tends to be a belief system's collapse. Once upon a time the communist ideology, that gave meaning and purpose to life in the sense of;



Professor Christian Welzel



“we know where we’re going, we’re building a new and better society for Russian people”. By 1995 it was gone. And it is interesting to see these factors, it isn’t a classic case, Russia is an extreme case.

The USA is a boring case! In the sense that we had a really high level of subjective well-being. Since we began measuring, this indicator has moved neither much up nor down. We’ve been pretty prosperous with some ups and downs for the last 60 years. Russia’s had dramatic changes. I’m really sorry that the Russian people had to experience it, but it is also something to be studied. I can’t find a more dramatic case: a more dramatic collapse of well-being and its recovery.

— **Let’s talk more about the results of WVS. Do you think there are any similarities between Russia and other European countries in attitudes or values? You told me about these changes in subjective well-being, maybe you can briefly name other aspects?**

— Russia is a one of the countries that experienced communism. That was a huge factor shaping belief systems. You probably won’t be surprised, Russia has been a very religious country before, then it had been secularized. The government made huge efforts to secularize society, to repress and step up religion. And, by and large, communist rule in this way was a common experience that made Russia, Ukraine and other the ex-soviet countries rather similar in many

ways, but all of these countries: Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Bulgaria, the countries that experienced communist rule, tended to have somewhat similar belief systems. It varies, depending on their cultural heritage. The communist’s rule is one very big factor; orthodox countries versus catholic countries versus protestant countries were somewhat different. But within this Russia is similar to the ex-soviet, to some degree to the ex-communist countries, although more like the Orthodox tradition.

— **And what about attitudes to freedom, abortions and other things like this?**

— We have a cultural map that reflects scores of beliefs measured in WVS. There are 2 big dimensions across national variation; of course there are many additional, but only 2 big dimensions of cross-cultural variation. One is from traditional/secular-rational values. Russia has relatively high secular-rational values. Although it has been moving to become more religious. I think the degree to which the historical and cultural heritage persists is surprisingly robust, I wasn’t really looking for that, when I began to study values. I was more interested in how the economic development changes values, but the evidence is quite clear. Having once been orthodox, or protestant or catholic, this is a measureable impact on the values measured today. Culture is very path dependent, to the degree I underesti-

mated initially. Russian values are changing *from secular-rational values, when Russians were relatively more open to divorce, abortions and things like this than to traditional ones*. There is another mentioned: dimension survival/self-expression values. Russia and other ex-soviet countries, partly because they experienced economic collapse and now they are recovering (this economic collapse was very important), were roughly and likely to have survival values.

— **I think you have heard about new economic sociology, what do you think about this science? When you use economic and sociological approaches toward analyzing social reality.**

— They are extremely useful tools. I think, economics has developed some very strong tools for analyzing economic factors. Economic conditions have a big impact on religion, culture and motivations, gender roles etc. The use of these tools became strong in political science. There is no doubt they are useful tools. What is interesting, later on, or recent economists in USA, have recognized the importance of religion and historical traditions. That means that economic factors can’t explain everything. Using these tools, and not only using them as economic factors, can be a way to build better models on how societies function.

— **Now let’s talk about Russians a little bit more. You agreed that Russia is a paradoxical country, so**

how did you notice these paradoxes? What is your impression about the mystery of the Russian soul, for example?

— I should start by saying that I'm not an insider, Russians know about Russian soul more than I do. But as an outsider, perhaps, our opinions are more pragmatic than Russians' are. It is interesting that Russians are in search of new belief systems. Communism was a huge factor that shaped the 20 century. Russia is now seeking a new identity. Part of this is an impressive search of religion; our Survey shows that. Interest in religion is growing in Russia, there's a significant grade for that. Russian people now are more religious than French people. It's a little bit ironic. After 70 years of systematic attempts to wipe out religion, it is back in Russia. On the other hand, the French revolution also tried to put down religion. But several years of prosperity seem to have done more to eradicate religion in France than 70 years of repression did in Russia. So, that is a paradox. Though Russia certainly moved to being secular, it is moving back towards traditional beliefs. It is interesting to what degree religion *didn't* disappear in Russia.

— There are also many myths about Russia; I mean bears on the streets and vodka. Were there any expectations that didn't come true? Did you have any ideas about Russia before you came?

— I have to admit: I'm an old guy. I lived through World War II when Russians were friends. Those days Russians were good guys: they fight against the Nazi. Then I lived through the Cold War. Even though I was trying to avoid being stereotyped. But movies that I loved were about Bond struggling with rough Russian agents. When I came to Russia, first of all I'm a Russian agent, I'm working for the Russian government. That is a kind of amusing thing to say, I went over to the other side, but actually it wasn't the other side, because it's a very different world and I'm working for the Ministry of education and science. But it's a very interesting experience; I mentioned I was surprised how helpful Russians are. Because in spite of trying not to be victimized by media stereo-

types, to some degree it is all I heard! So I had this sense that Russians behave like people in cold war movies and James Bond films, but they don't! Russians I have known are the most helpful people. It's a really surprising and pleasant discovery. On the other hand, Russian bureaucracy has not vanished.

— You've been to both cities: Moscow and in Saint-Petersburg. Which did you like more? What are the differences?

— They are both powerful historical cities. Both of them have played an important role. When I visited Saint Petersburg one of the things I went to with my son was the Leningrad Siege museum. Those 3 years of siege were the most horrible in history for the population. Most of the population vanished, people were starving. This is a huge historical thing.

The Hermitage is a huge historical landmark, I visited that. They have the greatest fine art collection; unforgettable experience. Many interesting things happened in Saint Petersburg. I remember I was walking along Neva, and realized that Rasputin had drowned here after stabbing and poisoning, etc. That was a dramatic event. I'm aware of the history of Saint Petersburg and Moscow. Huge historical events happened here as well: the Napoleonic invasion and Nazi invasion.

Both cities have very impressive metro systems. They are much more elaborate; far better decorated metro stations than others I've ever seen. In fact one of my helpful friends, one of my students in the Lab took my son and me on a tour on Saint-Petersburg's metro. I've spent less time in Moscow. But it is a very dramatic city: Red Square, The Mausoleum. The tragedy and trials of Russia have been great. Both Saint-Petersburg and Moscow impressed me. Moscow also strikes me with these very big, horrible traffic jams on the way from the airport!

— Thank you very much for the interview.

— It was a pleasure. Nice to see you again. 

July 2012

Interviewed by Tatiana Karabchuk



Vadim Radaev

Professor, Faculty of Sociology;
Head of Laboratory for Studies in
Economic Sociology,
First Vice-Rector, National Research
University – Higher School of
Economics (HSE)

Interrupted development

Russian sociology has experienced turbulent periods in establishing and maintaining its identity. It was born at the end of 19th century and borrowed a lot from the positivism of Auguste Comte at that time. The Russian Sociological Society was established in 1917. The first teaching department of sociology was opened by Pitirim Sorokin in 1920. Then, in the 1920s, the new Bolshevik political regime sent a number of leading sociologists out of the country on the famous "Philosophers' steamboat" and later repressed some of them in the 1930s. Sociology was identified with the orthodox Marxist social science. Its development was largely interrupted. Sociology was formally re-established by the late 1950s, closely supervised by the Communist party. The social sciences were acknowledged as a tool in the ideological struggle during the Cold War years. To face this ideological challenge the first group of Soviet sociologists was sent to the International Sociological Association (ISA) Conference in 1956. The Soviet Sociological Association was launched a couple of years later in 1958. The first special Institute of Concrete Sociological Studies was established in 1968. But after Soviet troops invaded Czechoslovakia in 1968, the ideological pressures increased. The best sociological research teams were dismantled and "Sociological renaissance" was stopped.

The Re-emergence of Sociology in Russia

The second phase of formal recognition came under Gorbachev's perestroika when sociology and political science were officially acknowledged. The first departments of sociology were established in universities in 1989. The defence of doctoral dissertations in sociology was at last allowed. The first public opinion polls began to grow on the democratic wave, a new type of empirical study was emerging. New sociological research centres and university chairs were mushrooming during the 1990s.

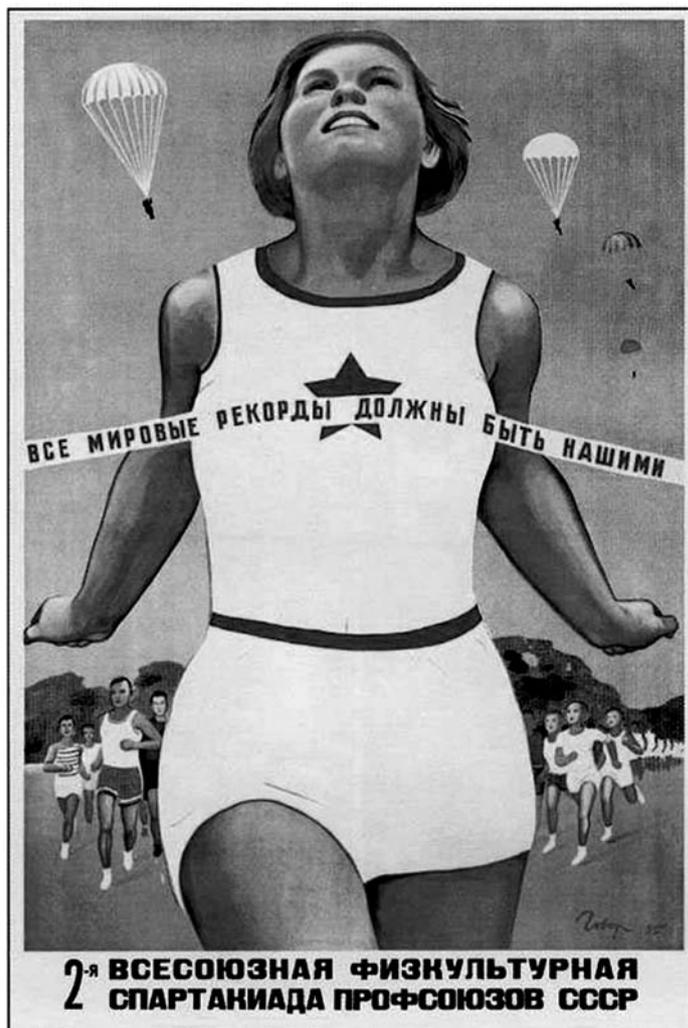
From ideological monopoly to methodological pluralism

A specific feature of Soviet/Russian sociology lies in the principal heterogeneity of sociologists' academic backgrounds. Scholars came to sociology from other disciplines (economics, psychology, history, and philosophy). This generates a great deal of methodological diversity that has been reproduced over decades. It makes the field more multifaceted but at the same time imposes some boundaries on professional communication within the sociological community.

Under the Soviet regime loyalty to orthodox Marxism, as the official doctrine, was to be demonstrated and underlined explicitly. Under these conditions the sociology of work and study of social structure were the primary fields in which Soviet sociology initially developed. "Social class" was used as a major category for critical evaluation of Western societies, while "work" became a major category for describing socialist societies.

Methodologically, the best examples of Soviet sociology presented a peculiar combination of orthodox Marxism and latent inclinations to "bourgeois theories", which were largely concealed. One group of sociologists actively applied psychological approaches, this was especially true for the sociology of work and industrial sociology. The second group of sociologists tended to rely more on structural functionalism, which was characterised by studies on social and class structure.

With the elimination of the orthodox Marxist ideological monopoly and the legitimization of Western sociological theories, a methodological pluralism was established, when sociologists turned away from Marxism to a variety of new concepts, which at first were only understood superficially. Sociologists started to investigate a wide variety of new topics, including private entrepreneurship, labour conflicts, unemployment, and poverty. Under these conditions economic sociology started to flourish.



501. Говорков В.
Все мировые рекорды должны быть нашими. 1935





consumer and labour market sociology and will hopefully encourage the future development of health and medicine sociology.

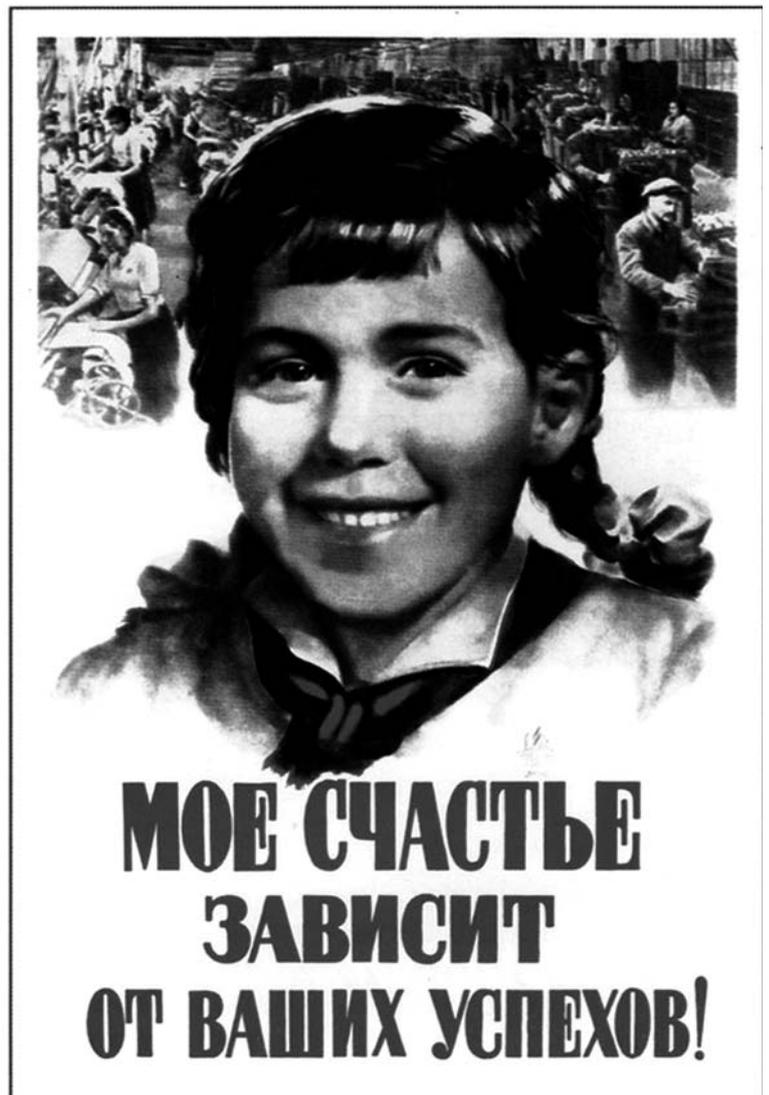
Studies of labour relations and conflicts were very active during the years of economic reform in the 1990s, but their popularity decreased during the years of economic growth in the 2000s. In the field of financial markets, the sociology of popular finance began developing in the 2000s, although the sociology of corporate finance and stock markets remains barely visible. The tradition of peasant studies also grew successfully. Thus, economic sociology and the sociology of markets became one of the more important components in the ever-growing body of sociological research. 

Rise of economic sociology

Having been born in Novosibirsk in the 1980s, due to the efforts of the research team headed by Tatiana Zaslavskaya and Rozalina Ryvkina, the focal centre of Russian economic sociology moved to Moscow in the 1990s (many participants of the Novosibirsk school left Siberia for the capital after being attracted by the Higher School of Economics).

Research in economic sociology evolved with regard to changing topics and approaches at the turn of the 21st century. It started with intensive investigation of the newly emerged phenomena of entrepreneurship and transformed over time into the sociology of markets. The study of economic elites, as a part of stratification studies, gave way to the investigation of integrated business groups, combining elements of network and institutional approaches. Marketisation of the post-Soviet economy created excellent prospects for the sociology of markets, as a core aspect of contemporary economic sociology. The study of the informal and shadow economy, using the tools of new institutionalism, attracted significant attention. It was no accident given that, in the 1990s most enterprises, even those with a quite legal status, were conducting at least some of their transactions in the shadow economy to conceal revenues from the state. Both business and households were (and still are) extensively involved with corrupt dealings with public officials to obtain extra benefits or to avoid sanctions for non-compliance with contradictory formal rules. At the same time, the informal household economy was flourishing.

The establishment of the Russian Longitudinal Monitoring survey, in collaboration with the University of North Carolina, created a nationwide registry of Russian households for administering annual surveys conducted in accordance with international standards. This collaboration stimulated research in the field of



359. Корецкий В.
Мое счастье зависит от ваших успехов! 1947


John Round

Associate Professor, Faculty of Sociology; Research Fellow, Centre for Advanced Studies, National Research University – Higher School of Economics (HSE)

As we stood on the edge of European Square, near Kievskiy vokzal, I began to discuss with the students about the informal economies they could see going on around the station. We then talked about how power and social networks can be “seen” in the spaces these practices take place in. Just as we were finished we saw the old women near the bridge rapidly collect their goods, it took them seconds, and move out of the area at their fastest pace, just as a police patrol came into our view. That moment encapsulated the whole nature of informal economic practices in a way that could never be recreated in the classroom...

Extract from author's research/teaching diary

Introduction

Russia has some of the highest levels of informal economic activity in the

Creative Education in a Creative City: Teaching Economic Sociology Out of the Classroom in Moscow

northern hemisphere, it is estimated that the country's “shadow economy” is the equivalent of 46 percent of its official GDP¹. According to Standing² the “informalisation” of work is a defining feature of globalisation and it has “become pervasive”. This is especially true in post-Soviet contexts³. Research has shown that in the face of post-Soviet economic and social marginalisation Russian households have coping tactics based around informal economic practices. Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that these practices are deeply entwined within the locations where they operate. For example, people who steal from their workplace to sell goods at a local market need to operate within networks with a great deal of trust, which is developed over time and cannot easily be replicated in new locations⁴. At the same time Moscow is a transforming city aiming to developing its hi tech, financial and creative sectors⁵. Teaching such contrasting issues, the informal and hi-tech/creative industries, within the same module is a theoretical challenge but as both entities inform each other, and therefore produce the “lived” experience of Moscow, it is impossible to disengage them. The role of this paper therefore is to reflect on the role of street based learning as a pedagogical approach to teaching, and grounding, complex abstract theories. As Katz⁶ famously

stated, it is impossible to disentangle the real world from theory, or our places and roles within it, and it is argued here that teaching on the street enables students to understand theory far better after seeing it play out in the real world rather than just through discussion in the lecture room. The paper thus reports on two post-graduate courses taught by the author in the Faculty of Sociology at the Higher School of Economics in Moscow; “The Social Geographies of post-Socialist Societies” and “Enterprise, Employment and Place”. It looks first at the background to the development of the author's field based teaching and some of the academic theories behind them. It then turns to provide some examples, and reflections, of teaching in the field in various sites around Moscow before considering some of the advantages and disadvantages of the approach. The paper concludes by briefly thinking of ways in which the approach might be developed further.

Background

Previously the author worked in a geography department that put a high premium on fieldwork courses. For example, all the human geography students have to visit Berlin in their second year. As the majority do not know the language, a great deal of thought had to be given to developing projects that did not require it. For example, regeneration districts are visited at different times of the day to see how their economic and social use changes; in Hack Escher Markt we could see how it changed from a regular shopping and café location by day to a nocturnal economy of drinking, drug dealing, prostitution, police control and so on, then noted how the space was controlled. Observing such activity enables discussions about state/society relations for example, and how governments develop policies in an effort to control its population, such as regulating live music and limiting the number of peo-

¹ Schneider F., Buehn A., Montenegro C. Shadow Economies All over the World New Estimates for 162 Countries from 1999 to 2007. The World Bank Policy Research Working Paper. 2010. No. 5356. <http://elibrary.worldbank.org/docservers/download/5356.pdf>

² Standing G. Labour Market Policies, Poverty and Insecurity // International Journal of Social Welfare. 2011. Vol. 20. No. 3. P. 261.

³ Round J., Williams C., Rodgers P. The Role of Domestic Food Production in Everyday Life in Post-Soviet Ukraine // Annals of the Association of American Geographers. 2010. Vol. 100. No. 5. P. 1197–1211.

⁴ See Round J., Williams C., Rodgers P. Everyday Tactics and Spaces of Power: The Role of Informal Economies in Post-Soviet Ukraine // Social and Cultural Geography. 2008. Vol. 9. No. 2. P. 171–185.

⁵ Golubchikov O., Phelps N. The Political Economy of Place at the Post-socialist Urban Periphery: Governing Growth on the Edge of Moscow // Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers. 2011. Vol. 36. No. 3. P. 425–440.

⁶ Katz C. Playing the Field: Questions of Fieldwork in Geography // The Professional Geographer. 1994. Vol. 46. No. 1. P. 67–72.

ple permitted to gather without permission⁷. As a result of the trip's success, a final year trip to Moscow was developed. This was immensely challenging given the need for visas etc but its intensity ensured it was a very successful and, due to excellent student feedback, its leaders were awarded the Dean's award for teaching excellence. The teaching takes place in various locations around Moscow, from VDNKh to Moscow City and the town of Istra in the Moscow region. The trip to Istra exemplifies the advantages of teaching this way; on the train, informal economies were observed in action and Moscow's changing urban landscape was discussed as it passed us by. In the town itself, the market and new housing developments were visited and ideas around economic transition were discussed at length in the shadow of Lenin's statue in the main square (see Crang⁸ on ideas of performativity). When taught in the lecture room these are all very "dry" topics, which can be hard to engage the students with, but when they are visibly taking place around them in the field, their relevance is brought to life. As one student observed on their feedback form:

It was so much easier to understand these debates when you were standing in the places where they were happening. You got a sense, then, for how different Russia is, when you started comparing it to the UK

There are direct academic benefits to such teaching, which directly relate to Kolb's "learning cycle"⁹, which has four stages; "concrete experience", "reflective observation", "abstract conceptualization" and "active experimentation". By providing the "abstract conceptualization" in the lecture room, and through guided reading, we can



Old Arbat Street

facilitate the other three stages in the field before completing the circle by reflecting on the theories and literature in the following week's lecture¹⁰.

Teaching in the field at Higher School of Economics

Prior to field teaching two or three sessions are held in a lecture format followed by a student led seminar. As the modules are taken by both Russian and international students, there has to be a certain consideration given to making sure that all the students have the same theoretical and empirical base. The vast majority of Russian students have experience, or at least have family or friends who do, of informal economic practices such as corruption in the health care system. Discussing this helps the international students' understanding of the everyday realities of Russian life. All of the students have their own views and experiences of globalisation and in small groups they prepare a power point presentation featuring photographs they have taken,

on issues of globalisation, and resistance to it, in Moscow. This introduces them at an early stage to the importance of "the visual" in the module and how such an approach can help critical discussions around dominant discourse. Drawing on the above discussed fieldwork trip to Moscow undertaken by British students the module then moves into the field.

The Arbats and European Square

Few places in Moscow reveal Soviet planning ideas more than New Arbat Street with its high buildings, large housing blocks and murals displaying socialist ideology. This is where western firms first moved into Russia, only to leave soon after as a result of the chaos in the early 1990s, the development of post-Soviet consumer culture is discussed at length. Even now there are relatively few western stores here leading to discussions about how the state, and business, was able to erect barriers to entry. For example, copyright issues delayed Starbucks' entry into the Russian market, and in New Arbat's prime locations are many Russian versions of the American coffee chain. In the underpasses beneath the street many informal economic practices can be witnessed from the selling of almost everything from pirated DVDs to foodstuffs, both domestically produced, brought at markets on the city's outskirts and then taken into the centre. Elderly women

⁷For further details see Talbot D. *The Juridification of Nightlife and Alternative Culture // Teaching Sociology*. 2011. Vol. 38. No. 4. P. 340–349.

⁸Crang M. *Qualitative Methods (part 3): There is Nothing Outside the Text? // Progress in Human Geography*. 2005. Vol. 29. No. 2. P. 225–233.

⁹Kolb D. *Experiential Learning: Experience as a Source of Learning and Development*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1984.

¹⁰See also Healey M., Jenkins A. 2000. *Learning Cycles and Learning Styles: The Application of Kolb's Experiential Learning Model in Higher Education // Journal of Geography*. Vol. 99. P. 185–195; for further discussion on field based learning see Nicholson D. *Embedding Research in a Field-based Module through Peer Review and Assessment for Learning // Journal of Geography in Higher Education*. 2011. Vol. 35. No. 4. P. 529–549.



European Square

supplement their low pensions in freezing weather while Bentleys and Mercedes line the streets as you exit the underpass, a juxtaposition that reveals much about the socio-economic divisions within post-Soviet societies. During the early 1990s the street was also the site of numerous gangland battles and the governor of Magadan region was assassinated here as he got into his car. Discussing such events where they took place, within view of the Kremlin, graphically demonstrates the chaotic nature of the early transition period and the lack of formal control the state had over business affairs. The street was also the city's main gambling area, but in 2009 casinos were closed and gambling was only permitted in 4 Russian cities. Standing outside the former casinos it can be shown how the state can use geography as a means of economic development. We can also see examples of this through the changing sites of consumption around metro stations where the sale of alcohol has been banned. Overall though the sense of place on this street is one where the state has tried to develop a consumer culture, but one that feels slightly artificial and "out of place". This is something that all of the students pick up on, especially after visiting the mall later in the trip.

In contrast, Old Arbat Street managed to retain something of its bohemian spirit during the Soviet period keeping its coloured buildings, theatres and art

sellers. Comparing the two streets offers the chance to discuss how hard it is for states and planners to change the spirit of a location. The street also has numerous informal activities such as the selling of animals, performance artists and people selling second hand books on improvised market stalls. The street is also a site of globalisation with chains such as TGI Fridays, McDonalds and others, next to their Russian counterparts. This is a very revealing example of how "culture sits in places"¹¹, as it can be shown how McDonald's for example caters to the local market and how Russian chains reflect and reinterpret global trends. Such examples of "glocalisation"¹² form an important theoretical base at the start of the module providing a critique of dominant globalization theories. At the end of the street is the imposing Foreign Ministry building, demonstrating how power is inscribed into buildings and the panopticon affect Stalin's towers have over Moscow. After approaching the building's enormous doors, students can discuss how their role was/is to demonstrate the insignificance of the individual in relation to the state. Only by seeing architecture "perform" can

its affective nature be fully understood¹³.

Across the river from Arbat Street sits European Square, where there is a rather confused attempt to develop a "European space" complete with Parisian style metro entrances and the flags of all the EU states. As this paper's opening quote highlights, there are many informal practices in evidence around Kievskiy Railway Station such as the informal selling of clothes and food, non-registered taxi drivers, shuttle traders and even people rifling through rubbish bins, amongst many other examples. Such economic activity is in stark contrast to that operating inside the "European" Shopping & Entertainment Center, just across the street from the station. The centre is full of western shops and is heavily securitized with airport style metal detectors at every entrance and high profile security within the complex making for a very different ambience to that found in a North American mall. This enables discussions on different forms of economic production and representation, the cultural representations of buildings and monuments and the nature of place and space. It also provides a stark example of the divisions within economic life in Russia through scrutiny of the street sellers compared with the expensive brands of the Mall's glitzy interior.

Further into the course a lecture is given at Moscow's New Tretyakov gallery to show how art reveals the historical economic sociology of the Soviet Union such as the changing nature of work, state society relations and the impact of the collapse of the Soviet Union on everyday life. It also reveals how the state was portraying everyday life during events such as the Ukrainian famine in Holodomor in the early 1930s, during which, millions of Ukrainians starved to death due to state created food shortages. However, at the same time the state was supporting the production of many art pieces boasting of plentiful food production in the

¹¹ Escobar A. Culture Sits in Places: Reflections on Globalism and Subaltern Strategies of Localization // *Political Geography*. 2001. Vol. 20. No. 2. P. 139–117

¹² Swyngedouw E. Globalisation or "Glocalisation"? Networks, Territories and Rescaling // *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*. 2004. Vol. 17. P. 25–48.

¹³ Krafft P., Adey P. Architecture/Affect/Inhabitation: Geographies of Being-In Buildings // *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. 2008. Vol. 98. No. 1. P. 213–231.

USSR. Few places convey the different epochs of Soviet and post-Soviet as evocatively as the gallery. Teaching begins with introducing the subjects and guiding the students into how to “read” the art and how it is displayed. This enables in-depth discussions on visual methodology in the social sciences. Then, in each key room, a brief introductory talk is given and the students are encouraged to explore the artwork before convening again for a group discussion. This opens the students up to new approaches to looking at society, as the roles of visual methodologies are often something they have not considered before as “sociology”, as a result they are often particularly receptive to these new ideas. Taking the idea¹⁴ that art reflects society¹⁵, moving from room to room the students can very quickly see how Russian society changed during and after the revolution and the uncertainty

of the time (see Kandinsky’s paintings of this era or Malevich’s move from “Spring, Garden in Bloom” to “Black”). Then into the 1930s there are many portrayals of the ideal Soviet worker, both in the work place and at leisure, while pictures of Stalin and his generals catalyse discussion on the purges that took place throughout Soviet society. Linking all of these shows together in this way exposes the roles of visual methodology and discourse analysis; it also reveals various aspects of state/society relationships. The final trip is to the Red October Chocolate Factory and the Strelka art and design complex, as this is one of Moscow’s leading new creative spaces. After classroom reading of Florida’s work on creative cities by visiting the site we can compare in-depth the area to the “creative class ideal”¹⁶. Rather than a space that inspires creativity, many students find

the Red October complex an unwelcoming place with security guards and barriers, etc (once during a trip by urban experts from the UK there were private security guards walking around with large guns...). For example, when trying to gain entry into a 3rd floor exhibition, a security guard on the first floor shouted at the group. Furthermore, by looking at the boutiques and cafes it is also possible to see clearly that the space is aimed at those with a high disposable income, this is normally a feature of a much later stage in the regeneration process. Therefore, it is clearly not a space designed to encourage new, young, artists to work there, which goes against the creative class approach. As part of the follow-up classroom discussions students are asked to briefly present the creative spaces they enjoy using, such as cafes with poetry reading. We also visit the Ostozhenka district (across the river from Red October), which is in the world’s top ten most expensive streets, with one-bedroom apartments retailing for more than five million Euros. This demonstrates the main failing of Moscow’s “move towards creativity” as the city

¹⁴ Rose G. *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials*. London: Sage, 2007.

¹⁵ Wagner P. *Modernity as Experience and as Interpretation: Towards Something Like a Cultural Turn in the Sociology of "Modern Society"* // Hedstrom P., Wittrock B. (eds). *Frontiers of Sociology*. Annals of the International Institute of Sociology. Vol. 11. Leiden: Brill, 2008.

¹⁶ See Florida R. *Cities and the Creative Class* // *City and Community*. 2003. Vol. 2. No. 1. P. 1–17.



Red Square

has a lack of affordable housing within the creative economies, it is common for cheap housing to be found close to creative spaces allowing for an influx of people wishing to work in the area, this is not viable in Moscow. From such observations the students are able to develop effective critiques on both the creative class theory and how it is manifested in Moscow. Also, visiting this area enables us to “perform” sociology as the region is in effect a gated community (albeit without gates) as there is a great deal of surveillance and when we are discussing in groups security guards emerge from the buildings to monitor us¹⁷. This enables discussions on how the region was constructed through the “persuading” of people to move out of the area to the city’s suburbs¹⁸, leading onto wider debates on power and inequality in Moscow¹⁹.

What are the benefits of such teaching?

Before starting this form of teaching there was concern that for the Russian students it would be of limited benefit, as they already knew the locations well. However, the feedback has been overwhelmingly positive and the majority discuss how, while they have indeed been to the venues before, they had not previously looked at them through an academic lens²⁰. This enables theoretical discussions on ontological and epistemological positionalities and the way in which we can look at place (see Katz²¹, for an excellent discussion on this issue, as

she says we are already “in the field” in the lecture room). My research examines the natures of informal practices in everyday life and how they are entwined with the locations in which they take place²². Drawing on the work of Lefebvre and de Certeau the theory can, at times, be rather abstract. By looking at the practices as they take place it is possible to ground the theory making it more relevant and applicable to the students²³. As the students themselves, and myself, are part of the processes that we are studying, for example consuming globalisation, it can sometimes be hard to think outside of our normal frames of reference and therefore visiting a street we have been to many times, but now looking for different processes can be a good way to achieve this. Especially amongst the American students, who come from a wide range of backgrounds working in the field helps develop new approaches, especially in terms of visual methodology but also discourse analysis and ethnographies.

There are also more practical benefits as well. As we are regularly moving between locations the “lecturing” is for short periods, 5–10 minutes, a time within which students can easily sustain concentration²⁴ and after a student led discussion we then move onto to another location. This movement between different places gives the students time to reflect on what we have just discussed and often leads to further questions. Furthermore, in this setting it is harder for students to be distracted by mobile phones, etc, as our close prox-

imity subjects them to subtle peer pressure to contribute. Overall it is possible to state that a higher percentage of students contribute meaningfully to group discussions than would be expected in the lecture room. Walking also really breaks down the student – lecturer relationship, as there are plenty of opportunities for non-academic discussion when moving between locations. This gives the students more confidence to ask questions and, as they get to know each other better, they are less reticent to talk in front of their peers. This approach also provides students with a better understanding of what “research” actually is; too many students do not understand the process behind writing articles for journals and many times when teaching this way students ask “so this is what you do?” and then we discuss the links between research and academic writing.

Problems with the approach

The biggest issue with such teaching is how to ensure that the theoretical approaches, and relevant literature, are conveyed in a manner to the students that not only furthers their understanding of the places they are in but also of broader contexts and locations²⁵. Students have different approaches to linking theory to practice²⁶, and even though the field based location enables greater student engagement than the classroom it is still not possible to spend meaningful time on a one-to-one basis with each student. It is therefore important, as indicated above, that theories are discussed in the lecture room before the trip as this not only provides information but enables an assessment to be made of the students’ needs. When in the field it is vital to

¹⁷ See Eglitis D. *Performing Theory: Dramatic Learning in the Theory Classroom: Two UK Case Studies* // *International Journal of Cultural Policy*. 2010. Vol. 17. No. 1. P. 81–93.

¹⁸ See Badyina A., Golubchikov O. *Gentrification in Central Moscow – a Market Process or a Deliberate Policy? Money, Power and People in Housing Regeneration in Ostozhenka*. // *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*. 2005. Vol. 87. No. 2. P. 113–129.

¹⁹ Shevchenko O. *Crisis and the Everyday in Postsocialist Moscow*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009.

²⁰ For further discussion, see Willis E., Burns E. *The Empty Shops Project: Developing Rural Students’ Sociological Insight* // *Teaching Sociology*. 2011. Vol. 39. No. 1. P. 27–41.

²¹ Katz C. *Playing the Field: Questions of Fieldwork in Geography* // *The Professional Geographer*. 1994. Vol. 46. No. 1. P. 67–72.

²² See, for example, Moran D., Round J. *“A Riddle, Wrapped in a Mystery, Inside an Enigma”: Teaching Post-Socialist Transformation to UK Students in Moscow* // *Journal of Geography in Higher Education*. 2010. Vol. 34. No. 2. P. 265–282.

²³ Corbin J., Strauss A. *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*. London: Sage Publications, 2008.

²⁴ On the problem of this issue in the lecture room, see Solvberg A., Rismark M. *Learning Spaces in Mobile Learning Environments* // *Active Learning in Higher Education*. 2012. Vol. 13. No. 1. P. 23–33.

²⁵ See Guinness P. *Research-Based Learning: Teaching Development Through Fieldschools* // *Journal of Geography in Higher Education*. 2012. Vol. 36. No. 3. P. 329–339.

²⁶ Haggis T. *What Have We Been Thinking of? A Critical Overview of 40 Years of Student Learning Research in Higher Education* // *Studies in Higher Education*. 2009. Vol. 34. No. 4. P. 377–390.

²⁷ Azer S. *Interactions between Students and Tutor in Problem-Based Learning: The Significance of Deep Learning* // *The Kaohsiung Journal of Medical Sciences*. 2008. Vol. 25. No. 5. P. 240–249.

continually refer back to readings and to ask questions forcing the students to make comparisons to other cities, or practices, only through these stages can “deep learning” be achieved²⁷. This ensures as well that the students don’t see the field trip as “easy class” or simply a guided tour. This loop is completed the following week when, back in the lecture room, class discussions are used to assess the students’ understanding of the key issues and their ability to apply them elsewhere, after the field trip²⁸. Care must also be taken that the discussions are not dominated by myself, as “the expert”, as while Vygotsky²⁹ discussed the importance of the “zone of proximal development” where the “peer” enables the learning of the others the whole aim of field based learning is to help develop the student’s understanding and research skills. Therefore, care has to be taken that the discussions provide “scaffolding” around, which the students can base their own learning³⁰. To ensure this, a “guided enquiry approach” is taken where the teacher stimulates inquiry but the students are given responsibility to explore the key issues themselves³¹. As with any learning situation some students will be more engaged than others, and some will not be willing to contribute at all. In the field it is easier to engage with the latter as, between locations, I can talk to them one to one, or in a very small group hopefully giving them the confidence to talk more within the larger group. At the same time there is an issue with the “over confident” students who appear to wish to dominate group discussions³².

The other major problem of undertaking such teaching in Moscow is that of logistics. The courses run from November to March and thus we have to be outside in the snow. If the weath-

er is simply too cold, then one has to improvise ways for the trip to proceed; in one instance we all went for a coffee to continue discussions, there and I was able to split the group in two so that we could continue the discussions. Another significant constraint is the amount of time it takes to get around Moscow. If the students have part time employment or other classes on the same day, it can make it difficult for them to take part for the entire trip. Working in a large group in Moscow city centre can arouse suspicion, especially during the protests earlier in 2012, but while we have had the police ask us what we were doing, they have been satisfied with the explanation and asked no more questions. Other events on the street can interfere, for example, when an icon was exhibited at Christ the Saviour Cathedral leading to closure of the bridge to the Red October factory, I had to improvise a class, as there was no time to take an alternate route. On virtually all occasions the trip has taken longer than planned but this has caused now problems as the students enjoy it and often they have made plans beforehand that they would all go for dinner afterwards as a group. While, of course, some students do not fully contribute despite efforts to engage them, it tends to be a much lower percentage than in a traditional seminar.

Overview

Some might say that teaching in the field is an easier option than standing in front of a class and lecturing for 40 minutes, or leading a seminar. However, it is in fact more time consuming as a great deal of preparation, thought and reflection goes into making a successful field based lesson. Overall though it is a very enjoyable way to teach and it not only contextualises

theory and provides empirical data but also enables discussions on positional-ity and methodological approaches. Similar to Houser’s et al³³ observations on how a student’s assessment grades are improved by field based study, the term papers submitted by students who attend all of the field trips are much richer than those from people who do not. When writing they are encouraged to include in their essays, theoretically informed reflections on what they have seen in the field. The timing of trips is also important; taking the first early in the module provides many examples that can be used to demonstrate key points or to facilitate class discussions in future lectures and seminars³⁴. The latter trips are spaced out to allow plenty of time for preparation before hand and for in-depth reflection afterwards.

To develop the approach further it would be interesting to use interactive smart phone technology to enable the students to map what they are looking at and to find extra detail and to extend the visual methodologies approach. In the next academic year students will be asked to incorporate more material from “the field”, such as photographs or reflections, into their coursework. This works very well with University of Birmingham students who are asked to write a reflective diary around a topic that they explore in Moscow with footnotes providing an academic basis. One other avenue to be explored is involving other people to interact with the students to discover how different groups, such as working migrants to Moscow or senior citizens, use the spaces. This would enable the students to experience the city through a different lens and would also help develop a more inclusive “public sociology” approach³⁵. 

²⁸ Sutton-Brady C. Achieving Relevance in Assessment Through Fieldtrips // *College Teaching Methods & Styles Journal*. 2008. Vol. 4. No. 4. P. 1–6.

²⁹ Vygotsky L.S. *Mind in Society: The Development of Higher Psychological Processes*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978.

³⁰ Wood D., Bruner J.S., Ross G. The Role of Tutoring in Problem Solving // *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*. 1976. Vol. 17. No. 2. P. 89–100.

³¹ See Spronken-Smith R., Walker, R. Can Inquiry-based Learning Strengthen the Links between Teaching and Disciplinary Research? // *Studies in Higher Education*. 2010. Vol. 35. No. 6. P. 723–740.

³² See Ormrod J. Practicing Social Movement Theory in Case Study Groups // *Teaching Sociology*. 2011. Vol. 39. No. 2. P. 190–199.

³³ Houser C., Brannstrom C., Quiring M., Lemmons K. Study Abroad Field Trip Improves Test Performance through Engagement and New Social Networks // *Journal of Geography in Higher Education*. 2011. Vol. 35. No. 4. P. 513–528.

³⁴ See also Fuller I.C. Taking Students Outdoors to Learn in High Places // *Area*. 2012. Vol. 44. P. 7–13.

³⁵ Burawoy M. For Public Sociology // *American Sociological Review*. 2005. Vol. 70. No.1. P. 4–28.

How Much You Have in Common with Russians?

- At The Red Square you usually find a lot of...
 - Bears
 - Tourists
 - Soldiers and FSB agents
- What do you usually have for breakfast on January 1st?
 - Food and drinks left over from the previous night's party
 - What a stupid question! I can't remember
 - Muesli, toasts, eggs, and yoghurt
- At 0:00 you discover that you're out of milk. Where can you buy it at midnight?
 - Supermarket
 - Drugstore
 - Nothing's open after midnight!
- Approaching a turnstile at the subway, you realize that you have neither tickets, nor purse. What do you do?
 - Jump over the turnstile
 - Catch a cab instead
 - Ask an employee to let you through
- What do you usually do when you have a cold and a sore throat?
 - Drink hot milk with honey
 - Call a doctor
 - Buy medicine at an online drugstore
- What does the Russian word "babushka" mean?
 - The person who knitted woolen shawls and socks in my childhood
 - Old woman
 - Big bush
- When saying "It means everything to us" Russians imply...
 - Alexander Pushkin
 - Mr. President
 - Oil
- Most Russians are...
 - Romantic
 - Utilitarian
 - Militant
- Do you drink vodka?
 - Yeah, I do. I can drink a whole bottle and feel fine
 - Yeah, I do. When I drink ten shots I feel miserable
 - No, I don't drink vodka, ever!
- How often do you make a snowman?
 - Annually
 - Long ago in my childhood
 - What's a snowman?

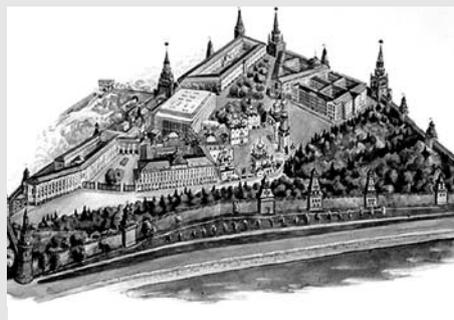


- | | |
|------------------|-------------------|
| 1. a-0, b-2, c-1 | 6. a-2, b-1, c-0 |
| 2. a-2, b-1, c-0 | 7. a-2, b-1, c-0 |
| 3. a-2, b-0, c-1 | 8. a-2, b-1, c-0 |
| 4. a-2, b-0, c-1 | 9. a-2, b-1, c-0 |
| 5. a-2, b-1, c-0 | 10. a-2, b-1, c-0 |

Scores



You score 15 – 20 points. Wow! Your Babushka was born in Russia!



You score 6–14 points. You have probably been a tourist in Russia.



You score 0–5 points. It seems you learned about Russia from "Red Heat" (1988 film by Walter Hill); and still believe that all Russians play a Balalaika and look like Ivan Danko!



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