

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. 

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Interviewed by Tatiana Karabchuk



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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.

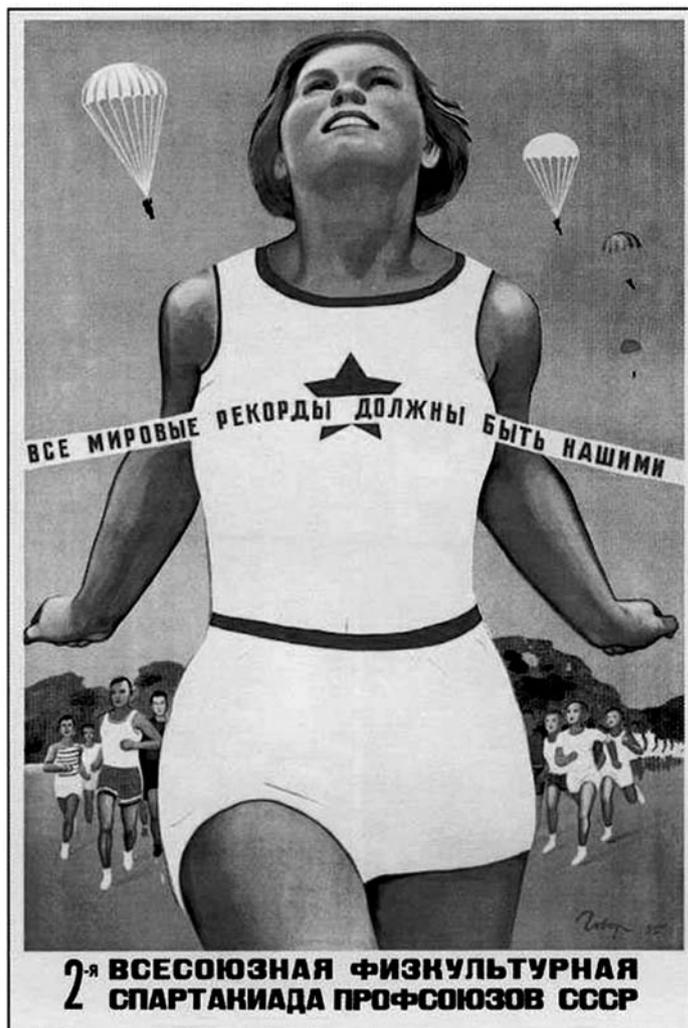
From ideological monopoly to methodological pluralism

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.

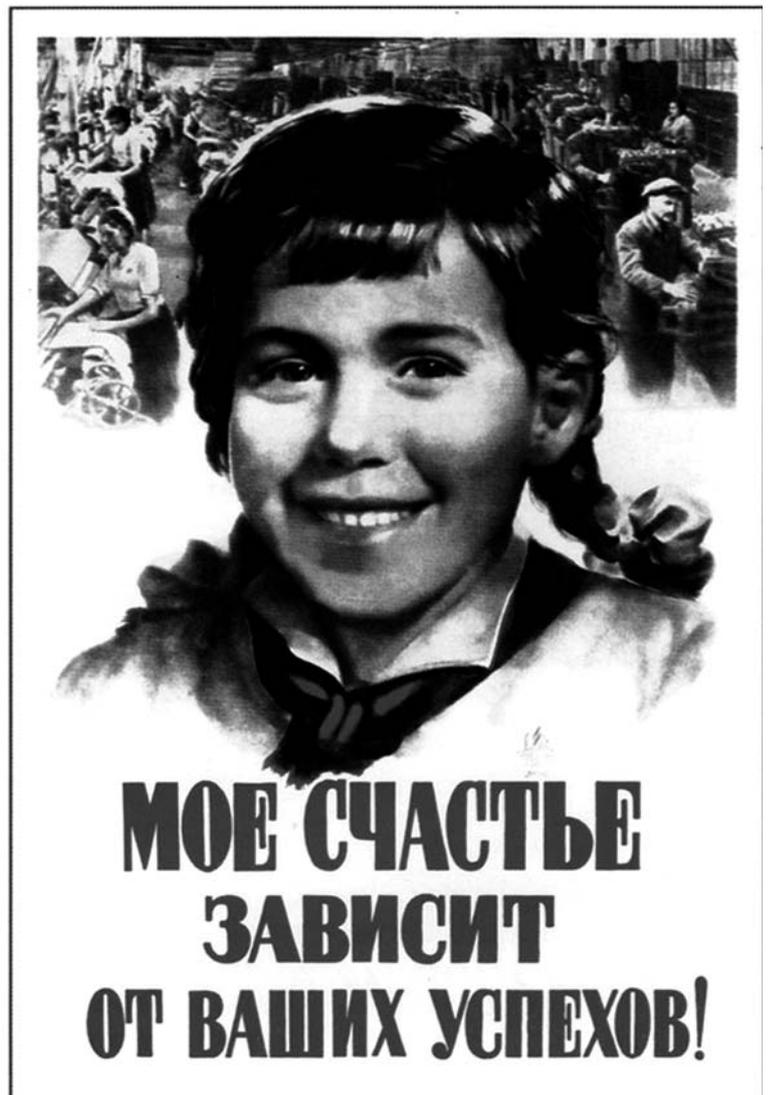
Studies of labour relations and conflicts were very active during the years of economic reform in the 1990s, but their popularity decreased during the years of economic growth in the 2000s. In the field of financial markets, the sociology of popular finance began developing in the 2000s, although the 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