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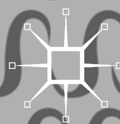
SOCIOLOGY IN RUSSIA

A Brief History

Larissa Titarenko
Elena Zdravomyslova



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Sociology in Russia

A Brief History

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Foreword

Grappling with the Societies of Russia

Between Russia and the "West," there is a stark cultural asymmetry going back to the eighteenth century. Cultured and educated Russians are well versed in Western European culture, knowing its main languages—French was an everyday language of the Russian aristocracy—its social literature and political practices as well as its arts. Studies abroad have been common, often deepened by lengthy periods of forced exile. At the other end, in the West, few people, apart from specific-purpose professionals, know the Russian language, Russian history, or Russian social thought and social science. Positions are more symmetrical in the arts, but even there symmetry tends to be episodic. Russian nineteenth-century novels and early-twentieth-century modernism, in music, ballet, painting, and poetry are widely known and admired in the West, but before and after there is more often ignorance than knowledge.

This cultural asymmetry derives, of course, from differences of power and "development" in a connected world. And sociology in the current era of globalization is very much part of this geopolitical divide of ignorance and knowledge, where Russian sociologists read and cite western European and North American colleagues frequently, while few Westerners know about the former. And even fewer read them. This is the context in which this book on the history of Russian sociology, up until and including today, should be welcomed. It is written by two internationally experienced sociologists of the post-Soviet generation:

Profs. Larisa Titarenko of Belarusian State University in Minsk and Elena Zdravomyslova of the European University in St. Petersburg. Zdravomyslova is a leading Feminist scholar in Russia, and Titarenko has worked in several fields, from the development of the discipline to urban studies, on which I have had the pleasure of collaborating with her.

Russian sociology has a long and dramatic history, dramatic both in the sense of its relations to state power, usually conflictual, and in the vast and profound social dramas it has had to grapple with. The authors approach its multiple positions and not seldom vitriolic polemics with a deliberate cool detachment of the late-born. The modern history of Russian society, or, to underline the radical and convulsive social transformations, the history of societies in modern Russia, has confronted Russian social thinkers, social scientists, and sociologists with daunting challenges. How the former have faced up to the latter is one of the most fascinating chapters in the development of sociology and social science in general.

Sociology in Europe emerged after the French Revolution, in the works of Saint-Simon and Comte, trying to grasp and to order the new society and polity coming out of the fall of monarchical Absolutism and the incipient take-off of industrial capitalism. In Russia, sociological thought and investigations arose well before any domestic bourgeois revolution, in the reform era of the autocratic Tsar Alexander II in the 1860s–1870s, coming after the disastrous Crimean War of 1853–1856. This was the time of the belated emancipation of the serfs, and the peasant society was central to early Russian sociology, its social conditions, its norms, its collectivism, its potential of radical social and political change. The size and the possible post-Emancipation dynamics of peasant society gave rise to ardent debates about whether industrial capitalist development was possible and desirable in Russia. Lenin, among others, made a significant scholarly contribution to it, answering both questions affirmatively.

The October Revolution led to a new society in Russia, the definition and characteristics of which have always been contested, and still are. During its power, no public debate about it was allowed in Russia, and institutional sociology was closed from the early 1920s until the early 1960s, although, as the authors point out, sociological investigations of work conditions and experiences continued in the twenties. Historical materialism was relegated to (politically supervised) the history of the past. In the 1960s, a new generation of bright and energetic scholars, born around 1930, re-started sociology with a view to studying the functioning of the new society, Igor Kon, Jurij Levada, Gennady Osipov,

Vladimir Yadov, Tatiana Zaslavskaya, and others. They also re-connected with Western sociology, translating mainstream figures into Russian, and participated in international congresses.

Fundamental issues about the society come out of the October Revolution had to be suspended until the *perestroika* of the latter half of the 1980s. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, they have become important as the background against which the newest, contemporary Russian society has to be understood and assessed.

The fact that modern Russian society and politics have always been out of sync with those of the country's Western neighbors, whom the Russian cultural elite is so well aware of and informed about, has generated a profound and bitter divide of Russian social and political thought, including sociology, running through it from the nineteenth-century sociological pioneers to their current heirs. It is drawn between those who think that Russia's differences from the West is basically a positive foundation to build on and those who think that it is a lack of development and that Russia should catch up with and assimilate to the West. In this book, you meet both sides, on the nativist literal reactionaries from Nikolai Danilevsky of the 1860s to Alexander Dugin of the 2010s[1] and domestic progressives such as Piotr Lavrov and the Populists of the nineteenth century and reform Communists and socialists of the late Soviet Union. The Westerners led Russian sociology in Maxim Kovalevsky's time of embryonic institutionalization in the early twentieth century, and they dominate today's post-Soviet sociology.

Furthermore, Russian sociology has, or has had, a different relationship to politics and power than its Western counterparts, a relationship both closer and more conflictual. Russian sociological thought developed simultaneously with, as part of, the rise of the concept and the phenomenon of the *intelligentsia*. It was an educated stratum, often juxtaposed to socio-economic classes, with a moral and political commitment to social and political change for the public good, with an ethos of a kind of intellectualized *noblesse oblige*, and a large part of the stratum actually came from noble families. In the nineteenth–early twentieth centuries, the political commitment of the intelligentsia crucially included the invention and embrace of peasant-oriented Populism, often conceived as socialism, alternatively, alignment with Marxism or Anarchism. This engagement led frequently to dismissal, arrest, imprisonment, deportation or exile. But because of their social status, many members of the

intelligentsia also had close relations with figures of power. Not seldom the same person had experiences of both kinds. The greatest of classical Russian sociologists, Maxim Kovalevsky, was fired from Moscow University in 1886, going into a lengthy, very successful exile in France (including a Presidency of the International Institute of Sociology). Upon his return, after the 1905 upheaval, he was appointed to the State Council of the Russian Empire, as well as elected to the state Duma (parliament). Pitirim Sorokin, who later became a great figure at Harvard, was a prominent activist in the party of Socialist-Revolutionaries and became the secretary of Kerensky, the Prime Minister of the last pre-Bolshevik government in 1917. After a short stint teaching sociology at Petrograd University, he was among a large group of anti-Communist intellectuals sent into exile by the Bolshevik government.

The Soviet regime created its own society with different relations of intellectuals and politics, but after it there are still traces of the classical intelligentsia tradition of principled commitment and of confrontational-cum-confidant stances in relation to state power.

Even for those of us who have no intention to specialize in Russian studies, the history of Russian societies and of Russian sociology are instructive as well as fascinating. Today's Russian society and polity also have a great bearing on the contemporary world. In guiding us to their investigators, interpreting this short, accessible introduction is very valuable.

University of Cambridge — Göran Therborn
Ljungbyholm, Sweden
January 2017

Note

1. Dugin has become mainly an aggressive ideologue with explicit fascist inclinations, but he was actually for a while acting Head of the Department of International Relations in the Faculty of Sociology at Moscow State University. Under pressure from a massive protest movement, he was fired in 2014. In Western media, he is presented as close to some military circles in Russia.

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We would also like to thank all Russian and foreign sociologists, whose numerous publications where they shared personal experiences of sociology and their opinions on the process of sociological development in Russia were used as the sources for our book.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Abstract Dramatic sociological development in Russia has a span longer than a century, starting in the mid-nineteenth century and running till the present day. During this time, wars and revolutions shook political regimes several times, urging great changes in the largest society in Europe and creating challenges for sociology. This book provides a brief history of sociology in Russia from pre-revolutionary development through the contradictory Soviet time to the current stage. Several particularities of Russian sociology are discussed: breaks of continuity between its main historical periods, late institutionalization of sociology in the Soviet period, decline of its role in contemporary Russia, and the influence of the relationship between sociology and power throughout its history.

Keywords Reconstruction of traditions · Main features
Controversy Fragmentation · Gaps in sociological development

The main idea of this book is to rethink the history of sociology in Russia from its very beginning in the second part of the nineteenth century to the contemporary situation in the beginning of the twenty-first century. The main focus is on the second part of the twentieth century as sociology re-emerged in the Soviet Union only in the late 1950s after a relatively long term of nonexistence in the Stalinist totalitarian period.

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Any overview of the history of sociology in a particular country is shaped by the historical period of time when the text is written, the national intellectual traditions, and social-cultural atmosphere in the country. Therefore, such texts are ambiguous and vary: Each scholar presents his/her own view on the history of this discipline, and none of these views will exactly replicate each other.

The genesis of modern historical knowledge has to take into account the tremendous paradigm change after 1991 following the collapse of the Soviet Union. As a result of this paradigm shift, the previous sociological heritage was dismissed and almost forgotten. Historical memory of the Soviet period of sociology had almost passed away from the public consciousness and disciplinary debates. To an extent, this book is based on memoirs of Soviet Russian sociologists of the first generations derived from their own publications, interviews, archives, and historical documents (Batygin 1999; Firsov 2012; Doktorov 2016).[1] It provides views that may differ from the assessments elaborated by other Russian sociologists (Golosenko and Kozlovsky 1995; Kukushkina 1994; Sokolov 2014) or foreign authors (Greenfeld 1988; Lane 1992; Weinberg 1974).

There are different ways to reflect the historical past and present the current state of sociology in Russia. One may focus on the emergence and development of different spheres of sociological research in Russia, or on the major figures of Russian sociology and main theoretical and methodological problems of each period, or pay attention to its constant disciplinary opposition to power structures (Firsov 2012, 10). We try to combine all of these approaches. We briefly describe the main periods of historical development of sociology in Russia in a comparative perspective, summarize its main features and traditions, give information on its particular representatives and their input, and explain historical reasons, content, and consequences of the struggle between sociology and power from the period of emergence of Russian sociology to the current days. Regardless of serious differences between the power systems in the nineteenth, twentieth, and the beginning of the twenty-first century, sociology in Russia has never been in full harmony with any ruling political system, trying to pursue its own interests and values, sometimes without success.

The goal of this Introduction is to explain the disciplinary trajectory of Russian sociology determined by the relationship between the Russian intellectual concepts and the national social-political-cultural context within a broader global constellation that made it distinct from

sociological developments in other countries. At the same time, Russian sociology has never been an insular unique phenomenon: Its ideas have been rooted in the world sociological traditions being adjusted to the Russian intellectual environment. Without this context, it is hardly possible for a reader outside Russia to understand why Russian sociology broke the process of its own development at least three times in the twentieth century and repeated the same pattern. Sociologists rejected the heritage of their immediate past sociology and started a new circle almost "from scratch."[2] The first time it happened was after the 1917 October socialist revolution, when power was taken by the Bolsheviks and, after a short-term expansion of a disciplinary development, sociology lost legitimacy in the Soviet state. During the 1930s–1940s, sociology disappeared from the official scene. A break happened again in the late 1950s, after the exposure of the Stalin cult, when the period of "thaw" started, and sociology re-emerged. Soviet scholars of the 1960s constructed sociology without any continuation with the pre-revolutionary stage. They established a new discipline actually influenced by Western sociology, in a specific Soviet frame. It happened once more in the early 1990s after the collapse of the Soviet system. The rejection of Marxism and a flourishing plurality of theoretical paradigms and methodological approaches in Russian sociology turned into a situation where Marxist sociology was blamed, and almost all the achievements of Soviet sociology were considered as not important for further sociological development.

Major Russian schools of thought that were developed in the late-nineteenth century, then rejected in the 1920s as "alien" and "bourgeois," came to be highly regarded in Russian sociology again in the 1990s onward. In 2016 during the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the Russian sociological society, named after the first professional Russian sociologist Maksim Kovalevsky, it was stated that because of these breaks, the whole history of Russian sociology is a "history of struggle" with its own past (Boronoev et al. 2016, 13).

A deep understanding of the current state of Russian sociology can be fruitful only if it is viewed through a historical and cultural lens with a focus on comparison of Russian sociology and a world sociological context of each period. There are always good reasons to assess some historical periods as "dark"; however, such periods can help to explain the role of a wide range of social-political environments in the development of Russian sociology and trace its manifestation and latent contribution

into further societal development of the country. What is remarkable, however, is the extent to which Soviet sociology attempted for years to remain "unique" on the global level, or at least declare its intellectual originality and Marxist nature inside the country (Osipov 1976) .

General Features and Traditions of Russian Sociology

Regardless of the gaps in historical development of Russian sociology, there are some common features and traditions that are worth mentioning because they are relevant to its understanding. Being almost unknown or invisible in the Soviet period, they have been carefully reconstructed and sometimes reinvented since the 1990s (Golosenko and Kozlovsky 1995; Firsov 2012) and this process is still in progress (Sokolov 2014; Sorokin 2015).

A significant factor in the formation of Russian sociology and other Russian social sciences was that the relationship between sociology and political powers was more dramatic and ambivalent than between those powers and other social sciences. First, sociology was institutionalized much later than other sciences. Second, sociology depended on political powers more than other sciences. On the one hand, sociology always suffered from the lack of freedom and autonomy (even the opening of Neurologist Institute in 1908 where the first department of sociology was founded in Russia became possible only due to a special Decree of the Tsar[3]). On the other hand, Soviet sociologists tried to provide the government with critical reformist ideas and hoped to improve a society on the basis of their "scientific data" (Firsov 2012, 126). Applied sociological knowledge in Russia seemed to be more valuable than other types of knowledge, if we wish to explain it in modern terms (Burawoy 2005).

This pattern of "struggle and dependence" between sociology and government emerged in the nineteenth century and was repeated and replicated later, regardless of the radical changes of the power regime itself. It created political segmentation inside sociology itself that has become an important feature of Russian sociology until now. This feature of Russian sociology can be understood due to its constant position under vigilant control of the authorities. However, the government's strength varied from period to period. The fate of Russian sociology, including its institutionalization and spread in society, depended on the government's attitude toward the discipline.

Peculiarities of Russian historical development made the direction of Russian sociology divergent from the "core" sociological type elsewhere in the world. Russian sociology was deeply embedded in a broad national social and cultural background, so that many non-sociologists influenced its development; Russian sociology always was more oriented to social problems of Russia than to general theories. However, there were many commonalities with other countries: Russian sociology was created as a national political project similar to those in many peripheral countries (e.g., in Mexico or Turkey or Spain). Sociology was designed for the self-development of a society; therefore, it was viewed mainly as an element of social policy (in the sense described by Burawoy in his four types of sociological knowledge), oriented to managerial needs of the nation-state. This type of sociological development was not unique. Rather, it was typical for a country that did not belong to the sociological mainstream. This semi-peripheral, or regional modus, whether recognized or not by sociologists themselves, fits into the current debates on sociology in the globalized world expressed by Sztompka. According to this Polish sociologist, a dilemma of "one or many sociologies" is wrong because a uniform world sociology and a unique local sociology can coexist as "two mutually enriching sides of the same sociological enterprise" (2010, 27). Therefore, contemporary Russian sociology can be understood as one of the local sociologies—unique in some special fields of study, responding to specific problems and in its combination of research methods, but universal in its theoretical paradigms.

The important feature of Russian sociology is its embeddedness into the political life of the country. Many Russian sociologists were politically active (being members of political parties, supporting different political or social movements, or being involved in the implementation of political orders). The very process of construction of sociological knowledge in Russia was often incorporated in the political-ideological processes. Sociologists provided arguments and empirical data to support or criticize political projects; sometimes they were employed by political institutions to back political decisions by their personal or professional prestige. Thus, Maksim Kovalevsky was a member of Russian State Duma (1906) and the State Council of the Russian Empire (1906–1916); Pitirim Sorokin actively worked in the Social-Revolutionary party and was its deputy in the Constituent Assembly (1917); and in the Soviet period, Vladimir Yadov and Boris Firsov worked in the local party committees,

etc. For their part, contemporary Russian sociologists openly express their political preferences and often participate in political actions.

From the nineteenth century, sociologists differed in their attitude toward power. Generally speaking, Russian sociology was born not as a creature of liberalism (Golosenko and Kozlovsky 1995): There were different schools of thought that followed their own patterns—sometimes more loyal to the authorities, sometimes openly opposed to them (liberal, nationalistic, "neutral," "pure academic," etc.). Although many sociologists criticized the political regime, a significant group of Soviet sociologists called "*shestidesjatniki*" (sociologists of the 1960s) viewed their own mission as "to serve the country," which in many cases meant to "enlighten party leaders" and "help to reform a society" on a practical level. On the one hand, this attitude was determined by the dominant role of the Communist party that totally controlled sociological activities. On the other, this mission was understood as a part of the "national project" by several scholars who tried to reform the existing society and construct a better one, without social inequality and social injustice. This controversy sometimes looks like a puzzle. It is not easy to understand why several Soviet sociologists of the 1960s, being involved in the active construction of a society according to the Communist blueprint, did not create "classical works" in sociology and nevertheless they are still viewed in the professional community as "heroes." According to the opinion of their contemporaries, the reason is that they had persistent moral character, optimism, and devotion to their public mission (Shalin 1990; Doktorov 2016).

As a consequence of the political involvement of Russian sociology, then, we can stress its constant focus on the public type of sociological knowledge (Burawoy 2005). The sociological vision of a public mission depended on the political climate, socio-cultural context, and the hottest social problems of each period.[4] The public aspect of Russian sociology has been demonstrated in numerous articles in several journals of a non-sociological nature, participation in popular discussions, and in many Soviet cases—in attempts to analyze sociological empirical data as journalists and by this way "reveal the truth about the country," as it was explained in later discussions by D. Shalin, A. Alekseev, L. Kozlova; as well as in many articles, memoirs and interviews (Alekseeev 2005; Doktorov and Kozlova 2007).

Overall, the process of sociological development in Russia looks rather similar to many other countries beyond the sociological mainstream that actively fight for their professional recognition on the national/regional level

and try to stay within the global sociological context. Regardless of some attempts to construct "unique Russian traditions" and reassess the history of Russian sociology under the angle of contemporary needs (Sorokin 2015), this history is full of real (not constructed) dramas and puzzles.

Our attitude toward the history of Russian sociology in this book is neither pro nor contra any particular scholars, schools of thought or interpretations; rather, we try to give the readers a broad understanding of this history by describing different views and trends within Russian sociology and within a broader sociological framework. We also assume that there were no "wrong theories" or "wrong surveys" made by sociologists "on purpose": Their practice was limited by historical conditions, rooted in the national forms of social thinking (Zdravomyslov 2010, 184), and influenced by their own understanding of the public mission that sociology played in a society. We maintain neutrality toward the sociological past when describing periods of profound changes in ideology and politics. Our task is to define the input of sociologists who lived under different periods of profound changes. We assume that sociology has always reflected social reality in a way that seemed to be legitimated or at least socially conditioned by a particular historical period. Surely, the prevailing intellectual style of each historical period differed from the others; however, the Soviet and post-Soviet periods provided amazing opportunities for their contextual analysis (each for different reasons).

The book is divided into eight chapters. In addition to the Introduction and Conclusion, the main arguments have been elaborated in four chapters which describe the three unequal main stages of sociological development in Russia (pre-revolutionary, Soviet, and contemporary) with their traditions of scholarship and public practices in each period. The remaining two chapters explain the emergence and growth of gender studies in Russian contemporary sociology and the current debates on the future of sociology in Russia.

Periods and Milestones in the History of Russian Sociology

For the purpose of analysis of Russian sociology in a broad historical context, a classification of periods within the long sociological history in Russia is needed. In this book, periods are selected on the basis of historical and political milestones in Russian history.

It is not always easy to distinguish separate stages in the process of sociological development. The history of Russian sociology can be viewed as a story of the relationship between sociology and political power. From this point of view, the main task of sociology was to reach professional self-determination, full institutionalization as a science, and to defend its autonomy, while the main task of the government was to either protect the power system from any sociological criticism or—to some extent—use sociologists and their knowledge for legitimization of the dominant ideological myths of the society (Sokolov 2014). From our approach, the major political milestones in the process of the relationship between the two actors, sociology and political power, are the following:

1. The 1917 October (Bolsheviks) revolution and the construction of a totally new political system was the first important watershed in sociological development that separated the previous period of its incomplete institutionalization from the next one when sociology was temporarily institutionalized within Soviet Marxism (Batygin 1998, 25). In the 1920s, the non-Marxist sociology was evaluated as bourgeois, many social thinkers were expelled from the country, and finally, the very term "sociology" disappeared from the official public discourse.
   Unlike western European states, the Soviet Union did not experience any democratic changes related to sociology and society at large after the end of World War II. Stalin's totalitarian rule remained in place. Therefore, 1945 was not a milestone in the process of sociological development.
2. The period of Khrushchev's "Thaw" was a second milestone in sociological development. It was connected to the political changes of the late 1950s: first, Stalin's death (1953) and, second, the official exposure of his cult (1956). These liberal political changes made it possible to restore sociology as a "science," or more precisely construct a new Soviet sociology under the umbrella of Marxism umbrella. In 1956, the Soviet sociologists for the first time participated in the World Congress of Sociology in Amsterdam. The Communist party made a decision to use Soviet sociology in the ideological process as a new "scientific instrument" of management. Thus, a system of state-party "orders" for sociological research was introduced, and sociology started the period of its second institutionalization in the 1960s.

However, the thaw did not last long, and a new conservative turn succeeded liberalization within a decade.

Looking back on this period, sociologist Vladimir Shlapentokh, who emigrated to the USA in the mid-1970s, pointed out that the influence of the Soviet state and party control dominated the development of sociology in this period, so that the whole process was full of contradictions between the power and researchers (1987). For this reason, the general description of this period is always ambiguous and depends on the author who describes this period of Russian sociological history.

As it is presented in their numerous interviews made by Boris Doktorov in the 1990s onward, sociologists of the 1960s confirmed that they tried to follow the modern Western sociological theories, especially functionalism (Doktorov 2016) and latently applied it to Soviet society as a pattern of "science." Vladimir Yadov also mentioned that sociologists of the 1960s "mostly began with self-learning Western authors" (Yadov 1998, 6). Thus, during the 5 years (1957–1961), there were 217 visits of foreign professors to the Institute of Philosophy in Moscow where they could meet the first Soviet sociologists (the first sociological department was opened there in 1960), among them were A. Gouldner, Ch. Wright Mills, T. Parsons, and R. Merton. Their ideas and books influenced the Soviet sociologists (Batygin 1998, 30).

3. The Perestroika period (since 1985) brought fresh democratic air to the societal life of the country and became the new milestone in the public life and broadly influenced sociological development. New political, social, and cultural perspectives were opened. Sociology had more freedom for research. New sociological centers and faculties of sociology at the universities were opened; public discussions and involvement of sociologists in political life became common. This atmosphere stimulated a high interest in sociology.

The breakdown of the Soviet system in 1991 also became an extremely important milestone. It gave a push to the development of democratic institutions, re-emergence of the ideas and traditions of Russian history, theoretical and ideological pluralism, and the founding of non-state sociological institutions and research centers. Regular communication with the Western colleagues became an inevitable part of sociological life (Firsov 2012). Overall, the period of the late 1980s–early

1990s was later called an "era of Great confusion and Great expectations" (Pokrovskiy 2001, 148) , when intellectuals were expected to achieve a radical transformation of society within a short period of time. There was a boom of sociological development. However, the fragmentation of the sociological community greatly increased, unequal access to resources among the sociological institutions and individuals grew while the official status of sociology within post-Soviet Russian society remained not as high as sociologists expected.

On the basis of these milestones, we distinguish four different periods: the early Russian sociology (1860s–early 1920s), the Soviet sociology under the totalitarian regime (early 1920s–early 1950s), Soviet sociology of the late 1950s–1980s, and Russian sociology since the period of Perestroika onward.

It makes sense to compare the selected periods of Russian sociology with ones proposed by Martin Albrow to describe the global sociological development. Albrow selected five periods (1990, 6–12): universalism, national sociologies, internationalism, indigenization, and globalization. According to Yadov (1998, 6–8), sociology in Russia fits this approach in full: It experienced an early period of universalism (Positivist schools in the nineteenth-century Russia), created its national schools (Subjective school, Christian school in pre-revolutionary period), followed internationalism (Sorokin's positivist approach in the 1920s), indigenization (Soviet Marxist sociology that combined Marxism with national specifics of the country), and globalization (post-Soviet sociology since the 1990s). A combination of these two periodizations allows to demonstrate that Russian sociology has gone through the similar steps of development that many other national sociologies in the world.

Notes

1. Boris Doktorov, a sociologist of the third Soviet generation (b. 1941), according to his own classification, who emigrated to the USA in the early 1990s, conducted around 150 online interviews with sociologists in Russia that represented several generations: from the first one born in the end of 1920s–early 1930s to the seventh generation born in the last Soviet years and socialized in post-Soviet Russia. This project took him almost 20 years. Doktorov presented nine volumes of interviews at the Fifth Congress of Russian Society of Sociologists in 2016. These volumes

include unique data that illustrate the atmosphere of the 1960s when sociology in Russia was revived, through the period of stagnation in the 1970s and Perestroika of the mid-1980s, to the post-Soviet period when young sociologists could get education abroad, freely learn Western sources, actively participate in international research, and finally get beyond the Soviet heritage.

2. It was not exactly a start from scratch. In all three stages, Russian scholars were influenced by several Western ideas. In the first time, as modern Russian textbooks explain, sociology entered Russia from the West in the mid-nineteenth century; therefore, the first Russian sociological schools adopted positivism, Marxist, and psychological ideas (Golosenko and Kozlovsky 1995, 8). In the late 1950s, Soviet sociology was revived with hidden references to Parsonian structural functionalism that dominated in those days in the West (Batygin 1998; Osipov 2009) . In the 1990s, when Russian sociology was radically renewed again, Russian sociologists did a lot to implant the Western sociological ideas on Russian ground and reassessing their own mission as *Kulturträgers* (Zdravomyslov 2010, 183).
3. The private Neurological Institute was opened in 1908 in Petersburg after professor Vladimir Bekhterev, a famous Russian neurologist, wrote a petition to the Russian Tsar asking him to give a permission to found such an institute. The Neurological Institute aimed to make a complex study of personality and combine natural and social sciences in education. A department of sociology became an integral part of this institute. Later professor Bekhterev was among the founders of the first Russian sociological society (1916).
4. Thus, in the first period, this mission was viewed by sociologists as describing the trends of development of Russian society and challenging the "applied questions of social being" (Sorokin 2000, 23). Soon after the 1917 October revolution, the remaining sociologists tried to critically assess the Soviet reality and mainly failed because they were exiled or imprisoned or killed. The mission of the Soviet sociology in the 1960s–1970s was viewed in revealing some important knowledge about this society and helping in the practical reformation of a society. After the dramatic societal changes in 1991, sociology again wanted to serve for the public (collecting new data, constructing new theories, giving new interpretations of the data); however, each group of sociologists did it in their own way—from conservative to extremely liberal. Interaction between sociology and power, and sociology and society were always different, and quite often neither power nor society needed sociology and liked its critical assessments.

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CHAPTER 2

Russian Early Period of Sociology: Predecessors and First Professionals

Abstract The first sociological works appeared in Russia in the 1860s. This fact means that the image of Russian sociology as a very young discipline born in the Soviet time is wrong. The main Russian schools of thought (positivist, neo-positivist, subjective, Neo-Kantian, Marxist, and Christian) reflect the variety of theoretical approaches that were applied to the understanding of social life by Russian thinkers. Each school puts forward its own leaders, Lavrov and Sorokin, among them. However, there were no departments of sociology or special journals in the country until the beginning of the twentieth century. Sociological education was introduced in Russia also with a delay. Therefore, institutionalization of sociology was not complete during this period.

Keywords Historical periods · Predecessors · Danilevsky · Mikhailovsky Kovalevsky · Sorokin · Sociological society

In the contemporary Russian sociological community, there is a stable and significant interest in its pre-revolutionary past (Golosenko 1992; Kukushkina 1994; Galaktionov 2002). At the global level, there is also some curiosity about this period of Russian sociology, especially about Pitirim Sorokin who emigrated to the USA in the 1920s and became a world-known sociologist (Nichols 2012). Currently, this part of the history of Russian sociology is well researched; however, it is not well known by rank and file sociologists.

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Post-Soviet Russian scholars provide to the Western readers quite different views on this period and prefer to analyze it within the discourse of contemporary Russian discussions on sociological schools, cultural national traditions, and the segmentation of sociology (Voronkov and Zdravomyslova 1996; Zdravomyslov 2010; Sorokin 2015).

The Mid- to Late-Nineteenth-Century Development: Predecessors and First Sociologists

Currently, sociology in Russia recognizes its own national sociological traditions and claims the date of sociology's birth in this region as being as early as in France, Germany or England—in the mid-nineteenth century, when reflections on the writings of positivists Comte and Spencer became popular among the Russian intellectuals.

The first acquaintance of educated Russians with the sociological ideas from the West happened in the mid-nineteenth century. The first mentioning of the system of positivism by A. Comte in Russia was made in 1845 by the young Russian publicist Valerian Maikov. Maikov knew French, read Comte in original, and gave an overview of his Course of Positive Philosophy in his article in a journal Finskiy Vestnik (Finnish Messenger) published in St. Petersburg. Maikov critically assessed positivism and stressed the necessity for the future Russian social science to adopt only those ideas from Comte that might be useful for Russian society.[1] In 1847 another publicist, V. Milyutin, published three articles in the famous public journal Otechestvennie Zapiski (Domestic Notes) where he described positivism in more detail. However, the name of Comte, whose views Milyutin described was mentioned only once in the endnotes to escape Tsarist censorship. It is important to notice that some educated Russians were among those who attended sociological lectures by A. Comte in Paris—for e.g., N. Satin, N. Frolov, V. Botkin. They wrote about these lectures to their friends, and one of them, Russian democrat Nikolai Ogarev shared this information with his colleagues, writers Alexander Herzen and Vissarion Belinskiy (Novikova 2002, 122).

Russian sociology started its development after the economic reforms in the early 1860s that brought about the abolition of serfdom and created incentives for capitalist social-economic relations in both urban and rural places. New social and economic development caused Russian intellectuals to reassess the future of Russian society and to search for theoretical explanation of its problems and practices. Interest

of Russian intellectual elite in the new ideas from the West turned it toward sociology.

From its origin, Russian sociology was developed in two different branches: publicist and academic (university). The early emergence of Russian sociology was first connected with the publicist branch, as sociology was not allowed at the universities. The spread of positivist ideas from the Western Europe highly contributed to the process of democratic development of Russian public thought. Positivist ideas, as well as interest to the natural sciences, took popularity in Russia as a negative reaction to the abstract German philosophy previously popular in Russia. Positivist ideas seemed to be more practical and useful for many young educated people: students, writers, journalists, that were ready to embrace the spirit of positive changes. Therefore, ideas of positivism were spread rather fast in Russia and were discussed in the different democratic circles along with such democratically oriented literary journals as Otechestvennie Zapiski, Delo, Znanie, and later in Juridicheskiy Vestnik and Kriticheskoe Obozrenie (Kareev 1896). Therefore, it is not a surprise that Positivism (along with Marxism) was among the most popular schools of thought in Russia by the end of the nineteenth century (both adopted from the West).

Discussion of the sociological publications of August Comte, Herbert Spencer, Lester Ward, Karl Marx, and many others stimulated the creation of Russian versions of modernization theories supported by popular social movements (narodniki), circles of public figures, social philosophers, political thinkers, and writers. Most of them had a liberal, populist, or, later, a socialist-democratic character and became the bases of the first sociological schools: positivist, subjectivist, new-Kantian, and the like. As a result of this influence, several books and articles written by Russian authors appeared in this period. Their authors were scholars and public figures, among others: P. Lavrov, N. Mikhailovsky, S. Yuzhakov, Ye. De Roberti, B. Chicherin, N. Danilevsky, A. Gradovsky. These early sociologists promised to provide scientific knowledge on how to improve Russian society and make it less unequal. In other words, Russian sociology was socially and publicly oriented from its very beginning. In the mid- to end of the nineteenth century, sociological thought has become an integral part of a broad cultural process, in which social science was a part of a cultural dialogue (in a sense of M. Bakhtin's concept of culture) (1975) that reflected traditional Russian interests in the ideas of social equality, justice, and the public good.

Two main directions of social thought and two intellectual groups were created: *Westernism* (direct adoption of Western concepts and ideas) and *Slavophilism* (prioritization of Russian national specifics in historical development). Their disputes have influenced the process of the formation of sociology. The Russian social thinker Alexander Herzen can also be viewed as a direct predecessor of sociology. In his memoir book *The Past and Thoughts* (1969/1868), Herzen presented a pattern of sociological analysis of Russia in the mid-century (Zdravomyslov 2010, 196–198). Since the 1880s, the leaders of Russian populist movements, Nikolai Mikhaylovsky and Petr Lavrov, had tried to present a scientific picture of social life on the basis of Western positivist ideas (Subjective school). Subjective school of sociology was one of the most important in Russia, party because of its political connection with Narodniki. In fact, the leaders of Subjective school, Lavrov and Mikhailovsky, were revolutionary Narodniki (unlike religious Narodniki—Slavophilists Aksakov, Kireevsky, Khomyakov). All Narodniki acknowledged originality of Russian social-economic way of life and believed that Russia can reach socialism without capitalist step of development. The very term *Subjective* refers to Comte and his recognition of the role of moral attitude toward the world (along with objective method). Russian sociologists wanted to combine objective method with ethical aspect in the analysis of social processes and facts (therefore, another name of this school is Ethical-Sociological). Since then, almost all Russian sociology stressed the role of moral aspect of social life (Kareev 1896).

In parallel to it, followers of Marxism have also appeared in Russia (Georgy Plekhanov, Vladimir Lenin) and the nonstop discussion about the Russian future between the populists and social democrats had started. Positivists (including neo-positivists), subjective school, behaviorist, and Marxists (including social democrats and legal Marxists) represented the leading schools of sociological thought in Russia in the 1880–1890s. By the end of that century, there were many other schools, such as Christian, neo-Kantian, and Psychological, so that there was a mosaic of social thought in Russia (Vorontsov and Gromov 2005, 51–62).

Russian sociology as a university discipline and a recognized science started much later than publicist branch. Until the early eighties, sociological ideas were taught only within the other social sciences, mainly, Law and History. Therefore, many scholars who are recognized as first sociologists were trained as lawyers and historians; some others were philosophers and even natural scientists. Only in the end of the century, the

first programs of self-education in sociology and systematic books were published by Russian scholars (Kareev and De Roberti), then sociology was allowed as a facultative in some universities; sociological issues were discussed in scientific students circles (Novikova 2002, 128). Only in 1908, sociology became an official discipline in the private Neurological Institution organized by famous Russian physiologist and psychiatrist, father of Russian reflexology Vladimir Bekhterev.[2]

Syncretism of social thinking was typical for the scholars of the second part of the nineteenth century who were the "early sociologists" (or their predecessors) in Russia. A cohort of outstanding scholars contributed to construction of the basis of Russian sociology with its main approaches, schools, concepts, and traditions. These thinkers closely interacted with democratically oriented representatives of other social sciences, leaders of social populist movements, and writers. According to the contemporary scope of knowledge of this period, authors such as N. Danilevsky, N. Mikhailovsky, P. Lavrov, P. Kropotkin, S. Trubeckoi, G. Plekhanov are recognized in modern Russian textbooks as the influential and original Russian sociologists of the nineteenth century, and M. Kovalevsky is viewed as the most prominent Russian sociologist of this period (Golosenko and Kozlovsky 1995). However, Kovalevsky would have never succeeded as a sociologist without a broad intellectual environment of which he was a part. Therefore, he was not similar to a lonely mountain top; there was a high intellectual plateau of thinkers over which he towered.

Some of these thinkers spent years in exile and wrote their main works far from the political centers. Thus, in the late 1860s Petr Lavrov, a member of the illegal circle "Land and Freedom" in St. Petersburg, was sent by the police to a province where he wrote his main work, *Historical Letters* (2013), in which the foundations of Lavrov's sociological conception were described. The word "sociology" was used more than 35 times throughout the *Historical Letters* suggesting indirect self-identification of the author as a sociologist. He shaped the agenda for sociology as an integrative science that was viewed as a problem-oriented discourse where Russian public moral concerns were expressed. Lavrov, as well as his friend and follower Nikolai Mikhailovsky (a member of the revolutionary organization "The People's Will"), elaborated the "subjective method of sociology," according to which the active individual was viewed as major driver of social transformations. Both authors are currently viewed as leaders of the Subjective school.

In the intellectual environment of Russia in the second part of the nineteenth century, a large engagement of social thinkers with leftist political ideology was typical. Many thinkers were liberals, and some sympathized with socialism and Marxism. However, there were notable exceptions. Thus, famous thinkers Nikolai Danilevsky and Nikolai Leontiev had conservative political preferences (Batygin and Deviatko 1994), and the religious social scholars Sergei Bulgakov, Semion Frank, and Nikolai Berdyaev were fully opposed to Marxist and socialist ideas. As for the boundaries between different schools in early Russian sociology, they were not totally clear-cut, and the same author could belong to different schools due to the evolution of his/her own views (e.g., during this period of time Pitirim Sorokin was positivist, later in the 1920s he shifted his views to moral issues and opposed positivism). The boundaries between the schools were flexible, some ideas were recognized by several schools, and the same people could move from one school to another. Therefore, classification of Russian sociological schools, first made by Kareev (1896), did not coincide with the one later made by Sorokin (1920) or with current classifications (Vorontsov and Gromov 2005).

The main goals of the early Russian sociological schools were similar to goals of sociologists in the same period in other countries: institutionalization of sociology as an independent discipline (free from social philosophy, psychology, history, e.g.), development of sociological education, and professional publications in professional journals. A lot of publications contributed to the achievement of these goals. The first textbook *Sociology* was published in 1880 by De Roberti and another one in 1897 by Kareev: its bibliography included almost 900 publications, one-third of them were written by Russian authors (Boronoev et al. 2016b, 17). On the whole, Russian sociologists of all schools discussed the possible approaches and directions of Russian development aimed to make Russia a modern country.

Prominent Thinkers

In the mid-nineteenth century, one of the most famous figures among Russian intellectuals was **Nikolai Danilevsky** (1822–1885)—sociologist, culturologist, geopolitologist, and publicist. Graduated from the university as a natural scholar, he was interested in socialist ideas of Fourier, arrested, and later sent out of St. Petersburg. He developed a theory

of cultural-historical types of civilization—a predecessor to the theory of local civilizations developed by Spengler and Toynbee. Danilevsky's theory was explained in his book Russia and Europe (1991, originally 1871). The basic features of a civilization, according to Danilevsky, included religion, culture, politics, and social-economic sphere. They shape a unique nature of each civilization. Development of any civilization has a cyclical character. Because of the uniqueness, Russian civilization does not need to follow any other civilization in its historical development. Following the ideas of pan-Slavism, Danilevsky supported the unity of all Slavic nations and the formation of Slavic federation (pan-Slavism). His book became popular after the death of its writer and had both supporters (among them nationally oriented thinkers K. Leont'ev, N. Trubeckoi, L. Gumilev, writer Dostoevsky) and liberal opponents (historian V.S. Solov'ev, sociologist Kareev).

Maksim Kovalevsky (1851–1916) is often called the first Russian sociologist and the key figure in the emergence of Russian sociology (Kukushkina 2000, 105). Indeed, he was the most prominent figure in this field in the end of nineteenth—beginning of the twentieth century. Kovalevsky graduated from the Kharkov University as a lawyer. However, current Russian literature treats him as a sociologist who also played the important roles of politician and civil society activist in Russian society (Boronoev et al. 2016a, 7). After completing his education in Russia, Kovalevsky continued it abroad (Berlin, Paris, and London) and became brilliantly educated for this period. For years, he was a professor of law at Moscow University, later he taught at Petersburg University and other schools. Kovalevsky was the Academician of the Imperial St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences.

Kovalevsky had close ties with many foreign scholars. For example, he knew Marx in person and exchanged letters with him. In 1903, Kovalevsky took part in the organization of the International Institute of Sociology with French sociologist R. Worms. Later he was elected the President of this Institute (alongside Russian sociologists Lilienfeld and Sorokin). In 1901–1905, he organized and headed the Russian Higher School of Social Sciences in Paris, and this School was sometimes called "the first European faculty of sociology" (Golosenko 2001, 101).

As a sociologist, Kovalevsky defined the discipline as a science of social organization and social change. He advocated principles of pluralistic methodology and assumed that several social causes determine social evolution. At the same time, Kovalevsky paid special attention to growth

of the population. He stated that this factor gives a constant impulse to economic development (Kovalevsky 1910). However, Kovalevsky argued that the "demographic factor never acts alone": It can increase or decrease other factors of social evolution. In 1908, Kovalevsky (together with his colleague E. De Roberti) organized the first department of sociology at the newly founded private Psychoneurological Institution in St. Petersburg and served there as a Dean of the Law Faculty. His students P. Sorokin, K. Takhtarev, N. Kondratiev, N. Timasheff later attained reputations as world-class scholars. Together with political involvement, moral concerns were always an essential part of his sociological activity and reflected in his concept of social progress.

A few months after his death, his colleagues and former students founded a sociological society in Petersburg and named it in honor of M. Kovalevsky. Sorokin and Takhtarev played the key role in this process. The charter of this sociological society indicated its major task as elaboration of sociology and other social sciences as well as dissemination of knowledge of all social sciences in Russia. As the tasks were broadly formulated, there were several social scholars as well as natural scientists and politicians among society's members. For example, the Russian physiologist Nobel Prize laureate Ivan Pavlov was among them.

Despite these achievements, sociology was not institutionalized. There were no regular sociological journals, no research centers and the university education in this field was not systematic. A degree in sociology was introduced in 1917—almost at the logical end of this period. A Sociological Institute was founded in late 1918 and closed in 1921. Therefore, the process of institutionalization of sociology in Russia was not fully completed during this period, although it actually had started in the pre-revolutionary years. Due to the unfavorable conditions of World War I and the 1917 October revolution, the recognition of sociology as an academic discipline was slow and contradictory (Batygin 1998). Sociologists within academia mostly did not support the Bolsheviks' power, and vice versa. Sociologists were not needed in the emerging Soviet state. On the contrary, pursuing non-Marxist ideologies, they were viewed as ideological or political opponents of the state. This mutual political rejection was one of the reasons why Sociological institute was shortly closed, the sociological society's functions stopped, and several professors had only limited possibilities to teach at the universities in the early 1920s.

In light of the aforesaid, Pitirim Sorokin's destiny is typical. **Sorokin** (1889–1968) was born in the countryside. Being extremely talented, he

managed to complete the school education and later continue studies in St. Petersburg through private courses and at the Neurological Institute and later Petersburg University. Maksim Kovalevsky and other famous scholars were among his professors there. Two years after graduation, in 1916, Sorokin started teaching at Petrograd University.[3] His ethical views were influenced by traditional Russian values related to *solidarity* and *sobornost*, a kind of spiritual community of the nation (Efremenko and Evseeva 2012). At the same time, Sorokin was familiar with Western socialistic ideology.

Sorokin's contribution to Russian sociology was highly regarded in his motherland much later. He has been recognized as the founder of the Russian sociological school of criminology (his first sociological work *Crime and Punishment: Heroism and Reward* was written in 2006). Before being expelled from Russia in 1922, Sorokin gave lectures on sociology in Neurological Institute and Petrograd State University, published several articles, a public textbook (1920), and his *System of Sociology* (2008/1920). However, Sorokin gained a broad scientific recognition mainly after his emigration to the USA. He was officially expelled from the country for his political views and active involvement in the anti-Bolsheviks political developments of these years.[4] Regardless of his devotion to science, Sorokin considered his personal involvement in public and political activity as his duty and also as a valuable source of expertise and inspiration in sociological investigations. Political irreconcilability with the Bolsheviks was exactly the reason for mass expulsion of intellectuals from Russia. The paradox was that some of these intellectuals were previously persecuted for their leftist political activities by Tsarist regime.[5] Both Tsarist and new Bolshevik regimes punished them for the same leftist views and actions. It is a well-known fact that, after Lenin accused Sorokin of having bourgeois views, the latter was sent out of Russia along with many other representatives of democratically and liberally oriented intellectuals (Golenkova and Gridchin 1998, 45). For Sorokin, this departure was a favorable way to escape from Soviet Russia. Many other scholars who stayed at home were later executed or imprisoned. For example, sociologist Alexander Chayanov and economist Nikolai Kondratiev were put to death (Radaev 2013, 5).

Overall, the close association of sociology with politics brought about the situation in which Russian sociologists had to operate both as professionals and as public activists. Such situations are always ambivalent. The overlapping of these roles can be a reason for a sociologist to be

publicly perceived as "the politician, manipulating with the sociological arguments in pursuit of the ideological goals" (Sorokin 2016, 19). In the case of Russian sociology in the 1920s, the public role of sociologists proved fatal for the prospects of sociology under Soviets in general. In addition, due to political confrontations inside the academy, the sociological community remained fragmented and full of inner contradictions.

Together with political involvement, moral concerns were always an essential part of sociological activity. Thus, Kovalevsky believed that freedom of moral manifestations was the key element of individual autonomy while the growth of human solidarity was the most important criterion of progress. He taught that human egoism and the lack of altruistic behavior were major obstacles to further social development (Timasheff 1966).

In total, the early period of Russian sociology contained both universalism and creation of national schools of thought. By the end of this period, sociology was relatively well developed. The radical changes of social-political life in Russia transformed this development in the 1920s.

The early period of Russian sociology manifested the existence and importance of ties between Russian and foreign sociologists—a feature that was not constant in the further history of Russian sociology because of the political restrictions of the Soviet ruling regime. On the one hand, Western concepts (from Comte, Spencer, Ward, Simmel, Durkheim, Quetelet) influenced Russian sociology. Kovalevsky published a book (1905) in which he introduced to the Russian intellectual audience all the famous Western sociologists of the nineteenth century (among then Tard, Giddings, Gumplowicz, Loria, Bougie, Kidd, Simmel, Durkheim). On the other hand, Russian sociologists such as Lilienfeld, Kovalevsky, Kareev, De Roberti were internationally known and influenced sociology beyond Russia as well (Golenkova and Gridchin 1998, 40). De Roberti was teaching for many years in Paris and Brussels, and his textbook on sociology was translated into several European languages (Golosenko 2001, 100). Some of his books written in French have never been published in Russian, and De Roberti was even more famous in France than in Russia where his books were prohibited along with books of Marx, Spencer, and other sociologists. Russian scholar Yakov Novikov also preferred to publish in French; therefore, he was more known in France than in Russia.

Early Russian sociology was known in the USA as well, and vise versa. Thus, Pitirim Sorokin was influenced by works of A. Small. American

researcher J.F. Hecker published a book on Russian sociology (1915) and made American public acquainted with it, the later editions of this book were published in 1934 and 1969. Overall, the early Russian sociology "was in line with the formation of sociology in world science" (Golenkova and Gridchin 1998, 45).

International ties played a positive role in the formation and further development of sociology in Russia. For example, in 1910 four volumes (five parts) of collected articles titled *Ancestors of Positivism* were published in St. Petersburg: Several works of mainly French philosophers and sociologists such as Turgot, D'Alembert, Saint Simon, and Comte were included. In 1913–1914, four volumes titled *The New Ideas in Sociology* were published in Russia. (Kovalevsky and De Roberti 1913/1914 these volumes presented several translated works of famous foreign sociologists (Durkheim, Simmel, Tarde, Weber) and anthropologists, pedagogues (D. Dragichesko, F. Buisson, A. Loria, L. Manouvrier) along with original articles of Russian scholars (N. Kondrat'ev, N. Pogodin, Ya. Novikov, P. Sorokin) where they interpreted foreign ideas on progress, evolution, religion, relations between sociology and psychology. These books were aimed at sociological self-education of the Russian public and significantly influenced the Russian audience in different ways by providing information on Western sociologists, explaining the major sociological topics of research and pursuing the debates of social problems in Russia.

International influences in sociology, both from outside Russia and inside Russia, can be illustrated not only by the professional lives of Kovalevsky and Sorokin, but also by other scholars. One of them was the sociologist of law Georges Gurvitch (1894–1965) who made a career as a world-level scholar in France after his emigration from Russia (first to Berlin in 1920, then to Prague in 1922, and later to Paris, where he received French citizenship and became a professor). During World War II, Georges Gurvitch migrated to the USA where he was a head of the French Institute of Sociology and taught a sociology course at Harvard. After returning to France, he established and headed the Center of Sociological Research, and was a director of a laboratory of sociology of knowledge and morals in France. In 1944, he founded the journal *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie*. Later, Georges Gurvitch held a chair in sociology at the Sorbonne in Paris. It is not by chance that American sociologist Tiryakian, a student of Sorokin, stated that with the departure of Sorokin and Gurvitch Russia lost two great sociologists of the twentieth century (Tiryakian 1999, 23).

Another prominent American (Russian born) sociologist was Aron Gurwitsch (1901–1973) whose family emigrated from Russia before the 1917 October revolution. Gurwitsch was a colleague and friend of the famous phenomenologist Alfred Schutz and did a lot for his scientific archive in New York City. Aron Gurwitsch taught sociology at The New School for Social Research from 1959 to 1973. Gurwitsch is also known for his theory of the Field of Consciousness.

Debatable Issues on the Early Russian Sociology

Overall, there are two important debatable issues related to this period and its assessment in Russian sociology:

1. why and how the early Russian sociology was developed under the influence of Western European sociology and still reflected the original Russian historical and cultural context.
   The answer to this question can be found in the explanation of the main tasks of this period of Russian sociological history. The young sociology needed to become recognized and institutionalized; therefore, the early sociologists tried to develop Russian sociology as a science and to defend its autonomy. In this process, they followed the more developed patterns founded in Western sociology that were mainly positivist in its first steps (Comte, Spencer, Durkheim). In the early twentieth century, Sorokin added American sociology as a model to follow. France was also an important historical and cultural model for Russia: Russian scholars respected French culture, knew French, often considered it as language of communication and could read the texts in original.
2. why pre-revolutionary heritage of Russian sociology was ignored by the Soviet sociology and recognized only in post-Soviet period.

In general, the reasons are somewhat similar to those mentioned above as Soviet sociology was also in the stage of “becoming a science.” The Soviet sociologists ignored the heritage of the pre-revolutionary sociology trying to become a part of the world sociology and experiencing its influence (Filippov 2013). The “father-founders” of Soviet sociology often considered it as connected to the Western traditions, although they did not mention it openly in the 1960s for ideological reasons. Russian traditions of the pre-Soviet period have not been taken

into account because Western functionalist theories looked scientific and well elaborated. Boris Firsov in his book (2012) and Boris Doktorov (2016) in his interviews with Russian sociologists of the 1960s clearly indicated that they had not referred to the so-called Russian roots in their memoirs; instead they stressed their attempts to make sociology a "real science" following the pattern of functionalism. Several functionalist texts were translated into Russian and published (1968) as two parts of the *Information Bulletin* of the Soviet Sociological Association, making this theory and method available for Soviet sociologists. Indeed, functionalism seemed to be appropriate for analysis of the Soviet society as a totality without internal contradictions, and its focus on mechanisms of social integration was in line with the ideological goals of the Party authorities.

In general, sociological writings and activities of the early period of Russian sociology were essential for understanding of Russian society and the development of several sociological problems. However, they contributed little to the subsequent institutional development of the discipline. In Soviet society, the early Russian sociologists were practically unknown, and professional research and sociological education were only fully institutionalized and widely spread in the late 1980s without references to the first Russian sociologists. The fact that post-Soviet Russian sociology also does not have theoretical connections with pre-revolutionary Russian sociology is recognized even by those who would like to find organic traditions and unity between the different periods of Russian sociology. As it was recently described:

> Between pre-revolutionary sociology and modern sociology, as if we didn't try to present differently, there is no direct common ground. (Mironov 2016, 188)

However, it would be a mistake to ignore this early period after the Russian sociological community got rid of the Soviet ideological taboo (Sokolov 2014) and started intensively to study Russian intellectual heritage. A lot of materials for the subsequent debates were found in this heritage to stimulate contemporary sociological development. Since 1991, the early history of Russian sociology has become a legitimate and fashionable research topic of its own.

Notes

1. Maikov did not use the term *sociology* and named those who followed Comte system *socialists*. For this reason a few years later, after the revolutions of 1848 in Western Europe, Tsarist censorship prohibited all sociological literature and took out Comte's books from the state libraries. Additionally, courses on philosophy and contemporary history were prohibited in the universities, foreign journals were under strict censorship, while the name sociology disappeared for long time in the public discourse.
2. Neurological Institution was devoted to the complex research and study of human being. It has three faculties: pedagogical, medical, and faculty of Law where department of sociology was established in 1908. In 1916, a private Petrograd University was opened on the basis of these three faculties, while Neurological Institute became oriented to research. Later this Institute was named after Bekhterev.
3. The university was renamed with every significant historical event. Until 1914, its full name was The Imperial St. Petersburg University. After the beginning of the World War I it was renamed to the Imperial Petrograd University (together with the city). Since February 1917, the name was Petrograd University. In 1921, it was called Petrograd State University. Since 1924 till 1991 the name was Leningrad State University. Since 1991 onwards its name is St. Petersburg State University.
4. Sorokin was a member of the Socialist-Revolutionary party (SR) from his youth. Later in 1917, he edited a political newspaper belonging to this party, served as a secretary for science to Prime Minister Alexander Kerensky in the Provisional regime, was the party's deputy of the Constituent Assembly. He did not support the Bolsheviks and publicly criticized them. Sorokin condemned the 1917 October revolution and participated in several political actions, including the preparation of a military revolt against Bolsheviks. Having been arrested and sentenced to death, Sorokin was pardoned by Lenin after his public denial of his previous political activity. However, even after leaving the SR Sorokin remained an opponent to the Bolsheviks and openly expressed his political views in his publications. So did many other Russian intellectuals.
5. Thus, during the period of the first Russian revolution, in 1905, Pitirim Sorokin was under a great influence of the socialism that brought him to the SR party. Soon after that he jailed for his political views. Fortunately he managed to escape from prison and returned to academic study. Much earlier, in 1887, Tsarist censorship prohibited the sociological books by De Roberti for critical positivist views on religious dogmas. After this prohibition De Roberti left Russia and worked abroad for many years (Golosenko 2001, 100).

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CHAPTER 3

Russian Sociology in the 1920s–Mid-1950s: The Beginnings of Soviet Sociology

Abstract This period is patchy. The 1920s were most significant: Between 1917 and 1922, there was a struggle between Marxist sociology and all non-Marxist schools. By 1922, Marxist sociology dominated and slowly developed under the umbrella of historical materialism. Several empirical surveys based on the Marxist methodology were conducted during this period. The 1930s and 1940s were less significant as sociological activities were minimized and the discipline itself survived only in a latent form. This chapter sheds light on how the sociological heritage of the two early periods of Russian sociology (up to the mid-1950s) has been used in modern sociological debates in Russia.

Keywords Early soviet sociology · Bukharin · Strumilin
Prohibition of "bourgeois pseudoscience" · Marxist empirical surveys
Soviet debates on early sociology

In contrast to the radical political changes, such as the beginning of a war or the revolution, the changes in the status of sociology and its development took place gradually. It is not easy therefore to identify clearly the temporary boundaries between the first period of sociological pluralism and a second one when Marxist sociology gradually supplanted all other schools of thought and later almost disappeared itself.

The Soviet power established a new mechanism of control, new limitations, and rules for sociology during the 1920s. Until 1922, Russian

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sociology followed its previous pluralistic pattern of development: several journals functioned, meetings and other public gatherings continued, and new organizations appeared. A lot of books in the field of sociology varying in their intellectual roots were published. Topics of discussion included issues such as the subject of social research, theory, structure of sociological knowledge, and the relationship between sociology and society. For example, the Socio-Bibliographic (later called Sociological) Institute was founded in 1918. Along with other research activities, members of this Institute gave public lectures. New departments of sociology were opened at the universities. Thus, the Department of Sociology was founded at Yaroslavl University. In 1919, the first Faculty of the Social Sciences (including a department of sociology) was established at Petrograd University, where Sorokin held the position of the Dean of the Faculty of Law and headed the Sociology Department. It looked like the discipline was successfully institutionalized. However, this situation was not stable. The status of sociology and so the status of sociologists quickly changed, when they were not needed in the Soviet system of education and research because many sociologists got involved in the anti-Bolsheviks activities and did not tolerate the dominance of Marxist ideology. Sorokin was a typical example of an intellectual who opposed the Bolshevik regime.

For these political reasons, the government took some radical measures. In 1922, more than 200 intellectuals were expelled from Russia by a special order of the Bolshevik authorities. There were many famous sociologists and philosophers in this group: Pitirim Sorokin, Nikolai Berdyaev, Semyon Frank, and Peter Struve, among others. As some of them were philosophers and left Petersburg on a ship to Germany, later all of these emigrants became associated with the so-called philosophical ship. Many more intellectuals were dismissed from the universities. However, sociological activities were not stopped; scholars published articles in the journals related to the social sciences as long as the journals functioned. Those who had left Russia and moved to Prague, Berlin, and other European cities continued their research and published without restrictions but away from Russia. Their articles and books were not available in Russia for a long time.

After 1922, all non-Marxist sociology was gradually pushed away from the scene in all the country. The further development was oriented to Marxism, both theoretically and empirically. At the beginning, the Soviet Marxist approach posited that there was only one "true scientific

social theory," historical materialism. It was identified with the Marxist sociology. This concept was first articulated by a famous party intellectual Nikolai Bukharin in his book *Theory of Historical Materialism: A Popular Textbook on Marxist Sociology* (1921). Its editions were published every year until 1929. The same concept was supported in the books published by Marxist authors such as Lev Razumovsky and Serge Oransky. According to this concept, sociology (historical materialism, in their view) was described as being independent from philosophy. The idea of "the only true scientific social theory" was applied to both historical materialism as the Marxist theoretical sociology and empirical sociology as the practical level of this "science." This concept became a basis for empirical research conducted by those scholars who followed Marxism. Under the new Soviet conditions, these researchers contributed to the elaboration of new problems of sociological knowledge connected to the societal post-revolutionary changes after the Bolsheviks' revolution.

This "Marxist turn" manifested a break with the previous sociological development in Russia. Actually, this radical shift can be easily understood within the modern concept of contingency and nonlinearity in historical development: "History is substantially discontinuous: there is no evolutionary model that works" (Giddens 2016, 4). Therefore, it seemed logical that new Bolshevik era demanded a radically new approach to the explanation of a transformed social world and rejected the previous approaches elaborated in the social sciences. The dark side of this break is that this approach was imposed as the only possible one. The tragic aspects of this period also relate to the brutal and violent methods of expulsion and repression of those who thought in a different way. For Russian sociology itself Marxist turn also brought significant losses and delays. Instead of complete institutionalization, sociology was almost destroyed.

Some steps forward during the 1920s were made in Soviet Marxist empirical research. Surveys were very popular in the 1920s, the main topic related to the sphere of work. The established Statistics and Labor Institutions constructed a statistical basis for those surveys. The survey results were often of local significance; however, they stimulated the development of survey methods and applied sociology (sociology of marriage, work, management, education, youth, rural, and urban population). Methods of research included observation, documents, statistical analysis, and surveys. There was some serious research that provided an

analysis of data. For example, the book by E. Kabo *Sketches of Working Life* (1928) contained an analysis of the Russian 1897 population census data in comparative perspective: The author described the everyday life of workers, their free time, food, and living conditions. This book was serious research. However, most publications in sociology of this period were no more than popular articles oriented for the enlightenment of the broad audience.

As it was discovered much later in the archive documents (Gorshkov 2016, 41), the research conducted in the 1920s–1930s for the needs of the Bolsheviks contributed to several fields of sociological development. There were empirical data on work, lifestyles, culture, family relations, on the time budget of workers and peasants, and even on the cinema and public libraries' audience. The results were published in the non-sociological journals of the time (such as *Organization of Work, System and Organization, Production, Work and Management, Economy and Life, and Work Statistics,* all in Russian). However, sociology was an alien element for Soviet Marxism (Batygin 1998, 19) that made its functioning problematic. Additionally, Soviet research occurred in the isolation from the world sociology. Soviet scholars that did some kind of social analysis were cut from any channels of scientific communication with the West.

Statistical data have been in active use in social research since the 1920s. Stanislav Strumilin (1925), a student of Kovalevsky, who spent his young years being a revolutionary before making a Soviet career as economist and statistician, is hailed as the pioneer of concrete social analysis in Russia. He published a series of books on time budget, work economy, social planning, etc. Later, these books laid the basis for economic sociology and statistics in Soviet Russia. In the 1930s, Strumilin provided economic arguments in favor of mass education for the increase in labor productivity of the working class; as a result of implementation of his recommendations, compulsory primary education was introduced in the country. Before that, most children in Russia were either illiterate or frequented church schools for 1–2 years. Still, Soviet statistics were far below the world level. According to Yadov (1998, 10), pre-revolutionary Russian scholars in the field of statistics (Chuprov) worked at the world level, and it was due to the 30 years of Soviet gap in statistical research that ought Soviet scholars to follow the Western statistics in the 1950s–1960s.

However, as Batygin stressed, behind the internal "Iron Curtain" in the Soviet Union, "a historically unique mutant of empirical social

research" was used by the Soviet regime mainly for internal needs (1998, 27). In 1929, the official academic discussions led to recognition of historical materialism as a part of Marxist philosophy. There was no more space for sociology. As a consequence, theoretical sociology was rejected as a "bourgeois pseudoscience" incompatible with Marxism (see Kukushkina 2000, 107). Ideological monopoly of Marxism was squeezed out of public and professional fields (Zdravomyslov 2007, 40). The very term "sociology" was not allowed in the Marxist literature from that time on, and the development of Russian sociology as a discipline and independent field of study almost stopped. Books on Russian sociology published before 1917 or in the early 1920s were taken out from the public libraries. Furthermore, since the early 1930s, sociology disappeared from the academy. Those sociologists who survived shifted into other spheres of activity. In the 1930s–1940s, any social research could only be conducted within other social sciences (e.g., economics and history).

Mikhail Gorshkov, Director of the Institute of Sociology since 2003, described this situation in the following way:

> The political pressure on social research was extremely high, and Soviet conditions were not favorable for any scientific social research at all. As a result, in the mid – late 1930s came the oblivion period for Russian sociology, or, to be exact, transition to a latent state. Sociology "dropped out" of the Soviet academic system for several decades, its functions transferred to Marxist philosophy. In brief, social-political conditions of totalitarianism in the Soviet Union in the 1930s-1940s determined this result. Stalinism made social scientific research and public discussions impossible. (2016, 42)

This period, in the history of Russian sociology, was a crucial moment in the relationship between society and sociology. It demonstrated that even a valuable spiritual legacy of numerous thinkers and practitioners could be ignored and prohibited for decades. The inevitable consequence of such negativism was a visible delay in the country's sociological development.

The only permitted genre of academic writing related to sociology was the *critique of bourgeois sociology*. It was established by the end of 1940s for ideological aims in the course of the Cold War. This genre presumed thorough analysis of the foreign literature and intensive reception of Western social theory. A ritual part, in this genre, was the section with

critique of the bourgeois hidden ideological bias of Western theories from the orthodox Marxist point of view. As G. Batygin explained, many writers of this genre belonged to the intellectual elite. They mastered foreign languages and got access to the Western professional books and periodicals. These educated intellectuals contributed to the establishment of Soviet sociology during the political thaw. Among sociologists, who were knowledgeable about international state of the art on the discipline, were Arbatov, Zamoshkin, Osipov, and Andreeva (Batygin 1998).

Early Russian Sociological Heritage and Current Sociological Debates

The two early periods of Russian sociology, pre-revolutionary and the Soviet Marxist, have become an important topic for the hot post-Soviet sociological debates. During these debates, the old labels, Westernizers (*Zapadniki*) and Nationalists (*Pochvenniki*), were actively used for the interpretation of both the historical and current situation in Russian sociology. In some views, these labels are still valid for the understanding of the Russian sociology (Zdravomyslova 2010, 141).

Three important questions related to the assessment of Russian sociological heritage were selected during these discussions.

The first issue to discuss is about the institutionalization of Russian sociology: Whether it happened during the first pre-revolutionary period or not? Did sociology become a fully fledged science before or after the Bolshevik revolution? Did Marxist Soviet sociology contribute to its institutionalization or not? In regard to this topic, the common view is that this process was not complete until the late twentieth century. The opposing parties only discuss whether it was in the 1980s (when Soviet sociology was finally approved for university education) or in the 1990s (when private research centers appeared together with private universities in post-Soviet Russia). The earlier attempts of institutionalization were stopped by the Bolshevik regime.

The second topic of debates relates to the assessment of two early sociological periods. The research question is, What was the input to Russian sociology made during the each of these periods? Contemporary Russian sociologists recognize that the pre-revolutionary period has been a step to further sociological development. Both parties agree that theoretical pluralism reflected different competing intellectual views

of sociologists in Russia and enriched sociological development. This understanding of the contribution of the pre-revolutionary period is currently shared—for different reasons—by both liberals and nationalists. Liberals stress the international context of the early sociological development in Russia, while nationalists highly evaluate specific Russian schools of thought established in the nineteenth century as "pure national roots" of post-Soviet sociology in Russia. As for the place of the early Soviet sociology, its assessment depends on a broader interpretation of the revolutions and wars in Russian history supported by each party, liberals, and nationalists. Those who depict the Soviet period as a "black hole" in Russian history describe the early Soviet sociology in negative way as a total rupture with the previous development. They stress the losses of the Soviet sociology of Stalinist period and define it as "deformation" and "dogmatism" (Novikova 2000). On the contrary, those who recognize historical dialectics of Russian development under the Soviet power recognize positive achievements of their Soviet predecessors of the 1930s (Gorshkov 2016). Some post-Soviet scholars changed their previous moderate or neutral views on Marxist sociology expressed in the Soviet time to more liberal views. For example, one of the specialists in history of sociology, Z. Golenkova became much more critical to the early Soviet period:

> Divisions of scientists and science itself according to class criterion and expulsion of the opponents from Russia finally have led to curtailment of free scientific research. A critical approach has been replaced by a nihilistic one. The mass propaganda of the basics of Marxism, creation of personnel and institutional prerequisites for development of only Marxist oriented theoretical and empirical researches was performed. (2014, 63)

These different opinions reflect the heat of political disagreements between the post-Soviet sociologists and confirm that their political engagement influences their professional debates. Still, contradictions in the current debates on the sociological heritage in Russia make sense. They represent two extremes in the evaluation of the very complicated and painful period of Russian history that produced its own sociology. Both liberals and national conservatives recognize that early Soviet sociology was under a tough state control and that its development was directed by the party officials. Those sociologists, who kept silent when "the reorganization of sociology on the principles of the Marxist theory

and its release from far-fetched abstract concepts" began (Galaktionov 2002, 408), had a chance to survive. Those who did not agree to adjust their views to this were expelled from the field, repressed, or escaped from science themselves. Such scholars were nevertheless often persecuted, and they were linguists, historians, economists, or biologists. Sociologists were not repressed in the 1930s–1940s for the only reason: formally, there were none by that time.

The third and the most significant issue of debates relates to the future of Russian sociology: Does it have to follow the Western pattern of development? Or, Should Russian sociology develop its own specific "national" form and original theoretical orientations? Were there any national traditions constructed in the early periods that are still important for Russian sociology of today? This last topic will be further discussed in Chap. 7.

This brief overview of debates helps to understand the current contradictions in the post-Soviet sociology. It shows that Russian sociologists are still undecided whether to start its history from the 1880s or 1920s or from some later period of the twentieth century. Due to political reasons, there are still open confrontations related to the issue of how to assess the contribution of two pre-1945 periods of Russian sociology and whether there are any connections between them and current Russian sociology (Zdravomyslova 2010). Probably, the common assessment of the past will never be made.

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CHAPTER 4

Revival, Partial Institutionalization, Stagnation and Final Recognition of Soviet Sociology

Abstract Soviet sociology was legitimized and partially institutionalized during the period of thaw when USSR positions itself as modernized industrial socialist society. Political and ideological intentions of Soviet sociological project were manifest. Under rigid party-state control, this realm of knowledge production had to balance between the ethos of science and the ethos of ideology. The consequences of such a situation were negative for sociologists and sociology. Nonetheless, serious professional achievements were made by the pioneer Soviet sociologists who enthusiastically used the opportunities for scholarly community building and achieved empirical results. The second wave of sociological enthusiasm swept down with the Perestroika politics of glasnost and democratization and its aftermaths.

Keywords Sociological revival · Pioneers of sociology · Institutional track · Ideological control · Theoretical problems · Achievements

In the history of Russian sociology, there are breaks in continuity caused by political and ideological turns of ideocratic regime/system. After a dormant period, empirical Soviet sociology was revived in the late 1950s during the time of Khrushchev's "thaw" when concrete sociological research as an ideological and scholarly project in social knowledge production was launched and promoted.

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In the post-Soviet discourse, Soviet sociology is constantly reflected upon and critically re-assessed (Levada 1990; Filippov 1993; Doktorov and Yadov 2008). This chapter is based on the enormous sociological materials devoted to the Soviet period of sociology written by many authors in Russia and abroad. A huge database of biographical interviews with the sociologists of different generations was collected by Boris Doctorov in his project International Biography Initiative (IBI). More than 150 interviews are available now for the public on the Internet site of IBI (Doktorov 2013), and additional materials are placed on the site on history of sociology run by Boris Doktorov, Elena Grigorieva, and Franz Sheregi. Archive work was conducted by the team headed by G. Batygin (1999) and L. Moskvichev (1997). Essays on the history of Soviet sociology written by B. Firsov (2012) also became one of the important sources. Early and later reviews of Western and Russian sociologists on the state of the art and prospects of Soviet sociology were also very useful (Fisher 1967; Golofast 1993; Greenfeld 1998; Himmelstrand 2000; Kon and Iadov 2000; Merton and Riecken 1962; Osipov 2004; Platt 1998; Pugacheva 2011; Shalin 1978; Sokolov 2011; Weinberg 2004; Yanowitch and Fisher 1973).

Revival of sociology in the late 1950s was triggered by the political and ideological transformation of post-Stalinist era known as political thaw. The thaw was in fact very short. After dismissal of N. Khruschev in 1964 and invasion of Soviet Army in Czechoslovakia in 1968, the ideological climate was freezing. However, at that time the shift in ideocratic Soviet system occurred claiming that Soviet Union reached the phase of *advanced* socialist society. Such complex industrial system needed scientifically based governance in different spheres of life. Concrete sociological research was drafted to provide *for the smart governance* based on real data rather than on scholastic speculations.

Sociological revival took place in the specific global context—the grand project of internationalization of sociology launched by the United Nations Organization and UNESCO Council of Social Sciences which tried to establish communication between two social systems. Revival of sociology in the USSR became possible with the conscious efforts of these institutions and concrete people in them in the course of careful negotiations between ruling elites. This period can be viewed as a full circle of sociological development—from its enthusiastic restoration approved by the party officials in the first 5 years, very short flourishing in the early 1970s, and then turning into a servile sociology in the years of political stagnation (from 1970s to the mid-1980s). In this late Soviet

period sociology was subjected to strict ideological control, professional autonomy was limited. Reformist aspirations of the pioneer Soviet sociologists vanished, but professional skills and knowledge on sociological theories and methodologies were accumulated. The Soviet Sociological Association (SSA) was integrated in the international professional community, being part of the International Sociological Association, and this helped the professionalization of sociological research newly for the Soviet knowledge production system. Soviet sociologists also had achieved some limited success in their fight for autonomy of social research from the tenets of the orthodox Marxist philosophy. Later during the period of Perestroika (1985–1991), sociology got a new political impetus and was finally institutionalized when sociological education was established in the universities substituting the orthodox Marxist courses in social sciences and the ideological pressures vanished.

Institutional Building

Sociology was institutionalized as a result of purposeful policy of the ideological apparatus and part of intellectual elite in the context of the Khrushchev liberalization after the XX Congress of the SPSU (1956) which marked the beginning of post-Stalinist political thaw.

In their reviews of the revival of sociology in the late Soviet period, memoirists and researchers break this process into several stages. The first stage from 1956 to 1972 is marked by the establishment of the first sociological institutions (association and research centers), the first social research institute in the Academy of Sciences (1968) and short-term "flourishing of sociology." According to V. Shlapentokh (1987), 1965–1972 were the golden years of Soviet sociology. The crucial turning point is generally agreed to be the 1972 "debacle of sociology" marked by the change of leadership of the Institute of Concrete Social Research in 1972–1974 and the subsequent re-orientation of sociological research in ideological service (Shalin 1978; Firsov 2012). Let us have a closer look at the scene of institutional building.

The first sociological institution was the Soviet Sociological Association (SSA) established in 1958 by the Decree of the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences, USSR.[1] There was no sociological profession, no relevant education, and no empirical research, but the first step was made from above by reformist-oriented ideocrats, and this gave opportunities for the younger scholars who became involved in amateur volunteer-based sociological knowledge production. SSA became the collective

member of the International Sociological Association (ISA)—this actually was the primary purpose of its establishment.

Before this event, several international and domestic moves were made by the brokers who belonged to the Soviet ideological apparatus. In 1956 on his visit to the Institute of Philosophy in Moscow, the Director of the Social Science Department of UNESCO J. Balandie suggested Soviet social scientists participate in the activities of International Bureau for the research in social consequences of science–technological revolution. In the same year, the special directive of the CPSU Central Committee nominated delegates to participate in the Third World Sociological Congress in Amsterdam. The list of participants and the topics of their papers were approved by the Central Committee of the CPSU.[2] The delegates represented part of ideological elite that was convinced of the necessity to establish sociological research institutions in the Soviet Union and made efforts to convince the ideological leadership that such administrative decision will reinforce the international prestige of the Soviet system and improve effectiveness of ideological propaganda inside and outside the country. This visit of the Soviet delegation of nomenklatura philosophers became the turning point for the institutionalization of Soviet sociology. On return from the Congress, the members of delegation reported to their party patrons that Soviet ideological machine is lagging behind the Western one and the potential of empirical social research have to be used in competition between two systems and in domestic governance.

It was agreed that representatives from the ISA would pay a visit to Moscow the following year. In 1957, an international sociological conference on *Social Issues of Peaceful Co-existence* took place in Moscow. The very name of the meeting is telling as the Doctrine of peaceful coexistence of two political systems presumed cultural exchange and scholarly cooperation. This was the first time when foreign sociologists visited Russia; among them were R. Aron, T. Marshall, G. Friedmann, P. Hollander, E. Hughes, H. Shelsky, and T. Bottomore.

SSA was established as “an export product” as Batygin said (Batygin 1998, 32). In this way, Soviet authorities wanted to demonstrate its openness to the world, although the World sociological congress delegates were carefully selected and their behavior abroad was controlled. The party leaders planned to set up a network of sociological centers of the USSR and saw sociology as effective scientifically based instrument of ideological struggle and propaganda.

The idea of a restoration of sociology was taken with real enthusiasm by the group of social scientists of liberal orientation; among them, we would like to mention in alphabetic order: G.M. Andreeva, B.A. Grushin, A.G. Zdravomyslov, I.S. Kon, Y.A. Levada, G.V. Osipov, and V.A. Yadov. In the first pioneer cohort, there were some young scholars with an economic background, like V. Shubkin, and historians, like Y. Arutynyan and O. Shkaratan. In this small community of the founders of the Soviet sociology who were in their 30 s at that time, Gennady Osipov was an administrative broker who played a very important role in the institutional building. He managed to establish fruitful contacts in the Central Committee of the CPSU without which it would be impossible to make any steps of institutionalization.

Among the first members of SSA were people with both conservative and liberal views. They were orthodox Marxists who considered that it was time to have normal sociological empirical research in the Soviet society as in the advanced capitalist countries. The establishment of SSA became a signal for the organization of sociological research units in different parts of Soviet Union. In the late Soviet period, SSA gradually became umbrella for three institutional branches—*academic sociology* (research units under the auspices of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR dealing with empirical social research and critique of bourgeois social science), *industrial sociology* (research units at the large industrial enterprises), and much later a weak *university sociology* (educators of social philosophy and applied social research in the high education institutions). It copied its Statute from ISA and established both individual and collective membership.

The sociological first comer in the academy was the sector for research of *New Forms of Work and Everyday Life* headed by G. Osipov. This research unit was established in the Institute of Philosophy (Academy of Sciences, USSR) in 1959. Empirical studies focused on the changes in working class structure were conducted at the enterprises of industrial city of Gorkii. The results were presented in the book *Working class and technological progress*'[3] (1965). In Leningrad, sociological laboratory was organized in the Leningrad State University in 1960 headed by V. Yadov and A. Zdravomyslov. This team from the very beginning focused on the labor issues as the working class was considered to be the vanguard class of the Soviet industrial society according to the Marxist orthodoxy. The major topic of research was work attitudes of the young cohorts of the working class, and the research idea was to prove empirically that young

workers highly value the content of their work—even higher than salary. The resulting book *Man and his Work* was published in 1967. This work was considered to be an exemplar of methodological competence and craftsmanship. It became the basis of the textbooks in empirical sociological research later published by Yadov and Zdravomyslov. In 1964 at the premises of the philosophical department of the Leningrad State University, the Research Institute of Complex Social Research was established.

In 1960, Boris Grushin organized a research unit affiliated to the newspaper office *Komsomolskaya Pravda* and started to conduct all-union public opinion surveys. The monograph *Opinions about the World and World of Opinions* by B. Grushin (1967) presented the first results of this work. Sociology for Russian publics until now is associated with mass surveys and opinion polls in particular.

In the second half of the 1960s, bunch of sociological monographs was published resulting from first empirical social research. Among them are the books that became classics for Soviet sociologists: Andreeva (1965), *Marriage and Family in the USSR* by A. Kharchev (1964), *Kopanka after 25 years* (1965 eds. Osipov and Shubkin); Man *and His Work* (eds. Zdravomyslov, Rozhin, Yadov), two volumes of *Sociology in USSR* (ed. Osipov 1966). This outflow of publications was supported by public activities of sociologists who participated in the debates in professional and intellectual literary journals and newspapers. These activities made sociological research publically visible.

The XXIII congress of the CPSU (1966) declared the necessity for enhancement of the role for sociological research in the solution of economic, political, and ideological problems. The resolution of the CPSU Central Committee "on measures for further development of the social sciences and the enhancement of their role in communist construction" followed in 2 years (1968). This was the manifest legitimation of sociology and in the 1960–1970s empirical sociology expanded—research institutions were opened in the large industrial cities and university centers all over Soviet Union. The Novosibirsk branch of the Academy of Sciences has become alma mater for school of economic-sociological research and rural studies (G. Prudensky, A. Aganbegyan, T. Zaslavskaya, I. Ryvkina, F. Borodkin, V. Shubkin). In Sverdlovsk University, Leonid Kogan and his colleagues conducted research on the sociology of culture. Later sociological units were established in Kiev, Tallinn, Vilnius, Minsk and other capitals of the Soviet republics. These research units

were geographically dispersed, but SSA organized networks and the sense of solidarity was very strong among the enthusiastic participants of this new professional endeavor all over the country. Republican and regional sociological communities that were created in the mid-1960 gained the status of regional branches of SSA in the late 1960s with its center in Moscow. Sociological research was legitimized as an integral part of the scientific project of communist construction. But the pressure from academic philosophers as overwhelming and the main goal of sociological enthusiasts was to diminish their control and de-ideologize sociological endeavor.

The landmark in institutionalization was the establishment of the Moscow Institute of Concrete Social Research (ICSR) in the Academy of Sciences USSR.[4] ICSR became the first Soviet academic institute oriented to sociological research. It was not just an organizational unit (sector) belonging to the larger corporation—university department or institute—but an autonomous organization with its own administration, status hierarchy, scientific council, and library. ICSR became the institutional symbol of separation of sociology from the Marxist philosophy, the top organization in the SSA and the core of the emerging Soviet sociological community. What happened in ICSR resonated all over Soviet sociological community. The first ICSR director was academician A. Rumiantsev (the member of the Soviet delegation to the 3d ISA Congress in Amsterdam, the former member of the Central Committee of the CPSU) known for his liberal views: Before this appointment, he had worked as a chief editor of the main Communist party newspaper *Pravda*. His position in the nomenklatura brought symbolic capital and necessary networks. He became the main mediator in the relationship of the new science with the ideological apparatus and tried to protect sociologists from ideological pressure. The first 3 years are said to be very fruitful for the institution. The scholarly work was organized on a project basis. There were three main directions of research: (1) work, social structure, and social planning (headed by G. Osipov), (2) management of social processes (headed by F. Burlatskii), and (3) history of sociology (headed by I. Kon). From the very beginning, the institute conducted research for party bodies. In 1970, the Sector for Public Opinion Research was established in ICSR (headed by B. Grushin). A periodical informational bulletin issued by the institute and SSA presented the research activities and published critical review articles and translations from the bourgeois Western sociology.

Scholars invited to work at the institute have made up the core of the first generation of Soviet sociologists. In 1972, this institution was renamed the Institute of Sociological Research (ISR), and since 1988—Institute of Sociology, USSR Academy of Sciences. The beginning seemed promising: Sociologists got certain autonomy as the separated from philosophers institutionally; results of research became available for professional publics and were believed to have practical effects (Shalin 1979).

The activities of sociological institutions were under constant ideological surveillance, and the pressure became stronger during conservative ideological turn after invasion in Czechoslovakia. In the early 1970s, the Central Committee of the CPSU launched an investigation into the scholarly and ideological achievements of the sociological institute. As a result of the ideological inquiry, publication of the *Information Bulletin* was suspended, and publication of the translations from Durkheim, Max Weber, and George Homans was canceled. As a result of the internal conflict in 1971, academician Rumiantsev resigned and lost his position as a vice-president of the USSR Academy of Sciences. A year later, in 1972, the reactionary M.N. Rutkevich was appointed a director of the institute and initiated an ideological campaign against "Western influences." The scholarly program and institutional structure of ISR were changed, tens of scholars preferred to leave, the departments were disbanded, but soon in 1976 Rutkevich himself had to leave the office (Kon and Yadov 2000; Batygin 1998). With the exodus of many talented researchers, it was said the institute became "a big fat zero" (Lapin 1999).

Thus, 1972 became the crucial point in the early history. The change of the leadership in the institute and, respectively, in SSA actually marked a conservative shift; it marked a border line between favorable and stagnation times for emergent Soviet sociology. The enthusiastic phase of great hopes ended. Ideological loyalty and party servility became praised. Policy papers for the planning and ideological bodies full of ritual references to ideological Directives constituted the main genre for sociological writing. Lev Gudkov later claimed that the result of such servile pragmatism was the theoretical poverty of Soviet sociology: All intellectual innovations and critical theorizing became impossible; under the control of new leadership, sociology became "totally sterilized" for many years (Gudkov 2010). From 1976 to Perestroika, the institute worked in the atmosphere of disappointment and fear. Vladimir Shlapentokh calls

this time *the period of greyness*. But even at that time, methodological skills were refined and professional community continued to exist.

Institutionalization continued hand in hand with ideological cleansing. The price for ongoing institutionalization became marginalization or even elimination of critical positions theoretically and substantially (no deep criticism of the Marxist dogmas or social institutions could be public). However, unruly sociologists continued to run seminars and self-educating sessions outside the main sociological institution preserving in small community enclaves the spirit of sociological imagination and intellectual freedom (we will discuss the so-called seminar movement later in this chapter).

The 1970–1980s was a period of partial professionalization for Soviet sociology with ideological limits. It became recognized publically and academically as autonomous from the Marxist–Leninist philosophy, as a social science discipline with its own thesaurus, methodologies and instruments of empirical research. The means of professional communication between sociologists became sustainable. The quarterly professional journal *Sociological Research (Sotsiologicheskie Issledovanija)* was established in 1974 with Anatoly Kharchev, its first editor in chief. In the mid-1970s, the Ural, Minsk, and Leningrad universities opened an undergraduate specialization in applied sociology. The *Institute for Socio-Economic Problems* (Academy of Sciences USSR) was established in Leningrad in 1975 which also had a sociological department in it.

The first textbook in sociology was published in 1976 (Osipov 1976). More areas of research attracted attention of sociologists—urban sociology (Borshchevskii; Freidman) culture (Kogan), sociology of leisure (Gordon and Klopov 1972), youth (Shubkin 1984) socialist way of life, (Bestuzhev-Lada; Mansurov; Zdravomyslov; Glezerman), mass communication and the effectiveness of ideological propaganda on mass consciousness (Grushin 1967; Firsov 1977), social stratification and mobility (Aratjunyan, Shkaratan) , family sociology (Kharchev, Matskovskii, Golofast, Golod), and research on sexuality (Kon, Golod).

The regional branches of SSA became visible. In the 1980s in Novosibirsk, sociological school was headed by R. Ryvkina, T. Zaslavskaya, and V. Shubkin, in the Ural region—L. Kogan, N. Aitov, Z. Fainburg, G. Zborovskii, and L. Rubina, and in Volga Region—Z. Saralieva, S. Balabanov, E. Molevich, and V. Yarskaya-Smirnova. During the late Soviet period, most of the Soviet republics contributed to the new institutional field of knowledge production. Geographical scope

of sociological development grew up. Most active participants were from the Baltic republics. For example, in Estonia Tartu school conducted research on mass communication (U. Vooglaid, M. Lauristin, P. Vihalemm, A Murutar). In Tallinn, M. Titma organized longitudinal studies on life strategies of the younger generation (this research was conducted by sociologists from three Baltic republics and Belarus and continued for more than 20 years). In the 1980s, three sociological centers (in Russia, Estonia, and Georgia) conducted research on deviant behavior and drug addiction (A. Gabiani). Ukrainian sociologists contributed to research on professional orientation and life expectations of students (V. Chernovolenko, V. Ossovsky, V. Paniotto) and empirically discovered and described a gap between position on the qualification prestige scale and actual practices of people (I. Popova). G. Davidyuk became one of the founders of the applied sociology school in Belarus. All of these scholars continued their research later in the independent post-Soviet states. Their main aspiration was to separate sociological research from the Marxist dogmatic theorizing and establish autonomy of empirical sociological knowledge production within positivist structural functionalist methodology.

In the course of late Soviet development, two main institutional homes of sociological research were visible. One was the realm of academic institutions—research centers in the universities and Academy of Sciences with ICSR on the top of hierarchy.

The second realm was that of industrial sociology (*zavodskaya sotsiologija*)—empirical research units at the enterprises. Every industrial plant with the number of employees more than 1000 was supposed to have a laboratory for applied sociological research dealing basically with social planning and human resources investigations. By the mid-1980s, three thousand researchers were employed in industrial sociology. Their aim was to conduct research with the goals to improve management at the enterprises and quality of life of the wage earners. They conducted research on work conditions, occupational mobility and labor turnover, technological innovation consequences, flexible work schedules, and social issues. They wrote policy papers, containing the bunch of recommendations for optimal planning and management based on the results of empirical studies.

These activities were triggered by the Kosygin–Liberman economic reforms. In October 1964 with the resign of Khrushchev, the thaw period ends. Brezhnev comes to power and the slow economic reforms

were launched of 1965 (see Osipov 2004). These reforms named after then Prime minister Kosygin and professor of economics Liberman were launched after the dismissal of Khrushchev. They were aimed at the loosening of administrative control over the industrial enterprises, introduction proto-market mechanisms in the socialist economy. The criteria of profitability and efficiency became important for optimal planners. Reforms also claimed technocratic approach to the industrial management—sociological units were supposed to implement this task. The backlash against economic reforms went parallel to the political backlash and triggered the full-blown invasion in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

University sociology hardly existed at that time. The first undergraduate course in methodology and techniques of sociological research was taught in the Department of Philosophy at Leningrad State University in 1965. At the end of the decade, similar courses were introduced in other major universities. In 1969, the Institute of Concrete Social Research opened the first postgraduate program in sociology, those who defended dissertations received degrees in philosophy—with specialization in historical materialism or applied sociology. The turning point in sociological education was 1984 when the departments of applied sociology were established in the Moscow and Leningrad State Universities. In 1986, similar programs were opened in Kiev, Sverdlovsk, Riga, Tallinn, Novosibirsk, Kharkov, Ivanovo, Ufa.

The SSA had branches in many Soviet republics and Russian regions. Its structure was hierarchical. Elections for the positions appeared democratic on the surface, but in reality the Presidium was nominated by the party-state nomenklatura. The core sociological institution was ICSR. By the end of the 1980s, SSA comprised 29 research committees (social structure, sociology of labor, science, family, culture, youth, work and leisure time, rural sociology, demography, methods and technics of research, sociology of deviant behavior, and others). They were established isomorphic to the ISA RCs as soon as the number of researchers interested in particular topic was sufficient. SSA had 21 regional brances, enlisted about 6000 individual members and 1300 collective members. Collective members included research institutes, research laboratories, and centers, university chairs where individual scoiologists were employed industrial sociology units spread all of the huge country (Zaslavskaya, Osipov). The Soviet sociological community enjoyed rather vivid—though within ideological frames—communication coordinated by the head institution.

International Contacts

Transfer of sociological knowledge to the Soviet Union started in the late 1950s. ISA was the channel for transnational professional communication. Different forms of scholarly contacts were mechanisms for this process. According to Osipov, from 1957 to 1961, during Khrushchev's thaw in the very beginning of sociological endeavor, 217 foreign social scientists visited Soviet Union. Among them, he names Berlin I., Robert C. Angell, USA, У. Ростоу, A. Gouldner, Ch. Right Mills, R. Merton, T. Parsons.

The American Sociological Association was important because at that time it was very influential in ISA. Committee for Soviet–American sociological contacts was established, the head was then President of the International sociological association (Parsons 1965). In the 1960s, a few American sociological books and textbooks, beginning with *Modern Sociological Theory in Continuity and Change,* edited by H. Becker and A. Boskoff, were translated and published in Russian. ASA aided professionalization of Soviet sociologists by arranging to send professional books and journals to the Soviet Union. In Leningrad, sociologists enjoyed the proximity of Finnish border and the First Soviet–Finnish Sociological Symposium took place in Helsinki in 1978 (the topic of mass communication).

Western sociologists positively recognized prospects of Soviet sociology; some of them claimed that the course of modernization and convergence of two systems result in the emergence of concrete social research in USSR. They tried to support Soviet colleagues (mailing professional literature to them, inviting to the international conferences). However, they soon realized that Soviet sociology basically differed: It was not a social science possessing all the necessary attributes of a discipline as Western sociology. Lack of sociological education prohibited professionalization, and the very understanding of the professional mission was different. The practices of Soviet sociology are "of a different nature—from Western sociology—on the whole. It is a branch of social technology, a managerial science oriented toward the promotion of the goals and the increase of the ideological and administrative efficiency of the Soviet government" (Greenfield 1988).

International cooperation was especially vivid with east European colleagues which was organized in the framework of COMECON.[5] Collective and bilateral agreements of scientific–technological cooperation were signed between academic nomeclatura of USSR, GDR, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary. Annual plenary sessions discussed

"the measures for the reinforcement of the role of social sciences in the solution of the tasks of communist construction. The byproduct of ideological reports which were full of official ritualistic phraseology was informal life of sociological community and personalized international contacts. Yadov, Firsov, Zdravomyslov, Bozhkov, Osipov and many others report on really warm friendly relations in the community. The agenda for cooperation included the topics of socialist industrialization in the countries of people's democracy." "Socialist transformations in the agrarian sector of economy," "Labor resources in scientific and technological revolution," "Economic reforms and agrarian-industrial complexes" were the topics for scholarly cooperation in the COMICON countries.

Polish sociologists played especially important role in the integration of Soviet sociologists into the global community. Poland has been perceived as the Western country in the East; its sociological advancement was unquestionably recognized by the Soviet colleagues who positioned themselves as eager learning disciples. The strategy of institutional separation of sociology from philosophy as a piecemeal fight for academic freedom was discussed with Polish colleagues. The books by Polish sociologists were translated into Russian (e.g., book by Jan Szczepański, 1969). Stefan Novak, Nina Assoradobsraj - Kula, Józef Chałasiński, Antonina Kłoskowska, Jan Lutyński, Jerzy Szacki, Włodzimierz Wesołowski, and many others (who were all in the EC of the Polish Sociological Association) are mentioned in the memoirs. In 1969, the first international comparative social research on the industrial labor relations was conducted in USSR and Poland. The results were published in book co-edited by G. Osipov and J. Shchepanskii.

Pioneer Sociologists—Soviet Generation of Early 1960

The revival of Soviet sociology can be better understood in the context of the public culture of the thaw, "on the background of such processes as Prague Spring with its hope, then funeral of these hopes under the rumble of tanks that invaded Prague" (Stolovich 2012). Biographical research on the first cohort of Soviet sociologists revealed that mostly they identified themselves as scholars belonging to the "*generation of the 1960s*" (Doktorov 2013; Zdravomyslov 2008; Yadov 1998b; Zaslavskaya 2007; Kon 2008). They had strong childhood memories about the WWII (the Great Patriotic War won by the Soviet Union); they hated the Stalinist totalitarian regime with its mass purges, political repressions

and the GULAG system of industrialization.[6] They were inspired by the resolutions of the XX and XXII CPSU Congresses and especially by the famous Khrushchev' speech of 1956 which denounced the cult of Stalin and its consequences for the Soviet society. They shared a strong belief in what they thought to be authentic Marxist social theory and socialist values and considered sociological research to be important element of the liberal reforms aimed at the building of the authentic socialist society. They considered sociology to be a profession with civic commitment.

Thus pioneer sociologists positioned themselves in a Janus-faced way: they searched for the attention of the party state in order to provide scientific information necessary for governance and they also wanted to enlighten people about social structures and social issues.

The values of the 1960s generation presumed the opportunity of effective dialog between Soviet intelligentsia and reformist-oriented segment of power elite. They perceived the revival of sociological knowledge production in the Soviet society "as means and symbol of Soviet modernization or more accurately, as the tool for the improvement of national economy and ideological party work" (Firsov 2012, 100). They shared the strong hope that empirical research would reveal social problems and thus should have important impact on the state policies. "The intent to integrate sociological information into the realm of the party-state governance was natural for professional sociologists (of that time)" (Firsov 2012, 233).

Another goal was to enlighten the people and raise public reflexivity on social issues. This civic mission Soviet generation of 1960s inherited from the Russian intelligentsia—populists and Socialists of nineteenth century. Therefore, sociologists considered their communication with broader publics no less important than intra-professional communication or communication with authorities. One of the brightest representatives of the community, Vladimir Shubkin, claims that the main goal of the sociologist is to serve the people:

> Sociological enlightenment makes sociology potent; sociology presumes that her advices will be heard by authorities and masses … If the sociologist is not heard he becomes disappointed and see that the results of his work are neglected. (Shubkin 1996, 12)

Cultural periodicals played an important role in the recognition of sociology as independent discipline. The audience of such periodicals is usually characterized by its comprehensive interest in everything novel in

cultural and intellectual life, in social problems of society and main social structures. Sociologists of the 1960s viewed themselves as vanguard of intelligentsia, political and social actors, but not as dissidents or radical critics of the Soviet society.

In his re-assessment of the sociology of the 1960s, the eminence of Soviet sociology Vladimir Yadov wrote: “Soviet sociology became an important factor of reforming and in the end of the revolutionary transformation of the Russian society” (Yadov and Grathoff 1994, 3).

The founders of Soviet sociology started their career when they were in their 30s, therefore, they could be productive researchers and effective administrators for several decades. “Their leadership in the professional community was widely recognized and not contested: only party officials could dismiss them from the administrative position, however, even in such cases these sociologists kept high honor and respect of the sociological community. This high prestige was earned in the battle for—though limited—scholarly autonomy and what they thought to be authentic sociology” (Sokolov 2011).

Soviet sociologists had to balance between ideological loyalty to the Marxist orthodoxy in its Soviet version and at the same time struggle for the autonomy of their profession; in short, they were people of their time, confronting the problems of the Soviet intelligentsia in its relationship with power (Shkaratan 2002) .

The critical function of Soviet sociology was limited to the criticism of particular shortcomings of the system and aimed at partial reforming of the system within its own conservative limits. However, policy-oriented studies were conducted but sociologists have always questioned if the politicians really needed and used them (Firsov 2012). They were in fact obsessed by this idea of *unclaimedness* of their empirical work and recommendations, and desperate about the lack of capacity to implement their civic mission in the regime without civil society and democratic institutions.

Pioneer Soviet Sociologists as Autodidacts and Community Leaders

One of the key obstacles for professionalization of the first cohort was the absence of proper sociological education. None of the pioneer figures of Soviet sociology had received formal sociological training. “The survey of the participants attending the meeting of Soviet sociologists in

Leningrad in 1966 revealed that 30.5% had degrees in the humanities, 25% in philosophy, 27% in history, 10% in economy, 4.5% in the natural sciences, and 3% in psychology" (see Shalin 1978) .

Foreign sociological literature was hardly available in the libraries with a very limited access for those scholars who had special permission to work in the so-called special custody stores of public libraries in Moscow and Leningrad. As Igor Kon comments, in the top Soviet institutions, it was allowed to order a limited number of professional books from abroad, although scholars paid for them from their own pockets (Kon 2008). Several pioneer sociologists in the early 1960s were sent as a short time visiting scholars abroad where they got a chance to establish professional contacts, get consultations, get access to professional literature and sometimes attend lectures. Pioneer sociologists were autodidacts as Yadov called them (Yadov 1998b).

The lack of formal education was compensated by intensive informal self-education practices—seminars, reading groups, and translation projects. This was kind of professional conscious raising activities among sociologists. Some benefited from their knowledge of foreign language and were translating sociological literature for their whole community. These translations were sometimes published in the series of SSA but sometimes circulated in the form of professional *samizdat*.

As the access to the professional literature was limited, the role of the informational brokers—erudite researchers who navigated ideas, concepts, and methodologies—was very important in professional communication. The key indispensable person in the international knowledge transfer was Igor Kon who helped to find literature, gave advice on the sources. Kon became the key expert in the Soviet sexual culture and conducted research in this field. His publications on the history of sociology and the book *Sociology of Personality* were famous in the community and translated into several languages (Kon 1967).

One of the aspects of the shadow professionalization efforts was the so-called seminar movement in Soviet social sciences which emerged among philosophers at the Moscow State University in the late 1950s (A. Zinoviev, G. Shchedrovitskii, B. Grushin, M. Mamardashvili) and later expanded all over academic community crossing disciplinary borders (Pugacheva 2011). Later around each sociological leader the team of colleagues organized regular seminars and workshops. These seminars continued even in the 1970s when the enthusiasm of newcomers and reformers was often substituted by disenchantment caused by ideological

pressures and persecutions. Most famous were the seminars of Yuri Levada, Boris Grushin's *47 Fridays* around the project "Taganrog"; seminar on social prognostics headed by I. Bestuzhev-Lada; Yadov seminar focused on the project *Man and His work* (in Leningrad), Novosibirsk seminar headed first by V. Shlapentokh and V. Shubkin, later by R. Ryvkina.

Seminar movement crossed the disciplinary borders: historians, philosophers, semiotics, linguists enjoyed this genre of scholarly communication during and in the aftermath of the thaw. At the famous four meetings in Kääriku (Estonia, Tartu) in 1966–1969, sociologists from different regions enjoyed discussions with the members of methodological seminar of G. Shchedrovtskii, representatives of Tartu semiotic school (Yu. Lotman), philosophers (P. Gaidenko and Yu. Davydov). This movement went into the shadow when the desert swallowed the oasis as one of the participants, Leonid Stolovich said (2012). Sociological seminar movement was considered as one of the effects of the second culture or informal public realm of the late Soviet life:

> Official social science, official philosophy was dead already… That is why we shared the interest in normal, non-ideologized. Western type of research… We rather cultivated club type of communication rather that lab-type of communication. (Pugacheva 2011 she quotes the memoirs of Levada)

This was the atmosphere where revitalization of Stalinism was condemned, Soviet international policy was criticized, ideological cliché were mocked at, and the cult of academic freedom and free speech prevailed. The functions of the seminar commentators included sociological enlightenment, familiarization to world sociological knowledge, and community building. The seminars developed the spirit of intellectual and moral freedom and development of the capacities of sociological imagination. Seminar movement could produce the intellectual bouillon from which original ideas could develop later. It was the space for public debate and open speech situation. However basically it was small community movement and it was mostly oral in its form—and until now Russian sociologists could be better in their talks than in their written texts.

Pioneer sociologists inspired later cohorts of professionals who entered the field in the 1970s and 1980s. This new generation was more cynical and pragmatic, less romantic in the assessment of civic and

theoretical potential of social research under Soviet conditions. Almost every pioneer sociologist (mentioned) above contributed to the growth of professional community which became more diverse methodologically, topically and ideologically.

In theoretical terms, structural functionalism was of particular interest to Soviet sociologists. It was considered correctly the mainstream general theory (of the time), the must for sociological education, and the top theoretical achievement of sociological knowledge production. This paradigm based on the positivist epistemology has been focused on the stability of social systems and mechanisms of their social reproduction and thus properly fit the ideological purposes of the regime and its understanding of the aims of sociological enterprise. The Mertons' concept of middle-range theory was especially attractive as it helped to fight for the sociological autonomy from Marxist philosophy. Other sociological theories were less knowledgable and attracted interest of the breed of Soviet scholars known as critiques of bourgeois sociology.

It is not an accident that Soviet sociologists at that time hardly had any knowledge about pre-Soviet and early Soviet sociological research. It was totally rubbed out from the intellectual memory due to the institutional discontinuity of sociological development caused by radical political-ideological breakdowns. The break in the continuity in the institutional track of the Russian sociology explains the neglect of original Russian sociological literature. Sociologists of 1960s did not refer to their Russian predecessors. They started from scratch and learnt sociology from their Western colleagues who were methodologically advanced and gave examples for theorizing and empirical work. Later the interest in the Russian sociological legacy emerged (Golosenko 1981; Golosenko and Kozlovsky 1995).

The methodology of empirical research was positivist—statistical data collection and standardized questionnaires were used in representative samples of different population categories. It is worth mentioning that the revival of empirical sociological research was based on the international sociological fundament—in a way academic colonialism was never questioned. Pioneers sociologists were eager to learn from the more advanced professionals from abroad. They learnt sociology from the Western sources, in the beginning mostly from the US and Polish authors.

Three-Level Structure of Sociological Knowledge Production

Institutionalization presumes not only organizational building, substantive research and educational efforts but also discussion on the mission and structure of the discipline, its philosophical foundations and methodologies. A long discussion on the structure of sociological knowledge was in fact the discussion on power and academic freedom and sociological autonomy from the Marxist orthodoxy. Who controls sociological research, who has a final word in methodological expertise and interpretations—sociologists or ideologists from the Party-state ideological apparatus? There were issues of the major concern in the discussion. There was no chance for liberal sociologists to win in this unequal fight; however, they still tried and achieved rather fruitful compromise.

By the early 1970s, a consensus about the structure of sociological knowledge production was achieved. In the article by Grigorii Glezerman, Vladislav Kelle, and Nikolai Pilipenko in the main ideological periodical *Kommunist* (1971), the three-partite model of sociological knowledge was presented. According to this model, Soviet sociology contained three levels of knowledge production. The foundation or the most abstract theoretical level– the "general social theory" was historical materialism, a part of Marxist paradigm of historical evolutionism, economic determinism and class analysis focused on historical mission of proletariat. "Scientific communism" was considered as an application of historical materialism to the Soviet social order. The second level of sociological knowledge production contained particularistic sociological theories which conceptualized particular social processes or spheres of social reality. Such areas include urban sociology, sociology of work and labor, sociology of youth, sociology of culture, sociology of class, sociology of education etc. The third level was applied (concrete) empirical research aimed at the production of empirical facts necessary for the middle-range conceptualization. It is obvious that the three-partite model of Soviet sociology was very much inspired by the Robert Merton's concept of middle-range theory. Three-partite model guaranteed certain autonomy of empirical sociology from dogmatic Marxism. Professional sociologists were supposed to investigate various aspects of social reality using scientific methodology and to develop specialized sociological theories. That is why the word *concrete* was included in the first name of the academic

research institute—Institute for *Concrete* Social Research (Yadov 1998a; Batygin 1998).

The status of Marxism as a general sociological theory was revealed in the paradigmatic design of empirical studies and publications. A distinctive feature of Soviet sociological research was that "explicitly or implicitly, it strived to test hypotheses derived from Marx's theory in its Soviet dogmatic version" (Shalin 1978) .

This three-part structure of sociology was presented in the *Statutes* of the SSA. Pioneer sociologists saw this model as political tool in the institutionalization of sociological autonomy. In sociological publications, the Marxist language of description coexisted with the structural functionalist lexicon. Social stratification, social mobility, values, dispositions—roles expectations—this vocabulary was adopted by the Russian sociologists.

However, at that time sociology was only partially institutionalized. It was not recognized as independent academic discipline, totally separate from historical materialism, its multi-paradigmatic structure was not acknowledged, no dissertations and no university departments existed. Only a few universities were allowed to provide educational programs in sociology by the late 1980s.

Ideological Pressure

Institutionalization of sociology as a field of knowledge production was going hand in hand with ideological control and regular purges in the sociological community that cut down all critical voices and put prohibition on a deeper conceptualization of social realities. Authorities have always correctly estimated the liberating potential of sociological knowledge production; ideological watchdogs were alert, and always sensitive to any evidence of theoretical and sustentative revisionism or lack of servility.

One example helps to illustrate the ideological environment of this period. A Report of the Committee of Publications of the USSR Council of Ministers *on Literature about Concrete Sociological Research* (1967) informed, that some bourgeois sociologists predict that growth of sociological research will undermine the whole socialist system. Soviet sociologists are even looked upon as fighters against the party-state line …. It is not tolerable that the agenda for sociological research includes shadow and negative aspects of the Soviet life as this could lead to blackening

of the Soviet reality and exercise negative impact on mass consciousness, especially of young people (quoted in Yadov 1998a, 8)

Yadov wrote that during Brezhnev stagnation period the party-state ideologists made a distinction between the governable and non-governable intellectuals. The first ones were more or less safe in their work and were known for their overt ideological loyalty. "The non-governable" sociologists were subject to strict surveillance, they had difficulties to publish their work results because of the rigid censorship regime, and after purges they had to leave their workplace which actually destroyed their careers. Among those non-governable who crossed the borders of conformity Yadov names Yuri Levada, Andrej Alekseev, Tatiana Zaslavskaya, and Igor Kon. These people really contributed to the deeper understanding of Soviet structures but in their work they faced constant problems of censorship.

There were cases of intellectual protest against the hegemony of historical materialism tenets. Yuri Levada in his *Lectures on sociology* (1969) challenged the ideological monopoly of Marxist dogma and claimed that there are at least two paradigms in sociological theory: Marxist and structural functionalist. This revisionist theoretical position was intolerable for the ideological authorities; however, the lectures were disseminated in sociological samizdat and became very popular in professional community. Levada was deprived of professor's rank "for ideological mistakes in lectures", he left the institute and publications of his work were prohibited from 1972 to 1985. However, he continued to work in the Academy gathering a community of young professionals around him (Gudkov, Dubin, Levinson and others). Only during the *Perestroika* period (in 1988) did he officially return to sociology being invited to the newly established All-Russian Public Opinion Research Center (ARPORC, also VCIOM) under the leadership of T. Zaslavskaya.

Igor Kon was also among the ungovernable and always under suspicion because he was studying the Soviet taboo topic of sexual behavior and actively communicated within the international professional community (Kon 2008). Andrei Alekseev conducted pioneer action research at one of the industrial enterprises in Leningrad: he focused on the aspirations for social change within the working class milieu and the industrial relations practices. He was fired from the Institute of Socio-Economic Problems in St.Petersburg in the early 1980s, expelled from the party and could not publish his findings as a worker-sociologist until 1990s (Alekseev 2003/2005).

The final spasm of ideological pressure just before perestroika was connected with the analytical report of Tatiana Zaslavskaya in 1983. The report known as *Novosibirsk Manifesto* described the systemic crisis of industrial relations in the Soviet society and demanded radical economic reforms. Somebody sent it abroad and this event became the trigger for persecution and purges in sociological institutions all over the country. As a result of the efforts of local party leadership in the mid-1980s, the Leningrad sociological school, the best in the professional community, was scattered. Yadov and later Firsov left the Institute for Socio-Economic Problems and the authors of the *Novosibirsk Manifesto* were ostracized. Sociologists were punished for the unruly and unprofessional, from the point of view of ideologists, behavior: reports on sociological research had to be read only by the direct addressees—ideological authorities and never the international community or domestic publics.

It is necessary to emphasize that in spite of their efforts to reclaim professional autonomy of sociological research at the time it never enjoyed the benefits of academic freedom. Sociological institutions and individual professionals were under rigid surveillance by the ideological apparatus, tests on ideological loyalty were regular and thus alliances of the leading sociologists with the political nomenklatura (those who were supervisors of Soviet science in the Central Committee of the CPSU) were necessary conditions for sustainable sociological work of institutions. In some cases, the fate of institutions depended on good personal contacts of such types, and some publications and research projects were approved by personal contacts (Sokolov 2011). In general, in the stagnation years, the public image of sociology had changed dramatically. (Kon and Iadov 2000, 2980). If in the 1960s, the new discipline was associated in the public's mind with social criticism and progressive reforms, by the end of this decade they were looked upon as authority servants.

Because of ideological control, Soviet sociology was limited also in thematic scope—many research topics remained taboo and were considered ideologically threatening or irrelevant for research and publication. Therefore, political sociology, electoral studies, sociology of social movements, gender studies, sociology of religion emerged only in the late 1980s when Party control declined and the ideological monopoly of the Orthodox Marxism broke down. When ideological barriers to the research agenda were broken, the new topics and research fields developed.

Ideological conformity and self-censorship resulted in a lack of theorizing, conscious self-limitation in criticism, and reductionism in

sociological work. Kon and Yadov claimed that "the general intellectual and theoretical level of Soviet sociology was, with few exceptions, inadequate. Relatively free theoretical reflection was limited to the marginal fields of social psychology, anthropology, and history. Most sociological research was done on the micro level and involved separate industrial plants, without any attempt at broad theoretical generalization. Publications of a more general character were mostly apologies for the so-called real socialism" (Kon and Iadov 2000). This is true also for contemporary sociology (with certain exceptions).

Although some Soviet sociologists opposed the regime after 1968, having become dissidents and emigrated, it is not possible to conclude that Soviet sociology as a whole opposed the Soviet system (Batygin 1998, 33). Boris Firsov in his *History of Soviet Sociology* (2012) describes three distinct models of the relationship between sociologists and power (party-state apparatus). These models seem to be quite sustainable and are reproduced in the current situation too. One group of sociologists preferred an absenteeist strategy. They cut down their upward mobility ambitions and tried to keep distance from the ideological control. They pretended to neglect ideological surveillance and to be just pure professionals doing high-quality empirical research on limited number of narrowly defined topics. They intentionally chose topics peripheral to ideological concerns. Family sociology, sociology of youth, and methodological issues are examples of the topics of this kind. The second model is presented by the romantic reformers of the 1960s generation, who believed that sociological knowledge could contribute to amelioration of the regime and concrete institutions. They clearly identified the civic mission of sociology to lie in democratization. Such attitudes were extremely vivid at the start of sociological revival and again revealed themselves in the perestroika period. This model presumed an alliance of sociologists with the reformist branch of the elite without whose support knowledge production won't be possible. The third model represents service sociologists: they saw their professional duty in providing data for the ideological apparatus. They never criticized the lack of professional autonomy and invested in establishing contacts with party-state officials.

In the Soviet period of sociology, the research agenda was derived from the Party Directives and had to be approved by the ideological committees. Research instruments used for data collection—standard questionnaires used in mass surveys—had to go through party censorship, and professional upward social mobility tracks were possible only

for the Communist party members (with some exceptions). The results of the sociological research during stagnation were not made known to the broader public. Its addressees were mainly the authorities and/or to a certain extent members of professional community. The most interesting results were kept secret. Boris Grushin commented (2001/2006) that Soviet sociologists were in the position of "members of Scientific Council of Genghis Khan," and Vladimir Shubkin (1998) claimed with bitterness that "sociology was a mirror of society but Soviet ruling elite did not want to look at this mirror."

Many sociologists in the period of stagnation felt bitter disappointment in the civic-scholarly vocation they had chosen in the period of thaw. Giving re-assessment of their professional work in the later post-Soviet time they would admit, that

> …the huge downside of our work was the constant primary feeling of uselessness and unclaimed results of our work. Sociological knowledge that we produced at that time with Levada, Yadov, Shubkin and others did not suit the authorities totally. It happened not only because it demanded active policy measures but primarily because it exposed many myths about the advantages of the Soviet society. (Grushin 1999)

In the 1970–1980s with the growth and diversification of community, on the one hand, and ideological pressures, on the other, the situation became more complex. The conflicts between sociologists with different ideological positions became quite overt. Fragmentation of the community started. Even signs of theoretical pluralism emerged but basically in the literature on the critique of the bourgeois theoretical sociology. Newly discovered methodologies—phenomenology and symbolic interactionism—started to challenge structural functionalist paradigm domination (Ionin 1978). Gennady Batygin (2002), who investigated the history of Soviet sociology, made a distinction between several types of sociologists by criteria of their function in the professional community, motivation, and type of career. Like dogs, he wrote, sociologists exemplify different breeds: service sociologists, hunting sociologists, and decorative sociologists. This playful typology is widely known among contemporary Russian sociologists. They like this metaphor correctly revealing the diversity of scholarly and ideological positions. "Hunting sociologists" perform research functions and produce new knowledge; "service sociologists" are managers involved in the distribution of power,

decorative sociologists main concern is establishing networks and communications. Soviet knowledge system produced all types of sociologists with their different but necessary functions. The founders of the Soviet sociology combined all types of activities that were necessary for the institutionalization of the discipline, they were charismatic.

Thus, the Soviet period of Russian sociology is not less dramatic than its previous periods. During this period, sociology grew tremendously in the number of practitioners of different generations who had never been formally trained as sociologists and learnt the job of research in fighting for the establishment of the new fields of knowledge production under constant ideological pressure. "Soviet sociology became distinct from the philosophical profession: it has become practical in outlook, quantitative in style, and problem orientated" (Lane 1970).

Perestroika—The New Political Impetus and Final Institutionalization

Perestroika gave a second chance for the pioneers of the Soviet generation of the 1960s. They were not young any more but many of them managed to organize and inspire the groups of younger researchers in the institutions where they worked. Sociologists brought their forces together and revived civic commitment to make the final step in the institutionalization of the discipline.

This final phase of institutionalization took place in the late 1980s during the Perestroika period in end of the Soviet era (1985–1991). In 1988 the CPSU issued the *Directive on the Reinforcement of the Role of Sociology in the Solution of Key Problems of Soviet Society*. This party document was symbolic recognition of the mission of sociology in the democratic reforms and launched the final institutionalization wave. The same year sociology got independent status in the definition of scholarly disciplines; *Institute of Sociological Research* was renamed the *Institute of Sociology*. This change of the name became a symbol of institutional autonomy and full recognition. Vladimir Yadov became the head of the institute, and *Vox Populi*—the Public Opinion Institute headed by Boris. Grushin—was re-established within it. In Leningrad (soon to be renamed St. Petersburg) the Institute of Sociology was established headed by Boris Firsov.[7]

Tatiana Zaslavskaya in 1986–1991 was elected President of the Soviet Sociological Association and later an elected Deputy of the 1989 Congress of USSR people's Deputies—a crucial event in the Perestroika history. Activities in the SSA became vivid and enthusiastic again. In 1991 the only one Congress of the SSA took place. The professional *Codex of Sociology* was adopted, the discussion on the mission of sociology in the democratic transformation took place.[8] Establishment of sociological education was on the agenda (Zaslavskaya 1987, 1996). In 1988, the Higher Attestation Committee included sociology in the official list of scientific specialties, separate from philosophy

The same year a specialty *applied sociology* was renamed into sociology.

In 1989, the Russian Society of Sociologists (RSS) was organized in the framework of the SSA (see Lapin 1999). Later after the break-up of the USSR, RSS became the legal successor of SSA and the collective member of ISA.

In 1987, the new structure, All-Union Center for Public Opinion Research (VCIOM) headed by Zaslavsakaya and later Levada was opened. It was neither university nor academic institution. It was initially legally registered as public corporation supported by Ministry of Labour and all-Union Council of Trade-Unions and pioneered regular monitoring of public opinion based on representative samples. Later in post-Soviet time VCIOM got a status NGO and was transformed into Levada Centre (see about the current status of the institution in Chap. 6).

Thus the pioneers of the Soviet sociology again became prominent figures of the new institutional breakthrough. They used political changes in favor of the complete implementation of their long life project of the establishment of professional sociology in the USSR.

In 1989 departments of sociology in Moscow and St. Petersburg (then Leningrad) State Universities were opened. Subsequently, the number of departments and sociological chairs in universities grew. Newly established research institutions claimed their autonomy from the Academy of Sciences and the state universities. Sociologists were offering their services to the reformist politicians, believing that their expertise was needed for social policy decisions or for reflecting and informing authorities on public opinion data.

During perestroika, a new wave of enthusiasm captured romantic sociologists all over the world. Western sociologists especially those who were following the development of Soviet social sciences since 1970s raise their voices for international help of sociological enlightenment

and education. Elisabeth Weinberg from London School of Economics pethorically asked:

> Could we, who have so much to offer in the fields of methodology but especially in the areas of theory (including applied theory) not open up our doors to our Soviet colleagues (even one or two at a time?). Could we not offer a Marshall Plan in sociology? (2004)

The borders were open and international communication was very vividly involving the younger generation. In the very end of 1980s, Teodor Shanin of Manchester University, aided by the ESRC, the British Council, the British Academy, and the Maxwell and Soros foundations, initiated several summer schools for young Soviet sociologists in Manchester. Summer schools were also organized by Ray Pahl. Newly established Department of sociology established cooperation with the Bielefeld Department of sociology in Germany.

Western sociologists in fact put great efforts to supports Russian sociologists in the 1990s. For them, these were also new academic market opportunities. International foundations contributed to the establishment of new institutions. In the 1990s, they provided both individual and institutional grants to help the Russian social science to integrate internationally innovate and economically survive when the budget cuts worsened the conditions of work for researchers and educators. This help was crucial in the 1990s with economic involution and budget cuts in state support of science and education. In 2000s, Russia was on economy rise, Putin came into Power, and the foundations change their policies. Many of them left Russia themselves—others were forced to leave later because of the Russian policies on international cooperation and new turn to isolationism.

Glasnost and democratization reforms resulted in the breakdown of the hegemony of Marxist Orthodoxy and triggered open confrontation between different theoretical and ideological positions in the sociological community. The path dependent ideological engagement divided sociologists into two main camps. This was the reproduction of old intellectual and ideological confrontation between Slavophiles and Westernizers that regularly reemerge in the Russian (and not only Russian) intellectual discourse. It is revived in the period of reforms and radical transformations. Westernizers have been oriented on international universal standards of knowledge production which emphasize autonomy of sociology, and

ideological dis-engagement. The Slavophile trend claims that sociology has to implement an ideological function in society, and help to revive Orthodox Christian values as the foundation of the Russian national idea.

In the beginning of 1991, the *Institute of Sociology* split due to the ideological clashes in the leadership.

The last wave of institutionalization brought not only the ideological clashes between different sociological camps but also the problems of quality of newly established sociological education. In the beginning, there was a deficit of cadres in the newly opened sociological departments. Sociology was taught by the former historical materialists or scientific communists. Empirical research methodologies were not taught. Critics of the state of the art of the discipline correctly mentioned that the huge gap between the content of sociological education and demands of empirical research skills remained the birth-mark of contemporary Russian sociology, at least at this period (Voronkov 2007).

Some Unquestionable Achievements

An important aspect of the professional identity of Russian sociologists since the 1960s has been the liberal idea of optimization of state policies. Sociologists took it to be their professional task to help the power elite "to rule the people" in a modern civilized way and to improve the quality of life. Thus policy sociology prevailed. Important original research was done on workers' attitudes toward their jobs and on the interrelationship of work and personality (Iadov et al. 1970), professional orientations of youth, rural sociology and population migration (Zaslavskaya 1970; Arutiunian 1971; Zaslavskaya and Ryvkina 1980), public opinion and mass media (Grushin 1967; Shlapentokh 1970), industrial sociology (Shkaratan 1978) , marriage and the family (Kharchev 1964; Matskovski 1989), personality (Kon 1967), leisure structure (Gordon and Klopov 1972), political institutions (Burlatsky and Galkin 1985), and other topics. The book of Gordon and Klopov *Man after his Work* (1972) based on time budget research revealed the gender and generation differences and inequalities in the structure of leisure of the Soviet workers. Soviet sociologists were involved in all-Soviet comparative research projects on social structure and social mobility. The first textbooks were written by the leading Soviet scholars (G. Andreeva, G. Osipov, V. Yadov, A. Zdravomyslov). They helped to professionalize sociological

community and are still in use. Empirical research was based on methodological scrutiny. Lack of deeper conceptualization was combined with skillful methodological design of data collection and analysis.

However conceptual achievements of Soviet sociology were limited, proving main statements of ideological tenets applied to the concept of advance socialist society. “Theoretical poverty” of Soviet sociology and its epigone character is often mentioned by commentators. Russian researchers are even more critical than foreign observers. We tried to explain this theoretical circumscription by ideological pressures of the orthodox Marxist hegemony and consequent self-limitations in the discussion of the structural features of the Soviet society. However, we would like to draw attention of the reader to several insights achieved by sociologists of that period.

The book *Man and his Work* (1967) is known for the high methodological quality.

The grand program of the study of the effects of Soviet propaganda on mass consciousness (conventionally referred to as *Taganrog study*) was launched by Boris Grushin in 1965 and included 76 research projects (the grand design was almost totally implemented by 1988). This research was supported by the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the CPSU. The complex research design presumed methodological innovations: Content analysis of the letters, documents of meeting proceedings, standard questionnaires and in-depth thematic interviews, psychological tests, and diary methods were used for data collection (Grushin and Onikov 1980). Huge amount of field data included 85 primary sources. The purposes of the study were as policy oriented or pragmatic—to find out how Soviet ideological apparatus actually worked on different levels of its operation and to give recommendations on its effectiveness. As Grushin admitted, the research results did not satisfy those who ordered it. The reason was ideological: the research gave evidence of the malfunction of propaganda machine. Soviet citizens—simple people—tried to avoid the ideological pressure by neglect; they demonstrated ideological ignorance and the majority did not even understand the meanings of the popular ideological clichés. These conclusions were very uncomfortable for the ideological apparatus. Mostly the results of the research were published only during Perestroika (Grushin 1999). This research was methodologically inventive, it helped to understand the structural features of Soviet society—notably, the discrepancy between ideology and mass consciousness.

Another fruitful attempt of conceptualization is the theory of *Homo Soveticus* developed by Yury Levada and his team (Levada 1993). The latent period of this work took place in 1970s but, in fact, the concept of the *Common Soviet Man* was developed in the end of Perestroika as a result of the analysis of panel mass opinion surveys conducted by VCIOM. Levada's team identified specific features of the totalitarian society and its legacy that was reproduced after the structural breakdown of the Soviet regime. Levada sees *Homo Soveticus* as both an anthropological ideal type and a normative model which survives in the (post) totalitarian society. The core features of this model are: belief in the uniqueness and exceptionality of the *Homo Soveticus*, paternalism and state orientation, egalitarian distributive orientations, combination of the subaltern and imperial characteristics. One of the main features is conformity to the repressive regime, its adaptiveness.

It is quite possible that if someone would now reread the policy papers written by Soviet sociologists and look with the new eyes at their data, new insights could be found.

Resume

The political influence on the development of Soviet sociology, its critical enthusiasm, and civic commitment is well documented. The public commitment of sociology becomes evident in the course of political reforms. Public enthusiasm by Russian sociologists was obvious in the period of Thaw of the 1960s and in the late 1980s, during the democratic mobilization and enthusiasm of *Perestroika*. It was at this time that sociologists were active in democratization, contributing to the cognitive work of social movements, civic initiatives, and emergent political parties. At that time, sociologists become sensitive toward intertwining of their professional and civic commitments.

Soviet sociology had its ups and downs. Its institutionalization was also not evolutionary. In the late Soviet period, the enthusiasm of the pioneer sociologists of the 1960s in coalition with reformist elite established new institutions of research. Still, policy-oriented ideologically controlled empirical research prevailed. The majority of Soviet sociologists shared the cult of empiricism and believed in the structural functionalist concept as a final truth for the discipline. Officially accepted the

three-partite mode of knowledge production allowed sociology to be distanced from scholastic historical materialism and scientific communism but at the same time limited sociological theoretical imagination and deeper conceptualizations of Soviet society.

Perestroika gave new impetus to sociological development. The civic commitment—public sociology—became the agenda. Finally, institutionalization was complete and ideological barriers were broken. But the new context revealed the limitedness and weak sides of the Soviet sociological endeavor.

Learning of the history of Soviet sociology demonstrates that this is a dramatic field. The balance between search for truth and service to authorities was difficult to achieve for individual professional and research project teams in the climate of political and ideological monopoly.

Notes

1. The first SSA president was Academician Yu. Frantsev, his deputy—G. Osipov, Osipov at that period Candidat Nauk.
2. The head of delegation was academician P. Fedoseev, the participants were A.N. Kuznetsov, F.J. Deglava, M.D. Kammari, S.F. Kechekjan, I.S. Kravchenko, V.S. Nemchinov, A.M. Rumyantsev, Kh.S. Suleimanov, N.S. Slepakova A.H.
3. Osipov writes that probably the interest of Georges Friedmann—then president of ISA—in socialist industrialization gave additional impetus to the research on technological innovations in Gorkii (the project was headed by Osipov, its ideological curator from the Academy of Sciences was academician Fedoseev).
4. The chair of Methods of concrete social research at the Philosophical Department of the Moscow State University was founded in 1968, headed by G. Andreeva.
5. Council for Mutual Economic Assistance between socialist countries.
6. GULAG—“Chief Directorate of Camps”—Soviet system of labor camps where forced labor of prisoners was used for the purposes of industrialization and building of new cities.
7. First, it was first a branch of Moscow Institute of Sociology, later—an autonomous institution.
8. In January 1992 the SSA stoped its existence and passed its Power/Political Power in the ISA to Russian Society of Sociologists (RSS).

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CHAPTER 5

From Soviet Sociology to Scientific Discipline

Abstract The Post-Soviet period provided new directions for sociology that changed together with Russian society. Sociological education became massive, theoretical pluralism promised new grounds, sources of funding multiplied; party control disappeared, while international ties expanded. Russian sociology was fully institutionalized. Gradually, it was turning into a "normal" social science. Alongside with quantitative growth, problems of quality in education and research became visible and were actively debated along with public sociology and its place in Russia. Several sociological associations were founded aiming to strengthen professional solidarity among sociologists; however, they contributed to increasing political fragmentation within the field.

Keywords Perestroika · Full institutionalization of sociology
Sociological education · Quality of research · Sociological associations
Fragmentation · Public sociology

The Influence of Perestroika on Post-Soviet Sociology

The historical period of perestroika (1985–1991) is associated with Gorbachev's political leadership in the Soviet state and his initiatives such as "glasnost," "new political thinking," and the "decreasing role of the Communist party." The period of perestroika featured a set of reforms that started in early 1985 under the slogan of the "acceleration

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of social-economic development in the country." The reforms initiated by Gorbachev were all-encompassing and included the anti-corruption campaign, renouncement of censorship in the mass media, criticism of Stalin's repressions, anti-alcohol campaign. He called for the renovation of the state and party apparatus. Later, Gorbachev described the essence of this period as "the era of glasnost and democratization" and officially deemed the preceding period to be one of the stagnations. However, in spite of the liberalization of social and political life, economy degraded as the planned economy system was an unavoidable obstacle to market reforms.

"Glasnost" itself meant openness in the media, development of civil society, criticism and self-criticism, and the increasing role of the grass-roots in state management with a view to producing effective forms of "socialist democracy." In short, glasnost was a late-Soviet version of freedom of speech. It opened the door for publication of previously banned authors (such as Aleksander Solzhenitsyn, Yevgeny Zamyatin, Boris Pasternak, and many more), removed the taboo from many films and TV programs about the Stalinist past, which went in parallel to the revival of Russian Orthodox Church and release of political prisoners. Perestroika and glasnost symbolized the beginning of a radically new period in which sociology radically changed as well.

Glasnost opened new windows of opportunities for the Russian academy, while perestroika initiated a new development cycle of Russian sociology. As a result of it, sociology re-institutionalized as a social science separated from philosophy and historical materialism in particular. Sociology began to play an indispensable and meaningful role in the public scrutiny of the ruling elites and in supporting democratic changes. It became clear for the public that sociology and democratic reforms would advance hand in hand.

Sociologists' increasing role in perestroika was officially recognized by society: sociology was introduced to many universities. In addition, several public political clubs, expert groups and non-government information-research centers appeared. The principle of the "leading political role of the Communist party" was officially removed from the Soviet Constitution in 1990; it was the end of its ideological monopoly. Society was in the process of sea change. All of these changes, however, did not strengthen but destroyed the Soviet empire, so that it finally collapsed in December 1991.

The post-Soviet period can be assessed as the most interesting and fruitful time in the development of Russian sociology. Constant surveillance and party control over publications, typical for the previous decades, gave way to openness and academic freedoms in the 1990s. Sociologists, free from the Communist party's dictate, acted according to their own professional interests. There was no more need for researchers to consult with the Communist officials on their research questions, or on the appointment of the heads of sociological departments and institutions.

The public context affecting Russian sociology improved significantly. In the early 1990s, sociologists started to enjoy freedoms that were common for their Western colleagues, such as freedom of choosing research themes, freedom of scientific exchange and international communications, freedom of speech and theoretical pluralism, and the freedom of using and collecting any information they would need (Ryvkina 1997). These important freedoms seemed to be a big progress, as compared with the Soviet time. As a result, sociology boosted in size and topics, and in a plenitude of sociological institutions and methodological approaches.

In the following years, this potential was realized to a relatively narrow extent, however. The government maintained significant control over scholars by regulating state funding, commissioning research to the state-controlled agencies that published only beneficial results in the media, or by withholding licenses to certain educational and research institutions, and the like.

New features in Russian sociology that emerged in the 1990s and developed further can be shortly summarized in the following seven points to be described here and in Chap. 6:

1. New types of scientific organizations appeared, producing different kinds of social knowledge and developing new methods of sociological data collection and analysis. Independent non-commercial research centers and, later, commercial companies appeared in Russia.
2. New educational schemes went into action that prepared certified researchers through professional sociological education. Some non-government universities specialized exclusively on the post-graduate students and ran their programs with double affiliation (Russian and foreign).

3. Wide social interest in sociological research, mainly in public opinion polls, media studies, marketing, and political PR, stimulated policy-oriented surveys. Polling organizations became very popular, so that sociology in general is often viewed in the media and popular stereotypes as the production of public opinion data.
4. Professional sociological networks grew intensively, within Russia and internationally, giving numerous opportunities to communicate with foreign colleagues and to join international research projects. Not only the Russian Society of Sociologists but also the other associations appeared to represent the country, and many more regional sociological associations have united the scholars.
5. Russian sociologists joined several international research projects: World Values Survey (1990); International Social Survey Programme (1991); European Values Study (1999); European Social Survey (2006); international Survey of Russian Elites (1993—supported by Zimmerman, University of Michigan), to name a few. This collaboration allowed Russian sociologists to be included in massive comparative research all over the world.
6. Participation in joint projects, possibilities to visit foreign colleagues, and participate in educational and training programs abroad brought to Russia new methods of data collection and analysis necessary for research. Not only focus groups, but also many other new qualitative methods were introduced. In the academy, advanced regression analysis and models with latent variables developed, to be later accompanied by social network analysis, multi-level analysis, survey experiments, etc. As a result, the whole research process has changed.
7. In the absence of previous ideological taboos, a wide range of new topics and research fields were discovered and cultivated (e.g., religion, gender, sexual minorities, social movements, ethnic conflicts, corruption), equipping new generations of sociologists with the ideas and tools that helped them understand Russian society European and the challenges it faced more effectively.

In contrast to many other countries, the role of different generations in sociology has not changed much from the beginning of post-Soviet period till now. Paradoxically to the outside observers, the 1960s generation, *shestidesjatniki*, which brought sociology into the Soviet reality in the 1960s and took the important (formal and informal) positions in the

Soviet sociology later, still maintained their top role or even improved it in the 1990s (Bikbov and Gavrilenko 2002, 190). All of these scholars published new books in the post-Soviet period in order to express their attitudes to the ongoing political and social changes. Thus, Igor Kon continued his study on sexual development in Russia (1993, 1995) and became even more famous in Russia and abroad; Andrey Zdravomyslov, who served as a Director of Center of Sociological Conflict Analysis at the Russian Independent Institute of Social and National Problems in 1991–2003, published not only on social and national issues (1997) but also on theory and history of Russian sociology (1999, 2008). In 2003, Zdravomyslov and Yadov published a second revised edition of their early book on attitudes to work (2003), where they reassessed their Soviet time survey and confirmed that it was creative labor content that determined the positive attitudes to work and job satisfaction both among younger and older workers, while routine manual labor—contrary to their official 1960s findings—produced only instrumental attitude to work. Tatiana Zaslavskaya developed a concept of Russian transformation (2002) and, later, revised it together with Yadov (2008); in 1994–2006, she edited a series of collections of papers based on the symposium *Whither Russia?* initiated by her colleague from the UK Teodor Shanin under the auspices of his Intercenter. These books were viewed as a very important sociological achievement of this period as the important issue of the future of Russian society was discussed both on fundamental and empirical levels there. Shanin, a former émigré from the Soviet Union, actively worked in Russia since perestroika in the fields of research and education; he presented his views on societal progress as a non-universal concept (1997) and explained that Russia did not follow universal model having lots of features in its economic development that did not fit it (1990, 1999).

At the same time, not every major sociologist of that time accepted the social changes with enthusiasm or neutrality. Gennady Osipov presented his critical views on post-Soviet development (2007) and continued to describe the history of sociology in the traditional Soviet-time categories (2003). It adds to the fact that sociologists who took academic power in the 1990s have never been united professionally or ideologically. Instead, they have maintained their own invisible colleges sharing similar views and attitudes. The process of ideological division within sociology reflected in the separation of liberals who supported a radically new, non-communist society, and their opponents

(either nationalists or Marxists) who wanted to save (or, later, restore) the Soviet Union and its heritage. Post-Soviet reality confirms once again that sociological development in Russia has been closely connected with the political field—sociology has not been autonomous from politics, so that there has been no political consensus and common ethos within the sociological community.

Two sociological research programs of reforming the Soviet society, pro-market (liberal), and non-liberal (moderate-conservative) were represented in the late perestroika time by their leaders, Yadov and Osipov, respectively. Yadov received a majority support at the Institute of Sociology. Therefore, in early 1991 Osipov founded in Moscow a new Institute for Social-Political Research and invited his followers to work with him, while Yadov continued to serve as director of the Institute of Sociology. In the 1990s, these two sociological institutions within the Russian Academy of Sciences were the leaders of a great part of sociological community in Russia; each had its own proponents, its own educational establishments (either new ones, including non-government universities like *Shaninka*, or staying under the influence of the old school, as in Moscow State University), journals, and, not unfrequently, separate conferences and congresses.[1]

Overall, political and economic changes of the 1990s onwards have had contradictory effects on sociology, providing new freedoms and chances and, at the same time, creating new obstacles of different nature in raising the quality of sociological research output and impact. Still, regardless of divisions and fragmentations, sociology in Russia turned to a new stage in its development becoming a "normal" social science with its own academic and non-government institutions, professional associations, and a system of sociological education.

Sociological Associations in Russia

Currently there are six sociological large associations of sociologists in Russia. Their plurality is a sign of fragmentation reflecting the stratified and hierarchical nature of contemporary sociological community in Russia.

The first group includes two national sociological associations. One of them is the Russian sociological society (RSS). It is a fully fledged collective members of the ISA and ESA and has legal continuity with the Soviet Sociological Association (founded in 1958, it lost its legal status

with the dismantling of the USSR in 1991). RSS was established in 1989 as a national Russian association within the Soviet Sociological Association, and since 1991 the RSS took over its place in the ISA and ESA. For this reason, the RSS unites many Russian sociologists of all generations oriented to participation in international conferences. There are no criteria for membership related to the political views or professional attitudes of sociologists: the RSS Charter does not limit these aspects. Therefore, currently the RSS is the most popular and the biggest association of sociologists in Russia. It has more than four and a half thousand members, from honored professors to Ph.D. students, distributed throughout the country. The RSS has branches in all the regions of Russia and it coordinates their work. Also, copying the ISA structure, RSS has 33 research committees. It organizes regional conferences and national congresses where Russian sociologists exchange their views and present their findings. Formally speaking, the RSS Charter does not support any particular group of sociologists or any theory or ideology. However, it inherited some bureaucratic traditions from the SSA. Still, being neutral to ideological divisions within sociological community, the RSS attracts many sociologists in Russia, from nationalists to liberals. It supports the efforts to promote national sociology to the world level and increase quality of research in Russia. Several new fields of study and new topics were supported by the RSS and presented at its conferences. Professor Valery Mansurov of Moscow has been RSS's president for several years.

The second national association—Union of sociologists of Russia (USR)—was established in 2007. It has attempted to get the ISA membership, challenged the authority of the RSS, and fought for its own monopoly in the sociological community of Russia using administrative resources and political support from the academic authorities. The emergence of such association in the beginning of the new century is somehow connected with general political shift in Russia toward a more conservative ideology. There is no direct tie between this shift and the association in its documents, however. In its charter, the USR is oriented to solidarity of sociological community for the sake of social-economic progress of society and strengthening the Russian state as "a condition of harmonious development of the individual." This charter refers to several utopian aims. Thus, among its main goals are the unification of all sociologists in Russia, creation of "conditions for solving contradictions within sociology and increasing the quality of research and education." Overall,

these goals demonstrate the pro-government nature of the USR: indeed, it supports conservative nationalist ideology and traditional values. According to its charter, USR wants to continue traditions of both pre-revolutionary and Soviet sociologies and gain a sociological leadership in Russia. From its foundation, this organization has been led by the people with questionable reputation among the sociologists, such as academician Nikolai Zhukov, until 2012 rector of the Russian State Social University (Moscow) and president of the USR. Among its activists is Professor Vladimir Dobren'kov, until 2014 MSU's Dean of the Faculty of Sociology who promoted "Orthodox sociology" for the students. The USR gains support from the administrative academic circles. Thus, academician Osipov, already a member of the RSS, has actively participated in the USR along with some other academicians. The USR is not popular among the sociologists. However, it is still in function.

The second group of sociological associations in Russia consists of two professional organizations of different kind: the Sociological Society named after M. Kovalevsky and the Community of Professional Sociologists (CPS).

The above-mentioned society named after Kovalevsky has a long historical background: being established for the first time in 1916, this professional society aimed at institutionalizing sociology in Russia. Several famous pre-revolutionary sociologists together with scholars from other university disciplines (historians, geographers, lawyers, etc.) were among its members. It was dissolved in 1922 due to political reasons. However, sociology in Russia was somehow institutionalized—at least for a short period of time. The society was restored only in 1993 by the initiative of sociologists working at the SPbSU's Faculty of Sociology. Currently, it unites university sociologists (mainly instructors of sociology in the institutions of higher education) as well as other university staff interested in sociology. The main goals of this society include the development of sociological education, promotion of sociological knowledge and research. The society did a great work to restore the history of Russian sociology and build the symbolic bridges with pre-revolutionary sociological schools. Society's activists publish regularly new books and articles on pre-1917 Russian sociological heritage. Annual conferences of this society attract hundreds of sociologists from across Russia, and several topics related to sociological development are discussed. Traditionally, SPbSU's Dean of the Faculty of Sociology is a head of this society. First, it was Professor A. Boronoev (1993–2005), now it is Professor N. Skvortsov (since 2006).

The second association in this group, CPS, according to its Charter, is an independent organization that unites leading Russian sociologists employed in Russia and abroad who are actively involved in high quality teaching and research. This fact—the exclusive focus on the best quality scholars—makes CPS a kind of a closed professional club. Indeed, the size of CPS is less than two hundred scholars; however, they are well known among sociologists and publish regularly in Russia and abroad. Formally, this community was organized in 2000 when it took over the previous similar organization, Professional Sociological Association founded in 1993 by leading Russian sociologists Zaslavskaya, Lapin, Zdravomyslov, and Yadov. Most members of this organization are currently working in Moscow (HSE, Moscow State Institution of International Relations, Moscow High School of Social and Economic Sciences, etc.). However, it is open for all scholars who accept the Charter, express professional solidarity with the CPS, and provide three requested references from its members (this condition puts a barrier for those whose work cannot be qualified as *perfect*). CPS aims at a high quality professional level in research and teaching and actively promotes the inclusion of Russian sociology into the global sociological context. From the principles shared by the CPS, sociology is universal, therefore all scholars have to follow similar scientific standards. CPS supports the professional solidarity among its members and provides them resources for successful professional activities. So far this has been a liberal organization oriented to Western standards in science. Within the discipline, CPS has a high prestige, supported by their activities in the national RSS and the international ISA and ESA. This community has been publishing the *Sociological Yearbook* (since 2009) and organized interdisciplinary conferences. Currently, president of Community of Professional Sociologists is Nikita Pokrovskiy.

The third group includes two regional sociological societies: the Bashkir Sociological Association and St. Petersburg Sociological Association. They unite sociologists by the criterion of territory where they live and work. These societies coordinate regional professional events and activities, although it is not necessary to be a member to participate.

In general, societies and associations are collective actors in the professional field, and they may struggle for symbolic power in this field (this is the case of the USR that wants representation in the ISA). They differ by their attitude to global sociology (pro-Western vs. pro-national),

the state (pro-government, neutral), political credo of their members (conservative vs. liberal vs. neutral). They can officially express their support (or protest) for some political actions in the country.

Rank and file sociologists try to be out of all fragmentations of political and ideological nature. Many of them have no membership in any association or society. Therefore, it is difficult to divide sociological community in Russia by the membership in the above-mentioned societies.

Debates on Quality of Sociology

Post-Soviet Russian sociology grew both in quantity (new departments and faculties were opened at different Russian universities) and quality (new research topics and research methods were introduced). By the end of the 1990s, sociologists graduated from more than hundred departments in Russia, according to some estimation, around eight thousand annually (Pokrovskiy 2001). Since the 1990s till mid-2000s, according to Gudkov (2006), more than twenty thousand students have graduated, mostly in the 2000s. The number of postgraduates in the social sciences has grown fourfold in the last 12 years or so, and sevenfold in political science. Some of those graduates joined the profession received at the universities: students' demand for sociology education exceeded the labor market's capacity to accept them. In the first decade of the twenty-first century, there were 35 faculties, 25 branches of faculties, and 85 departments of sociology at different Russian universities, and almost eight thousand young sociologists graduated every year (Radaev 2008, 24). Currently, due to the economic crisis in Russia and general decrease in the youth numbers, the number of sociology students and departments becomes smaller, but still there are many universities having programs in sociology of different level. As of 2015, sociology was taught in more than 150 universities, and almost four thousand students graduated as sociologists (Gorshkov 2015). However, these numbers show only the quantitative side of sociological development. Fast growth of Russian sociology caused several problems related to the quality of research and quality of sociological education. National debates on these issues became common in the twenty-first century. The students' riot at the MSU's Faculty of Sociology that occurred in 2007 initiated debates on the quality of education in this university and elsewhere in Russia. It revealed such problems as heavy load of teaching, poor teaching standards officially approved by the Ministry, plurality of textbooks without

proper quality control, and employment of the staff without sufficient training in sociology. Some of these problems were determined by fast growth of number of departments and faculties of sociology. This kind of explanation presented by Romanovsky and Toshchenko (2012):

> There are over 300 university departments of sociology, and sociologists are trained in some 110 universities, arguably something to be proud of. However, the intensive growth over last 20 years of institutions training future specialists has also led to various shortcomings. The quality of training in a number of universities leaves much to be desired, or at least to be improved, because the teaching staff have been recruited from other sciences – typically they are neophytes just mastering the craft of sociology.

In the case of MSU, the students organized a public movement for improving the situation: they demanded to improve the quality of teaching, change curricula and textbooks, invite competent teachers, stop ultranationalist propaganda, and provide acceptable conditions of living and studying. Independent commission was created to monitor the situation, and it supported students' demands. Several members of sociological community wrote letters of support for the students' right to obtain proper sociological education, and this support was assessed by Yadov (2008, 108) as a new stimulus to the public debate on sociological education and stirring up of sociological activity in Russia.

Indeed, the teaching load in the state universities is heavy (minimum 600 lecture hours per year), and average salaries are relatively low, so that university staff usually have two–three separate employments to provide a decent standard of living for their families. They are unable to find enough time for research and select topics that would demand substantial amount of field research or knowledge of recent foreign literature. Regardless of reforms, state universities are still subject to some Soviet heritage. According to Yadov (2007), their major problems are the lack of a young generation of instructors with sufficient experience and the shortage of appropriate sociological books and textbooks in their libraries. Therefore, they still do not largely meet the international standards (Pokrovskiy 2009, 138). Only the Higher School of economics and private universities are different in that high quality research is strongly encouraged and young instructors are supported due to good funding.

The quality level of Ph.D. dissertations was also discussed and criticized in this debate. Most dissertations defended in state-financed

institutions still have Soviet-style titles, "Candidate of Science" and "Doctor of Science," and follow the old criteria, and only a few scholars defend a Ph.D. abroad in foreign languages. The topics of current dissertations can be divided into three parts: (a) traditional (factors of family stability, structure of poverty, work attitudes, deviant behavior, sport as youth mobility, innovation, and tradition), (b) modern topics adopted from the West (lesbian and gay studies, gender stereotypes and feminism, actor-network studies, voluntary movements, internet solidarity), and (c) unusual, related to Russian specifics topics (structuration of the Don Cossacks, Russian mentality, etc.). The functioning of dissertation units is subordinated to the Higher Attestation Commission under the auspices of Ministry of Education and Science in Russia. Numerous inconsistencies have been discovered in the dissertation units both in Moscow and in the regions where currently half of such units exist, and it is not realistic to anticipate that the average quality of dissertation will increase under the current conditions in sociology.

Another aspect of quality debates relates to publications: on average they are not high enough to make Russian authors visible in the global sociology. There are several reasons for such a situation, and one of them is funding. The financial "poverty" of sociology is often the reason for the low representation of Russian scholars on the international level (conferences, publications, and projects), as Sokolov stressed (2012, 29). Only those who have the access to financial and time resources can afford to publish more, thus increasing, by the Matthew effect, their chances of getting large grants and occupying prestigious positions. Notably, sociological elites in Russia prefer to quote from foreign sources and discard Russian sources of information as less important, or being of lower quality. In other words, they demonstrate a kind of conspicuous consumption of prestigious intellectual wealth in the style of Veblen. As for publications, in a study of articles in the leading Russian journals, Sokolov discovered that in the past 20–30 years the quality of articles based on empirical research had not improved. To his, elitist, view, this situation demonstrated a low level of methodical culture in Russian sociology (Sokolov 2012, 21). To sum up, the gap between small groups of sociological elites and "the rest" of the community in Russia is significant in funding, publications, open access, though it is also a rather general trend across different national contexts including the USA.

Growth of number of journals in Russia can be viewed as a chance to increase national and international visibility of Russian sociology.

Among the academic sociological journals, *Sotsiologicheskie Issledovaniia*, founded in 1974, is the most known in Russia. It is published by the Academy of Sciences. Until recently it was the only one Russian journal indexed in Scopus and Web of Science databases. Since Russian rules for grant applications demand several publications of this sort from the applicants, this journal is extremely popular among scholars, especially in the regions. The current editor-in-chief of this journal, Zhan Toshchenko, publishes on everyday life of Russians, work attitudes, social anomies, not to mention his textbooks. Meanwhile, there exist in the Academia several sociological journals of no less quality: *Sotsiologicheskiy Zhurnal*, *Journal of Sociology and Social Anthropology*, *Laboratorium*, *Journal for Social Policy Studies, Sotsiologia: Methodology, Methods, and Mathematic Modeling*, *Inter*, and other scientific journals of general social sciences profile such as *Obshestvennye Nauki i Sovremennost*, or *Mir Rossii*. Only recently have some of them been included in Scopus as well, thus making the grant application for many Russian scholars available. In 2012, there were "some 30 journals of sociology in Russia – supported by academic and autonomous institutions or universities –, vehicles for researchers to share the results of their investigations. Most of them offer their pages for debate and criticism" (Romanovsky and Toshchenko 2012).

If professional recognition of Russian sociologists can be measured by number of their publications in the top Russian professional journals, there are many who can be named "well-known" in Russia. However, such achievements are not significant from the global point of view. First, not many Russian journal publications are recognized beyond the national level. Second, sociologists can be grouped on the basis of journals where they publish articles. The research on the most frequently cited Russian sociologists showed (Sokolov 2009, 149–150) that those authors who are known "at home" from their publications in Russian are almost never cited in the English-language international journals, and vice versa. Articles published by Russian sociologists in foreign journals are rarely cited in the publications of their Russian colleagues made in Russian language. For example, only four authors among the top ten who published in Russian journals were also placed among the top ten according to their number of foreign publications: Boris Dubin, Lev Gudkov, Igor Kon, and Vadim Radaev, and all of them were pro-Western liberals. According to this research, the most quoted Russian authors in the first decade of the twenty-first century belonged to the old (Soviet) generation of the father-founders: Kon, Yadov, Levada, and Andreeva. However, their works

in great demand for citations were mainly textbooks. Meanwhile, the same scholars are poorly known in the current global sociology because their major publications are in Russian (Kon is probably an exception) and devoted to local Russian problems. As for those who are known in the twenty-first century in the West, almost all of them studied abroad or received Ph.D. there (Vadim Volkov, Oleg Kharhordin, Lev Gudkov, Elena Zdravomyslova Anna Temkina). All of them belong to the liberal community of Russian sociologists and affiliated with non-state institutions. They write on the topics of interest on the global level regardless of the low national demands and sometimes critical assessment of these topics in Russia (sexual and gender relations, corruption, non-formal leisure groups of youth, political protests). Many of these liberal- and Western-oriented sociologists are employed in European University in St. Petersburg, Levada Center in Moscow, and much less—at the state research institutions and universities. The gap between these scholars and "the rest" is not getting smaller.

The journals published in Russia are often tied up with the local network, e.g., organizations in a particular city and sometimes with particular preferences in theory and political views of the authors. This is not in the journals' rules, but it is their everyday practice. Thus, most authors who publish in three major sociological journals located in St. Petersburg also work in this city. Even the oldest journal, *Sotsiologicheskie Issledovanija*, in the post-Soviet period had almost half authors only from Moscow, many of them on its editorial board. This is a typically monopolistic system. More importantly, sociologists beyond the particular professional network (certain research organizations, universities, and journals) often do not read the other journals and may not even know about their existence: journals' circulation is weak, many of them are not available online, and subscription is costly for most Russian researchers. University libraries do not have enough funds to subscribe to all sociological journals—either Russian or foreign. Unlike many other countries, in Russia, the very existence of a professional journal may lead scholars to the self-isolating journal's network and away from the rest of sociological networks and information.

In the latest decade, the situation with journals has been improved. Several Russian journals (in Russian) were accepted to databases of peer-review literature, Scopus and the so-called Russian segment of Web of Science (WoS SMSC). These changes increased the rank of these journals and the chances of many Russian scholars to apply for Russian grants.[2]

Also, the selection of articles from Russian journals of sociology is published now in two English-language periodicals *Sociological Research* and *Society and Education* published by M.E. Sharpe (Romanovsky and Toshchenko 2012). These sources make Russian periodicals available for non-Russian foreign readers.

However, this optimism is not shared by many liberal authors. Although there are many academic journals where sociologists publish their research results and discuss the revealed social problems, "the level of debate is not sufficiently deep, there are very few peer-reviewed articles" (Zdravomyslova 2008, 408). Victor Vakhshtayn's article in *Global Dialogue* (2012a) bitterly states that currently post-Soviet Russian sociology does not produce the important ideas that might make this sociology. He puts a rhetoric question to the editors:

> Why do we still have post-Soviet sociology and not an internationally recognized (in its content, not just institutionally) Russian one? (2012b)

From his own approach, the most important reason is the exhausting participation of both conservative and liberal sociologists in the struggle with each other that resulted in the situation of cognitive emptiness when "sociological talk has come to look like politically determined journalism" (2012a).

This view is not shared by all liberal sociologists in Russia even when they are also concerned about the quality of research and education. Most often, sociologists agree that in comparison with the Soviet period contemporary Russian sociology has developed stronger credentials in some topics and methods of research. However, comparison with sociology in the Western countries is not so positive. Thus, a comparative study of articles published in the leading Russian and American journals (by Russian and American sociologists, accordingly) for 5 years discovered that most Russian articles focused on culture and values, while the topics of social stratification, mobility, and deviance were much less present as compared to American journals (Efendiev et al. 2015, 36). This research also revealed that the most Russian empirical surveys were of local character and of low comparable significance: their authors neither used modern statistical methods of analysis, nor followed the structure that is traditional for scientific papers. These weak aspects of published Russian research hamper its involvement into global sociology. They may also become obstacles for Russian sociology in its attempt to become an equal subject in the world knowledge production.

Overall, political and economic changes of the 1990s onwards have had contradictory effects on sociology, providing new freedoms and chances, and, at the same time, creating new obstacles of different nature in raising the quality of sociological research output and impact.

Debates on Public Sociology

The attitude to the public role of sociology among Russian sociologists is not homogeneous: some groups support it, others criticize, and still others simply stress their professional role. Political conditions and cultural traditions strongly influence these attitudes.

In general, the idea of public role of sociology fits the cultural traditions of Russian *intelligentsia* of the Tsarist period that was pretty much oriented to the needs of "common people" (*narod*). Soviet sociology also was not alien to the pathos of public sociology. Public role of sociology was again discussed in perestroika time, when sociologists viewed this role as to enlighten the power elite and help it to improve the social policy. Since the 1990s, Russian sociologists have been discussing the status and prospects for Russian sociology in society. In this period, public opinion polls grew, so that the lay people identified sociology with these surveys and understood its role as "serving for those groups in power." This understanding of public role of sociology contributed to its low prestige in a society. Since the 2000s, following M. Burawoy (2005), the topic of public sociology again has become the focus of sociological attention and hotly discussed (Romanov and Yarskaya-Smirnova 2008; Andreev 2008). Different attitudes to public sociology were expressed; the sociological community has been split in several groups. Most sociologists worked for the market or the state, and their vision of public role of sociology was traditional. In other words, they do not distinguish between policy research and public sociology. Only a small part of sociologists was oriented to the emancipatory needs of civil society and organic public sociology, in Burawoy's term (2005). However, due to the underdeveloped civil society and strong Russian state, the status of sociologists promoted organic public sociology (working for civil society) is not secure: they may serve for civil society without any support from it. Under conditions of growing authoritarianism and conservative ideological shift in Russia in the twenty-first century, prestige of sociology falls down, and there is no demand in independent sociological expertise (Podvoisky 2009, 220).

Political split among sociologists caused different understanding of the meaning of their public role. Many of them interpret the public mission of sociology as serving for the state and cooperation with the power: provide the mass feedback for social policies, construct the attractive ideas to mobilize the nation, and the like. Within the context of discussion on the public role of sociology, Gudkov called this group "chekists." In his view, these sociologists help to support the state ideology whatever it is. The opposite group that took the critical position to the state was called him "reformists" (Gudkov 2006). These labels clearly express the deep gap between two groups.

Within the frame of professional debates on the public role of Russian sociology, two main positions could be distinguished. According to the first position, the public demand is the core of the sociological profession. This position is similar to the understanding of the traditional public sociology. It is clearly articulated by M. Gorshkov, for whom "public politics is currently giving place to public sociologists … public sociology is a driving force for public politics" (Gorshkov 2006). Gorshkov claims that public sociologists speak a language that is understandable to lay people, who together constitute civil society. The social significance of sociology, according to this position, is based on trust in research data: "Russian citizens today reveal a low trust in [political] declarations. They show more trust in sociology because sociologists operate with figures and not with slogans or mythology. Public sociology becomes a mirror in which society looks at itself every day before going to work" (Gorshkov 2006). Gorshkov identifies sociology with information drawn from concrete figures in opinion polls. Within Russian political context, his position is rather conservative: he presents himself as a traditional public sociologist addressing a "thin" public easily manipulated by authorities (Burawoy 2005). It reflects the traditional Soviet view on the role of sociology as instrument for societal actions directed by the power structures.

According to the representatives of the second position, supporters of the organic public sociology, post-Soviet sociology has to be "open for society" (Andreev 2008), sociologists must go to the real social groups ("real public"), and work for them and with them (Yanitsky 2013; Kleman 2008).

These two positions do not exhaust the diverse palette of relations to public sociology. Thus, liberal sociologists of the middle age and younger generations express against the public sociology as a part of profession:

they predominantly believe that academic professionalism has to be based on the scientific objectivity beyond political engagement or personal preferences: "Sociology cannot be public. Sociologist can be a public person, just like any other person" (Podvoisky 2009, 17). These sociologists distinguish between the two roles of a sociologist, professional, and public. They argue that sociology is not limited to polls and marketing research. Its purpose is to provide society with scientific knowledge about itself, with theories and concepts that could become resources of reflexivity instead of "pure" empirical data (Nikita Pokrovskiy, Alexander Filippov). They criticize the current ideological character of the profession (as presented by Gorshkov and many others) and try to distance themselves from it. For them, public sociologists undermine the professional stance of distancing and taking a "cool" attitude, public engagement may result in a poverty of analysis and ideological biases. If a sociologist wants to perform his (her) public role, he (she) can do it as a citizen; when performing a professional role, it is necessary to follow only the scientific ethos. This group bases their arguments on Bourdieu's understanding of academic autonomy—on the criteria of self-government and self-censorship, which should not be subordinated to political, ideological, or market principles (Bikbov and Gavrilenko 2002). Another basis for support of objectivity of sociological profession was found in Sztompka (2011), who has always distinguished between professional science and public engagement of a sociologist. Following these arguments, Pokrovskiy states that public sociology is a program aiming to promote sociological enlightenment in Russia and increase sociological culture of the public audience (Pokrovskiy 2016). According to this view, sociology has to be a professional social science without ideological functions, while a particular sociologist can express his personal public position as a citizen. Personally, these sociologists often perform as public activists: they support particular political actions and criticize others, participate in the public meetings and other forms of activism. However, this is the way to express their views and act as citizens beyond their profession. As professionals, they provide qualified expertise to the individuals and groups in need.

There is yet another way to look at public sociology in the Russian context. Civic involvement in the professionalization project could be an alternative interpretation of our public sociology agenda. Sociology belongs to the cultural tradition of the Russian intelligentsia looking for answers to the old questions in the Russian intellectual tradition,

"Who is responsible?" and "What is to be done?" Liberal sociologists, engaged in political activism related to their profession, believe that they know the answers: The answer is: "start with yourself," make decisions in the concrete situation, help to make sociological education better, and do not forget that Russia can become a democratic society (Zdravomyslova 2008, 412). These Russian sociologists fight for professional autonomy and also participate in actions (including political ones) that are oriented to "improvement of sociological education and sociological conscious-raising in civic initiatives and non-government organizations." There are many examples of such involvement of sociologists in civic activism, especially those focused on social movements. To name a few of them, French sociologist Carine Clement who lives in Russia and does research on public movements at the EUSP. She and her colleagues have advocated working movements actions and their rights, helped people in housing movement (Kleman 2008). Moscow sociologist O. Yanitsky did research on ecological movement in Nizhniy Novgorod in the early 1990s using method of sociological intervention developed by A. *Touraine* and M. Wieviorka. His goal was to stimulate activists, increase the level of their mobilization, and arrange their dialogue with the representatives of local administration (Yanitsky 2013). One more example is a Laboratory of the Public Sociology. Its members in Moscow and St. Petersburg demonstrate civic involvement in the public life. They blame sociologists doing pro-government research for being biased, as well as blame pure academic sociologists being too far from the social reality. This Laboratory is active in supporting civil activism and disclosing the reasons of political apathy of Russians. These examples show that sociologists can use their professional knowledge in their public activities. However, in the Russian context the public role of sociology is mainly oriented to help in development of professional sociology, to criticize the servile sociology, and to promote integration of Russian sociology in the global discourse.

Currently, after more than 25 years of sociological development in post-Soviet Russia, sociology seems to be fully institutionalized. However, the discipline is still fighting for its autonomous status in a society as it is dependent not only on the market demands, but also on the state legal limitations of sociological functioning.

According to the formal assessment of sociological authorities (Gorshkov 2015), sociology is gradually moving to become a normal social science. It gained some important achievements; however, as many

sociologists admit, they are not complete (Romanovsky and Toshchenko 2012). Thus, sociology was included in the university curricula in the 1990s, but later changed its status from mandatory to an elective discipline for the university students beyond the faculties of sociology. Only a fraction of non-sociological faculties still keep sociology on offer for their students. The university staff is generally poorly funded and depends on the status of a particular school where they are employed. This situation causes problems in the quality of research and teaching, low level of publication in the international journals, and participation in the international conferences. As a latent result of this situation, the best students of sociology are oriented at continuing their education abroad or getting employment in private companies working for the market, with a few aiming for scientific careers.

Contemporary sociologists in Russia are split politically, that is, partly reflected in their membership in the professional associations and more often—in their professional networks, paradigmatic preferences, attitude to the Western sociology, and topics of research.

The public sphere is not a common domain of sociological activity, some scholars do not recognize public role of sociology as a component of professional sociology, and the very meaning of public sociology for different groups of sociologists varies—from a conservative one (serving for the state power) to activist organic (involvement in civil activities). Yet there is a division line between those who are ready to critically assess society and those who prefer to serve the needs of the current authorities (Zborovsky 2014, 339).

Sociology in Russia has received an important achievement—it is gradually becoming a normal social science, its position in the ISA is now similar to many other national sociologies. Also, after years of attempts to gain more global significance, Russian sociology (not without problems) is gaining more visibility.[3]

Notes

1. In the twenty-first century, when Gorshkov became a director of the Institute of Sociology, there was no big difference in political preferences between the above-mentioned two institutions. Both belong to the Russian Academy of Sciences and have the state funding for their research, so that they run the fundamental and empirical research commissioned by different levels of the state management offices. Their leaders have similar,

rather moderate, political views and openly support collaboration of sociology and government as a condition of successful development of Russian sociology. As Gorshkov defined the goals of Russian sociology, it has to serve for the government and implement the sociological results together with government officials into practice. In the current social environment, according to Gorshkov, "the development of national sociological institutes comes to the fore, with surveys being able to develop unique methodologies and theories of sociological research, presenting the global community with original and unusual scientific papers" (2015, 15).

2. Currently, Russian Ministry of Education and Science uses data from Scopus and Web of Science as criteria for evaluation of the quality of research and the efficiency of the activities of Russian institutions of higher education. According to the rules of Russian scientific foundations, grant applicants have to publish regularly in journals indicated in Scopus or Web of Science.
3. The process of international integration is going slowly. Thus, in parallel to this process, the foreign interest to Russian sociology has declined after 1991. The number of articles on Russian sociology in the Western journals has decreased. So has the number of book. In one of his articles about Russian sociology, Mikhail Sokolov worries that in the post-Soviet period Western authors publish nothing on this topic (Sokolov 2009).

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CHAPTER 6

Diversification and Fragmentation of Russian Sociology

Abstract Post-Soviet sociology demonstrates great variety of organizations involved in the production of sociological knowledge. Sociological diversity relates to political segmentation of organizations and their different attitudes toward the post-Soviet political system that causes other divisions. Sociology has divided into pro-government pollsters and "service sociologists" vs. democratic and liberal sociologists producing independent expertise. Their modes of knowledge production differ, which affects the field of public sociology. In the latest years, professional conditions of non-government research institutions that receive funds from foreign organizations got significantly worse because of the law on foreign agents. Ongoing fragmentation and diversification feature the functioning of sociology in Russia.

Keywords Diversification · Institutions of sociological education
Academic sociological institutions · Commercial firms · Levada center
Fragmentation

The main features in post-Soviet sociological development in Russia can be described as diversification and fragmentation. These features can be seen in many interrelated processes. Post-Soviet institutional diversification of sociology was accompanied by diversification of topics, paradigms, and political standpoints. This manifold diversification resulted in the fragmentation, lack of communication and knowledge about

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activities of colleagues that belong to "different islands" or different "sociological tribes" (Sokolov 2012).

Basic diversification occurs on the level of sociological institutions. Mainly, they include three types of institutions: academic sociology, university sociology, and NGO research centers. All three face serious problems that are discussed in the community. Academic sociology is in precarious situation. In 1990s, academic institutions suffered from lack of budget support. Later, the reforms in the Academy were perceived by the researchers as a threat for its autonomy. Up to date, Academy of Science does not have resources for independent functioning as an institution of knowledge production: It is still a prestigious intellectual occupation rather than a reliable professional employment. University sociology is under a strong bureaucratic pressure that prevents improvement in educational practices. As for NGO researchers, they are under political and economic pressure surviving in the situation when economic support (mainly, grants) depends on whether they got the status of foreign agents or not.

Sociological Institutions and Types of Knowledge Production

Starting from the period of perestroika, a multitude of sociological organizations has appeared in Russia, many of them representing new types. Overall, one can identify three major types of sociological institutions that have contributed to social knowledge production in contemporary Russia in different ways: first, higher educational establishments; second, academic research institutions; and third, the research centers.

Universities

Institutions of higher education are the main driving force involved in preparation of the cadres of professional sociologists. Currently, there are around a hundred faculties and departments at different universities across Russia that perform this function. They mainly produce the educational knowledge necessary for teaching purposes. Research is only a secondary goal for these establishments (at least for state-funded universities), and when done, it is often connected to education (methods and strategies of teaching sociology, basic topics in sociology, criteria of education quality, and the like). According to the Russian law, all universities

have to meet common educational standards developed by the Ministry of Education and Science. For the reasons more related to the Russian labor market than to the teaching quality, programs in sociology do not attract students on the same level as in the 1990s, when thousands of young people graduated annually with sociological diplomas (Pokrovskiy 2001). Now, the public demand for sociologists is much lower, so is the enrollment.

The leading educational establishments for most disciplines in Russia are the biggest well-known state universities. Although Moscow State University (MSU) and St. Petersburg State University (SPbSU) have the highest ratings among the Russian universities, currently the National Research University Higher School of Economics (HSE), established in the wake of reforms in 1992 as the first *research university* in Russia, takes the leading position in the field of sociology and economics as well, growing higher in international ratings for sociology. Therefore, knowledge production in HSE is similar to one in the non-government universities.

HSE has a special status among all other Russian universities. It grew fast, becoming bigger in size (by the number of departments, students, and staff) almost every year and opened branch campuses in three other Russian cities apart from Moscow (St. Petersburg, Nizhny Novgorod, and Perm, all in the European part of Russia). The Russian government has invested a lot of public funding in this university following the idea to support a few top universities capable to compete internationally and run the high-quality research. There are international staff and students of sociology at HSE. It also plays an important role in attracting students from post-Soviet countries to study sociology in Russia, having official quotas for them. Currently, HSE is the leading Russian educational and research establishment for sociology. Its ambitions, according to its Web site, are to be "one of the preeminent economics and social sciences universities in eastern Europe and Eurasia."

Indeed, HSE has close ties with leading foreign scholars and universities across the world, provides library access to many sources in English (hardly available officially elsewhere in Russia), and participates in dozens of international research projects on informal economics and entrepreneurship, migration and nationalism in post-communist countries, basic values, etc. Since 2010, HSE has started to found international research laboratories jointly headed by well-known international scholars (e.g., Ronald Inglehart, University of Michigan, the founder of World Values Survey, or Stanley Wasserman, Indiana State University, for social

network analysis) and leading HSE researchers with international degrees and reputation. Research laboratories have become part of the university's strategy to create and develop university research, advance teaching practices and switch them to English, and to enhance professional development of the staff.

The methodological focus at HSE has been primarily on quantitative methods, scale building, survey research, etc. One of the organizers, and the first dean of the faculty of sociology, at HSE was Alexandr Kryshtanovsky, a leader in methods of data analysis who maintained and raised high standards of methodological research in the 1990s. He was a research methods fellow at several British universities. Further, he organized team work on the creation of a data archive at the Institute of Sociology in Moscow and published several books on data analysis and methods (Kryshtanovsky 2007).[1] He made HSE one of the leading centers for sociological professional training. One of his younger colleagues, Inna Deviatko, took over after his death and organized a school of research methods at HSE, now a center for advanced quantitative methods research. She has also led innovative projects in Russia on online research and on justice perceptions with vignette design, among other topics.

The key figure for economic sociology in Russia today is Vadim Radaev, vice-rector of HSE. He introduced the new institutionalism in economic sociology to Russia and did research on Russian entrepreneurship and markets, corruption, and the informal economy. Radaev published several translated volumes on neo-institutional economic sociology and textbooks on economic sociology (1997) and organized a research journal "*Economic Sociology*." He also contributed to the promotion of contemporary Russian sociology in Europe (2014).

Sociologist of the same school Simon Kordonskiy published a book in which he described his theory of Russian social structure (2008). According to him, social structure of modern Russia has two elements, classes and estates. Along this theory, social history of Russia has been a cyclical domination of either estate or class structures. In the Soviet Union, the estate structure dominated, and so it does in modern Russia. The main conflict between estates is said to be related to the distribution of resources. In the twenty-first century, Russian state created new estates: state service people, deputies, Cossacks, and some others aimed at solving special state tasks and redistributing public resources from top to the bottom. Kordonskiy concludes that the Russian structure does not

fit the model of "normal capitalism"; therefore, it cannot be explained within any Western theories.

Another well-known specialist in this field is Osip Shkaratan. His book on the nature of social inequality in modern Russia (2012) provides a vision of Russian society as a neo-etacratic state. Shkaratan shows that social inequalities have not disappeared in Russia. According to him, they simply have different characters if compared with the Western capitalist society, which he explains with the argument that Russia belongs to the Euro-Asian civilization. Like Kordonskiy, Shkaratan states that Russia has a complex structure that includes estates and social–professional groups. Estates dominate and form neo-etacratic society with a total domination of the state in all spheres of life. The ruling elites (estates) have total power to distribute resources according to their own interests.

There are other fields well developed by the staff of this university. HSE is doing much research in the field of social policy and publishes a journal on this topic. Pavel Romanov and Elena Yarskaya-Smirnova are known researchers in the fields of social policy and public sociology at HSE. Earlier, Romanov headed the Center for Social Policy and Gender Studies at Samara State University. They published books and articles on the basis of their studies devoted to public sociology, social policy, the handicapped, and gender (2008).

One of HSE's contributions to sociological research has been the longitudinal monitoring survey funded and maintained jointly by HSE with American and Russian partners since 1992 and known as "RLMS-HSE." This project provides unique longitudinal panel data on economic and social well-being of households in Russia during the whole period of societal transformations. It also provides independent micro-level data on household incomes, consumption patterns, but also values, life satisfaction, etc.

The HSE campus in St. Petersburg is well known in the sociological community due to its innovative research on several new topics. For example, Elena Omel'chenko organized and headed the Center for Youth Research, where the staff undertakes qualitative research on youth subcultures (2010). Earlier Omelchenko was a Director of the Research Center *Region* at Ulyanovsk State University. Zhanna Chernova is doing research in the fields of gender and family studies, visual, and everyday sociology. She also did joint research with the Center for Gender Studies at European University. Eduard Ponarin organized an international Laboratory for Comparative Social Research in cooperation with Ron

Inglehart doing interdisciplinary comparative research in nationalism, well-being, gender, work, religion, and values.

Other important state-funded players in the sociological field among universities include MSU and Saint Petersburg State University (SPbSU) which pioneered faculties of sociology in 1989. However, MSU is currently more known in Russian sociological circles due to the scandals around its former dean, Vladimir Dobren'kov, for publishing non-original papers and volumes and for abuse of authority. The Faculty of Sociology at SPbSU, on its part, is known among sociologists thanks to the work on revival of the heritage of pre-revolutionary sociologists and re-establishing the sociological society named after Maksim Kovalevsky. Sociologists of this university have institutional connections with several Western European universities, doing research and publishing in such fields as information society, history of sociology, migration, social inequality, communication and knowledge in creative communities, trust, public space in the cities, and aging. Dmitry Ivanov is an author of concept of Glam-capitalism (2008), Vladimir Il'in is known for his works on consumption in Russia (2008).

The most known private universities where students can get education in sociology in Russia are the Moscow School of Social and Economic Sciences (MSSES) and European University at St. Petersburg (EUSP). Both are graduate schools founded in the mid-1990s and supported by international research foundations (such as Soros, MacArthur), maintaining close relations with universities abroad (Manchester University, European University Institute) and providing high-quality training in social sciences. Both are also known for their research.

Vadim Volkov, of EUSP, has published articles (2000) and a well-received monograph on violent entrepreneurship in Russia (2005), investigating how this class formed, its social sources, social mobility, and mechanisms of structural changes in the market. Later, he organized the Institute for the Rule of Law conducting large-scale research on the images of judges and lawyers in Russia, on the mechanisms of law functioning, including the pioneering mixed methods project using Big Data for qualitative analysis of the law enforcement system. Oleg Kharhordin of EUSP has been known for his monograph on Soviet ideological and social practices "Revealing and Dissimulation: the Genealogy of Russian Personality" (2002). In 2008, Volkov and Kharkhordin published a volume on the theory of practices, which was influential for many Russian sociologists. Another important figure at EUSP is Mikhail Sokolov, who

published on Goffman but later headed large projects on neo-institutional research in Russian sociology of science and on history of science using mixed methods (social network analysis with biographic interviews), producing publications about academic clans and corruption on different levels (2015), as well as on social networks in academia (2016). A strong point for sociological research at EUSP is the Center for Gender Studies headed by Anna Temkina, an active feminist researcher, and Elena Zdravomyslova, current member of International Sociological Association Executive Committee. Together, they have published several articles and books on gender studies and carried out leading research projects on sexualities, health, and personal identities in Russia (2014, 2015).

The Moscow School for Social and Economic Sciences, another private graduate school of a new type, was founded by Teodor Shanin, currently British citizen who was born in pre-war Poland, lived in the Soviet Union, fought for the independence of Israel, completed his PhD on Russian peasantry in the UK, taught sociology in Manchester, and then came back to Russia in the perestroika period. He organized, together with Soviet academician Tatiana Zaslavskaya (one out of only five women of this rank in the 1980s), the Moscow School for Social and Economic Sciences, also currently known as "Russian-British University," *Shaninka*. Specialists in rural sociology (Shanin) and economic sociology (Zaslavskaya), they were the two leaders of the Moscow School, heading and supervising high-quality interdisciplinary discussion and research on post-communist transformations. On the one hand, Zaslavskaya published and edited several volumes on economic sociology and economic reforms (1990, 2002). Shanin, on the other hand, focused on interdisciplinary research of Russian peasantry and paid attention to methodology and social theory development (1990). Shanin is an author of theory on Russia as a developing country that cannot follow any western models of development (2016). He organized and supervised long-term observational and ethnographic field research in the countryside in Russia[2] and introduced the British tradition of text work and interpretation to the classroom, which was supported by professors and double diplomas from University of Manchester, UK. The Moscow School attracted many aspiring young sociologists, some of whom later became new leaders in their fields, e.g., Vadim Radaev of HSE, or Victor Vakhshtayn of the Moscow School and then Academy for Public Service. Vakhshtayn, a graduate of the Moscow School, published on frame analysis, everyday life, social theory, actor-network theory, sociology of education, etc.

Being one of the first post-Soviet specialists in the Goffmanian tradition, he later organized and edited publications on actor-network theory, sociology of things and the material turn, and conversational analysis, as applied to the everyday life research, sociology of medicine, sociology of science, and political sociology (Vakhshtayn 2006).

To sum up, professional university education in sociology has made huge changes in Russia since 1991, catching up and exploring new fields, methods, theories with international support and networks, and supplying hundreds of trained sociologists to society. Moreover, Russian universities maintained their leading role in sociological education for most post-Soviet countries and attract their students to study there. However, within Russia, inequality has grown in funding, resources, and quality of teaching between top universities (including the private schools) and regional ones, producing different practices of knowledge production within the system of education itself.

The competition for funding between the top and other universities is an important issue faced by university education in sociology in contemporary Russia. A related change is that almost two-thirds of the university staff are employed at least in two or more schools or universities and research centers. This situation gives them more practical experience for lecturing. However, it demands they share their time and efforts between many duties that often affects the quality of publications. There is no strong demand to publish in the international journals; however, top universities pay extra for such publications (and not for publications in the journals belonging to these universities). Although many scholars work at the same schools for years, there is no tenure guarantee to keep their jobs: It depends on several internal reasons (funding, enrollment) and sometimes on their political activities.

Academic Research Institutions

The role of research institutions of the Russian Academy of Sciences declined considerably in post-Soviet times, but they still take important positions in sociological research in Russia. Traditionally for Russia, production of scientific knowledge was associated with the Academy of Sciences and education with the system of universities. In the Soviet period, sociology was primarily developed with the academic institutions as there was no sociological education; private institutions did not exist as well. Therefore, Soviet period of sociology is closely connected with

Institute of Sociology in Moscow and its branch in (then) Leningrad. That is why *nomenklatura* system was also related to the Academy of Sciences keeping it under the party control. In post-Soviet Russia due to the boom of different sociological organizations in the 1990s, the role of the academia was declined: Theoretical plurality in sociology has become represented by a set of professional organizations.

The leading position still belongs to the Institute of Sociology within the Academy of Sciences of the Russian Federation, a successor of the first research sociological institute that existed in the Soviet Union. After several internal reforms, it runs national and regional surveys in accordance with state assignments from different ministries and other managerial branches. All finance for this activity comes from the Russian state. Additionally, the institute runs several grants from Russian scientific foundations and participates in the international research (e.g., during the last years China has become an important partner in such research). The Institute of Sociology runs annual monitoring of the social situation in Russia; its data are regularly presented to the authorities and the public and used for the articles and books. Constant problems within the monitoring include inter-ethnic relations and conflicts in Russia (Leokadia Drobizheva, Mikhail Chernysh), modernization (Nikolai Lapin, Alexandr Tikhonov) and social inequality (Elena Danilova, Zinaida Golenkova), reforms and adaptation to them (Polina Kozyreva, Yury Krasin), social feelings of the population (Vladimir Petukhov), poverty and the middle class (Natalya Tikhonova), migration studies (Leonid Rybakovski, Vladimir Mukomel), trust in institutions and social integration (Sergey Patrushev), work values and methods of research (Vladimir Magun, Galina Tatarova), and the like. Annual collections of articles are published under the title "The Reforming Russia" editing by Gorshkov, and since 2010, he is editor-in-chief of the quarterly journal *Vestnik Instituta Sociologii*. His publications are devoted to the explanation of monitoring data (2016).

Institute of Sociology has strong ties with several foreign sociological centers, and its members regularly attend international conferences and publish books on the sharp social problems: social movements and ecology (Yanitsky 2011, 2013), Russian modernization (Lapin 2016), ethnic and national relations in Russia (Drobizheva 2013, 2016).

The Institute of Sociology annually organizes five scientific readings devoted to the memory of scholars who passed away (Batygin, Davydov, Kharchev), as well as annual conferences and many other scientific

activities, and scholars from all regions of the ex-Soviet Union participate in some of them. Overall, this Institute is more known due to its national empirical research and middle-range theories on the basis of empirical data. Currently, regardless of the key sociological position within the Academy of Sciences, there are no scholars who are well known on the global level. In the early 1990s, the former director of this Institute, Yadov, was a member of the ISA executive committee (in the twenty-first century only representatives of universities, Nikita Pokrovskiy and, later, Elena Zdravomyslova, were elected there). Yadov's textbook on sociological research (2007) was published several times during his life, more than any other Russian textbooks. Also, during his years in office, the history of Russian sociology was reassessed and an encompassing volume on previous and current sociological development in Russia was published (1998). In the twenty-first century, Boris Doktorov, honorary doctor of Institute of Sociology, published his version of Soviet sociology written on the basis of biographic interviews (2016). This history differs from other books as it is based on the memoirs and personal assessments of scholars; however, it is an enormous source of historical information about sociology in Russia.

An academic Sociological Institution of the Russian Academy of Sciences exists in St. Petersburg. On its many previous stages of development, it was a branch of the Institute of Sociology in Moscow and then a part of other institutions; currently, it is an independent federal institute, while it is quite possible that it will be a branch of a future Federal Sociological Center in Russia, according to the current bureaucratic reform within the Academy of Sciences. This institute focused its research on some problems that demands a combination of theory and empirical surveys. To give an example, globalization in Russia is described through research on changes in family life, human rights movement, health issues, and deviant behavior; a topic on consolidation of Russian society is presented as two processes: a consolidation of Russian ruling elites (Alexander Duka) and a consolidation of the population. Two collected volumes on these topics were published by its previous director, Irina Eliseeva (2008, 2012). Currently, a new director, Vladimir Kozlovsky, is focused on the study of Russia within the framework of civilization approach; however, he is more known for his book on history of Russian sociology (1995).

Similar to the Institute of Sociology in Moscow, this establishment also runs research projects initiated by the state (health, social

institutions, social stability, human capital), received scientific grants (life course of the people in St. Petersburg, prostitution, deviant behavior and stigma, well-being, and modern methods of research), and also applied research according to agreement with other state managerial offices in the region (demographic situation, socialization of children in modern family, migration, consumption). Institute publishes annual books and almanacs like "*Petersburg Sociology*," "*Power and Elites*," and Russian *Journal of Sociology and Social Anthropology* is closely associated with its activities as well.

The Institute of Socio-Political Research within the Academy has existed since 1991 and follows a concept of transformation focusing on less radical changes and keeping some Soviet legacy, especially in social policy. As all academic institutions in Russia, it has a mission to develop both fundamental and empirical research. Its main areas of study include social security of Russia, management of the Federal and regional levels, social structure, integration of ex-Soviet republics, Russian national traditions and culture under the influence of globalization, and others. The Institute published several books on global problems of Russian civilization, forecasts of the further Russian social and economic development, sociology of youth, migration, ecology, and entrepreneurship (Sergey Rumyantsev, Yulia Zubok, Vladimir Chuprov). The Institute also runs monitoring and uses its data for the books, articles, and other publications and social policy papers.

Research Agencies

Research agencies constitute the third type of post-Soviet sociological organizations. They are usually run research on the basis of grants, either from the state or private funders (Russian and foreign). The state agencies produce social knowledge of a similar quality to the academic institutions, however, with more empirical data and often on a narrower topic. The private or non-government agencies base their research on grants (until recently, mainly foreign); their social products are more critical and connected to civil society rather than to the state.

In the 1990s, several new research centers opened and started to compete with the academic research institutions. This competition often was successful as new centers offered new research methods (both quantitative and qualitative) and analyzed new topics. As a rule, new research centers received non-governmental funds: Their clients included

numerous political parties and politicians who ordered surveys to measure public support for their activities and check the effectiveness of their electoral campaigns. Such studies are commercial, and they are aimed at serving private needs and production of limited servile or policy-oriented knowledge. Another channel of finance is marketing: Business people need research results of their potential audience; therefore, marketing research is a huge field for private companies. According to some statistics, since the 1990s business surveys dominate in Russian empirical research field.

The oldest big research company is VCIOM. It was founded in 1987 and served the Soviet authorities until 1991. VCIOM (the full name is the Russian Public Opinion Research Center) was the first sociological organization founded in this field; it is still the biggest polling company in Russia running polls on an enormous number of questions: from the ranking of politicians and other officials in Russia and former Soviet states to the population feelings, attitudes to social and political events, trust in institutions, inter-ethnic relations in Russia, level of life and salary satisfaction, assessment of consumer behavior of Russians, and the like. Research data are broadly published in media, and they are discussed in the society, presented in publications, and have a relatively high level of trust among the population. For many years, VCIOM was headed by Yury Levada and did independent research. In 2003, the state authorities decided to change the mechanism of governance for the center and increased its subordination. Under this political pressure, all the existing staff left VCIOM and organized a separate research firm: private Levada Center, the most popular non-government research center in Russia in the twenty-first century. As for VCIOM, under the current leadership of V. Fedorov it continues pro-government—yet trusted by many Russians—quantitative research on various topics, organizes professional conferences, and publishes reports of the world association on public opinion (translated into Russian). Their data are open for the public on their Web site (www.wciom.com) and a journal.

The private Levada Center differs from VCIOM by the means of financing their surveys (non-government grants, private orders) and the independent character of research analysis. In many cases, the data are not in favor for the ruling elite. For example, regular monitoring of the population feelings disclosed dissatisfaction of the population in several policy decisions, high level of migration attitudes among the Russian youth during the periods of crisis, and negative attitudes to some political

events. Yury Levada elaborated a concept of *Homo Soveticus* on the basis of huge research data; this was a theoretical framework for the further interpretation of survey data (2006). After his death, his follower Lev Gudkov took over as director. The Levada Center uses both quantitative and qualitative methods of research; their results and analyses are represented in a *Journal of Public Opinion* and on their site (www.levada.ru).

As a non-government organization, the Levada Center attracts many foreign organizations and individual scholars that trust its results and order particular research according to their interests. The grant system is common for other non-government research institutions as well. As such research often refers to several "hot issues" related to the public opinion on the particular political events, Russian foreign and domestic policy, Russian government made a decision to increase control over private research organizations. In 2012, the Federal Law on foreign agents was adopted, in which the private organizations running research on foreign funds were qualified as "foreign agents" and public opinion surveys on foreign funds as "political activity" in favor of foreign organizations. On the basis of this law, in 2013 the Levada Center was classified as a foreign agent (together with some other sociological non-government research centers), and publications on their Web site were restricted. It was understood by the civil society to be an attack on the academic freedoms. The German journal "Osteuropa" immediately launched an international solidarity campaign against the stigmatization of Levada Center. Several non-government organizations in Russia, including the Russian sociological society, also expressed their solidarity: Such actions reflected the public support for the colleagues and common concern about the limits for sociological research, but did not have any legal influence. The law on foreign agents is still in action, and those non-government research organizations that want to get foreign grants (including the Levada Center) have to officially declare themselves *foreign agents*. They feel themselves under the constant state pressure and a threat to be closed.

The third large polling agency in Russia is the Foundation of Public Opinion (FOM) headed by Alexander Oslon. This organization is active in online research, and it publishes on its survey data and methods of sociological research. FOM is also active in translation and publication of foreign sociological literature in Russia.

The Institute for Comparative Social Research (CESSI) participates in the European Social Survey in Russia and publishes their results on all related topics. It did comparative research in the former Soviet states,

especially Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan, to assess the linguistic situation (usage of Russian), attitudes to Russia among the local population. In Russia, it regularly runs surveys on the living cost, values, standard of living, and its assessment by the population, ecological, and economic situation. This center uses both qualitative and quantitative methods of research. The field study for CESSI as well as for other polling agencies includes almost all ex-Soviet republics; they often get grants to run comparative research across the post-Soviet region and participate in the Eurasian Monitor, a special research body created for such research.

The Institute for Comparative Labor Relations Research (ICITO) was established in 1994 in Moscow by several independent sociological research groups. From its early history, the institute established good relationship with several foreign universities and centers in the UK, Canada, and the USA. It is doing research in all aspects of labor and employment relations: trade unions and industrial relations, workers' movement, industrial management, employment restructuring, and the formation of a labor market. The Institute has an international reputation for the application of ethnographic and case study methods of qualitative sociological research not applied in the past in Russia; they also conduct survey research. Their staff received foreign training, and they actively publish in Russia and abroad, having funds from different clients, including the Russian government.

The Zircon Research group (Moscow) is one of the oldest independent companies in the modern Russia (founded in 1989 on the initiative of its director Igor Zadorin), specialized in sociological and marketing research, information and analytical services, and political and management consulting. Zircon has partner relations with several sociological organizations in Russia and abroad. Its funding consists of both state and private orders for research. They provide to their clients research, consulting service, information, and research analysis. They participated in Eurasian Monitor international surveys, charity in Russian regions, development of entrepreneurship in Russia, civil activity of the population, and cooperation possibilities between the activist groups and the authorities. Like other agencies, Zircon participates in electoral surveys in Moscow and other Russian regions. However, serving for the government, the organization does not have any problems as their results are acceptable by the authorities.

The biggest non-government Center for Independent Sociological Research (CISR) in St. Petersburg was opened in 1991 by Viktor

Voronkov. It specializes in research on social movement, civil society, ethnic relationship in big Russian city, and migration. Diversity of research interests is determined by the plurality of grants received from different funding agencies. CISR is specialized in several fields, focusing on the everyday problems in post-Soviet society. This center is a good example of the new institutional form of social knowledge production on such issues as migration (Olga Tkach), part-time women's employment (Olga Brednikova), and civil society and its problems (Boris Gladarev). Results of these research projects construct a mosaic picture of everyday life in post-Soviet Russia with small details available from the case study. They mainly use qualitative methods of research. Similar to the Levada Center, CISR is also classified as a foreign agent.

Many small research centers were organized within the universities (such as *Region* in Ulyanovsk or Center for Social Policy and Gender Studies in Samara) and later became independent structures. Research centers conduct studies related to structural reforms, the elderly, women, migrants, everyday practices of adaptation, and survival under the market conditions. Among their findings are trends and changes in communication between people (from personal gathering to online networks), growth of inequality for vulnerable groups (limited job options for women, migrants, handicapped), and growth of individualization of youth.

Additionally to separate independent regional centers, there are regional associations uniting several research companies. To give an example, the association of regional sociological centers "Group 7/89" founded in 2001 and registered as a nonprofit organization unites more than 20 research companies from seven federal districts and 89 administrative subjects of Russian Federation. Their goals include the development of civilized market of sociological and marketing research, carrying out independent research, professional communication between the members, and improvement in professional level of the staff and research results (Group 7/89 2017).

All the private research organizations involved in knowledge production on the grant financial basis currently experience a precarious condition, and they are not certain of their future. This is a new post-Soviet situation: The non-government research institutions that wanted to be independent from the state found themselves under a stronger government pressure and restrictions in funding than the state research centers that were destined to serve the government's policy needs.

Sociological Islands

Since the 1990s and onward, the symbolic division and fragmentation within the sociological community in Russia have become visible and even more significant than earlier. It related to the style of knowledge production, professional communication, research funds, publications, and other related issues. It is not by chance that a study of the sociological academic community in St. Petersburg discovered deep dividing lines among groups of sociologists in this city akin to "islands in the ocean that never communicate" (Sokolov 2012, 81). The division of sociologists in St. Petersburg, as Sokolov states, reflects the situation in Russian sociological community as a whole. According to this research of a sociological community in St. Petersburg, the basis of all divisions is mainly political (liberals vs. conservators); however, it correlates with the different types of organizations sociologists belong to and to many other issues (salaries, journals, conferences, personal professional networks).

There is nothing "special" in political division lines between sociologists: They always existed in Russia. On the one hand, political and sociological fields are interrelated in Russia, and sociological community cannot be unified: As there are different political parties influencing political climate in Russia, then there are different political orientations among the sociologists which try to understand societal changes within particular theoretical frames. On the other hand, political fragmentation is connected with the division of sociological organizations and types of knowledge production. Therefore, political fragmentation can be viewed as a latent threat and an obstacle to the further development of the professional sociological community in Russia.

Polarization means also different access to resources that is provided to representatives of three symbolic islands: academic, state university, and private sociological institution. In some localities, their combinations may differ; however, the major dividing lines are common.

The major "islands" in this research differ in how they produce social knowledge and their resources. The first island means sociology in old academic institutions and the state university (faculty of sociology and related departments). These organizations receive insufficient state funding; they depend on the state and follow some "unwritten rules" (limitations) in research that may soften the critical research potential of this part of sociological community. Nevertheless, academic sociology is still active and very productive, taking into account that it is produced by

the scholars with relatively low salary levels. Sokolov (2012) calculated that no European country has such "cheap" social scientists as Russia does, considering how many papers on average (published primarily in Russian) Russian scholars produce for miserable pay. Summarizing the situation of poor funding for sociologists in Russian Academia, a former Soviet sociologist who emigrated in the USA, Vladimir Shlapentokh (2010), concluded that "never in Russian history has the status and prestige of science been as low as it is under Putin's rule."

The second island includes the non-government research units, the non-government EUSP, and Faculty of Sociology at St. Petersburg campus of HSE. The research and teaching staff here belongs to the young generation (average age is between 30 and 40, while in the first island it is close to 50–60): These scholars are liberals with strong orientation to the western standards in sociology; they are oriented to western publications. By size, this island three times smaller than the first one. However, second island feels superiority over the first one as they belong to the more prestigious institutions: They seldom meet at the same conference and publish in the same journals. Researchers from the second segment offer their services to the reformist politicians, if they need sociological expertise for social policy decisions or run the innovative projects financed by private foreign research foundations.

Sociologists that belong to the third island, zone of transition, from time to time intersect with both islands, serving as a bridge between them. Scholars of this zone are not extremely liberal; however, they are not conservative and more oriented to the western standards as well. By size, they are similar to "liberals": These two islands together are slightly less than the first one. Overall, divisions between islands are not formally fixed; however, sociological community is split politically, ideologically, and intellectually. Only few professional leaders have common respect of both islands.

As this local research discovered, the professional communities of sociologists belonging to the first and second islands are totally different and can be even viewed as isolated from each other. The opposing islands prefer not to communicate in order to avoid conflicts. Each has its own authorities to refer to in the publications and discussions at the conferences (Guba and Semenov 2010). If the results of this research are applicable for the whole Russia, as Sokolov believes (2012, 76), then it becomes more clear why sociological community in Russia is divided, and why it is hardly possible to destroy the existing sociological networks and find a common ground for their unification.

At the same time, this situation is not unique either for Russia, where trajectories of sociological development always depended on the social and political conditions, or for the world sociology in general. According to some critical reviews, "the international sociological academy is such highly diverse, largely disintegrated and exceedingly fragmented that the only common characteristic of the professional community in the current conditions is the general desire to become somehow more appealing to the «society»" (Sorokin 2016, 6).

Currently, sociologists in Russia are not satisfied with the level of their professional autonomy and try to defend it in education, research, academic, and non-academic spheres. For these goals, they cooperate with other scholars who experience similar state pressure and limitations on their professional activities. As for sociology itself, it remains fragmented and diverse. When reading the reports of the institutional authorities, sociological community achieved a lot (Gorshkov 2015). However, most rank and file sociologists are concern about the state of the art in the discipline. One of the remaining problems relates to the territorial differences. The intensive professional life is concentrated in Moscow and partly in St. Petersburg, especially in the most known centers (institutions, universities, centers): They create the so-called Russian mainstream sociology. Sociology beyond these centers cannot compete, so that gap between the center and the province is increasing, and successful sociologists from the provinces often move to the centers to be more visible in the sociological community. Still, regardless of many problems from inside and outside Russian sociology, currently it has more perspectives for closer international cooperation and further internal development as a science.

Notes

1. Kryshtanovsky was also a scholar in the field of sociology of education, one of the leading among the university sociologists. Other scholars in this field include G. Cherednichenko, D. Konstantinovskiy and F. Sheregi (Moscow), G. Zborovsky and Yu. Vishnevskiy (Ekaterinburg). Currently, a research institute on education at the HSE organizes comparative surveys in the former soviet republics and does comparative studies with foreign western countries (I. Froumin, Ya. Kuzminov). All of these scholars run several grant projects in the field of education, including the elaboration of the state education policy.

2. In this research that started in perestroika period, Shanin had a strong support of his Russian colleague, economist V. Danilov, who was also involved in research of Russian peasantry. Together, they ran international interdisciplinary projects and presented their results at several international forums on Russian rural life.

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CHAPTER 7

Gender Studies: The Novelty at the Russian Academic Scene

Abstract The trajectory of gender studies is discussed as an example of emerging publicly engaged research branch influenced by a changing political and ideological context. The period of the 1990s was favorable for establishing gender studies thanks to the efforts of academic feminists and international community. Academic feminists expressed scholarly commitment, entrepreneurial skills, and public involvement. This academic innovation became a challenge to a conservative patriarchal revival. Gender studies made Russian sociology more critical and reflective. In the early 2000s, the conservative turn in Russian state ideology and deficit of international support provoked fundamentalist attack on gender studies. As a result, academic feminist research is developing in the drastically unfavorable ideological climate.

Keywords Gender studies · Feminism · Women's movement
Non-government centers

Gender studies is a relatively new phenomenon on the Russian academic scene. It demonstrates that post-Soviet development of Russian academy (including sociology) is still influenced by political and ideological circumstances and demands a good deal of enthusiasm and commitment of scholars. Unlike American sociology, where, according to Turner (2014, 3), the role of women's studies and academic feminism has been acknowledged as decisive in overcoming the crisis of the mid-1980s, in

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Russian sociology gender studies still has not got significant recognition. In spite of the efforts of enthusiastic scholars and growing interest of young researchers and students in gender studies, they maintain a marginal position in the Russian academy.

The ideological and political context was crucial for the development of gender studies in Russia, both institutionally and substantively. The post-Soviet academic and political conditions in the 1990s created opportunities for the introduction of new academic spaces that ideologically challenged patriarchy and provoked gender criticisms of the Soviet system and post-Soviet transformations. Academic feminists enthusiastically used these opportunities to establish new branch of research. International support of donor organizations made the projects of gender studies a reality. In the 1990s, gender studies mostly developed in the university and NGO segments of social knowledge production and was financed by individual and institutional grants of international foundations.

The effects of rapid, but partial institutionalization of gender studies in the Russian academy resulted in the inclusive umbrella effect: it included both feminist critical methodology and conventional "adding women" education and researchers genuinely interested in methodology and topic and those who were motivated by favorable economic and ideological conditions. In the 2000s, when institutional (ideological and financial) domestic and international support declined, gender studies became more homogenous; the critical commitment of researchers became more articulated, in spite of the increased state pressure and the conservative ideological turn in a society.

In the Soviet period, the research field of *gender* studies did not exist. The term *gender* was unknown for the intellectual and academic publics until the end of the 1980s. However, such topics as women's movements, women's employment, and division of family roles, self-destructive everyday practices of men and women's double burden in the Soviet society were discussed in the framework of with Marxist–Leninist orthodoxy and ideological slogan of sexual equality. However, empirical sociological research of the 1970s–1980s based on the positivist methodology of data collection and analysis revealed that in spite of the ideological statements of sexual equality women had structural limitations on their upward social mobility. Thus, their wages were 30% less than that of men because of a gender qualification gap, they were occupied in the professions that were less well paid, women's position on administrative

ladder was much lower than that of men (the *glass ceiling* effect was revealed though it was not named in such a way), and women's leisure time was much less than that of men because of gender inequality in domestic chores. Empirical evidence showed that women's work attitudes were structured differently than men's. Work-life balance was discussed as a specific issue of women's life, and "crisis of masculinity" was one of the topics of public discussion initiated by demographers in the end of 1960s. Sociologists explained the gender divide and gender inequalities in life-chances by three main factors: remnants of patriarchal mores of men's domination, sustainable cultural norms of femininity and masculinity based on the generalized beliefs in natural destiny of sexes, and underdevelopment of the so-called small industrialization in the domestic sphere that in future would lighten women's housework (Kharchev 1964; Gordon and Klopov 1972; Gruzdeva and Chertihina 1983; Rimashevskaya 1992; Yankova 1979).

The political reforms of Perestroika (1985–1991) under the slogans of glasnost and democratization opened opportunities for the feminist critique of the Soviet patterns of masculinity/femininity, and for the criticism of market reforms and economic recession that worsened the position of families and women, in particular. In the late 1980s–early 1990s women groups emerged on the grass-roots level and were later registered as non-commercial and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). In these activities, gender enlightenment and feminist education played an important role. However, the term "feminist" was mostly avoided by gender studies' researchers as it had bad reputation in the Russian publics as signifying imposed, destructive, and threatening agenda of cultural change.

In the 1990s, the modernization of social sciences in Russia was on the agenda in the academy. Under significant budget cuts for universities and research institutions, it was possible to implement the task of scholarly modernization only with the support of international donors.

New institutional and ideological opportunities were met by women researchers interested in academic innovations and, in particular, in the gender analysis of social reality. International scholarly exchange programs gave opportunities for Russian scholars to study abroad, to get acquainted with the methodologies of women studies and gender mainstreaming strategies in academia. Individual and institutional grants of international research support foundations and the international feminist community provided resources to on the issues of gender inequalities in

public and private spheres. The transfer of feminist ideas into Russian academia gathered momentum.

At that time, many international researchers who came to conduct field research in Russia became curious about Russian gender practices marked by the discrepancies of formal equality, female emancipation, and women managing the family, on the one hand, and sexism, absence of male responsibilities in the household, and a symbolic patriarchy, on the other. It was this "perspective from outside" that helped Russian scholars to problematize the existing gender patterns and the discrepancies between discourses of sex equality and practices of women's exclusion. International contacts of the Russian academic feminists were very helpful in research and education through all the post-Soviet period.

In the early 1990s, gender studies started in Russian academy. The new field of research got both domestic and international support when Russian authorities showed the will for the modernization of social sciences and integration in the international gender equality politics. The previous monopoly of Marxist theoretical and ideological hegemony was rejected. The Russian government supported gender studies in several ways. First, Russia was seeking integration into international politics with its human rights' agenda. The Soviet Union ratified the United Nation *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women* in 1980, and Russia ratified the *Action Platform for Equality, Development, and Peace* with its mission for women's empowerment in 1995 (adopted by the World conference on women in Beijing). In this context, the Russian state was supposed to provide support for educational and research initiatives relevant to the political and ideological agenda of the gender equality framework. New gender studies centers in the Russian academy became the institutional home for gender research. By complying with international standards, the creation of centers for gender studies gave educational and research institutions a renovated look and helped to seek for financial support which became crucial for survival strategies of Russian academia in the 1990s. This support helped to establish units of gender studies in three different institutional settings of knowledge production. Such units were established in the research institutes of the Russian Academy of Sciences, state universities' departments, and in the small emerging non-governmental sector of research institutions.

Newly established Gender Studies Centers were launched by academic feminists. In their programs, they formulated a tripartite goal:

educational, research, and political. Their agenda included gender education and fight against sexism and all forms of discrimination against women.

Many gender studies units obtained dual legal status. On the one hand, they were affiliated with the university chairs or research institutes. On the other hand, they were registered as NGOs eligible for research and educational activities. This dual status allowed a better distribution of resources available to new academic initiatives and gave flexibility and autonomy in governance. For example, the Moscow Center for Gender Studies (MCGS) was established in the Institute of Social and Economic Studies of Population, Russian Academy of Sciences in 1990 and registered as an NGO in 1994. The main aims of the Center included: prevention of all types of discrimination against women; promotion of gender equality and gender equity in politics, in the sphere of employment and in the family; integration of gender methodology into the Russian academy; and popularization of gender education.

The main activities of MCGS were focused on conducting women's and gender studies, and designing educational and training programs. The Center analyzed gender issues in social policy and legislation cooperated with state authority bodies to promote a dialogue between governmental structures and women's NGOs in fighting for gender equality in Russia. MCGS regularly issued reports and expert materials on the status of women and social policies in the Russian Federation (Khotkina 2002).

In the end of Perestroika period, Gender Studies researchers in cooperation with women's organizations also made an attempt to generate solidarity among women's groups: they organized two Independent Women's Movement forums in 1991 and 1992 under the leadership of the Moscow Centre for Gender Studies headed by Anastasia Posadskaya. The motto of the first Forum in Dubna was "Democracy without women is not democracy" and the motto of the second Forum—"From problems to strategy" (Final Report of the First Independent Women's Forum 1991; Final Report of the Second Independent Women's Forum 1993).

Another example of the combination of university education, social research, and public commitment is the Tver Center for Women's History and Gender Studies. It was founded by Dr. Valentina Uspenskaya in 1998 in Tver under the auspices of the chair of sociology and political science. The aim of the unit was to coordinate research and teaching in women's and gender studies and develop the university

curriculum in this sphere, as well as to promote feminist analysis on social sciences and humanities and increase the public gender enlightenment in the Tver region. The important initiative of the Center was a public educational project, "Evening schools," focused on women and gender issues. The project was supported by the Tver municipality. This Center was famous for research in Russian women's history of the early twentieth century and socialist feminism, local women's history (Uspenskaya 2007, 2010, 2011).

Theoretically, the gender perspective was still novel for the Russian academy, therefore, the main concern of the scholars was mastering, and education and promoting of gender theory and methodology of research. Academic feminists tried to adjust theoretical gender concepts to the Russian context, collect empirical data and interpret it within a new methodological framework. The transfer of gender studies resulted in the change of the language of description and explanation of social phenomena in Russia focusing on public concern related to the anti-discrimination and gender equality (Kostikova 2006).

In order to institutionalize the new field, for the purpose of enlightenment, academic feminists organized annual summer schools on gender sponsored by international foundations. These educational extracurricular initiatives helped to attract the attention of younger ambitious researchers and students to the new methodology of women and gender studies that differed greatly from traditional patterns of discussing sex roles and women's position in society and being interdisciplinary in its scope. Gender studies schools in the 1990s–2000s took place in Russia and other post-Soviet countries of CIS emerged after the break of the USSR (Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan); these genre of extracurriculum education created a platform for gender education and helped to consolidate the interdisciplinary gender community of a small number of post-Soviet academic feminists. The activities of the schools resembled the atmosphere of informal seminar movement in the 1970s (see Chap. 4). In this connection, new institutions, specifically the MCGS at the Academy of Sciences, the Gender Studies Program of the European University at St. Petersburg, the Gender studies of Samara State University, the Tver University Gender studies, the Gender Studies Center of the European Humanities University in Minsk, and the Kharkov Center for Gender Studies played a major role. Their proclaimed mission included enlightenment and research as well as growth of public awareness in gender issues.

From the very beginning, gender studies admitted the mission of civic and even political commitment—fight against sexism and support of gender equality (Kletsina 1998).

In Russia, the summer schools for gender studies were developed as a joint project between MCGS and universities of the Russian regions; the project was supported by the Ford Foundation. The first summer school, "Valdai-96," was organized in collaboration with the Department of Sociology and Political Science of Tver State University. The second summer school "Volga-97" was hosted by the Foreign History Department of Samara State University. The third Summer School, "Azov-98," was organized with the support of Rostov State University. In the report on activities of the project provided by MCGS, it is stated: "The goal of (this) educational and research project is to promote the development of women's and gender studies in Russia and their integration into Russian higher education curricula." As a result of this project, the community of gender studies scholars came into being. Its core was the informal network of research centers, publication projects, and Russian electronic library of gender research.

The project of summer schools in Russia proved to be a fruitful educational initiative. In the second half of the 1990s, it expanded its scope—the Institute of International Summer Schools on Gender Studies in Foros supported by the MacArthur Foundation was organized by Kharkov University Center for Gender Studies (Ukraine). This project was very fruitful for the gender studies scholars of all post-Soviet space. It lasted for 12 years (1997–2009) headed by Irina Zherebkina. This group of academic feminists established the university network on gender research in the countries of the former USSR and initiated the book series on gender research in the publishing house *Alethea*. This center published the interdisciplinary periodical *Gender Studies* in 1998–2006 with the financial support of MacArthur Foundation (editor Irina Zherebkina). The main rubrics of this multidisciplinary periodical included feminist methodologies, sociology of gender, gender in political science, gender issues in anthropology and philosophy, women's history, gay-lesbian studies, and feminist literary studies. In the section for book reviews, the journal presented analytical reports and references to the books of crucial importance for the development of gender/women/feminist studies in the Commonwealth of Independent States. Publication of this periodical was an indicator of institutionalization of the new research field. This project was interdisciplinary, feminist, and

international as it was inclusive for the gender research community in post-Soviet space. The most prominent gender scholars of the region contributed to this periodical. It also gave a platform for the discussions on gender theory and the feminist agenda in the Russian context (Zherebkina 2000; Voronina 2001). Currently, courses on gender issues are taught at many universities as electives in different disciplines.

Igor Kon in his autobiographical book (2008) gave another example of institutionalization of gender studies in Russia. Kon named the quarterly *Woman in the Russian Society* edited by Olga Khasbulatova and published by the Gender Studies Center at the Ivanovo State University. Among the rubrics of this journal there are feminology (Russian analogue of women's studies), gender studies, methodologies of teaching, and research in these fields. As Kon mentioned, the core methodology of Russian feminology is that of "*adding women*," or a mainly historical research focused on women's experience in different societies. In the beginning of the 2000s, women's studies and gender studies (in Russia, on *feminology* and *genderology*) became part of the university standards for the professional education in the field of *Social work* (Zuykova and Eruslanova 2001).

In 1997, the Gender Studies program was opened in the department of Political Science and Sociology of the European University at St. Petersburg (initially supported by individual and institutional grants of Ford and MacArthurs Foundations). The proclaimed mission of this elite graduate school in social sciences and humanities has been to "meet the needs of Russian social development by training a new generation of teachers and scholars in the best Russian and Western traditions." It was in line with the European University's commitment "to the integration of Russian scholarship with scholarship in Europe and America" by bringing innovation and change, introducing and disseminating new standards and practices in the Russian educational system (European University at St. Petersburg 2016). The goal of this program has been to contribute to research and education in the field of Gender Studies. From the very beginning of the Program's inception, its fundament task was to develop and institutionalize specialization in gender studies under the umbrella of the European University department of Sociology and Political Science. Today the program offers courses in methodology and theory of gender in Soviet and post-Soviet society as well as methodology of gender studies.

Academic feminists—founders of gender studies in Russia—were rather successful in the 1990s. They revealed the features of strong

leadership, academic entrepreneurial skills combined with scholarly expertise and abilities for public sociology. They applied for the donor support of international foundations that were active in Russia and CIS countries in the 1990s. Gender researchers worked with women's NGO created transdisciplinary and transnational networks and promoted institutional, methodological, and substantial innovations in academia. Gender research shared the commitment of organic public sociology as Michael Burawoy calls it. The main purpose of research has been to study socially constructed hierarchies between and within different categories of men and women. The research supported the ideas of gender equality and eliminations of all forms of discrimination and sexism. Centers claim that they have both academic and policy-oriented agenda—including expertise on gender-related social policies and their consequences for the lives of Russian citizens. Advocacy for women's rights has been part of the agenda for gender studies. Enlightenment and Educations are considered to be the main mechanisms in the achievement of ideological goals (Noonan and Nechemias 2001).

Gender researchers have been able to project gender categories and feminist themes into public discourse. Having been previously treated as a "foreign" in origin and cultural essence, now, slowly but surely, gender and feminist agenda reached the public. In a fragmentary way, it also appeared in the Russian media and mass culture. All this took place due to pressure from the local academic feminists, civic activists supported by international community.

Sociologists doing gender studies investigated such topics as the Soviet gender contract, its arrangements and transformations, the balance between work and family, patterns of family life, new models of masculinity, gendered discrimination at the workplace, sexual harassment, barriers for women's representation in politics, gender types and segregation profile of employment, the prevalence of abortion, transformation of sexual life (sexual education, sexual minorities), regimes of care and the dilemmas of caregiving and care-receiving. These issues were analyzed within the context of Soviet gender policies and the impact of post-Soviet structural transformations. Researchers introduced to the public and academia such categories as *state patriarchy, statist gender order*, and the *gender contract* of the working mother. The term *patriarchal renaissance* was used to describe the ideological turn of post-Soviet transformation (Posadskaya and Zakharova 1991; Rimashevskaya 1992).

Reviews of gender studies in the 1990s claim that in spite of institutionalization efforts of academic feminists Russian gender studies often developed around separate play-lines. This means that every group or individual author works on its own topic and does not really look behind its narrowly defined horizon. Its interdisciplinary nature was understood in a reduced way—in the context of the joint conferences and common ideological agenda of scholars in social sciences and humanities from different disciplines. The discussions on the authenticity of different versions of gender studies and feminist academic imperialism are part of the story of Russian gender studies (for example Barchunova 2002; Kon 2009; Oushakin 2007; Voronina 2001, 2004; Tartakovskaya 2005; Sillaste 2000; Temkina and Zdravomyslova 2003; Khotkina 2002). Feminist and women-adding research with essentialist approach both used the term "gender studies" to signify their position in the knowledge production. However, soon under the attack of ideological anti-genderism the conservatives and opportunistic fellow travelers left the train.

Despite many disagreements, gender scholars in Russia share several important consensual statements:

- Gender is a structural component of social system.
- Gender studies is not only a subject of research but methodology focused on power relations based on social constructed sex categories.
- Gender scholars (overtly or sometimes implicitly) share the principle of intersectional analysis with its emphasis on diversity of masculinities and femininities and multiple source of structuration of gender differences and inequalities. Gender studies should not be limited to the research of women's issues and have to include research in the social construction of diverse masculinities.
- Ideology of sexual equality and policies of the state socialism did not emancipate women but substituted male patriarchy by the state patriarchy oppressing both women and men.
- Collapse of communism brought about crucial changes in the post-Soviet gender arrangements and gender ideology.
- Russian transformation invoked conservative gender ideology intertwined with nationalist and religious revivals.

However, the influence of gender studies in academia remained also rather limited. The broader public was also not very interested in gender

issues which were considered of secondary importance. The feminist groups were few and academic feminism was looked upon with suspicion. Many Russian sociologists still look with deep distrust at those researchers who openly declare their political and ideological standpoint (even democratic one). Their main ambition is to work professionally in society where social science is autonomous from the pressures of ideologies and markets. This aspiration to an ideal of independent social science is decisive in self-identity of majority of the Russian social scholars. This cherishing model of independent value free research is understandable reaction to the dismaying collective memory of ideological and political intervention in knowledge production and lack of academic freedoms. Standpoint methodology of any breed is seen by many Russian academics as return to the period when ideological values prevailed over the values of authentic knowledge.

Gender studies have been criticized not only by the believers in pure science. Patriarchal models of the gender divide seem to be an appealing alternative to the hypocritical slogans of women's emancipation and sexual equality that had been used to disguise the exploitive gender mobilization.

In the 1990s, in order to prevent gender studies from sliding into a ghetto, it was necessary to bring gender sensitivity into mainstream social science and humanities. In this way, academic audiences could hear the feminist voice and may join discussions on the concrete subject. This was a strategy of academic integration—development of gender studies in sociological discipline was the result. The second—*strategy for autonomy*—implied building an interdisciplinary, transnational gender community of colleagues sharing main methodological and epistemological principles[1] (Temkina and Zdravomyslova 2003).

Gender Studies and the Conservative Turn

In the 2000s, the conditions for gender studies drastically changes. On the one hand, international foundations withdrew their support of the Russian academia.[2] On the other hand, the rhetoric of essentialistically defined gender roles and heteronormativity has become part of the ideology of restoration of Russian cultural traditions backed by the Russian Orthodox Church. As a consequence of the shrinking financial and ideological resources, the instrumental benefits of doing gender studies have declined in Russia. As a result the circle of gender scholars became

narrower and more critical. A limited circle of researchers continues to maintain their commitment to the feminist approach to gender.

The Putin-4 rule is marked by the authoritarian turn in the political regime. In the 2010s, the turn to hegemonic conservative ideology reveals itself in many laws and ideological campaigns. Ideological and financial control over media is getting stronger and is officially legitimized by the rhetoric of national security and social stability. The impact of the conservative attack on gender studies is difficult to underestimate. Conservative fundamentalists consider the very term *gender* as a possible foreign agent, an illegitimate intruder in the Russian discourse. The academic feminists now have uneasy times, to put it mildly. Thus, the Law on Foreign Agents adopted by the Russian Duma on July 13, 2012, claims that a non-governmental organization is determined as a foreign agent under two conditions: (1) when it receives international financial support (foreign donor's money), and (2) if it is involved in political activities. In spite of the ongoing critique of democratic publics, this law is enacted not only in relation to human rights matters, but also research institutions have become the targets of the Chief-prosecutor's inspection. Because of the fact that many Gender Centers were registered in the 1990s in the juridical form of NGOs, they collaborated with women's and human rights' organizations and had strong international ties from the very beginning. Gender studies units and individual researchers doing gender studies have overtly declared their ideological and political engagement, their commitment to gender equality and the fight against discrimination. Such openly declared commitment makes these centers vulnerable. They can be easily qualified as foreign agents. The legal consequences of such qualification include huge fines and/or prosecutor's prescription to cancel the activities of organization and problems with access to the field. To survive they have to exclude certain issues from their research agenda, to avoid politically sensitive topics or cut down international contacts of the research NGOs.

However, certain issues of the gender studies agenda are beyond repressive control, for example, reproductive health issues, patterns of parenthood, work-life balance, gendered life course, analysis of family policies, domestic violence, and various aspects of social care. These issues are in the package of Russian social policy and that is why sociologists are welcome to address them in public and discuss them in the TV programs.

As many observers note, there is no commonly shared perception of gender discrimination in Russia. The consensual statement is that the

Soviet gendered policies mobilized both men and women under hypocritical slogans of gender equality and women's emancipation. In the first decades of the new century, the conservative ideological turn and the "new morality" discourse have become a part of a nationalist ideology that pretends to be hegemonic in contemporary political context. In the Russian Parliament, the drafts Laws on gender equality failed, as well as initiatives related to the equal rights for sexual minorities. As a result, gender issues became politicized from above and entered public debates. In the course of those debates, various ideological positions were articulated, inaugurating a fight between conservative and progressive gender ideologies. The major opponent of feminist ideology is traditional nationalist ideology promoting the so-called traditional Orthodox Russian values. It is supported by part of ruling elite as well as by broader publics. Thus, the term *gender* triggered protest by the conservatives. Several anti-feminist initiatives aimed to ban abortions and prohibit LGBT activism. The Federal "Gay Propaganda Law" was passed in the Duma on January 25, 2013, while the Law on Juvenile Justice was blocked. In 2012, the action of Pussy Riot group in the Orthodox Cathedral triggered a public attack on feminism (Channell 2014). The rise of conservatism in Russian society made gender studies even more difficult and less popular in both state-financed Academia and NGO research centers than it had been in the early 1990s (Temkina and Zdravomyslova 2014).

Nevertheless, a gender study is now a legitimate part of post-Soviet academy. Gender courses exist in several universities (both state and private), and since the early 2000s gender education has got a legitimate (however, unstable) status in Russian system of university education. Paradoxically, the conservative political atmosphere created a demand for knowledge, intellectual abilities, and expertise in gender issues—all of which is now directed against the conservatives and in support of the ideology of gender equality, sexual, and reproductive rights. In parallel, gender researchers run new studies and organize conferences to keep the public and academic interest to the issue of gender discrimination, sexual violence, and reproductive rights. In the last few years together with decrease of public interest to sociology, gender studies have become less represented in the universities. However, they always attract the students' interest and initiate public debates on gender-sensitive topics regardless of the fact that gender studies remains marginal. Feminist groups are small in numbers but they raise their voice against particular cases of discrimination. Internet platforms become venues of public discussion.

Mass media contribute to construction of contradictory images of feminism misinterpreting this phenomenon according to political context. Currently, narrow field of gender studies in sociology is surviving in the context of hegemonic conservative ideological turn but sensitive to the demands for this knowledge from the younger generation and liberal thinking young people.

Notes

1. Cross-disciplinary communication of gender studies in the post-Soviet space researchers involves philosophers, sociologists, economists, historians, political scientists, philologists, etc. In this brief review, we cannot present more detailed picture. However, it is important to mention here Russian Association of Researchers in Women's History headed by Natalia Pushkareva as it contributes so much to the further development of GS in Russia and is opened for cross-disciplinary communication.
2. Two major reasons for such move were identified: economical and political. At that time, Russia was on rise economical and the international financial support was not crucial for survival of academy. At the same time, Russian politics became unfriendly toward many international foundations treating their activities as intervention in the domestic affairs.

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CHAPTER 8

Whither Russian Sociology? Problems and Prospects Conclusion

Abstract Uncertainty in the status of Russian sociology and its further development continues to raise questions. Contemporary Russian sociology faces numerous challenges in improving its status in the international academy and wider Russian society. Internationally, regardless of their attempts to become an integral part of global sociology, Russian sociologists still discuss whether they need to construct their own sociology outlining specific topics and institutional patterns, similar to indigenous or Southern theory, or whether they should rather follow the way of mainstream Western theory. Long-lasting political fragmentation, dependence on the state funding for research and education contribute negatively to the further development of Russian sociology.

Keywords Fragmentation · Universality · Nationalism · Other sociology
Higher education · Comparative studies

Russian sociology continues its path and grows in new directions. However, most changes inside the field and numerous efforts to make sociology important for society at large have not yet significantly improved its status or brought authority beyond opinion polls. It is still divided between two opposite camps—internationally oriented sociologists, broadly defined as liberals (former Westernizers), and nationally oriented conservatives, regionalists (former Slavofiles, *Pochvenniki*). This fragmentation has become a common feature for Russian sociology.

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Sharp politicization relates only to a core group of sociologists who are deeply rooted in activities within their separate professional communities and often heading some sociological organizations (Osipov, Kharhordin) or associations (Pokrovskiy). A great part of empirically oriented sociologists involved in applied research tolerates all theoretical preferences without overtly demonstrating any political views, and they are ready to do research for liberal and conservative clients alike.

This division between the Westernizers and regionalists is most visible in the debate on social theory. Theorists involved discuss whether they have to construct their own nation-based concepts or, instead, assimilate the existing universalistic, cosmopolitan (Beck), and Western-originated theories. In terms of Sztompka (2010, 21), these groups represent the universalist sociology and the local traditions as two extremes. Logically speaking, according to Sztompka, both poles have the right to exist as they reflect two different aspects—universal concepts, trends, and paradigms that are common for all sociologists, on the one hand, and local problems, regional specifics, cultural peculiarities related to national culture, on the other. Within the current Russian theoretical community of sociologists, those who participate in these debates may disagree with Sztompka. Each camp avidly defends their position and would not recognize bridging both poles as a fruitful source of theoretical development. The cornerstones for non-stop controversies among Russian sociologists include but are not limited to "politicization of the discussion, the struggle for power in the field, and generational replacement" (Zdravomyslova 2010). Conservatives often use the non-scholarly ideological arguments and political pressure in this controversy; their base is rooted in the state national-patriotic turn in the early twenty-first century that encouraged nationally oriented research problems. Conservative turn is manifested in the emphasis of some specific topics and rejection of other "politically too sensitive" topics of research. For example, dissertations on traditional moral values and traditional family are welcome, unlike those on sexual minorities. Some public scandals in which the conservatives were involved in the last decade showed obscurantism of this camp and made it extremely unpopular in the sociological community even though it still finds support at MSU and the national association USR. However, the old discussion on the future of Russian theoretical sociology seems yet unfinished.

The camp of Westernizers unites the authors who aim to adhere to universal scientific norms and rationality. They accept the worldwide

known theories, concepts, and methods and try to adjust them to national context. Their own theories seem to serve as examples of how to perform such adjustments. For example, the concept of *cellular globalization* (Pokrovskiy 2014) develops a Russian version of rural globalization as an uneven process going on within particular territorial cells; likewise, the theory of *Homo Playing* (Kravchenko 2002) is a Russian version of *Homo Ludens* by Huizinga. In the early 2000s, several theories of Russian transformation appeared (Zaslavskaya 2003; Zaslavskaya and Yadov 2008) as a national adaptation of universal theories explaining dramatic social changes.

The camp of conservative regionalists, much smaller by size but active, unites those authors who support the ideologically defined "pure Russian national traditions of Orthodox culture" (Dobren'kov 2012), or propel the old geopolitical theory of "Russia as the Third Rome" (Russia as the uniting imperial power for other nations) (Dugin 2011) and build up other versions of "indigenous sociology" on that basis. On the global level, a somewhat similar approach developed among the sociologists beyond the "sociological mainstream"—those who belong to the post-colonial countries of periphery or semi-periphery (Connell 2007; *Facing an unequal world: Challenges for a global sociology* 2010). Russian national post-communist approach is also "against and out of the mainstream," however, on substantially different post-imperial background. Nationally oriented Russian theories focus on Russian cultural and historic context and build a kind of "another" (alternative) sociology as interpreted by Kalekin-Fishman (2008). Such authors underline the uniqueness of Russia that seems to demand unique sociological theories for its understanding. This approach reflects the problem of "otherness" that exists in many regions of the world, including Russia albeit with a different post-communist background (Titarenko 2012). One of the major reasons for the recent rise of such theories is the growing economic inequality on the global level (Therborn 2001; Piketty 2014), which aggravates the problems of academic dependency and "intellectual imperialism" (Alatas 2006). Ironically, the rejection of universal concepts and creation of national theories do not help to decrease social inequalities between the countries or make the "other" sociologies (including Russian) more popular worldwide.

It is worth repeating that this problem is not only Russian. Scholars in other post-communist and developing countries also struggle to find their place internationally and reflect nationally on their situation. Sokolov and Titaev (2013) came up with the labels of "*provincial*" and "*indigenous*"

labels as applied to social science in Russia, a kind of new synonyms for Russian Westernizers that adopt the global theories (mostly employed in private establishments) and academic regionalists (mostly working at state universities). According to their concept, provincials strive to participate in "universal science," while those who support "indigenous sociology" isolate themselves by local infrastructure and networks. In contemporary Russia, the first camp dominates, according to these authors.

In the late 1990s—early 2000s theoretical debates on the further development of Russian sociology spiraled vigorously. "Liberals" seemed to provide convincing arguments. They stated that all national sociologies had to be included into global scientific processes of which sociological development was part. They insisted that "further development of the national Russian theory assumes working on the results of world sociology" (Kachanov 2001, 100). One of the leading figures in this camp, Vladimir Yadov, argued that Russian theories had to develop in line with world theories. According to Yadov, the scientific contents of sociological research in Russia had to be lifted to the level of more general explanatory schemes and approaches (2006, 128). Being well aware of the universal sociological trends and holding key positions at the top of Russian sociological community, Yadov interpreted a lot of Russian theories as applications of universal concepts to Russian historical and cultural conditions. For him, such national theories might demonstrate some national specifics of the world trends at best, so that Russian sociology could finally construct only subtheories within the theoretical framework of a global "grand theory."

That said, those Russian authors who generally follow global theoretical patterns, also happen to occasionally define their theories as original. In their view, their own theories cannot be assessed as mere cultural appropriations of Western paradigms, even though they might acknowledge some similarities.[1] Such authors view their professional role in maintaining the open or assumed communication with the world-known theories. They seem to purposefully construct scientific bridges between Russian and mainstream Western sociologies, in which both sides share similar concepts and ideas. In other words, Russian "globalists" (Westernizers) fill in the universal scientific schemes with Russian empirical contents. By doing so, they try to improve their professional image on the global level and become more visible outside of Russia. On the national level, however, Russian pro-Western theories are often viewed by the local community as being totally Russian because they are focused

on local problems. Hence, an internal contradiction: on the one hand, such authors recognize their dependence on the universal concepts, on the other, they create an image of being "original Russian sociologists." For instance, an author of the Russian concept of risk society, Oleg Yanitsky (2003), clearly confirmed his close theoretical ties with concepts constructed in Beck (1992), Beck, Giddens and Lash (1994). However, his theory was meant especially for Russia: the empirical content of Yanitsky's concept is overwhelmingly Russian. As a result, this theory and the like remain national in their intellectual orientations and hardly provide any basis for further development of world sociology. However, they contribute to the theoretical plurality within Russian sociology.[2]

Local Russian theories constructed by Russian sociologists are unlikely to gain authority beyond the boundaries of Russia. Due to the global geopolitical contradictions and different formal practices of academic writing, some Russian scholars go so far as to claim it impossible to expect that any theory constructed by Russian authors will win a leading position in the world social sciences, regardless of the theories themselves (Barsukova 2008, 100). The reason for such pessimism, according to the authors, lies not in the native language or translation problems—but in the uneven social practices that differ greatly and create a gap between Russian and Western analytical schemes and methods of thinking. When Russian sociologists construct theories that do not fit in with the universal existing schemes, their Western colleagues do not understand and reject them as "nationalistic" and "local."

Still the challenge remains of how to include the social knowledge produced by Russian sociology in the global context and make it globally available in the future. Currently, not many expect Russian sociology as "another" sociology to bring to the table its national social-cultural knowledge.[3] However, some authors admit it can be true if Russian sociologists elaborate some knowledge that would be valuable yet unavailable from outside the region. It means that Russian sociology could benefit the global one "through its vantage point on the boundaries of East and West, North and South" (Sandstrom 2008, 609). Yet this view is rather exceptional: according to Yadov (2008, 19), there are no Russian "gurus of sociology" recognized as great masters in contemporary sociology—neither among Westernizers nor among conservatives (regionalists).

There is probably no middle path for Russian sociology to put an end to the non-stop intellectual and organizational struggle between the opposite camps. The problems they dispute reflect not only national

Russian traditions. Its roots lie in the nature of sociological knowledge itself, in the "ineradicable sociological antinomy" that reflects different sides of knowledge development (Zdravomyslov 2010, 5). If so, the key issue would be to assess what Russian sociologists can do beyond contesting these boundaries.

Both camps wish to put Russian sociology forward and make it more significant on a global level but they assume different theoretical tools. Currently, Russian pro-Western universalists are better known in the national sociological community, but their arguments are not sufficient to finally overrule the regionalists. Both orientations are based on different Russian sociological traditions and different political interests. They reflect contradictions belonging to Russia itself because Russia is "…a part of modern world and at the same time it has, naturally, a certain identity and an originality" (Zdravomyslov 2007, 48). Therefore, it might be a mistake to ignore "a national originality of the social processes which are developed in this country," and "transfer a conceptual framework from one socio-historical context to another" (ibid., 49). This statement is similar to Sztompka's idea that there should be a common sociology that recognizes multidimensional global diversity and cultural peculiarities of national sociologies.

One of the compromises between the two camps currently developed in Russia is the so-called civilization approach, as it is locally labelled, close to the "multiple modernities" perspective which is viewed as appropriate for bringing research on national problems to the global context (Braslavsky 2013). Since the 2000s, several Russian sociologists have adopted this approach developed by Eisenstadt (2000) and Arnason (2003), because it recognizes the equal value of civilizations (Dronov 2014). This theory also helps to reinterpret the failure of Soviet communism as a certain model of modernity (Arnason 1993). The multiple modernities approach gives a new perspective for discussing the globe as a mosaic of different but equal civilizations with their own versions of modernity. According to it, global sociology provides general forms and patterns, while national/local sociologies reflect the specific forms of social communities and construct identifiable descriptions of collective life patterns. According to Zdravomyslov (2010, 200), in regard to Russian sociology it means that it does not exist as self-marginalizing (or self-isolating) way of dealing with the social problems. It exists "as the movement of thought within the modern sociological discourse that goes beyond a single country."

It is important for the future development of Russian sociology to select main problems for national discussion and find the common basis for its integration. Such problems have to combine national specifics and global importance. It is only through the analysis of such problems that Russian sociology may contribute to the global.

Another prospect is that Russian sociology might benefit if it focuses on the fields where Russian cultural scholars have significant achievements. From this view, sociology of culture (based on Mikhail Bakhtin's heritage), or linguistic studies (related to the heritage of Moscow-Tartu semiotic school headed by Yury Lotman), should be primarily developed. As for interdisciplinary fields, they may also include neurosociology connected to the ideas of Russian scholar V.M. Bekhterev.

The third prospect for Russian sociology is a focus on specific Russian problems that are important for the global development. Such problems should be a priority for Russian scholars. Thus, Goran Therborn expresses his confidence that there is no reason for Russian sociologists to feel an inferiority complex in comparison with Western sociology. The current weakness of Russian sociology, from his view, relates to the empirical focus on public opinion polls instead of "the analysis of institutions, their internal functioning and study of real social behavior" (Therborn 2013, 15). As for the possible professional input of Russian sociology on the global level, Therborn believes that it has "to fully analyze and understand, going beyond the ideological clichés of the 'Cold War' period, what are the social achievements and fatal failures of the Soviet Union, as well as the dynamics and consequences of subsequent restoration of capitalism in Russia" (2013, 15). If these problems were successfully solved, Russian sociologists could get in the spotlight of world interest. This task can be similar to one that Nikolai Berdyaev performed back in the twentieth century when he published the "Origin and Meaning of Russian Communism" (1938, 1955), a book where he provided his deep view and explanation of the 1917 October revolution and its consequences for Russia. When Berdyaev published his research on the Russian revolution, it was 20 years after the event itself. Currently, when more than 25 years have passed after the Soviet collapse, it is prime time for presenting the deep theoretical analysis of this dramatic phenomenon that demands comprehensive empirical data as well as the proper theoretical framework for its understanding and interpretation. Such research may perfectly fit the multiple modernity approach already adopted by part of Russian sociologists.

This field of research has already a point to continue, although within different theoretical frames. Vladimir Shlapentokh, who emigrated to the USA in 1979, published a book that became a landmark among the Russian audience, "*A Normal Totalitarian Society*" (2001). Other Soviet emigrants to the West had earlier contributed in the same way (Zemtsov 1985). A younger scholar in this line, Alexei Yurchak, published an anthropological survey on the controversial life of the last Soviet generation (2006) that contains a lot of sociological information on the late Soviet history. However, it was only the beginning of a substantial work on the reassessment of the Soviet period in Russian history and the current role of Russia in the world that has to be done by sociologists, and preferably not only in Russian.

There are other problems related to the future of Russian sociology. One of them is that sociology has never been an essential part of university education; another is that its main contributions have been made in research institutions. Currently, there is no protection of higher education against new attacks of technocratic expansion (colonization) in the name of economic growth. Most universities are run by the state that does not provide enough research funding to the social sciences. Academic research institutions have more resources, but for economic survival, they are mainly oriented to social policy research or market research (growth of inequality in stratification and way of life, level of trust to the institutions, labor market and migration, conflicts and ethnic relations, social-economic crisis and its reflection in mass feelings, etc.). This strategy does not leave space for a deep explanation of social institutions and social processes that are below the surface of everyday life phenomena. Therefore, most research centers are known for their public opinion polls or regular monitoring of social feelings of the population without profound understanding of societal trends within the framework of any theoretical paradigm. Academic research is also not powerful enough to win praise nationally or internationally. The common acute issues discussed in current Russian sociology relate to its disciplinary development (such as the relations between the global and national levels of sociology, public role of sociology, or sociological education). Liberal part of sociologists is focused on research of democracy and freedoms, law enforcement, gender relations, and nationalism in Russia and the like. Some sociologists believe that a potential way for further development of Russian sociology also relates to the studies in areas such as the youth culture, women's studies, legal issues, new labor markets,

and forms of employment, lifestyle, and communication—areas in which Russian authors already have some achievements and which are of common interest on the global level.

Still, sociologists in Russia need more promotion and self-awareness on the national/international levels alike. Russian publications are of moderate interest to international audiences, and even in Russia, sociological periodicals are not broadly known beyond the professional community and they rarely produce new topics for national debates.

Russian sociology disposes of several explanatory concepts and theories. However, it is only now that sociologists try "to build a concept of emerging capitalism [in Russia] as a way to explain new structures, cultural leanings and agency in Russia" (Chernysh 2016, 60). Political divides urge sociologists from nationalist (conservative) and liberal camps to construct new theories, however, most of them are known mainly in Russia.

The growing participation of Russia in comparative quantitative surveys (such as the World Values Survey or European Social Survey) is a sign of further international cooperation. At the same time, only a few Russian authors are advanced in sophisticated conceptualizations of collected data. Their research does not often address the global audience, even having a potential chance to do that in comparative studies.

Russian sociology is not simply a field of institutions and positions, it is also an intellectual exercise. Therefore, there are intellectual traditions in the Russian social thought. On the inside, Russian sociology is occupied with research on topics that are important for the Russian society. Russian sociology could play a more significant role in the world sociology by providing more contributions based on comparing historical differences and national experiences of common social processes. Given its vast background and history, professional sociology in Russia will continue to strive for its professional autonomy in empirical and theoretical research, to develop valid approaches to social phenomena and processes and network with other sociologies across the world.

Notes

1. For example, "sociology of life" is presented by Zhan Toshchenko as his own new sociological paradigm (2016). Toshchenko agrees that his paradigm has several intellectual roots in the Western and Russian writings of phenomenological profile. For Toshchenko, his paradigm provides an original reassessment of the previous global and national experience, in

which the lifeworld is the only legitimate subject of sociological research. Toshchenko's goal is to "research most rationally and effectively… the life world of the people" (2016, 11). The paradox with many new Russian national theories is that they are not really original or alternative, even if they do not acknowledge their similarity to universal theories and substitute universal concepts by "national" ones. Such Russian theories profess the interpretation of universal processes (transformation, modernization, and globalization) in the framework of Russian cultural and historical traditions.

2. For other examples, the "paradigm of trauma" developed by Zhan Toshchenko is similar in its main ideas to the writings by Sztompka and Alexander, so that Toshchenko's theories of "Centaurism" and the "Paradox Man" are his authorized versions of the well-known theory of trauma. Another example is Svetlana Kirdina's theory of institutional matrixes that posits the existence of two different "matrixes of development," X and Y, and argues that Russia always follows one of these matrixes in its history. This theory is rooted in the more general schemes of Karl Polanyi and Douglas Nort. Even the theory of "track and pass" by Nikolai Rozov (2011) who blames the indigenous theories as being out of date is itself essentially indigenous because it is constructed on the typical Russian empirical material and explains only Russian societal problems of development.
3. This problem is common for all post-Soviet regions. Thus, the most popular Ukrainian sociologists, Evgen Golovakha and Anatoly Ruchka, are not known among either Russian or Western sociologists. The situation is similar for the Russian-speaking authors from Belarus or Armenia: only those sociologists who had migrated to the West are known there. An exception can be made for the few authors who became known back in the Soviet days (I. Kon, A. Zdravomyslov, or V. Yadov). Still, even they made it only among the limited community of authors specialized on Russian or post-Soviet studies. As for their theories, they are currently poorly known even in Russia. This situation is a good example of a trend explained, among others, by Sztompka. Now it is not possible to be highly recognized in the field, if the author writes only in his/her national language and publishes only in his/her own country (2010, 26).

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