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THE TEACHING OF RUSSIAN CULTURE TO AMERICANS:
CONTEMPORARY VALUES AND NORMS

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the
Graduate School of the Ohio
State University

By

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* * * * *

The Ohio State University
1970

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V
CHAPTER I

OVERVIEW

Why Teach Foreign Culture?

General values

According to William Whewell, one of the most basic purposes of education is "to connect a man's mind with the general mind of the human race."¹ It is difficult to think of an aim more noble or more needed for schooling today.

In the first place, the search for self leads through others' lives. As Beaujour recently put it, "We also believe that man can find himself only in and through what is alien in him (the unconscious) and in others (the otherness of other men, the radical differences of other cultures)."² Brooks speaks of the "stereopticon view," the perception in depth enjoyed by those who are


familiar with more than just their native culture.³

In the second place, international understanding is a prime national goal. Stephen Freeman points out that

Here in the United States, responsive to our position of world leadership, we have an ideal of a free and peaceful world community in which all men of all nations will understand each other and work together as neighbors for the common good. . . . Human history is the long recital of conflicts between peoples who break down the physical barriers that separate them, without breaking down the barriers of ideas.⁴

Understanding itself is not going to guarantee world peace, of course, but it is difficult to imagine people working together very long or very effectively without it.

In the third place, closely connected with the last area, is the fact that cross-cultural communication is vital in many professions. Even the physical scientist, usually satisfied in the past with a decoding course in foreign language, finds himself today participating in international exchanges and conferences where interpersonal non-technical understanding becomes very important. The social scientist is of course involved in such face-to-face contacts with his colleagues of other cultures, but his need for cross-cultural understanding is doubly great

³Nelson Brooks, "Teaching Culture Abroad: From Concept to Classroom Technique," Modern Language Journal, LIII (May, 1969), 321. (Hereinafter referred to as "Teaching Culture Abroad.")

because his literature cannot evade cultural influences as easily as can that of the "hard" sciences.\textsuperscript{5}

Not all businessmen are directly involved in foreign trade, of course, but \textit{Fortune} reported recently that "virtually every major American bank is committed to foreign endeavors, . . ."\textsuperscript{6} and that among large corporations in general, experience abroad is so important that "in fact, the young executive who does not get some international experience today is likely to be at a disadvantage later on in his career."\textsuperscript{7} During his stint overseas, the "proconsul" must "... cope with foreign languages, alien psychologies, strange business laws and customs, and unfamiliar social practices."\textsuperscript{8}

\textbf{In the language class}

The importance of teaching the foreign culture along with the foreign language has long been recognized. Milton wrote:

\begin{quote}
And though a Linguist should pride himself to have
\end{quote}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{7}Ibid., p. 57.
\textsuperscript{8}Ibid., p. 56.
\end{flushright}
all the Tongues that Babel cleft the world into, yet, if he have not studied the solid things in them as well as the Words & Lexicons, he were nothing so much to be esteemed a learned man, as any Yeoman or Tradesman competently wise in his Mother Dialect only.\(^9\)

Foreign language teachers have long recognized the above general reasons for teaching culture, and they have given at least lip service to the ideal of producing students who would be sensitive and welcome guests in the foreign environment, not ones merely clothing their "cultural offensiveness in the best local diction."\(^{10}\)

Brooks reports interest in culture from the foreign language teaching profession over the last two decades as evidenced by conferences in 1953 and 1960, the treatment of culture as a major topic in NDEA Institutes, various NDEA research projects, and the inclusion of the Culture and Civilization section in the MLA Proficiency Tests for Teachers and Advanced Students.\(^{11}\)

Interest in culture as an integral part of the foreign language teaching task seems to be increasing for


\(^{10}\)Welmers, "Language as Culture," p. 36.

\(^{11}\)Nelson Brooks, "Teaching Culture in the Foreign Language Classroom," Foreign Language Annals, III (March, 1968), 207-208. (Hereinafter referred to as "Culture in the Classroom.")
several reasons.

First, it is becoming increasingly apparent that language and culture are inseparably linked, and a knowledge of language without the culture that produced it is incomplete and distorted. Wharf's hypothesis—that a language actually determines its speakers' world-views—is hotly debated and usually accepted only with reservations, but the following statement by Fries seems generally acceptable: "Every language is inextricably bound up with the whole life experience of the native users of that language." John Carroll, in a speech given on February 12, 1970 at Ohio State University, pointed out a growing interest among linguists in semantics rather than structure for insights into speech production. Lewald criticizes the "... unwarranted belief that mastering the language patterns or skills leads in itself to cultural knowledge that acts upon the language."
Those who approach language and culture from the viewpoint of semiotics point out that language is one of several message systems used in a culture, and these "semioticists" draw our attention to the heavy connotational message load carried by certain vocabulary and structure.  

Second, and closely related to the first reason, is the point that "literature, likewise, cannot be wholly understood without reference to the culture that produced it." That being the case, "the student of literature is not wasting his time when he takes a culture course: he is in fact learning to read."  

Third, in the face of heavy rates of attrition in secondary and university foreign language classes, elimination of graduate foreign language requirements, and recent student demands for increased curricular pertinence to problems of society, foreign language educators are hoping that attention to culture will increase student motivation to study foreign language. Freeman points out that language is a vehicle, and a vehicle devoid of content is less interesting than one that carries vital ideas which need

16 Nostrand, "Sociocultural Context," p. 2  
to be shared. Kai-yu Hsu feels that foreign language and literature departments are making a terrible mistake in refusing to study and discuss contemporary events and writings in which today's politically active student shows great interest.

Because of these arguments touching liberal education, motivation, literature, and the language itself, the following statement by Freeman seems especially appropriate:

"We often make the mistake of regarding the cultural experience as something extraneous to the language class, supplementary to the main purpose. On the contrary, it is the central core."

Foreign language teachers may hesitate to delve too deeply into culture, fearing lack of expertise in territories belonging to cultural anthropologists, behavioral psychologists, psycholinguists, semanticists and of course literary critics. Lewald warns that "in an age of specialization due to accumulated factual knowledge, ... [encouraging language teachers to teach culture] would seem

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20 Freeman, "Let Us Build Bridges," p. 267.
anachronistic and, for many, academically unsound."²¹

Humility is good for the soul and for scholarship, but the answer to Lewald is threefold: First, for the above-listed reasons, the language teacher simply cannot ignore the teaching of culture. Second, the existence and superior insights of specialists are not just cause for the practitioner to abstain from investigating and applying a specialty to his own field. For example, the existence of linguists is certainly no reason for the teacher of foreign language to abstain from the investigation and application of linguistics. Third, in an age of specialization, there is a strong need for a generalist to tie all the specialties together and present an introduction to the culture. Students bombard every language teacher with countless questions about the culture, and he should have defensible, if general, answers for their most common questions. He may very well be the closest approximation of an expert most students will ever hear. The foreign language teacher is, after all, not the worst prepared to be the cultural generalist: he can read the foreign literature, often subscribes to a popular periodical or two from the target culture, has passing acquaintance with linguistics and belles-lettres, and usually has visited the

country in question.

In the Russian language class

To the above reasons for emphasizing culture in the foreign language class can be added some points specifically related to the study of Russian.

Previously mentioned arguments touching war, peace, and international communication, when applied to economic and military superpowers like the Soviet Union, take on more than just academic significance.

The respective governments of the Soviet Union and the United States place many limitations on contacts between the two countries, but the very act of limiting contacts places greater importance on each individual person visiting the Soviet Union. This is especially true since far more Americans visit the Soviet Union than vice-versa; thus Russians have comparatively few chances to make their own personal observations of Americans at home, so American visitors to the Soviet Union probably represent the only first-hand knowledge of the United States most Russians get. Kassof points out that

... the growth of cultural and commercial contacts

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with the West entails the exposure of Soviet officials, scientists and scholars, artists and writers, and even average citizens to fresh world views and styles of life that, in a formerly closed society, have an influence quite out of proportion to their still limited scope.

It would seem the duty of every Russian language teacher to equip each of his American students with enough knowledge of culture to enable the student to at least avoid being an unwitting ambassador of international ill-will.

A good part of the rule book on being a welcome visitor in the Soviet Union consists of general sensitivity and manners considered proper throughout the West. A good part of the book is more difficult.

Most writers comment on the great similarities between Russians and Americans: their capacity for naive optimism and hard work; their straightforward, informal manner; their huge and unfinished countryside with accompanying pioneer spirit. Yet for all this, there are differences, important differences all the more crucial because there are so many similarities. As Miller puts it, "Russia is strange, but perhaps it is not strange enough. It might be easier if one had to adapt oneself to a total strangeness, as of a desert or the tropical forest, . . ."


One American tourist exclaimed with some surprise "Why this society operates on a different wave-length from the rest of the world."\textsuperscript{25}

An anthropologist would probably observe that each society operates on a different wave-length from every other society to a greater or lesser extent, and the recognition of these differences is a good step toward better relations.

In spite of the differences between the USSR and the USA, and in spite of the urgent necessity of better understanding between the two nations, American educational institutions have been slow to implement means of teaching the understanding of these differences. Summarizing a study of undergraduate education in Indiana, Byrnes and Thompson conclude the following:

It is apparent that the average Indiana undergraduate today receives an education so highly oriented toward Western civilization that he emerges from college with little understanding of or interest in world affairs or other cultures. The boundaries of his knowledge and interest resemble those which Santayana defined as "respectability and Christendom." We believe that this is the case in other states as well. To those who are concerned over how well our youth are being prepared for responsible citizenship in the world of 1980—a world in which Russia, China, and all of Asia and Africa will be playing prominent roles, with their actions daily affecting the vital interests of the

\textsuperscript{25}Aline Mosby, \textit{The View from No. 13 People's Street} (New York: Random House, 1962), p. 297. (Hereinafter referred to as \textit{View}.)}
United States—the picture is a disturbing one.  

This picture has possibly improved somewhat with the growth of area studies programs during the last decade, but how much is difficult to assess without a similar follow-up study. If Russian language study is any indicator, the answer is very little: Russian language students in 1968 made up less than 4% of the total number of college-level students enrolled in foreign language, and this figure is still lower than the 5.1% enrolled in 1960.  

What Aspects of Culture Should Be Taught?

Main goals: enculturation plus education

In the early 1960s there was a good deal of discussion about the necessity for acquiring an "emic" (inside-looking-out) view of the culture rather than being always satisfied with the "etic" (outside-looking-in) viewpoint. This may have arisen partly from


attention to the anthropologist's general injunction to examine each culture as an integral, self-consistent whole. Whatever the reason, most writers on the subject now advocate acquiring the "emic" view without losing the benefit of an "etic" view. They recommend as a main goal of culture study a heightened sense of awareness rather than the simple exchange of one ethnocentric focus for another.

As early as 1962, Robert Lado discussed various goals for culture study. He defined "enculturation" as "those activities that lead the individual to have the same self-image as the consensus of his culture and to act and react according to the overt cultural facts without awareness of discrepancies." This he condemned as an insufficient goal for culture study in a language class, advocating in addition "education," which he defined as "the activities leading to an understanding of the other culture as it is and as it imagines itself to be." 

Nelson Brooks recently wrote:

The objectives of culture study can be stated very briefly. They are these: to understand, to empathize, to participate. Notice that these three progressive


30Ibid., p. 227.
steps do not lead to assimilation; the fourth step is rather a retro-view of one's own culture, with a far better understanding than before of oneself and one's compatriots.\footnote{Brooks, "Teaching Culture Abroad," p. 322.}

John Gooding, an Englishman who traveled and studied extensively in the Soviet Union, expressed his goal thus: "I should like, . . . to cease being English, and yet not to become Russian; to stand outside both, detached but involved, and able if necessary to mock them both."\footnote{John Gooding, The Catkin and the Icicle (London: Constable and Co., 1965), p. 2.}

If Gooding means by mocking to have a consciousness-broadening sense of humor about society like the ones displayed by commentator-humorists Will Rogers, Art Buchwald, and others, surely one must commend his goal.

**Popular, contemporary, and interpersonal aspects**

Culture is a broad term, even when limited to just one of its sixteen meanings listed by Webster: "the body of customary beliefs, social forms, and material traits constituting a distinct complex of tradition of a racial, religious, or social group."\footnote{Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language Unabridged, 1966. (Hereinafter referred to as Webster's Third International.)}

Brooks draws the following
distinctions between culture, civilization, and society:

Culture is the way a given people think and believe and live, with special emphasis upon the link between the individual and the total group of which he is a part. In this sense every human being lives in a culture and always has since man became man. Civilization is the height of culture, resulting from the concentration of many persons living together in close contact; civilization is to culture as the mountain is to the plain.  

In American educational institutions, discussions of "culture" have tended to center on civilization and society as defined by Brooks, i.e., the heights of "culture" and the main groups into which society forms itself. Philosophy, art, literature, architecture, and political history of a country have usually been the sorts of things explored when one discussed the "culture" of France, or Germany, or Spain. Anna Balakian defends the search for the best in Man and his works as being the main task for the teacher of culture. She rejects "the notion that culture is just the sum total of the contemporary mores of [a given] people," and she advocates teaching that which expresses man's "victory over death through the survival of man's work against the forces of annihilation to which the passage of time exposes it."  

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34 Brooks, "Teaching Culture Abroad," p. 322.
Surely this is a noble goal, and few would exclude it from the tasks of the teacher of culture. However, writers like Nostrand, Brooks, Beaujour, Ehrmann, and Freeman argue that previous emphasis on the elitist, historical and "macro-" aspects of a culture must now be balanced by the study of popular, contemporary, and interpersonal aspects.

Nostrand writes that cross-cultural communication and understanding are the most important goals of teaching culture in the foreign language classroom today. (As we have seen, Brooks agrees with this goal.) From this it follows that much more must be discussed than merely the great exceptions and heroics of a people.

Brooks agrees on understanding as the end goal and makes clear his opinion that excessive emphasis has been placed on the "formal" aspects of a culture and insufficient stress has been given to "deep" culture. Formal culture, in his definition, concerns

... products of artistic endeavor, achievements of intellectual and artistic genius, deeds of heroic

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valor and concepts of lofty thought, genteel living, and racial vigor. These are matters of which a country is fully aware and justly proud. . . .

Deep culture, on the other hand, refers to the thoughts and actions, the concerns and hopes and worries, the personal values, the minor vanities and the half-serious superstitions, the subtle gradations of interpersonal relationships as expressed in actions and words, the day-by-day details of life as it is lived—often with little or no awareness of these details—at home, and at school, at work and at play, . . .

In another article he states that "the most important single criterion in distinguishing culture from geography, history, folklore, sociology, literature, and civilization is the fact that in culture we never lose sight of the individual."38

Beaujour and Ehrmann would not entirely discard the study of history for examining a culture, but they would make the following limitations:

(1) we deal with history only when it is embodied in current signs and myths; (2) consequently, we refer, whenever necessary, from the present back into the past, and not the other way around; (3) history is not seen as a linear continuum of evenly charged and equally important events, since we are solely concerned with its mythical resonance.39

37 Nelson Brooks, "Culture and Language Instruction," Teacher's Notebook in Modern Foreign Languages (Spring, 1968).
Freeman contends that emphasis on interpersonal aspects of the culture are inherently more interesting:

Information about the civilization is of course highly important, but material of human interest, ideas, opinions, insights, even morals, are far more important than facts to memorize. Pupils respond at once to the categories of activities and ideas that touch them personally: . . . 40.

In sum, writers on culture in foreign language education seem to argue for a discussion of not only what great men said and did long ago, but what the average man says and does today.

In addition to the arguments of the preceding authorities on foreign language and culture in general, we can add the testimonies of several writers specializing in Soviet studies and also advocating greater attention to culture with a small "c".

Many of the current authors on the Soviet Union point out the powerful influence of folk culture on the Soviet system. These might be characterized by the statement that Communism in Russia is probably at least as much Russian as Communist.

Aline Mosby described the USSR as having an "official veneer [which] is very Orwellian, although the society

40 Freeman, "Let Us Build Bridges," p. 263.
underneath is very human and Russian."\(^{41}\)

Other writers would contend that the popular values and behavior filter up and influence the veneer itself.

Nove writes that

\[\ldots\] the Soviet Communist party, while of course not democratically expressing the views of its citizens, does express in many ways the deep nationalist sentiments which penetrate Russian society and the Communist leadership itself.\(^{42}\)

Vakar holds that Russian society split in two about the middle of the seventeenth century, separating the urban dwellers from the rural masses. He feels that the Russian peasant, whose history has been largely ignored, emerged at the time of the 1917 Revolution, captured Party leadership from the intellectual, and stamped many of the peasant values, institutions, and behavior into Soviet government. Thus, "while radical faiths like the Communist Manifesto or the "Sermon on the Mount" may change men in the mass, the mass also changes the faith.\(^{43}\) Van der Post, Miller, and Fitzsimmons et al take similar stands concern-

\(^{41}\) Mosby, View, p. 202


ing the origin and continuous shaping of the Soviet state. Thus, these authors would probably disdain any myopically synchronic approach to Soviet studies, but would certainly agree that an elitist approach to history, philosophy, economics, and government of the Soviet Union would not have the explanatory power possessed by an approach incorporating the history and current values of the Russian masses.

**Purpose and Scope of This Work**

**Concentration on values and norms**

We have seen from the previous sections that the recent literature concerning foreign language education and culture reflects an increased concern for what Brooks calls "deep" culture and a focus on interpersonal aspects of culture as means toward the goal of increased cross-cultural understanding.

As a first step in this direction, several writers suggest that students should at least know enough about the compulsory proprieties of the country to avoid being

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either "incompetent, irritating, or unduly conspicuous if they were suddenly to find themselves in an environment where their new language is natively used." \(^{45}\)

H. Ned Seelye expresses dismay at finding his best and most advanced Spanish students committing a gross faux pas in word choice, turning an innocent question on the health of one's mother into a vulgarity. \(^{46}\)

In a Pacific Northwest Conference Report, Nostrand and others recommend the following as the initial objective in cultural understanding for a level I language class:

The student will be able to describe (in the foreign language) or demonstrate physically, how to behave according to the proprieties of the foreign culture in the following common situations: Greetings, introducing a person, thanking, saying goodbye, eating (rudiments of table manners), conduct toward persons of one's own and higher social status. These proprieties include the distinction between formal and informal terms of address, handshaking, and the avoidance of any conduct considered impolite in these situations. \(^{47}\)

Thus it appears that these writers are advocating

\(^{45}\)Welmers, "Language as Culture," pl 34.


initial attention to what the sociologist and anthropologist would call in general norms, and in particular folkways and mores. Throughout this paper the following definitions of norm, folkway, and mores are used:

**norm** - an ideal standard binding upon members of a group and serving to guide, control or regulate proper and acceptable behavior.48

**folkway** - a mode of thinking, feeling, or acting common to a people . . . ; especially a social habit that has not been rationalized or given ethical force.49

**mores** - the fixed customs or folkways of a particular group that are morally binding upon all members of the group and necessary to its welfare and preservation.50

As can be seen from the above, folkways and mores are both types of norms. Mores have particular moral force, while folkways usually do not.

Norms, folkways, and mores would indeed seem valuable basic information about the target culture for each student of a foreign language to have. In addition

48 Webster's Third International, p. 1540. Note that this is not an observed average, but an ideal standard widely held. American visitors to the USSR may observe that ideals are not lived up to, as in the case of black market operations, but it is usually more important for foreign guests to adhere rather closely to an ideal standard. If the ideal differs widely from the actual, observed behavior, effort will be made to note it in this work.

49 Ibid., p. 882.

50 Ibid., p. 1470.
to saving him considerable embarrassment and confusion, this knowledge could perhaps reduce his cultural shock by helping him to interpret natives' behavior a bit more accurately. It could help the student "to accept with equal equanimity what may appear to him to be the volatile oratory of a mildly offended Latin and the frigid formality of some elderly professor in a German university."\(^{51}\)

Likewise, it could help tourists understand the studied indifference of service personnel to the public in the USSR, and the reluctance of many Russians to accept gifts which other Russians seek eagerly.

Norms of course change with time and vary from social group to social group. It would be impossible to enumerate them all, so perhaps discussions of them should include a summary of some of the main value-themes of the culture, in order to give the student a general idea of the sorts of things felt to be right and wrong there. To use a military metaphor, if all the mines cannot be plotted exactly, perhaps the main minefields can at least be sketched.

Nostrand recommends this thematic approach to culture study as a "main hope of achieving and of convey-

\(^{51}\)Welmers, "Language and Culture," p. 35.
This method, essentially a subjective approach developed largely by anthropologist Morris Opler of Cornell University, involves the collection and organization of many little expressions of a culture's main ideas, orientations, and values. Groups of theme-expressions are organized to form subthemes which in turn can be grouped to form main themes. Opler feels that the main themes of any given culture tend to remain below a dozen or so in number for the following reason: "since each theme contains a value people feel strongly about, the addition of a new theme multiplies conflicts of value, which are painful, so that subconsciously a population tends to simplify its value system."^53

Examination of Dissertation Abstracts and the literature on teaching foreign cultures in the foreign language classroom does not reveal to date any previous attempt to set out before the teacher the main value-themes of Soviet Russia. The same can be said for any sort of enumeration of "compulsory proprieties" of that country with which visitors would be expected to comply.

Courses on Russian culture and recommendations for the


^53 Ibid., p. 19.
cultural background of students and teachers of Russian area and language usually have centered on the traditional concerns and approaches of the literature, history, philosophy, economics, and geography departments.\textsuperscript{54} Vakar's course at Wheaton, from which grew his book \textit{The Taproot of Soviet Society},\textsuperscript{55} appears to have been something of an exception to the rule, focusing on the Russian peasant. However, his book is not organized thematically in the sense Opler uses the term and it mentions current behavioral expectancies only in passing.

This work will therefore represent an attempt to develop and set forth a few of the main value-themes of Soviet Russia and to list some of the specific behavioral requirements and taboos with which visitors should be familiar when dealing with Soviet Russians. In addition, these two topics shall be followed by an exploration of approaches, specific methods, and materials which would be useful in teaching these value-themes and behavioral norms to American students.


\textsuperscript{55}Vakar, \textit{The Taproot of Soviet Society}, p. xi.
This treatise is intended primarily for the Russian language teacher at the secondary or college level instructing Americans. Hopefully, the elementary school teacher of Russian may find it useful in parts. In addition, the sections on norms and values should be valuable to a broad spectrum of teachers, especially those in political science, international studies, secondary-level social studies, and English for speakers of Russian. It is definitely hoped that the study will be useful to those preparing Russian language texts and desiring to encorporate cultural content of this sort.

Because some individuals not familiar with Slavic languages may use this paper, Shaw's "System II," the Library of Congress transliteration system without dialectical marks, has been employed. It is recommended for this sort of audience and is generally easier for Americans to read than the international "scholarly system" commonly used by Slavicists.56

Perhaps this dissertation could be used as the outline of a complete culture course, but such a use

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would seem to necessitate considerable supplementation in order to avoid an imbalance favoring the mundane at the expense of the heroic. The author does not recommend that the old imbalance in favor of the latter now be corrected with a new imbalance in favor of the former. This work is intended primarily as an adjunct to existing cultural materials, to be incorporated early in the sequence for the modest but attainable goal of giving a native American basic acceptability in Soviet Russian culture. It is intended as only a first step on the road to more complete understanding of Soviet Russians. The norms are to be viewed as vital albeit elementary knowledge, and the value-themes are intended as a tentative structure on which many future facts may be arranged.

Concentration on Soviet Great Russians

This discussion is concerned only with native speakers of Russian now living under the Soviet government. In particular, it concerns the present descendants of the large group of Eastern Slavs who lived in central and northeastern Russia and were known historically as Great Russians to distinguish them from the Ukrainians (Little Russians) and the White Russians. The terms Russian, Great Russian, and Soviet Russian are used interchangeably throughout this paper and all refer to the above contempo-
rary group of people unless otherwise indicated by the context.

One main reason for this focus is the fact that Russians dominate the USSR numerically and politically. According to 1962 sources, Russians number about 114 million, Ukrainians 37 million, and White Russians 8 million out of the USSR's total of 216 million. Russians are to be found throughout each of the fifteen republics, often in positions of prominence as engineers, teachers, and government officials. Lenin is said to have thought in terms of gradually expanding concentric circles of Communist power, with Russia as the core. Russian language is the language of the whole Soviet Union, although in many places it is of course taught as a second language. It is no accident that the official voice of the Soviet Union bears the name of and originates from the capital of old Russia: Radio Moscow. Broadcasts are prefaced by the phrase that seems so natural to Russians—"Moscow speaking."

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58 Gunther, Inside Russia Today, p. 184
There is no question that the minorities have an influence on the Russian majority, and that influence may well increase in the future.\textsuperscript{59} However, for the present and for some time to come it is probably most profitable to study the Russians.

\textbf{Accuracy of this work}

Probably the most accurate statement ever made about Russian studies is the following one attributed to Paul Winterton: "There are no experts on Russia—only varying degrees of ignorance."\textsuperscript{60} Similar statements could be and are made about any large and complex area of study but the lament seems particularly appropriate when applied to "this gigantic agglutination of territories and people . . .",\textsuperscript{61} this "mastodon of a country," about which just about any statement can be "proved" true.\textsuperscript{62} To make the task of this paper more difficult, the Soviets have in the past retarded the growth of fields like

\textsuperscript{59} Post, \textit{Journey into Russia}, p. 95 discusses the influence of minorities on the Russian majority. Pages 136 and 266 mention the Baltic states as centers of fashion, quality workmanship, and the new snob resort area of the USSR.

\textsuperscript{60} Gunther, \textit{Inside Russia Today}, p. 1.

\textsuperscript{61} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{62} Irving R. Levine, \textit{Main Street, USSR} (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1959),
anthropology and sociology and withheld information about exactly how data was gathered, making comparative studies difficult to perform. Therefore, it has been impossible to draw upon very many precise empirical works. In addition, the very breadth of the subject covered, the free-wheeling thematic approach, and the variety of sources consulted all combine to make precise statements difficult. Even if precise statements could be made about the average Russian, every Russian would of course deviate from the average in some or several aspects.

For the above reasons, the reader should be cautioned to consider each value and folkway mentioned not as eternally exact delineations of the nature of any given Soviet citizen, but as indicators of areas of potential difficulty for Americans dealing with Soviet Russians.

Methodology of This Study

One of the methods suggested by Nostrand for selecting the essentials of culture to be taught is what he calls the "empirical" approach: "it uses the experience of persons in the learner's culture who have had contact with the foreign people to discover precisely what will be easy or hard to understand, congenial or hard to get along with, for learners with a given
background." He claims that "the empirical approach pays off beautifully as a device for pinpointing precisely the aspects of family life, of the educational system, and so on, which our American college and high-school students would really be spontaneously interested in if they should have any contact with the foreign way of life."  

As one example of this approach, he mentions a questionnaire worked out to explore American reactions to the French: it is apparently administered as a pretest and later as a posttest in order to pinpoint how actual reactions differ from those expected.

Another application of this general approach might be to survey a variety of books on the USSR written recently by Western authors in general and Americans in particular. The purpose would be to determine what these "persons in the learner's culture" mention in common as being "easy or hard to understand." Most non-technical books such as travel accounts and popular surveys of a foreign country seem to be written primarily for readers in the author's own culture. The success of his book depends in part on his ability to notice and report facts

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64 Ibid., p. 20.
not generally known by his countrymen.

Because of this orientation, a number of general works on the USSR by American and British authors who have lived or traveled extensively in Soviet Russia were selected as the basic data sources for this paper. One well-known book by a West German and three books by Russian immigrants to the United States or Britain were also consulted. In addition, several American books and articles on anthropology and sociology of the Soviet Union were read, largely as a check on the accuracy of the popular materials. As a general rule, the more technical articles proved to be useful in writing the section on values, while the popular materials were more useful for information about behavioral norms.

Soviet writings were consulted only briefly for several reasons: 1) This work is intended mainly as a study of studies; for the sake of breadth, Western works which surveyed Soviet sources were sought. 2) Soviet citizens do not fit Nostrand's criterion of "persons in the learner's culture who have had contact with the foreign people." 3) Soviet writers are subject to considerable official censorship and tend to present prescriptive rather than descriptive analyses of values and norms. This last certainly does not mean that Western accounts are free from culturally-and-economically-
imposed distortions, but their distortions at least seem to be less consistent in direction.

As a further check on the information found in the material mentioned above, and as a means of increasing the information on areas simply not covered in those works, a questionnaire on current norms was composed and interviews with several recent American visitors to the Soviet Union were conducted. The same was done with a few immigrants from the Soviet Union now residing in Columbus, Ohio. These last would not fit Nostrand's criteria exactly, but they can be considered adopted members of the American culture with special insights.

A five-week visit by the author to the Soviet Union during May and June 1970 provided a last check and source of data for this work. No formal interviews could be conducted there, but observation and general conversations with natives were employed. It is to be hoped that in the future tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union will reach a low enough level that studies such as this can be expanded on a formal basis.

The chapter on methods of teaching these value-

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65 See Appendix for copy of the questionnaire.
themes and behavioral norms is based on a review of literature from social studies education and from foreign language education. Speculation on the applicability of methods suggested by the above is included together with some suggestions extrapolated from that literature.

Chapter II is an exposition of five cultural themes which seemed prominent from a review of the literature searched. In Chapter III behavioral norms of particular importance to Americans are described. Chapter IV contains suggestions on teaching the material described in Chapters II and III. Chapter V is a summary of the preceding four chapters. Appendix A contains an example of how some of the methods discussed in Chapter IV might be employed in teaching a specific cultural difference. Appendix B is an annotated list of materials for researching and illustrating Soviet norms and values. Appendix C is the questionnaire used in studying norm differences.
CHAPTER II

FIVE SOVIET RUSSIAN VALUE-THEMES

Collectivism

Background: the mir and the concept of sobornost'

Most Western authors find a description of the ancient Russian village organization, the mir, helpful in understanding Soviet Russian attitudes on societal groups. Fitzsimmons writes:

The cultural patterns and the values in the life of the mir illustrate in almost laboratory fashion those values of the mass of the Russian people that have persisted, in greatly altered form, down to today. Indeed, the regime, while destroying the structure of the mir, has taken the values once part of peasant life alone and transformed them into techniques of government on a national scale.¹

The vast majority of Russians lived within a mir organization until the early years of this century, so its influence on life and thought patterns is still great. Wright Miller points out that it is "... the same word, historically, as the word for 'world' and the mir was the peasant's world."²


Conformity was of greater value to the operation of the mir than was individualism. The elders of each household unit met in a village council and chose a starosta to act as a sort of consensus identifier. The council was democratic in the sense that each could voice his opinion, but no vote was usually taken: the starosta, at an appropriate lull in the discussion would suggest that the group had reached a decision. The decision of the mir as expressed by the starosta came to have almost religious importance, for apparently the whole decision-making process of the village could be stymied by one individualist who persisted in expressing a contrary opinion after the starosta had announced a decision.\(^3\)

The council had many vital decisions to make. The elders reapportioned the lands in the village at regular intervals so that each household, while owning the fruits of its labor on the land, started periodically with roughly the same amount of land, and over the course of several years had a turn at the best fields. Before serfdom was established, taxes and military conscription were the duty of the mir as a whole, as was maintenance of order. Even under serfdom and rule by the aristocracy,

\(^3\) Fitzsimmons, USSR, p. 411; Miller, Russians as People, pp. 80-82.
the landlord found promotion of mir responsibility
simplified his tasks.\footnote{Fitzsimmons, USSR, p. 411; Miller, Russians as People, pp. 80-82.}

Given such a basic social organization, it is not
difficult to understand the importance attached to the
concept of togetherness, \textit{sobornost'}, promoted consciously
or unconsciously by the Russian Orthodox, the Old Believers,
and Slavophiles. In the Orthodox service, one is not
seated in one spot for individual prayer, meditation,
listening or speaking but mills around and even chats with
one's neighbor. Confession is done in incomplete privacy
and the penitent admits to general sins of mankind named
by the priest. The larger church structures are not
named for the bishop's chair (\textit{cathedra}) but for the gathering (\textit{sobor}).

While breaking with the church hierarchy and the
authority of the Tsar, the Old Believers in the Vyg
settlement early in the eighteenth century appear to be
the first to have used the term 'sobornost'.\footnote{Nicholas Vakar, The Taproot of Soviet Society (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1962), p. 26} The Vyg
administration mixed traditional monastic and town
government practices to form a powerful socialist community
"under a 'collective leadership' dominated by the unques-
Slavophiles later felt that collective values were a main part of the message Russia had to speak to the world, and the term "sobornost" became a favorite with them.

Collectivism: other-directedness in Russians today

The 1960 Ozhegov Dictionary of Russian still carries the ancient proverb "Na miru i smert' krasna" (literally, "even death is beautiful in the mir," i.e., anything is easy to bear as long as one is with others, and not alone.)

In American socioloscense, the same idea comes out less poetically, but clearly: "... the traditional Russian national character appears to be heavily loaded on the traits of gregariousness and affiliation."

Western visitors to the Soviet Union comment repeatedly on the natural sweetness, generosity, and hospitality of Russians once the initial ice has been broken. Americans are noted for their informality, and Southerners for their hospitality, but Russian interest

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in others seems deeper, stronger, and more natural than that of the average American. It is hard to conceive of a William H. Whyte arising in Russia to condemn recent, superficial, and limiting aspects of other-directedness in Russian "Organization Man." In fact, Geiger points out that the lower classes in Russia tend to do more visiting of friends than do the upper classes, which is a reversal of the American pattern.  

Visitors to Russia almost invariably comment on the general shabbiness of living quarters and a general indifference to appearance of surroundings and self not completely explicable by economic conditions. Miller feels that the sweetness missing from the huts and gardens is to be found in the people, in their hospitality, their courtesy. Despite the materialistic aspects of Marxism, the American will probably make fewer mistakes among Russians if he assumes that they are generally less lovers of things than lovers of man. Indeed, Soviet sociologists stress the moral rather than the physical degeneration of American society, which is alleged to be corrupted by a

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9Miller, Russians as People, p. 63.
"rampant, vulgar materialism . . . ."\(^{10}\) In addition, they score " . . . the worship of material objects and the creation of a false system of values centering on consumption."\(^{11}\) Undoubtedly the average Soviet would like to be better off, but the appeal to altruism probably strikes some chord with the Russian masses.

Russians would undoubtedly like to have more living space and privacy, especially as couples, but their need for privacy as individuals seems less keen than that of Western man in general, according to many observers. This seems a natural result of gregariousness, historical conditions, and the Russian respect for emotional needs which allows a man to be grumpy and withdrawn if he temporarily feels so inclined. More will be said later about the acceptance of emotion among Russians.

A difference between American and Russian feelings of community is perhaps indicated by the surprise Americans register when reprimanded by Soviet citizens of varying ages and stations for infringements of behavioral norms


\(^{11}\)Ibid.
concerning such things as dress and littering. In America, even in instances where there is strong consensus on, for instance, dress, Americans will titter and smirk at deviates, but count it the duty of some official to speak to the deviate, if even that is necessary. Perhaps the Soviet behavior is more a function of general Russian directness, but it can be argued that this very directness and acceptance of emotion itself arises from a greater feeling of community and closeness than is found in America generally.

In any case, the official line is of course firmly committed to the collective ethic. Private hotel rooms are often difficult to obtain, single travelers are regarded with suspicion, state architects write of apartment houses where the residents eat their meals together, and the popular educator Makarenko speaks of education "of the collective, by the collective, and for the collective." Hobbies, sports, and vacation trips are handled through collectives. The educational system stresses discipline, loyalty, and altruism, while largely

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ignoring individual differences and freedom of self-expression. Pessimism, sentimentality, and bourgeois individualism are inveighed against. The words "kollektiv" and "solidarnost" are among the most frequently used in official publications. Laurens van der Post sums it up: "The official Soviet mind works naturally in numbers; single units are anathema to it."^14

The important fact for the American to remember is that most of this probably bothers the average Russian somewhat less than it would the average American. Inkeles and Bauer report that "former Soviet Citizens are more likely by far to think in terms of the group's purposes than are Americans, who almost inevitably identify and are mainly concerned with the welfare of the individual."^15

Both American and foreign observers point out that conformity is very much a part of American life, but there has been no period of American history when conformity and collective values were so widely taught as a positive value as they have been in Russia for centuries. While

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14 Laurens van der Post, Journey into Russia (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Company Ltd., 1964), p. 118.

town meetings and Orange organizations did occur widely in America, their influence does not seem to have approached the influence over a person's life that the mir, serfdom, and Soviet rule have had. This fact plus splintered Protestantism, the isolated farm pattern of the Middle West, and competitive capitalism have apparently had an effect on American attitudes against conformity at least as a verbalized value. Recently there has been considerable discussion among the young and dissident in America about the value of communal life styles, but it can be argued that the appeal of hippy life is due at least as much to the lure of personal freedom to "do your own thing" as it is to the attractions of brotherhood and communal values. We can wish the youngsters success in their communes, but in the past communal attempts have met with something less than resounding success in headstrong America. Perhaps Americans are conformist in an unstructured situation but individualistic in a structured one.

In any case, it is difficult to imagine that an American educator, even under a Soviet-type government, would ever give the following reaction reported by van der Post after he asked some Soviet educators about their practices in teaching left-handed children: "They looked dumbfounded until one of the Russians said brusquely: 'We
The family-collective: Puritanism

The justification for including family and sex attitudes with a discussion of collectivity lies at least partly in the official attitude toward the family as a primary collective in a collective society. Official puritanism in setting sexual standards can be viewed as protecting this collective from anarchistic tendencies. This present official attitude is almost diametrically opposed to the libertarian attitude of the early years of the regime, then bent on the destruction of the patriarchal and conservative family. The government still views the presence of the grandmother in the family with some suspicion and stands ready to take children out of what it considers harmful family environments, but in general it seems to have recognized that it is not able to perform, at least at the present, many of the housekeeping and child-rearing functions of the family.

Thus, the Soviet family-collective must be strengthened; energies and time must not be wasted in lustful pursuits. Promiscuity is heavily censured.

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16 Post, Journey into Russia, p. 71.
Erotic stimulation is carefully kept out of the mass media. Public necking and kissing have been censured. Abortions are legal but definitely discouraged, unwed mothers seem to face some economic sanctions and adverse opinion, and even the child of an unwed mother may experience a few private difficulties.\textsuperscript{17}

Unofficially, Russians are hardly puritanical about sex, but it is difficult to say exactly how much official values of non-promiscuity and fidelity differ from those of the Russian public. In any case, there seems good support for public modesty in sexual matters.

Certainly the early Bolshevik goal of destruction of the family conflicted with deep-seated traditional Russian values. The family under the mir was the basic unit of society, and the Dunns report that "among the central Russian peasantry, the family is still the social unit which most powerfully influences the activities and outlook of the individual."\textsuperscript{18} Care of children and aged


parents is apparently still a very strong value to Russians.\textsuperscript{19}

The wife has been liberated legally and to a degree in practice, but in the Russian home it is still usually the duty of the woman to procure food, prepare meals, and clean, in addition to working full time.\textsuperscript{20}

In sum, the Maces state the following:

What has actually happened . . . is that the Western family has moved away from the rigidities of patriarchalism, while the Soviet family has reassumed some of the old bourgeois characteristics. The result is that the differences between the two family patterns are now quite minor.\textsuperscript{21}

\textbf{Paternalism}

Most Americans are well aware of the Soviet government's willingness, as the self-proclaimed voice and will of the Russian working masses, to control many more aspects of life in the Soviet Union than would be allowed in many countries of the West. What is probably less well understood is the Russian attitude toward paternalistic government.

As has been indicated, Russians tend to be gregarious and do not seem to mind subordinating some

\textsuperscript{19} Dunn, \textit{The Peasants of Central Russia}, p. 73.

\textsuperscript{20} Mace, \textit{The Soviet Family}, p. 101. It is reported here that 47% of the workers in the country are women.

\textsuperscript{21} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 321.
private life for the benefits of group life. In addition, they seem to be willing to relinquish considerable political freedom to near and distant leaders for greater security.

In the mir, power was viewed not as a corrupting influence but as an onerous responsibility. The starosta was expected to exercise his authority for the preservation of general economic opportunity and public order. Man was viewed as not completely the master of his emotions; therefore powerful authority was needed to bring him periodically to heel and protect others from his excesses.22

Under the Tatars, the Tsars, and the Bolsheviks the Russians have known only strongly centralized, autocratic government. The municipal democracy of Novgorod seems to have been the exception rather than the rule, and rebel leaders before the Decembrists offered not a new form of government but a better Tsar. Rule of law rather than men has never been widely preached nor practiced.23

Periods of instability and threat to the central government were usually periods of difficulty for the

22 Fitzsimmons, USSR, p. 410.
masses. With the Tsar as head of the church as well as state, disloyalty to him carried moral as well as political overtones. The Soviet government also emphasizes its moral rightness and does all in its power to continue to paint opposition to Party policy as a sin against the Holy Ghost of historical inevitability and the welfare of man. All this coupled with the general pattern of acquiescence to authority's decisions in the mir results in a population with attitudes toward authority very different from those held by the American public.

The Harvard studies of Soviet refugees bear this out rather clearly. Even among Russians dissatisfied with the Soviet system there appeared wide-spread expectations for government to own and control industry and to provide extensive social welfare benefits. This expectation cut across social class lines and increased as the Russians continued living in the United States. Refugees' dissatisfaction with the Soviet government centered more on the implementation of policy than on the broad policy or government structure itself.

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24 Fitzsimmons, USSR, p. 3.
25 Inkeles and Bauer, Soviet Citizen, pp. 236-38.
26 Ibid., pp. 254, 274.
Russians seem to have real difficulty in understanding American insistence on elections in time of war, the concept of a loyal opposition, and checks and balances.

Some of the restrictions Russians desire on government authority are interesting. They expect virtually unlimited government power, but that power must be exercised for the good of the community, with benevolent intent. A personal, particularistic relationship with government officials is sought, and officials are expected to consult with their immediate subordinates, much in the manner of the starosta whenever a difficult decision is faced. Officials are expected to respect every underling as a human being, and subordinates often reply roughly to superiors and militiamen to demonstrate their social equality in spite of other inequalities. In addition, petty officials often yield to expressions of clear consensus from a crowd: e.g., militiamen may drop charges against an offender if a group of onlookers demand it.

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27 Fitzsimmons, USSR, p. 1.
28 Post, Journey into Russia, p. 82.
29 Ibid., p. 205.
The authorities allow and often encourage criticism of policy implementation, but not policy itself. Since the average Soviet citizen seems to be in fair agreement with the basic policies and structure of his government, this is probably looked on as a real freedom and an outlet for some of his worst frustrations.

One interesting aspect of official Soviet paternalism is in the handling of offenders of the civil law. While political offenders are treated harshly and arbitrarily, the civil criminal receives more considerate handling, and according to some, is treated under a "parental" concept of the proper function of law. Under this attitude prisoners work for normal pay in the prison, may be allowed considerable time with their wives, and strenuous efforts are made toward rehabilitation rather than punishment. 30

Patriotism

The symbols of Rossia

Americans are generally aware of some of the international aspects of Communism, so the fierce nationalism of the average Russian may come to him as something of a surprise. Many may be even more startled to find the Communist Party vigorously promoting patriotism and allow-

ing the glorification of selected tsarist generals and at least one churchman as "Heroes of the Soviet Union." Selected churches and palaces have or are being painstakingly restored as national treasures. Sites of famous battles such as Borodino and Stalingrad are turned into national shrines complete with guided tours and various visual aids to reconstruct the hour of glory.

Such a policy undoubtedly follows national sentiment. Miller writes that Russians in general are not susceptible to personal flattery but will "soak up flattery about their country." Alene Mosby, a Montana girl who served as a UPI correspondent in Moscow around 1960, reports that all the Russian men she met—and she met a good number—were violently sensitive and proud of their country. Van der Post says that Russians talk about their rivers with the same enthusiasm that the Swiss show in discussing their mountains. Stalin found during the Second World War that appeals to specifically Soviet goals were not nearly as effective as appeals to the "symbols of old Russia--

32Miller, Russians as People, p. 86.
33Alene Mosby, The View from No. 13 People's Street (New York: Random House, 1962), pp. 87, 89. (Hereinafter referred to as View.)
34Post, Journey into Russia, p. 86.
the land, the rivers, the Church."  

Party leaders' speech is not uncommonly peppered with religious expressions, and the Party is willing to restore some old churches as museums and allow limited practice of Orthodoxy by those not in state leadership positions. However, it does not at present accept the attitude of many Russians that baptism of infants and icon-hanging are an integral part of Russian culture. These practices, according to several observers, are remarkably wide-spread, particularly among the poor and among the rural population.

Russia vs. the evil Western governments

Although Russians' generosity to Americans as persons is well-known and appears to be a spontaneous expression of feeling, their mistrust of foreign governments is probably not entirely a result of Party propaganda.

Many of the people of Eastern Europe exhibit an attitude toward Russians reminiscent of white supremacist attitudes toward blacks. Barghoorn reports a national

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35 Fitzsimmons, USSR, p. 12.  
36 Dunn, The Peasants of Central Russia, p. 108.  
37 Post, Journey into Russia, p. 274.
persecution complex as a result, a feeling that "We have no friends." Russians as a people suffered horribly as a result of Napoleon's invasion, their civil war in which Western nations intervened, and World War II. Their pride in victory is boundless, and no writers report that Russians see anything incongruous or ethnocentric in calling both the Napoleonic War and World War II the "Great Patriotic Wars." They are grateful and proud of their nation's military strength and its general prominence in world affairs.

The horrible invasions of the past have also left the Russian people with a passionate desire for continued peace and a fear of renewed war. The Communist Party peace campaigns in Russia probably arise more as a result of popular sentiment than vice-versa. Among ordinary Russians, toasts for peace often bring forth applause and sincere emotion. The first question asked of a foreigner by the simplest peasant often concerns war and peace.

Another manifestation of national pride and ambivalence of feeling about foreign states is the Russian attitude toward accepting gifts from foreigners

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and tangible or intangible imports from the West. Their longing for culture and the good material life is strong, but if a gift or import could imply Russian inferiority, many Russians will reject it as an insult. More about this will be discussed under *Kul'tura* and later in the chapter on behavioral norms, but suffice it to say that foreigners' throwing money, penny candy, and fruit to crowds will probably be felt highly insulting. Party condemnation of youngsters who buy clothing from Western tourists cannot be assumed to lack support from the public as a whole. Official insistence on indigenous forms of entertainment, however, has probably reached a point of very rapidly diminishing returns.

**Loyalty over reality**

Given the collective ethic, it is not hard to understand that loyalty would be a value with Russians. In spite of this, Americans are surprised at the precedence given to loyalty over reports of reality by Russians in general and their government in particular.

Distortion of fact has a long and infamous past in Russia. The Tsars imposed "harsh and niggling censorship to wipe out hostile thought," and an orthodox

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40 Vakar, *The Taproot of Soviet Society*, p. 150.
religious view was required to be propagated in schools
and colleges.\(^1\) Prime Minister Potemkin set up facades
of villages in the newly acquired province of Novorossija
to impress Empress Catherine with his administration's
efficiency in developing the area.

The Party, when it came to power, drew on this
legacy and Marx's writings plus some native fear of
Western governments as discussed previously, in order to
justify an attitude toward the free flow of facts that is a
radical departure from Western attitudes on freedom of
press and scholarship. Full discussion of all the ramifi-
cations and changes of this policy are beyond the scope
of this work, but it can best be characterized as education
of the masses toward the particular point of view held by
the leadership at the moment. Markham characterizes it as

\[\ldots\text{one vast and continuing commercial in support}
of the regime.\ldots\]  
The only prejudice permitted the
Soviet journalist is the "right" one. Communication
specialists not only have been warned against the
vice of objectivity but have also been criticized for
falling into objective ways, \ldots\]  

Scholars in sensitive subjects are still expected
to produce "useful" findings and go about their teaching
and research within the proper framework. Discussing the

\[^{1}\text{Vakar, The Taproot of Soviet Society, p. 148.}\]

\[^{2}\text{James W. Markham, Voices of the Red Giants (Ames,}
\text{Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1967), p. 150.}\]
study of history, Gooding finds in the Soviet Union... the historian's task is to illustrate a known truth and thereby to point a moral... The Russians have their theory, economic materialism, and this is the centre of their attention and interest. The theory is the core of a field of study where the facts are the periphery—indispensable, that is, but subordinate.\(^4\)

Similar attitudes have been found in other social sciences and even genetics, but many of these today are less subject to restriction by the authorities.

Because the West is seen as evil and conspiring to warp the minds of the masses in the "wrong" direction, it follows in the official mind that Russia must be protected from "microbes" from abroad. It is true that Western tourists are invited to the Soviet Union and Amerika magazine is allowed, but as late as 1963 a Soviet writer on crime, Shargorodskii, seemed still to be asserting that the capitalist world is the direct or indirect cause of most crime in the USSR.\(^\) Using this logic, officials feel justified in restricting the flow of capitalist poison in the form of foreign broadcasts and literature potentially hostile to the regime including, on occasion, such seemingly


innocuous sources of data as the World Almanac (1959) and popular magazines such as *Time*, *Look*, and *Life* (1960). Recently there has been some relaxation of these restrictions accompanied by statements that "the man of the future cannot be raised in a bell jar." However, the Voice of America and BBC have been jammed since the invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968.

On the popular level, the average citizen seems to have mixed feelings about the restriction of news flow. The Harvard study found that "even the loyal citizen was often frustrated and displeased by the official communications policy," and many Western writers report on the Soviet citizen's frequent recourse to rumour and reading between the lines in attempts to ascertain reality.

On the other hand, most travelers report some incident indicative of the fact that even ordinary Russians do not want foreign visitors to carry away any unfavorable

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impression of their country. Women standing in line in less than their best clothes may loudly express their displeasure at being photographed. Taking pictures of slums or women working at menial tasks may be vigorously protested by the ordinary citizen if he feels the photo would reflect poorly on his land. Visitors may not be invited into living quarters because of shame at crowded conditions. Once in a Russian apartment, a tourist's photographing may not be appreciated if the Russian feels that the photo subject might not approximate Western standards.

Even the most insignificant of officials will freely distort figures to present an exaggeratedly positive view of whatever enterprise he happens to be in charge of. The Maces found the best way to get greater accuracy from officials was to sympathize with the historical difficulties under which they were laboring, and then quote some wildly pessimistic figure as a guess of how far the enterprise had now progressed. The Party member could then cheerfully respond with a figure that was still worse than Western standards but seemed to be an improvement over the visitor's impression.  

49 Mace, The Soviet Family, p. 17.
In addition to these attitudes, Taubman reports that at Moscow University, "the very students who want to know the whole truth about the West are capable of arguing that more impressionable compatriots are not to be trusted.\textsuperscript{50}

\textbf{Dusha}

\textbf{Sentimentality}

With Russians, feelings matter. One has only to listen to their music to sense that it is the music of a passionate nation. Russian men embrace, kiss on the lips, weep in public, and feel no less masculine for it. Emigrants yearn for the company of those with whom one can speak \textit{dusha-dushi} (heart to heart). As previously mentioned, many scholars feel that the acceptance of a paternalistic government comes at least partly from an historic attitude that man is not always able to control his emotions. Certainly the Orthodox church has never preached the stern rule of emotions associated with Calvinism.

This the Communist Party has tried to do. It has succeeded in instilling some sense of time, routine, and order in a people previously noted for their disregard of time, routine, and order. Less successful seems to

be Party preaching against sentimentality in general. Russia is still a very emotional nation.

Sincerity

It is often claimed that Russians are incapable of hypocrisy about themselves on a personal level. Feelings will out, and to hide them is both unnatural and perhaps even unfashionable. Whatever the official line may be, Russians express rather freely not only the approved optimism and happiness but anger, antipathy, disinterest, boredom and that black melancholy called toska. Officials and commoners alike may seem at times thoroughly indifferent or downright rude to the foreign traveler who is used to commercial smiles and the general American ethic that a stranger is simply a friend you don't know well. A Russian who doesn't feel like smiling, doesn't. Intourist guides are carefully taught otherwise. If Russians don't care for the customer, they usually don't pretend otherwise. If they are angry, they shout and pound the desk, and if they don't agree with a stated opinion, they argue, with feeling. All this

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51 This does not mean that they cannot be very deceitful about goods or about their country, as previously discussed.

52 Miller, Russians as People, pp. 65-66.

53 Ibid., p. 168.
does not mean that politeness in foreigners is not admired nor that foreigners are not often given especially solicitous treatment. It just means that Russians are frank with each other.

One reason a Russian feels free to express his emotions is the fact that he can expect other Russians to accept both his positive and his negative feelings.

Sympathy is also a Russian trait.

When a Russian inquires of you—'Vam skuchno?' (Are you... bored?)—the question is not to be felt as somewhat embarrassing, requiring that you should defend yourself and protest that you are, on the contrary, enjoying his company, or the journey, or the play. It is a sympathetic enquiry, of the same order as 'Don't you feel well?'.

The impersonal construction (literally, "Is it boring to you?") would, on the surface, appear to absolve the individual of personal responsibility for his emotional state.

One is not expected to always be agreeable and cheerful; if one is not, it is not necessarily his fault. Tempers flare quickly, and fights occur, but peace returns with equal speed. Anger expressed does not seem such a serious breach of etiquette as in America, where mothers tell their children, "If you can't say something nice, don't say anything at all." Some travelers

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54 Miller, Russians as People, p. 66.
report improved relations with Russians only after the travelers expressed a warm difference of opinion with the Russians.

All or nothing

Americans think of compromise as a natural way of getting on with things, but in official Soviet writings, the noun "compromise" is often preceded by the adjective "rotten." Children are supposed to be taught "irreconcilable hatred" toward the enemies of the state. This is orthodox Hegelian dialectic, but it appeals to an element in the Russian nature: he is not a moderate.

Herzen prophesied that Russia would never be justemilieu (golden mean). Berdiaev laments that "What was a scientific theory in the West, a hypothesis, or in any case a relative truth, partial . . . became among the Russian intelligentsia a dogma, a sort of religious


57 Gorer's swaddling hypothesis is not now widely accepted as an explanation for this trait.

revelation." The history of Russia appears to be a pattern of conformity punctuated by violent revolution. The calm, tolerance, and compromise necessary for evolution seem to be lacking. Still today, to call a man, even a historian, a "fighter" is to give him a real compliment.

Van der Post calls Russians a nation of "Don Quixotes with the power to convert every mill on the international skyline into a tyrannical capitalist giant, apartment blocks into castles in Spain, and Party bosses into Saints."

Soviet punishment for crime also carries this quality of all-or-nothing. The maximum prison sentence is fifteen years, but there are a whole series of offences, including embezzlement and manslaughter in connection with drunken driving, which can carry the death penalty. Life imprisonment is claimed to be unknown. A cynic might


60 Post, Journey into Russia, p. 44.


62 Post, Journey into Russia, p. 174.

63 William Mandel, Russia Re-examined: The Land, the People, and How They Live (New York: Hill and Wang, 1964), p. 163. (Hereinafter referred to as Russia Re-examined.)
give this an economic interpretation, but prisoners can be kept rather cheaply and made to labor, so this is probably not the reason.

Neither is there anything moderate about Russian hospitality and behavior at parties or dinners. Here the meaning of shirokaia natura (broad nature) is demonstrated:

It is a Russian convention that lots of food must be left over after any party. Enough isn't enough in Russia. Unless there's a big surplus, people suspect the host and hostess of being stingy, and stinginess is an unforgivable sin among Russians. Call a Russian a liar, call him a thief—sooner or later he will forgive and forget. But don't call him a skriaga, a penny pincher. He'll hold it against you as long as he lives.64

Drinks are neither watered down nor sipped: vodka is taken straight and downed at a gulp. Toasts continue "ad inebrium." Many hosts don't seem to feel their norms have been reached unless all the male guests leave very late and very drunk. Of course the hostess feels that everyone must stuff himself unless ill. Dieting is incomprehensible without some reason other than simple fatness.

Filling emotional needs: religion and its surrogates

There is some discussion about the historical

religiosity of Russians in the more rational, consistent, theological sense of the term, but there appears to be little debate that Russians seem to have need for the emotional commitment required by religion and for the ritual associated with that commitment. Even after half a century of anti-religious propaganda and persecution, membership in the Russian Orthodox church is claimed by the church to stand at about fifty million—roughly one-quarter of the population. In 1937 Soviet officials estimated that "more than half, perhaps two-thirds of the rural population still believed in God, while nearly all of them also believed in the devil." Despite the closing of many rural churches, religious life proceeds, centered in the family as a unit. Ritual drinking of vodka before a meal, icon-hanging, observance of fast period diet and decorum, and refusal to work on religious holidays are all still to be found rather widely.

As Vakar points out, the emotional needs filled by religion proper can also be filled by a variety of practices not logically consistent. Animism and superstition were remarkably widespread well into the last century. Today under Communism, it is not uncommon to

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66 Dunn, The Peasants of Central Russia, p. 106.
find people professing belief in both God and Communism. Visitors to Lenin's tomb sometimes cross themselves. During Stalinist times the crucifix often hung between portraits of Lenin and Stalin in schools of Belorussia and the Ukraine. The Party undoubtedly frowns on such inconsistencies.

Many have pointed out that Communism seeks a religious-like commitment by taking on many of the attributes of a religion: the stated aims of peace and brotherhood, the efforts at character improvement, the focus on a paradisical future, the sacred writings, the scripture battles over orthodoxy, the excommunications, the ritual confessions of heresy and sin, the esoteric jargon, the missionary zeal, the holidays placed to coincide with prior Christian holidays, the hanging and parading of picture-icons of "Party-saints," and lastly the very demand of commitment itself.

Thus, as almost all Western visitors point out, a discussion about Communism with a Party member is like a discussion about religion, with all the emotional commitment and axioms simply closed to critical examination. Whether this is due to the religious nature of Communism or the general dogmatism of the Russians or both

Post, Journey into Russia, p. 29.
is open to debate, but politics are not. Alene Mosby sums it up: "As is well known, they are always right, you are wrong."  

Endurance

Much has been written about traditional Russian pessimism and fatalism. The huge land, the harsh climate, the poverty of the villages, and political impotence combined to bring out this side of his character. A main theme of nineteenth century Russian literature is the theme of the superfluous man. The melancholy side to Russian music is well known; maidens sang sad songs after betrothal because adult wedded life was seen as a burden compared to youth. Peasant proverbs are full of gentle cynicism and fatalism: "Walk fast and you can overtake misfortune; walk slowly and it will overtake you." "The Russian has three strong principles: perhaps, somehow, and never mind." 

Yet Miller feels that this side of the Russian character has been overemphasized. He points out that the Russian can abandon himself to either optimism or

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68 Mosby, View, p. 297.
69 Dunn, The Peasants of Central Russia, r. 97.
71 Ibid., p. 11.
melancholy wholeheartedly (we have discussed his wide swings of mood before), and he stresses Russians' traditional long-term optimism. Nichevo means as much "never mind" as it does "don't care." "It is a word to express the resilience and cheerful stoicism of which Russians are capable, as it is also the word enabling them to rub along in the frank acknowledgment of their despair."\(^7\)

He says that there is "more optimism than gloom in the Russian folk-stories, more triumph than terror."\(^7\) Any Russian folk song book will contain as many sprightly numbers as sad ones.

The Communist Party, with its non-debatable concept of man as a perfectable being, has tried to banish pessimism by fiat and enthroned optimism as the only true state of mind. There is no question that the progress made by their country over crushing difficulties has contributed to the modern Russian "pioneering spirit" that Englishmen visiting Russia compare with that in America. Russians today are a people on the move, and their energy appears limitless. "This is a young country, looking with fresh, eager, confident eyes on the world; there is nothing lethargic, blasé, or sceptical about it."\(^7\)

\(^7\)Miller, Russians as People, p. 86.
\(^7\)Ibid., p. 101.
\(^7\)Gooding, The Catkin and the Icicle, p. 40.
One element of the old fatalism which remains, encouraged by the Party and prized by all, is the quality of endurance. It is prized by the Russians as their secret weapon that makes them invincible in times of invasion. Russians say "чтò немцu мpрт', to рusskowy zdorого." (A Russian can thrive on the same thing that is fatal to a foreigner.) Russian soldiers have been renowned for centuries for their ability to fight on for days without sleep or provisions. The suffering of the people of Leningrad and Stalingrad during World War II is legendary.

One of the main aspects of the character of the "New Soviet Man" desired by the Party is strength, expressed in terms of courage, tenacity, endurance. This probably appeals to the average man at least as a verbalized ideal. Bathing in icy rivers is not participated in by very many, but it is widely approved as evidence of закал, fitness, a state of tempered hardness. Peasants forced to wait a night or two in a railroad station claim not to consider the sleep loss itself any hardship.

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75 Vakar, The Taproot of Soviet Society, p. 61.
Russians have short tempers in some situations, but in other situations seem to bring a patience to bear that the foreigner marvels at, especially in crowds pushing toward the metro, or in waiting for authority to function. And with the speed at which the Soviet government sometimes works, this aspect of endurance has survival value.

Kul'turnost'

Overview

The word "kul'turnost'" represents one of the strongest values in Russia today, a value with tremendous innovative and even disruptive potential for the Soviet status quo. Running counter to some aspects of collective and patriotic values, kul'tura to a Russian represents the "totality of achievements of mankind in industrial, social, and intellectual respects." Russians want it. It represents freedom from Russia's muddy, isolated, and helpless past, an end to her humiliating inferiority in so many of the indexes of civilization, both superficial and substantive.

Kul'turnost' is exemplified by reading books and by brushing one's teeth. Paved roads, sobriety, courteous

77 Ozhegov, Slovar' russkogo jazyka, p. 304.
manners, well-cut suits, and even individually-wrapped sugar cubes have all been cited by Russians to foreigners as evidences of kul'tura. The absence of such things may bring forth the damning judgment of nekul'turno from Russians of widely differing social standing. Many of the things considered nekul'turno concern public behavior and will be discussed in the next chapter, but it should be said here that many a foreigner has run afoul of Russian definitions of nekul'turno and has been roundly denounced by indignant natives.

Education

Kul'turnost' is closely associated with the newfound literacy of Soviet Russia. Anthropologists agree that the Russian was traditionally curious and foot-loose, a sort of land-sailor over his spacious country.78 The Tsars curbed the wanderlust by binding serfs to the land. Even under the Soviets geographic mobility is highly restricted, but the old restlessness now finds release via the printed page. Bookstalls line the streets, and trade is brisk. Russians read at home, on busses, in queues, and even on the job if it can be managed. Unpublished research by Professor Douglas Card of the Ohio State University Sociology Department indicates that

78 Dunn, The Peasants of Central Russia, p. 85.
Russians under thirty years of age and not in college read books far more than do non-college American youth of the same age group, and Russian men in general read books far more frequently than do American men.

Not surprisingly, Soviet authors who are approved by the regime can collect sizable royalties and are treated as Very Important Persons in public places. Birthplaces and homes of bygone authors are commonly converted into national shrines to be entered in slippers only (to protect the floors) and libraries of their works are lovingly collected nearby.

All this is in accord with government policy:

The Soviet regime has given its people not only the ability to read and write, but an ideology in which the acquisition of knowledge becomes one of the highest goods. Book reading . . . is a social obligation.79

Education in general is taught as a good by the government with a vigor surpassed only by that of the Russian people as they seek education. The government ranks among the highest of the major countries in per capita expenditure on education,80 and the seriousness of Soviet students gives British students the feeling of being mere amateurs.81 Van der Post calls them

80 Mace, The Soviet Family, p. 275.
"... not only gourmets but gluttons for knowledge and any idea that a human being might need a rest from the pursuit of learning would have seemed like treason. ..." 82

Teacher self-respect and prestige seem to be very high, as befitting the high priests and priestesses of the cult of kul'tura. "... education and the people who could dispense it, were valued as highly as in any nation. Both the learners and the teacher had no doubt that they were involved in an operation of great social importance and meaning." 83

Kul'turnost' and social cleavage

The Soviet society suffers many of the same tensions due to rising expectations and differential acquisition of knowledge as do other industrial societies. Education is about the only avenue of social mobility, and those who succeed are rewarded with status and privilege. However, not everyone learns at the same rate, and not everyone can be admitted to institutions of higher education.

In a system that tends to deny the existence or at least the importance of individual differences in ability,

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82 Post, Journey into Russia, pp. 110-11.
83 Ibid., p. 70.
differences in achievement can very easily be attributed to differences in effort output, and, therefore, to differences in the Soviet equivalent of virtue.

Differences in privileges existed under Tsarist rule and later under Stalin; many such wide differences still exist. Most Westerners feel the USSR to be classless by definition only. Indeed, even writers apparently quite sympathetic to the Soviet system report a "snobbishness of some professionals . . . toward the manual worker [that] is shocking to an American." A disdain of manual labor, folk art, and rural life in general seem to be part of the current definitions of success held by many.

Sociologists find these differences in behavior and privilege fascinating, but Inkeles and Bauer report that

Several observers were spontaneously struck with the fact that Soviet attitudes on this issue reminded them of popular sentiments on that same issue in the other great open class society, the United States.

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84 Mandel, Russia Re-examined, p. 80.
85 Miller, Russians as People, p. 61; Dunn, The Peasants of Central Russia, p. 126.
86 Inkeles and Bauer, Soviet Citizen, p. 319.
Frustrations are discharged through approved channels, including feeling morally superior, engaging in increased economic and social competition, and striving for still more mobility. Differences are thus recognized, but accepted rather calmly.

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87 Inkeles and Bauer, *Soviet Citizen*, p. 320.
CHAPTER III

SOVIET NORMS WHICH AMERICANS SHOULD KNOW

Basic Considerations: Dress, Time, Kinesics

Introduction

As compared with the French, the English or the Germans, Russians are not a formal people. They themselves

... have the impression that Russians and Americans resemble each other, that we are both informal, outgoing, generous, and broadly goodhumored; that both of us lack the discipline of the Germans, the style and sophistication of the French, the cool reserve of the English, ... ¹

In the years immediately following the revolution, brusque informality was generally counted a virtue, a symbol of revolt against bourgeois attitudes and habits.

Although this brusqueness and informality are very noticeable in Soviet Russians in general and service personnel in particular, it would be a grave error to assume the Soviets to be lacking in rigid behavioral expectations which differ from American ones. During the last decade, almost every popular writer on the Soviet Union has discussed some aspect of these behavioral

expectations and how they differ from American norms. Many Soviet norms are standardized and given additional moral force through government programs and publicity.

Perhaps most important in the setting of limits on behavior is the fact, mentioned in the preceding chapter, that Russians value culture and many of its interpersonal manifestations very highly. Even though the terms "kul'tura" and "nekul'turno" perhaps have been overworked in the recent past and may be avoided more in the future, the value remains. Russia is so huge and untamed, and the muddy past so fresh in memory that Soviets do not seem to have the feeling of many Americans that man has nature in a death grip and that civilization is a very mixed blessing. Russians love the country, but the dress and manners of the noble savage will probably not be sought very vigorously for some time to come in the USSR.

Before beginning the discussion of norms, the reader should once again be cautioned that norms vary with time, locale, and individual; thus, the areas discussed must be considered areas of potential, rather than certain difficulty for the American.

As explained in Chapter I, the statements in this chapter were gathered from literature, a questionnaire, and personal experience of the author. The questionnaire is found in Appendix C.
Dress and appearance

The basic rule for dress in the USSR is this: dress neatly and modestly.

The reasons for neatness as opposed to the studied sloppiness fashionable in many Western circles probably relate to the general value of culture plus faith in ordered social progress. Purposely ripped, spot-bleached or painted clothing is never seen, and hair-rollers are unthinkable in public. White shirt and tie are expected in many everyday situations, and formal attire is de rigueur at many functions held by dignitaries.²

Modesty appears to have two main aspects: body display and fashion. Soviets are generally more reticent about displaying the body (except on the beach) than are Westerners. Thus American women have sometimes gotten into difficulty with excessively high hemlines or low necklines.³ Shorts and skimpy bathing suits are approved at the beach or athletic area, but both men and women are


³Laurens van der Post, Journey into Russia (Toronto and Vancouver: Clarke, Irwin and Company Ltd., 1964), pp. 249-50; Mosby, View, p. 154.
expected to be fully clothed elsewhere, **even on the way** to the beach or athletic area. Ladies may wear rather sheer blouses, but they never wear shorts on the street. Men in public never display bare feet, legs, or backs.

The fashion aspect is perhaps more difficult for Westerners to understand. Several writers have stated something to the effect that dressing well consistently is the act of revolt in Russia today.\(^4\) That is probably an oversimplification. It is probably nearer the truth to state that dressing consistently à la latest Western fashion is the act of revolt. Good quality clothing is not the issue—style is. In the West, monarchs and first ladies are expected to be among the avant-garde of fashion; in the USSR the Establishment is expected to dress conservatively. Publications like *Krokodil* invariably associate extreme fashions with hooliganism and irresponsible behavior.

In addition, the use of jewelry and cosmetics appears to be more restrained than in the West.

Concluding our discussion of dress, the following should be noted: Overcoats and hats must be checked in

restaurants and other public buildings. It is considered rude to be in an eating establishment, theatre, or museum with one's coat on regardless of the temperature inside. It is not proper to drape the coat over one's chair, either: it must be checked at the cloak room.

At this writing, most Russian men are not accustomed to using umbrellas and feel that they are exclusively for women.

Many women visit church services with uncovered heads but the elderly consider it a bit more proper if women cover their heads during the service, preferably with a scarf. This may conceivably stem from ancient times when it was considered improper for a married woman to have any of her hair uncovered.

Time

Historically, the Russians have not been overly concerned about promptness. The Party has therefore gone to considerable lengths to make the people more punctual. One manifestation of this is the fact that theaters of all types start rather promptly and the doors are often locked until intermission. Appointments with officials may be difficult to arrange, but once arranged, one is received very punctually.
Most observers agree, however, that in several areas Russians are more casual about time than are Americans. The official who started his interview so punctually will likely exhibit his Russian hospitality by devoting better than an hour of his time and serving tea, fresh fruit, and candy.\(^5\) In informal situations, Russians may be rather casual about appointments. Miller observes that Russians are sincere in their invitations but are not generally upset by an hour's tardiness; neither do they expect the foreigner to demand any greater punctuality of others. Memory lapses concerning appointments are frankly admitted.\(^6\) Western observers are unanimous in their assertions that service in restaurants is quite slow. Gooding states that

\[\text{The Moscow restaurant \ldots is an entertainment house, where you go for an evening out in the course of which you will from time to time be brought food. Why then should the waiter hurry or the clients be impatient?}\]

Russian private dinners often start later and last longer than do American ones.


Groups in regular Intourist restaurants may be served with considerable dispatch, however.
Many operations, from buying groceries to checking out library books, take enormous amounts of time. Russians do not enjoy such inconveniences but are used to them and carry a book to read while they stand in line. Westerners would be well advised to follow their patient example.

**Kinesics**

The term "kinesics" refers to all bodily non-verbal communication in the broadest sense of the word communication. Perhaps in the widest sense, most of this chapter concerns kinesics, but this section will concern only those simple phenomena closely related to what are usually called gestures.

Russians are quite demonstrative in their greetings and, like Latins, are not unaccustomed to seeing members of the same sex embrace and kiss on the mouth. Girls very commonly walk arm-in-arm down the street, and boys will occasionally hold hands to avoid being separated in a crowd. Such actions are apparently devoid of homosexual overtones and simply indicate close friendship. Like Arabs and Latins, Russians often like to stand closer to a conversational companion than do Americans and Englishmen. Men are accustomed to greeting women with a handshake whereas in America it is usually not proper for a man to shake the lady's hand unless she extends hers first.
The American male custom of sitting with one's legs crossed and spread wide apart is considered rude. In a 1970 staging of "Beneath the Rustle of Your Eyelashes" ("Pod shoroch tvich resnits") by the famous Obratsov puppets, a stereotype of the American businessman gets out of bed and crosses his legs in the manner described. This little bit of action would undoubtedly have gone completely unnoticed by an American audience, but the Moscow audience thought it very funny.

The American custom of putting feet on chairs or tables is also considered very uncouth. Slouching is closely associated with undesirable attitudes and anti-social behavior.

One should not enter sacred places such as Lenin's tomb or an operating church with hands in one's pockets. For some reason it is considered disrespectful by some to attend a church service with hands clasped behind the back.

Two favorite American gestures should be avoided: 1) the symbol of approval with index finger pressed to thumb, forming a circle and 2) the gesture expressing anger (often used in fun) with clenched fist shaken in front of the face, elbow bent. Both are close enough to common Russian vulgar gestures to warrant abstinence.

The Russian gesture for approval is a thumbs-up sign or hands clasped together and shaken slightly, in front of the body. Disapproval can be registered by finger-
wagging or head-shaking. A gesture to indicate mental imbalance begins with the fingertips flat on the forehead and is executed by quickly rotating the hand some fraction of a turn, using the fingertips as an axis. Flipping the front side of the neck or twisting an ear-lobe refer to drinking bouts. Many other gestures are similar to American ones.

Travel

Pedestrian and general

Americans are often surprised at the large number of pedestrians in Soviet cities and are usually pleased at the opportunities thus afforded for observation and conversation. Walking is indeed a national pastime and one gets the impression, on pleasant summer evenings, that the whole town has turned out for a stroll. Attention to a few simple rules can make the American a better-accepted fellow-pedestrian.

The first rule, now less strictly observed but still very widely honored, is that trash is not to be thrown on the streets or sidewalks. Many Americans demonstrating that boorish national habit of dropping waste paper or cigarette butts at random have been reminded in unmistakable terms by indignant Russians of various ages and stations that an urn for trash was but a few feet away.
One can rather frequently observe Russians eating or smoking while walking, especially in major cities. However, most Russians as well as many Europeans, feel that it is more polite to stand in one place while eating or smoking. This rule applies especially to young ladies.

Whistling in public is not generally approved, it being associated with hooligans and rowdiness rather than merely with a cheerful frame of mind.

Russians generally stay to the right on crowded sidewalks, and one Russian acquaintance of this writer criticizes Americans for wandering like cows all over our sidewalks.

Such discipline breaks down almost completely at the street edge, however. Pedestrians jaywalk and cross against lights and scurry daringly through streams of traffic. Drivers counter with horn blowing, and do not generally yield right-of-way, even when turning a corner over a crosswalk. Foreigners are well advised to look for the sign "perekhod" (crosswalk) which, in large cities, often indicates an underground pedestrian tunnel under heavily-traveled streets. The sign "perekhoda net" indicates an area closed to pedestrians.

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Public transportation

One difficulty foreigners may encounter stems from the fact that Russians, like many Eastern Europeans and some Frenchmen, don't seem to have any manners whatsoever as they push and shove toward crowded bus, trolley, and subway doors. Unaccustomed to such rude elbowing, the foreigner may lose his temper. The paradox is that Russians don't feel the good fight for entrance or exit to be bad manners, but they do feel that losing one's temper is.¹

On the escalators leading to and from the metro, one is expected to stand on the right side so that those energetic individuals who wish to walk up or down the escalator may do so freely.

Once inside a bus or streetcar one must pay the ticket automat in the absence of a conductor. If change is unavailable one either asks those around him for change or drops in the next largest coin he has and collects the fare of subsequent passengers for change, handing them their tickets from the automat. Everyone is expected to participate in the business of making change, passing fare and tickets back and forth, and even occasionally loaning a total stranger his fare or part of it. Because of this expected cooperation, if one is first on a bus, it is

¹Miller, Russians as People, p. 68; Post, Journey into Russia, p. 145.
better to find a place to sit or stand first and then pass the fare rather than to hold up the line while paying and obtaining one's ticket. Besides, others may need the correct change.

On all public conveyances the first five or six places are for invalids, older persons, and persons with children. In practice Russians are generally very polite about relinquishing any seat to people in these categories.

Public transportation at rush periods is horribly crowded so that working one's way toward the exit can require some athletic and linguistic skill. A passenger needing to get by those standing between him and the front exit says " Razreshite proiti" or else he asks if the one in front of him is getting out by inquiring "Vy seichas vykhodite?" Some practical advice: if someone asks you if you are getting off at such and such a stop and you don't know which stop he means, or you generally understand him poorly, chances are he just wants you to move out of the way if you're not getting off at the next stop or so.¹⁰

Smoking is generally not allowed on municipal transportation. On trains, individuals often step to the area between cars for smoking.

Train service is generally much better in the Soviet

Union than in the United States, but passengers should not expect to find much food served on either trains or planes. Tea and cookies or small hard candies are usually the extent of the refreshment available on all but long-distance trips. Air travel in the USSR is conceived as mass transportation, so many of the pleasant frills of American airlines are missing.

**Automobile travel**

At each taxi stand in the Soviet Union there is usually a number of parked taxis and a number of queued citizens. The taxis are usually waiting for someone or something important and the citizens are waiting for an unengaged taxi. Foreigners should generally plan on spending some time in line before getting a taxi, and they should not be surprised if the driver refuses to accept them because it's too close to his lunch break or quitting time and the distance proposed is too far for his liking. If accepted as a passenger, the practice is to have at least one passenger sit in front with the driver. This seems somehow more egalitarian and in any case facilitates conversation with the driver, who often turns out to be a most interesting conversationalist. The price of the trip
is very reasonable, but it should be mentioned that, concerning taxis, the rule against tipping is honored more in the breach than in the observance.

Perhaps the best advice for foreigners driving alone in the Soviet Union is don't. The basic government policy favors mass transportation at the expense of private. Gas stations are few and far between and drivers are expected to do their own repairs and servicing. Since the requirements for obtaining a license are very high and cars are extremely expensive most drivers on the road are professionals, driving large trucks or busses. Therefore, the foreign amateur in a private car is at a distinct disadvantage. In case of a collision, the foreigner may well be held responsible and be expected to pay a fine or serve a jail sentence. However, it should be noted that Soviet policemen are very courteous and helpful.

Foreigners driving in the Soviet Union should be well-acquainted with the standardized international road signs. Furthermore, he should be very alert for traffic

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11 The sign indicating a self-service repair area looks like this: 

12 Mosby, View, p. 97.

lights, which are seldom hung in pairs across the road but are usually single, small signals mounted on posts at the side of the road.

Pedestrians crossing streets are extremely undisciplined, and can cause the unseasoned driver considerable alarm.

A center lane of many streets is often reserved for emergency vehicles.

By law, cars in the USSR must be kept clean and free of dents, and roadside facilities for washing one's car are labeled in the imperative mood: "Pomoi mashinu!" ("Wash your car!"). Tourists, however, are not held strictly to this rule.

Commercial Dealings

It is wise to keep in mind that some of the greatest official differences between the USA and the USSR involve commerce. Since the Soviet leadership attributes most human ills to the exploitation of man by man for the accumulation of individual wealth, many of the accepted practices of the capitalistic Western world are held as crimes against society. Thus, privately hiring others to work for pay is labeled "exploitation" and reselling goods

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for profit is called "speculation." Both are serious crimes, and, depending on the gravity, may be punished by long jail sentences. Tourists should consider this fact before engaging with private Russian citizens in the sale or purchase of any item. Since those basic, accepted practices of the capitalist world are considered serious crimes, it is not surprising that many economic practices considered illegal in the West are regarded in the Soviet Union as among the very graver of offenses. Some can carry the death penalty: large-scale embezzlement, professional counterfeiting, bribe-taking, and—tourists take note—currency black-market dealing. Although it is obvious to the most casual visitor to the USSR that some segments of the population do not hold to these official norms, it is wise for the foreigner to remember that the establishment generally holds these norms to be very important.

In this connection foreigners should remember that no ruble notes, savings bonds, or the like may be transported across Soviet borders either way. Receipts for all currency transactions should be retained until after exit from the country.

It should also be noted here that items of historical value—pre-revolutionary books, icons, and so forth—

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are not allowed to be transported out of the country.

Two of the most difficult areas for the American visitor in the Soviet Union are the low level of commercial service and the negative attitudes of service personnel. The areas of the economy which have received the most government emphasis and consequently the most pay and prestige are those which are concerned with the construction of an industrial base for the country. Service, including tourist facilities and food preparation, have received a lower priority. Thus the workers in these areas often work long hours with comparatively low pay and prestige. This fact, coupled with the native Russian willingness to express negative as well as positive feelings, helps to explain why Soviet service personnel are often flippant, off-hand, and sometimes downright rude. Americans should not feel that there is anything personal or political in this treatment, as natives are often treated even worse. Many Russians, including officials are aware of the problem and often embarrassed by it, but change comes slowly. Americans will enjoy their visits in the USSR more if they will look upon the experience as education rather than entertainment. They will create far more good feeling if they will be as modest as possible in their demands and generous with praise of efforts in their behalf. Service personnel of course appreciate any sort of indication that
one considers them equal human beings rather than robots or servants. They should never be addressed with the familiar тв form, as it is considered degrading in such a relationship.

As is well known, tipping is officially prohibited in the Soviet Union. With the possible exception of big-city taxi drivers, tipping generally is not expected. Tipping in the presence of officials or Intourist guides may create ill feelings.

Eating and Drinking

Eating

The first thing to remember about eating in a Soviet restaurant is to check one's hat and coat at the гардероб. This done, individuals very often sit at a table where others are already sitting, partly for the convenience of the waitress and partly because Russians are gregarious. Intourist has the habit of segregating foreigners from natives, but this is very much an exception to the usual rule for seating.

Napkins are not necessarily spread over the lap, but are often ignored until necessary.

Sitting with the left hand in the lap is considered poor manners, as it is many places in Europe. Instead the fork is held in the left hand and the knife is used in the right hand to cut and push food onto the fork. Both
hands are expected to remain above the table.

Bread should be broken into very small pieces before being buttered and eaten.

Russian appetizers (zakuski) are so plentiful and are present so long that foreigners should be warned against overindulging in them and leaving no appetite for the next three courses which usually follow. Failing to eat heartily is very nearly a breach of etiquette, and moderation is not a widely respected virtue at mealtime.  

As in many countries that have known hunger intimately and where food is even now occasionally less than plentiful, food left on the plate is not particularly appreciated.

At the end of the meal, one does not say the equivalent of "please excuse me," but instead thanks his companions for their company with a simple "spasibo" to which they reply "na zdorov'e" (literally, "for health").

It is interesting to note here that bread and salt are the traditional symbols of hospitality and are still employed as such in advertising and in some pageants.

Russians are not used to individuals picking their teeth or chewing gum; both are considered impolite in public.

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Drinking

The drinking of alcoholic beverages carries almost ritual significance for many Russians,17 despite widespread government campaigns against alcohol. Women generally drink far less than men in public, but everyone is expected to join in at least one toast for friendship's sake. A non-alcoholic beverage may not be substituted without prior explanation,18 and drinks are not usually mixed with water. If the toast is offered po-russkii, it means that the glass should be emptied to the bottom at one draught. This is an indication of sincerity. As Russians have the habit of proposing toasts as long as they can sit upright, the moderate drinker would do well to explain soon after the first toast that he will drink all subsequent toasts po-amerikanski. Any candy or hors d'oeuvres available should of course be consumed along with the drink to stave off inebriation. If your health is being drunk, you are expected to rise and drink with your well-wishers if they are standing.19 Toasts to individuals are made with the words


18To join in clinking glasses with a non-alcoholic beverage when the rest are drinking spirits is, according to Ukrainian tradition, a slight on the intelligence of your companions.

19Miller, Russians as People, p. 77.
"Vashe zdorov'ë" or "za zdorov'ë" ("your health"). Toasts are not usually drunk to friendship between governments, but between the peoples of the nations in question.  

Soviet prosecution for driving while intoxicated is severe, and the explanation that one will be driving is sufficient to explain abstinence.

Acquaintance and Friendship

Forms of address present some problems for foreigners in the Soviet Union. Russians, of course, use comrade (tovarishch) widely, and it seems to be approaching the status of a neutral title, especially when used in the plural or in addressing utter strangers. However, even for Russians the title should not be used long between acquaintances because it sounds too cold and official, even hostile. The titles "gospodin" ("master") and "grazhdanin" are unacceptable for foreigners to use on Russians, and professional titles are seldom used in direct address. Thus, the wisest choice for a foreigner is to avoid using titles with the last name in addressing Soviet

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20 Post, Journey into Russia, p. 102.
22 Ibid., pp. 58-59.
Russians, and to move directly to the use of name and patronymic or first name alone if the Russian so introduces himself. First name and patronymic are considered perfectly proper and in no way overly familiar among associates, between professor and students, between an older and a younger adult, and so forth.

It is generally safer to use the polite Vy form, especially in the south, until an agreement has been made to use ty. University students tend to use ty after a little conversation, but members of the Communist Party are not required to use it on each other, as is often the case in other languages.

The greeting "Zdravstvuite!" should be used only once per day on any given person. Overuse indicates carelessness and insincerity of the greeting.

As previously mentioned, Russians are less reticent about physical contact between friends of the same sex than are Americans. In addition, Russians can be overwhelmingly generous with their friends, lavishing time, food, and presents on them. Of course, they unconsciously expect similar treatment.

A few comments on gifts would be appropriate here.

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23Kostomarov, "Russkii rechevoi etiket," p. 60. Incidentally, Vy is always capitalized in private correspondence.

24Ibid.
Russians are sensitive and proud; thus they may resent any gift that could be interpreted as an implication of economic backwardness: soap, razor blades, ball point pens, or cheap trinkets. The fact that the country may have shortages of such items and that young men may pester tourists with requests to buy such things is all the more reason why a patriotic Russian may infer a slight from such a present. Children often beg foreigners for chewing gum, but most adult Russians feel embarrassed at the practice. Visiting American officials and correspondents, in an effort to be generous and friendly have tossed fruit, candy, and coins to children from cars and hotel windows, thus inadvertently earning the resentment of adult Russians nearby. The children themselves will angrily return coins tossed to them, although most Russians enjoy exchanging coins with Americans.

Books, records, stamps, and flowers are generally appropriate gifts. However, books and magazines that would be considered only spicy in the West are often considered pornographic in the Soviet Union. Books advocating religion or criticizing Soviet principles or practice should generally be avoided. Although Russians love flowers and pass bouquets

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26 Ibid., p. 110.
of them to delegations, dignitaries and performers, there is
a widely-known "language of flowers" based on their color.
Some discrepancies exist, but basically, the code is this:
red = love; blue = fidelity; yellow = change, separation,
or farewell; white = a date (or purity); black = grief;
green = hope (or treachery); pink = platonic love.

On March eighth International Women's Day, it is
customary to congratulate all women acquaintances and to
bring flowers and presents to lady friends, teachers, etc.
As mentioned in Chapter II in the section on dusha, Russians
seem to value sincerity more than superficial politeness,
so that if one is bored to death or tired, he is not ex­
pected to feign joviality. Similarly, Russians are not used
to smiling at others as an automatic social convention.

Compliments usually are not met with an expression
of thanks but with a gentle protest and deprecation of
whatever was complimented.

One final comment of friendship: the word "drug"
is usually reserved to describe close friends. Other
companions are "znakomy," which implies a greater number
of shared interests than does the English equivalent
"acquaintance."27

27Sergei Ivanovich Ozhegov, Slovar' russkogo iazyka,
4th ed. (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo Inostrannykh
Bisexual Relationships and Family Life

Courtship and Sex

It is probably inaccurate to call Soviets prudish about sex, but there is little question that they are generally more restrained in public than are Americans in such matters. Officially, to be Communist means to be very circumspect in matters romantic, as discussed in Chapter II. Erotic stimulation is generally kept out of the mass media; dress and public display of affection are usually modest by Western standards.

However, as mentioned, Russians fit the puritanical image but poorly. Russian girls can be rather direct in taking the initiative to get acquainted. Separate vacations are the rule, and the saying, "Don't bring your own samovar to Tula," applies to the joys of not bringing one's own spouse to a resort area. Anecdotes concerning sex abound although they are publicly condemned in the mass media.

Some customs cannot be categorized as to modesty but are simply different from American ones: men often carry the purse of their lady friends. No engagement ring or other symbol of betrothal is employed. Wedding rings are worn on the third finger right hand. Russian men do

28 Miller, Russians as People, p. 160.
not think it strange to ask another man's date for a dance, and may feel offended if turned down. ²⁹

**Family life**

Both the government and most Russian couples would like to raise the low Soviet birthrate, but cramped living quarters, working mothers, and limited incomes conspire to frustrate this desire. Consequently, it is not surprising to find that Russians are extremely fond of children and are very protective of them. Americans visiting the USSR have been roundly criticized by Russians for 1) not bundling their children to the eyes as is the Russian habit, 2) allowing their children to stray a few feet away in a park, and 3) spanking their children. Corporal punishment is generally frowned upon in theory and in practice. ³⁰

At least in the older generation, men do not generally help with the housework or the procuring and preparation of food, although they do participate in caring for children. ³¹

²⁹ Levine, *Main Street, USSR*, p. 368.


Leisure Activities

In the Soviet Union the Establishment has an official position on just about every conceivable aspect of life, and leisure is no exception. This official position holds that the masses have a right to enjoy leisure and recreational facilities, but recreational activities should be uplifting and make the individual a better citizen and worker. Purposeless, degenerate, and escapist recreation is not encouraged.\(^{32}\) Restaurants and dance pavilions are provided, but students and solid citizens are expected not to be frequently seen wasting their time in such establishments. Selected music, dances, and film from the West are allowed, partly to immunize the population against Western leisure mass media, for the "man of the future cannot be raised in a bell jar."\(^{33}\) Such entertainment is extremely popular, especially with the young, but the leadership views it sceptically as "a new, secular, opiate of the more subtly exploited and disoriented masses; ...\(^{34}\) Domestically produced films, folk music and dancing, sports, opera, theatre, ballet, and chess are all encouraged by


\(^{33}\)Ibid., p. 448.

\(^{34}\)Ibid.
the government as being healthy and uplifting. Group activities are strongly encouraged in order to develop the spirit of the collective.

In addition to the above, Americans should keep the following in mind at public entertainment: Promptness is required and doors are often locked to latecomers. Whistling is reserved for very informal events and usually indicates disapproval. The same may be said of foot stamping. Applause tends to be very brief and Russians generally act in a more restrained fashion at formal entertainment than do Americans. At athletic events Soviets generally exhibit the best in good sportsmanship toward visiting teams.

**Verbal Taboos**

It is not the purpose of this section to present a complete dictionary of vulgarities, but to make a few general statements about verbal taboos and to list a few euphemisms and double-entendres.

Despite the general dethroning of religion in the USSR, expressions referring to the devil are still not usually acceptable for polite company, though fairly commonly used for emphasis among males. Some of the most common and most vulgar expressions are based on the ancient "... your mother" formula. The peasant uses the expression if it starts to rain or if the sun is too hot, while
for more serious occasions he can indulge in obscene and blasphemous elaborations of how he will wrong someone's mother.  

Therefore, a whole range of words based on the word "материнство" ("mother") refer to such cursing or are used in cursing. The seemingly nonsensical phrase "волки пальцы" ("fir sticks") is used as an explicative because the first syllable of the first word is similar to the first syllable in the "... your mother" phrase, much as "geez" and "Judas Priest" replace "Jesus" and "Jesus Christ" in American speech.

Students of Russian should be advised against misplacing the accent in писать (to write), as the same word with the accent on the first syllable refers to urinating.

Колбаса (sausage), яйца (eggs), and конец (end) may all be used to refer to male sexual organs, while the word "nasморк" ("headcold") may refer to a venereal disease. Phrases involving the roots "заря" ("to burn"), "драть" ("to fight"), and "дать" ("to give") may refer to sexual relations.

Although the double-entendres may be employed in non-vulgar contexts, they are scrupulously avoided in print.

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35 Miller, Russians as People, p. 155.
if a vulgar connotation could be inferred. Expressions involving mat' cursing are never seen in print at the present time.

Relationships with Authority

As discussed in Chapter II in the section on paternalism, Russians view authority generally with more respect than do Americans. In the United States, critical, independent thinking is at least a widely verbalized value; beyond doubt, complaining about authority figures is a major American pastime. Therefore, it comes as a surprise to Americans to learn that visitors to the USSR have been accused of spreading anti-Soviet propaganda and have been threatened with expulsion for simply expressing, during the course of a conversation, their personal feelings about the political system and its leaders. Showing disrespect to the memory of Lenin is a legal offense. An American newspaper correspondent was expelled because he made a collection of Radio Armenia jokes and cabled them out to his newspaper. 36

Concerning authority relationships in academic situations, teachers and students at all levels have a more formal relationship than do their American counterparts.

36 Post, Journey into Russia, p. 67.
This relationship resembles more that found in Continental Europe. American students in at least the outlying districts of the USSR should remember that their Russian professors and advisors are used to having their suggestions followed quite faithfully.

All foreign visitors are well advised to scrupulously obey regulations applicable to them and to moderate all critical comments. That is sensible advice for visitors to any country.

**Concluding Note**

There are a few hippies in the Soviet Union, there are some hooligans, and there are numbers of rather ordinary-looking citizens who break currency laws quite casually. Every society has deviates from its norms, and these rebels often feel that their own norms are the right ones. The purpose in presenting the more or less official viewpoint in this chapter has been to give the American a feeling of the norms held by Soviet Russians who are counted as responsible and respectable in their own society. If the visitor chooses to break one of the norms discussed in this chapter, the chances are very good in many cases that no one will say a word to him. But the sensitive visitor should try to imagine what effect his actions have on the average Russian and on those who hold decision-making power. It
does not hurt to leave Soviet-American relations a little better than they were before one's visit.
CHAPTER IV

TEACHING SOVIET VALUES AND NORMS

Introduction

As stated in Chapter I, this work concerns contemporary, interpersonal aspects of Russian culture. It is intended to augment, but not replace, materials dealing with the heroic and historic in Russia and the Soviet Union. Mastery of the material in Chapters II and III should give the student basic acceptability in Soviet culture, not necessarily full understanding of it.

This chapter is especially intended for the teacher of Russian language at the secondary or college level, and for the college-level teacher of a Russian culture course. Social studies teachers and textbook authors should also find material of interest here. The reasons why a language teacher should spend time on this area are discussed in Chapter I. However, it should be mentioned here that language teachers can bring to the study of culture new insights, intensity,

1Acceptability refers to the ability to follow compulsory proprieties in a given culture.
and techniques in addition to those provided by social studies teachers.

The material in this chapter is meant to broaden the teacher's range of activities rather than to prescribe a single best method for presenting values and norms. Many of the suggestions are derived from social studies education literature, others from foreign language education literature, and still others from the thinking of this writer and his associates.

The remainder of this chapter is divided into three main sections: 1) aims, 2) methods, and 3) materials.

Aims

Even after establishing an end goal such as basic acceptability in Soviet culture or partial understanding of it, social studies educators might point out that there are at least three strategic sub-goals involved in reaching the end goal. These sub-goals or categories of objectives are those of knowledge, process, and value; they roughly correspond to the areas covered by the interrogatives "what," "how," and "why." Thus, even after one has decided on a goal of acceptability in the

USSR, one should decide what sort of knowledge would be the most useful, how one acquires and organizes such knowledge, and what values, once instilled, would continually stimulate the student to do this acquiring and organizing.

Knowledge

Beaujour writes, "Our goals must not be 'peace and understanding,' but in the strictest, most scientific sense of these terms: knowledge and self-knowledge."\(^3\)
The question here of course is, what sort of knowledge and self-knowledge? It may seem to the reader that the issue has already been decided for our present purposes: knowledge of the values and norms presented in Chapters II and III. Certainly the teacher would have ample work just teaching his students these facts as set forth. Yet the problem is not one of a teacher's blindly presenting facts, but of a teacher's helping his students to understand those facts.

To this end, many writers in various fields of education today advocate a greater emphasis on higher levels of abstraction. Bruner teaches that knowledge of isolated facts is largely useless, but facts related

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by structure, i.e., related to broad and basic concepts, are far more easily remembered and more easily applied to future situations. Bloom's Taxonomy outlines activities that lead to various levels of abstraction and has been influential in drawing curriculum planner's attention toward more sophisticated cognitive tasks than those involving rote memory alone. Social studies teachers' excessive attention to elementary cognitive tasks has been researched, described, and criticized by Davis and Tinsley. Keller complains:

To too great an extent we first attempt to fill the minds of students and then later—much later sometimes—we let them think, analyze, and interpret. We need to get at basic ideas, concepts, and generalizations, at the essence of things, at what Jerome Bruner calls 'structure,' i.e., the relation of facts and principles.

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Most of the discussion in social studies literature which comes under the rubric "knowledge" advocates the relating of facts to form concepts, the relating of concepts to form principles, and the application of such concepts and principles to problem-solving.

In foreign language education literature, a similar theme is evident. Nostrand advocates that

Instead of talking about separate national traits, an enlightened approach today requires trying to see a context of interrelations influencing each trait and forming a structural whole that has come to be called "national character." Both Garibaldi and Sparkman advocate the use of concepts and principles for interrelating facts.

The value-themes of Chapter II undoubtedly could be utilized as a means of organizing the norms in Chapter III. The section on methods will include a discussion of other techniques for helping students to derive generalizations, principles, and concepts from individual facts.

The following is a brief list of some broad

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principles that are suggested to be taught in connection with culture:

1. All people are influenced by factors beyond their control; physical and social environment play a major role in the formation of behavior patterns. . . . 10

2. All people have basic similarities and needs; not only needs for the essentials of life . . . , but also the need for belonging, acceptance and expression. 11

3. Each society has a culture, but there are wide variations in meeting the needs mentioned in #2 above. 12

4. There are wide variations between cultures as to what is considered good and bad. 13

5. Differences in values are central to many inter- and intra-national conflicts. 14

6. Every culture has taboos and limits to behavior—some are connected logically to contemporary values and others are not. 15


11 Ibid.

12 Ibid.


7. Studying another culture aids in understanding one's own culture.\textsuperscript{16}

**Process**

One logical extension of raising knowledge to ever higher levels of abstraction is the notion of getting the student involved in the process by which facts are discovered and then interrelated to form concepts. In the face of a world imploding upon the library, a world where education for change is a prime objective, it is logical that the process by which new facts are discovered should be considered as important as the facts themselves.

This is the central idea in much of Bruner's writing:

The three themes mentioned so far are all premised on a central conviction: that intellectual activity anywhere is the same, whether at the frontier of knowledge or in a third-grade classroom. What a scientist does at his desk or in his laboratory, what a literary critic does in reading a poem, are of the same order as what anybody else does when he is engaged in like activities—if he is to achieve understanding. The difference is in degree, not in kind. The schoolboy learning physics is a physicist, and it is easier for him to learn physics behaving like a physicist than doing something else.\textsuperscript{17}


He then goes on to criticize many of the activities of the schoolroom as being far removed from central concerns of the disciplines and the work of leading scholars.

Keller makes the same point:

Material must be prepared which will enable students to arrive at ideas, concepts, and generalizations inductively. Then the study of history and the social sciences will be what all education should be— inquiry and discovery.\(^\text{18}\)

This is of course a central idea in the writing of Dewey and that of his followers, the Progressive Educators. Similar ideas can be found in the thought of Tolstoy, Pestalozzi, and Herbert Spencer. All stress education by discovery and first-hand contact as being inherently more useful, memorable, and interesting than second-hand learning.

Furthermore, students involved directly in the inquiry process are more likely to grasp another significant fact: culture is complex and ever-changing; analyses of it must be ever open to revision. A process-orientation opens this complexity to the student, gives him means to cope with the complexity, but does not fall into the trap of attempting "to do the impossible—tailor-make the world in a manner so that it can be effortlessly grasped by the

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student."

However, enthusiasts for process and higher levels of abstraction should remember the caution that process without content, like faith without works, is dead. Hayakawa sums up a discussion of various levels of abstraction:

It is obvious, then, that interesting speech and interesting writing, as well as clear thinking and consequent psychological adjustment, require the constant interplay of higher and lower level abstractions, and the constant interplay of the verbal levels with the nonverbal ("object") levels.20

Much of the criticism leveled at teachers' colleges, Progressive Education, and, more recently, the New Math resulted from a failure to remember this point. Specifics are often needed to illustrate the general, and a mixture of exposition and inquiry may be the best way to teach many subjects. Such is the contention of Hunt and Metcalf for their "relective teaching" of social studies.21

With this caution in mind, the teacher should study


various inquiry techniques used in studying other cultures.

Six different ones are discussed by Nostrand:

1. Collect freewheeling generalizations, consolidate them. This is useful as a start toward understanding the culture.

2. Arrange data on a cultural inventory such as the Outline of Cultural Materials produced by the Human Relations Area Files. This is most useful for research, but tends to be compartmentalized.

3. Construct structural-functional models. A billiard-ball model of American values has been constructed and values located on it according to calculated correlations. This approach tends to oversimplify culture and is limited in application.

4. Organize ideas found in a culture into themes. (This is recommended by Nostrand and is the method used in Chapter II).

5. Use a standard historical approach. Even in studying the present, the past is inescapable, so elements of this approach must be used with each of the above.

6. Contrast elements of the target culture with corresponding elements in the native culture. This approach often is useful in arousing interest, but can result in ethnocentric suspicion of the strange ways of the foreigners. Use a third culture, where possible, for comparison, and show how one value or habit fits into a larger theme.22

Lewald asserts that foreign language teachers should leave the teaching of culture to others (his stand is disputed on page 8, Chapter I, of this work). He has discussed problems relating to various approaches to

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teaching culture. 23 Certainly the teacher should try to perceive the weaknesses of any inquiry process he uses and should help students to perceive these weaknesses. Many difficulties can be avoided by following Nostrand's guidelines for data-gathering:

1. When one is gathering data, he should record the whole situation as it occurred (situational context) rather than immediately imposing categories upon the data (schematic context). Data gathered in its situational context is more accurate and of more value over a long period of time.

2. One should distinguish between professed and actual norms of conduct.

3. One should distinguish between conscious and unconscious behavior. (These last two are very important to remember when one asks a native to verify a statement about his culture.)

4. One should distinguish between usual and unusual behavior.

5. The following standards for evidence should be observed:

   a. It should be based on quantitative research, involving a large and representative sample wherever possible.

   b. It should be specific as to the population from which it was drawn, not falsely overgeneralized.

   c. It should not be based entirely on linguistic or literary patterns. Proverbs and literary works may be selected to illustrate national

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traits, but as bases for generalizations they are often misleading.24

These guidelines are important to promote student understanding of the cross-cultural inquiry process.

Values

There is considerable debate among educators as to the teaching of values.

The bulk of discussion on teaching values in social studies education centers on the instilling of values, not merely the intellectual examination of them. Most foreign language experts and some other educators feel that the instilling of values is not a proper goal for the classroom. Seelye expresses a view shared by Brooks, Lado, and other foreign language educators when he writes

> There should be no controversy about the aim of accurate communication, and this includes understanding the culturally based mores of the target people but does not necessarily include professing or internalizing the mores.25

Keller, a social studies educator, agrees and insists that "The aim should not be to teach attitudes. . . . I yield


to nobody in my interest in good citizenship, but . . . 
I insist that no discipline— or federation of subjects—
should ever impose a pattern of behavior on anybody."26
It would seem that the American teacher discussing Soviet
culture would have to be particularly careful about this
because of political tensions between the two countries.

In addition, writers like Barzun raise the question
whether any values can be effectively inculcated in the
classroom.

The wish of students to have universities teach
values "is not as laudable as it sounds, being
only the wish to have one's perplexities removed
by someone else. . . . Values (so-called) are
not taught; they are breathed in or imitated."27
Bono puts it succinctly: "I should think that a course
in Democracy would make most healthy students loathe the
word and all its associations."28

Thus, the above writers, if they were to deal with
values at all, would only teach about values, subsuming
their study under the heading "knowledge."

However, many social studies writers are more

26Keller, "A Revolution in the Social Studies:
Still Needed?", pp. 16-17.

27Jacques Barzun, The American University and Where

28Bono, "Languages and Values," p. 337.
favorable to the instilling of values or at least the critical examination of student value systems. Gibson insists that the teacher cannot avoid implanting values, even if he tries.29 Hunt and Metcalf argue convincingly that values can and should be discussed rationally. They feel that the student will accept wise values after scrutinizing them carefully, and that both society and the student will be healthier for his having done so.30

There are a few basic values or attitudes that foreign language educators advocate be instilled in students. Nostrand speaks of the need to be kind and reasonable as a basic attitude for cross-cultural understanding.31 Garibaldi and others advocate teaching a basic respect for foreigners and their cultures plus the value of understanding them.32 Few would disagree with these aims.

32 Garibaldi, "Broader Rationale," p. 100.
To conclude this discussion of aims, it can be recommended that the teacher interested in teaching culture broaden the scope of his efforts beyond the mere presentation of isolated facts. Larger generalizations about culture in general and the target culture in particular should be taught along with the specifics. In order to help students keep abreast of changes in the target culture and for several other reasons, teachers should involve students in the inquiry process itself. Teachers should not try to instill the values of the target culture in students, but merely discuss those values as knowledge about the culture. Teachers should consciously try to instill only a few very general values such as tolerance.

Methods

Introduction

For Marshall McLuhan, the medium is the message, and for students, the methods which teachers use are the message. No matter what noble aim the teacher has in his mind, if his method does not put the aim across, it does not exist for the student. Sartre's statement "We are what we do," applies equally well to teaching.

Yet the teacher can never hope to find the One True Way to teach. Conditions change, students change,
and subject matter changes. Therefore, as research indicates, the good teacher is the sensitive and flexible one who tailors his methods to the given variables present.\textsuperscript{33} Flanders does indicate that the more effective teachers tend to begin with indirect methods and become progressively more direct as any given course continues,\textsuperscript{34} but flexibility seems to be the key characteristic involved in effectiveness and favorable pupil attitude.

Almost any method can be directed toward teaching either knowledge, process, or value objectives as discussed in the preceding section. Methods particularly well suited to any given objective are so noted below.

A few comments concerning culture in the foreign language classroom are appropriate here. The average foreign language teacher, no matter how favorable toward teaching culture, probably has serious doubts as to his ability to find time for even the limited amount of cultural content found in this dissertation. He can usually expect only two years' contact with a given pupil for a total contact time of well under 400 hours, which

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\textsuperscript{34}Ibid., p. 265.
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is hardly sufficient time for mastery of a foreign language, let alone culture.

However, the foreign language teacher must discuss something as he teaches the foreign language. Every reading selection, every dialog, and many pattern drills can be made to carry cultural content. Teachers must let publishers know of their desires to obtain more such integrated materials, but the imaginative teacher can inject much cultural content into his lessons even without any change of textbook. Properly done, such teaching can increase student interest and thus increase learning.

In the pre-reading stages of audio-lingual classwork, homework assignments on culture to be done in the native language of the learner can often be valuable. Seelye notes that teachers in some urban ghetto schools have found it profitable to

... begin a foreign language instruction with culturally-oriented pictures. The illustrations are used as a point of departure for discussions in English about the target peoples. As interest and curiosity are awakened, the instructor begins to teach the students words and phrases that are relevant to their interests. Thus, little by little, the initial cultural emphasis shifts in favor of

35 See Appendix A, Example 5 for some sample pattern drills which carry cultural content.
linguistic considerations. 36

Furthermore, few teachers at any level use the whole class period profitably. At the end of the period both pupils and teachers are often exhausted and/or bored from repetitive practice activities. In such a situation the ten-minute "culture capsule" or the like can represent an advantageous use of time that otherwise would be ill-spent. Even a whole day for culture could probably be occasionally justified from the standpoint of variety and pupil motivation, regardless of the language employed. Finally, as has been pointed out in Chapter I, knowledge of culture helps the student understand the language itself and its literature. In sum, the wise teaching of culture in the foreign language class is synergistic: i.e., the result of teaching them together is greater than would be the result from spending the same total amount of time teaching them separately.

Activities requiring a high level of student initiative

Getting the student emotionally involved in his learning should be one of the chief goals of any teacher. Noting that education must remain a process of self-education, Hallman relates Socrates' and Zen masters'
emphasis on teaching as midwifery. He quotes the existential psychologist May as arguing that the core of modern man's neurosis is "the undermining of his experience of himself as responsible, the sapping of his willing and deciding." Therapy consists in encouraging man to accept responsibility; it consists in learning to be free.*

This type of teaching has been notable in its absence from the foreign language classroom. The crushing amount of content and the existence of a "right" answer have contributed to making the foreign language class among the more authoritarian classes in the school with respect to teacher style. Foreign language teachers are now seeking ways to "individualize" instruction, and their excursion into teaching culture presents many possibilities for student initiative.

One word of caution from the writer's own experience is in order here. A good idea in a bad system may easily become a bad idea; e.g., pupils who are not used to freedom and who are pressed by authoritarian demands from other classes may not be able to handle a sudden, complete freedom in one class. Therefore, it is wiser and kinder to introduce students to freedom gradually and with attention to the individual ability of the student.

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to handle his new responsibility. With this caution in mind, let us now list some techniques for stimulating students to individual work. Many are more appropriate for advanced levels of study.

Individual activities

One basic approach that can be used is for the teacher to make rather broad assignments and then to make himself available as a resource librarian and coach. The teacher might ask a very broad, basic question such as "What are the causes of misunderstanding between the United States and the Soviet Union?" Nostrand suggests that the teacher assess the interests of the individual students and then assign to each a different area of specialty, letting each become a representative to the class for the foreign educational system, or medical profession, or other area. Problems of the individual student (family, race, and so forth) could be assigned so that the pupil finds out how that sort of problem is handled in the target culture.

Assignments involving values and the value-theme approach could include the following:

1. Select major speeches of Russian government

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39 Ibid.
figures over a period of time and find common themes. Do the same for American figures. Compare. Do the same for an official from a third nation.

2. Read a major paper like Pravda or Izvestia. Compare major themes found there with themes in an American and a European paper. Make some observations on differences in press policy between the three papers.

3. Read two or more books of accounts by Americans traveling or living in the USSR. Select themes common to both or convincingly documented in either. Discuss the author's biases.

4. Do the same for a Soviet account of the USA.

5. Search the Sociological Index for comparative studies of American and Soviet society. Report on some main differences pointed up by such studies. Discuss strengths and limitations in the studies.

6. Choose an institution (such as the American press) and describe it from a Russian point of view. Do the same from the point of view of an "average" American.

7. Choose a Russian institution and do the same.

8. Examine the cartoons in several Russian magazines. Find themes. Compare with the cartoons in several American magazines, and with those in the magazines of a third country. Do the differences suggest any generalizations?

9. Listen to Voice of American broadcasts and Radio Moscow broadcasts. What values are the respective

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40 Such speeches are regularly printed in Pravda, Izvestia, Komsomolskaia Pravda, and other dailies. Soviet Review often carries translations of major speeches.

41 See Appendix B for a selected list of such accounts.
governments apparently trying to advocate?

10. Compare American and Soviet accounts of the same event. Do differences in values account for some of the differences in reporting?

11. Compare Soviet Life with Amerika magazine. What major values does each magazine seem to be promulgating?

Another assignment suggested by Brooks and used by political scientists involves the making and study of biographies of citizens in the target culture. This may involve either leading figures or students' peers or both. It helps the student to understand the institutions and events that have shaped and now shape individuals in the target culture. Brooks advocates the student production of biographic "profiles" as a technique for personalizing the study of culture and avoiding false stereotypes. He suggests that such biographies should include descriptions of familial, religious, educational, recreational, and professional activities. Students should be encouraged to build such a file of profiles through research, pen pals and personal acquaintance. Americans should exercise care in collect-


43 For examples of some biographies thought to be useful in understanding other cultures see Raymond A. Bauer, Nine Soviet Portraits (New York: Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1955); and Charles W. Thaycr, Russia (New York: Life World Library, 1962), chapter 6.
ing such information in the Soviet Union, however, as it may be viewed with considerable suspicion.

A final possibility for the very ambitious student would be to spend a Christmas vacation or summer in a Russian emigrant colony for instance in Canada or Alaska. While there he could take notes of customs and behavior; he could give a report to the class following his return. Eventually such activities may be possible in the USSR itself but at present must be done by outsiders only on an informal basis. Study tours to the Soviet Union are presently available for high school students through various United States organizations. Group activities

Many of the above suggestions can be assigned as a group project or at least discussed in a group after individual research has been completed.

Students could be assigned to prepare thoroughly, then debate subjects such as, "Resolved: collectivism is more important than freedom for any given society." Students should be prepared to debate either side.


45 See Foreign Study League, State Street at 33rd South, Salt Lake City, Utah 84115; American Institute for Foreign Study, 102 Greenwich Avenue, Greenwich, Connecticut 16830; Director of Admissions, Choate School, Wallingford, Connecticut.
Oliver recommends that students prepare position papers on controversial subjects after studying legal cases pointing up the issues involved.\(^46\) Students are divided into teams, and one team presents their arguments, which are tape recorded and then criticized by the other team. Papers can be rewritten after criticism.\(^47\) Such activities, conducted in the foreign language, would undoubtedly be far more effective in developing listening skills than would the usual vapid report which students usually listen to only for the purpose of noting grammar errors.

Several orientation programs preceding university tours to the USSR utilize informal, unstructured gatherings in which past tour participants share their experiences with new students.

Simulation activities

Model United Nations and other simulation activities have long been used by social studies educators. In such unstructured forms and as new, complex instructional games, they are currently recommended for involving the student

\(^{46}\) A case illustrating the Soviet Establishment's values relating to criticism of authority is found in "The Trial of Joseph Brodsky," *New Leader*, XLVII (August 31, 1964), 6-17.

\(^{47}\) Donald W. Oliver, Fred W. Newmann, and Mary Jo Bane, *Cases and Controversy: Guide to Teaching the Public Issues Series/Harvard Social Studies Project* (Middletown, Conn.: American Education Publications, 1967), pp. 11-12. (Hereinafter referred to as *Cases and Controversy.*)
emotionally in an effective learning situation. An obvious application of simulation to teaching culture in the foreign language classroom would be the dialog situation. Teachers should help students to present dialogs in a culturally, as well as linguistically authentic manner. For presentation of a new dialog, selected students could read some source on behavioral norms such as Chapter II of this work and then act out the dialog action in an authentic manner while the speech is reproduced by means of a tape recorder. They could perhaps stop the action just before presentation of a crucial point to ask other students what action they think would be appropriate to accompany the next line. Such a technique would point up cultural contrasts more clearly. If such a presentation could then be followed by a filmed presentation of the material, acted by native speakers on location, the impact would be doubled. The stopping technique could again be used.

Role-playing, a form of simulation, can be used

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49 The *Encyclopedia Britannica* Spanish materials (*La Familia Fernandez*, *Emilio en Espana*) contain examples of this sort of filmed presentation.
to review value differences. After adequate background concerning a given Soviet norm or value, students could be assigned roles as an American tourist and a Russian. The American could commit a *faux pas* in gift-giving and the Russian would respond with any of several different reactions, e.g., confusion, anger, or a difficult explanation. Other roles might include an American graduate student vis à vis his Russian advisor; a Russian scientist in America on a scientific exchange vis à vis an American couple who has invited him to dinner; an American student in a Soviet Friendship House (Dom druzhby) being asked his opinion of the Soviet government. Such role-playing could serve the same linguistic purpose as that normally done by the "dialog variation" or "conversation stimulus" techniques in Harcourt, Brace and World's A-LM materials. Students in the audience during role-playing could be asked to identify with one role-player or the other, and after the presentation, discuss their feelings. Much of the success of role-playing depends on the teacher's supplying adequate general and specific background so that all have a fairly clear point of departure. It is also important, at least at first, to select as role-players those who have imagination and self-confidence. If a more highly controlled variation of role-playing is desired, the teacher could describe
the situation (for instance an American giving a Russian some soap or razor blades) and then ask each of several students to give a brief verbal and gestural reaction which a Russian might make to such a stimulus. The reaction could be as brief as two or three words (Net, spasibo) or as long as the student's imagination and verbal facility allow.

Instructional games are a form of highly structured role-playing which provide opportunities for many players to participate in the simulation over a long period of time. An authority in instructional games, Clark Abt, defines an instructional game as a "multi-player mixed conflict and cooperation simulating a process or series of events to be understood by the student."50 Educational games are usually concrete (as opposed to highly abstract games such as dominoes, checkers, and so forth) and involve skill and strategy rather than chance alone.

To this writer's knowledge, little has been done in the preparation of simulation games for foreign language classes. Some efforts in this area are described in a

brief article by Parker and others,51 and such games appear to be more suitable to the teaching of power and economic relationships than to the teaching of norms and values.52 Since every instructional game involves oversimplifications and distortions of reality, games should be used in conjunction with other teaching methods.

Directed discussion

Directed discussion represents an intermediate step between individual activities and teacher-directed exposition. It is heavily relied upon by many social studies educators such as Edwin Fenton and is commonly used, in more highly directed fashion, by foreign language teachers.

The social-emotional climate of the classroom is more critical in directed discussion than is the case with either individual or teacher-initiated activities. This results from the fact that discussion involves


52 If the reader is interested in devising his own instructional game, he may acquire some ideas from the articles cited in footnotes thirty-four and thirty-five plus the cities game in the August, 1968 issue of Psychology Today. The Parker Brothers game "Monopoly" can be considered an example of one type of instructional game. It could be used as a model on which other games could be devised.
differences of opinion and constant interplay between teacher and student personalities. Under these conditions, it would seem wise to create a favorable climate for friendly exchange of opinion by relying heavily on activities falling within the first three categories of Flanders' widely used interaction analysis system. The categories are as follows: the teacher 1) accepts feeling, 2) praises or encourages, and 3) accepts or uses ideas of student. Flanders' system concentrates on verbal behavior, but it is equally important that the teacher's non-verbal behavior reflect supportive attitudes also. This is especially important when teaching youngsters from economically disadvantaged areas.

Many social studies educators advocate that discussion be preceded by study of the given topic, a dramatic film presentation, or both. Flanders has reported some research that might appear to contra-

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indicate this, but his conclusions merely point to the advisability of discussion early in the course to clarify basic goals. This is probably advisable regardless of what techniques are used later.

Murphy discusses open-textbook techniques as the most highly directed discussion method. He lists several activities that could be applied to teaching culture. Concerning any given passage, chart, or cartoon, the teacher asks the students to

1. Read aloud and retell.
2. Search out the main ideas and outline them.
3. Frame a basic question.
4. Choose an appropriate title or caption.
5. Draw a picture of the main idea.

In addition, students can be asked to use the index of a

Flanders, "Teacher Influence," p. 264. Specifically, Flanders reports that indirect teaching increases learning when a student's perception of the goal is ambiguous, but direct teaching increases learning when a student's perception of the goal is clear and acceptable. This is similar to the results of extensive research on leadership reported by Fred E. Fiedler, "Style or Circumstance: The Leadership Enigma," Psychology Today, II (March, 1969), 38-43. Fiedler reports that task-oriented (authoritarian) leadership is advisable under the best and worst leadership conditions (best leadership conditions are those with high leader status, good group relations, and high task clarity). Otherwise, permissive leadership is advisable.
book to locate references to a given topic. 56

The art of asking questions is the key to directed discussion. To avoid overconcentration on one type of question, the teacher can look over a taxonomy of thought processes such as Bloom's Taxonomy of Educational Objectives, 57 and then frame questions to elicit various types of thought. Taba has concerned herself with the need to frame questions that call for other types of thought than simple recall. She lists three main types of questions for interpretation of data, and questions for application of principles. Concept formation questions include those that call for listing (What do you see?), grouping (What belongs together? Why?) and categorizing (Name the groups. What belongs under what?). Interpretation questions include those that call for identifying points (What do you notice?), recognizing cause-and-effect relationships (Why did this happen?), and making inferences (What does this mean? What mental pictures does this call up?). Application questions include those that call for hypo-

56 Joseph A. Murphy, "The Contributions of Social Studies Methodology to Foreign Language Teaching" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The Ohio State University, 1968), p. 78. (Hereinafter referred to as "Social Studies.")

thesizing (What would happen if . . . ?), supporting hypotheses (Why do you think this would occur?), and verifying hypotheses (What would it take for this to be called true?). Murphy, drawing largely on Sanders, mentions many of the above plus "irrelevant-item" questions that appear superficially plausible but are actually not. Such questions apparently are supposed to stimulate critical thinking.

Hunt and Metcalf outline questions that relate to the teaching of values. Their questions, which fall under four sequential categories, ask for justification of a stand and focus student attention on 1) the nature of the object, event, or policy; 2) the consequences thereof; 3) the appraisal of consequences; 4) the justification of criteria. In each category, if there is student disagreement, it is to be focused on and the treatment of differences discussed. Thus, if a Russian language teacher

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60 See Appendix A, Example 2 for application of most of these questions to a culture teaching situation.

61 Hunt, Teaching High School Social Studies, p. 134.
wanted to teach (instill) the value of general kindness in dealing with Russians he would 1) have students define kindness; 2) discuss the consequences of kindness and its opposite, "toughness," in dealing with Russians personally (one consequence of kindness might be increased tourist traffic); 3) appraise whether or not such consequences are desirable (this is good because it will increase contact and therefore understanding); 4) justify the criteria for appraising consequences (will understanding inevitably result from increased contact, and is it always a good?)

In discussing values it would seem particularly important to follow Oliver's advice that the discussion process be viewed as an opportunity for the student to work out and develop what his views are instead of merely defending them. Students should be somehow rewarded for changing their minds, at least occasionally.62

To teach a concept by the inductive method, Hunt and Metcalf recommend the following outline:

1. The teacher selects concepts to be taught.
2. The teacher or students select instances thereof.
3. The teacher focuses attention on relevant detail through questions and prescriptions.

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62Oliver, Newmann, and Bane, Cases and Controversy, pp. 4-7.
4. The students are called upon to put the concept into words.

5. The teacher asks the students to apply the concept.63

Hunt and Metcalf also recommend that students making generalizations be continually made aware of 1) the rule of repetition (Are these things repeatedly associated?); 2) the rule of simplicity or parsimony (Is this the simplest explanation that accounts for all the data?); 3) the law of continuous control (general willingness on the part of the student to accept new data and explanations).64

Expository methods

Under some conditions, expository teaching results in more rapid learning than do indirect methods.65 These conditions appear to include high pupil motivation, clear goal perception, and good pupil-teacher relations.66 Expository methods are not always advisable, of course, but the teacher who becomes "locked in open position" of non-directive teaching may be doing his students a disser-

63Hunt, Teaching High School Social Studies, p. 134. See Appendix A, Example 2 for a specific example of these principles.

64Ibid., p. 118.

65Verduin, Conceptual Models in Teacher Education, p. 82.

66See footnote #55 of this chapter.
Several principles for good expository teaching should be reviewed. First of all, the teacher must of course prepare his material with careful attention to his prospective audience and its readiness for the material. Malozemova lists several rules for the teacher who wishes to present a culture lecture in the foreign language to a class that is less than advanced.

1. Choose the most elementary vocabulary that can convey the subject matter.

2. Give preparatory practice on the vocabulary involved. Write key words on the board.

3. Give the theme and organization of the lecture in written form to the students.

4. Do not read the lecture directly; use a conversational style.

5. Use clear pronunciation.\(^67\)

A second general principle for expository teaching is that the presenter should avail himself of as many opportunities as possible to receive feedback from the audience during the presentation and thereafter. With this information he can modify speed, repeat and restate unclear points. Feedback can be obtained during the presentation via attention to non-verbal cues from the

\(^{67}\) E. A. Malozemova, "Lektssii o russkoi kul'ture amerikantsam na russkom iazyke," V pomoshch' urenodavateliu russkogo iazyka v Amerike, XXVIII (1953).
audience and spot-questioning. After the presentation, analysis of tests should be done with an eye at least as much toward teacher performance as toward individual student performance.

Third, wherever practical, students themselves should be assigned ahead of time to do the presenting. This results in many of the benefits of individual study plus giving students opportunities to develop teaching and public speaking skills. To present behavioral norms, it would seem valuable to have a small group of selected students research the accepted behavior, then act out, with dialog or by pantomime alone, the situation for the rest of the class.

Fourth, concerning the use of audio-visual aids, digital encodings can often be best clarified by corresponding analog encodings. That is, a model, graph, film, or picture (analog) may clarify speech or print (digital encodings). A folk melody may be an excellent illustration of the concept of emotionalism, which may be a difficult concept to convey by words alone. Some experiments designed to assess the value of visual aids have been limited to the use of one digital encoding (e.g., print)

68 See Appendix A, Example 2 for a sample lesson plan involving folk songs and paintings to teach a cultural concept.
to clarify another digital encoding (e.g., speech). Such experiments give mixed results. However, a wealth of studies involving analogic (pictorial, etc.) aids to clarify digital messages (speech, print, etc.) give very favorable results, and there is little question that such illustrations are favored by students. Therefore one can make the rather obvious recommendation that teachers should not limit their audio-visual aids to speech and print (digital encodings). In this regard it is important to remember Schramm's caution that audio or visual aids do not necessarily help unless the added sensory modality provides additional interpretation.

Similarly, color and motion do not automatically help

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72 Brown, A-V Instruction: Materials and Methods, p. 103.
teach; they may actually distract unless carefully integrated.

The preceding principles give a background from which to proceed to more specific methods for expository teaching of culture. The most common method of expository teaching is the lecture. Done according to the principles outlined, it can be an effective technique. Taylor and Sorensen have suggested that brief, well-planned and illustrated lectures called "culture capsules" be presented at appropriate points in the language class. The script and accompanying audio-visual aids can be packed in compact boxes for filing and storage. Each "capsule" concentrates on one minimal difference between the native and target culture. It would seem imperative to occasionally tie several capsules together with a review lecture in order to avoid excessive fragmentation. It should also be mentioned here that this writer has had difficulty constructing capsules on one minimal difference— it seems easier to construct them around a theme, an event, or a


74 H. Darrel Taylor and John L. Sorensen, "Culture Capsules," Modern Language Journal, XLV (December, 1961), pp. 350-54. See Appendix, Example 3 for an example of a culture capsule, with some changes from Taylor and Sorensen's original conception.
group of related activities.

Another contrastive method is Milla Fischer's use of "cultural slots" as a logical extension of contrastive phonological and morphological pattern drills. Following and referring to an appropriate dialog, various generalizations about contemporary Russian culture are arranged in one column entitled "In the USSR." Another column entitled "In the USA" is placed beside this column and consists of generalizations about the USA which contrast with the respective generalizations about the USSR. For instance, the following are two examples of cultural slots, taken from a group concerning university life:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In the USA</th>
<th>In the USSR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Many students work through college.</td>
<td>Very few work while studying.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blind dates are popular, especially among students.</td>
<td>Blind dates are not very common.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Such an approach undoubtedly has possibilities, especially for teaching norms. It undoubtedly should be combined with appropriate larger generalizations.

The Michigan State University orientation program for students participating in a study tour of the USSR also uses a contrastive approach. A whole series of lectures,

entitled "Americanization," concentrates on broadening student perceptions of their own country as a clearer background for other lectures on Soviet culture.\textsuperscript{76}

It must be reiterated here that Nostrand advises comparisons with a third culture to avoid developing in students an ethnocentric attitude because of a narrow comparative approach.\textsuperscript{77}

Finally, teachers can profitably use passages from belles-lettres, journalistic narratives, essays, or research to illustrate values and norms.\textsuperscript{78}

Evaluation

Testing must be an integral part of the teaching process for many reasons. One of these involves the principle of feedback discussed previously: the teacher needs to know how well he is communicating with the students. A second reason is the fact that students, by and large, study and learn for the tests. A third reason is the fact

\textsuperscript{76}Sergei N. Andretz, "K voprosu o podgotovke studentov, otpravliaishchikhsia v SSSR," \textit{Russian Language Journal}, XXII (February - June, 1968), 45-56.


\textsuperscript{78}See Appendix B for some appropriate examples of these and other aids.
that evaluation can aid the student in the learning process itself by identifying areas on which he needs to concentrate.

A few brief principles of testing can be mentioned here. First, tests should be valid—that is, they should test what was discussed and assigned in class, with roughly the same emphasis as used there. Second, they should be reliable—that is, they should be long enough and so designed as to be a representative sampling of what the pupil knows about the subject. Both Seelye and Upshur advocate concentrating on problem areas and eliminating from culture tests those items which Americans know through general knowledge. Seelye also advocates eliminating those items from tests which target culture members do not recognize as accurate descriptions, but Upshur convincingly argues that there are many statements about a given culture which anthropologists, sociologists, and foreign visitors agree to be true but of which target culture members may be unaware.

Recently there has been considerable interest in specifying performance objectives in order to simplify assessment by teacher and student of their respective progress. Such objectives state the exact performance in


80Ibid.
each area expected of all students plus the conditions under which that performance is expected. Such techniques are ideally suited to individualized instruction. Seelye has given examples of foreign language class cultural performance objectives as the following:

- Perform appropriately when one greets a) a friend, b) a stranger, c) a respected elder. The performance should use linguistic and kinesic forms commonly employed by Spanish-speaking people, should be without grammatical or phonemic error, and should be spoken without noticeably long pauses. An error in any part invalidates successful completion of this objective.

- Identify from written multiple-choice responses the most appropriate forms of address in situations where the pronouns and verbs may reflect deferential address. Seventy-five percent accuracy is required.

Hunt and Metcalf list four levels of mastery which may be useful to remember when one is writing performance objectives: 1) recognize, 2) classify, 3) define, and 4) generalize (relate one concept to another.)

Nostrand and others have listed goals for understanding of culture which could be rather easily turned into

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81 Performance objectives are also ideally suited for programmed materials, but they are also useful in many types of individualized instruction other than the programmed mode.


standard-form performance objectives.\(^4\)

Item types for testing culture in the foreign language classroom include true-false, multiple choice, completion, and essay. The sorts of things that can be tested by each item are limited largely by the teacher's imagination, but in general the first two are the best suited to testing recognition, the third for recall, and the fourth for analysis, synthesis, and application. However, the following types of examples have been listed by Jermaine D. Arendt for testing instilled values (such items probably should not be included in course grade, but more as a check on the teacher's success):

Mark T or F:
1. I would not like to have a foreign student in my home.

2. I think it would be fun to visit France.\(^5\)

Such items would have to be adapted to apply particularly to Soviet-American relations without irritating more conservative members of the community.

A very productive item type would be one listed by


\(^5\) Sparkman, Culture in the FLES Program, pp. 77-78.
Picture of Carcassone

This picture makes me think of a) battles
       b) the Middle Ages
       c) the Pope
       d) feudalism

Such an item can be constructed as the example given to have more than one right answer, again largely as a check on what sorts of ideas the student is acquiring.

A very different sort of test would be for a selected group of students to act out a given situation, making a few gestures that are more characteristically American than Russian. The rest of the class would be expected to note these at the end of the performance (prior notation would give the item away to all).

Fischer has devised the following interesting item type:

Mark each item with a 1) for USA or a 2) for USSR:
( ) F. works at night and studies in the morning.
( ) O. walks every night on the main avenue.
( ) T. started to date at 13.
( ) S. will wear jeans to the party.

A problem with this type of test is that it would be rather easy for the student to pick out items that sound typical of the USA and mark all the remainder as applying to the

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86 Sparkman, Culture in the PLES Program, p. 73.
87 Fischer, "Contrastive Cultural Features in FL Teaching," p. 306.
In any case, evaluation should assess the teacher's performance as well as that of the students.

**Materials**

**Basic considerations**

This section is not intended as a complete manual for the use of materials. Principles regarding readiness, feedback, pupil participation, and analogs have been discussed in the preceding section under expository methods. However, a few brief comments regarding material selection and use may be helpful. Nostrand has made a brief but inclusive list of criteria by which to judge "the sociocultural aspect of instructional materials and course plans:"

1. Do they use natural opportunities to teach generalizations about culture?
2. Do they deal with significant topics, treating most important things first?
3. Are the generalizations accurate, eschewing sentimentality but using the best research? Are they presented as part of an ever-changing reality?
4. Are the generalizations well presented, and do they enable the teacher to do further research?
5. Are examples and illustrations provided to support the generalizations?

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6. Are the above adapted to the grade level of the learners?

Another item that could be included here would be a question on whether or not non-verbal aspects of communication are discussed and demonstrated. Ideal materials should also facilitate the teaching of larger concepts, inquiry methods, and values such as kindness with the target culture's representatives as individuals.

Teachers scarcely need reminding about the fact that materials are expensive to buy and time-consuming to collect. A suggestion for alleviating this problem is that teachers share their materials as widely as practical between geographical areas and educational levels. A member of the local American Association of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages or other similar group could be designated as librarian and could compile and distribute a catalog of materials available from the participating teachers. Teachers could be allowed to check out materials for the "price" of a given number of contributions to the store of materials per year. The cost and feasibility of telephone hookups with a local university listening center should be investigated. National organizations such as AATSEEL and the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies could take interest in the preparation and distribution of
cultural materials in much the same way that they are now engaged in the preparation and distribution of research about teaching foreign language and culture. In any case, local supervisors of foreign language programs should concern themselves with the collection, cataloging, and distribution of materials.

One technique for the continued acquisition of authentic and contemporary materials is the "twinned classroom" approach pioneered by Sister Ruth Adelaide of the College of Mount St. Joseph on the Ohio. The twinned classroom is an arrangement between two classrooms of the same age level, one in the target culture and one in the native culture. The two classes exchange letters, audio tapes, slides, postcards, photographs, and realia to vivify each class's study of the other's culture. Such an arrangement might be difficult to make with the Soviet Union, but perhaps could be done on a limited basis.

To conclude this abbreviated list of basic considerations, it is perhaps in order to mention a few of the kinds of materials that could be employed. Audio and video tapes of radio and television broadcasts would be useful in giving a native-speaker's view of the mass media, as are newspapers and popular magazines. In this connection there is some indication that papers other
than Pravda and Izvestia are more representative of what
the average young Russian reads.\(^89\) Cartoons and the
humour magazine Krokodil are sometimes very useful in
teaching cultural insights, as is advertising.\(^90\) The
eight millimeter single-concept film cartridges would be
very useful with culture capsules and can be placed in
a resource center (library) for individual replay. Xerox
copies of raw documents and statistical material are also
sometimes appropriate.

A list of materials for researching and teaching
values and norms is found in Appendix B.

\(^89\) William Taubman, *The View from Lenin Hills: Soviet Youth in Ferment* (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc.,

(April, 1968), 220-22.
CHAPTER V

SUMMARY

Overview

Why teach foreign culture?

There exist compelling reasons to teach the young about cultures other than their own. Some general grounds relate to increased self-knowledge, civic responsibility, and professional competence. Language teachers have long recognized the need to teach the foreign culture along with the foreign language, and their concern for culture seems to be increasing with the realization that an understanding of culture is central to the understanding of the foreign literature and indeed the language itself. Many feel that an attention to culture can increase student interest in foreign languages.

Some would question the foreign language teacher's expertise in fields usually covered by specialists, but the reasons cited above compel him to deal with culture, borrowing judiciously from the several specialties and performing a needed synthesizing function for many students. The language teacher is in many respects
ideally suited to be a generalist about the foreign culture.

It is particularly vital that American teachers of Russian language be concerned with teaching Russian culture because of 1) the superpower status of the USSR, 2) the limited number of contacts between the two cultures, 3) the large number of superficial similarities which may draw attention away from real hazards to communication which do exist between the USA and the USSR, and 4) the apparently small number of American students developing expertise in understanding the Soviet Union.

What aspects of culture should be taught?

Current thinking on the goals of teaching culture stresses not only enculturation and the "emic" viewpoint but also communication and a broader view of both cultures. For this broader goal, previous concentration on heroic, historical, and broad societal aspects of culture must now be balanced with increased emphasis on popular, contemporary, and interpersonal aspects of culture. Experts on Soviet culture point out that these latter aspects of Russian culture are vital to understanding the Soviet Union.
Purpose and scope of this work

The intended purpose of this work is to aid the teacher in the modest but attainable goal of singling out some compulsory proprieties (norms) which Americans must know in order to avoid being offensive to contemporary Soviet Russians. In order to give breadth to the student's understanding of Soviet Russians' general conceptions of right and wrong, some main Russian value-themes differing from American values have been compiled.

Although written primarily for teachers of Russian language, this work also is intended to be of value for social studies teachers. It could be used as the outline for a whole culture course, but is intended primarily as a needed adjunct to courses and materials which have focused excessively on the heroic past. For several reasons, the values and norms mentioned should not be considered exact delineations, but merely indicators of areas of potential difficulty for Americans.

Data for this study was obtained largely from a wide variety of scholarly and popular works by Western authors writing on Soviet culture. Western and particularly American authors were relied upon
following a suggestion of Nostrand to use "the experience of persons in the learner's culture who have had contact with the foreign people to discover precisely what will be easy or hard to understand. . . ."\(^1\) Data were also obtained through interviews with Americans who recently visited the Soviet Union, and by a five-week tour by this writer to the Soviet Union during May and June, 1970.

This work concludes with a chapter concerning the teaching of these values and norms. Material for this final chapter was compiled largely from writings of social studies educators and foreign language educators.

**Five Soviet Russian Value-Themes**

**Collectivism and paternalism**

Soviet citizens apparently have attitudes toward family life not greatly different from those held by Americans, but Russians appear considerably more tolerant of the requirements of group life and

paternalistic government than do Americans. The Maces feel that the difference is largely one of degree, but generally,

. . . the Soviets consider that a large degree of freedom leads to 'individualism,' a condition destructive of social well-being; while the West considers that a large degree of conformity leads to 'enslavement,' a condition destructive of individual well-being.2

Patriotism

Russian nationalism seems strong among several levels of society, and the Party utilizes it to gather support for its policies. Popular feeling seems 1) to support strongly both Soviet military strength and official pronouncements in favor of peace; 2) to support partially government policy restricting general information flow and import of foreign products by tourists; and 3) to exceed government policy in attaching nationalistic significance to certain practices of religious origin.

Dusha

Russians appear to Western observers to be relatively uninhibited in expressing emotion, and they are willing to accept expressions of negative emotion

from others. They seem to prefer taking a strong stand on any given issue and can be characterized as dogmatic.
Ritual associated with religion, communism, and mixtures of the two can be viewed as filling strong emotional needs of Russians.

**Endurance**

Much of the pessimism of old Russia has been replaced with a faith in the future encouraged by the Party but by no means entirely foreign to the historical Russian character. An element of the old fatalism encouraged by the Party and much admired generally is the capacity to endure and thus outlast hardship.

**Kul'turnost’**

Russian desires to escape the impoverished past seem to be exceptionally strong. The search for the new is expressed by rejection of some aspects of the national heritage, and great efforts toward formal and informal education, with its concomitant status rewards. Russian attitudes toward differences in class seem similar to those in America.

**Soviet Norms which Americans Should Know**

**Basic considerations:**

**dress, time, kinesics**

Russians cannot be considered a formal people,
but they have many norms of behavior which differ from American expectations. Basic rules for dress include neatness and modesty in both fashion and skin exposure. Overcoats and hats must be checked in most public buildings. In many public and official situations, punctuality is strictly observed, but in private situations Russians are generally casual about spending time. They are less reticent about physical contact between friends of the same sex, but expect dignity and restraint to be exhibited in the posture of individuals. Differences in meaning of several common Russian and American gestures were discussed.

Travel

Russians seldom throw trash on the sidewalk, and feel it more polite to refrain from eating or smoking while walking. When crossing streets and struggling toward doors they are aggressive and undisciplined. They exhibit considerable cooperation in making change and paying fare in the absence of a conductor on public transportation. Driving a private automobile in the USSR requires familiarity with Soviet traffic signs and regulations plus some mechanical skill.
Commercial dealings

Service personnel in the Soviet Union are generally less anxious to serve than are their American counterparts, and tourist services generally are not at a very high level. Selling or buying goods or currency from private individuals should be avoided, as it may be a serious offense. Tipping is not generally practiced.

Eating and drinking

In restaurants Russians often sit with strangers rather than at unoccupied tables. They eat European fashion with the fork in the left hand, and expect the guest to eat heartily.

They enjoy drinking and toasting "bottoms up" as an indication of sincerity. However, driving while intoxicated is heavily penalized. Women drink far less than men in public.

Several other items of etiquette in this connection were also discussed.

Acquaintance and friendship

Americans are advised to avoid using titles, such as comrade or professor, with the last name in direct address. Either the name and patronymic or the first name alone are preferable. The polite form Vy is
advisable unless contrary indications are clearly present.

Any gifts which could be construed as implying national inferiority should be avoided, as should pornographic, religious, and anti-Soviet literature. A color code for flower giving was listed.

**Bisexural relationships and family life**

Soviets are generally more restrained in public on matters concerning sex than are Americans, although they are not accurately described as puritanical in private.

They love children and are quite protective of them. Families tend to be small and females generally do the housework and food preparation.

**Leisure activities**

Leisure is expected to be profitable in building better citizens and workers. Many Western forms of entertainment, held officially to be degenerate and escapist, are, however, extremely popular with the young.

Russians exhibit restrained behavior at formal entertainment and good sportsmanship at athletic events. Whistling generally indicates disapproval and is inappropriate at formal events.
Verbal taboos

A good number of vulgarities employed among Russians today involve either the devil or incest with one's mother. Vocabulary related to these two subjects is often taboo. Several other double-entendres were mentioned.

Relationships with authority

Russians generally view authority with more respect than do Americans. Therefore, visitors to the USSR should scrupulously obey regulations applicable to them and to moderate all critical comments.

Teaching Soviet Values and Norms

Aims

Three categories of aims can be listed for teaching the material of Chapters II and III. They are knowledge aims, process aims, and value aims. Concerning knowledge aims, most education writers advocate emphasizing higher levels of abstraction rather than limiting teaching activities to those that demand simple memorization and recall. Concerning process aims, many educators feel that a familiarity with inquiry techniques will better equip a student for a world of change than will a memory of facts, concepts, and generalizations discovered by others. Much of the discussion about values in social
studies education centers on the instilling of values but foreign language educators agree that only a few universal values should be instilled. Other values should be taught as knowledge about the target culture, not as a way of life to be imitated.

Methods

Flanders' research indicates that teacher flexibility is better than dependence on either direct or indirect style. Variety in teaching is advisable.

Several suggestions on integrating culture teaching into the limited time available in the foreign language classroom were listed, together with the conclusion that time judiciously spent teaching culture can actually increase foreign language learning.

Various techniques were outlined for stimulating the student to exercise greater initiative in learning about culture. They include individual, group, and simulation activities. Such techniques have generally been missing from the foreign language class and can aid in individualizing instruction. Teachers may need to introduce the concomitant freedom gradually.

Suggestions for improving directed discussion were outlined, following a general recommendation of supportive teacher behavior for such activities. Many
social studies educators advocate that discussion follow individual work, some expository teaching, or both.

Expository teaching can be improved by adherence to the principles of 1) focus on student readiness, 2) reception of feedback, 3) student involvement, and 4) use of audio-visual aids that provide additional interpretation. Taylor's "cultural capsules" and Fischer's "cultural slots" are promising expository techniques, if combined with other techniques to avoid excessive fragmentation. Lectures on American civilization are sometimes valuable to include with lectures on Russian civilization so that students have a better base for comparison.

Principles for insuring that evaluation be an integral part of the teaching-learning process were mentioned, as were examples of performance objectives and several different item-types.

Appendix A lists concrete examples of many of these techniques applied to specific lesson plans.

Materials

Before teachers order materials they should review Nostrand's criteria for judging them. Costs can be greatly reduced by sharing materials as widely as practical. The twinned classroom technique can greatly assist in supplying teachers with current materials of great personal interest to students.
Appendix B is an annotated list of materials for teaching culture, subdivided into three headings: "Overviews," "Periodicals for keeping abreast of current research," and "Material for illustrating the five value-themes."

**Conclusion**

One can hardly suppose that other Americans, observing Russian culture, will not construct value-themes differing from some of those found in Chapter II; nor can one suppose that many of the norms described in Chapter III will not change rather drastically in the next twenty years. The most important gains a teacher should receive from this dissertation are an idea of one way to go about studying differences between Russians and Americans plus an increased interest in so doing. Interest and resultant knowledge do not necessarily bring understanding, but understanding rarely comes without these two as predecessors.

Looking back over a life's work, a teacher would probably feel greater satisfaction over bringing a student closer to understanding of self and a world neighbor than he would over that same student's mastery of a foreign grammar alone. Understanding is a lofty and much-maligned goal in this day of precise objectives,
but this writer's experience indicates that precise objectives such as verb paradigms are easily forgotten, and more imprecise objectives such as cultural insights, once won, are not easily lost. They are worth the winning.
APPENDIX A

SAMPLE LESSON PLANS

Chapter IV included many widely-varying techniques which could be used in teaching the value-themes of Chapter II and the norms of Chapter III. The intent was to broaden the teacher's range of possibilities rather than to point out any One True Way. Therefore, the sample lesson plans exhibited below should be considered just a few possibilities out of many.

In contrast to Taylor and Sorenson's "culture capsules," the first two plans are designed to involve pupils to a greater degree. Thus, instead of "culture capsules," they could be called "culture catalysts" to signify the role of teacher and materials as thought stimulators and to imply the unfinished nature of statements about culture. Another difference is the fact that they involve a broad and over-arching theme rather than one, neat "minimal difference." This writer feels that the minimal difference approach may lead to excessive fragmentation rather than the building of a structure on which later details may be hung.

It should be remembered that many cultural items
can be introduced as integral parts of the language study, as illustrated by the pattern drills in Example 5. The first four examples, however, represent less closely integrated techniques of teaching about culture.

Example 1: student group work

This "culture catalyst" is designed to help students understand one of the most persistent themes in Soviet mass media and popular thought: patriotism and its connection with military service. This activity is designed to stimulate individual research by the students. It could be used in English for beginning students or in Russian for intermediate students.

Teacher: One of the most burning questions for young men in the United States today is the question of military service. How do you feel about military service, John?

Pupil: Answer.

Teacher: Ed, do you agree?

Pupil: Answer.

Teacher: Perhaps new light could be shed on the problem by examining military service in the USSR. During the next week, let's try to list as many influences as possible which would make a young man in the Soviet Union want to serve his country in the armed forces. Let's begin with some slides.
(Teacher shows a very few appropriate pictures or slides of pioneers standing guard over the monument to the Unknown Sailor in Odessa, participating in the annual national war games for youth, or other paramilitary activity. Instead of running commentary by the teacher alone, students should be asked to observe and analyze what they see.)

Teacher: We should note that almost every traveler to the USSR comments on the passionate and apparently sincere desire for peace heard among Russians. Let's assume that these desires are genuine, and attack the problem "Why would a peace-loving young man in the Soviet Union want to serve in his country's armed forces?"

(Writes the question on the board.)

Teacher: Let's divide into groups and search various media for answers to this question. Watch for pictures and drawings. When you find what seems to be an article on military affairs, come ask me and I'll give you the basic points of the article. (This last for beginning classes only). Beginning next week, each group will give a report lasting no longer than ten minutes. We will have one report per day. The group on Soviet military history will report first. Each report will try to answer the question on the board on the basis of that committee's research. After all the reports have been presented, each student will be asked to write a one-page answer to the question on the board, summarizing all the reports.

Who would like to be on the committee to examine graphic materials?

(Committees are formed for the examination of art books, newspapers, song books, children's literature, and magazines. One group is assigned to examine the military history of the USSR in broad outline, emphasizing WW II. The teacher then hands each group a sheet of paper listing materials available in the room and applicable to each group. Notation should also be made if additional materials are available in the school library, but perhaps it would be best if exact titles were not given so that students would be forced to develop library use skills.)
Example 2: directed discussion, role-playing

This plan could serve an intermediate class, and should be given entirely in the target language. It could also be adapted for younger classes and be given in English. It draws heavily on the grammar generalization techniques used by Edward D. Allen of Ohio State University.

(The class has finished reading the first three sections of "Rabbit's Paws," by K. Paustovsky.)

Teacher: Let's see if we can't find out something about how Russians behave. How did the veterinarian act toward Grandpa in the story?

Pupil: He was very cross.

(Teacher writes it down on board "I. Story; A. Veterinarian—cross")

Teacher: How about the druggist?

Pupil: He was cross too.

(Teacher writes down "I. B. Druggist—cross")

Teacher: And how about the Doctor Karl Petrovich?

Pupil: He was very angry at first too.

(Teacher writes down "I. C. Doctor—cross")

Teacher: Do you think these men felt irritated? Did they hold their feelings in or express them?

Pupil: They expressed them.

Teacher: Now let's look at a very different expression of emotion.

---

Teacher: What emotion do these men feel after breaking the siege of Leningrad?

Pupil: Joy.

(Teacher writes down "II. Soldiers—joy")

Teacher: Do they hide their feelings or express them?

Pupil: Express them. They look weird.

Teacher: They look strange to us, but do you think the other Russians think they are acting strangely?

Pupil: I guess not.

Teacher: Now let's listen to a folk song and see what emotion is being expressed.

(Plays any melancholy folk song, such as "Vniz po Volge Reke,"3 or "Odnozvuchno gremit kolokolchik."4)

Teacher: How do you feel when you hear this song?

Pupil: Sad. Very sad.

(Teacher writes down "III. Song—very sad")

Teacher: Is this your idea of a typical Russian folk song?

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3 "Vniz po Volge Reke" ("Down the Volga River") A Festival of Great Russian Folk Songs, phonograph record (New York: Monitor Records, n.d.)

Pupil: Yes.

Teacher: Many Americans have the idea that Russian folk songs were mostly sad. They do have some beautiful ones. But let's listen to this one, which is just as typical of early folk music.

(Plays any fast and carefree song such as "Ulitsa shirokaia," or any of the chastushka type.)

Teacher: What emotion is expressed by this song?

Pupil: Happiness.

(Teacher writes on board "IV. Song—very happy")

Teacher: Do you think that the Russian peasants who sang this song were sad all the time?

Pupil: Of course not.

Teacher: Let's look at the whole list and see if we can draw any conclusions. What emotions were expressed by the three men in the story?

Pupil: Anger.

Teacher: Were they very clear in expressing their feelings?

Pupil: Very.

Teacher: And how about number two here, the soldiers?

Pupil: Joy.

Teacher: And number three, the slow song?

Pupil: Sadness.

Teacher: And number four, the fast song?

Pupil: Happiness.

Teacher: What is being expressed in all four examples?

---

5"Ulitsa shirokaia," ("Wide Street") A Festival of Great Russian Folk Songs, phonograph record (New York: Monitor Records, n.d.)
Pupil: Feelings, emotions.

Teacher: Would you guess that Russians like to hide their feelings or express them?

Pupil: Express them.

Teacher: Assuming these are typical occurrences in Russian culture, what could one say about Russian attitudes towards expression of feeling?

Pupil: They don't try to hide how they feel.

Teacher: Are there other people like that?

Pupil: I think Italians are like that. Some Greeks too.

Pupil: Aren't our blacks talking about the same sort of thing when they talk about "soul"?

Teacher: I think so. Let's try applying this characteristic to a common situation. Joan, you come up here and play the part of a store clerk. You are tired after a long day and your feet hurt. How do you think the average Russian clerk would act?

Joan: Not very happy.

Teacher: Russian clerks generally do their jobs, but they don't go out of their way to be friendly or smile a lot at people they don't know. If they feel like it, they smile; if not, they don't.

Joan: I understand.

Teacher: Fred, come up here and be the customer. Remember our dialog about purchasing gifts? You can use lines from that dialog or make up your own, as long as they are correct grammatically. Go out into the hall and practice for ten minutes, then come in and present it to us.

Meanwhile, Ann and Jill, come and demonstrate how two old friends might greet each other after many years separation. Remember how the soldiers embraced? Russians are great ones for embracing, as are South Americans. They count it as natural
and warm. Now let's pretend you are two old school chums who haven't seen each other for five years.

(Pupils act out a joyous reunion scene, using their own simple phrases.)
Example 3: "culture capsule"

This "culture capsule" concentrates on public transportation and behavior expected in connection with it. Although the presentation does not concentrate on one minimal difference alone but rather on a group of behaviors related to a single situation, it is otherwise similar to the "culture capsules" recommended by Taylor and Sorenson and discussed on page 138 of Chapter IV. It is basically a translation of norms discussed on pages 85-87 of Chapter III.

Public transportation in the USSR

(Teacher shows slide of bus, trolley, or subway in USSR)

Одна трудность для иностранцев в том, что русские очень невежливо толкают когда стремятся к дверям общественного транспорта. Американцы в таком положении иногда сердятся, но они должны помнить, что у русских можно толкать, а сердиться нельзя в таких обстоятельствах.

(Teacher shows slide of escalator)

На эскалаторной лестнице на станции метро надо стоять справа, чтобы энергичным пассажирам можно было пройти слева.

(Slide of bus, preferably inside, showing ticket automat)

Как правило, в трамваях, автобусах и троллейбусах кондуктора нет; требуемую сумму нужно опустить в кассу-автомат и самому оторвать билет. Если в вагоне много народу, то часто надо передать деньги следующему пассажиру и сказать
ему, "Передайте пожалуйста." Если у пассажира нет нужной монеты, он опускает в кассу-автомат например, 10 копеек, берет 2 билета, потом берёт разницу у следующего пассажира и даёт ему билет.

(Slide of queue waiting at a bus stop)

Когда нужно, каждый принимает участие в таких обменах. Поэтому, если пассажир вступает первым на автобус и большая толпа стоит за ним, лучше найти место сперва, а только потом передать деньги. Так проезд идёт быстрее. Кроме этого, возможно что другим нужна монета этого первого пассажира для сдачи.

(Slide of sign designating seat for invalids and children)

На всех видах транспорта первые 5-6 мест в любом вагоне назначены для инвалидов и для пассажиров с детьми. Другие пассажиры обязательно уступают эти места и другие места таким людям.

(Slide of crowd inside a bus)

Во время "ник" (rush hour), общественный транспорт часто является переполненным. Если пассажиру нужно сходить с вагона, а он в середине большой толпы он говорит, "Разрешите пройти", или лучше, он спрашивает, "Вы сейчас выходите?" чтобы узнать выходят ли другие на следующей остановке или нет.

Практический совет: если у Вас спросят, выходите ли Вы на такой-то остановке, а Вы не поймёте, о какой
остановке идёт речь, или вообще не расслышите--вероятно только хотят, чтобы Вы им уступили дорогу.
(Slide of no-smoking sign)

На городском транспорте обычно не курят. В поездах часто курят между вагонами.
(Slide of Russian lady conductor serving tea)

Обслуживание в поездах хорошее в СССР, но на коротких поездах еды не подают--только чай, печенье, и конфеты. Обслуживание в самолётах также скромно, так как воздушный транспорт считается массовым транспортом.

Вот и всё. Спасибо за внимание.

It might be advisable to reshow the slides, one per day, during the following week and ask questions about the content associated with each. For instance, with the slide of the escalator, ask "На эскалаторной лестнице, где надо стоять? Почему?"
Example 4: "cultural slots"

These "cultural slots" are based on those devised by Milla Fischer of Florida Atlantic University and discussed on pages 138-39 of Chapter IV. It is recommended that these slots follow a reading selection or dialog on the theme of eating, such as found in "Obed v restorane" in *Basic Conversational Russian* by Gordon H. Fairbanks and Richard L. Ieed (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), p. 157.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>В СССР</th>
<th>В США</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Прежде чем входить в столоу или в ресторан, обязательно снимать пальто, оставляя его в гардеробе.</td>
<td>Лучше так, особенно в лучших ресторанах, но можно пальто не снимать если прохладно, или положить его на спинку стула.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Часто садятся за стол с незнакомыми, хотя и бывают свободные столы.</td>
<td>Садятся с другими только тогда, когда все столы заняты.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Обычно берут салфетку только тогда, когда нужно.</td>
<td>Берут салфетку в начале обеда, кладут её на колени.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Держат вилку в левой, нож в правой.</td>
<td>Держат вилку в правой руке; берут вилку в левую и нож в правую только тогда, когда собираются резать что-нибудь.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Во время обеда обе руки оставляются над столом.</td>
<td>Во время обеда левая рука обычно лежит на коленях.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ломают хлеб на несколько маленьких кусков, прежде чем намазать их маслом.</td>
<td>Ломают хлеб на две части, прежде чем намазать их маслом.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>В конце обеда говорят &quot;спасибо&quot;. Те, которые остаются за столом, отвечают &quot;На здоровье!&quot;</td>
<td>В конце обеда говорят, &quot;Please excuse me.&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Example 5: pattern drills which include cultural information

Pattern drills can often be constructed to review facts about culture while reviewing grammar points. The following drills are built around structures and content found in the culture capsule on transportation, Example 3 of this appendix. The column on the left represents teacher cues, that on the right pupil responses. The first response of each drill must of course be presented by the teacher as an example.

**Передать**

Я ......... Я передаю ему билет.
Она ...... Она передаёт ему билет.
Они ...... Они передают ему билет.
Мы ...... Мы передаём ему билет.
Вы ...... Вы передаёте ему билет.
Ты ...... Ты передаешь ему билет.

**Выходить**

Вы ......... Вы сейчас выходите?
Ты .......... Вы сейчас выходишь?
Я .......... Я сейчас выходу?
Они ...... Они сейчас выходят?
Вы .......... Вы сейчас выходите?
Мы .......... Мы сейчас выходим?
Она ...... Она сейчас выходит?

**Сам**

Он ........ Он сам оторвает билет.
Она ...... Она сама оторвает билет.
Мы ....... Мы сами оторваем билет.
Вы .......... Вы сами оторваете билет.
Я .......... Я сам (сама) оторвав билет.
Они ...... Они сами оторвав билет.
Ты ........ Ты сам (сама) оторвавшь билет.
Пассажир .... Пассажир сам оторвает билет.
Dative case—plural

Надо уступать место инвалиду.
Надо уступать место мальчику.
Надо уступать место девочке.
Надо уступать место старике.
Надо уступать место дедушке.
Надо уступать место бабушке.

Prepositional case—plural

В трамвае кондуктора нет.
В автобусе кондуктора нет.
В троллейбусе кондуктора нет.
В вагоне кондуктора нет.
В том трамвае кондуктора нет.

В трамваях кондуктора нет.
В автобусах кондуктора нет.
В троллейбусах кондуктора нет.
В вагонах кондуктора нет.
В тех трамваях кондуктора нет.
APPENDIX B

ANNOTATED LIST OF MATERIALS FOR TEACHING VALUES AND NORMS

Below is a very incomplete listing of materials that the teacher may find useful in researching, presenting, and illustrating Soviet Russian values and norms. The first section is a list of overviews of Soviet culture; the second, periodicals for keeping abreast of current research; the third, materials for illustrating the five value-themes of Chapter II.

Overviews

Secondary level


Well-written and fascinating account of slavic cultural history written for secondary level. Some mention of contemporary Slavs and their contribution to Western culture.


Excellent, insightful. Many pictures, large print. Seems objective, presenting both good and bad sides. Many good comments on daily life, norms.


Marvelous. Soviet person's eyewview of the world. Goes through hundreds of institutions and life stages describing in detail the influences and pressures on a Soviet person. Much of it now needs updating, much is still very much a part of Soviet life.


Many details out of date. Ethnocentric view and highly critical. Fairly easy to read, many details.


Good overview. Chapter 7 contains some comments on everyday life. Economic emphasis.


Light-headed account by American girl of her trip to USSR. Somewhat nauseating, but teenage girls might enjoy it. Has some good personal glimpses.


Quite sympathetic and uncritical of Soviet point of view. Emphasizes the non-Russian nationalities.


Popular account, richly illustrated. Contains vignettes of families from three stages of society in Chapter 6.
Advanced levels


Post, Laurens van der. *Journey into Russia.* Toronto and Vancouver: Clarke, Irwin and Company Ltd., 1964. Discerning account of a well-traveled author. Siberia, the non-Russian republics, and the Black Sea area are discussed at length.


**Periodicals for Keeping Abreast of Current Research**

*Sovetskaia etnografia* Contains contemporary anthropological materials and some sociology.

*Sovetskaia iustitsiia* Questions of jurisprudence, many of which shed some light on value questions.
Material for Illustrating the Five Value-Themes

I. Collectivism

A. Historical examples


Tolstoi, L. N. War and Peace. (novel) See section where Pierre sells land to the peasants.

1Most of the films listed are available through Brandon International Films, Inc., 221 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y. 10019.
B. Modern examples

Aksionov, V. "Colleagues." (short story)

"Ballad of a Soldier." (film)
See also Harcourt, Brace, and World's 1966 edition of the scenario for this film edited by Laurence C. Thompson, Willis Konick, and Vladimir Gross. The important point in this film is the soldier's sense of obligation to others and the general sense of community expressed.

Kataev, V. "Beleet parus odinokii." ("The Lone Sail Shows White") (short story)

Platonov, Andrei.
See his short stories dealing with collectivization.

II. Paternalism

Hangs in Tret' iakov Gallery.


Tolstoi, A. K. Peter the First. (novel)

III. Patriotism

A. Historical—Russia vs. the West

"Alexander Nevsky" (film)

Dostoevsky, F. M. "Zimnye zapiski o letnykh vpechatleniiakh." ("Winter Notes of Summer Impressions") (essay)
Written after his visit to Europe in 1862. Critical of Europe.

Kireevski, Ivan Vasil'evich. "On the Nature of European Culture and Its Relation to the Culture of Russia." Russian Intellectual History: An Anthology. (essay)

Tchaikovski, P. I. "1812 Overture." (music)

Tolstoi, A. Peter the First. (novel and film)
Note mention of idealogical conflict between Westernizers and conservatives.

Tolstoi, L. N. War and Peace. (novel)

B. Modern—USSR vs. the West

There are so many novels and films and short stories concerning W II and the Cold War that it is of minimal value to list any here.


Gerasimov, S. V. "Mat' partizana." ("Mother of a Partisan") (painting) Istoriia sovetskogo iskusstva, p. 33.

Plastov, A. A. "Fashist proletel." ("A Fascist Flew By") (painting) Istoriia sovetskogo iskusstva, p. 42.

C. Love for the symbols of Russia

Ivanov, V. S. "P'em vodu rodnogo Dnepra ..." ("We drink the water of our native Dnieper ...") (poster) Istoriia sovetskogo iskusstva, p. 24.

Kasiian, V. I. "V boi, slaviane!" ("To Battle, Slavs!") (poster) Istoriia sovetskogo iskusstva, p. 13.


Toidze, A. I. M. "Rodina-mat' zovet!" ("The Motherland Calls!") (poster) Istoriia sovetskogo iskusstva, p. 11.


IV. Dusha

A. Acceptance of positive and negative emotion

"Deviat' dnei odnogo goda." (Nine Days of One Year") (film)

Kataev, V. "Sviatoi kolodets." (Sacred Well") (short story)

"Ochi chernye." ("Dark Eyes") (song)

This is originally a gypsy song, but is currently very popular in Russia, as it has been for ages. One might speculate that the current popularity of gypsy music partly is due to a desire for escape from the uniform optimism of so much of contemporary Russian music.


Very sentimental song.
Olesha, Yuri. "Zavist'." ("Envy") (short story)

Note harshness of veterinarian and doctor in speaking to old man and boy.

Serov, V. A.; Serebrianyi, I. A.; and Kazantsev, A. A. "Vstrecha na Neve." ("Meeting on the Neva") (painting) Istoriia sovetskogo iskusstva, p. 36.
Note the fact that three artists worked collectively on this painting.


"Vniz po Volge Reke." ("Down the Volga River") (folksong) A Festival of Great Russian Folk Songs (phonograph record).

"Zeleneisia." ("Turn Green") (folksong) A Festival of Great Russian Folk Songs (phonograph record).

B. Vigor and valor better than compromise

Byliny. (chronicles)
Note character of Il'ia Muromets.

Fadeev. Razgrom. (The Rout) (novel)
Concerns the NEP period. Note Levinson.


One of the most popular paintings in USSR.
"Stenka Razin." (folksong)
One of the most eternally popular songs in the Soviet Union. About a favorite folk hero and rebel who throws his bride into the Volga rather than be accused of going soft.

Topuridze, V. B. "Pobeda." ("Victory") (statue)
Istorinia sovetskogo iskusstva, p. 135.


C. Strength of faith

Akhmatova, A. "Requiem." (poem)

Leskov, N. S. Ocharovannii strannik. (Enchanted Wanderer) (short novel)

Repin, I. E. "Krestnyi khod v Kurskoi gubernii." ("Religious Procession in the Kurskoi Province") (painting)
Hangs in the Russkii Muzei, Leningrad.


Surikov, V. "Utro streletskoi kazni." ("Morning of the Strelets' Punishment") (painting)
Depicts the determination of the enemies of Westernization and Peter's reforms.

V. Endurance

A. Historical

"Bystry, kak volny." ("Quickly, as Waves") (song)
Old-time fatalism.

Leskov, N. S. Ocharovannii strannik. (Enchanted Wanderer) (short novel)
Man goes through ordeal after ordeal, finally becomes monk.


B. Modern—Soviet

Moor, D. "Pomogi." ("Help!") (poster) Iskusstvo, last part of "Illustrations" section—no page number.

Nekrasov, V. "V okonakh Stalingrada." (In the Trenches of Stalingrad) (novel).

Plastov, A. A. "Zhatva." ("Harvest") (painting) Istoriiia sovetskogo iskusstva, p. 43.

Sholokhov, M. "Syd'ba cheloveka." ("The Fate of a Man") (short story and film)


"Zhila-byla devochka." ("Once There was a Little Girl") (film)
Relates the story of the children of Leningrad during its WW II siege.

C. Hardness, strength

"The Letter that Never Was Sent." (film)
Geologists struggle against nature.

Mykhina, V. "Rabochii i kolkhoznitsa." ("Laborer with Collective Farm Woman") (statue) Iskusstvo, last part of "Illustrations" section, no page number.
Stands in Moscow in front of Exhibition of Achievements of the National Economy (VDNKh).

VI. Kultur

A. Desires to study, escape the muddy past.


Pimenov, Y. I. "Doroga na novostroiku." ("Road to the Construction Site") (painting) Istoriia sovetskogo iskusstva, p. 87.

"Putievka v zhizn'." ("The Road to Life") (film) Rehabilitation of the "bezprizorniki."

Reshetnikov, F. P. "Opit' dvoika." ("A 'D' Again") (painting) Istoriia sovetskogo iskusstva, p. 121.


"Uchitel'." ("The Teacher") (film).

B. Contrasts between old and new, urban and rural.

"Da porozhet chelovek." ("May Man Bless You") (filmstrip).

Dubov. Beglets. (Runaway) (novel)
Boy involved in conflicts between his desires to go out in the world to seek his fortune and obligations to his family, who live in an isolated, small village.


"Tri topolia na Pliushchikh." ("Three Poplars at Pliushchikh") (film)
Country woman goes to city, makes acquaintance of man there, returns to country with feeling that life is passing her by.
Tolstoi, Alexei. *Peter the First* (novel and film)

Turgenev, I.S. *Ottsi i deti*. (Fathers and Sons)
(novel)
APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRE ON SOVIET RUSSIAN BEHAVIORAL NORMS

Instructions

When members of one culture visit another culture, seemingly insignificant acts can often cause significant misunderstandings. This questionnaire has been drawn up in order to study items that might be problem areas for Americans visiting the USSR. Please share the benefit of your experience by marking in the appropriate column to the right of all statements and by filling in the blanks accompanying all questions. Feel free to write comments about any statement or question. If you are unsure about an answer, mark the center column on statements, and draw a line in the blank on questions.

All items refer to contemporary Soviet Russian norms, and the focus is on finding areas of difference from contemporary norms in the USA. Of course tremendous differences exist within each culture, so compare the average of one against the average of the other.

Please do not attempt to agree with the author of the questionnaire by marking all statements as "almost always so." Many items are worded purposely to reflect the opposite of his impressions.

DRESS

1. Russian women wear pants, even when not at work.

2. Russian women seldom wear shorts except during sports or at the beach.

3. Russian girls wear less make-up than do American girls.

4. Russian women wear less make-up than do American women.
5. Russian women wear less jewelry than do American women.

6. Russian women dress more modestly than do American women (in a manner less sexually stimulating).

7. Hair rollers are worn in public in the USSR.

8. Women in Russian Orthodox churches must cover their heads.

9. Women in Old Believer services must wear a scarf.

10. Men without ties are allowed in the best restaurants.

11. In national shrines, museums, theatres, etc., Westerners who dress casually may be considered by Russians to be disrespectful.

12. Coats are not checked in cloakrooms in public buildings and restaurants.

13. What else concerning dress or cosmetics should Americans be aware of?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TIME CONSIDERATIONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14. Meetings, plays, movies, etc. start punctually in the USSR.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Informally, Russians are less punctual than are Americans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Ordinary Russian citizens are very careful about keeping appointments with American tourists.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Service in restaurants is slower than in the USA.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
18. Russian parties last later than American parties.

19. What else concerning time should Americans be aware of?

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**TRAVEL**

20. Pedestrians keep to the right side of the sidewalk.

21. Pedestrians in crosswalks have the right-of-way, in practice.

22. Russians throw cigarette butts and other trash on sidewalks.

23. What else concerning pedestrian travel should Americans be aware of?

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24. As Russians push rudely toward doors of buses, subways, etc., they often lose their tempers in such crushes.

25. Sleeping compartments are assigned on trains without regard to sex.

26. One is expected to empty his own trash and make his own bed in Russian long-distance trains.

27. What else concerning public transportation should Americans be aware of?

---

28. Cars are kept clean and free of dents in the USSR.

29. Russians honk auto horns in large cities.

30. Pigeons are protected and drivers are expected to avoid them.
31. Pedestrians are less predictable than in the USA.

32. Russians give rides to adult hitchhikers.

33. Russians give rides to juvenile hitchhikers.

34. Drivers do far more of their own servicing and repairing than in the USA.

35. At an intersection, the car on the right has the right-of-way.

36. What else concerning private transportation should Americans be aware of?

37. Tipping is expected in the USSR.

38. Counting change may be considered offensive.

39. Service personnel are less anxious to serve than are their American counterparts.

40. What else concerning business and money should Americans be aware of? (Exclude comments about illegal exchange and sales).

41. After purchasing food on the street, one stands in one place and does not stroll while eating or drinking.

42. While eating on the street, Russians turn their backs to the public.
43. Leaving food on one's plate in a restaurant is looked upon with some disfavor.

44. Both hands remain above the table during the meal.

45. Drinking from a bottle is considered uncultured.

46. Purses are placed on top of restaurant tables.

47. What else concerning eating should Americans be aware of?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ALMOST ALWAYS</th>
<th>OFTEN</th>
<th>?</th>
<th>USUALLY NOT SO</th>
<th>ALMOST NEVER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>


49. Women are seen drunk in public.

50. Toasts must be drunk "do dna" to indicate sincerity.

51. If the toast is offered with an alcoholic beverage, the guest is expected to join in by drinking that same beverage. (A non-alcoholic one may not be substituted).

52. What else concerning drinking should Americans be aware of?

53. Smoking is allowed in the regular seating areas of any public transportation.

54. Women smoke in public.

55. What else concerning smoking should Americans be aware of?
ACQUAINTANCE AND FRIENDSHIP

56. Young people through university age use "ty" very soon after meeting another of the same age (within a matter of minutes).

57. Adults use the name and patronymic as soon as any relationship passes beyond initial stages of acquaintance.

58. In formal situations, Russians do not seem to mind if Americans address them as Tovarishch Ivanov, Tovarishch Ivanova, etc. (i.e., if it is proper for a Russian to use "Tovarishch" it is acceptable for an American to use it.

59. What do you feel is an appropriate title for Americans to use on Russians, if both of the above are unsuitable?

60. When would one say "la tebia liubliu"?

61. Russians stand closer when talking than do Americans.

62. Soviet officials and clerks are less smiling and overtly "friendly" than their American counterparts.

63. Russians shake hands with women more than do Americans.

64. Russians enjoy discussing controversial political questions with American acquaintances (not yet close friends).

65. The custom of offering bread and salt to important guests is still followed.

66. The custom of offering bouquets of flowers to important guests is followed.
67. Flowers or some gift are brought when calling on a Russian family at home.

68. White shirt and tie are expected of a foreigner having dinner with a Russian family.

69. Russians invite foreigners into their homes.

70. Russians who visit foreigners' hotel rooms may find themselves in trouble with the authorities.

71. Russian private dinners start later and last longer than do American ones.

72. What are some gifts Americans might give which could be unintentionally insulting to Russians?

73. What else concerning friendship should Americans be aware of?

COURTING, SEX, AND FAMILY

74. Russian males take the initiative in asking for a dance or date.

75. What seems to be casual flirting to an American may well be interpreted by a Russian as willingness to be sexually intimate.

76. Russians are generally less inhibited than Americans about discussing sexual matters.

77. Russian definitions as to what is pornographic are more puritanical than American standards.
78. If a fellow and a girl are seen together frequently, it is assumed they are intimate sexually.

79. Romantic involvements with foreigners are strongly disapproved of by the officials.

80. The single-braid vs. double-braid system for unmarried and married women respectively is still followed.

81. Is any sign of marriage intention usually worn by either partner? ________
   What is it? ________

82. What else concerning courtship and sex should an American be aware of? ________

83. The wedding ring is worn on the third finger, right hand.

84. Corporal punishment of children is approved.

85. Russian parents are more protective of their children than are Americans.

86. Parents do not allow preschoolers to stray more than a very few feet from them in parks, etc.

87. Russian males help with housework.

88. What else concerning family life should Americans be aware of? ________
89. Whistling indicates scorn for a performance.

90. Stamping of feet indicates approval for a performance.

91. Stepping over a row of seats to get to one's own seat is disapproved.

92. The public is more formally dressed at all public entertainment than is the case in the USA.

93. Russians often show disapproval of the visiting team.

94. What else concerning public entertainment should Americans be aware of?

95. On International Women's Day, men congratulate any women they happen to deal with.

96. On International Women's Day, men send presents to their close female associates and friends.

97. Russian greetings concerning Christmas and Easter are not appreciated by officials.

98. What else relating to holidays should Americans be aware of?

MISCELLANEOUS

99. Whistling in public is considered uncultured.

100. Crossing one's legs in public is considered improper for men.
101. Crossing one's legs in public is considered improper for women.

102. What other norms not discussed above should an American be aware of?

DATA ON THE INFORMANT

Ago:

Sex:

Occupation:

Visits to the USSR—dates, duration, and areas visited most; list most recent visits first:

Experience in the USA—dates, duration, and areas visited most (if native write "NATIVE" and list the areas you have lived in):

Name (optional):
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Teaching culture


