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

Extract from author's research/teaching diary

Introduction

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

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

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

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

Background

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Old Arbat Street

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

Teaching in the field at Higher School of Economics

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

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

The Arbats and European Square

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

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

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

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

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



European Square

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

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

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

its affective nature be fully understood¹³.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Red Square

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

What are the benefits of such teaching?

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

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

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

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

Problems with the approach

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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


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

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

Overview

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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