

IDEOLOGICAL PRODUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE IN LATE AND POST-SOVIET SOCIOLOGICAL DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF TWO ACADEMIES

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Soviet sociology and the system of doctoral education as a whole were heavily permeated by ideology. During perestroika, a course toward general liberalization and glasnost was taken. In 1988 sociology was officially included in the list of scientific specializations of the Higher Attestation Commission (HAC) as an independent discipline. Nevertheless, there were several ideological practices that needed to be formally included in dissertations such as references to Marxism-Leninism, historical materialism, or even critiques of Western theories. This article focuses on such practices by analyzing summaries of 152 doctoral dissertations defended in 1988–1998. The summaries are divided into two groups: (a) 99 summaries of late Soviet doctoral dissertations in philosophy and sociology defended at the Academy of Social Sciences (AoSS) and the Institute of Sociology (IS) in the USSR's final years (1988–1991); and (b) 53 summaries of post-Soviet dissertations in sociology defended at the same institutions in 1992–1998, after their restructuring. A comparative analysis allows us to highlight the presence of ideological practices in Soviet academic writing and their consequent influence on post-Soviet dissertations based on the work done in two scientific organizations: IS as supposedly more liberal and AoSS as more conservative. The study is based on quantitative and qualitative content analysis methods as well as on the comparison of objective and subjective ideological practices in dissertation summaries of the two institutions.

Keywords: Soviet Science; Soviet Sociology; Soviet Doctoral Education; Knowledge Production; Russian Sociology; Ideology

The current state of doctoral education in Russia is increasingly becoming a heated topic of discussion (Nefedova and Dyachenko 2019; Bekova 2020; Terentev, Bekova, and Maloshonok 2021; Bednyi, Rybakov, and Zhuchkova 2022). The brain drain, insufficient funding, low reported well-being, the massification of education, dropouts, and an increasing time to degree are among the discussed problems (Terentev, Bekova, and Maloshonok 2018; Terentev, Kuzminov, and Froumin 2021; Maloshonok, Bekova, and Zhuchkova 2022).

Questions about key goals of doctoral education, its format and structure, have been raised repeatedly both by researchers (Bednyi and Cheprunov 2019; Bednyi, Mironos, and Rybakov 2019; Maloshonok and Terentev 2019) and by policymakers (Gordeev 2018; Emel'ianenkov 2020). Certain attempts were made to legally change some aspects of doctoral training through reforms in 2013, 2017, and 2021, such as inclusion in the higher education system, granting greater autonomy to leading universities, and introducing mandatory thesis pre-defense.

Recently, transition to a model of so-called scientific doctoral education (*nauchnaia aspirantura*), which implies a greater focus on thesis writing and less time to take classes, has become part of the reforms in education (Odoevtseva 2022; Rossiiskaia Akademiia Nauk 2022). This aspiration was for a long time supported by appeals to return to the "golden era" of doctoral education, that is, the Soviet era (Fedotova 2017). Indeed, the Soviet model of education has recently appeared as a benchmark in statements by a number of lobbyists. It also indirectly influences discussions on choosing the path for reforms (Keffer 2022; RIA Novosti 2022; Interfax 2023), including doctoral education (Tsvetaev 2023).

These influencers often mention the former greatness of Soviet doctoral education. Particular attention is paid to the social and economic well-being of doctoral students, while other significant problems are ignored. The general paternalistic design of the Soviet state did give certain means to support young scientists in specific social and political contexts. However, the Soviet period lacked academic freedom. The state-ideological influence significantly offset existing advantages.

This article, focusing on one of the most ideologically driven disciplines in the USSR, namely, sociology, argues that ideology influenced dissertations even during the most liberal Soviet period—perestroika. Furthermore, it contends that behind the nostalgic calls to return to old Soviet practices hides a desire to be in step with current anti-Western shifts in the Russian educational system. The adequacy and proportionality of the possible transfer of Soviet models to the current scientific and managerial landscape remain debatable. We should be skeptical about applying these ideas in the context of the history of academic freedom in Russia.

It is difficult to ignore the obvious ideological influence of the state on Soviet dissertations and the context where the system of doctoral education had emerged. It is also impossible to disregard the existence of (in)formal requirements for inclusion of ideological references to Marxism-Leninism classics in dissertations. Nonetheless, this should also be considered in the context of widespread doublethink in the country, when the form differed from the real content (Firsov 2008). Sometimes, these facts forced scholars to justify the uniqueness of Soviet social science or the

correct way of the country's development in the police state, while some of them could actually think differently, employing ideology rather cynically (Yurchak 1997; Filippov 2014). Regardless of their real intentions, these complications should make us more critical about Soviet nostalgia and wary of possible further ideologization of science and education.

The key issue is the relationship between these nostalgic statements, the real state of affairs in the Soviet system of doctoral training, and the theoretical perspective for transferring old models to modern Russia. It is necessary to remember the disadvantages of the "golden era." Besides their existence within a command economy, a highly ideological political regime, and a rigid political system, social sciences and humanities were committed to the declared ideological orientation of the Soviet period. The example of sociology can demonstrate its serious dependence on the political course even during a relatively liberal period of the Soviet Union's existence and the difficult process of the Soviet tradition being dismantled in the 1990s.

Soviet sociology has already been the focus of both Russian researchers (e.g., Sokolov 2011; Firsov 2012; Guba 2015), including publications about perestroika (e.g., Shalin 1990), and international scholars (e.g., Weinberg 2017). Several articles dealt with ideology in the system of Soviet (social) science in the totalitarian/police state (Batygin 2011; Filippov 1993), with the formation of the system of doctoral education in 1930s (Kozlova 1994, 2001), and even with the special status of scientific communism/atheism, historical/dialectical materialism, and Marxist-Leninist orientation in philosophical dissertations (Ovsiannikov and Petrov 1968). Nevertheless, they paid miniscule attention to the uniqueness of justification/criticism of knowledge production employed by Soviet scholars and did not focus on late Soviet doctoral dissertations in sociology and the post-Soviet dynamics in this area.

To demonstrate the peculiarities of the ideological patterns' erasure process and their viability, this article focuses on several issues. First, it describes the context of institutionalization and the existence of sociology in the USSR. Second, it presents key features of doctoral education as an institution that was responsible for the preparation of doctoral dissertations. The final part focuses on the exact ideological practices in the abstracts of doctoral dissertations (which I accessed through the Russian State Library [RSL] digital archives) that were defended at the Institute of Sociology of the USSR Academy of Sciences (IS) and at the Academy of Social Sciences under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (AoSS) in 1988–1991 and after 1991 at their successors, the Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences (RAS) and the Russian Academy of Public Administration (RAPA, 1992–1994), later renamed the Russian Presidential Academy of Public Administration.

These two organizations are chosen due to having been ideological antipodes. AoSS had a clear ideological orientation until the very end of the USSR's existence. For example, this organization actively approved dissertations for the doctoral degree in such specializations as "theory of scientific socialism and communism" and "scientific atheism" until 1991. IS was supposed to be less ideological by virtue of its creation. Their organizational successors after 1991 did not have such a strong ori-

entation, while a certain connection with the state was still present, for example, “the Presidential Academy” in AoSS’s new name.

The first period (1988–1991) was chosen according to available information about defended dissertations at the RSL. It was a key period in the development of sociology in the country and reforms in doctoral education. In 1988 the Institute for Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences (ISR) was transformed into the Institute of Sociology with a focus on studying ongoing social transformations, together with gradual nonideological legalization of sociology as a science and an academic discipline. In 1988 sociology was included in the nomenclature of scientific specializations of the Higher Attestation Commission of the USSR (HAC), and the next year first departments of sociology were established at Moscow and Leningrad universities. The second period (1992–1998) was chosen to trace the changes in academic writing and ideological influence after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Therefore, the analysis of dissertation summaries will allow us to (a) to compare both organizations in order to identify their relationship with ideology in the context of the widespread doublethink and cynical relation to ideology in late Soviet Union and (b) to trace the process of how ideological patterns were erased in post-Soviet dissertations defended in 1992–1998 at these organizations’ successors. All in all, it will allow us to unveil the longevity of ideological vestiges in dissertations at two institutions before and after the collapse of the USSR. It will also help to critically treat the statements about the “golden era” of Soviet doctoral education based on the examples of academic writing in the late Soviet Union.

A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF SOCIOLOGY AS A SCIENCE IN THE USSR

Soviet state ideology often contradicted pure scientific principles. In the 1950s, cybernetics faced criticism from Soviet scientists and was labeled a reactionary bourgeois science that worked against the proletariat (see Gerovitch 2004). Another example is Lysenkoism, a pseudo-scientific system of views in biology, which was used as a means of ideological repression (Borinskaya, Ermolaev, and Kolchinsky 2019). The Soviet nomenclature of scientific specializations included such areas of doctoral education as “theory of scientific socialism and communism” and “scientific atheism.”

Sociology is another example. Back then, it “could not be focused on solving fundamental theoretical problems, since this function was retained by the ideological bureaucracy” (Filippov 2014:91). Sociology in the USSR changed its status from a bourgeois invention to an important factor in social transformations in the last years of the country’s existence. Researchers note that “the struggle for the recognition of sociology in Soviet times was a struggle not only with ideology, but also with other managerial disciplines for a place in the system of expert knowledge” (92).

Despite the fact that “the concept of ‘sociology’ did not have the right of citizenship in the USSR,” the practice of criticizing “bourgeois” sociological theories from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism began to spread after World War II (Kolbanovskii 1999:22). Such criticism could be either abstract, working within the logic

of doublethink (see Firsov 2008), or concrete, but the status of sociology was still rather marginal.

“The second birth” of sociology was marked by several events. In 1956 a delegation of Soviet sociologists participated in the International Sociological Association (ISA) Congress in Amsterdam. In 1958 the newly founded Soviet Sociological Association (chaired by philosopher and historian Georgy Frantsov) declared a desire to become part of the ISA. The same year,¹ an international meeting of sociologists on peaceful coexistence was held in Moscow, attended by Everett Hughes, Helmut Schelsky, and Thomas Bottomore, notable sociologists from the US, Germany, and the UK, respectively (Hughes 1958).

The Soviet delegation participated in two consecutive congresses of the ISA, in 1959 in Stresa/Milan (Italy) and in 1962 in Washington, DC (US), where they “performed successfully, convincingly revealing the depth, strength, and invincibility of Marxism as the only scientific social theory” and “became convinced that their Western opponents were imposing a revisionist version of Marxism on the congress and underscoring the advantages of capitalism” (Firsov 2012:22). Institutionalization of sociology, started during the Khrushchev Thaw of the late 1950s–early 1960s, was finalized with the foundation of the Institute for Concrete Social Research (ICSR) at the Academy of Sciences in 1968. The founding decree provided the definition of concrete sociological research as “the creative application of Marxism as a method for understanding and explaining new social phenomena and processes, the structure and mechanism of action of the laws of social development” (Konstantinov 1965, quoted in Filippov 2014:98).

Sociology finally regains its official status as an academic discipline, but now it is “historical materialism that constitutes the theoretical content of sociology. There is not and cannot be sociology outside or above historical materialism” (Fedoseev 1968, quoted in Filippov 2014:99). Simultaneously, the famous compromise triad of “historical materialism as a general sociological theory; special sociological theories; concrete sociological research” emerged. It was supposed to make sociology “concrete” and “useful” at the practical level of application (Kolbanovskii 1999:25).

Thus, a rather specific set of requirements for writing scientific papers was formed. It included the Soviet canon (Vladimir Lenin, Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels), its specific interpretation (Marxism-Leninism, historical materialism), and strong ideologically oriented argumentation. The authors were compelled to either ignore the achievements of Western scholars or explicitly justify the superiority of Soviet science.

These practices were subject to constant minor changes, from introduction of speculative ideas and total denial of some “Western” approaches to modest ideological formulas that were used simply for approval by the dissertation council. These formulas could be a nominal ritual necessity for a successful defense, but they could also represent a real intention to justify the superiority of local science or criticize

¹ Firsov (2012:21) indicates January 1958 as the date of the event, while Osipov (2008:5–6) mentions September 23, 1957. Hughes (1958:102) himself agrees that the event took place between January 6 and January 12, 1958.

its Western counterpart. There is no mechanism to separate one from the other in this regard. However, what remains important is that one way or another it contributed to the isolationism of Soviet science.

The ICSR's existence in 1968–1972 was marked by the generation of scholars (e.g., Yuri Levada, Boris Grushin, Gennadii Osipov) that eventually significantly influenced the formation of sociology in the country. However, this period of liberalization did not last long. Due to its overly liberal internal culture, in 1972 the institute was significantly reshaped with the direct participation of the state and was gradually transformed into the Institute for Sociological Research (ISR, headed by Mikhail Rutkevich). Decree No. 832, issued in 1972, was symbolic; it mandated that “from September 1, 1972, the general project ‘History of Sociology in the Countries of Western Europe’ should be transformed into the sector of the history of Marxist-Leninist sociology and criticism of bourgeois sociology” (Batygin 1999:564). The liberal era at the ICSR had ended, followed by the dismissal of its leading scholars.

Despite serious steps taken toward institutionalization, doctoral education, particularly in sociology, did not exist for a long time. The HAC nomenclature of scientific specializations did not allow for a resolution of this problem. However, there was a specialization “applied sociology,” which made it possible to defend empirical dissertations in the field of sociology formally within philosophical sciences. Moreover, ISR became home to the journal *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniia* (Sociological research) in 1974, which made publishing articles that were strictly sociological possible.

Certainly, ISR was not the only institution that worked in the field of sociology and public opinion. Among other organizations throughout the USSR, the Academy of Social Sciences under the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party was established in 1946. In its original form, AoSS existed during 1946–1978 and trained “leading staff of high qualification for central, republican, and regional party organizations and state bodies, ideological institutions and organizations.” In 1964 the Institute of Scientific Atheism was established at AoSS, which promoted the official atheistic agenda. In 1978 AoSS was merged with the Higher Party School, and until 1991 it was developing “research on the problems of Marxism-Leninism, the theory and practice of progress toward communism, and the world revolutionary process.”² Thus, ideological issues were at the core of this institution. Doctoral dissertations on the “theory of scientific socialism and communism” and “scientific atheism” were defended there until the end of the USSR's existence.

Hence, it is worth mentioning “the opposition of two ‘sociologies’—one inherited the doctrinal greatness of Stalinist Marxism; the other sought to reassess values, tried to develop new topics and research methods” (Batygin 1999:10). To associate these trends with AoSS and IS, respectively, would be a nominal approach, but both organizations were responsible for doctoral training; in dissertations, both promoted standard formulas of the uniqueness of local science and society and their Marxist-Leninist nature.

² *Bol'shaia Sovetskaia entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo “Sovetskaia entsiklopediia,” 1969–1978), under “Akademiiia obshchestvennykh nauk pri TsK KPSS.”

In 1988 came the next stage for Soviet sociology. ISR was transformed into the Institute of Sociology (IS), which became one of the influential centers of social thought during the final period of perestroika. A conservative orientation of ISR in the context of “new political thinking” was replaced by a more freedom-loving atmosphere of IS.

In the same year, a decree issued by the Communist Party revised the status of sociology as a science and allowed it to appear on the HAC list of scientific specializations separately from philosophy.³ Yet another decree proposed the establishment of sociology departments at Soviet universities, the first of which were inaugurated in 1989 at Leningrad and Moscow State Universities (Osipova 2005).

Perestroika was meant not only to reform the society, but also to influence the practices of knowledge production in the system of doctoral education. After 1991 the institutional design of the Institute of Sociology slightly changed, and the Institute of Socio-Political Research (ISPR) became an independent unit within the RAS structure.

More significant change happened with AoSS. In 1992 it became the Russian Academy of Public Administration (RAPA) and in 1994 changed its name to the Russian Presidential Academy of Public Administration (RPAPA). All the regional infrastructure of AoSS came to be controlled by the Administration of the President of the Russian Federation and eventually was transferred to the newly emerged institution. This infrastructure was used to set up regional branches, mostly intended to train future civil servants. Later, in 2010, RPAPA was merged with the Academy of National Economy and was reorganized into the Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration (RANEPA) that still exists today.

The Institute of Sociology changed its organizational form for the final time in 2017 and became part of the Federal Center of the Theoretical and Applied Sociology of RAS (FCTAS). Nowadays, FCTAS includes the Institute of Sociology, Sociological Institute of the RAS (Saint Petersburg), Institute of Socio-Political Research, Institute of Socio-Economic Studies of Population, Institute for Demographic Research, and several regional research centers.

INSTITUTIONAL FEATURES OF THE SYSTEM OF SOVIET DOCTORAL EDUCATION AND SOME OF ITS POST-SOVIET EFFECTS

The institutionalization of Soviet doctoral education began with a complete rejection of the two-level “master-doctor” model that existed in Russia until 1917. This system of academic degrees had gradually formed throughout the nineteenth century, originating from the decrees of Tsar Alexander I in 1803–1804 (Vishlenkova and Ilyina 2008). After 1917 the chaos of the Civil War and the postwar years made implementing a new system of doctoral education difficult. Nevertheless, it quickly became apparent that such a system could serve ideological purposes.

³ Decree of the CPSU Central Committee, June 12, 1988, “Enhancing the Role of Marxist-Leninist Sociology in the Solution of Critical Problems of Soviet Society.”

To make up for the shortage of qualified instructors, the Institute of Red Professors (IRP, headed by Mikhail Pokrovskii) was founded. Being “one of the first Marxist scientific and pedagogical institutions of the post-October period . . . the legal foundation [of which] occurred on the initiative and under the control of the highest echelons of the Bolshevik government,” the institute offered training based on the party and ideological loyalty of its prospective students as well as their social origins and party experience (Kozlova 1994:96–97). After its closure in 1938, the Higher School of Marxism-Leninism was created. After a series of transformations, the Academy of Social Sciences was founded in 1946, and in 1978 AoSS reached its final institutional form.

Together with establishing IRP, several legislative initiatives were adopted in the 1920s–1930s. They centralized Soviet doctoral education and made it more dependent on the state. For example, in 1932 a new structure that was responsible for the validation of dissertations, the Higher Attestation Commission, was established. HAC exists in a slightly modified form to this day and still inspects dissertations for compliances with all criteria for a doctoral degree.

Researchers point out some similarities between that era and the current state of affairs in Russian doctoral education. For example, they mention “administrative methods of regulating scientific structures and centralization of management, creation of supra-scientific governing organizational forms, regulation of scientific research topics and entire areas, emphasis on a practice-oriented approach and application of the results of scientific research, separation of universities from science, etc.” (Milaeva, Morozov, and Siushkin 2018:39). The state faced the necessity of “creating a unified regulatory and legal framework for the functioning of the system for training highly qualified personnel, structures for managing it, and forming broad doctoral contingents to cover the future need for scientific personnel” (41).

Decrees of the 1930s aimed to provide doctoral students with proper living and working conditions. Scholarships were introduced and then increased, standards were set for the provision of housing, and doctoral students were given rights similar to those of scientific and pedagogical workers and were entitled to certain benefits.⁴ All these innovations contributed to the idea of the “golden era” of Soviet doctoral education.

⁴ Decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People’s Commissars of the RSFSR No. 28, May 30, 1930, “On Payment for Living Quarters by Students Receiving Scholarships from State Educational Institutions and Doctoral Students of Research Institutions”; Decree of the Central Executive Committee and Council of People’s Commissars of the USSR No. 52/752, December 23, 1930, “On the Amount of Scholarships for Doctoral Students at Higher Educational Institutions and Research Institutions”; Decree of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR No. 65, Council of People’s Commissars of the USSR No. 751, April 27, 1933, “On the Amount of Scholarships for Doctoral Students of Technical Universities, Universities, and Research Institutes”; Decree of the Council of People’s Commissars of the USSR No. 78, January 13, 1934, “On the Training of Scientific and Scientific-Pedagogical Workers”; Decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People’s Commissars of the RSFSR, November 1, 1934, “On the Housing Rights of Doctoral Students at Higher Educational Institutions and Scientific Research Institutions.” The review of the decrees is based on Milaeva et al. (2018).

The 1934 decree “On Academic Degrees and Titles” introduced the system of scientific degrees “candidate-doctor,” which nominally completed the system.⁵ These changes contributed to the growth of the number of doctoral students: If in 1930 there were around 3,000 of them, in five years their number grew to 10,600 (Allakhverdyan 2014:126).

The establishment of this system took place under the ideological influence of the state on all spheres of society and science, including the struggle against bourgeois theories, which became widespread after WWII. Cases of genetics, cybernetics, and the division of biology into bourgeois and applied ones became classic examples. Ideology penetrated many spheres and was wielded as a weapon in a fight for positions, statuses, and resources.

A 1962 decree established some restrictions for admissions that worked similarly. For example, to be admitted to doctoral training, it was necessary to pass an exam on the history of the Communist Party, provide a reference from the workplace, and have practical work experience. According to the decree, admitted could be “citizens of the USSR not older than 35 years . . . for full-time study, and . . . [those] not older than 45 years for part-time study, who have higher education, have shown the ability to conduct research study, and have practical work experience in the field of the chosen scientific specialization for at least two years after graduation from a higher educational institution.”⁶ Moreover, doctoral students admitted for full-time study were not allowed to simultaneously work and study. These provisions applied to both universities and the Academy of Sciences.

In addition to universities and the Academy, there was also the industrial research sector. The ratio of these sectors in Soviet science was rather unbalanced. By 1966 the university segment accounted for 17 percent of scientific institutions in the country, the academy had 13 percent, and the industry sector 70 percent, employing more than half of all scientific workers in the USSR, while the university and academic sectors had 40 and 9 percent of scientific and pedagogical staff respectively (Kuzminov and Yudkevich 2022:469).

Essential was the demarcation between academic and university sectors. There was informal competition for funding and scholars between them. Scholarship at universities was of secondary importance, while at the Academy research had priority. To level this state of affairs, a number of attempts were made to increase the efficiency of university science: “Over the 30 years from 1957 to 1987 more than 10 government decrees were issued aimed at improving the situation with science in universities, increasing its efficiency, and greater integration of science and production” (Kuzminov and Yudkevich 2022:470–471).

⁵ Decree of the Council of People’s Commissars of the USSR No. 79, January 13, 1934, “On Academic Degrees and Titles.”

⁶ Decree of the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Education No. 284, July 31, 1962, “On Approval of Regulations of Doctoral Education.”

The nomenclature of scientific specializations underwent significant changes during the Soviet period. It is an important factor of disciplines' institutionalization since the nomenclature determines the areas of study and titles of the degrees awarded. Because of the marginal status of sociology, usually ignored in such documents, the analysis of its position in the structure of science administration is especially important.

The first regulatory documents, such as 1934 and 1937 decrees "On Academic Degrees and Titles," did not initially contain the word "nomenclature." These documents mention "a field of a certain scientific discipline" (Gabov and Matskevich 2020:20); the nomenclature of scientific specializations in the legal sense was first mentioned in a 1962 decree.⁷ The current three-level codification format—"code of scientific specialization," "specialization," and "field of science"—developed gradually and can be found, for example, in documents of the State Committee on Science and Technology.⁸ Such a nomenclature has undergone several changes over time and eventually the category "sociological sciences" emerged in 1988. This field had 7 specializations in 1989, while "technical sciences" had 223, "physics and math sciences" had 38, and "medical sciences" had 43 (Allakhverdyan 2014:130). Nevertheless, the change in the nomenclature of scientific specializations predetermined the final institutionalization of dissertation defense for the degree of candidate of sciences in sociological sciences (Soviet equivalent of a PhD).

By the 1980s the system of social and economic support for doctoral students initially introduced in the 1930s was rather outdated: "If in 1971 the size of the scholarship was equal to 67–79 percent of the average salary, then by 1985 it decreased to 45–53 percent" (Kelle and Kugel 1991:193). In 1987 scholarships for doctoral students were increased by 30–50 percent, and more attention was paid to the economic and living conditions of doctoral students as well as to their access to medical services and public food supply.⁹

Such means needed to be extended to a large number of students. While the number of doctoral students in the Soviet Union constantly changed, it was characterized by significant growth starting from the beginning of the second half of the twentieth century. By 1988 the total number of doctoral students in the Soviet Union was 265 percent higher than in 1960 (Kelle and Kugel 1991:196–197). The perestroika period was marked by stable numbers: around 97,400 in 1985; 96,100 in 1986,

⁷ Decree of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR No. 441, May 12, 1962, "On Means of Further Improvement of the Selection and Training of Scientific Personnel."

⁸ Resolution of USSR State Committee on Science and Technology No. 385, July 28, 1972, "On the Nomenclature of Specializations of Scientific Workers"; Resolution of the USSR State Committee on Science and Technology No. 231, May 25, 1977, "On the Nomenclature of Specializations of Scientific Workers."

⁹ Resolution of Council of Ministers of the RSFSR No. 232, June 4, 1987, "On Means to Improve the Material and Living Conditions of Doctoral Students, Students of Higher and Secondary Special Educational Institutions."

95,600 in 1987, 97,600 in 1988, and 95,300 in 1989 (183). Student population was distributed unevenly and was localized mainly in Moscow (a third of all students) and Leningrad (10 percent), creating a disbalance toward the RSFSR, even if we take into account that it had the largest population of all the republics in the USSR. In 1988, 69.6 percent of all doctoral students were based there (196).

By the 1980s, “the command mechanism of the development of science had finally been consolidated and acquired numerous supporting instruments” with a still fairly strong ideological background, which was at least declaratively weakened by the statements of the 27th Congress of the Communist Party in 1986 and the beginning of perestroika (Kuzminov and Yudkevich 2022:476).

After the collapse of the USSR in 1991, the geopolitical changes and economic situation significantly influenced young people’s desire to pursue a scientific career: If in 1985 and 1988 there were around 67,600 and 67,900 doctoral students in the RSFSR, then already in 1992, Russia had only 51,159 (14,857 graduated that year) (Kelle and Kugel 1991:183; Allakhverdyan 2014:137). But after that point, the numbers constantly grew: 53,541 in 1994 (12,292 graduated), 74,944 in 1996 (11,931), and 98,355 in 1998 (17,972). However, the number of organizations in the country that offered doctoral education during this period remained relatively stable, varying between 1,296 in 1992 and 1,338 in 1998 (Allakhverdyan 2014:137).

Russia joined the Bologna Process, an agreement of European governments to harmonize their educational systems, in 2003 and became part of the European Higher Education Area in 2010. The state reformed doctoral education by shifting it away from research and toward educational components, making them dominant and eventually turning the system into a Bologna system-compatible third cycle of education. While some institutions received the right to grant their own doctoral degrees in 2017, the return to *nauchnaia aspirantura* happened in 2021 in the context of constant references to Soviet standards that continue to be mentioned today. The introduction of obligatory pre-defense marked the final shift from the educational model, making it again totally research oriented.

DATA AND METHODS

There are two main units of analysis: (a) 99 summaries of dissertations in sociology and philosophy defended during 1988–1991 at AoSS and IS; (b) 53 summaries of dissertations in sociology defended in 1992–1998 at the rebranded AoSS, Russian Academy of Public Administration (RAPA) / Russian Presidential Academy of Public Administration (RPAPA), and at IS.

All summaries are available in digital form in the public domain on the RSL website, section “C5 Sociology.” Since it was impossible to sort by institution, the initial search query was sorted by place: Moscow. Three hundred twenty-nine summaries were returned for the period of 1988–1991. Then, those were manually sorted by institution, turning up 89 from AoSS and 31 from IS. Seventeen dissertations for the doctor of sciences degree (equivalent of habilitation) and four dissertations for the

degree of the candidate of sciences in history (20 from AoSS and 1 from IS) were excluded. Therefore, the total number of analyzed works was 30 at IS (22 in sociology and 8 in philosophy) and 69 at AoSS (22 and 47, respectively).

The second search query included the period of 1992–1998 based on the similar procedure (RSL, section “C5 Sociology”), but added specialization “sociology.” One hundred thirty-six dissertation summaries were found; from this number those that were defended at IS (23) and RAPA/RPAPA (24 and 18) were manually selected. Then two RAPA/RPAPA and four IS summaries for the doctor of sciences dissertations were excluded, as well as summaries for two dissertations in economics and four in philosophy (defended at RAPA/RPAPA).

My hypotheses are the following: (1a) Despite all social transformations of the perestroika period and the decisions of the 27th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, the ideological practices of academic writing still were prevalent in both institutions. (1b) AoSS was a more ideologically oriented organization, and dissertations defended there are generally more ideologically biased than the ones defended at IS. (2) Once established, ideological justifications were difficult to extirpate from dissertations, even in the context of post-Soviet liberalization.

The summaries were analyzed using both quantitative and qualitative content analysis. Therefore, the hypotheses can be confirmed or rejected by comparison of objective and subjective ideological criteria present in the analyzed works identified following the coding rules described in appendices 1 and 2.

The limitations of the study primarily relate to the specifics of the original RSL database. It does not include all dissertations defended at these organizations during this period. It means that it is impossible to extend the findings to the entire set of dissertations of both organizations. Moreover, the database has only those summaries that have been digitalized and added to the library archive. One can also say that summaries are not the same as dissertations themselves, but, in accordance with the tradition of writing these summaries that existed in the USSR and later in Russia, they are simply the introductions to dissertations and represent all their discursive components and ideological frames. Another limitation is the rather small size of the dataset for quantitative analysis. For example, the IS database has just eight dissertation summaries in philosophy (1988–1991), which were included only in qualitative analysis. Therefore, quantitative approach is used to demonstrate that the criteria are present in the dissertations, which is then supported with examples from the dissertations collected during qualitative analysis.

The first of the two periods in the study, 1988–1991, was determined by the availability of data in the RSL and begins three years after the official start of perestroika in 1985. Three years was the typical timeframe for doctoral studies in the USSR. Therefore, there was potentially enough time to diminish the presence of ideological patterns in dissertations. The second period, 1992–1998, was defined by the desire to trace the changes within a 10-year timeframe.

There is also a significant disbalance toward works defended in philosophy in 1988 and 1989, with a significant presence of dissertations in the field of applied sociology (42 percent). No dissertations for the candidate of sciences in sociology

degree were found during this period in the database. Apparently, it took some time for the organizational changes to manifest themselves. Even though dissertations on sociological topics had certainly been written earlier but presented for the candidate of sciences in philosophy degree, the first dissertations for a candidate of sciences in sociology degree are dated 1990–1991, a couple of years after this option became available.

Nevertheless, even with the indicated limitations it is possible to highlight typical ideological practices used in dissertation writing. This study demonstrates that it was difficult to eliminate these practices even against the background of the declared liberalization during perestroika and even after the fall of all ideological control mechanisms after 1991. The available data allows us to identify examples of this in summaries of dissertations defended at two selected organizations during 1988–1991 and 1992–1998.

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

The entire range of ideological implications can be divided into two spectrums: quantitative indicators of their presence and qualitative examples as their illustrations. Based on this distinction it is possible to compare two organizations according to the defined criteria. Quantitative indicators will help to compare AoSS and IS, using both objective and subjective criteria, that is, those that are explicitly present in the text and those that were interpreted as such based on the coding rules. Qualitative examples that are presented below are the most indicative of the wording used in the dissertations.

OBJECTIVE CRITERIA

The most notable finding is that the presence of what I call the objective criteria—mentions of “Marxism-Leninism,” “Lenin and his works,” “historical materialism,” “party documents,” and “references exclusively to Soviet scholars and scholars from the Soviet influence sphere” (hereafter “references”)—is significantly higher in summaries of dissertations at AoSS than at IS. These objective criteria can be considered the most nominally ideologically oriented, and they (with the exception of “references”) were most often located in dissertations’ required section “Theoretical and Methodological Background of the Study.” The “sincerity” of such uses is doubtful, and we can consider them rather ritualistic. However, there is no way to determine whether the author intended to use them sincerely or if it was just a matter of administrative pressure.

Six out of 22 dissertation summaries in sociology (27 percent) and 13 out of 47 in philosophy (28 percent) from AoSS presented all five objective criteria. None of the IS dissertation summaries had all five objective criteria.

If we accept that the more often the objective criteria were used in dissertation summaries, the more ideologically oriented were both the research itself and the criteria for doctoral defense, then the hypothesis that AoSS was a more conservative organization with a greater role of ideology than IS is correct. However, IS was not

completely free from ritual references, and objective criteria were still present in its dissertation summaries (see figure 1).

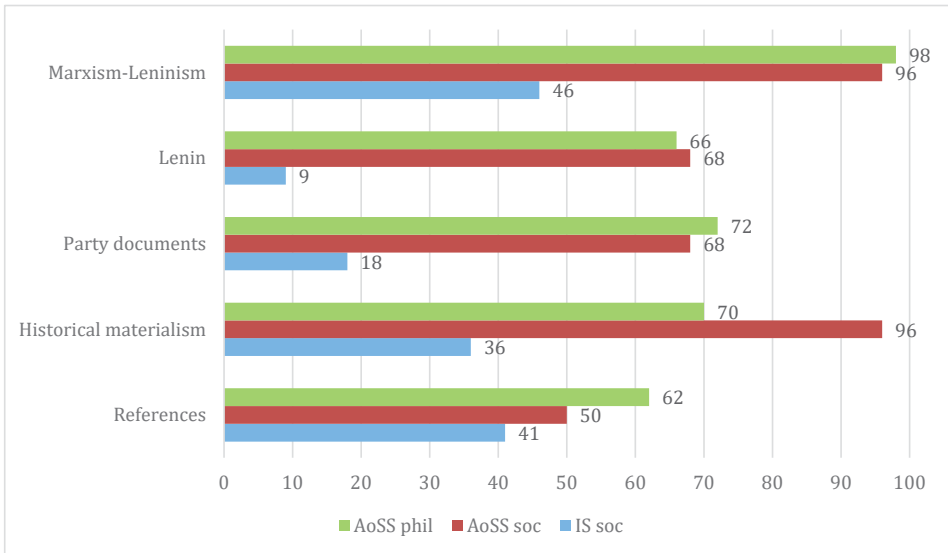


Figure 1. Presence of the objective criteria in dissertations defended in 1988–1991 (%)

The difference is noticeable in four criteria in particular: “Lenin and his works” (IS: 2 out of 22; AoSS: sociology 15 out of 22, philosophy 31 out of 47), “historical materialism” (8/22 vs. 21/22, 33/47), “party documents” (4/22 vs. 15/22, 34/47), “Marxism-Leninism” (10/22 vs. 21/22, 46/47). A less significant difference is observed with regard to “references” (9/22 vs. 11/22, 29/47). Based on the analysis of objective criteria, AoSS indeed proved to be a more ideologically oriented institution than IS, despite the presence of these criteria in dissertations defended at both organizations.

In order to trace the trajectory of ideological patterns after the collapse of the USSR, let us turn to the 1992–1998 period. After 1991 some criteria almost disappeared from AoSS dissertations and stayed almost at the same level in IS ones—for example “party documents” (RAPA/RPAPA: 2 out of 34; IS: 2 out of 19) and “Lenin” (5/34 and 3/19, respectively)—or were used less (such as “references”: 10/34 and 5/19, respectively; see figure 2 for details). Other criteria still had significant presence and could be considered subject to longer erasure. We can conclude that Marxists-Leninist and Marxist perspective was still the most common framework during this period, because almost half of the dissertations defended at RAPA/RPAPA (16/34) and one-third at IS (6/19) had it. It may be partially explained by the status of this framework in sociology: Marxism is not only a part of the former Soviet ideological influence, but also a valid sociological approach in general. Similarly, “historical materialism” criterion was also present in more than one-third of dissertations defended at both RAPA/RPAPA and IS (13/34 and 7/19).

Therefore, dissertations defended at IS did not demonstrate a huge decline in the use of what I call objective criteria after 1991, while AoSS experienced a more significant decrease. The use of criteria that were directly connected with the CPSU dropped significantly at AoSS. Nevertheless, more “doctrinal objective criteria” such as “historical materialism” and “Marxism-Leninism” were still present, despite the fact that their use has been reduced by half at AoSS after 1991. Also, only one dissertation had all objective criteria, which is significantly different from the previous period. It highlights the fragmentation process of the ritualistic practices of academic writing.

Moreover, if we compare RAPA (1992–1994) and RPAPA (1995–1998), we will notice that the same criteria are much more typical for the earlier period of this institution’s existence. For example, “Marxism-Leninism” was present in 12 out of 18 dissertations at RAPA (67 percent) and only in a quarter (4/16) of RPAPA’s, while “historical materialism” appeared in 8 out 18 (44 percent) versus 5 out of 16 (31 percent), respectively. Other criteria did not demonstrate significant changes: “Lenin” was present in 3/18 (17 percent) versus 2/16 (13 percent), and “references” in 5/18 (31 percent) and 5/16 (28 percent) of dissertation summaries. All in all, it means that the “doctrinal objective criteria” took longer to be erased, while being still present in later dissertations.

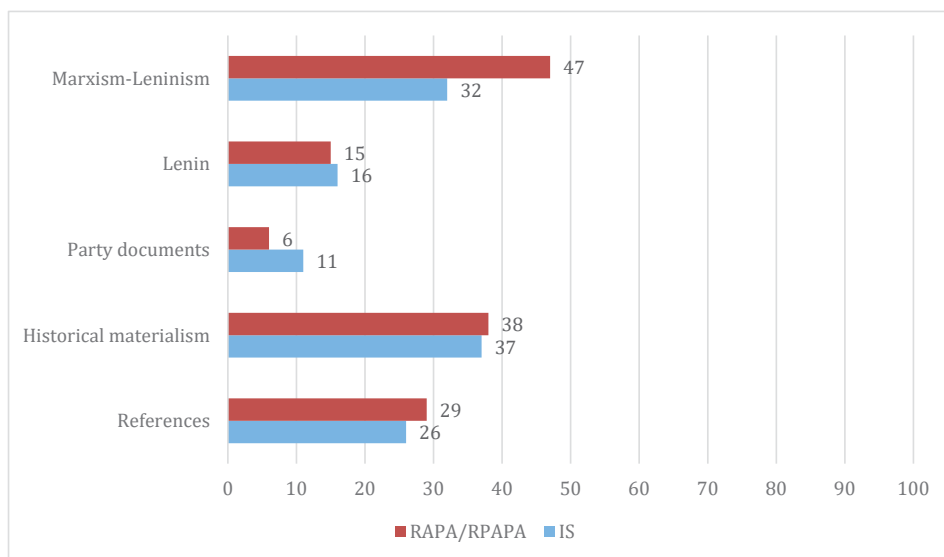


Figure 2. Presence of the objective criteria in dissertations defended in 1992–1998 (%)

Let us give several representative illustrations of the usage of these criteria, using the examples of “historical materialism” and “Marxism-Leninism.”

Historical materialism is often nominally attributed as follows: “Based on the dialectical-materialistic systemic approach, the author postulates the standpoint that the self-realization of the individual is a pattern, immanently prescribed to

the process of its life activity"; as a simple mention of dialectics: "The meaning of activity is considered as the result of dialectical interaction and unity of the social and natural, creative principles in human self-realization process" (rsl01000084167 [ID in the RSL open-access database]; AoSS, 1991); and after the fall of the USSR was sometimes used with the indication that without ideological implications it may still be useful: "The significance and role of the general methodology of dialectical and historical materialism are in no way diminished, the use of which, being cleared of ideological layers, is not only acceptable, but necessary in any research" (rsl01000118264; IS, 1993).

Marx, Engels, and their ideas were often just mentioned without any further elaboration not only in Soviet works, but also in post-Soviet ones: "The approach to history as a process of change of socioeconomic formations was developed by Marx and Engels" (rsl01000033557; RAPA, 1993). There is also a good example of reference to Marxism outside of the theoretical and methodological background of the research section, where they are often reduced to a simple mention that sometimes paradoxically confirms that Marx and Engels actually never really worked on the topic: "[They] never used the term 'political culture.' However, while studying specific economic and political processes, they also studied their reflection in the consciousness and behavior of individuals, classes, and parties" (rsl01000077043; AoSS, 1991). One of the post-Soviet dissertations had a modest attempt to acknowledge the rightful existence of other approaches: "Theoretical and methodological basis of the study was . . . developed within the framework of both Marxist and non-Marxist traditions in social science" (rsl01000116389; RAPA, 1992). These examples show how poorly such formulas were sometimes correlated with dissertation topics.

SUBJECTIVE CRITERIA

The analysis of subjective criteria provides examples of exact wording used by the authors of dissertations. Some of them are modest attempts to justify the importance of local scientific and political context; others are more radical. For example, the authors use moderate formulas either to justify the equality of Soviet sociology/society with their Western counterparts or to demonstrate that social and political order can be properly transformed, fixing the mistakes of the past. There is also harsher criticism of Western scholars who misunderstand Marxist-Leninist principles and do not understand the realities of late Soviet society. These examples are accompanied by quantitative analysis of the subjective criteria. The main finding of the analysis is that AoSS did not show a significantly stronger presence of ideology and was slightly more conservative with respect to only some criteria (see figure 3).

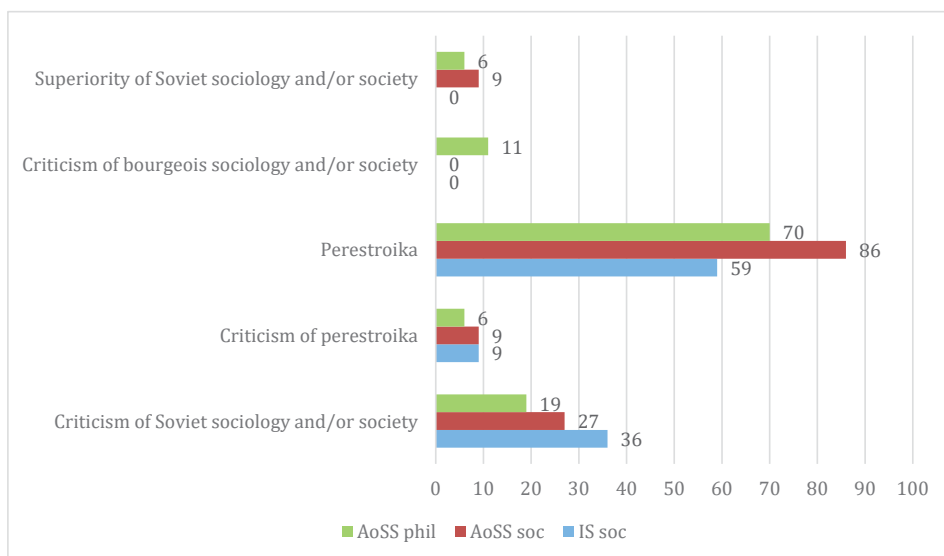


Figure 3. Presence of the subjective criteria in dissertations defended in 1988–1991 (%)

For example, the criterion “superiority of Soviet sociology and/or society” in IS sociology dissertations was not present at all, while 2 out of 22 AoSS sociology and 3 out of 47 AoSS philosophy dissertations contained it. Similar results were obtained with the criterion “criticism of bourgeois sociology and/or society”: No sociology dissertations at both institutions had a single mention, while there are several (5 out of 47) mentions in summaries of philosophy dissertations. Findings show that the criteria are not typical in IS sociological theses, but present in dissertations defended at AoSS in “philosophical sciences” and “sociological sciences.”

“Criticism of Soviet sociology, Marxism-Leninism, and/or society” is the opposite of the previous criteria in its content. In philosophy dissertations, this criterion is present in 8 out of 47 works defended at AoSS. Sociological dissertations had it in 6 out of 22 and 8 out of 22 of all AoSS and IS summaries, respectively. Here, the results turned out to be more significant than for the two previous criteria, reaching almost a third of summaries of dissertations in sociology at both institutions. Such criticism is mostly present in sociological works, while dissertations in philosophy paid less attention to this issue. This criterion should be perceived in reverse: the higher the percentage, the more “liberal” the aspiration of the authors.

One more pair of subjective criteria are the “new course of the party, new political thinking, glasnost, and perestroika” and their “criticism.” They were present in 13 out of 22 IS sociology dissertations, 19 out of 22 AoSS sociology dissertations, and 33 out of 47 AoSS philosophy dissertations. Apparently, this topic appeared in the vast majority of dissertations and was an important part of the social science agenda.

Criticism of perestroika in dissertations could demonstrate attitudes of both institutions to the period of social and political reorganization in the USSR. However,

the criteria failed to provide a clear answer to this question. This criterion was present in 2 out of 22 IS dissertation summaries, while 3 out of 47 AoSS philosophy dissertations and 2 out of 22 AoSS sociology dissertations contained it. These figures do not allow us to unambiguously define the attitudes to the perestroika period in the dissertations available in the database.

The 1992–1998 period is characterized by a general expected reduction in usage of subjective criteria in dissertation summaries (figure 4). For instance, the criticism of Western/bourgeois sociology and society eventually disappeared altogether. None of the analyzed dissertations employed it, even though in the earlier period it was also absent in strictly sociological dissertations (both at IS and AoSS), but present in the AoSS philosophy dissertations.

Only a small number of works also justified the superiority of local science and/or society: 1 out of 19 at IS and 3 out of 34 at RAPA/RPAPA. Social transformations were still a huge topic of discussion, with slightly more attention paid to them in RAPA/RPAPA than IS dissertation (30 out of 34 vs. 13 out of 19). Same holds for criticism of such transformations (14 out of 34 vs. 6 out of 19) and criticism of local sociology and/or society (17 out of 34 vs. 7 out of 19). RAPA/RPAPA was focused on public administration after 1991, and it is no wonder that dissertations prepared there pay a lot of attention to social transformations. Moreover, the most theoretical specialization in the field—“theory, history, and methodology of sociology” at IS—contributes to the difference between IS and RAPA/RPAPA, because none of these dissertations (5) mentioned any ongoing social transformations or their criticism and were purely focused either on theoretical or methodological aspects of sociology as a science.

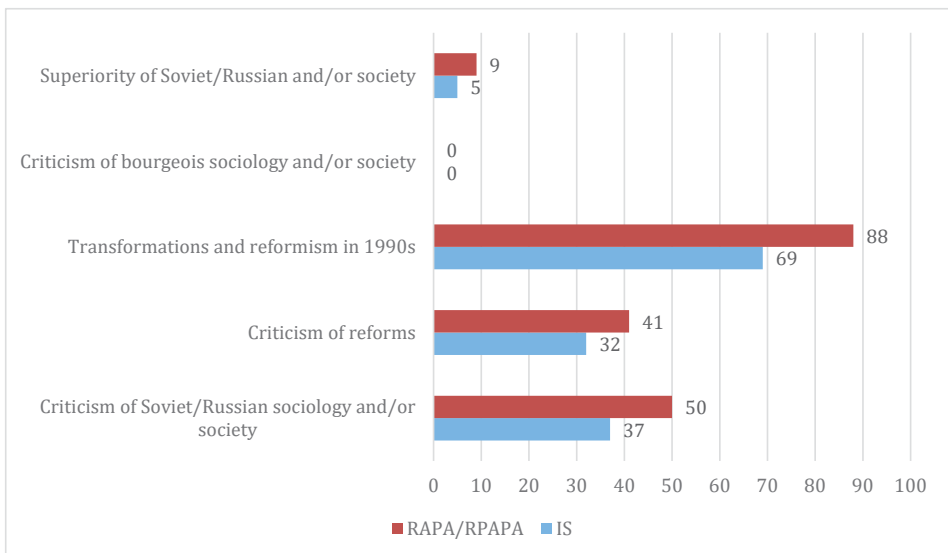


Figure 4. Presence of the subjective criteria in dissertations defended in 1992–1998 (%)

While quantitative analysis may be rather rigid, the qualitative part of research can shed light on exact wording employed by scholars. Here are some examples of the arguments that were used by the authors to define the uniqueness of local social science and local society or to criticize Western/bourgeois ones. AoSS dissertations present some moderate criticism of bourgeois science and indirect justification of Soviet sociology's superior status: "Mentioned [Soviet] authors critically examine bourgeois historiography associated with the study of developing countries, various bourgeois theories of prospective ways of the development of the 'Third World,' demonstrate the neocolonial political background of these theories, their ignorance of the historical factors and the social aspirations of the peoples of the East" (rsl01000104708; AoSS, 1991). Among the goals of a dissertation on Islam in Western political science, its author states, is "a critical reflection on the theoretical standpoints and practical goals of Anglo-American political science in relation to modern Islam" (rsl01000104708; AoSS, 1991).

Another work justifies the uniqueness of Soviet social life: "Soviet socialist society, during its relatively short history, despite the misunderstandings of its deeply humanistic essence that happened during the years of the Stalin cult and during the period of stagnation, created spiritual values that are the pride of the absolute majority of Soviet people that made them better in the eyes of the world community" (rsl01000008646; AoSS, 1991).

More radical examples often used the classical ideological framework of the Cold War confrontation: "The class enemy, seeking by any means to embellish capitalism and denigrate the socialist system, unleashed a 'psychological warfare' against the USSR, which cannot be characterized other than as a special form of aggression, informational imperialism, attack on the sovereignty, history, culture of peoples" (rsl01000057577; IS, 1988).

The same dissertation describes in highly positive terms the work of local researchers—"Soviet scholars are doing a lot of fruitful work to combat Western ideology and propaganda in the field of the national question"—and then criticizes Western colleagues because of their "one-sidedness of methodological attitudes." Here is another example of criticism of Western theorists and a claim of Soviet sociology's superiority: "Perestroika, the approval of new approaches and concepts aimed at improving socialist democracy and national relations in the USSR, the policy of glasnost prevent Sovietologists from using well-established stereotypes on the 'isolation' of Soviet society and its undemocratic nature. Socialism can fully reveal its potential in our Soviet country only if the interests of every nation, every republic of the [Soviet] union are harmoniously combined with the common interests of the entire Soviet people" (rsl01000057577; IS, 1988).

Another dissertation protects Marxism from its critics: "Attributing to Marxism the methodology of ultra-sociologizing, which reduces human nature to a combination of society without biological elements, they ignore the fact that Marxism takes natural, vital needs, determined by the biological structure of the organism, as the starting point in determining human nature" (rsl01000097786; IS, 1988).

Works critical of perestroika contain rather modest statements, such as “the forces awakened by glasnost often do not find a constructive application” (rsl01000135563; IS, 1990), as well as more radical judgments. Thus, the authors who criticize the achievements of the Twelfth Five-Year plan (1986–1990; the “criticism of perestroika” criterion) write about the dissatisfaction with how the criticism is used: “This is clearly manifested today in the creation of the ‘image of the enemy,’ which includes the apparatus, the party, Marxism-Leninism, socialism, communities of various nationalities, etc. Everything bad is attributed to them; they are the cause of all ‘problems’” (rsl01000077308; AoSS, 1990). They also raise concerns about the destructiveness of the powers revealed by the reforms: “The wave of renewal, called the politics of perestroika, began to perform not only a purifying function but also the role of an incredibly destructive force. . . . The destruction of the administrative-command system is not compensated by the adequate creation of new relations” (rsl01000131423; AoSS, 1991).

To demonstrate how the “criticism of Soviet sociology, Marxism-Leninism, and society” criterion is used, let us provide a typical moderate example: “Soviet society is going through a very difficult period of its development—the restructuring of all spheres of Soviet people’s life. There is a purification of the way of life from everything obscure and obsolete” (rsl01000076010; AoSS, 1990). Let us cite a number of more radical statements. One summary provides direct criticism of Soviet society: “It is characterized by such features as utopianism, mythologism, etatism of perception of the past, low level of historical knowledge, the dominance of obsolete dogmas, stereotypes, poor development of historical thinking” (rsl01000034038; AoSS, 1991). Other authors are critical of the management system that emerged in the country: “Decades of domination of the administrative-command system have led to the alienation of workers from property, from the results of their labor, and from power. In essence, the labor movement has disappeared in the country; it has been replaced by all sorts of imitations, props, and fakes” (rsl01000114007; AoSS, 1991). Another underlines the contradictions that exist within this system: “The administrative-bureaucratic model of socialism and its policy of total organizing and deliberate sacralization imminently contained the denial of its own goals. Showing inability and unwillingness to critically comprehend real processes, this policy objectively did not meet the needs of friendship and rapprochement” (rsl01000038755; IS, 1990).

In the 1992–1998 period, there are lots of works that discuss the consequences of perestroika and ongoing transformations in Russia. Some of them criticize the previous historical period from a general economic standpoint: “It is clear that the old economic system has outlived its usefulness” (rsl01000120132; RAPA, 1992); focus on ideological unfreedom: “It was the time of ‘Party organization,’ ‘Party science,’ and ‘Party literature.’ Even the most inert and apolitical person, willingly or unwillingly, had to be counted among the exploiters or the exploited, among the supporters of the revolution or its opponents” (rsl01000031417; IS, 1993); criticize the imperfection of Soviet society using its own ideological language: “Civil society could not develop in our country, first of all, because *workers were alienated from property, from*

the means of production" (rsl01000074349; RAPA, 1992; emphasis added), including paradoxical opinions: "The Soviet social science *was characterized by an emphasis on social harmony, integration, balance, and especially by ignoring opposing tendencies in social processes*" (rsl0100006566; RAPA, 1992; emphasis added).

Some scholars were against ongoing economic reforms, especially criticizing the transition to market economy: "As our research data shows, a large-scale decentralization option for reform through the creation of a mass private owner-producer is unrealistic and poses a threat of increasing social conflicts" (rsl0100006873; IS, 1992). Others underlined poor planning of the reforms: "The social role of the ongoing reforms is insufficiently disclosed, and their results are not scientifically predicted" (rsl01000141421; RPAPA, 1996), including rather pessimistic opinions: "The protracted crisis does not give any reason to hope that the situation will change for the better in the near future" (rsl01000063930; RPAPA, 1998). Nevertheless, some authors still demonstrated internalized habits of academic writing: "The most complete satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of people is the highest goal of socialism" (rsl01000129585; IS, 1992).

Certainly, scholars were concerned about the influence of the reforms on Russian (social) science: "Meanwhile, reforms in science have only worsened the situation of scientists," being skeptical just because of their very fact: "This is due not even to the quality of the reforms, but to the very fact of their implementation" (rsl01000118264; IS, 1992). The future of local science was a subject of a lot of concerns: "The deterioration of the material base of science, culture, and education, the reduction of real wages diminish the status and prestige of professions in the field of humanities, cause a decline in the level of training of intellectuals, and generate among them the mood of indifference, passivity, and pessimism" (rsl01000015451; RAPA, 1993). But there was also a variety of opinions about social sciences and how they deal with new circumstances: "The crisis of the command-administrative system marked, among other things, the decline of the paradigm of total rationality. It is quite understandable that, as a result, local social science fell into a state of certain theoretical confusion" (rsl01000116389; RAPA, 1992), underlining that "social sciences themselves have not yet been able to leave the deep crisis, which prevents them from fully engaging in productive research activities" (rsl01000127541; RPAPA, 1997), or that even educational sphere lacks the prerequisites to be properly reformed: "The task of preserving a unified educational space of the Russian Federation is not fulfilled because there are no laws on educational standards" (rsl01000100878; RPAPA, 1997), and therefore "higher education is rapidly approaching the threshold values of its vital characteristics; it is losing its systemic qualities" (rsl01000114723; RPAPA, 1997). Some dissertation summaries contain a general warning that may be relevant even in today's situation: "During the period of crisis that our country is experiencing, both uncritical imitation of Western models (without understanding the differences in the logic of their existence, the laws of development) and the invention of domestic solutions to questions for which exhaustive answers already exist are equally dangerous" (rsl01000127157; IS, 1992).

CONCLUSION

The assumption that both institutions did not fully abandon all ideological patterns of academic writing during the last years of perestroika has been partially confirmed, although these patterns were less prevalent at IS (hypothesis 1a). However, the objective criteria had stronger presence in the dissertation summaries (especially at AoSS) than supposedly more meaningful subjective criteria; this can signal that the objective criteria were used more ritualistically than substantively. This fact fits the idea of cynical divergence between form (nominal ritualistic usage of ideology) and content of the research (seen in the absence of widespread usage of subjective criteria) in the context of lack of freedom and widespread practices of doublethink. Nevertheless, the assumption that AoSS had more ideologically oriented dissertations (hypothesis 1b) was generally confirmed.

Moreover, according to objective criteria, summaries of dissertations in philosophy defended at AoSS had more similarities than differences with AoSS's sociological summaries (except for the usage of "historical materialism," which was, paradoxically, more common in sociological dissertations), but they more frequently contained the ideologically problematic subjective criterion, namely "criticism of bourgeois sociology." Both philosophy and sociology dissertation summaries from AoSS were more conservative than IS sociology summaries. Such state of affairs may indicate that the inclusion of "sociological sciences" into the nomenclature of scientific specializations in 1988 led to less ideology in the defended dissertations at IS since this reform was indeed more aligned with its supposedly more liberal orientation from the very beginning of the institute's second restructuring in 1988.

Therefore, social transformations of the perestroika period did not significantly reduce the presence of what I call objective ideological criteria in the dissertations defended at AoSS, but they definitely influenced the situation later. After 1991 old conventions of academic writing were still present in the dissertations of both organizations, even though doublethink became irrelevant, but the difference between them became much less noticeable than in the earlier period. IS did not demonstrate a huge shift in academic writing after 1991, therefore the gap between the two institutions was mostly closed by the significant change in the AoSS dissertations. Some of the objective criteria directly connected with CPSU were still present in some AoSS dissertation summaries, but their presence (for instance, references "Party documents and Lenin") became very limited. Nevertheless, "the doctrinal objective criteria," that is, "Marxism-Leninism" and "historical materialism," demonstrated a stronger vitality in both institutions, while still decreased almost by half in comparison with 1988–1991 in AoSS summaries.

Based on these findings, we can also conclude that general liberalization of society, education, and science that started in 1985 did not leave much room for what I call subjective criteria, which often directly contained criticism of bourgeois society and/or science and with justifications of the superiority of Soviet science. Nevertheless, the objective criteria, which can be described as more formal, performing the functions of academic ritual and fulfilling mandated requirements for disserta-

tions' section "Theoretical and Methodological Background of the Study," are present in dissertations defended at both organizations, with a more significant presence at AoSS. They were subject to a more gradual, not immediate, erosion throughout the entire 10-year period.

The observed changes in the academic writing practices at AoSS after 1991 and the lack of the similarly significant shift at IS can be attributed to two factors. First, the Institute of Sociology became more attuned to the ongoing changes already during its reformation in 1988. Second, the Academy of Social Sciences had been under the control of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, and when this control disappeared in 1991, it made gradual liberation from the traditional practices of academic writing possible. Moreover, in 1994 AoSS's successor (RAPA) was transformed into the Presidential Academy (RPAPA) whose orientation became more connected with the anticommunist course of the Russian president at the time. Such a liberation from ideological implications in writing can be also seen in the fact that RAPA (1992–1994) had much less significant presence of "historical materialism" and "Marxism-Leninism" than AoSS, but still more than RPAPA, which demonstrates that it was an ongoing process.

Subjective criteria demonstrated different dynamics after 1991. If social transformations and their criticism were still part of the vast majority of the dissertations, then, for example, the criticism of Western science, which during 1988–1991 was present in sociological dissertations defended in the field of philosophy, did not appear in any form afterward. Moreover, criticism of Russian social science and the state of Russian society was at a consistently higher level than in the earlier period.

The Soviet doctoral education was largely shaped in the 1930s and was ideological in nature. Social and economic support for doctoral students, introduction of several legislative initiatives, and the establishment of an institutional landscape for the administration of doctoral education determined the patterns of its development for many years, including the post-Soviet period. Such changes took place in the context of a serious ideological lack of freedom. This state of affairs has led to the emergence of specific forms of knowledge production, which were typical for scholars in the USSR. Social science was no exception and was often subject to serious pressure from the state.

Sociology in the USSR underwent a number of transformations and was eventually institutionalized within a specific state-ideological context. Marxism-Leninism and historical materialism had strong presence not only in the polemics of Soviet scholars, but also in the structure of science administration. It began to slowly change with the beginning of perestroika and glasnost, being accompanied by the introduction of "sociological sciences" in the nomenclature of scientific specializations in 1988.

After 1991, liberalization of society reduced the state and ideological control over sciences. But financial support for science was also significantly reduced. Both changes influenced conventions of academic writing in post-Soviet Russia. Nevertheless, certain practices were disappearing very gradually, as the article finds. While

the findings of this study cannot be generalized to all dissertations defended at these two organizations, they do allow us to come to several conclusions about the ideological content of the dissertations written and defended in the Soviet period, under conditions of the lack of freedom, and later, with all the possible freedom in research.

The findings demonstrate that even nominally ideological formulas in dissertations did not fully disappear, either after the declaration of the new political thinking in mid-1980s or after the collapse of the USSR in 1991, but eroded gradually at both organizations within a 10-year time span and became less visible only in the late 1990s. It can be also said that AoSS was a much more conservative institution in 1988–1991, while IS was more liberal with respect to ideological conventions of academic writing.

Nevertheless, the collapse of the Soviet Union significantly reduced the difference between the two institutions in traditions of academic writing. If the presence of ideological components in the IS dissertations remained comparable to Soviet times, AoSS was significantly affected by the democratization process, showing a reduction of these components. But even though they were much less present in dissertation summaries after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the doctrinal components such as “Marxism-Leninism” and “historical materialism” were still prevalent in summaries of dissertations defended at RAPA/RPAPA.

This means that the process of dismantling of these ideological components was difficult and prolonged. Perestroika, the decisions of the 27th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, and the general declarations of the desire for greater democratization did not immediately result in the rejection of the Marxist-Leninist ideology. Even the elimination of the clause in the Soviet Constitution about the leading and guiding role of the Party happened only in 1990. Nevertheless, even a declarative shift toward democratization and glasnost was a big step compared to the ideological control of the Communist Party in the first half of the 1980s. In the context of the doctoral education reform, it means that ideologized practices do not disappear overnight but are instead subject to gradual erosion. This erosion was accelerated by political processes that led to the weakening of state-ideological control at the end of perestroika, but still continued in 1992–1998.

With respect to nostalgia for the Soviet state, Soviet doctoral education, and social and economic support for doctoral students and scholars, it should be remembered that these instruments were possible in a very specific political, economic, administrative, and managerial contexts. The architecture of the Soviet state and its command economy determined the boundaries of such support. This system demanded ideological loyalty and at least nominal inclusion of ideological references—but often justifications of the uniqueness of Soviet science and society—in dissertations. Once the system of support and state control stopped being effective, scholars reduced usage of previously required justifications and ideological formulas but did not totally reject them.

Even if we accept that in the Soviet Union there indeed were support mechanisms that could significantly help doctoral students, it is unknown how these mechanisms can work in completely different social, economic, and political conditions today. However, it is well known that the ideological orientation of education and principles of scientific activity in the USSR had a significant influence on knowledge production for a long time. As this study demonstrates, even a relatively liberal period of perestroika in the late 1980s and further liberalization in the 1990s did not completely change this state of affairs.

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APPENDIX 1

Objective criteria and their definitions

Criterion	Definition	Rules for coding
Party documents and materials of party congresses	The presence of references to the documents of the CPSU, materials of party congresses, decrees of the government, programs of development, etc.	If the text of a dissertation summary includes a mention of the documents from the Definition column or a direct reference to any of these documents, then this criterion is marked as present. The presence or absence of these criteria is marked with Yes or No in the coding table.
Lenin and his publications	Direct mention of Lenin and references to his works, excluding references to Leninism and Marxism-Leninism	If the text includes a mention of Lenin as well as his works (notes, articles, and other materials), Yes is entered in the coding table; otherwise No.
Historical materialism and dialectics	The presence of a variety of combinations such as historical materialism, dialectics, materialist understanding of history, dialectical unity, etc.	If the text includes a mention of "historical materialism" as well as its variations, Yes is entered in the coding table; otherwise No.
Marx, Engels, and Marxism-Leninism	Any mention of Marx and Engels and variations of Marxism-Leninism, including "Marxist-Leninist sociology"	If the text includes a mention of Marx, Engels, and/or their works (notes, articles, and other materials) or "Marxism-Leninism," Yes is entered in the coding table; otherwise No.
References exclusively to Soviet scholars and scholars in the Soviet sphere of influence	The Soviet influence sphere is understood as all the countries that were part of the Warsaw Pact and the COMECON	The identification of authors outside the COMECON and Warsaw Pact was implemented either by searching for English-language works and subsequent verification of the origin of the author or by finding translated works by foreign authors, which could be identified by the context of use, first of all, in the dissertation section "Background of the Study."

APPENDIX 2

Subjective criteria and their definitions

Criterion	Definition	Rules for coding
Superiority and/or justification of Soviet/Russian sociology and/or society's uniqueness	<p>Superiority is associated with statements on the fundamentally different nature of Soviet science, sociology, and society itself, qualitatively superior to Western sociology and/or society:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Soviet/Russian sociology and/or science is fundamentally better than bourgeois sociology and/or science – Soviet/socialist and Russian society, in terms of its qualitative characteristics, is at an unreachable level of morality and/or surpasses the society of the capitalist West – justification of the equality of Soviet/Russian (social) science and/or society to the same phenomena in Western countries 	
The new course of the party, new political thinking, glasnost, and perestroika / transformation processes of the 1990s	<p>Reflections on perestroika and glasnost, without the identification of the author's position:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – discussions of the qualitatively different level of development of socialist/Russian society – discussions of political reforms in the country – comparison of changes in the perestroika/1990s period with other periods of USSR's/Russia's existence – discussion of the transformations and reforms of the 1990s, privatization, democratization, and transition to market economy in Russia 	If at least one of the characteristics is present in the text, Yes is entered in the coding table. If none of them were found, then No.
Criticism of bourgeois sociology and/or society	<p>Critical remarks on the imperfections of bourgeois (Western) sociology and/or society:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – bourgeois sociology is inherently imperfect and is an incorrect framework for analysis – bourgeois sociology is not capable of explaining the phenomena of social reality and does not have theoretical and methodological potential to interpret them – bourgeois societies are inherently imperfect 	
Criticism of perestroika / reformism of the 1990s	<p>Explicit critical statements on social transformations during perestroika / reforms in 1990s</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – negative comments on political transformations in the country – comparisons with other historical eras, which are not in favor of the perestroika / 1990s period – exposing the fictitiousness of political transformations, including against the background of previous historical eras 	
Criticism of Soviet/Russian sociology, Marxism-Leninism, and/or society	<p>Critical remarks on Soviet/Russian sociology, Marxism-Leninism, and/or society:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – statements on the inability of Soviet/Russian sociology to adequately interpret social reality – exposure of the ideological nature of sociology and its Marxist-Leninist essence – doubts about the prospects of the Soviet/socialist society and its ability to continue its existence – criticism of incorrect development of sociology, science, and/or society 	

ИДЕОЛОГИЧЕСКОЕ ПРОИЗВОДСТВО ЗНАНИЯ В ПОЗДНЕ- И ПОСТСОВЕТСКИХ КАНДИДАТСКИХ ДИССЕРТАЦИЯХ ПО СОЦИОЛОГИИ: СРАВНИТЕЛЬНОЕ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЕ ДВУХ АКАДЕМИЙ

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Исследование осуществлено в рамках Программы фундаментальных исследований НИУ ВШЭ.

Советская социология и система аспирантского образования в СССР долгое время были так или иначе связаны с государственной идеологией. Тем не менее в период перестройки был взят курс на всеобщую либерализацию и гласность. В 1988 году социология была официально включена в перечень научных специальностей Высшей аттестационной комиссии как самостоятельная дисциплина. При этом в научной работе продолжал существовать ряд идеологических практик: например, ссылки на работы по марксизму-ленинизму, историческому материализму, на критику западных теорий, которые (не)формально по-прежнему требовалось включать в диссертации. В этой работе основное внимание уделяется таким практикам и соблюдению этих «правил» в авторефератах (резюме) кандидатских диссертаций, защищенных в 1988–1998 годах. Базу исследования составили 152 автореферата диссертаций на соискание степени кандидата наук. Они разделены на две группы – это авторефераты работ позднесоветского и постсоветского времени: а) 99 авторефератов диссертаций по философии и социологии, защищенных в Академии общественных наук при Центральном комитете Коммунистической партии СССР и Институте социологии Академии наук СССР в последние годы существования страны (1988–1991); б) 53 автореферата диссертаций по социологии, защищенных в тех же институтах в 1992–1998 годы после реструктуризации этих учреждений. Сравнительный анализ подчеркивает следование идеологическим практикам в советском академическом письме и их последующее влияние на постсоветские диссертации на примере двух научных организаций: предположительно более либерального Института социологии и более консервативной Академии общественных наук. В работе использованы методы количественного и качественного контент-анализа, а также предпринято сопоставление объективных и субъективных идеологических практик в авторефератах диссертаций двух академий.

Ключевые слова: советская наука; советская социология; советская аспирантура; производство знания; российская социология; идеология