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Power Distance Perceptions in Post-Soviet Russia: Understanding the Workplace Environment

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POWER DISTANCE PERCEPTIONS IN POST-SOVIET RUSSIA:

UNDERSTANDING THE WORKPLACE ENVIRONMENT

by

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ABSTRACT

Power Distance Perceptions in Post-Soviet Russia:

Understanding the Workplace Environment

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The modern business economy is characterized by increased collaboration among different organizations across national boundaries. Post-Soviet Russia is one of the regions that is witnessing rapid economic growth and development of international business relations. Because of the challenges in intercultural communication the current study focuses on the problem of power distance, specifically in the workplace (in post-Soviet Russia).

A phenomenological perspective, based on qualitative methodology, guided this research into the meaning of power experiences for individuals. Symbolic interactionism was used as a research paradigm of the study to view humans as active participants of the workplace, who engage in the power relationships actively–reacting to controversies of interactions and constant change in the everyday situations.

The researcher developed and conducted several sets of interviews with employees, with relatives/friends of employees, and with country experts. The data were

collected from employees of four companies in one of Central Russian regions (where intercultural connections develop especially rapidly)–with two private, two public, two prereform, and two postreform companies. These four companies were selected to examine influences of two dimensions, public versus private and older traditional versus newer entrepreneurial organizations. Analysis included transcribing of the interviews, identification and categorizations of the statements of meaning, description of participants' experiences, and identification of social processes. The results were grouped into gender, age, and ethical themes depending on three major dimensions (ownership, generation, gender). The major findings included: (a) contrary to previous research older managers appear not to be more aversive to risk-taking behaviors, (b) younger superiors are better accepted in the private postreform companies, but are less often appointed to such positions as compared to the other three settings, (c) public companies hold to the Soviet egalitarian gender ideas, but attitudes and hiring practices remain traditional in preferring male leaders, (d) although recognizing that female superiors can be as good as male superiors, young employees emphasize the "natural calling" of the women (that women's primary focus should be family), (e) emphasis on the importance of ethical leaders was common to all company types.

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INTRODUCTION

There are increasing interactions among people from different cultures of the world. The modern economy is characterized by an increase in collaboration among different organizations across national boundaries. Although globalization opens many opportunities, it also creates many complex challenges. Many researchers have emphasized the importance of having leaders who are competent at doing business in the global environment (Bartlett & Ghoshal, 2000; Child, 2001; Hoecklin, 1995; Javidan & House, 2001) as the most important factor in business success. Crosscultural knowledge improves negotiation, team interactions, and management techniques of employees from international (jointly owned) companies (Daniels & Radebaugh, 1993; Ferraro, 1994; Phatak, 1995; Terpstra, 1985; Trompenaars, 1997; Varner & Beamer, 1995).

Due to successful economic reforms, Russia is attracting more attention from foreign business (Aslund & Bund, 2002; Belton, 2002; Kets de Vries, 2000). Many American and Western European companies have opened their branches in Russia (Kets de Vries). One of the main determinants of a successful business in the international setting is the knowledge of the local culture and the national character.

In order to understand better the relationships among national character, leadership style, and organizational practices in Russia (and any other country), it is important to study various constructs in the field of international business communication. Such constructs include: perceptions of power, gender stereotypes, uncertainty avoidance, individualism versus collectivism, and so forth. Among them, one of the important aspects of culture that influences management practices is how power

relationships are manifested in the workplace environment. The perceptions of power, in turn, can be measured through all of the above mentioned constructs, as well as through studies of the generational preferences, attitudes towards private property, and information when the company was founded–before or after the first democratic reforms period (Perestroika).

One way of approaching power relationships is to study the power distance dimension, which was introduced several decades ago by Mulder and Hofstede (Hofstede, 1984, 1991; Mulder, 1976, 1977). Other researchers have since elaborated on this dimension (Javidan & House, 2001; Matsumoto, 2000). The research demonstrated that leadership styles reflected in the power distance dimension influenced team interaction, comprising the elements of "dependence" relationships, negotiation process, and stress level in the work setting.

However, the studies undertaken by Hofstede were criticized by a number of scientists (Ellis, 1988; McSweeney, 2002; Williams & Best, 1982, 1990). The major criticisms of the study were: use of very old data for most of the later publication discussions (Ellis); data collection was undertaken in only one company (in all countries; Ellis; McSweeney); generalizations were made to the entire population of different countries while the subjects in the study were mostly white middle-aged men (McSweeney); the national heterogeneity aspect was overlooked (Ellis); and some of the patterns expected on the basis of prior work could not be found (Williams & Best).

Another way of studying power distance attitudes is through historical and cultural research. The existing body of literature on Russian history and culture suggests that individuals from both private and public sectors have differences in their perceptions

of labor valuing individual initiative over the collectivistic approach in decision making and having different attitudes towards distribution of responsibilities (Adomeit, 1995; Beissinger, 1988; Black, 1993; Lossky, 1990).

Gender relations are another important factor in the analysis of power perceptions. For example, Kerfoot and Knights (1994), drawing on Foucault (1980), emphasize that gender relations are a reflection of gendered subjectivities, which in turn are constituted through power relations. The generation gap is another serious aspect that should be given proper attention when studying power distance perceptions. As some researchers have noted, the struggle of the "gray-haired" (more authoritarian, old generation) with the young generation takes various forms and has existed for centuries (Daniels, 1964; Hoetzsch, 1966; Kets de Vries, 2000; Lossky, 1990). Though particularly salient now, these issues were mostly overlooked by investigators of previous studies of Russian leadership style.

In sum, there are problems of understanding power relationships in the workplace in post-Soviet Russia, and methodological weaknesses in the previous related research are present. A study is needed that would overcome the aforementioned methodological limitations and would address the following questions: How do employees experience power in the workplace? How are these experiences affected by the contextual factors of the type of the organization (private/old and prereform/postreform company) and such personal characteristics of the employers/employees as their gender and age? These questions taken together would suggest implications for the effective functioning of the jointly owned companies (in terms of specifics of team interactions, superior versus subordinate relationships, negotiation process, and the stress level at the working setting).

LITERATURE REVIEW

The business world and the consulting arena have become increasingly global. For example, the United States exports around $850 billion every year, and over 70% of American companies are facing strong international competition within the US market. Javidan and House (2001) note the worldwide expansion of American law firms (an increase from one to thirteen in Moscow between 1989 and 1994). Globalization opens many opportunities, but it also creates many problems. Representatives from different nations bring their own cultural heritage to the process of work in international companies. This situation creates enriching diversity, but also causes much misunderstanding. Research shows that having competent international specialists is the most important factor in success in the modern business world (Javidan & House). These specialists need to be comfortable in the local workplace environment, which includes understanding the power distance perceptions of the employees and colleagues. This factor has a serious impact on the team interactions, work productivity, and overall climate at the workplace.

To better understand the problem of power distance perceptions in the Russian workplace environment, this dissertation starts with the definition of the national culture as a construct, continues with the review of the concepts of trust and power distance, followed by a summary of criticisms of the initial research on power distance. Next, historical and cultural influences on Russian national character and recent economic changes in Russia are presented to highlight the origin and peculiarities of Russian power distance perceptions. The review concludes with an examination of the three dimensions

(ownership, time/generation, and gender) that are most important of all to study in order to understand power distance perceptions in modern Russia.

Culture and Organizations

Although there are almost as many definitions of culture as there are anthropologists, most anthropologists view culture as the sum total of the beliefs, rules, techniques, institutions, and artifacts that characterize human populations. Culture consists of the learned patterns of behavior common to members of a given society–the unique lifestyle of a particular group of people.

Culture, in the organizational context, may be broadly defined as the sum of a group's or nation's way of thinking, believing, feeling, and acting. Culture is the way of life of a group of people. More formally, culture is defined as the complex whole, which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by members of a society. A society can be represented by members of a nation, as well as by members of an organization.

Some authors (Alvesson & Billing, 1991) have distinguished terms of national and organizational culture. Organizational culture was defined as a complex set of values, beliefs, assumptions, and symbols that define the way that a firm conducts its business. Alvesson and Billing emphasized that it is difficult to separate clearly what culture is and what the outcomes are; he suggested treating culture as a root-metaphor. That is, when anyone has a problem before her and is at a loss how to handle it, she looks about in her available experience for some analogy (or another layer/level of the same construct) that might suggest a solution. This suggestive analogy gives rise to a

hypothesis that she can apply towards the solution. So, considering organizational culture, Alvesson and Billing proposed a conceptualization of culture in terms of levels, arguing that too much attention has been given to the influence of "strong-figures" in the process of culture creation while too little attention has been directed to the level of "great culture," which includes professional cultures, national cultures, class cultures, and so forth.

The organization, according to Alvesson and Billing, is a meeting place for these "long wave" broad cultural patterns, and because their coexistence within the organization is a cultural characteristic, it may also explain some ambiguities. In order to identify unity as well as diversity, the authors recommended three levels of research perspective: the organization as a culture, the organization as a meeting place for great cultures, and local perspectives on organizational subcultures. Hofstede's (1984, p. 75) definition of culture is "precisely that its essence is collective mental programming: it is that part of our conditioning that we share with other members of our nation, region, or group but not with members of other nations, regions, or groups."

As it can be seen, there is no commonly accepted language to describe such a complex construct as culture. Statements about national character have often been based on impressions only. To avoid such statements Hofstede (1984) proposed four different criteria, called dimensions, for describing national cultures (Table 1).

The fundamental issue involved in the "individualism versus collectivism" dimension is the relation between an individual and his/her fellow individuals. At one end of the scale there are societies in which the ties between individuals are very loose and everybody is supposed to look after his/her own self-interest and maybe the interests

Table 1

Hofstede's Dimensions of National Culture

Upper extreme values	Lower extreme values
Individualism	Collectivism
High uncertainty avoidance	Low uncertainty avoidance
High power distance	Low power distance
Masculinity	Femininity

of his/her immediate family. At the other end of scale there are societies in which the ties between individuals are tight.

The central issue involved in the second dimension "power distance", is how society deals with the fact that people are unequal in physical and intellectual capacities, which can grow over time into inequalities in power and wealth. In organizations, the level of power distance is related to the degree of centralization of authority and the degree of autocratic leader leadership. The relationship shows that centralization and autocratic leadership are rooted in the mental programming of the members of a society, not only those in power, but also those at the bottom of the power hierarchy.

In the case of the third dimension "uncertainty avoidance" (also called face-saving), the fundamental issue involved is how comfortable people feel towards ambiguity. Cultures that ranked low compared to other cultures, felt much more

comfortable with the unknown. As a result, high uncertainty avoidance cultures prefer formal rules and any uncertainty can express itself in higher anxiety than those from low uncertainty avoidance cultures.

The "masculinity versus femininity" dimension concerns the division of roles between the genders in society, and it is a social, rather than biological, role division. The four Hofstede dimensions and the additional three dimensions (ownership, time, age), as mentioned earlier were used as representative of culture for this dissertation.

Trust and Power Distance

Cultural misunderstanding causes problems in the work of international consulting companies (Kets de Vries & Florent-Tracey, 2002). In global organizations, executives and personnel need to consider the dynamics of global teams during the team intervention process (from measuring team performance to team development training and other consulting initiatives). The definitions of "a good team member" and "effective leadership" vary from country to country. As Bing and Bing (2001) stated, "as a result, global teams sometimes find themselves reconfiguring into national collections of subteams and many misunderstand each other's expectations and approaches"

Training for international staff has been neglected for a long time. In the early 1980s, management's training of international staff was rare, and employees were often sent to the far ends of the earth with little information as to what they would find there, much less how to successfully conduct business (Bing, 2001). Over the past 10 years, availability of international training increased. Management of the largest global

companies has determined that the cost of not training relocating employees is too high in terms of early returnees and low productivity (Bing & Bing, 2001).

International negotiation processes depend significantly on building trust across cultural boundaries. Research conducted by ITAP International at a major pharmaceutical firm indicated that there was a strong correlation between components of trust (such as communicative effectiveness) and productivity (Asherman, Bing, & Laroche, 2000). Building trust is a critical step in the creation and development of multicultural and/or geographically dispersed teams, which are so common in international consulting companies. Cultural differences can create misunderstandings between team members before they have had a chance to establish any credibility with each other (Victor, 1992).

Building trust between culturally different people is a complex process, because each culture has its own way of building trust and its own interpretation of what trust is (Trompenaars, 1997). Because power distance perceptions are the key component to building trust in international business communication (Victor, 1992; and, consequently, negotiation process, team interactions, decision-making strategies, and workplace environment), businessmen working internationally need to consider studying power distance perceptions in the countries of their business activity.

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The Concept of Power Distance and Its Influences on

International Business Communication

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One of the dimensions of crosscultural behavior that goes through numerous cultural misinterpretations, is the concept of "power distance" (PD; Hofstede, 1984,

1991; Mulder, 1976, 1977). There have been several attempts of describing power distance as a construct. In the first description of this concept within the Power Distance Theory (Mulder, 1976), it was proposed that exercising power gives satisfaction, and that the desire for power that is assumed to result from this satisfaction leads to a downward and an upward power tendency (Mulder, 1976, pp. 54, 64). The downward tendency implies keeping less powerful others at a distance, while the upward tendency is called the Power Distance Reduction tendency, or PDR. This theory seen as the "quintessence of the theory" (Mulder, 1977, p. 5), and it has attracted the bulk of the empirical research.

The strength of the PDR is determined by "power distance," defined as "the degree of inequality in power between a less powerful Individual (I) and a more powerful Other (O), in which I and O belong to the same social system" (Mulder, 1977, p. 90). Power Distance Theory asserts that "the smaller the distance from the more powerful person, the stronger the tendency to reduce it" (Mulder, 1977, p. 5-6) due to identification of a subordinate with the superior person and to the belief that the subordinate is very well able to fulfill the duties of the superior. The PDR is said to manifest itself in cognitions and in behaviors (Table 2).

Matsumoto (2000) suggested a slightly modified version of PD called "status differentiation" (SD)–the degree to which cultures maintain status differences among their members. The latter theory has a more static view on authority, emphasizing the role of culture as a determinant to preserving the traditional power values in the society, whereas the former approach focuses mostly on individual interactions, defined by the culture and capable of changing.

Table 2

The Levels of the Power Distance Reduction Tendency Manifestation

The level	Manifestations of the tendency
Cognitive	Identification with the more powerful other;
	Sympathy for a more powerful other;
	The idea that one is very well able to do the more powerful person's job;
	Smaller difference in perceived abilities between self and the more powerful other.
Behavioral	Competition not with the colleagues, but with the employer;
	Attempts to take over of the position of the person having more power;
	Actual take over of the position of the person having more power.

Power distance is presented as influencing five major spheres of international business communication:

1. Team interaction is one such sphere, as Rigby (1987) stated that "participants from high PD backgrounds are unlikely to work well in team development exercises requiring face-to-face openness, frankness, and feedback concerning the impact of their own or others' behavior on the group" (p. 67).

2. Another sphere influenced by power distance is the "dependence" relationship between superiors and subordinates (Goodman, 1995, p. 39). In high PD cultures the superiors are being trusted simply on the basis of their position and not on how correctly

they responded to a problem (Victor, 1992, p. 178).

3. PD also influences the negotiation process. When negotiating in high power distance countries, companies find it important to send representatives with titles equivalent to it or higher than those of their bargaining partners (Adler, 1991).

4. PD influences the stress level in the working setting (Jex, 2002)

5. The collegial atmosphere on the managerial level is also highly affected by power distance perceptions (Matsumoto, 2000).

As we see, understanding such influences is very useful for developing business relations with foreign partners. Various quantitative and qualitative studies have been undertaken to better understand national cultural differences (e.g., Hall, 1976; Hofstede, 1984; Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 2000). These studies have been successful in widening awareness of the influence of culture on relationships, performance, and effectiveness within organizations.

Group dynamics within a multicultural and global context have also been explored for some time, often in the context of studies on management and human resources (Adler, 1991; Black, 1993; Hofstede, 1991). In some of these studies, the influence of culture on organizations was studied primarily in terms of the entire organization upon individuals working within the organization.

Power distance was never studied in Russia or the Soviet Union. Although research was conducted in geographically close countries (see Tables 3 and 4), such as: Finland, India, Turkey, and Iran. Their studies do not provide the necessary information for modern Russia, for the cultural and historical traditions of central Russians are far too different from those of the Finns, Indians, Turks, and Iranians and are hard to compare.

Table 3

High Power Distance Countries According to the Hofstede's Scale

Score/rank	Country or region	Power Distance Index Score
1	Malaysia	104
2/3	Guatemala and Panama	95
4	Philippines	94
5/6	Mexico and Venezuela	81
7	Arab Countries	80
8/9	Equador and Indonesia	78
10/11	India and West Africa	77
12	Yugoslavia (former)	76
14	Brazil	69
15/16	France and Hong Kong	68
17	Columbia	67
20	Belgium	65

Lack of empirical data leaves important questions unanswered. The information from such questions would shed light on important aspects of international business communication.

Previous investigators of power distance have studied Western European, Asian, and Northern and Latin American regions. According to the classical division into "low"

Table 4

Medium and Low Power Distance Countries According to the Hofstede's Scale

Score/rank	Country or region	Power Distance Index Score
24/25	Chile and Portugal	63
26	Uruguay	61
27/28	Greece and South Korea	60
31	Spain	57
33	Japan	54
34	Italy	50
35/36	Argentina and South Africa	49
38	USA	40
39	Canada	39
40	The Netherlands	38
42/44	Germany and Great Britain	35
47/48	Norway and Sweden	31
52	Israel	13

and "high" power distance (Hofstede, 1984), 40 nations were rank-ordered on a 100-point scale. Some countries were characterized as having a high power distance index (Table 3), some as having a low power distance index (Table 4), and many others as being somewhere in between (see definition in Appendix A).

Therefore in small power distance countries such as Sweden or Germany, the dependence relationship between bosses and subordinates are limited. People in those countries relate to one another readily and do not have a great fear of contradicting a superior. Professionals in small power distance countries prefer relationships that are consultive or interdependent. Countries with high power distance scores such as Arab and Hispanic countries, as well as France, show a high degree of dependence.

Power distance can be predicted based on a number of objective geographical, historical, economical, and other factors (Table 5). So, the geographical or environmental factors may be manifested by greater vegetation, climate characteristics, and so forth; the population factor is determined by the carrying capacity of the area (e.g., How many people can be supported without famine?); the technological factor potentially means ability to change the environment, and so forth. Such determinants may play an important role in the way an area of the world develops. This way, climate and physical environment have an impact on the way people think of themselves, and thus affects their behavior.

In practice the concept of power distance (or inequality) also occurs within countries according to the social class, education level, and occupation of their inhabitants. Table 6 shows some important practical contrasts between small and large power distance societies. Here, the concept of power distance translates into a management or communication styles known (Goodman, 1995) as Theory X and Theory Z. Hierarchical cultures, represented by Theory X generally have high power distance and reflect old-style authoritarian leadership and communication behaviors (see large PD column of Table 6). A contemporary management model that values a team-orientation

Table 5

Factors That Predict the Level of Power Distance

PD level	Factors
Low	Moderate to cold climates.
	More need for technology (e.g., fire, etc.)
	Survival of population more dependant on man's intervention with nature.
	Historical: early legislation applied to rulers, one-child inheritance.
	More need for education of the "lower classes" (e.g., literacy, etc.).
	Greater social mobility, strong development of the middle class.
	Greater national wealth.
	Wealth is widely distributed.
	Politics based on system of representation.
	Independent streak–small population.
	Historical: independence, federalism, negotiation.
	Less centralization of political power.
	Changing society–fast acceptance of technology.
	Children learn things their parents never did.
	More questioning of authority in general.
High	Tropical and sub–tropical climates.
	Less reliance on technology.

PD Level	Factors
High	Survival and population growth less dependant on intervention with nature (e.g., food is easy to get, etc).
	Historical: early legislation not applied to rulers, divided inheritance.
	Less need for education of "lower classes."
	Less social mobility, polarized society (rich–poor).
	Less national wealth.
	Wealth concentrated in the hands of a small "elite".
	Political power is concentrated in a small "elite" (military, oligarch, etc.).
	Large population–little resistance to mass "integration."
	Historical: occupation, colonization, imperialism.
	Centralization of political power.
	More static societies.
	Children dependant on parents and elders.
	Less questioning of authority in general.

and collaborative effort is reflected in a Theory Z management style. The small PD column of Table 6 lists characteristics of such leaders.

One should expect conflict if she or he is practicing managing and communicating on democratic or small power distance principles, and where the people in the country

Table 6

Differences Between Low and High Power Distance Cultures That Help to Understand

Personal Interactions at Work

Concept	Low PD	High PD
Inequality	Effort to minimize.	Expected and desired.
Dependence	Interdependence among less and more powerful people.	Less powerful people polarized between dependence and counterdependence.
Education	More educated people hold less authoritarian values	All people hold more or less authoritarian values.
Hierarchy	Roles established for convenience	Existential inequality
Centralization	Decentralization is popular.	Centralization is popular.
Salary range	Narrow between top and bottom of the organization.	Wide between top and bottom of the organization.
Subordinates	Expect to be consulted.	Expect to be told what to do.
Ideal boss	A resourceful democrat.	A benevolent autocrat or father.
Privileges	Frowned upon	Expected and popular for managers.

this person is acting in are used to a large power distance between bosses and

subordinates. In this case, as Goodman (1995) suggested, the practitioner should avoid

conflict by understanding the concept authority and how it is manifested in daily behavior

through power distance. In general, one needs to remember that power distance is a measure of internal thoughts–what people thing of others in their own society–and is not a measure of tolerance to outside races, religions, and so forth.

Criticisms of the Initial Research on Power Distance

and Elaboration of This Concept

Investigators of recent studies on PD brought up the issue of uniqueness of certain cultures. Such researchers suggested that though the Hofstede Power Distance theory is extremely important for the understanding of crosscultural communication, it cannot be applied universally to all cultures. To investigate this possibility further, Michael Bond and his colleagues, in collaboration with Hofstede (Hofstede, 1984; Hofstede & Bond, 1988), have studied the work-related values and psychological characteristics of workers and organizations in Asian countries (mostly in the "five dragons" of Asia: Japan, Hong Kong, Korea, Taiwan, and China). Consequently, Hofstede later added one more dimension (the fifth) to his system, where he tried to incorporate the "Confucian dynamism" paradigm. This paradigm helped to describe Asian specific cultural features. So, many of the principles and values found to be important to Asian companies were thought to be rooted in Confucian thought and principles.

Other researchers have been more critical in their review of the Hofstede model (Alvesson & Billing, 1991; Cray & Mallory, 1998; Lytle, Brett, Barness, Tinsley, & Jansen, 1995; McSweeney, 2002; Robinson, 1983; Triandis, 1982). They noted that the major methodological limitations included the following:

1. The data were collected between 1967 and 1971. Geert Hofstede used only

theseold data in working on new studies. Also, some of the countries mentioned in the research do not exist anymore (Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, for instance). The more recent publications (Hofstede & Bond, 1988) were based only on elaboration of data collected by Hofstede in the 1970s in IBM.

2. The data were collected in only one company (in all countries), IBM, and the researcher suggested that workers of this corporation could not be representative of the entire nation/culture.

3. The majority of IBM workers (at least at the period of data collection) were white men. This, again, causes doubts about how plausible the generalizations are from such a sample.

4. National heterogeneity was overlooked. The types of *cultures* got their names from their *countries*, which created a situation, when *one* culture (let's say, the predominant, or "title" nation) defined the features for all the nations populating this or that country. An example of the former Yugoslavia suggests that we should imply the *same* cultural features to Serbia, Croatia, Kosovo, and Bosnia. Or one can look at the situation with Hong Kong and China, when the data were collected among IBM workers in Hong Kong. After the [re]integration of Hong Kong into China, are we to believe that what was measured in Hong Kong is also true for the entire Chinese nation?

These are the major weaknesses in the previous research. However, I must credit the investigator for beginning the research in this area, which brought up a whole layer of unstudied but very crucial issues. Still the ideas of major dimensions influencing intercultural relationships remain of vital importance for international business, and better research designs and inference will improve our understanding of this issue. For

example, Trompenaars (1997) and Smith, Dugan, and Trompenaars (1996) elaborated on

Hofstede's research and argued that Hofstede's original IC (Individualism-Collectivism)

and PD dimensions might be better described as representing different orientations to

continuity in group membership (loyal vs. utilitarian involvement) and toward obligations

in social relationships (conservative vs. egalitarian commitment).

Recently, some research was done on dimensions other than those proposed by

Hofstede. Furnham, Bond, Heaven, and Hilton (1993), for example, they measured

Protestant work ethic. Scores for the countries were highly positively correlated with

Hofstede's dimension of power distance, and negatively correlated with individualism.

In general, the findings from recent research suggest that though Hofstede's

studies had a number of significant methodological weaknesses, they may be appropriate

for describing certain differences in cultural values across the countries. In addition, a

fifth dimension, noted above–Confucian dynamism–may be especially important for

Asian companies and cultures. Possibly, the sixth dimension could be pointed out for the

countries influenced by the Protestantism movements. Other dimensions may be

important for understanding cultural differences in the individual.

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Factors that Influenced Development of

Russian National Character

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Though no reports have been located of power distance perceptions in Russia or

the USSR, other research has been conducted from historical, philosophical, and cultural

perspectives, which touched the issues of peculiarities of Russian national character,

leadership style, and organizational practices (Adomeit, 1995; Kets de Vries, 2000;

Lossky, 1990; Yadov, 2002; Zdravomyslov, 2002). These researchers primarily addressed the cultural and philosophical nature of the Russian character. Others (Froyanov, 2001; Kliuchevskiy, 1993; Kostomarov, 1995) studied the historical and cultural aspects of development of Russian national character. Kostomarov and Kliuchevskiy especially pointed out the role of religion in this process. Froyanov, who belongs more to the Soviet and new Russian historical tradition (as compared to the Tsarist-Imperial approaches of Kostomarov and Kliuchevsky), did not deny the big role of Russian Orthodoxy on the Russian nation. However, he emphasized the historical side of the problem. The above-named researchers suggested a number of factors as the ones that play the major role in development of Russian National Character. These factors included: (a) religion; (b) geographical location and climate of Russia; (c) "obshchina" – the collectivist legacy; (d) generation.

The Religious Factor and Russian Character

The ancient Byzantine tradition as a view on the theocratic nature of power came to Russia together with the Orthodox branch of Christianity. Constantinople shared with the Moscow Orthodoxy its way of power perceptions together with the organizational, communal, and church practices. This tradition became much stronger after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, when the Great Prince of Russia, Ioann III, proclaimed Moscow as "The Third Rome." This proclamation meant that the first Rome had fallen to the Roman-Catholic heresy; the second Rome, Constantinople, was conquered by Muslims; and only the third Rome, Moscow, would stand and there would be no other.

As Russian historians (Froyanov, 2001; Kliuchevsky, 1993; Kostomarov, 1995) noted, these ideas of ancient heritage were not only important for the religious status of Russia (which received the status of Patriarchy relatively soon after that), but also in inheriting the whole Byzantine tradition of authority-related attitudes. The unarguable power of the Czar and little, if any, respect to individuals, often considering them as a serf, are consistent with the present power perceptions in Russia. The same Byzantine tradition, by the way, defined the views on the role of women in Russia–as the subordinate companions to the men, whose "natural calling" was to devote herself to family and motherhood (Gorbachev, 1987).

Geographical Factor

Other Russian researchers emphasized the influence of geographical and climate factors that affected authoritarian aspirations of the Russian nation (Gumiliov, 1993a; Matiunina & Semionov, 2002). Gumiliov's "ethnospheric" theory focused on weather-climate conditions that influenced the ethnopsychological type of behavior of Russians–that is, the character of interaction patterns, communication practices, and stereotypes. Kliuchevskiy (1993) pointed that Russians got used to hard work, which had to be finished in a small period of time because of the short summer after which came a long period of lazy winter. Kliuchevskiy and Gumiliov reported that no other nation in Europe could work so intensively, but "also never find a habit of smooth, quiet pace of work and workplace relationships in Russia as it is in other European countries" (Kliuchevskiy, p. 279).

Another reason for such work attitudes was discussed by Kuchma (2003) and

Fedotov (1997), who suggest the division of cultures into "intensive" and "extensive" according to their type of development. While intensive cultures, geographically and politically (by strong neighbors) limited to a small territory, have to focus on intensive, more careful and accurate way of work on their area; extensive cultures moved from one place to another as the soil lost its fertility–for better land and for the new territories–the ones that do not belong to anybody. The first (intensive) type of development was traditional for the Western cultures, which created their increased attention to the quality of land, property, and curiosity for the newer technologies. This work attitude was, as the authors say, "a dull, patient, responsible and long labor." The second (extensive) culture was more typical for the Eastern Slavs—explorers in their hearts, longing for new horizons and unstudied areas, impatient, and fulfilling their tasks very fast.

Matiunina and Semionov (2002) also pointed out the "pulse"-type of the Russian authorities' behavior. This behavior pattern originates from massive, but very rare, revolts of Russian peasants against their owners; the slogan of the serfs was "for the good Zaar" (p. 258), which demonstrated the peasants' hope for the protection of a supreme leader. Still, the authors emphasized that though such revolts were comparatively infrequent, they were characterized by cruel acts of the mob. The same behavior, however, was typical for the elite, too, Yanov (1991) reported. The ups and downs of active economic, political, and social reform activity with energetic modernization were followed by periods of deep "sleep" (Kostomarov, 1995).

Matiunina and Semionov (2002) continued with the assumption that the geographical specifics of Russia, with its vast territories which were hard to work on, caused peasants (the largest social class in Russia till the end of 19th century) to move

often. This pattern, in turn, was followed by certain instability in the left areas, which caused the nobility to try and localize the peasants and tie them to the previous area. This practice was a predecessor of a very autocratic tradition in Russian governance, which with time transferred into serfdom.

The Collectivistic Factor and the
Legacy of "Obshchina"

The existence of serfdom till 1861 played its role in forming authority perceptions in Russia. The unique role of the rural "obschina" (community) and its impact on its members (with strict control but also help from the community members) played a big role in development of power perceptions of Russians. "Obshchina" has influenced the way Russians look at relationships (Kuchma, 2003). They favor the collectivist orientation towards life—an orientation that subordinates individual interests to those of the group. In the agricultural village commune of the old times, with people dependent on each other for survival, the communal good always took priority over individual needs and rights. Furthermore, each person had to make his/her own contribution to the common good. And the values of obshchina did not hesitate to intervene as needed in the lives of its members to ensure both harmony and the common good.

As Kets de Vries (2000) noted, such communal mind-set in contemporary Russia shows itself in a certain "we" consciousness that dominates the social system. The collective will is more important than the will of any individual. The legacy of obshchina is also revealed in Russian's atmosphere of mutual dependence, in which the group provides emotional support and moral guidance for its individuals.

Later Soviet authoritarian practices also influenced power perceptions of Russians. Kets de Vries (2000), Lossky (1990), Mead (1951), Mehnert (1962), and Yadov (2002) explored democratic centralism (one of the most important Soviet features) as a style of directing organizations in the context of a historic Russian desire for strong leadership. Under democratic centralism, all members participated in discussions of issues and policies, and all members cast a vote for leadership. After the leader was put in place, however, opposition was not permitted. The leader was given the legitimacy to carry out his/her chosen policies in an autocratic manner.

In this respect, the works of Granick (1962) and Lawrence and Viachoutsicos (1990) are especially interesting, for their investigators presented an in-depth field-research project in Soviet factories. For example, Lawrence and Viachoutsicos stated that as of 1990, the Soviets had "not been able to devise a system that effectively combines central planning with local decision-making and initiative" (p. 253). The authors emphasized that this problem will become increasingly acute as the Soviet economy continues to grow more complex.

The Generation Factor

Researchers recently examined differences in mind-set between the younger and the older generations (Kets de Vries, 2000; Smith, 1990), but still very few works address this issue. Even in such studies, this problem of mind-set differences is secondary. These authors pointed out two major groups of people who have been separated by a significant generation gap (the westernized younger and the Soviet-oriented older generations). The process of adjustment to the new Russian society will probably be

much easier for the younger generation than for those Russians who were conditioned to the old Soviet practices over many years under the Communist regime.

While some authors (mostly Western; for example, Kets de Vries, 2000) have suggested that modern Russian methods of decision-making need to be reframed from the above-mentioned democratic centralism into true participatory management, other researchers emphasize the uniqueness of the Russian culture (Babenko, 2002; Fedotova, 1997; Lossky, 1990; Yadov, 2002), which absorbed some European features but needs to keep its own traditions. Yadov suggested that Russian society belongs to its own type of civilization, different from the Western European. The author analyzed the socio-transformational processes in different regions of the world, pointed out significant civilizational variation among the regions, and suggested the idea of the uniqueness of Russian transformations both in the past and in future. He continued with a comparison of the civil society in Russia and major Western civilizations—Europe and North America (the US and Canada). Both Yadov and Babenko noted that in contrast with Europe and North America, Russians didn't manage to form a civil society that is responsible for its actions. They conclude that because of this the state still dominates in all social and economic changes. This discussion represents the old argument between Slavophiles and Westerners about the directions of reforms in Russia. That is, which should Russia follow in its development—the Western or its own "Slavic" way?

The Three Dimensions of Power Distance

Differences between private and public and new (postreform) versus old (prereform) companies, as well as varying perceptions of gender roles and gender

stereotypes influence overall attitudes towards power. These issues form three major dimensions of power distance: ownership, time/generation, and gender. These dimensions will now be studied in greater detail.

Private Versus Public (The "Ownership" Dimension)
Organizations and Their Management Styles

A number of studies of "Western" literature compare private and public organizations (Bozeman & Bretschneider, 1994; DeSantis & Durst, 1996; Pugh, Hickson, & Hinings, 1969; Rainey & Bozeman, 2000; Steel & Warner, 1990). Most of the authors pointed out such important peculiarities as a higher level of formalization and lack of autonomy in public settings, as well as certain general patterns in employee work motives and rewards in different types of organizations. Some researchers added other factors that are differently expressed in different types of organizations (depending on their ownership type).

Rainey and Bozeman (2000) pointed out "interesting anomalies" (p. 451) in comparison of public and private organizations—goal complexity and ambiguity. The authors suggested that public agencies have greater goal complexity and ambiguity than business firms. Bozeman and Bretschneider (1994) also studied structural characteristics of public ad private organizations, and found that public agencies have particularly high levels of rules and red tape. Researchers asked public and private managers to estimate the time required to complete important administrative functions like hiring and purchasing equipment and found that public managers reported much longer times to complete some of the important functions. They discovered that public organizations show higher levels of formalization and centralization than private organizations show.

However, not all formalizations are different in different company types. Pugh et al. (1969), as well as Rainey and Bozeman suggest that public and private organizations differ more strongly on formalization of personnel procedures, purchasing processes, and other administrative procedures that are regulated or overseen by central administrative agencies. Many of the recent studies (DeSantis & Durst, 1996; Steel & Warner, 1990) focused on work satisfaction and report lower work satisfaction on the part of people in the public agencies. The authors suggest that some frustrations in the public sector were caused by such factors as: lack of autonomy in some work setting due to rules and political interventions and promotion policies for career civil servants who have reached high levels in civil service positions and cannot go higher without a political appointment.

The differences between private and public settings take on added meaning in the context of Russia's organizational culture. The whole history of the country was characterized by a very strong state power and weak private institutions. Rapid development of the private sector started in the 19th century—the epoch of the industrial revolution in Russia (Froyanov, 2001; Hosking, 2001). After 70 years of Soviet nationalization, the weak seedlings of the private sector started to reappear (in the 1990s), and this issue got special interest. The "new Russian" (see key terms section) perspective (Smith, 1990) became a significant part of the young Russian economy, management, approach, and leadership style. The important issue to consider here is the longtime aspiration of Russians towards egalitarianism (as was discussed previously within the "obshchina" mentality). As the famous Russian philosopher, Berdiayev (1990), emphasized: "The interests of distribution and egalitarianism always predominated over

those of production and creativity in the minds and emotions of the Russian

intelligentsia." This saying was especially true for the old (pre-Revolutionary) Russian

and later Soviet public sector. Russians did respect authority but did not seem to be

intimidated by it when it would come to equality and fairness of superiors' decisions. As

Richmond (1992) noted (referring to the old Soviet public workplace practices), Russians

regarded themselves as coequal with others and were not shy about speaking up in public

or asserting themselves in meetings.

As such, while there is a bit of individualism in many Russians, the

entrepreneurial spirit of the private owner, businessman, risk taker runs counter to

Russian egalitarianism. Most Russians, it is often said, would rather bring other people

down to their level than get into risk taking that might elevate them (a mentality known

as *uravnilovka* —"leveling"). One of the Russian proverbs states that the tallest blade of

grass will be the first to be cut. Such fear of losing whatever you already have just

because you have more of it is one of the determinants of such egalitarianism.

The persistence of the egalitarian ethic was explained by Shalagin (1990):

"psychologically, people in the USSR aren't ready for even the concept of private

ownership…. There is a strong desire among Soviet citizens to deprive other people of

their riches and to divide them among the population" (p. 2). The idea of tying reward to

performance was also alien during the Soviet times. As Cappelli (1990), who traveled to

the Soviet Union, reported:

> Some managers we spoke to were prepared to agree that rewards for
> employees might vary with the performance of the enterprises, but none
> felt that an individual's performance should influence his or her
> compensation. Indeed, the very notion that individual initiative is
> important is out of step with Soviet norms. (p. 2)

Since 1990, many things have changed, especially in the private sector, but still this situation may create problems for foreign employers. How will their businesses be viewed by Russians? How will their Russian employees react when working under a much less egalitarian perspective of the Westerners towards rewards and incentives policies? And, as a result, how eager will employees be to speak up and display disagreement with a superior? These issues are central in understanding power distance perceptions in different (private/public) sectors. Answering these questions will help to shape the personnel policies, work satisfaction, motivation, valuation of rewards, work outcomes, as well as the whole organizational structure (hierarchy, decision-making process, rules and regulations, etc.). Unfortunately, these aspects of modern business life in Russia are understudied.

The Time/Generational Dimension
of the Power Perceptions

The differences between "new" and "old" also were not covered enough in the literature studying Russia (both Western and Russian). The question of "what is better"– old democratic centralism or new "wild East" (Kets de Vries, 2000)–is a serious one. The process of unlearning (the process of replacing the old authoritarian mentality with a dramatically different mind-set) seems to be crucial in post-Soviet Russia. This also deals with the resistance among older Russians to embark on real change, and to mourn for the past.

"The slower you go, the further you'll get" is a Russian proverb, and it describes a lot of the Russian mentality. Living in a country whose leaders claimed was socialist, may Westerners assume Russians to be radicals and challengers of the established order.

In reality, as Richmond (1992) noted, Russians are more likely to be cautious and
conservative defenders of the status quo. Their severe climate conditions, dramatic
history (as mentioned earlier–70 years of nationalization, late industrial revolution, strong
state power institutions, etc.), and skeptical outlook on life have caused Russians to value
stability, security, social order, predictability, and to avoid risk. The tried and tested is
preferred over the new and unknown and with good reason.

Russians' fear of the new and risky has also been displayed in their attitude
toward so-called "new Russians" or the nouveau riches. In 1991 a public opinion poll by
the *Times Mirror Center for The People & The Press* (Attitudes that bear on economic
reform in the USSR, a preliminary report) showed that most Russians believed that the
people who run private companies have a bad effect on the way things are going in the
country (stealing Soviet nation's wealth). Moreover, 45% of the respondents thought the
state should limit profits, and 46% thought that people who get ahead, did so at the
expense of others. Only 37% saw success as a consequence of some people having more
ability than others. Indeed, a large number of sarcastic jokes in Russian folklore directed
towards "new Russians" (О новых русских, 2002) illustrate a primitive, rude, asocial but
rich, authoritarian, and aggressive individual, who is focused solely on his own profit and
purposes.

However, many things changed during the last decade and from the social realities
of the late 1980s to early 1990s (with the "new Russian" philosophy), Russia stepped into
a new era of business relationship and work ethic. Findings from recent studies (Verlin,
2002) have shown a transition of Russian society towards traditionally Western values–
from the "new Russian" mentality to a so-called "Russian protestant" (see key terms

section) psychology, valuing stability, initiative, and reasonable risk. What are the differences in communication strategies of these businessmen types ("old" Soviet vs. "new," representing "new Russian" or "Russian Protestant"–for definitions see Key Words section)? How can such differences influence decision making, negotiating, and workplace relationships? How do these differences influence people's leaders/power perceptions?

These issues are central in understanding power distance perceptions in different (new/old) settings. Answering these questions will help to understand and to better the work atmosphere, as well as influence the work outcomes in general. These aspects of modern business life in Russia are very new to the researchers and are understudied.

The Gender Dimension

Another serious issue to consider while studying power perceptions in the workplace environment is gender relations and possible stereotypes that may influence the management process. Many sociologists and anthropologists (Chancer, 1997; Deaux, 1999; Doyle, 1985; Lips, 1999; Rhode, 1997) explain differences in gender roles as being the product of various cultural influences. Deaux and Doyle state that parents, the media, teachers, and peer groups all contribute to a person's understanding of gender roles. They continue by emphasizing that these differences are even more prominent in certain nations and cultures. The expectations of communication are different in almost any culture. These differences depend on whether one is dealing with the person of the same or an opposite gender. As Victor (1992) added, in virtually every culture, men and women are brought up according to different standards. Men and women are taught to

communicate differently and use distinct types of phrasing and language. As a matter of

fact, in different cultures and languages the actual form of the words that the men use

differs from that used by women (Rubin, Provenzano, & Luria, 1974). The majority of

the world's languages reinforce gender distinctions through gender-linked differences in

word construction. For example, the verbs, nouns and adjectives change their endings

according to the gender of the subject of the phrase in Russian language. Pronouns have

different forms–depending on the gender of a subject; many of the nouns do not even

have a feminine form in the Russian language–those are, ironically, the words that were

adopted to Russian from other European languages (mostly English, French, and

German). Even English,–which is relatively genderless compared to many other

languages,—distinguishes between male and female in the third person singular.

Unsurprisingly, being taught to communicate in different ways (Brannon, 1999), results

in different types of gender relationships in the workplace.

For a long time gender differences were often equated with women's

subordination or inadequacy. Ironically, those studying power and gender relations

mostly relied on theories of power that were not specifically developed to account for

female/male power relations. In some cases, the theorists of power (as Foucault,

mentioned in the problem statement section of this dissertation) appeared to be blind to

women's experience. As a consequence, the application of socio-philosophical theories

of power to research problems focused on gender has been problematic, requiring a

cautious and critical approach. I think, that the analysis of the meaning of power and

power distance should include women's experience within its scope, within their sense of

self. The scope includes their gender roles and masculinization/feminization of their own

behavior, as well as historical flow of gender views towards themselves, men, and the country in general (which, in turn, was very often humanized in Russian culture).

However, it is crucial to remember here an important aspect of one's sense of self–one's subjectivity in self-concept. As Henriques, Hollway, Urwin, Venn, and Walkerdine (1984) have said:

> Subjectivity is produced through discourses that are multiple, possibly contradictory, and unstable. This is to say that whatever we experience of our own Internal states psychologically is refracted through the social scenes in which we are participating. (Henriques et al. 1984, p. 6)

The author continues that when studying the relation of this idea to gender issues, "one cannot know in the depth of one's being that one is a male or female prior to being fitted into the existing societally determined codes of being" (p. 6).

Here we return to the idea of gendered subjectivities that, as noted earlier, are constituted through power relations and power distance perceptions (again, subjectively). Interestingly, it seems that the maintenance of gender inequalities can be achieved through the actions of individuals who choose to act in ways that reproduce male domination. This is true to the behavioral patterns of both men and women, especially in cases when women end up choosing a "masculine" type of behavior in order to fit in the powered group. Such instances can be seen in Western cultures and I suspect are equally "popular" in modern Russian business and political culture. To study this issue further, one needs to investigate the historical and cultural causes and the nature of gender subjectivities in behavior of Russians.

The major Russian historians and culturologists (Froyanov, 2001; Gumiliov, 1993a, 1993b; Kliuchevskiy, 1993), as well as American researchers (Ashwin, 2000;

Kay, 2000; Richmond, 1992), pointed out a peculiar attitude of Russians towards their country, uniting the homeland, femininity, and motherhood into one symbolic construct: Mother Russia. Throughout the thousand years' history in this motherland, women were strong, hard working, nurturing, longsuffering, and proud of their ability to be so. This position of women never seemed to change dramatically.

In fact, Kay (2000) rejected the widely assumed belief that the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, with all its radical changes in economic, political, and social life, automatically brought similarly radical changes in the sphere of gender equality. Such changes were attempted, but not all of them actually took place. So, given that gender was always a key organizing principle of the Soviet system (Ashwin, 2000), in the immediate postrevolutionary period, the Communist Party attempted to transform traditional patterns of gender relations in order to consolidate its rule. "The disruption of the existing gender system was both a potent symbol of the triumph of the new regime and a means of undermining the social foundations of the old order" (Ashwin, p. 1). Later, as the regime strengthened its position, gender became the basis on which the duties of citizens to the new state were defined: men and women had distinctive roles to play in the building of communism. In the case of women, their role was defined as worker-mothers who had a duty to work, to produce future generations of workers, as well as to oversee the running of the household (Ashwin). In return, they were to receive "protection" from the state in their capacity as mothers, as well as independence through their access to paid work. Men, meanwhile, had a narrower, but higher status role to play. They were to serve as leaders, managers, soldiers, and workers—in effect, they were to manage and build the communist system.

Richmond (1992) also noted that the Bolsheviks professed to liberate women and give them full equality under law unequaled anywhere else in the world. On this point, Soviet law was explicit. Article 35 of the 1977 Constitution declared: "Women and men have equal rights in the USSR... ensured by according women equal access with men to education and vocational and professional training, equal opportunities in employment, remuneration and promotion, and in social and political, and cultural activity" (Constitution (fundamental law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 1977). In practice, women were recognized, but unrewarded. A state that claimed to have given all power to the people did in fact give power to only a few, and almost all of them have been men.

Nowadays, full gender equality in the work force is found only in the lowest paying jobs; women work as members of construction crews, farm laborers, street sweepers, and snow shovelers (Richmond, 1992). Michael Gorbachev (1987) said it was imperative to more actively involve women in the management of the economy, cultural development, and public life, and to promote them to administrative posts. However, when discussing problems caused by weakened family ties, Gorbachev noted that heated debates are being held "...about the question of what we should do to make it possible for women to return to their purely womanly mission" (p. 116). Gorbachev emphasized that the major role of women in society is the motherhood role.

So, can a woman on a managerial position comply with such "purely womanly mission" in the eyes of Russian employers? How do Russian business partners or employees treat their female superiors? How can an untraditional role of a woman-manager affect the work-related environment?

These questions are central in understanding the current connection between power relations/power distance and gender. The comparatively recent entry of women into the work force in Europe, India, East Asia, and the Americas has made gender differences in communication important to businesspeople. Williams and Best (1982) studied characteristics assigned to men or to women on the basis of gender in 29 countries and found that people in each country attached the same traits to the same gender. Regardless of cultural differences, Williams and Best found that the respondents associated men with such attributes as "adventurous," "dominant," "forceful," "independent," and "strong-willed," while they associated women with such qualities as "emotional," "sentimental," "submissive," and "superstitious." Even though the study did not include Russia, I suspect that this country will not be an exception to the rules. Another question is–to what extent Russians associate these gender attributes to themselves, and how strongly members of Russian culture allow these gender stereotypes to affect behavior and communication at the workplace.

Recent Changes in Russia and Its Attractiveness
to Foreign Business

Economic and political decay of the Soviet block took hold in the late 1970s, exacerbating social and nationalist tensions, which led to the disintegration of the Warsaw Treaty Organization (June, 1991) and of the Soviet Union in December, 1991. Russia emerged as one of the 15 newly independent former Soviet republics. Central planning, public corruption, private informal marketing, and economic stagnation (and later fall) were only some of the serious problems that the young state had to face. Eight

years of the first Russian president's (Boris Yeltsin) rule brought even more troubles to the dying economy. In August 1998, the collapse of the government's macroeconomics policies destroyed what remained of the cabinet authority and hope of common Russians for any fast positive change in their country's economy.

However, Yeltsin's resignation in December 31, 1999, and the presidential elections of March 2000 brought to power a young reformer, Vladimir Putin, unknown to the majority of Russians a year before elections. Putin's career background was dominated by service in the KGB and its successor organization, in the St. Petersburg city government, and later as the last primeminister (since September, 1999) in the long line of Yeltsin's perturbations of the cabinet.

The new president started extensive economic reforms, and for the past 3 years Russia has been enjoying an average economic growth of 6.5%, which has achieved 7.5% percent in the year of 2003. While some attribute Russia's growth to devaluation and recovery from crisis, others reported that "compared with precrisis January 1998, Russia has seen a productivity boom that makes US productivity growth appear lethargic" (Aslund & Boone, 2002). Russia has become more and more attractive to foreign business (Belton, 2002). Many American and Western European companies are opening branches in Russia (Kets de Vries, 2000).

Conclusions to the Review of Literature

The tendency of business and industry to become increasingly global has grown significantly within the last decades. New markets of "young economies" of the former Soviet Union countries attract more attention from American and western European

businesses since the communist block collapse in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Doing business in a foreign country brings many challenges, and differences in power distance perceptions of the local employees can create one of the serious problems in the negotiation and management processes.

Though findings from previous research did not specifically focus on the power distance aspect of the workplace environment in Russia, a number of ethnohistorical, sociological, and cultural studies addressed the related areas (e.g., authoritarianism, work values). The major findings indicated that there are historical and cultural predispositions of Russians to strong leadership (to the extent of authoritarianism at times), and there is lack of tradition for collegial, democratic decisionmaking and intensive work habit.

However, the differences between private and public settings can be significant in terms of the level of formalization and autonomy at the workplace. The new (postreform) versus old (predemocratic changes) management patterns create another possible variation of the power distance perception in the workplace environment. Differences in perceptions of gender roles and gender stereotypes also play a major role in defining the workplace environment. The influence of all of the above-mentioned factors (measuring the level of liberal/democratic management style as a function of public versus private workplace environment, "new" versus "traditional" work settings (generational perceptions, gender relationships) on the power distance dynamics in Russia seems to be most important in understanding power attitudes in post-Soviet Russia. Focusing on these three aspects (ownership, time/generation, and gender) in my study means opening up power distance from the major perspectives it is displayed in and, therefore, directing this research.

THE STUDY

Purpose and Objectives

The general purpose of this research is to study people's experiences with power

in the work place in Central Russia. The study addressed the following research

questions. The broad question is: How do people experience power in the workplace

(depending on the three major dimensions in identifying PD: time/age, ownership, and

gender)? The more specific research questions are:

1. How do people experience leadership?

2. How do employees handle conflict with their superior?

3. How do people describe the ideal and actual superior figure?

These questions were addressed with an interest in understanding differences across the

three major dimensions (ownership, time, and gender of both employee and employer).

The first two of these dimensions focus on variations in four types of organizations

(public, private, prereform, postreform) and study to what extent certain features are

universal or specific. The organizations were selected based on two (time and

ownership) of the three studied major dimensions that affect power distance most. The

third dimension referred more to the individual characteristics of the respondents and

their superiors (gender). Additionally, age characteristics were studied along with the

organizational "time" dimension. A phenomenological approach is particularly suitable

to address the above-mentioned questions, because it illuminates the lived experiences of

people experiencing the phenomenon and allows the investigator to focus on emergent

themes. The details about this approach and its comparison to other theoretical frameworks are given further in the text of this dissertation.

Reflections on the Researcher's Frame of Reference

To interpret this research and its findings it is important for the reader to understand certain background information of the author–the issues that affect my views towards the subject area. When I first began to interact with Americans in the late 1980s to early 1990s, I noticed the inability of Russians and Americans to understand certain patterns in each other's behavior. This led me to wonder why Russians are in some ways so similar to Americans and in others so different. As I talked to some American businessmen who have Russian employees, I realized how much more complicated it may be for an American (or other "Western tradition" people) to conduct business in my country when surrounded by hundreds of differences caused by historical, cultural, and communication differences.

I believe that differences in power perceptions in post-Soviet Russia need to be studied across three major dimensions: time/generation, ownership, and gender. The time dimension will focus on the old Soviet style of companies versus the new, post-Soviet management style of companies. The ownership dimension will address differences between public and privately owned companies. The gender dimension will address the attitudes and expectations of employees or employers towards their superiors, subordinates, or colleagues across all previous Hofstede dimensions and be dependent upon the gender of their manager/subordinate/partner.

For example, if we take the time dimension, one should anticipate that serious differences between Russian and American attitudes toward risk and change may cause certain problems in the openness of negotiations and in the general team interaction processes. Some of the previous research has proved that risk-taking abilities can be dependent on the traditionalism of the company's management and employees (Richmond, 1992). These problems can happen when Russian subordinates may avoid disagreements with their American superiors, while not believing in the success of the project or a plan. Americans, as a nation of risk takers, will definitely have their patience tested by Russian caution. Of course, I understand that the risk taking of Americans might be an overgeneralization and recognize the limits of these simple stereotypes, but there may be some value to these beliefs. Most Americans are descendants of immigrants who dared to leave the known of the Old World for the unknown of the New. In America, risk takers have the opportunity to succeed or to fail in their attempts. Indeed, some researchers (Richmond) emphasize that risk is the quintessence of a market economy. And while the opportunities of the New World, its social mobility, and stability, have helped Americans to accentuate the positive, for Russians, geography and history have caused them to anticipate the negative.

Understanding the gender dimension will be especially useful for Western women traveling to Russia on business. As Richmond (1992) warned, Russian men will turn on their charm, but their basic attitude toward a female visitor will be patronizing, and the Western woman will have to prove herself to her male counterparts before she will be taken seriously. Knowing such cultural specifics is especially important if she is going to take a managerial position in the company. Initially, as Richmond suggests, her

professional qualifications may be regarded with more skepticism than they would have been in the US.

However, I had experiences that made me doubt that such situations are only Russia specific. Invisibility, as some researchers (Lips, 1999) called this phenomenon, is a universal and frequent problem for female leadership. Studies (LaFrance, Brownell, & Hahn, 1997) show that even when judging everyday verbal interactions, people in the United States (as well as in other countries) find it easier to see men more often than women as causing outcomes of the interaction. I also experienced such situations when I was in the United States.

Originally, I had quite an idealized view towards the US, and although I still believe that America is, indeed, a democratic country, I discovered that it is not as egalitarian as I imagined before. Years ago it happened so that the same assignment was given to one male colleague and me; however, due to some reasons that colleague of mine did not have time to work on our mutual task. However, when we both came to the superior to talk about the results, and even though I did all the work, the superior never asked me a single question about the outcome. He talked only with that male colleague of mine. I was very surprised, and so was my colleague. Having talked with other female employees, I discovered that such things happen very often. I am not sure why I thought of the US as being an egalitarian paradise, but for a long time my preconceptions were that Russia was quite an "uncivilized" country in terms of egalitarianism and democratization. These instances caused my interest in studying gender as one of the influence towards power perceptions.

It was interesting to find out later that other researchers (LaFrance et al., 1997; Lips, 1999) indeed discovered that the gender of participants in the interaction significantly affected respondents' views of who initiated the behaviors. Women acting in mixed-gender pairs were viewed by these respondents as having caused or initiated their own actions less than men.

As for studying the power perception differences in private versus public organizations, the "ownership" dimension can be especially important in terms of understanding the trend of the future of Russian business where private and public sectors will equally attempt to collaborate with foreign business, but the managerial styles will be different in such organizations. These three dimensions seem to create important influences towards the potential Russian-Western business contacts and, therefore, need to be studied.

Taking into account that, as any other person, I have some personal beliefs, attitudes, and prejudices, it is important to delineate expectations from the study. Being a Russian used to make it harder for me to distance myself from the area of my research. I have to admit I had to recall my Ukrainian and Polish roots to help me stay more objective in the preparation stage of this study. Many Russians, and I was not an exception, do believe that they are a unique nation and that they cannot "be understood or measured by any common metric" (as one 19th century Russian poet used to say).

I think that Russia could be placed on the PD scale according to Hofstede's theory (1984), but I feel that this culture is also rather unique (especially due to certain historical reasons–serfdom, Byzantine state system, Soviet practices) and hardly easily fits into a strict Hofstede's scale. However, using Hofstede's phraseology I suspected Russia being

among the "high-middle" PD countries. I also supposed that though the "old" type of

companies is characterized by a rather autocratic "democratic centralism" heritage, this

might be an even more democratic setting than in the "new" companies, resembling more

"the wild West" or, better to say, "the wild East" setting. This is also characteristic of the

private versus public organizations, where private employers tend to have a more

authoritarian leadership style then the "public" ones. However, it is very likely that the

future belongs to the larger private sector. Currently the private sector is characterized by

less democratic features than the public one. As for the gender research component of

the study, the expectation was that the employees will have rather traditional attitudes

towards the role and behavior of male–female employers, with more assertive behavioral

expectations for male superiors and more "soft" behavior expectations of the female

managers. But unless there was evidence supporting or rejecting these assumptions, it

was not appropriate yet to make any judgments. Therefore, I felt that research was

needed that would uncover power distance perceptions in post-Soviet Russia.

Procedures

As noted above, current research examined the following issues with respect to

power distance perceptions: Russian national character, leadership style, organizational

practices, understanding respect, and, in general, power expression and perceptions of

power in Russia, looking at the roots of such situations and giving recommendations for

practitioners and future researchers. A phenomenological theoretical perspective guided

the study.

Theoretical Context of Study Methodology

There are five major traditions of qualitative research. These traditions vary in form, terms, procedures, and focus. Table 7 (adapted from Creswell, 1994, p. 65) presents several dimensions for distinguishing among those five approaches. A phenomenological perspective guided this study, because only this framework allowed me to examine the *meaning of experiences* for individuals. Several characteristics inherent to phenomenology served as a basis for the current study. These characteristics included: conducting research with a broader view than that of traditional empirical, quantitative studies; suspending the researcher's own preconceptions of experiences; experiencing an object through the researcher's own senses; and reporting the meaning individuals ascribe to an experience in a few statements that capture the "essence" (Creswell, 1998; Stewart & Mickunas, 1990).

Based on suggestions of Creswell (1994) and Miles and Huberman (1994), the research questions of the current study were made open-ended and nondirectional. Thus, this research design focuses around a single, broad question and several subquestions, which embrace my a priori categories of time, ownership, and gender. Later "age" emerged as an additional individual characteristic important in understanding experiences of power in the work place. These categories were investigated through the study of people's reactions on conflict situations, disagreement, negotiation and participants' authority conceptions, as well as gender and age stereotypes.

The current research was guided by the notion that participants "must be individuals who have experienced the phenomenon being explored and can articulate

Table 7

Dimensions for Comparing Five Research Traditions of Qualitative Research

Focus	Data collection	Data analysis	Narrative form

Biography

Exploring the life of an individual.	Primarily interviews and documents.	Stories, epiphanies, historical content.	Detailed picture of an individual's life.

Phenomenology

Understanding the essence of experiences about a phenomenon.	Long interviews with up to 10 people.	Statements, meanings, meaning themes, general description of experiences.	Description of the "essence" of the experiences.

Grounded theory

Developing a theory grounded in data from the field.	Interviews with 20 - 30 individuals to "saturate" categories and detail a theory.	Open coding, axial coding, selective coding, conditional matrix.	Theory or theoretical model.

Ethnography

Describing and interpreting a cultural and social group.	Primarily observations and interviews with additional artifacts during extended time in the field (e.g., 6 months to a year).	Description, analysis, interpretation.	Description of the cultural behavior of a group or an individual.

Case Study

Developing an in-depth analysis of a single case or multiple cases.	Multiple sources - documents, archival records, interviews, observations, physical artifacts.	Description, themes, assertion.	In-depth study of a "case" or "cases".

their conscious experiences" (Creswell, 1998, p. 111). In this respect, "criterion" sampling works well (when all individuals studied represent people who have experienced the phenomenon). Thus, participants who met the established criterion (which was experiencing the phenomenon of power distance in the workplace) were selected from various organizations.

For a phenomenological study, the process of collecting data involves primarily in-depth interviews (McCracken, 1988), with as many as 10 or more individuals. Dukes (1984) recommended studying 3 to 10 subjects. For example, the reason for studying a small number of individuals who have experienced the same phenomenon is explained well in a Polkinghorne (1989) study, where the researcher used 10 participants. In the Polkinghorne study the interviews lasted as long as two hours and managed to cover the issues more deeply because the long time of an interview allowed time to probe responses.

Beyond the in-depth interviews, the self-reflection (in the reflexive journal) of the researcher helps to enrich the study (which will help to acknowledge the researcher's bias). Another step to enrich such a study is to gather the information from "depictions of the experience outside the context of the research project" (Creswell, 1998, p. 122). For this study, these depictions were interviews with the field experts (this stage of data collection will be covered further in this text).

Research Paradigm of the Study

Symbolic interactionism, or interactionism for short, is one of the major theoretical perspectives in sociology. This perspective has a long intellectual history,

beginning with Max Weber (1905) and George Mead (1934), both of whom emphasized the *subjective meaning* of human behavior, the social process, and pragmatism. This paradigm was elaborated by Herbert Blumer (1969) who actually was the person to introduce the term "symbolic interactionism" and formulated the most prominent version of the theory. Although there are different types of interactionist thought, I am going to use this paradigm in the sense that concentrates on points of convergence of different approaches to understanding them.

For interactionists, humans are pragmatic actors who continually must adjust their behavior to the actions of other actors. In the case of power distance research, the interactionist would view her participants' behaviors as directly dependent on the behaviors of their colleagues/employees/employers, when an employee, for example, adjusts his/her behavior to the actions of other actors, that is his/her colleagues/employer. Further, standing on the position of symbolic interactionism, we would suppose, that we can adjust to these actions only because we are able to interpret them, that is, to denote them symbolically and treat the actions and those who perform them as symbolic objects. This process of adjustment is aided by our ability to imaginatively rehearse alternative lines of action before we act. The process is further aided by our ability to think about and to react to our own actions and even our selves as symbolic objects. Thus, the interactionist theorist sees humans as active, creative participants who construct their social world, not as passive conforming objects of socialization. And in the case of power distance study, the interactionist would view humans as active participants of the workplace, who engage in the power relationships actively reacting to controversies of interactions and constant change in the everyday situations.

This paradigm guides active, in-depth methods of data collection – with frequent communication with participants of the study. Close contact is necessary for understanding the meaning of actions, the definition of the situation itself, and the maintains the older ways of management, which seems to be less autocratic.

Population and Sample

All interviewees were selected because they have experienced the phenomenon studied. The sample (maximum variation sample) was based on the following criteria: time (when the company appeared before or after Perestroika), ownership (whether it is a public or a private company) and gender and age of the participants. These criteria were chosen as the issues relevant to the power distance perceptions in the workplace in Central Russia. The first set of interviews had a sample of 20 subjects (10 men and 10 women). In the analysis stage participants were given pseudonyms in order to maintain their confidentiality while describing their attitudes towards power. These people work in four different organizations (see Figure 1), representing major social layers. Two of

	Pre-reform ("old")	**Post-reform ("new")**
Public	Two female participants; Three male participants	Two female participants; Three male participants
Private	Three female participants; Two male participants	Three female participants; Two male participants

Figure 1. The matrix of the types of companies in the study.

the companies were privately owned (a textile factory and a mineral water plant); the other two were state-owned educational establishments. Five male participants were from the prereform company, five from the postreform, the same as five females were from the prereform and five from the post- reform companies (Figure 1 and Table 8). All participants were asked to record the interviews. Sixteen agreed, however only 14 conversations were recorded, because two of the participants acted awkwardly while being interviewed and seemed very nervous. After the recording device was switched off, the interviews went smoother.

Another set of interviews was conducted with eight participants representing family members or friends of the employees (two participants per each site). Accessible population sampling was used for this part of the data collection. Including these people provided another view on the phenomenon under study, which in turn helped to build the better picture of the situation.

Finally, interviews with two experts were conducted. These people were familiar with current economical situation in Russia and the region, as well as development of the studied companies and provided and outsiders' perspective towards the phenomenon. These interviews were unstructured.

The sample was taken in one of the Central Administrative Region's oblasts [*область*], or capitals. It is a city of a halfmillion population in Central Russia and represents a typical case for this region community. The city produces 70% of Russia's textiles, is third in European Russia (after Moscow and St.Petersburg) in the number of universities and institutes, and, as many other Central Russian cities, is famous for mineral water production. These four businesses are typical for this region; this was

Table 8

Participants' Characteristics

Company type	Interview type	Name	Gender	Age
Public/Pre-reform	Employee/employer	Nadya	F	27
		Lyudmila	F	57
		Viacheslav	M	20
		Vasily	M	30
		Stanislav	M	45
	Relative/friend	Olga	F	19
		Dmitry	M	32
Public/Post-reform	Employee/employer	Eve	F	29
		Kate	F	33
		Antony	M	20
		Andrew	M	46
		Nikolay	M	59
	Relative/friend	Tatyana	F	23
		Alexander	M	37
Private/Pre-reform	Employee/employer	Galina	F	27
		Elizabeth	F	44
		Larisa	F	54
		Peter	M	31
		Paul	M	53
	Relative/friend	Anna	F	20
		George	M	24
Private/Post-reform	Employee/employer	Alice	F	24
		Maria	F	47
		Irene	F	54+
		Eugene	M	29
		Alex	M	33
	Relative/friend	Svetlana	F	31
		Yuriy	M	37

another reason for selecting a sample from such companies.

One private company is a textile factory that began more than 60 years ago as a state-owned company, later becoming privately owned due to the process of privatization in the 1990s (there were no privately owned companies in the USSR before perestroika reforms). The company has old traditions and, to a large extent, old "Soviet" manners of administration.

The second private company was founded in 2000 and specializes in mineral water production and distribution. The company has a modern method of administration, which as we suspect may be characterized as more autocratic than the old Soviet model, where the owners of the company perceive their employees as subordinates.

The third and the fourth settings are state-owned educational establishments that were founded in 1918; these are the University and the Academy. The University is a more profit-oriented establishment with somewhat authoritarian new management style. The Academy, even with some important changes to its organization, maintains the older ways of management, which seems to be less autocratic.

Entry and Reciprocity

Participation in this study carried minimal risk for the participants and was approved by Utah State University's Institutional Review Board. Benefits for the interviewer included a deeper understanding of the power distance-related issues in post-Soviet Russia: Russian national character, leadership style, and organizational practices, which lead to certain benefits for international consultants and businessmen dealing with Russians. To maintain confidentiality the interview protocols were kept in a locked file

cabinet. Respondents were assured of anonymity and that details that might point to a particular person would be changed. They were also assured that any identifying information would be omitted. So in the process of analysis the participants were assigned pseudonyms instead of their actual names. These pseudonyms were be used in descriptions of respondents' attitudes towards power; reporting of their ages was adjusted slightly to disguise their identity. The complete names of the educational establishments were also omitted, only the type of the institution was kept, Academy or University, to distinguish between different sites. Given that there are several universities and academies in that city, such measures of maintaining confidentiality seemed to be appropriate.

Instrumentation

Interviews were conducted to study various aspects of power distance perceptions among Central Russian employees (or their friends/relatives). These interviews lasted approximately 40-60 minutes and were conducted from June to September 2003.

To answer the first research question (about the employees' feeling towards leadership), the interviewer asked the participants' for their general opinions about employers and leadership. This part of the interview also served as an introduction to the more thorough discussion. In order to find out how people feel about displaying disagreement with their superiors (and to answer the second research question), the participants were asked to describe how they feel they should behave when they agree or disagree with their superior, as well as tell how frequently they (or their friends or relatives) and their colleagues are afraid to disagree with their superiors, and how their

superior's gender influences such disagreements and how they experience interactions with superiors/subordinates. The third question addressed the description of the ideal and actual superior figure, and was answered by studying various features of a leader (e.g., negotiation strategies, gender versus authority conceptions, limitations of a good leader, ideal and actual leader, "strong" versus "weak" leadership perceptions).

The data sets from different interview types were separated from each other. Then, based on the phenomenological methodology, common and different themes were identified. These themes were formed into the clusters of meanings. These clusters of meanings formed a foundation to the final analysis.

Data Collection

This data collection was preceded by two pilot studies, comprised of telephone interviews with four people and face-to-face interviews with eight people. The first study was primarily aimed at helping to identify the broad direction of the research–the major topics that might arise during the actual data collection process and the formulation of the questions. The second pilot study helped to reformulate the questions, probe them, and work on establishing trust between the interviewer and the respondents. This was important considering the delicate subject that was planned to be discussed–power experiences of the employees including examples of possible conflict situations between subordinate and superior. These steps of the pilot studies helped to develop the questions for the final interview (see Appendix B). Participants were encouraged to share examples of the situations that might have been important for understanding their experiences. I tried to use the appropriate level of questioning at the beginning of the interview, starting

with the "ice-breakers" and moving towards the actual questions.

In order to build trust with the respondents, the researcher tried to mirror, more or less, the behavior expectations of the subjects. For example, clothing style and the language for the interviews with plant and factory workers was different than one for the interaction with university professors. I would not reject a suggested cup of tea (a very traditional workplace drink in Russia) and would listen to the stories that did not refer to the subject of my study, because some respondents viewed the interviews as more like a personal conversation. I tried not to get too involved into the lives of the participants; though, in order to decrease the subjectivity level of the study. Being a native Russian speaker also served as an additional benefit to building trust with the participants, it showed them that I came from the same culture and that I, possibly, might have experienced similar situations.

Analysis

This qualitative study was designed to obtain an overview of the power distance perception in post-Soviet Russia. The results formed a structure that will subsequently be discussed in relation to the results of other investigations. In a qualitative study the presentation should enable the reader to see some aspect of reality from a different perspective. To obtain an overview, the questions focused on different areas of interest, with complementary questions when needed. Specifically, the analysis included areas that were to be covered in the interviews, such as, the general attitude towards leadership (the "introductory" question), the possibility for disagreeing with the superior (general, gender and age dependent), and the ideal and the actual superior figure. The interviews

were purposefully characterized by dialogues, with questions intended to find out different opinions and feelings. Literal translation was chosen over the meaning translation, because it would help to control for the subjectivity (in understanding of the construct – the translator could bring her own understanding instead of what was originally meant by the participants). Where possible, the meaning notes and explanations of metaphors were made.

Data analysis took the following steps:

1. Text from transcribed interviews was read and margin notes were made (memos);

2. Statements of meaning for the individual were identified;

3. The statements of meaning were categorized into broad categories;

4. Description of what happened and how participants experienced the phenomenon was made.

5. Identification of social processes and relationships was made.

Thus, the analysis began with the collection of relevant quotations regarding different areas (the first step), and then the units of meaning were defined (the second and the third steps). Description of the categories (the fourth step) gave general impression of the phenomenon studied and served as a basis for analysis within each group of participants (the fifth step). The analysis started as soon as the first data was collected, continued with the course of data collection process and later with the final analysis. Analysis included both descriptions and a study of their relationships.

The information of interest was divided into three categories (information groups of meanings) with two subcategories in the second category and five subcategories within

the third category. The first category included general attitudes towards leadership and employers and served as an introduction to the actual conversation. Asking broad questions in the beginning of an interview allowed not only to have a general idea of the participant's attitudes towards power, but also helped to "open up" the respondents. First the participants were speaking slowly and in short sentences and with some time they would start feeling more comfortable with the interview process and give more detailed descriptions of their attitudes and feelings. "Leadership is important"—would be a typical first answer, turning into "Actually, leadership can be understood differently – whether the leader has an authority or he simply has the power granted by someone." People, would create their categories of possible leadership and give examples of why they think so. The following questions, which formed the next two categories of meanings, aimed at more specific information. For example, Nikolay, speaking about risk taking and how it can be affected by relationships with the superiors noted "I think that the ones who are not afraid to loose their place should be promoted, then they will not be afraid to risk…they will not try to humor everybody…" Such answers were very important in understanding power distance, because they provided an illustration to the construct and its categories. As a result of initial analysis these categories were:

1. General attitudes towards leadership and employers.

2. Agreement/disagreement with the superior.

   a. Risk-taking.

   b. Based on different gender (of both employer/employee).

3. Ideal versus actual superior figure.

   a. Gender and authority relationships.

    b.   "Strong" versus "weak" leaders.

    c.   Negotiation strategies.

    d.   Personal leadership style preferences at work.

    e.   Limitations of a good leader.

The questions for the interview were prepared according to these categories. However, in the course of the data collection, due to the common character of information, several subcategories within the third category (c and d) merged into a new, broader subcategory c (called: ethical component of leadership style). For example, when people emphasized importance of considering all employees attitudes, they would note that only allowing all participants of the negotiation process to speak up will help to reach mutual understanding. Good leader, as respondents would say, is the one that listens to the employees, focuses on their concerns and is not the one he is focused on the task only. At the same time, a big quantity of new, unique information formed some new subcategories (d–paternization of the superior figure; and e–age and skills' level). Somewhat consequently to this new age subcategory, I decided to change the subcategory a (general) of the second category into "based on prior working experience and/or age" subcategory, due to the frequent relations of the study participants towards their own and their employer's age in the question of possible agreement/disagreement with the superior.

As a result the collected information was divided into several categories with several subcategories within each of the category. These categories were:

1.   General attitudes towards leadership and employers.

2.   Agreement/disagreement with the superior.

a. Based on prior working experience and/or age;

b. Based on different gender (of both employer/employee).

3. Ideal versus actual superior figure.

a. Gender and authority relationship;

b. "Strong" versus "weak" leaders;

c. Ethical component of leadership style;

d. Paternization of the superior figure;

e. Age and skills' level;

At the stage of the final data analysis the categories and their grouping has changed. Due to the common character of information, categories and subcategories were grouped into three major domains: individual, organizational and, general–ethical. This final division helped to process the information easier and reflected all major problems that were brought up by the participants. As a result, I received two major categories that were based on individual characteristics (individual domain): (a) gender, and (b) age. These categories were dependent on the two major organizational characteristics (categories of the organizational domain): (a) time (post- or prereform), and (b) ownership (private vs. public). One other additional (the third) category was also identified – ethical component of power relations. This category was formed from the expressions of respondents from all company types and did not differ significantly from site to site. However, given that this category was brought up very often and that participants put special emphasis on the ethical component of the work relationships, it seemed important that this topic be given special attention. The categories that emerged are shown in Figure 2.
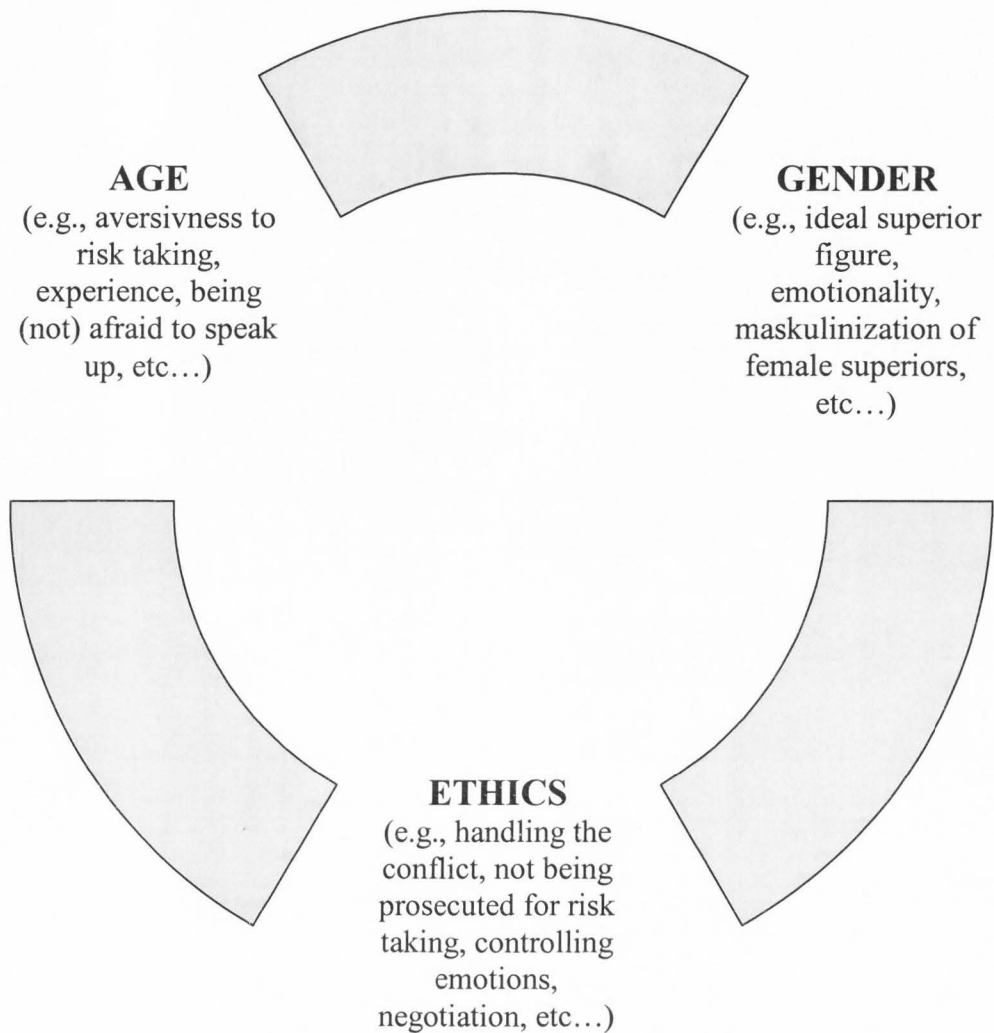
AGE
(e.g., aversivness to
risk taking,
experience, being
(not) afraid to speak
up, etc…)

GENDER
(e.g., ideal superior
figure,
emotionality,
maskulinization of
female superiors,
etc…)

ETHICS
(e.g., handling the
conflict, not being
prosecuted for risk
taking, controlling
emotions,
negotiation, etc…)

Figure 2. Scheme of themes and their properties.

Even though I decided to keep the age category separate from the time category, it
could be possible to merge them and call this dimension generational. However, this
dimension would not be homogenous, yet and with the course of time the border between
the age and time specifics might start to fade. This could depend on certain objective
changes with the course of time, as the old Soviet practices will start to affect the
organizational structure to the smaller degree. I expect that after a period of time, the

differences between workers of the pre- and postreform sites will start to diminish, yielding the meaning of this dimension primarily to the age/generation of the workers and focusing mostly on the experience level and risk-taking abilities of the old versus young employees/employers. As a result of this analysis, I primarily focused on gender, ownership, and time and age categories/dimensions, as well as on the ethical component of power that was brought up by the respondents.

Verification Techniques

To insure verification of findings, I used peer debriefing techniques, by inviting three people to evaluate the quality of the study organization. The reviewers saw both the interview protocols (without any identifying information about the interviewees) and the summary of the results. One person was well informed with the type of research (see Appendix D), another was a "naïve" reviewer (which will help to control the possible bias in the study), and the third reviewer was a specialist on Russian history and modern culture. These people made important recommendations during the process of writing this dissertation.

After the work on this study was finished (including administration of the last verification survey) I also invited two independent expert reviewers (famous professionals in the spheres of economics, journalism, philosophy and culturology) to work through the data sets, analyses, and all the reported conclusions to control for the subjectivity of the study, adequacy of the conclusions, and accuracy of the presented information. These reviewers found the analysis adequate and expressed their hope in continuing research in this area (see Appendix E). They also made suggestions to the

future research and application of the findings (which are presented in the discussion

section of the dissertation). These reviewers put special emphasis on maintaining the

confidentiality of the study, stressing particular historical and political background of the

country that influenced people's eagerness to participate in the recorded types of data

collection. Finally, I asked three previous participants to review the summary of

conclusions. The participants did not have any objections to the conclusions made from

the study and felt that their position was depicted correctly.

As described earlier, another set of eight participants were asked to answer

additional in-depth questions dealing with the same dimensions. (For the list of questions

see Appendix C.) These people came out of the same four organizations that I studied

during the summer of 2003 and from the same sample of population; they had agreed

during the major data collection stage to answer additional questions later, if asked to do

so. There were four female and four male participants. The list of questions distributed

among them contained four major domains (understanding respect, leadership practices

and power, negotiation strategies, agreement/disagreement with the superior), all taking

into consideration the age and gender categories, with several questions under each

domain composed according to recommendations of professionals and experienced

methodologists of Utah State University. This method allowed me to verify the

preciseness of obtained information and to avoid possible previous fear of having the

interviews recorded and getting a wider picture of the subject under study. In general, the

findings from this verification technique corresponded with the findings from the major

data collection stage, and this information was incorporated into the results and

discussion sections of this dissertation.

The trustworthiness of the sample was ensured by meeting participants before and several times after the interview to establish trust and to clarify some new issues that arose during the study. I also tried to spend a significant amount of time with the respondents, during which the trust was built, ensuring greater openness of the participants to the interview. The researcher's biases were acknowledged and a reflexive journal was used, which helped to ensure that if the study was replicated by another researcher the procedure would be similar. The reflexive journal and detailed description of contextual features refer to the level of possibility to apply to the readers' situation and generalize the findings to the broader theory. The reflexive journal contains logs of the day-to-day activities as well as a personal log (reflective/retrospective) and a methodological log (for documenting methodological decisions).

Triangulation of data by means of corroborating evidence from different sources (various interviewees) and thick description (with relevant quotes from the interviews and detailed description of the participants or the setting under study) were also used.

Finally, as noted earlier, the research paradigm that was utilized is symbolic interactionism. It means that the researcher assumes that humans act toward things based on the meanings those things hold for them; the meaning is derived from and arises out of social interaction with a culture; and, meanings are modified through the interpretive process used by the person as s/he deals with things in the world (Crotty, 1998). Remembering this helped with analysis and interpretation of the data with attention to the changing environment of my four settings and active reactions of participants towards expressions of power in the workplace.

RESULTS

Previous research (Hofstede, 1984) has identified four major dimensions affecting international business communication: (a) uncertainty avoidance, (b) power distance, (c) masculinity/femininity, and (d) individualism/collectivism. These dimensions had a codependent relationships being intertwined and influencing each other. Studying power distance was the original focus of the study, but in the course of research several important themes came up, that I suspect being separate dimensions. And as Hofstede (1991) added certain dimensions to Asian societies, I would add two dimensions to post-Soviet cultures, and specifically, central Russia (Figure 3). In short, the current research identified the following two additional dimensions: (a) generational (within the "time" and "age" categories), and (b) ownership. These dimensions were identified in the course of investigating power distance perceptions as those, which influence the attitudes towards inequality most. However, given that these issues were not the primary focus of this study, there is a need to undertake additional research in this sphere in order to clarify the question of existence of such additional dimensions. The established dimension that was found to be critical in understanding power perception in this region was a masculinity/femininity (or as called in this study, gender) dimension.

In order to describe the power perceptions in post-Soviet Russia, I suggest my own gradation of levels of PD (low, medium low, medium, medium high, high), and divide PD into categories (themes) of meanings that emerged from the research. This will allow broader gradation of PD levels that is important in case of studying diverse cultures and nations with hundreds of cultural and religious pockets in one small area.
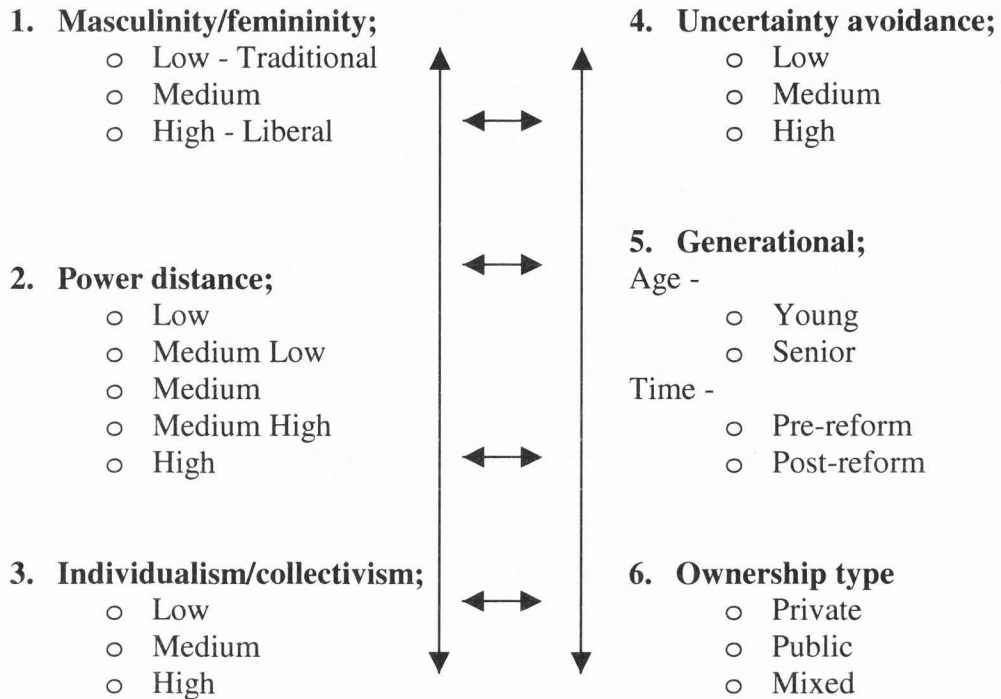
1. **Masculinity/femininity;**
   o   Low - Traditional
   o   Medium
   o   High - Liberal

2. **Power distance;**
   o   Low
   o   Medium Low
   o   Medium
   o   Medium High
   o   High

3. **Individualism/collectivism;**
   o   Low
   o   Medium
   o   High

4. **Uncertainty avoidance;**
   o   Low
   o   Medium
   o   High

5. **Generational;**
   Age -
   o   Young
   o   Senior
   Time -
   o   Pre-reform
   o   Post-reform

6. **Ownership type**
   o   Private
   o   Public
   o   Mixed

Figure 3. Dimensions and their interrelationships.

Not assigning strict numerical values for PD will help to avoid problems in generalizing towards the bigger population in such mixed areas.

These categories are: (a) gender, (b) age, and (c) ethical values. The first two categories correspond with what was referred to before as the *individual* characteristics. These characteristics were examined across the *organizational* characteristics (ownership and time) and resulted in two new dimensions (ownership and generation). The third category incorporated perceptions based on different age, gender, and employment site of the respondent. Given that the current research mostly focused on the individual characteristics of the phenomenon, the results were grouped accordingly (into the generational and gender dimensions) with certain references (throughout the whole results section) towards the ownership type of the companies where the data was

	Pre-reform ("old")	**Post-reform ("new")**
Public	Moderate traditionalistic gender perceptions A	Moderate traditionalistic gender perceptions A
Private	Moderate traditionalistic gender perceptions A	Moderate liberal gender perceptions B

Figure 5. The matrix of the gender perceptions based on the types of companies in the study.

Gender and Power Distance

Gender perceptions seem quite common to the three company types (group A, or moderate gender traditionalists, both public and a private prereform), with a medium transitional stage (from traditional norms) and a different view in a public postreform company (group B, or moderate gender liberals, with high to liberal norms).

Group A (moderate gender traditionalists) participants, in general, had more traditional views towards gender roles (Figure 5). Often, these participants would focus on women's emotionality, seeing it as a typically feminine feature and a shortcoming to being a leader, because women cannot control it, so that emotionality would not influence their work negatively (for examples of references see Figure 6). As Vasily (from the group A – moderate gender traditionalists) says, "Women are more emotional, you know. And this influences their methods of work." He later adds that he had more experience

Public/pre-reform	Public/post-reform
• Moderate Traditionalistic Gender Perceptions; *"No, I don't care. It is all the same to me. Another thing is that I have an impression, that Russian men, don't pay enough attention to the opinion of women, as we ...would like to. They just see through us"* (Nadya) *"There is no much difference, maybe just general higher emotionality of women may interfere in their work"* (Dmitry)	• Moderate Traditionalistic Gender Perceptions; *"It doesn't influence very much. Maybe, women are more emotional, fast acting, and sometimes even bitchy. But this does not mean they are worse than men; men have enough bad features, too..."* (Kate) *"No, it doesn't matter. Only in terms of communication one must be more careful with women – they can misunderstand many things, because of their emotionality..."* (Alexander)
Private/pre-reform	**Private/post-reform**
• Moderate Traditionalistic Gender Perceptions; *"No, there is no difference ... he [her superior] doesn't like if there are conflicts among women. We, women, have conflicts very often..."* (Larisa) *"Not too many differences, may be women are just more gossipy. But men can be bad too. If not for their talkativeness women could be just as good superiors as men"* (George)	• Moderate Liberal Gender Perceptions; *"In most cases it is normal that women have leading roles, because women are not less objective in their judgments and are good at work"* (Yuri) *"Compared to old times...... now women have a leading role, because they are more objective in perception of problems"* (Alice)

Figure 6. Matrix of examples of quotes on the gender theme within four company types (referring to power distance).

working with male superiors and therefore this is his "subjective" opinion. It is worth noting that many men participants that criticize women tend to emphasize, "It is my personal opinion," "It is my subjective opinion," possibly realizing that it can be a discriminative point of view. Viacheslav, who is much younger, and seems to be more passionate in his attitudes, differentiates between the "requirements" for men and women

to being a good leader: "If it is a man, he should be clever, just (this is the main).... Well, women should be just, too, well-rounded. If it is a woman, the same qualities, but also being attractive, you know, the appearance, beautiful. As for men, it doesn't matter if he is attractive, handsome." So, the criteria are somewhat different for men and women.

As noted earlier, although the same in different company types, gender views tend to be less traditional as the age of the participant increases (traditional in the Western way of thinking, with home and kids being the ultimate focus in women's lives). Stanislav notes, that "it does not matter who is the superior. To be honest I have not seen many women superiors, so it is hard for me to judge." As Stanislav continues, "Unfortunately there is much less women superiors now, after the reforms. In Soviet times there were much more." This brings up another interesting issue, that gender attitudes and, what may be more "dangerous" seem to go in reverse. That is, from Soviet egalitarian attitudes, the opinions tend to shift back to pre revolutionary (Bolshevik revolution of 1917) beliefs towards the "natural calling of women" being kids and kitchen.

Indeed, while women participants' attitudes in general are not very different from the men attitudes, younger women in the group A also have a more traditional view of the women roles compared to older female interviewees. Larisa says that it does not matter who is the superior in gender, but later mentions that it is easier to work with the male superior, "men do not gossip, you know those female gossips and chit chatting. Men superiors are calmer and stricter. They can be rude, too, but it is better if they say something strictly, than gossip and cause quarrels among employees." Lyudmila also says it does not matter much what is the gender of the superior, but, "women are more

emotional. It is not bad if a woman can control this, but very often they can't and it can influence their decisions." Eve, who is much younger than Lyudmila and Larisa disagrees with even supposing that women can be superiors: "Women are too emotional for that. It is not their calling. They should not be leaders."

However, in the verification stage Lyudmila makes an important comment that although women are more emotional (and it can be very bad in certain conflict situations), men are "… sometimes rude, may offend a person with a rude word." While women, as she speaks about power expressions, are often being preoccupied with their family problems bring their mood and emotions to work – these all reflect on the quality of her work and, as a result: "in our society, the higher position is, the less women you will see there." Lyudmila continues, that often female superiors borrow male behavior patterns – the way men speak (harsh, firm intonations) and dress (dark suit, etc.). She adds, that this is, "unfortunately the way to succeed in the male managerial world – to be like them, like men."

The same power distance attitudes are seen in the relative interviews, Olga had the same perception talking about her father-in-law's impressions towards women's methods of work: "Men are more open, more straightforward, have more respect." Anna speaking about her mother's and father's gender perceptions (they work together at the same place) notes, that they do not care what the gender of the superior is, but "women can be more emotional and therefore less calm making decisions." Women, from her parents' point of view, are capable of building an emotional connection with subordinates, having compassion if one has personal problems (family, health), but "this can also be a shortcoming if emotions become the leading factor of making other

decisions–job related." Figure 6 helps to visualize perceptions of participants from different company types.

Group B (moderate gender liberals) participants, however, had somewhat more liberal power perceptions in their views towards gender roles. Even if they had personal experiences of bad relationship with women superiors, they do not generalize towards all women as participants from the group a (moderate gender traditionalists). Very often they would say right away that gender does influence superior's methods of management, as Eugene said "I think it does. Yes. Men are more organized, more strict and conversation with them can be calm and in case of disagreement too." However, he further notes that, "But actually, a lot depends on the previous relationships with the person. If you had a nasty fight before, it may influence everything. Spoil the attitudes." Later contact with this interviewee helped to open up the meaning of what he said. Eugene explained that he realizes that one can have nasty relationships with men superiors, too. He concludes that most things depend on personal ability to establish contact and avoid conflict situations. He does not put all the "blame" towards women, he recognizes that men superiors can be as nasty, but still generalizes on the whole female population as being more emotional and less able to be fair.

Although, all group B (moderate gender liberals) participants stated that emotionality of women can be a shortcoming, they also emphasized that women superiors are becoming more active now and that it is due to reforms that gender perceptions are changing. Alice specifically noted that "…now women have a leading role, because they are more objective in perception of problems." Alex supports these notions, "Women can earn money and get clients as everybody else, they can be good

leaders." However, later Alice states, that she herself "would not want to have a woman superior." She explains, "…the relationships are better if the people are of different gender. Such people understand each other better. Besides men superiors are softer with women employees, while women are equal." So, it is not "bad" that a woman is a superior, they can be as good as men, only she (Alice) prefers a woman superior, She has that theory that it is better if the superior is of a different gender than the employee. It is important to note that all the superiors of this group participants' were young to middle-aged, with possibly emerging what was called in the newest literature "Russian Protestant" ethics.

Experts helped to clarify the situation of difference in such views and gave their opinion of the reasons, suggesting that the older generation in the public or private/prereform companies still thinks in Soviet ways, emphasizing equality, while the younger ones possibly take the "trendy" stand, calling to a natural calling of women. It is trendy because it brings back old, pre-Soviet Russia and rejects some of the Soviet attitudes. This creates a paradox of young employees in the public setting having reversed gender perceptions while older employees keep their more egalitarian ideas; and young employees in the private postreform setting continuing on the egalitarian ideas of their parents from public sector, but deviating from the majority of people working in other three types of companies.

<center>Age and Power Distance</center>

Perceptions of age seem quite common in the two of the company types (Figure 7) (group A or, moderate traditionalists, both public companies) with senior age

	Pre-reform ("old")	Post-reform ("new")
Public	Senior (age) **A**	Senior (age) **A**
Private	Medium senior **B**	Young **C**

Figure 7. The matrix of the generational perceptions based on the types of companies in the study.

preferences. As for the private companies, they were different: with "medium" age preferences in a private prereform company (group B, or centrists) and "young" (group C) age preferences in a private post-reform company (for illustrative quotes see Figure 8). In general, it seemed that younger superiors were mostly respected by people working in the private companies, and the newer the company is, the younger the superior should be. Alice criticized the "older" generation: "People of advanced age were afraid to tell their opinion and prefer to act through somebody else. " She gives her explanation to why this is the case: "This is an old order, habit–that everything will be decided for them, as it ought to be."

It is interesting to see the 180 degrees different situation we see in the group A ("public companies"–"moderate traditionalists"). Nikolay admits that both young and old employees at his company are, at times, afraid to disagree with the superior, but he especially emphasizes that younger people have such problems more often and are afraid to speak up and defend their point of view: "... young people and I notice it all the time,

Public/pre-reform	Public/post-reform
• Senior (age). *"Age is important... Young often have ambitions and don't have experience, while older have experience and not enough ambitions"* (Lyudmila) *"There is a lot that young ones could learn from the older colleagues. Although nobody really listens to the young ones either, may be thy have fresher education and can bring an input too"* (Stanislav)	• Senior (age). *"Young people are [afraid to disagree] and I notice it all the time, and feel bad about this..."* (Nikolay) *"Age brings more experience, but sometimes new insights can be beneficial too. Not many people listen to the young ones"* (Andrew)
Private/pre-reform	**Private/post-reform**
• Medium Senior; *"Age can be quite important for the authority, but even young people can be leaders. Though, if you are older – it is somewhat better".* (Peter) *"They can be more experienced, but they are afraid to change anything in their life, this can be very bad"* (Galina)	• Young. *"People of advanced age were afraid to tell their opinion and prefer to act through somebody else. "* (Alice) *"In the new pace of life youth is more energetic and risk-taking. Knowledge of the older people is good, but what to do with it if you are afraid of changes?"* (Svetlana)

Figure 8. Matrix of examples of quotes on the age theme within four company types (referring to PD).

and I feel bad about this." He continues with an example: "There was one young guy at our department, who didn't stay quiet and would speak up, so boss got rid of him. He was fired quietly, slowly." Andrew supported that notion: "Age brings more experience, but sometimes new insights can be beneficial, too. Not many people listen to the young ones." At the same time, at the verification stage of the study, Nikolay added that it is a more common picture for the younger generation to at least try to express their

disagreement, as he explains with the smile, "…may be out of lack of experience they are not afraid of the possible consequences of being honest. They are being naive in a certain way, in a very attractive way." Other than being able to express disagreement, participants perceived the importance of experience differently.

While group C participants (private/new–"centrists") do not specifically emphasize the importance of having much experience to be able to be a good leader, group A (both public companies, "moderate traditionalists") and group B (private old company, "centrists") would pay quite a lot attention to this matter. However, only public company employees made a connection between age and experience: "Young often have ambitions and don't have experience, while older [people] have experience and lack ambitions," notes Lyudmila. At the same time, she emphasizes, "We work together well. They [young employees] listen to the older ones, but also give new ideas." Private prereform company employees mostly would connect experience and the level of confidence at work with the amount of time spent at this particular position "I work here for 25 years and am absolutely not afraid to say anything. I tell everything," says Larisa. In the verification stage of the data collection, Vasily paid attention to the fact that the level of experience (which he directly connects with the time that the person has worked in the company) should influence the salary of the employee. And if "…the person who works in the company for a long time is not paid higher salary, he has all the reasons to leave" – because, as the participant from the traditionalistic group says, he deserved better salary for the time he spent at this work. Here, respondent makes a logical connection between time at a certain position and the deserved rewards for this.

Contrary to findings of some previous research, more advanced age did not seem to decrease the ability to take the risk in order to achieve the goal. As Nikolay (he is 59 years old) thinks a truly "strong" leader is the one who "is not afraid to lose his job. I think that the ones who are not afraid to loose their place should be promoted, then they will not be afraid to risk…they will not try to humor everybody…" Alex (approximately 30 years old) spoke the same way about himself and his superior (about 55 years old), saying that they are not afraid to risk. They feel that ability to risk is one of the most important features for the modern employee.

Ethical Value System and Perceptions of Power

One of the categories that emerged in the course of the study was an ethical value system of the employees and employers. Participants from all company types emphasized the importance of taking into consideration employees' feelings and opinions when the leader makes his/her decisions, the importance of having high ethical standards.

Lyudmila shared her feelings about disagreeing with superiors: "Much depends on who is the superior. You can argue with one (you will be heard), while with others it is better to keep quiet. It is emotionally hard later to recall the conversation, hard on your soul; sometimes lack of attention is humiliating. Even if the conflict was not with me and I was just a witness I still take it close to heart."

Nikolay elaborated on this position: "Very serious principle, if one forgets the moral foundation when he/she tries to achieve his or her purpose. Ambitions of the employer destroy people's values and norms…. I stand up strongly against this."

Care, ability to listen, and emotional support of the leader about his/her employees

seems to be very important to Russian people. Antony explains: "…because for the leader being attentive to subordinates is also part of the leader's area of expertise (should be), it is his profession. So, professionalism, not only competence in this sphere of knowledge, but also in interpersonal relationships." Tatyana says the same about her mother's perceptions, she thinks that to be a good leader a person needs "ability to speak to people, to find out their interests and wishes." Eugene emphasized: "It is bad if the leader lacks love for people." Attention to people was also emphasized when referring to communication between possible foreign employers and their Russian subordinates. Stanislav notes: "Foreigners can teach us a lot, but we also have knowledge to share with them. If our international colleagues listen to us and respect our ideas it is much better for the process of negotiation. I had experiences talking with British and American colleagues, many of them still have old cold war stereotypes." He concluded that it was very important for him to see that they were eager to change their views and not to hide their surprise in finding out that things are not as bad in Russia.

Summary of Findings

Data was collected with the aim of studying power distance perceptions and expression of power in post-Soviet Russia. The results were grouped into gender, age, and ethical themes depending on three major dimensions (ownership, generation, gender). Special attention was paid to the individual characteristics of power perceptions. As a result of analysis (Figure 9), the gender theme included such properties as viewing an ideal superior figure, emotionality (and other personal characteristics – gossiping, being calm, strict, rude), masculinization of female superiors, and so forth. The age

AGE	GENDER	ETHICS
- old participants were not aversive to risk taking behaviors, - experience was valued in all company types, - in general people are not afraid to speak up about their concerns, despite several separate cases, - at times younger employees are not given enough attention, - younger superiors are better excepted in the private postrefom companies, but are less often appointed to such positions as compared to the other three settings.	- public companies hold to the Soviet egalitarian gender ideas, but attitudes remain traditional, - public and prereform company employees note negative feature in female superiors (mostly dealing with the emotionality of the latter), - although recognizing that female superiors are as good as male superiors, young employees emphasize the "natural calling" of the women.	- emphasis on ethical leader was common to all company types, - very important to take into consideration the subordination in cases of conducting negotiations.

Figure 9. Distribution of attitudes within three major power distance themes.

theme was formed from such subcategories as aversivness to risk taking, experience, being afraid to speak up, and ability to express disagreement. All these subcategories were mentioned by the participants as the most important ones in understanding influence of gender and age towards power distance. The ethical category was represented by such subthemes as handling the conflict, not being prosecuted for risk taking, controlling emotions, negotiation and so forth. The research also addressed most common types of organizations (public, private, prereform, postreform) in Russia and showed to what extent certain features are universal (e.g., ethical values) or specific for different people and company types (e.g., age and gender perceptions).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Discussion

Interviews were conducted with the aim of studying power distance perceptions in post-Soviet Russia. They focused on differences across the three major dimensions (ownership, time, gender), addressing variations in four types of organizations (public/postreform, public/prereform, private/postreform, private/pretreform) and studying to what extent certain features are universal or specific. Being guided by a phenomenological approach allowed the researcher to address the above-mentioned problem, because it illuminated the experiences people lived in terms of the power distance construct. It also allowed the investigator to add questions to the original script as data emerged.

Several patterns emerged from the study. As indicated above some were found to be general to all participants in all company types and some were unique to certain types of companies. The unique patterns were: perceptions of risk, understanding the gender roles, handling conflicts, ideal superior figure – it terms of age and gender, masculinization of women – although this last pattern is familiar to the Western society, it is still quite new in Russia. The general patterns were: understanding and valuing ethics in the workplace, and importance of healthy employee-employer relationships for successful negotiation. These points are addressed below.

First, the younger superiors were more respected by people working in the private companies, and the newer the company was the younger the superior "should be," as perceived by the workers. Employees of the public companies held the most traditional

views in respecting older magaers. However, contrary to the information from some previous research, being an employee of an advanced age did not mean that he or she would avoid risk in achieving the set goals. Indeed many participants indicated that young employees/superiors would be especially appreciated by the older ones due to ability to bring new ideas, try new approaches, and take risks. This was perceived to a healthier working atmosphere with trust, exchange of experience, and contribute to increased respect of the younger employees.

Second, a majority of participants held moderate gender perceptions, and were slightly more liberal in the private/postreform companies. This pattern again shows certain change in values and attitudes, from the public towards the private companies, as well as from the prereform to the postreform ones. Although employees in the both prereform and in both public companies hold to Soviet egalitarian views towards gender roles, they are in fact, less excepting of a possibility that a female would be their superior. Even though Soviet times were not ideal in bringing gender equality to the workplace the common pattern was in recognizing equal rights and possibilities of all people regardless of their gender. Now the youth takes into a new fashion, the fashion of "natural calling for women" believing that people have to return to the old, pre Soviet ways of gender relations with traditional gender roles (earning money and making a career – for men, and raising kids and housekeeping for women).

Third, interesting descriptions of the "requirements" for women superiors were made by some participants during the verification stage of the study. The tendency of masculinization of the female superior's behavior as a necessary step in achieving success in business was both a reflection of the behavior expectations and still a

requirement in business. As participants noted, business and political arena has been dominated by men for a long period of time developed their unconditioned rules and expectations, which are still hard to break. Ironically, Russia is still listed among the countries with the largest number of women holding superior positions at the workplace (*The Guardian*, 2004). However, it should be noted that the majority of such positions are in the public sector (e.g., schools, hospitals) where low salaries are combined with high responsibilities (Yadov, 2002). One can only imagine that the amount of such positions might have been higher in Soviet years, which did not mean that those posts were more rewarding in terms of prestige and status.

Fourth, reflections on the ethical and emotional components of the employer-employee relationships suggested application of findings within the framework of the Herzberg's two-factor theory (Herzberg, Mausner, & Synderman, 1959) and the University of Michigan studies conducted in mid-1960s (DeSantis & Durst, 1996; on job-centered and employee-centered leaders). The research found that a leader's concern with followers' personal advancement, growth, achievement, satisfaction level, and respect is critical in work environment. Performance on the tasks seemed to be important to the respondents, too, but the main points were to care for the employees, satisfying their needs by creating a supportive work environment. Stressing emotional component and attention to behavior of employees in negotiation were common for people in all company types. This is different what could have been expected. Knowing the New Russian perspective on doing business with indifference to people and perceiving money as the ultimate goal, one might expect ethical component to be less stressed in the new

private companies. These expectations were not met. So, the findings showed that people in all company types equally value moral principles.

Concerning behavior patterns, Old Soviet traditions seem to influence the mentality of women and society, in general, by reinforcing old "labor front" values by putting special emphasis towards work in people's lives, by stressing that work comes first and only then family, and so forth. New Russian (at times aggressive and almost always extremely masculine) styles of business do not recognize an alternative behavior style and expect the same masculine behavior from other women superiors. Such a pattern creates a particular "behavior code" in power-related spheres, political, and economical.

Finally, dividing power distance perceptions into a 5-point scale (low, medium low, medium, medium-high, high levels of PD) as compared to giving percentage indices, allowed this research to control huge variations of outcomes, which might occur even in the case of studying neighboring Russian regions (due to differences in economic, geographic, historical, and religious factors in various regions). These values were assigned based on participants' answers on the power distance related questions. This approach allowed for easier generalization to close areas (geographically and culturally) where strict indices given to one cultural pocket would not necessarily be true to the very close (geographically) region with its unique cultural, religious and social structure. Russia is known to have more than 160 nationalities and numerous variation of cultural and religious beliefs.

In this study, power distance tended to increase in the direction from the prereform to the postreform companies. Even though previous "soviet" leadership styles

were characterized by the authoritarian features, the "new" ways seemed to be even more authoritarian, with the highest level of authoritarianism in the private/postreform company. This was evidenced by the ability of employees to show disagreement with their superiors, to increased participation in negotiation processes, and to display higher levels of trust. As a result we see that although private/postreform company is the most innovative and liberal in terms of gender and age perceptions, the overall power distance level remains high.

Implications for Future Practice

A clear understanding of underlying power distance factors and dimensions will help prepare for successful communication with Russian partners, colleagues, and employees. Creating good conditions for recognition, achievement, advancement, emotional support, and understanding will insure trustful relationships, positive motivation and, consequently, better work results.

Age and Gender Considerations

Taking into consideration the age and gender composition of the international teams is another important factor to bear in mind when doing business in Russia. Although appointing female and/or young specialists to leading positions (at the very beginning) would not be a good idea for work in the public companies, it still can be done after such individuals have proved their experience and the level of professionalism to their Russian colleagues. Older women would have more respect than the younger ones, too. In these public companies Soviet egalitarian beliefs still remain. At the same time the young generation, believing in "natural calling" of women, is accepting to change in

attitudes, which was evidenced by their views of gender (emphasizing that women can be as good leaders as men). However in the public and prereform settings the practitioner needs to be careful in gender roles perceptions. Even though the majority of people in such settings (especially older generation) hold egalitarian gender views, the actual practices of appointing superiors favor men in such positions.

Ethical Considerations

Another important thing to remember is paying attention to employees, and not being afraid to speak up and express disagreement. In general, most of the negotiation will be conducted by the leading members of the team, but making sure that one hears nonleading team members is also useful, for it may give a better idea of how realistic are the plans of the leaders. It is also important to realize that Russian negotiators are likely to be under strict instructions and without the flexibility of their Western colleagues/discussants to make on-the-spot decisions. Very likely the decision that is made during the negotiation process will have to go through extra discussions among the company management members and corrections to the original point of view can be made.

Because of importance of maintaining power distance, it is expected to be useful having a Russian native (or someone with considerable knowledge in the local culture) in the Western negotiating team; because a concept or word from one side of the table may not be understood by the other simply because it does not exist in the other side's politics, laws, and more importantly, culture or even language. Add to this the limitations of what Westerners and Russians know, think, and understand about each other, and the task of

negotiating may be insurmountable if there is no Russian native to help the Western

negotiators' team.

Russians are also very sensitive to any intimations that they are not being treated

with sufficient respect and dignity. This is a mistake still often made by some Western

researchers and businessmen, who come to Russia having skewed ideas about the

scientific, educational, or business level of their counterparts and take a messiah position,

which looks very comical to Russians. Unfortunately, often these biases come from old

cold war stereotypes, still reinforced by some media (Yadov, 2002). Reading extensively

about Russia in general and the development of the field of interest, as well as

communication with Russian specialists in this sphere, will help in avoiding awkward

situations. Russians have big respect for the Western world, but they definitely do not

think that they are worse in any sphere of their lives, other than maybe economy. Quite

the opposite, as noted in the interviews they are sure they can teach the Westerners

something as well as learn from them and that they can share their experience with them.

Understanding and appreciating this during the course of negotiations, and especially, in

the process of communicating with Russian partners, colleagues, and subordinates will

help to establish and maintain a good working atmosphere.

Studying and applying information from the power-gender relationships sphere to

the political leadership may also open up new topics, suggest a different view towards the

leadership, but most important, may help to increase the amount of women in politics.

Understanding how the society perceives female political leadership, their authority and

competence, may help to understand the power perceptions in general.

Limitations of the Study

Because of the diverse national, economical, geographical, religious, and historical background of Russia the findings can only be generalized to the Central Russian region. However, strong business ties are established between international companies and Russian firms located in other regions of the country. Findings from this study should be verified n these separate regions before applying them outside Central Russia.

Another limitation arises because of certain translation issues. I have made every effort for the proper word choice in translation. However, in certain instances (such as with metaphors, slang, and colloquial expressions) accurate translation of meaning was difficult. To validate the translations, I consulted people fluent in both Russian and English for difficult cases of translation. Additionally one third of the interview protocols were translated by another person.

Recommendations for Future Research

Future research could build on this by brining in other sources of evidence. Although not available for this study, it would be useful to collect independent measures of the workplace environment based on personal work records kept by the human resource specialists. Job regulations such as policies regarding discipline and the code of behavior on the workplace could also be useful for understanding power distance. This would allow one to take into consideration documented cases of conflict situations, possible consequences of those, and regulations concerning employer/employee

relationships. Such information could verify participants' responses, as well as the real, described, and documented picture at the workplace.

As noted by some of the independent reviewers, it would be good to include the mixed ownership type of companies in future research. This would be especially informative given the recent political events (attacks of the government on the "oligarchs") in terms of studying who is actually the "right" person to negotiate with, even if the state owns just the small share of the company. It is possible that most of the decisions would depend on the bureaucrats and the state bodies.

Conducting similar studies in other regions of Russia (with high concentration of international business) would be useful, too. Doing this will provide a better idea of the workplace environment in Russia, because it will allow the consideration of the PD construct across the different cultures of the country. It will also be important to pay attention to various cultural, religious, and ethic "pockets" in the multicultural regions of Russia. This will enable closer examination of the impact of ethnographic differences on power distance and the work environment of the company.

Finally, the current research elaborated two dimensions that were important: (a) generational (within the "time" and "age" categories), and (b) ownership. These dimensions were identified in the course of investigating power distance perceptions as those, which influence the attitudes towards inequality most. Themes that may be salient may come up later (for example, urban vs. rural). However, given that these issues were not the primary focus of this study, there is a need to undertake additional research in this sphere in order to clarify the question of existence of such additional dimensions and their relations with the other dimensions and.

Conclusions

There is evidence that age and gender influence power perceptions in the post-Soviet workplace environment. An elaborated Hofstede model using a phenomenological approach served as a foundation for this research. The following three dimensions (in addition to those suggested by Hofstede's four) were found: time, ownership, age. Age and gender formed the leading clusters within the PD dimension and were found dependent on such other dimensions as time and ownership. These findings will help to navigate intercultural differences in Russian workplace environment and help to create successful business relationships between international businessmen and their Russia partners.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A:

Key Words

Culture – the set of attitudes, values, beliefs, and behaviors shared by a group of people, but different for each individual, communicated from one generation to the next.

Egalitarianism – a social philosophy that advocates the removal of inequities among persons and a more equal distribution of benefits (Richmond, 1992).

New Russians – a social layer of nouveau riches regarded with a large number of sarcastic jokes in Russian folklore (О новых русских, 2002). These jokes illustrate a primitive, rude, asocial but rich, authoritarian, and aggressive individual, who is focused solely on his own profit and purposes. This layer appeared during the Perestroika times.

Peer debriefing/review – one of verification techniques in qualitative research that provides an external check of the research process, by inviting one or more people to judge the quality of the research.

Power distance (PD) – a dimension along which cultures vary: the degree to which cultures foster or maintain inequality in power among people.

Power distance index (PDI) – shows a relative degree of inequality in a country or region compared with other countries.

Prolonged engagement – one of verification techniques in qualitative research that includes building trust with participants, learning culture, knowing participants for a longer period of time, and checking for misunderstanding that may occur in the communication process between the interviewer and interviewees.

Russia – (in this study) refers to Central Russian area.

Russian protestant – does refer to the religious affiliation, but rather to the combination of values and behavioral characteristics. A new social layer, which appeared after Perestroika and is characterized by values of stability, initiative, reasonable risk.

Status differentiation (a cultural dimension) – the degree to which cultures maintain status differences among their members.

Thick description – one of verification techniques in qualitative research. The writer describes in detail the participants or setting under study. As Creswell (1998) states, with such description the researcher enables readers to transfer information to other setting and determine whether the findings can be transferred because of common characteristics.

Triangulation of data – one of verification techniques in qualitative research process that involves corroborating evidence from different source to shed light on a theme or perspective (Creswell, 1998).

Appendix B:

Interview Protocol

Project: Power distance perceptions in post-Soviet Russia: understanding the workplace environment.

Type of interview: (employee/relative-friend/expert)

Time of interview:
Date:
Place:
Interviewer:
Interviewee's gender: **MALE**   **FEMALE**
Position of interviewee:
Gender of his/her superior: **MALE**   **FEMALE**

(Brief description of a project)

Questions:

1. How would you define leadership?

2. What do you think about employers?

3. How do you feel when people agree/disagree with their leader? (question/obey)

4. Describe any experiences you have had disagreeing with superiors.

5. Does gender make a difference in your attitude or ability to disagree?

6. How frequently, in your work environment, are subordinates afraid to express disagreement with their superiors?

Under what circumstances are they afraid?

7. How employee/employer relationships affect the negotiation process (if, say, they work in a team)?

Why?

8. How would you describe the "strong" and the "weak" leaders?

Why?

9. Describe your manager/leader.

10. Describe the characteristics of the manager/leader that you would prefer to work

with?

Why?

11. How does the gender of the superior influence the methods of his/her management?

12. How does the gender of the superior influence and the level of his/her authority?

13. How would you describe the limitations of a good leader?

Why?

(Thank individual for participation in the interview. Assure him/her of confidentiality of responses.)

Appendix C:

Query Questions for the Verification of findings

Dear participant, during the previous interview you agreed to answer additional questions that will help to verify the quality of the study. This part of the study carries minimal risk. Benefits include better understanding of the power distance perceptions in modern Russia and making sure that the information you provided before was understood and interpreted correctly. You may withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences for you. The information obtained from this query will be kept confidential. If you wish, the researcher will provide you with the summary of findings. You may contact the researcher (Olga Kamenchuk) at any time at *okamenchuk@cc.usu.edu*, or at the phone in Russia (0932) 231935, or in the US +1 (435) 881-0983 or the supervisor of this research Dr. George Julnes at *gjulnes@coe.usu.edu*

In this part of the query I would like to collect some information about you. Before answering the questions, please include on top of the piece of paper that you have received the following information:

Gender: **F**   **M**

Age: **18 – 29**   **30 – 45**   **46 – 60**   **older than 60**

Now, continue on the same piece of paper with your answers to the following questions:

I.

1. How do the participants view respect?

2. How is it demonstrated (respect)?

1. How does position (employer/employee) influence respectful/disrespectful behaviors?

2. How does gender influence them (such behaviors)?

3. How does personal prior experience influence such behaviors?

II.

1. How does a strong/weak leader express power?

2. What influence does gender have on power expressions (employer or employee)?

1. Is it easier to disagree with a male or female superior?

2. What influence does the gender of the employee appear to have?

III.

1. What are some factors that influence negotiation and the ability to disagree with superiors? (e.g., length of time in the position, gender, age)

IV.

1. What should an employee do if s/he thinks the superior has made a bad decision?

2. How do you feel about addressing an employer's bad decision.

(Thank you for participation)

Appendix D:

Peer Debriefer Review

I have participated in the study of power perception in Post-Soviet Russia, conducted by Olga Kamenchuk. I was involved into the process of data analysis and translation verification as a peer debriefer.

The data were collected in the form of interviews, some of which I later translated, and for the rest reviewed the translations. The difficulty of such translations relate primarily to the special constructions, such as idioms and metaphors, which were widely used by respondents. Such constructions are extremely difficult translate from one language to another, and they require specific attention from the translator's part. Therefore, we have carefully examined them and for each one discussed which version of translation would be the most appropriate.

My observations of the data collection process included observation of some of the interviews and further verification of researcher's analysis of the data obtained in the interviews. Based on the interview answers, we have designed two coding schemes (without consulting each other). After the process of coding we reviewed each other's coding scheme and checked if all categories which were included into my scheme were also included into Olga's. We further have discussed each category and the reasons why it had to be included into the coding scheme.

To verify that none of interview data which fell into the coding scheme were omitted, we have randomly selected five interviews for which I did the coding myself

(according to the scheme that we designed). The results were very close, which allowed us to conclude that the coding scheme was straightforward and complete. No new categories emerged during the coding. The final list of categories used for coding was the following: (a) individual characteristics of participants (age and gender), (b) characteristics of organizations (time of foundation, i.e. post- or pre-reform and ownership, i.e. private or public), and (c) ethical component.

The study has excellent overall quality; it shows researcher's deep understanding of the present situation in Russian companies. A concise but complete overview of the Russian history and the personal characteristic of the Russian people are very helpful to the reader for understanding some conclusions about the power perception in Russia. I believe that without such overview the reader would also have difficulties interpreting the results of the study.

In observing the interviewing process, I have noticed that Olga could easily establish trust between her and the interviewees. I consider it an important achievement, because Russian people are very cautious about what they are saying about their supervisors and often not willing to trust the interviewers even when they are promised confidentiality. I have noticed that many interviewees were not very open at the beginning, but later they started to add more details and even returned to the previous questions. Therefore, it was wise of the researcher to include questions that "intersected" and to ask additional questions that were paraphrased from the ones from the beginning of the interview. The interviews started with general questions, while further questions were more specific and in answering them the interviewees had an opportunity to develop

the ideas they touched at the beginning. At the same time, Olga has managed to keep the distance between her and the interviewees, which helped her to control subjectivity level and to distance herself from the field. To support the results, eight interviewees were selected for verification.

In the process of data analysis, Olga was willing to hear the questions that I had as a peer debriefer, and to carefully think them through. When the coding was done, she paid attention not only to the general statements of the respondents, but also to the details, which helped to draw some more specific conclusions. As such, paying attention to the fact that the interviewees referred to supervisors as males (using the masculine pronouns) helped to build a general picture of how supervisors are perceived in Russia.

I believe Olga's research provides deep academic description of realities of the Russian companies (both private and public). It gives reader understanding not only of how people with power are perceived in Russian companies, but also of business environment in Russia. This research can be extremely useful for those international companies that invest into Russian businesses and are involved into joint business activities with Russia.

Natalya Goreva
(Natalya Goreva)

Appendix E:

Independent Reviews

ФЕДЕРАЛЬНОЕ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЕ УНИТАРНОЕ ПРЕДПРИЯТИЕ

**Ивановская государственная телевизионная
и радиовещательная компания "Ивтелерадио"**
дочернее предприятие Всероссийской государственной
телевизионной и радиовещательной компании

153000, Россия, г. Иваново, ул. Театральная, 31
телефон (0932) 41-25-98 факс (0932) 41-65-00
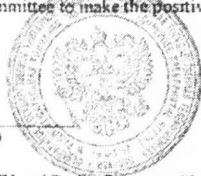
_____ № _____

На № _____ от _____

REVIEW OF DOCTORAL DISSERTATION
for Olga Kamenchuk

I have read the work of Ms. Kamenchuk with great interest. To my mind, such studies are very important in the development of friendly relations and international business between Russia and other countries, specifically between Russia and the US. Understanding people and their culture - is the first and the main step to fruitful collaboration among foreign partners. I am sure that this study will be very helpful for different global specialists: businessmen, journalists, evaluators, researchers, and politicians. Previous studies never addressed the problem of power distance in workplace environment per se and if, in Soviet times, parallel constructs were mentioned – it was mostly with the ideological colouring. A new, post-Perestroika research was necessary, but very few studies, if any at all, were done in this area in the last years.

Rather often studies are too far from real life situations and problems, but this is not the case with the presented dissertation. Olga selected different types of organizations for her study, which gave variety to the picture she was depicting. Including mixed (private/public) companies would be a good addition to the future research. However, it is obvious that it is impossible to try and describe all the possible cases. I especially value the section with practical advice that Olga provides to the readers. Her attention to the confidentiality of the gathered information is another strength to her work. In our society, still to some extent burdened with old stereotypes and fears, the problem of confidentiality is central in the process of operations with the data.

It would be great if Olga publishes the results of her study (both in English and in Russian) and continues further her research in this area. It is obvious that Ms. Kamenchuk possesses an unusual capacity for flexible and original thought in scientific research. I have a respect for her intellectual talents and maturity, as well as the quality of her work, that makes me completely confident that the dissertation is ready for defense. I recommend the defense committee to make the positive decision in the voting procedure.

Vladimir F. Kashayev, PhD   February, 2004

President of Federal State TV and Radio Company "Ivteleradio",
Academician of International Academy of TV and Radio,
Associate Professor at the Department of PR, Political Science,
Psychology and Law (Ivanovo State Power Univeristy, Russia)

February, 2004.

REVIEW OF DOCTORAL DISSERTATION
on the topic:
"Power distance perceptions in post-Soviet Russia: understanding the workplace
environment"
(the study prepared by Ms Olga Kamenchuk)

Thank you for the possibily to review the dissertation of Ms. Kamenchuk "Power distance perceptions in post-Soviet Russia: understanding the workplace environment". As the dean of the Business school I can tell that the findings are very important for development of economic connections between Russia and other countries. Helping to understand people's mentality is crucial in doing business abroad. I also think that this research area is very important to continue working for other scientists.

From my point of view, the strongest sides of the dissertation are: reviewing Russian literature together with foreign in the literature review section (this gives view from both sides to the subject, even though there were no works done on this particular topic in Russia); the matrix division of the subject under study (which gives us information from various business settings); using qualitative approach, that permitted to make changes to the character of the study while new topics emerged (especially I value inclusion of the "age" cluster to the study – a very important phenomena for our culture); giving linguistic comments in the results section (our languages are too different and sometimes meaning can be distorted due to such differences). I also think it was good that it was a Russian student that undertook such study. Olga with her knowledge of our cultural specifics, perhaps could interpret our realities better. On the other hand, Olga's work with American committee added her that external view on the things she got used to, it helped her interpret them more objectively and I am sure this is another strength of the study. May be in the future this will be an ideal setting – having international teams for cultural research (this is not very customary in Russia now).

I hope Olga continues her work in this area and makes her findings available for Russian researchers and businessmen by publishing her study in Russian. I call Ms Kamenchuk's defense commission to vote in favour of her dissertation.
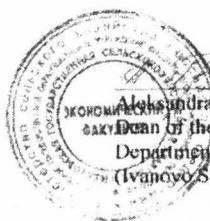
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Ph.D.	Utah State University, the USA, Dept. of Psychology, REM (**Research and Evaluation Methodology**) specialization. April 2004 (scheduled defense).
M.S.	Utah State University, the USA, Dept. of Psychology, REM (**Research and Evaluation Methodology**) specialization. – *Cum Laude.* June, 2003.
M.A.	Ivanovo State University (Russia). **Contemporary World History and International Relations; Foreign Languages** (German and English). *Magna Cum Laude.* 1994 – 1999.
Certificates	**Interpreting and teaching** English/German/Russian languages – *Summa Cum Laude.* 1994 – 1999.
Participant	International Summer Schools in **Political Science** and **Human Rights,** Russia. 1997 – 1999.
Participant	International School on **Women & Gender studies,** Russian Center for Gender Studies. July, 1998.
Student	School of **German and Russian language & Culture.** 1992 – 1993

EXPERIENCE.

Evaluation and research:

Field Director **Evaluator**	**Spectrum Consulting, LLC, -** the USA. September 2002 – present. Evaluation design, data collection, data analysis, report writing, meeting facilitations.
Evaluator	**WIRE** (Worldwide Institute of Research and Evaluation) – the USA. November 2002 – May 2003. Evaluation of the high – school educational program in Armenia, interpreting.
Research Assistant	**NCHAM** (National Center for Hearing Assessment and Management) – the USA. September 2000 – August 2002. In charge of legislative activity of States' Senates on Universal Newborn Hearing Screening,

managed evaluation and research projects done for the State Department of Health (data collection and analysis).

Teaching and presenting:

Teaching Assistant/ Tutor	*"International management", "Advanced Russian Translation", "Russian Grammar and Composition", "Analysis of Behavior", "History and Systems of Psychology".* – USU (Utah State University, the USA).
Teacher	English, World Culture, History and Political Analysis in high schools and colleges. 1997 – 1999 (in Russia)
Taught courses	on International Relations, International Business Communication in summer schools for high-school students of Ivanovo Region (as a member of the Board of Directors of IMUNG). 1995 – 1997.
Lecturer/presenter	Numerous International Conferences on Historical, International Relations, Gender Issues (Russia), 1995 – 2000; on Evaluation – Annual American Evaluation Association conference (the US, 2003).

Communication and expertise:

Chief Editor/Journalist	**Ivanovo Regional TV & Radio Company (Russia).** 1997-2000. Information and project management, general politics of the channel, editing, creation and control over a wide range of original radio programs (personally covered: law, historical, international relations and cultural areas), news writing, interviews.
Interpreter	As a member **Ivanovo Regional Peace Foundation** (received award in piece keeping activities), Ivanovo Regional Administration, Scientific Conferences (Russia) 1995 – 1998.
Secretary General	International Conference **"Russia and the World Community"**. 1995.
Chairman and Expert	**Human Rights Committee.** I & II Int. Conferences "Russia and the World Community") 1993 – 1994.
Director/advisor/ expert	**IMUNG** (Ivanovo Model United Nations Group), specialized in Political Analysis, Political English and International Communication. Russia. 1993 – 1996.
Delegate	**THIMUN** (The Hague International Model United Nations), majoring in the theory of conflict; informational management; basics of international law. The Netherlands. 1992 – 1995.

FOREIGN LANGUAGES SKILLS.

Bilingual (Russian/ English).	Certified to **teach** and **interpret** from/to English, extensive teaching (university graduate and undergraduate level, high schools) and interpreting experience (for NGOs, media, business, scientific conferences and local government).
German (fluent).	Certified to **teach** and **interpret** from/to German. Translating experience for NGOs.
French (fluent)	Course work in French, 1997 – 1999; independent study.
Spanish	Course work, independent study, 1997 – 2004.
Serbo-Croatian, Polish, Bulgarian, and Ukrainian.	(reading fluency). Research work for **Master's thesis** at the History Dept., Ivanovo State University, Russia.

COMPUTER SKILLS.

Microsoft Office, SPSS, NUDIST, Meetingworks.

HONORS, FELLOWSHIPS AND MEMBERSHIPS.

President	**Association of Eastern European Students and Scholars** (AEESS) at Utah State University, the US. March 2003 – present.
Member	**American Evaluation Association** (AEA). October 2003 – present.
Representative	Russia at the **International Student Council** (Utah State University, the US). February 2001 – present.
Award	For **peacekeeping activities** from Ivanovo Regional Peace Foundation. August, 1999.
Fellowship	To attend Ivanovo Region Summer School in **Political Science**. July, 1999, August, 1998.
Fellowship	To attend International School on **Women and Gender Studies**. July, 1998.
Award	Radio program "Historical Mosaics" named **best educational-enlightening program** in Ivanovo Region. May, 1998.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS:

1. *Paul Miliukov and his activity as a Minister of Foreign Affairs.* The Year 1917 in the Fates of Russian People. Ivanovo, 1997. Presented at the conference of the same name, Ivanovo, Russian Federation, 1997.

2. *The Youth of Ivanovo – Voznesensk economical region in events of 1917 – 1920.* /The year of 1917 in the fates of Russian people. Ivanovo, 1997.

3. *Russian women in the sphere of charity and patronage on the border of XIX – XX cent.* /Russian women on the border of XX – XXI cent. Ivanovo, 1998.

4. *Status of Russian women on the border of XIX – XX cent. – Gender aspect.* /Genderland. №3 (7), 1998.

5. *Paul Miliukov and his work for his Motherland.* /Moral motives of the intellectuals: past, present, future. Ivanovo,1998.

6. *Economical status of married women and charity in Russia and Western Europe (on the border of XIX – XX cent.)* /The series of publications dedicated to the 80-th Anniversary of Historical Department of Ivanovo State University. Ivanovo, 1998.

7. *Charity and patronage of Russian women on the border of XIX – XX cent.* / Series of scientific works of the III International Summer school on gender studies. "Azov – 1998", Moscow, 1998.

8. *Ivanovo youth in the revolutionary epoch.* /Cultural development on the border of centuries: unstudied questions. Ivanovo, 1999.

9. *Forms and methods of mass media activities in regional studies.* / Series of scientific works of the VI – VII Regional Studies Conferences. Ivanovo, 2000.

10. *Slobodan Milosevic – victory and defeat... victory or defeat?* USU Press, June 2002.

11. *Community factors that correlate with middle-adolescent antisocial behavior./* Master's Thesis, Utah State University, 2003.

<u>Numerous articles and interviews in Russian newspapers and on radio.</u>