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## Antibiotics, Herbs, and Magic: Health Practices in Contemporary St. Petersburg

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# Antibiotics, Herbs, and Magic: Health Practices in Contemporary St. Petersburg

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April 24, 2009

Senior Honors Thesis  
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*Antibiotics, Herbs, and Magic:  
Health Practices in  
Contemporary St. Petersburg*

Christine Shu has completed the requirements  
for Honors in International Studies  
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ABSTRACT

In St. Petersburg, Russia, two seemingly conflicting health doctrines, western medicine and alternative medicine, play significant roles in residents' health culture. I define alternative medicine as all health practices that use such natural products as herbs, natural honey, water, seeds, berries, and even animal products, and as such unobtrusive body therapies as acupuncture, massage, yoga, or animal therapies. I define western medicine as all treatments that involve the manipulation of ingredients in a chemistry laboratory (such as antibiotics, antiviral drugs, antihistamines, or pain killers) and all body therapies intrusive to the body (such as operations). Through interviews with St. Petersburg women who have completed university-level education, this study examines why alternative medicine continues to exist in St. Petersburg, a modern European city, that offers a free well-established state healthcare system, and more importantly, why so many St. Petersburg residents avoid the western medicine available to them, instead greatly preferring to use alternative medicine. Throughout history, the common Russian has not been able to rely on the state to provide him with adequate health care, so she has had to be self-sufficient. This tradition continues today. How residents negotiate the pluralistic medical society in St. Petersburg reflects a balancing act of a need to feel confident that the medical treatment she undertakes is the healthiest and most effective option available, with a wish for autonomy, pride in self-sufficiency, and a distrust of state-sponsored services.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### **Introduction**

The Problem: Alternative or Western Medicine?	3
Methodology	11

### **Chapter 1**

Studies of Folk Medicine in Russia	19
------------------------------------	----

### **Chapter 2**

Looking Back: Health and Medicine in Russia	30
---	----

### **Chapter 3**

Options and Decisions in St. Petersburg Health	38
--	----

### **Chapter 4**

A View from the Dacha: St. Petersburg Alternative Health Culture	60
Traditionalists	61
Converts	71
Pragmatists	78

### **Conclusion**

The Result: Time, Money, and Comfort Level	88
--	----

<b>Bibliography</b>	93
---------------------	----

<b>Appendix</b>	105
-----------------	-----

Glossary of Russian Terms	106
Chart of Medical Centers and Population by Region of St. Petersburg	107
Chart of Informants (pseudonyms)	110
Glossary of Interview Quotes (English translation and Russian original from interview)	117
List of questions for visits at general pharmacies	140
List of questions for visits to specialty pharmacies	142
List of questions for interviews with school doctor	144
List of questions for interviews with doctors of western medicine	146
List of questions for interviews with doctors of alternative medicine	148
List of questions for interviews about medicine and herbs	150
List of questions for interviews about health care, family, and personal history	154
List of questions for interviews about special therapies	158

*"Health lifestyles are collective patterns of health-related behavior based on choices from options available to people according to their life chances." (Cockerham 2002)*

## Introduction

### The Problem: Alternative or Western Medicine?

Herbs... should be a system that is all worked out – everyday you infuse and drink them... In a word, you can say it is like a preventive treatment... against contracting an illness. In other words, it is better not to treat an illness, but to prevent it... So, with the help of herbs, this is in principle very good... In order not to stuff antibiotics into yourself, and other medicine tablets, in order not to wait for a sore that may appear on you, but instead if you have precursor signs of illness, it is better to prevent getting fully sick... with the help of a remedy. If this is possible, it is best...

I, honestly speaking, I did not believe [in medicine women]. But I did it, I drank this water [that she told me to drink], I gave the water to my child... I simply, discernibly, did not want to do this. But all of a sudden it may help. I did it, but I cannot say that directly, honestly I believed in it because all the same I went to the western doctors, all the same I turned to western medicine. But at least, again, I act such as not to do more harm. In other words I may do this, it may or may not help, but at least I did not make it worse... I don't regret that I did it. How much it helped, I do not know. But honestly speaking about my opinion, I of course am probably more on the side of western medicine than this with *babki*, with these healers. But when something serious happens with the health of your relatives, you already, wherever you hear of something, wherever you see something, you try to do it so that later you do not curse yourself and think, aaa, maybe this could have helped me. (Zhenya 3-23-08)

This young mother, Yevgeniya Denisovna (Zhenya), faced the terrible prospect of the doctors operating on her unborn son to remove his swollen kidneys before she miscarried him. She grew up in the St. Petersburg metropolitan area in a family that believes in the healthfulness of using natural remedies for healing and maintaining health rather than taking antibiotics, antiviral drugs, and other strong treatments that western medicine provides. Terrified at the prospect of such a serious operation on her unborn son, Zhenya visited as many different doctors as possible in different cities of Russia in

search of an alternative. When none presented itself, she agreed to let her husband, who grew up in a village in Ukraine that still enjoys the services of a healer, to visit a medicine woman in Moscow in the hopes that she would be able to help them. When the medicine woman proved that she had extra sensorial powers by identifying the problem from which the young mother suffered by looking at a photograph of her, the couple agreed to engage the medicine woman's help. The treatment worked and Zhenya's son did not need any prenatal operation, and only required a minor operation after birth. To this day, Zhenya does not know what to think of the entire procedure and the successful outcome. She strongly prefers to use natural remedies rather than western medications because she believes that natural products are less invasive to the body than western pharmaceuticals. At the same time, she respects the scientific foundation of western medicine more than the powers of medicine women. Nonetheless, she agreed to submit to the magical powers of the medicine woman because they gave her the most hope for curing her son while avoiding surgery. As Zhenya states, "when something serious happens with the health of your relatives... wherever you hear of something, wherever you see something, you try to do it," even if it involves participating in health practices you do not believe in.

This story illustrates how the health culture in St. Petersburg enables one woman to pursue conflicting health doctrines to find the most comfortable option for her, even if she does not believe in the theory upon which that option is founded. Urban Russians, who tend to be well educated, divorce their doctrinal beliefs from their practice of health maintenance in order to take advantage of the best option available: western or alternative medicine. For the average St. Petersburg resident, boundaries do not exist between

western and alternative medicine in the practice of health maintenance. St. Petersburg urban Russians shift from one health offering to the next, slowly moving away from what they feel most comfortable with in search of the best option for the given situation. Significantly, the ability of Russians to shift between different health doctrines has made it possible for Russian folk medicine to continue to thrive to this day. Russians' flexibility toward the medical industry creates an environment in which alternative medicine can coexist as a popular form of health care alongside western medicine, despite the state's forceful endorsement of the latter from tsarist and Soviet times up through today.

In this study I examine the place of alternative medicine in everyday life in St. Petersburg, Russia and its relationship with western medicine from the point of view of residents of the city. Originally, I had intended to focus my research on Russian folk medicine, the medicine traditionally practiced in Russia (forest and garden-gathered natural products, medicine men and women, and incantations). Early on in my interview process, I realized that the women I interviewed included what I thought of as "alternative medicine" when they spoke of "folk medicine." In interviews, informants felt most strongly about the difference between natural treatments and western medicine, so I changed my focus to learn about what we understand in the United States to be alternative medicine, which includes Russian folk medicine. For the sake of simplicity, I define alternative medicine as all health practices that only use natural products (such as herbs, natural honey, water, seeds, berries, or animal products) and all unobtrusive body therapies (such as acupuncture, massage, yoga, or animal therapies). I define western medicine as all treatments that involve the manipulation of ingredients in a chemistry

laboratory (such as antibiotics, antiviral drugs, antihistamines, or pain killers) and all body therapies intrusive to the body (such as operations).

In St. Petersburg, both alternative and western medicines play vital roles. Yet each of them approaches healing differently. Alternative medicine takes a holistic approach. Practitioners look for the cause of the illness and its effects on the body's symptoms. Rather than treating the particular illness, they disregard the pathogenic agent causing the illness, and instead treat the entire body according to the needs of the individual. Western medicine takes a symptom approach. Doctors diagnose the specific illness, treat it according to which medications kill which causal pathogens or alleviate which symptoms. They may not consider what hidden effects the disease has had on the body (see Johnston 2002 for a discussion about alternative versus western medicine approaches).

How St. Petersburg residents practice alternative medicine and how they relate to alternative versus western forms of medicine in practice as opposed to in theory – which would urban Russians prefer to use in general compared to what they actually use in a particular situation – communicates to us the nature of the health society in existence in St. Petersburg today and the reason why Russian urban residents continue to rely so heavily on alternative medicine even though they live in a modern and technological European city that offers a free well-established state health care system.

The doctrines of these two health practices, alternative medicine and western medicine, present in St. Petersburg, conflict one another. The city's residents claim to support one or the other of these two doctrines, falling neatly into two general types of individuals: (a) those who solely use alternative medicine because it is natural and safer

for the body; and (b) those who use the most convenient, reliable, and simple medicine, which often means western medicine. (However, as I will discuss later, St. Petersburg residents' doctrinal preferences often do not reflect the individuals' practices.) Because of perestroika (beginning in 1987), which opened up Russian borders, increased freedom of choice in Russia, and subsequently increased Russians' awareness of health possibilities, another category of individuals breaks off from type (b) to join type (a). Members of this category once belonged to type (b) because of a lack of awareness about health issues, but have converted to only using alternative medicine in the last five to ten years because of a negative experience with western medicine. Therefore, today in St. Petersburg, residents may be considered to fall into three health practice groups: the "traditionalists," those Russians whose families have always used alternative medicine and continue to do so today; the "converts," those who have recently begun to use only alternative medicine; and the "pragmatists," those who have no strong health beliefs.

Traditionalists and converts perceive western medicine as extremely harmful to one's long-term health. The level of understanding of why western medicine is dangerous varies from individual to individual. Some informants talk about how they took western medicine for an extended period and experienced such long-term ill effects as continuous stomach aches and new sicknesses unrelated to their original illness. They attribute this added sickness to the effects of western medicine on the body. Others talk about how western medications kill the micro flora in the intestines that make a person healthy. They talk about how the liver and kidneys struggle to digest the medications, which damages them. They warn that if one must take western medications, one should take some natural remedies to boost the immune system and support the body's organs.



Traditionalists and converts understand western medications as unnatural foreign substances introduced into the body in strong dosages, whereas they understand alternative remedies as coming from nature, not altered from their original strength, and much softer on the body. In fact, when they speak of western medications they use the word “chemicals” and when they speak of alternative remedies they say “natural products.” Traditionalists and converts greatly prefer to introduce only natural substances to their body, believing that nature has provided amply for humans for millennia. They choose to avoid the “unnatural” nature of western medication unless alternative medicine offers no possibilities for treatment. Pragmatists, on the other hand, believe in the science of western medicine and view alternative medicine, unfounded in science and not developed for modern society, as unpredictable at best and possibly even ludicrous.

Despite the neat categories that St. Petersburg residents fall into denoting their health beliefs, when Russians actually choose how to treat themselves, they may try a treatment that does not fall within the definition of their preferred health doctrine because that treatment offers the best chance of recovery given the particular circumstances. Those who reject western medicine will solicit the help of a doctor; those who do not believe in the efficacy of herbs or healer’s magic will visit a medicine woman for treatment. Urban Russians understand each instance of illness as unique, and will adopt different practices offered by western and alternative medicine in order to address that particular illness as effectively as possible.

Ethnographers who study folk medicine seek to understand what illness means to individuals in a given culture, what health practices they embrace, and how this

preference affects their health practices. According to A. K. Baiburin, folk medicine practices are occasional rituals, enacted for the purpose of a person separating himself from nature:

A man saves himself, his 'humanity,' specifically through the sphere of ritual. From this point of view, ritual is the demonstration of his independence from nature... [Ritual helps people cope in] situations of crisis, when a real threat to the existence of man and the collective appears (1993: 174).

Illness, he says, represents such a threat. He describes illness as something foreign that enters a person's world, apparently simply by fate. Thus one must expel it with something familiar and from one's own sphere of awareness (1993: 191). As Vladimir Yakovlevich Propp succinctly states, "almost the world over, sickness is thought of as the presence of a foreign object in the body and the treatment of it lies in its extraction from the body by a shaman" (1998: 76). Health and sickness play a very central role in people's lives. Therefore, the study of the practices surrounding them reveals key aspects about the coping mechanisms of the particular culture studied and how different peoples resemble and differ from one another. In contemporary Russia, a flexible pluralistic medical society has developed to embrace both alternative medicine and western medicine such that both Russian individuals and Russian health practitioners borrow from both forms of medicine when necessary in order to protect an individual's body from the "threat" of illness and expunge the "foreign object" from the sick person's body.

Contemporary studies of Russian folk medicine consider all forms of healing, including different materials, methods, and beliefs. Ethnographers study the different physical forms of folk medicine, including the use of herbs, animal products, honey,

sacred (or holy) water, jams and preserves, berries, icons, and minerals in healing practices. They also study the more spiritual forms of folk medicine like charms and incantations. Ethnographers research how local Russian beliefs affect the local residents' everyday lives and what rituals these residents practice that express these beliefs in order to understand the relationship that the local people feel to their surroundings.

This ethnographic study approaches the medical world in St. Petersburg from the point of view of the patient and her relationship with western and alternative medicine, because like in the US, doctors, scientists, medicine women, alternative medicine practitioners, and laypeople in Russia debate whether seemingly weaker natural treatments or more powerful western medicines provide the better balance of being healthy for the body (fewer acute side-effects and less long-term damage) and an effective form of treatment (able to bring the patient to full recovery). Such a study of medicine helps us understand how St. Petersburg residents' surroundings influence their perception of their health and the medical options available to them, which then influences how they make their health care decisions. An understanding of the way urban Russians think about medicine and health and how they relate to health and approach medicine in general would help St. Petersburg and private ventures provide the best possible care for their citizens and clients. Why would a person choose to pursue alternative medicine over western medicine and vice versa? What is the prevalent preference today for treatment: natural or laboratory-made? Is this preference changing from one form of medicine to another? If indeed such a shift exists, what is causing this shift?

Despite the prevalence of western medicine treatments and products, and the growing dependence on the offerings of western medicine over the last century, the practice of alternative medicine in Russia continues to this day and has arguably grown stronger since the fall of the Soviet Union. Not only do Russians actively use alternative medicine in the provinces, but even residents of the cities, such as St. Petersburg, continue to rely on alternative medicine, even among informants who have a higher education and have lived in the city their whole lives.

In this study I explore the health practices of St. Petersburg residents, in particular women, most of them mothers, in order to understand the relationship different individuals have with alternative medicine and western medicine, and how their beliefs affect the choices they make in health practice. I discuss why alternative medicine has secured a place of legitimacy among St. Petersburg residents, even though they have ample access to modern medical services. First, I look at the options available to St. Petersburg residents in the health industry and the choices they have to make when deciding on treatment. Then, I examine how each of the three categories of St. Petersburg residents use these options and make their decisions. In the end, the ultimate decision a St. Petersburg resident makes depends on her comfort level with health, medicine, and treatment, and her wish for control over her health and body.

### **Methodology**

During the Spring of 2008 I researched to what extent residents actively use alternative medicine in St. Petersburg, a technologically advanced modern city. If they used alternative medicine, in what capacity and what role did it play in their lives? I

conducted a total of 16 interviews, seven at pharmacies, one interview of a school doctor, and eight interviews with St. Petersburg residents who have completed a university-level education. I also watched television health shows, gathered newspaper articles and advertisements about health, and analyzed advertisements posted throughout the city to learn what health care options St. Petersburg residents encounter on a daily basis. Once I established the fact that St. Petersburg dwellers definitely still use alternative medicine, I deepened my research to find out why people still use it, how they decide whether to adhere to alternative or western medicine given a certain health problem, and what kind of medicine their family practiced during their childhood. Returning to St. Petersburg for January of 2009 I conducted another thirty-nine interviews, four with alternative medicine practitioners, two with western medicine doctors, and thirty-three with St. Petersburg residents who have no formal health education. During the spring of 2009 the studies came together to form a representation of how residents choose to treat themselves and their families in St. Petersburg. All told, I conducted 55 interviews with 49 informants, interviewing six informants two times.

In this paper, pseudonyms refer to the informants. Each informant has a pseudonym that includes first name and patronymic name, the formal way of addressing an individual with respect in the Russian language. For simplicity for non-Russian readers, I only use this first name-patronymic name once, with the associated nickname in parentheses, to introduce the informant. I then use the nickname throughout the rest of the paper. (See Appendix for a Chart of Informants (by pseudonym) and brief information about each informant.)

Every informant has a degree of higher education, an important consideration that indicates that even people who have received a western-style education, in which knowledge is based on evidence, prefer alternative medicine, a form of medicine often criticized for its lack of scientific grounding. All informants live in St. Petersburg or the metropolitan area. City residents have more options for access to modern health care from polyclinics and hospitals, and have more convenient transportation options through public transportation than do residents of small villages in the countryside who may have to catch an infrequent bus and travel for miles to reach the nearest hospital or clinic.

The majority of informants were also women who have children. I specified these parameters because my past research indicated that women generally take care of the family, including the grown men. Women administer both prophylactics and remedies for illness to their husbands, children, and any other men in the family. Interviewing mothers would provide greater depth in this study, because St. Petersburg women with children have a more direct relationship with medicine and health. These women have had to think about the true value of health and have had to make the decision on numerous occasions about whether to administer natural remedies or western medicines to their children. These interviews helped me understand the history and significance of alternative medicine in Russia in my informants' personal experience.

To ensure that my interviews covered the same basic topics and to help guide my interviews, I first wrote several lists of questions to discover which type of medicine the informant prefers to use and why. If the informant confirmed that she prefers to use alternative medicine, I asked questions to determine the extent of the informant's knowledge of and confidence in alternative medicine and how frequently she uses it, on

herself or on her family members or friends. For informants with particularly unique medical histories, I created a special list of questions to learn about the alternative therapies available as well as the treatments offered by western medicine. These interviews elucidated where St. Petersburg dwellers buy their medicines, whether they grow their own herbs and prepare their own remedies, where they learned the herbal medicine that they know, where they receive advice about treatments, how they feel about antibiotics, antiviral drugs, and painkillers, and about the western medicine approach to healing, and their impressions of how herbal medicine is used and thought of amongst their acquaintances.<sup>1</sup> Additional research illuminated what other factors influence St. Petersburg mothers' medical choices. Visits to pharmacies (*apteki*) to observe how pharmacists advise customers about how to treat particular illnesses and to learn what products general pharmacies and specialty pharmacies offer exemplified the help available to St. Petersburg residents at official treatment institutions. Using a list of questions as a guide, I asked for the pharmacist's advice for a particular ailment (a sore throat) to see what responses she might give me. What the pharmacist immediately recommended, a natural treatment or a western medication, signified what type of advice St. Petersburg clients to that pharmacy often receive. To determine the extent of the pharmacist's knowledge of natural treatments, I asked if she might recommend a natural remedy and then explain the difference between the different products she recommended to me, what side effects they had, how quickly I would feel better, how long I had to take the treatment, and which treatment was healthier for me.

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<sup>1</sup> As each interview began, I received verbal permission from all interviewees to voice record and publish their interviews.





**Figures 1 and 2.** Inside a local government pharmacy in Gatchina, near the apartment buildings of informants of this study. This pharmacy sells western medications (over the counter medications and prescription medications), alternative remedies (herbs, syrups, tablets), little physical therapy equipment, and personal hygiene products. Photographed by author.

These pharmacy visits helped me understand what options St. Petersburg residents feel like they have to treat minor ailments. Pharmacists' responses indicated that unless St. Petersburg clients specify that they want a natural remedy, the pharmacist would recommend a western medication. Should a client ask for a natural remedy, the pharmacists can suggest several.

Finally, I considered alternative medicine mass media. Watching television shows on public health and medicine, reading newspapers to see what types of advertisements and articles people come across, and exploring the city to see what billboards advertise on the street and in the metro, I gained a sense of the advice that St. Petersburg dwellers encounter on a daily basis by living in the city. In addition, searches on the Internet using yandex.ru, a large Russian search engine like Google, on *narodnaya meditsina* (folk medicine), *ofitsial'naya meditsina* (official medicine), *zdorov'ye* (health), and *meditsina* (medicine), indicated what resources for alternative medicine Russians have access to online. These sites' terminology signified the accessibility St. Petersburg residents without a medical education have to the advice available on the sites. Some



sites targeted doctors, and so used technical terms, while others used simple common language and names of illnesses and herbs, making these sites good resources for laypeople. These Internet sources broadly represented common opinions, what remedies Russians consider common knowledge, and what problems Russians commonly worry about. The websites helped me become familiar with how Russians think, speak, and support their health practices.

I also sought to discover to what extent informants' families influence their health decisions. An interview with the school doctor at a Gymnasium where I studied gave me an idea of the health care that children receive outside of the home while growing up. Reading studies that investigate the health services provided at preschools and other studies about family doctors illustrated what kinds of medical services children receive in St. Petersburg. Understanding children's services also shed light on the relationship people have with medicine in the city, and how adults treat children as opposed to themselves. Presumably, children rely on caretakers for treatment, while adults take care of themselves. Also, to understand the origins of individuals' health preferences, I looked for a pattern that connected decisions made by the informant to external influences that she frequently encounters.

In addition to establishing that Russians continue to use alternative medicine widely today, and that many people even prefer alternative practices to western medicine, informants, friends, and acquaintances make it clear that they relied heavily on alternative medicine during Soviet times. St. Petersburg residents' reliance on alternative medicine under Soviet power contradicted Health Ministry initiatives that banned the publication and sale of literature on folk medicine because the Soviet state rejected its efficacy

(Chistov 1996). Intrigued, I investigated the history of the relationship between western medicine and alternative medicine in the pre-Soviet and Soviet eras to understand the extent to which people relate to western and alternative medicine the way they do today because of Soviet state attitudes towards medicine. Learning about informants' attitude toward alternative medicine during the Soviet era would help me determine whether a resurgence of alternative medicine has actually taken place since the fall of the Soviet Union, or if people have always used alternative medicine, in secret, because of the Soviet state's official disapproval of it, and so its visibility now owes to the fact that the government no longer bans it.

Examining case studies in societies in which forms of alternative medicine coexist with western medicine suggested several ways to understand the relationship between alternative and western medicine in other cultures where the West has imposed itself and western medicine has made a strong appearance. These studies helped me understand how these cultures negotiated the transition from alternative practices to relying on western medicine, if they in fact made such a transition, and if they did, what role, if any, alternative medicine plays in the culture today. This research highlighted what types of choices people in other cultures face and how they make health decisions, which provided a point of reference from which to understand the health culture in St. Petersburg. Studies of other cultures elucidate that an individual's willingness to use a medical doctrine outside his cultural health understanding depends on his ability to integrate the foreign health doctrine into his own beliefs to make sense of its effectiveness and to legitimize it. Coping mechanisms include differentiating between traditional and new illnesses, and treating them with traditional and new health practices

respectively; continuously adapting a health doctrine to fit the needs of the modern individual; and reframing the new healing mechanism in terms of one's own understanding of the health problem that requires it.

With this broad awareness of the coping mechanisms in other cultures, I turned to the contemporary St. Petersburg health situation to consider how residents define medicine and health, what they expect from the public health sector, how they define alternative medicine and western medicine, how they choose between the two, why they choose one form over another, or would they combine what each has to offer for a more effective overall treatment. In St. Petersburg, while women primarily choose to pursue a particular treatment based on their personal beliefs about health and medicine, this practice of consciously choosing how to treat oneself, as opposed to automatically submitting to a doctor's expert opinion, demonstrates a wish for autonomy over one's own body. The underlying wish to control their own health allows St. Petersburg women to pursue the most appropriate course of treatment at the time, given the options and the circumstances and disregard the contradictions this flexible mixing of health doctrines suggests. This practice of picking and choosing makes St. Petersburg a medical society in which individuals can sample different health options and mix and match the different health doctrines they use for treatment according to what they perceive to be the most effective combination.

## Chapter 1

### Studies of Folk Medicine in Russia

Several leading scholars have conducted studies on Russian folk medicine, the use of herbs in traditional life in Russia, and Russian ethnobotany, or “the cultural uses of plants” (Ford 1994: viii). Few of them have conducted ethnographic research on Russians’ decision-making process and why Russians choose the health practices they do. Rather, many studies scrutinize a specific practice from one health belief system. Ethnobotanists study Russian folk medicine with the purpose of understanding the connections between names of herbs, folk tales, and rituals (Slavyanskiye Drevnosti 1995, 1999; Popov 1996; Vinogradov 1915; Toren 1996; Chistov 1996; Kolosova 2001, 2004, 2005, “Human Body”; Brodskiy 2005; Koppaleva 2007; Ippolitova 2002; Chesheyko 1997; Kolokdyuk 2006; Mazalova 1996). Ethnographers frequently consider magic and folk medicine – what magical practices people use, what role medicine men and women play in a specific place, and what beliefs support the use of magic for healing (Khakkarainen 2005; Vitashevskiy 1918; Vysotskiy 1911, Lindquist 2006). My research approaches understanding folk medicine practices from a very different point of view. What specific practices people use does not interest me as much as why they use those practices, selecting treatment from one health doctrine instead of another. My research also differs in that I seek to understand people’s health practices in one of Russia’s two major cities, St. Petersburg, while most studies focus on villagers’ practices in the countryside.

Given the paucity of literature about urban Russian medicine, I rely on the works of scholars who have studied health practices of other cultures. Those studies that look at societies that experienced an abrupt introduction to western medicine, especially those

societies in which the state forced the use of western medicine, are of particular interest. To build a framework for my research, I have drawn on studies that analyze societies with pluralistic medicine practices, in other words societies in which an individual has many different options for health care. These studies generally conclude that when an individual can freely choose how to manage his health, he will choose the form of treatment that would most effectively treat the health problem he faces at the given time, even if that requires leaving his preferred health doctrine. This conclusion reflects the findings of my research as well.

A range of studies has investigated how an individual may think of health and how this image of health may influence his or her decision about how to remain healthy and treat illness. Allan Young (1976) proposes that in order to understand how a sick person decides what type of medicine to rely on for treatment, the researcher must appreciate the local cultural understanding of what it means to be ill. All societies construct a paradigm with which to understand sickness and health. The sick person must decide in which context he wants his signs of lack of well-being to be translated into symptoms, and based on these symptoms, how the healer will diagnose and choose to treat him. In the end, a medical system is both practical in that it attempts to address physical ailments and social in that it responds to the physical manifestations within the parameters that the culture defines sickness. In St. Petersburg, residents must decide whether to submit to western medicine's scientific understanding of health and its laboratory-developed treatments or to rely on alternative medicine's holistic approach of diagnosing and treating an illness.

Edmund D. Pellegrino (1963) argues that, essentially, medicine reflects an individual's idea of man. Medicine and culture share a relationship of reciprocity in which medicine reflects culture, in so far as those who practice that form of medicine shape its practices and its suppositions based on their understanding of man as an entity. Pellegrino finds that due to the successes of the scientific revolution in solving virtually all health problems introduced to it, people came to believe in the infallibility of science. Only recently have scientists realized that science is not absolute truth. With this realization, man's image of himself has ruptured, and so he is currently in the process of reconstructing his identity. Pellegrino would explain the existence of conflicting health doctrines in St. Petersburg and St. Petersburg residents' ability to mix aspects of different health doctrines as a search for the perfect medical system in response to the apprehension that science cannot solve all problems in life. Informants, particularly converts, expressed this growing uncertainty in science and the need to develop a health regimen for themselves, instead of relying on western medicine's failing ability to treat an individual as opposed to a set of symptoms.

Some studies consider the interaction of alternative and western health practices within a given community. Researchers examine what conflicts may exist between them and how people ignore their boundaries, mix them, and create a conglomeration of scientifically-proven western and belief-based alternative practices. With the ability to overlook the "boundaries" that separate different forms of medicine, people build a treatment regime that uses the effective aspects of all types of medicine. G. V. Arkhangel'skiy (1985), a Russian historiographer writes that folk medicine reflects the local people and their traditions, beliefs, and customs. It also reflects the local place,

because it will be based on the local flora and fauna. Applying his argument to the fluid nature of health practices in St. Petersburg, alternative medicine is flexible in nature in order to accommodate St. Petersburg residents' demands of it. St. Petersburg dwellers' use of alternative medicine reflects the options available to them. Because they have many options, they have complicated multi-doctrine health practices.

Volker Scheid (2002) examines the "genealogy" of Chinese medicine in order to prove that a pluralistic health care system cannot really exist. Scheid proposes that medicine actually is a continuum. The boundaries dividing different forms of medicine are blurry and easily and frequently traversed. Just as Arkhangel'skiy argues that the nature of Russian folk medicine continually changes to reflect the needs of folk medicine users and the options available to them, which blurs boundaries between doctrines, Scheid argues that in fact no true boundaries exist between doctrines in individuals' practice of health maintenance. This explains St. Petersburg residents' smooth navigation in practice between such conflicting health doctrines as western and alternative medicine.

In fact, David Taylor (1996) claims that western medicine is slowly adopting alternative medicine practices, particularly herbal medicine which even more closely unites the two opposing health doctrines. Western society's turn toward alternative medicine may reflect the increasing dissatisfaction many people have with their health systems. The time-honored traditions of alternative medicine answer the need for natural non-intrusive medicine practices. For example, as popular demand for natural treatments increases, the United States government has legitimized the practices of the naturopathic doctor and has established a licensing degree for such doctors to achieve to practice

medicine. The use of alternative treatments exists in Russian western medicine practices as well. In Russia, this is not a new development. Rather, doctors and patients claim that doctors have always preferred to prescribe herbal remedies before western medications because of their less-invasive nature. Informants appreciate this effort on the part of the doctors, although they still prefer self-treatment, as they usually feel that doctors still prescribe too many invasive western medicines.

In fact, M. A. Nosal and I. M. Nosal conducted a study that examines the role that herbal medicines play in western medical practice in Russia. They explore medicinal plants and the ways in which western medicine has adopted them (2002). The significance of their study lies in the fact that, as their editor points out, very often once western medical doctors test an herbal remedy and find that it works, western medicine quickly introduces it into official practice as a veritable treatment. Unfortunately, scientists analyze very few herbal folk treatments. Therefore, the majority of the world either loses or ignores huge collections of knowledge simply because science has not brought them under analysis and in so doing given them legitimacy in the rationally scientific medical industry. The task of introducing alternative remedies to western medicine practices is even more challenging, the Nosals found, because the medicine men and women who store the majority of this knowledge of plants and other healing treatments often prefer to keep their craft a secret. They do not teach their knowledge to anyone but their few apprentices. Russian folk remedies still exist in the knowledge base of the common individual, not in science. As St. Petersburg informants expressed, although most doctors prescribe some natural remedies, they draw from a limited knowledge of remedies. St. Petersburg residents must continue to pass down their health



knowledge from generation to generation in order to ensure the ability of their children to care for their own health and avoid reliance on state health services.

Christopher A. Domarew, Richard R. Holt, and Gail Goodman-Snitkoff (2002) also investigate the effect that government's support of herbal medicine has on the population. They found that in Russia, phytotherapy, or treatment with herbal remedies, has enjoyed a longstanding history that has survived to this day, despite repeated governmental prohibitions against herbal use and the political and cultural upheavals of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Today, the Russian governmental health body, the Ministry of Health, supports the selling and prescribing of herbs, herbal remedies, and herbal treatments. The Ministry has established an exacting system of testing and licensing the production of the products sold and the assurance of reliable information about the herb and how to use it. The Russian government regards these herbs as effective because they have been used to heal for centuries. Because the government actively supports the use of herbs as health treatments, common people and even physicians mix western and alternative medicine in their treatment of illness. This accepted tendency to mix alternative and western health practices makes it even convenient for St. Petersburg residents to continue their tradition of controlling their own health treatments. They can choose what type of medicine to use, ask a western medicine doctor to prescribe alternative remedies, and bring western diagnostic test results to alternative medicine practitioners and receive help.

Those researchers who have contributed to the body of knowledge about people's decisions in pluralistic medical societies have found that an individual's beliefs, and the adaptability of these beliefs, determine the form of treatment he will pursue at a given time. Susan L. Johnston (2002) argues that not only do Native Americans undeniably

still use alternative medicine, but they often use a pluralistic form of medicine.

Generally, an individual will choose to use alternative medicine, and if this cannot solve the health problem, he will try western medicine, a trend that St. Petersburg residents reflect in their health practices. Johnston claims that Native Americans easily juggle the use of both alternative and western medicine. One of her informants says that each type of medicine treats a very specific category of problems. These Native Americans use alternative medicine to heal traditional ailments, chronic illnesses, and full-body problems. They use western medicine to cure symptoms and “new” illnesses, those that have only appeared in the Native American population since Westerners arrived in North America. St. Petersburg traditionalists and converts also choose health treatment based on the nature of the problem. They reserve alternative medicine for chronic unspecific health problems and western medicine for serious acute illnesses, similar to the Native Americans’ use of alternative versus western medicine that Johnston studied.

Susan Beckerleg conducted a study (1994) about how people in Kenya choose which medical system to adhere to when they are ill. In the Swahili village she studied, the sick man she follows tries many different types of medicine until he finds a form that offers a treatment that improves his health. Throughout all of his experimentation for the correct treatment, not once does he alter his understanding of the cause of the illness. The sick man divorces his understanding of the cause of his ailment from the mode of treatment in his mind in order to accept the most effective treatment. Similarly, St. Petersburg residents try different treatment options to find the most effective one, even if they use a doctrine that they do not accept in principle. In medicine use, both the Swahili man and St. Petersburg women divorce principle from practice.

Michael Fuchs and Rashid Bashshur (1975) argue that cultural factors, not economic, educational, or political circumstances, determine urban Native Americans' continued use of alternative medicine once they have moved into an urban area. Opposite to the findings of my study, Fuchs and Bashshur found that the more serious the health problem, the greater the likelihood that the individual will turn to alternative medicine. Rather, in St. Petersburg, residents often begin by using alternative medicine. If that treatment fails, they turn to western medicine. Bashshur and Fuchs also found that the closer to the reservation or to the old culture an urban Native American is, the more likely he will continue to use alternative medicine. St. Petersburg residents' health practices do agree with this Native American trend. Traditionalists, who have experienced alternative medicine their whole lives, do adhere more closely to it, particularly to Russian folk medicine within it, than do converts or pragmatists.

Significantly, Shelley R. Adler (1999) finds that contrary to popular belief that only indigenous or native peoples practice alternative medicine, a majority of American women actually have used alternative medicine at least once in their lives, especially younger women. The general population in the United States not only uses alternative medicine, but it does not necessarily use it out of desperation because of the recent diagnosis of a fatal illness as Fuchs and Bashshur (1975) suggest. Like in St. Petersburg, educated individuals of the majority group population rely on alternative medicine for health care. The difference in St. Petersburg is that this widespread use of alternative medicine is not a new trend, but one that has survived for centuries, and so the preference for alternative medicine is one more of comfort than utility.

Allen Young supports the proposition that people choose the appropriate medical paradigm depending on the ailment. He states that when several medical systems meet, the result is often either “assimilation” or “particularization” (1976). By assimilation, Young argues that people adopt foreign medical practices into their own medical system in so far as they understand the practices. St. Petersburg residents have assimilated many foreign varieties of medicine, which results in the eclectic nature of the St. Petersburg health industry. Young defines particularization as people determining that foreign medical practices are appropriate for very particular circumstances, including: foreign medical practices are only effective for illnesses that have come from that foreign culture; foreign medical practices only address symptoms, as only the traditional medical system treats the body holistically; and that particular foreign medical practices only administer to certain “categories” of people, as members of a cult. That is, people can account for other medical systems and make use of them without compromising their own traditional system through assimilation and particularization. The St. Petersburg case does not reflect Young’s analysis of individuals’ responses to foreign medical systems. In St. Petersburg, residents incorporate foreign health practices into their repertoire of options and use them all together, as needed, rather than using each individually.

The St. Petersburg tradition of choosing health treatments more closely resembles Irwin Press’s analysis of an urban pluralistic medical society (1978). Press investigates the experience of migrants who move to cities from rural areas. He characterizes “folk medicine” and “folk illness”<sup>2</sup>, or alternative medicine and illness, as open systems in that they are flexible and adaptive to the changing environment and the particular needs of the

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<sup>2</sup> Press defines folk illness as the “concepts of cause, etiology, manifestation, and labeling of *disease* itself.” He defines folk medicine as “a blanket term for all folk practices and beliefs, yet [it] properly refers solely to concepts, instruments, practices, and personnel of *cure*” (1978: 72)

person employing them, in contrast to the closed system of western medicine, which stringently conforms to the rules and regulations that science defines. Alternative medicine's inherent flexibility, Press would argue, explains why St. Petersburg residents so easily mix different alternative practices and mix alternative with western medicine. Alternative medicine and illness, Press argues, also relinquish the authority they hold in people's belief system in favor of western medicine when necessary, which makes it possible for people in urban settings to "compartmentalize." Urban dwellers choose when to use alternative practices and when to use western medicine. Alternative practices attract people because they are a more familiar form of understanding the body and health, and because they treat patients as individuals. Family and friends diagnose, treat, and actively participate in the alternative healing process, whereas in western medicine, the patient lets the doctor conduct his tests and prescribe medications. Press found, as many informants for my study expressed, that alternative medicine as a practice is more personable than the scientifically austere practices of western medicine.

In my study I tackle the challenge set by Bradley P. Stoner (1986), who notes that:

The definition and delineation of separate medical systems within societies is perhaps less valuable for the development of an understanding of health-seeking behavior and health care decision making than the clear and focused study of the actual health care alternatives that people utilize in times of illness (44).

Stoner argues that distinctly defining alternative medicine and western medicine is impossible. Different peoples would define these two forms of medicine differently given different situations. In pluralistic medical systems, local people continuously blur and ignore the boundaries of various medical doctrines. They

borrow different practices, changing the boundaries between them, to fit the needs of their practitioners. To define doctrines would be to deny their changing nature. In addition, many forms of alternative medicine often exist within a single medical society. These forms of medicine are not even uniform within one community, much as this study of St. Petersburg reflects. Treatment use depends on the individual who uses it and the particular time that he uses it. In St. Petersburg, although informants break down into three categories, each informant has a different approach to health care and feels comfortable using different forms of alternative medicine, different western medicine services, and different levels of self-treatment. The St. Petersburg medical society exists on Scheid's "continuum," with many different treatment options and each individual using these treatments differently.

I would argue that this continuum exists in St. Petersburg because of the evolution of the health industry in Russia. Western medicine developed separately from alternative medicine. But because neither western nor alternative medicine could solve every health problem, Russians began to use one or the other form of medicine given the circumstances of the illness. This mixing of medicine in practice has resulted in the fluid nature of the boundaries between western and alternative medicines that exists today in St. Petersburg.

## Chapter 2

### Looking Back: Health and Medicine in Russia

Throughout history, Russians have used two basic forms of medicine: western medicine and folk medicine. Russians have had to negotiate between these two health options when taking care of their own health for generations. Usually, the elites in Russia have used western medicine and the commoners have used folk medicine. This split occurred because the state has introduced and supported the spread of western medicine, which the elite class has adopted, while the commoner class has continued to rely heavily on Russian folk medicine. As early as 692, before the time of Kievan Rus' (880-1150), foreign physicians, often thought of as the most accomplished practitioners of medicine, served the nobles (Ryan 1999: 364), while the folk healers served the common people (Zguta 1981). This trend results from the accessibility of different forms of medicine. Both this pattern of differing accessibility to western medicine and Russians' challenge to decide which form of treatment to use when continue today.

Western medicine appeared in Russia, encouraged by the tsars, in a state effort to modernize the Russian Empire – to relinquish outdated beliefs and practices and replace them with scientifically supported medical teachings. The tsars hoped that the introduction of western medicine to Russia would replace uncivilized folk medicine. Tsars invited western doctors to Russia in order to learn about western technology, to modernize, and to create deeper ties with the west (Ryan 1999; Zguta 1981). During this period of tsarist fascination with western knowledge, the tsars outlawed magic and discouraged the use of Russian folk medicine. In the time of Kievan Rus', Prince Vladimir condemned the use of magical cures employed by folk healers (Zguta 1981: 49). In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich ordered the confiscation of all herbs

(Ryan 1999: 23). At first, tsars decreed the practice of magic illegal because they feared that someone would poison or curse them (Ryan 1999: 22-23, Zguta 1981: 50). Later, Peter the Great prohibited ownership of anthologies of *zagovory*<sup>3</sup> (incantations) as part of his great plan to westernize Russia (Ryan 1999: 167-168). While these decrees did not greatly affect how Russian commoners practiced medicine, the decrees delegitimized folk medicine in the eyes of the state. Yet given the prevalence of alternative medicine use today, these decrees against folk medicine did not deter Russian commoners from using it because folk medicine was essentially the only form of health care available to them.

Formal western medicine seems foreign to common Russians both because foreigners have predominated as western medicine doctors in Russia and because of commoners' inability to access western medicine services. European doctors formed the core of western medicine practice in Russia until the Russian Revolution in 1917. The first Russian medical institute did not open until 1764, at Moscow University, under the reign of Catherine the Great (Field 1957: 2). Once the institute opened, the percentage of Russian doctors did not increase substantially. In 1800, Russian doctors comprised only 14% of all doctors practicing in Russia (Field 1957: 2).

Given the nature of folk medicine and commoners' lack of access to western medicine services, the majority of Russians have a history of autonomous health treatment. Fundamentally, self-treatment characterizes Russian folk medicine. Common Russians have had easy access to folk medicine monetarily, physically, and educationally. During tsarist times, members of the Russian lower classes did not have the financial resources to be able to call on the professional services of a highly educated

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<sup>3</sup> "The *zagovor* is essentially a magic formula the aim of which is to fulfill the wish of the person employing it, to afford protection, or to exorcize an evil spirit, or to harm an enemy or rival" (Ryan 1999: 166).



western doctor. Nor did they necessarily live close enough to a hospital or a western medical clinic to be able to access these professional western services when they needed them. Russian commoners also did not possess the educational background to appreciate the benefits that western medicine promised. W.F. Ryan claims that because of significant class differences during tsarist times, “for most of the people who resorted to charms to cure themselves of illness... there was little else they could turn to” (1999: 201). Therefore, Russian commoners never grew familiar with western medicine.

Only the Russian elites made full use of western medicine services during tsarist times. They had access to western medicine, unlike commoners, because they could afford western medical services. Very often elites lived in cultural centers where the foreign western medical doctors also lived as guests of the royal court. Elites also received a western education starting from the time of Peter the Great (1682-1725) and his program to westernize Russia, so they learned about the science that makes up the foundation of western medicine. Elites quickly felt comfortable with western medical doctrine and willingly called upon western health practitioners.

Russian commoners continued to prefer to turn to medicine men and women, the professional practitioners of folk medicine, when they could not treat themselves because their medicine knowledge failed them, they could not determine the cause of the ailment, or they did not possess the power necessary to heal the sick person completely. Medicine men and women had an extensive knowledge of the healing effects of different herbs, berries, honey, holy water, and animal products (such as animal parts used in “magical medicine” or as talismans) (Ryan 1999). Medicine men and women possessed the power of magic. They chanted incantations over a remedy or over a sick person to add magical

strength to whichever physical treatments they employed to heal the sick person (Ryan 1999:169).

Russians preferred to go to healers instead of to western medicine practitioners both because they had more access to healers and because healers practiced medicine using terms they, the patients, culturally understood. Healers not only lived in the major cities of Russia, as did the foreign doctors, but also in towns and villages, so commoners could easily employ their services when necessary. Russians could also afford the services of healers because by tradition, healers refuse payment, believing that payment would cause them to lose their powers (Tonya 3-23-08). Instead, they accept gifts from their patients (Lyuba 4-23-08). As evidenced by informants' acute awareness of medicine men and women, easy accessibility to healers continues today for Russians. Even city residents, such as in St. Petersburg, can go to healers and bring a gift in gratitude, instead of paying a significant amount of money to the doctor.

Russian commoners felt comfortable seeking out the help of medicine men and women because they embraced the same health doctrines. In Russian families, each generation passed down knowledge of folk medicine to the next, like each healer passed down his knowledge to his disciple (Tonya 3-23-08). The Russian lay people could understand the logic behind the healer's actions, unlike the principles that western medicine embraces. Even "the tsars were quite capable of legislating against, and savagely repressing, the very practices which they themselves indulged" (Ryan 1999: 23). The tsars, who at times outlawed the use of folk medicine, sometimes preferred the familiarity of a Russian medicine man or woman's services instead of a foreign western doctor's new scientific treatments.

Under Soviet power, Russians still did not depend on western medical services, even though the state provided free health care. Although the Soviet state provided free health care, the state's failure to allocate sufficient funding to the health care system resulted in the quality of western medicine falling significantly. Not able to depend on state health services to provide necessary health support, Russians chose to continue to treat themselves at home whenever possible and use state services only when they had no other option.

Soviet state health care grew progressively worse during the 20<sup>th</sup> century because state leaders did not place priority on the health care system. They allocated very little funding to it, either for research and development of medical technology and knowledge, or for doctors' salaries (Bernstein and Shuval 1994: 142, Duncan 1996: 131). With this lack of emphasis on state health care, the authorities undervalued doctors (Bernstein and Shuval 1994: 142), and in so doing accorded them little incentive to perform well. As doctors' pay decreased, their workload increased (Field: 1957: 22-23, Bernstein and Shuval 1994: 147). And, as the state tightened its control over Soviet medical practices, increasing the bureaucracy and paperwork responsibilities of doctors, physicians' time to practice medicine decreased (Field 1957: viii). The progressively falling quality of state health care gave Russians no incentive to entrust their health to state doctors.

In addition, by allocating so little funding to medicine, the Soviet state did not indicate that it valued the Russian individual's well being (Field 1957: 11, Cockerham, Snead, and DeWaal 2002: 45). Russians had no reason to trust state services if state leaders did not determine the development of state health care to be important (Cockerham, Snead, and DeWaal 2002: 44). Because of limited access to state-sponsored

treatment, Soviet citizens continued to rely on their own knowledge of Russian folk medicine to maintain their health. They sought professional help only if they could not help themselves, a tradition they continued from the tsarist era.

At the same time, Soviet power did not support Russians' preference to treat themselves, because the state wanted direct control over every aspect of Soviet citizens' lives. Russians who continued to use alternative medicine at home had to do so unobtrusively. Under Soviet power, the Soviet Health Minister controlled all medical matters. He decided which books, television shows, pamphlets, and news articles Russians could have access to, in order to make sure that all of this material upheld the state position on medicine. From the 1960s to the 1990s the Health Minister rejected the practice of Russian folk medicine (Chistov, 1996). This included the publication of folk medicine reading materials or media, the selling of folk medicine goods in stores, and the services of medicine men and women. Therefore, when a Russian individual needed professional medical help, the most accessible professional health practitioner he could go to was a doctor of state-sponsored western medicine. Yet to this day, most Russians feel qualms about going to the doctor.

Even though Russian individuals succeeded in maintaining their folk medicine knowledge throughout Soviet rule, medicine men and women, whose continued existence requires that people be aware of their services, severely decreased in number because of the Soviet Health Ministry's rejection of non-western medicine. As a result, the Russian tradition of combining western and alternative medicine began. Russians began to rely on western medicine doctors for help when they could not solve their health problem themselves. While medicine men and women continued to practice their craft, they

ceased to play as large a role in Russians' awareness of health care possibilities as they had played before the Russian Revolution. The Minister's delegitimization of folk medicine, like the tsar's before him of magic, and leaders' endorsement of western medicine both during tsarist and Soviet times, explain why many Russians now regard Russian folk medicine magic with skepticism. Russians today willingly turn to western medicine when they cannot competently treat themselves, even if they personally prefer folk medicine.

Ever since tsarist times, while the state has rejected alternative medicine, common Russians have not had access to adequate western health care. Therefore, they have had to continue to rely on home treatment and other forms of alternative medicine. During tsarist times, Russian commoners neither could afford western medicine services, nor could many of them physically go to see the doctor, because western medicine often existed only in the major cities of Russia. During Soviet times, the state offered no incentive for physicians to provide good quality health care. Therefore, Russian commoners knew that they could not receive adequate health services from state doctors. At the same time, the state did not instill confidence in Russians in the services it provided, because it did not encourage research and development to improve general health care. The quality of the state health system decreased dramatically under Soviet power. Russians could not depend on it for adequate health care, so they had to continue to treat themselves with alternative medicine, even though the state banned it.

Therefore, urban health culture often continues to be based on self-treatment that relies on alternative medicine at the onset of illness. Russian health history exposes three trends important today in St. Petersburg. First of all, given the Russian commoners'

limited access to western medicine throughout history, many individuals do not have very much familiarity, or comfort, with western medicine doctrine. This discomfort with western medicine has made it possible for alternative medicine to continue to play a dominant role in St. Petersburg health practices. Second, even more fervently than not trusting western medicine doctrine, many Russians wish to use only “natural treatments” and to regard health with a holistic approach, both of which constitute the foundation of Russian folk medicine, upon which they have historically relied. Given this wish, many urban St. Petersburg dwellers embrace the alternative medicine options now available in the city since perestroika and the fall of the Soviet Union, and prefer these alternative health options to western medicine. Lastly, most citizens have had to support their own health. State services routinely have not provided them with the quality of health care they need, or that they can provide for themselves. Today, St. Petersburg residents continue to prefer to take care of their own health, instead of using the state health system, for several reasons, including: they feel more comfortable using familiar remedies and treating themselves, they do not trust state health services, or they do not support western medical doctrine. Autonomous self-treatment has become a norm in Russian health practices that makes the St. Petersburg health industry eclectically contradictory nature. This contradictory in nature gives St. Petersburg residents the freedom to develop their own regimen of treatment.

### Chapter 3 Options and Decisions in St. Petersburg Health

Today, St. Petersburg residents can freely choose what type of medicine to use. Given the many options available in St. Petersburg, residents have to consider many factors when deciding what form of medicine to use. When making treatment decisions, St. Petersburg residents consider many different factors, in particular how much time and money to spend, and whether to pursue a western or alternative treatment. They use different forms of medicine depending on the circumstances of their illness. While each informant professed one preferred mode of treatment, each shared instances when she used the other form because it offered what her preferred form could not. Therefore, while many western medicine clinics exist in the city and residents have access to them, virtually every St. Petersburg dweller uses alternative medicine either as a preferred form of treatment or to offset the insufficiencies of western medicine. Such extensive reliance on alternative medicine makes it a thriving part of health practice in St. Petersburg, Russia.

When considering how to treat oneself or one's family, a St. Petersburg resident has three basic choices. She can self-treat. She can pursue western medicine, which would entail visiting the doctor, undergoing diagnostic tests, receiving the doctor's advice and a prescription for a medication, filling the prescription, and, depending on the doctor's wish, returning to the doctor for a check-up in a couple of months. Or, she can call upon an alternative medicine practitioner.

St. Petersburg residents have access to many different forms of alternative medicine. Some common forms include massage, used as a physical therapy to treat many various ailments; seed therapy, a type of Su Jok therapy, which is a form of Korean

folk medicine that uses specific energy points (based on the acupunctural system) on the hand and/or foot to cure different illnesses (Su Jok Therapy: <http://www.sujokmed.ru>; Su Jok Therapy: <http://www.mediks-bg.com>);



**Figures 3 and 4.** Seed-therapy administered to author by Alisa Nikolaevna to cure headaches, neck pain, and poor blood circulation. Photographed by author.

homeopathy, which involves the use of remedies made from small doses of natural products, the treatment regimen of which the homeopathic doctor designs specifically for the individual (“Gomeopatiya – Lecheniye Bol’nogo a ne bolezni”); phytotherapy, which many Russians actually consider to be folk medicine as it involves the use of herbal remedies and other natural products for treatment and originally developed from folk medicine (“Fitoterapiya ot a do ya”); allopathy, a subset of homeopathic medicine which heals by using remedies “to create an environment in a sick person’s body antagonistic to what the illness has called forth, such that the symptoms of the illness either weaken or leave altogether” (“Allopatiya”); osteopathy, which operates based on the “concept... that the body is a single whole and that the structure [the musculoskeletal system] controls the functions [of the body] and vice versa, and so is the universal approach to the body” (“Chto takoye osteopatiya?”); acupuncture; yoga; healthful physical activity, which involves aerobics, stretching, and other physical exercise; and hirudotherapy, an



ancient therapy which uses leeches to heal without the patient suffering from side effects ("Chto takoye girudoterapiya?").

St. Petersburg residents can go instead to a *znakhar'* or *znakharka*, a medicine man or woman, to heal using Russian folk medicine, which may include incantations, holy water, *banki*<sup>4</sup>, or herbs. Informants warn that while medicine men and women still exist in St. Petersburg, the number of fakes has significantly increased over the years. Informants say that they have trouble figuring out if a medicine man is legitimate – he has the power to heal – or a fake. The false medicine men and women, according to one respondent, advertise their services and ask for monetary compensation, while the real ones never advertise. St. Petersburg residents learn of them by word of mouth. Russians also can recognize a true medicine man or woman by his or her request of payment. True medicine men and women may not accept monetary payment. Rather, people who visit them bring gifts. Due to the combination of the prevalence of fake medicine men and women and the Russian and Soviet governments' longstanding rejection of magic and folk treatments, most informants regard medicine men and women as a last option if all other treatments fail.

Special clinics offer some more unusual forms of alternative therapy meant for such serious ailments as cerebral spastic infantile paralysis. According to one informant, Lyubov' Dmitrievna (Lyuba), whose eight year old son suffers from this disease, St. Petersburg offers many different therapies for children with disabilities. Therapies available for children afflicted by cerebral spastic infantile paralysis include dolphin therapy, during which a child interacts with dolphins at a large pool (International Institute of Dolphin Therapy); and horse therapy, or hippotherapy, during which a child

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<sup>4</sup> *Banki* are medium-sized glass jars suctioned to one's back using heat, according to energy points.

rides and plays with horses, in the hopes of increasing mobility and independence (2004 “Gippoterapiya”).

Despite this great diversity of alternative treatments available in the city, St. Petersburg dwellers “do self-treatment for the most part” (Inga 1-23-09). Many informants echoed the sentiment of one grandmother, Inna Valerievna, who succinctly explained why she chooses to self-treat before going to the doctor: “Alternative medicine is the first line of defense when you get sick. Grandmothers and grandfathers lived that way, and they continue to this today to live like that.” (Inna 1-14-09) St. Petersburg residents gather knowledge for this type of treatment from experience, word of mouth, doctors and pharmacists, reading materials, and other forms of media such as television shows.

Women and girls in particular acquire much of their knowledge for self-treatment during childhood. They helped their mothers and/or grandmothers gather herbs at their *dachas*, or summer homes, in the forests or on the meadows surrounding St. Petersburg. They watched their mothers prepare the herbs for safekeeping and when they became sick or it was a season known for epidemics and they needed prophylactics, they watched their mothers prepare the remedy. When women have their own household to care for, they have a store of knowledge from which to draw when necessary. Over the years they have experienced many different ailments and many different ways of treating them. St. Petersburg women generally agree that they know their bodies and their children’s bodies better than any doctor, and so they know what works well in which situations.

In addition, St. Petersburg women speak of treating based on personal experience. Sometimes St. Petersburg residents acquire this “experiential” knowledge through

experimentation, trying new remedies about which they have read or heard. While some informants feel comfortable with experimentation, many exhibit wariness when speaking of it. Yevgeniya Denisovna, Zhenya, a mother of two young boys, one three years old and the other almost a year old, reported that

You have to know how, what, how much, because there are all kinds of herbs. There are herbs that are more invasive, and in general herbs are a very serious thing... Because there are many different types of remedies, we have many discerning shows, TV shows which tell how to make something... I myself do not risk it. I myself do not experiment. (3-23-08)

Most individuals are very aware of how dangerous herbs and remedies can be when taken in the wrong dosages or with the wrong preparation. They would rather use familiar treatments than new ones.

Many informants honestly had no idea from where they had gathered much of their knowledge. Inga Svyatoslavovna, who has a son in grade school and works as an administrator at a classical gymnasium, said, "Well, its life experience. In other words it depends on, well, if you have a cold, you know that you have it, and you know how to treat yourself for it" (1-23-09). Alina Romanovna, an ethnographer of Russian culture, said, "I would say that there is a small set of herb medicines that everybody knows, absolutely" (1-17-09). Aleksandra Pavlovna (Sasha), the mother of a fifth grade girl, said, "It is general knowledge. Everyone knows." (1-12-09). St. Petersburg women assimilate different treatment possibilities throughout life just by living in a city in which most people rely on alternative remedies at one time or another and freely give experiential advice. Alternative medicine remains a part of everyday life.

Another great source of knowledge is “*narodnaya pochta*”<sup>5</sup>, which literally means “folk post” or “folk mail.” It refers to the process of knowledge spreading by word of mouth, educating St. Petersburg women about various remedies. Antonina Ivanovna (Tonya), a mother of two grown daughters and a grandmother of an infant and a toddler, said, “We advise one another. Neighbors, friends. Someone will say, ‘Oh I know, here that remedy there. Gather that herb.’ And that’s the way it is. *Narodnaya pochta*” (Tonya 3-23-08). Informants agree that Russians love to share advice. When someone arrives at work sick, co-workers will immediately begin to recommend treatments to him. To illustrate this point two informants, a mother, Nelli Artyomovna (Nellya), and her son, Denis Il’yevich, both of whom teach Russian literature, each spoken to separately, recounted the same Italian tale. Nellya reported:

There is an Italian folk tale. Do you know it? The tale goes like this: One day a king is doing nothing. He woke up in the morning and said, ‘it would be interesting to find out, in my state, who we have more of.’ ‘I’ll let you know,’ his jester told him... The jester said, ‘By evening I will tell you. I will search out what and who, what kind of people you have the most of.’ And so he took his kerchief... He tied it up around his neck and left for the city. In the evening he returned. The king saw him before his eyes and said ‘My God! You have a sore tooth! You need to do this, this, and this.’ There he took off the kerchief, laughed, and stood up, ‘In your citizenry, more than any other kind of person, you have doctors – medics.’ ‘Why,’ he asked. ‘Because everyone with whom I met gave me advice.’... That’s how it is. Here [in Russia], everyone... loves to give advice. We are a country of advice. Everyone advises. People are never indifferent. They always say: did you do this? Do you have a drippy nose? Have you tried this? [And] yes, [often everyone offers different advice]. Between themselves it is like that. Non-stop (Nellya 1-16-09).

By word of mouth, through friends, family, and acquaintances, St. Petersburg residents learn about many different treatments (home and otherwise) for various ailments.

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<sup>5</sup> “*Narodnaya pochta*” literally means “folk post” or “folk mail”. It refers to the process of word of mouth by which many people come by the knowledge of various remedies.

Informants very carefully choose from whom to ask for advice and whose advice to try. They know that people come from different belief systems and have different levels and types of experience. Many of the converts, who have little knowledge of self-treatment, actively seek advice from any source, reputable or not. Other women, often traditionalists, already have a lot of knowledge about health and treatment thanks to their upbringing and experience as an adult. They usually seek and accept advice less often than they give it. As a rule, those women who have more self-confidence in their ability to treat themselves and their families will only accept advice from reputable sources, such as doctors, who have completed a full medical education. So, while word of mouth information gathering acts as a crucial first step to determine treatments, St. Petersburg residents very consciously verify the information that they gather before trying the treatment to make sure it will not hurt them. As numerous informants repeated, “do no harm!” (Zhenya 3-23-08)

Informants also consult doctors and pharmacists for health advice, although each informant uses and trusts the advice of a pharmacist to a different extent. One informant, Inga, has a son with bronchial asthma. The first time he had an asthma attack, she had no idea how to help him or what was wrong with him. She took her son to the doctor, who demonstrated to her how to treat him and how to prevent an attack before its onset. Now, thanks to experience over the years of treating her son, Inga no longer feels the need to bring him to the doctor during an attack. She says that just by listening to her son breathe, she can tell whether an attack is imminent. She knows how to treat him herself (1-23-09). Inga learned what she needed from the doctor. Now that she has the

knowledge to treat her son, she does not need the doctor, instead preferring to treat, or even prevent, attacks at home herself.

Today media play the most prominent role in making medical knowledge available in contemporary St. Petersburg. In the last five to ten years, according to informants, books, magazines, journals, newspapers, television shows, and advertisements about different forms of treatment and about how to live healthily have become accessible and visible. The fall of the Soviet Union, the greater opening of the Russian borders to foreign influence, and the adoption of capitalism, have given St. Petersburg residents access to a much wider array of publications and media shows presenting information on many different health doctrines. These media constantly bombard St. Petersburg residents with new ideas for treatments, new health services offered, and new medicines available at pharmacies.

St. Petersburg women actively search out these forms of media. Several informants subscribe to health journals; others buy them at newsstands. Journals that provide articles about alternative medicine include Lechebnive pis'ma<sup>6</sup>, Vesmik ZOZH<sup>7</sup>, Stoletnik<sup>8</sup>, Pis'ma zdorov'ya<sup>9</sup>, Biblioteka: Znakhar'<sup>10</sup>, and Narodniy lekar'<sup>11</sup>. Other magazines and journals focus on many natural treatments drawn from different

<sup>6</sup> Lechebnive pis'ma literally means "Healing Letters". It is a monthly publication. On the front cover it advertises how many recipes for remedies it offers within.

<sup>7</sup> Vesnik ZOZH is an acronym for "zdoroviy obraz zhizni," which means "healthy lifestyle. It is a monthly publication. It is also interesting to note that people use the acronym ZOZH in everyday conversation rather than saying the full phrase "zdoroviy obraz zhizni."

<sup>8</sup> *Zabota o zdorov'ye – Luchsheye lekarsvo – Stoletnik – Nauchno-populyarnaya meditsinskaya gazeta*, which means "Attendance to Health – the Best Treatment – The Century Plant – Scientifically popular medical newspaper".

<sup>9</sup> *Zolotiye stranitsy: Pis'ma zdorov'ya*, which means "Golden Pages: Health Letters."

<sup>10</sup> Biblioteka: Znakhar', which means "Library: Medicine Man".

<sup>11</sup> Narodniy lekar': *Dlya tekh, kto zaboritcya o svoem zdorov'ye*, which means "Folk Healer: For those who attend to their health".

disciplines of alternative medicine. They include *Lechebnik*<sup>12</sup>, *Tselebnik*<sup>13</sup>, *Entsiklopedia zdorov'ya*<sup>14</sup>. Others focus on natural ways of maintaining and treating health and fall more under the category of popular or fashionable magazines (the majority of articles offered are about beauty and losing weight) such as *Zdorov'ye ot prirody*<sup>15</sup>, while such popular magazines as *Pro zdorov'ye*<sup>16</sup> report on good health practices from a western medicine perspective. Such weekly newspapers as *Zdorov'ye*<sup>17</sup> report health news and current health and medical discoveries. Lastly, residents can buy health journals for lay people about western medical teachings and practices such as *Telo cheloveka: Snaruzhi i vnutri*<sup>18</sup>.



**Figure 5,**



**Figure 6, and**



**Figure 7.**

Zina displaying an issue each of *Lechebnye Pis'ma* (Figure 5), *Stoletnik* (Figure 6), *ZOZH* (Figure 7), each of which she reads religiously and upon which she takes notes. Photographed by author.

St. Petersburg residents can buy health publications at newsstands found at every metro station, as well as at bookstores located throughout the city. Bookstores in St.

<sup>12</sup> *Lechebnik*: *S nami ne zaboieesh'!*, which means "The healer: With us you will not get sick!". It is a monthly publication

<sup>13</sup> *Tselebnik*: *Ya vybirayu zdorov'ye!*, which means "Healer: I Choose Health!". It is a monthly publication.

<sup>14</sup> *Entsiklopedia zdorov'ya*, which means "Health Encyclopedia". This publication is sponsored by *Narodnyi Lekar*.

<sup>15</sup> *Entsiklopedia zdorov'ya: Natural Health*<sup>15</sup>, which means "Health from Nature", and is published monthly.

<sup>16</sup> *Pro zdorov'ye*, sponsored by AIF (*Argumenty i Fakty*), and which means "About Health." AIF means "Arguments and Facts." It is a bi-monthly publication.

<sup>17</sup> *Zdorov'ye: Vasha gazeta o samom glavnom* sponsored by AIF, and which means "Health: Your newspaper about what is most important". It is a weekly publication

<sup>18</sup> *Telo cheloveka: Snaruzhi i vnutri* literally means "The Body of a Person: Outside and In."



Petersburg often offer a sizable health section with reference books such as herb encyclopedias, disease and treatment encyclopedias, and books that educate how to use particular kinds of alternative medicine properly. The variety of books abound. Healers and medicine men, biologists and botanists, and doctors and alternative medicine practitioners all write books on health. Some books only focus on one ailment or one body system; others offer Russian folk medicine recipes, Tibetan medicine recipes, or even information about leech therapy.



**Figure 8.** Bookcase at Knizhnaya Lavka bookstore on Nevskiy Prospekt, near the Fontanka River and the statues of the four horsemen. Photographed by author.

An individual in St. Petersburg invariably can find a book that explains the form of therapy she wants to try. I went to the largest bookstore in St. Petersburg, Dom Knigi, to peruse the health section books. As I examined reference herbal encyclopedias, a grandmother standing close by turned to me and said something along the lines of: “You need to buy that reference book... oh, and that one. They are the best herbal encyclopedias you can buy. I already own a copy and I am here to buy another copy of each. Not only do they tell you about how to recognize a particular plant and give you a



recipe or two and how to use it, but they tell you what specific properties it has, how it can treat different systems of the body, and how to prepare those remedies. It is an invaluable book!" Immediately, I picked up the encyclopedias she indicated, Herbs that Cure, The Modern Encyclopedia of Herb healing, and The Modern Russian Herbal, looked through them, and bought them (Brown 2006, Belyaev 2005, Korsun and Kovalenko 2007). They offer just as much detail in such an organized fashion as she had described. The books' editors designed them so that lay people can easily use them.

In St. Petersburg a worker must pay a high price for these books relative to his or her monthly income. Pensioners, like this grandmother, can hardly afford books on their tiny pensions. Nonetheless buyers from their mid-20s to old age gather in large numbers in the health sections of bookstores. Books offer St. Petersburg dwellers the opportunity to collect the published, well-documented information they cannot otherwise gather from a doctor's visit, friends' advice, or other personal experience.

To add to their knowledge of health, many St. Petersburg residents watch health television shows, especially a popular talk show, "*Malakhov plus*,"<sup>19</sup> which is centered on folk medicine and how to live "a healthy lifestyle." The show, which began in 2006, airs Monday through Friday 9:20-10:20am on channel 1, a channel that all St. Petersburg dwellers receive free of charge. Genadiy Malakhov, who has been writing books since the early 1990s about healthy living, health improvement, and health treatments, hosts the show. Rather than receiving a medical degree as one would expect of a man of his current vocation, Malakhov graduated with a degree in Physical Education in 1975 from the Central Institute of Physical Education in Moscow ("Ob Avtorye"). This educational

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<sup>19</sup> For more information and transcripts of shows, see the official website at <http://www.1tv.ru/malahovplus>.

background begs to question the veracity of his program. Nonetheless, virtually every St. Petersburg dweller with whom I spoke had heard of the show and the majority of them, particularly the converts, watch “Malakhov Plyus” frequently, and/or have read many of his books. The converts’ willingness to accept health advice from a man without a medical background suggests that learning about natural treatment possibilities is more important to them than strictly adhering to well-established medically legitimate treatments.

Malakhov invites people from all over Russia to share their stories of illness, treatment, and recovery by use of natural home remedies on his show. Each show focuses on one part of the body, such as the circulatory system or the respiratory system, or one type of treatment, such as massage or the effectiveness of carrots. Malakhov invites several doctors to each show who specialize in the topic considered that day. They comment on the efficacy of the home remedies presented and either recommend or warn against them.

For example, on April 9, 2009, *Malakhov Plyus* introduced women who have used a juice diet as a means to lose weight. Each individual told her story and shared the results of the diet – one woman felt terribly after a week of her juice diet and had to go to the hospital, where she found out that her sugar levels had risen to dangerous levels; another woman had followed the juice diet for three months already and had lost 5 kg of weight and excitedly said that she would recommend the diet to friends. Then Malakhov shared his response to the juice diet, warning the audience that drinking so much juice can do significant damage to the digestive tract and organs. He recommended that everyone should eat in moderation. No one should eat too much of one type of food nor

neglect another. Then he introduced his guest doctor, this day a dietician. She also responded to the visitors' stories. She agreed with Malakhov that everything in moderation is the best rule for designing one's diet. While she expressed the same basic message as Malakhov, she presented some more facts, such as 80% of what a person drinks in a day should be water, while the other 20% can be something else. This television show offers a convenient and free way for informants to learn about different methods of maintaining health using natural remedies that can be prepared with readily available ingredients.

Malakhov's show grows out of a late Soviet tradition of television healers that began in the 1980s with Anatoliy Kashpirovskiy. Kashpirovskiy was educated as a psychologist/psychotherapist ("Ne prositye, ibo prositye malo!"). In the 1980s, he began a series of six televised psychotherapy sessions to heal the pains and illnesses of the members of his audiences – both those in the auditorium from which he broadcasted and those watching him on TV. Kashpirovskiy's program received such success and so many Russians believed in his power to heal remotely that the Soviet government, worried about his growing popular influence, forced him to end the show. Nonetheless, as numerous writings about Kashpirovskiy and his show indicate, many Russians still remember Kashpirovskiy and he has had a lasting impact on their lives. While some commentators regard his healing powers as ludicrous, as a man who appeared for the Russian people at a time when they needed a strong charismatic leader to heal the wounds inflicted by Soviet power, other commentators continue to regard him with great respect, as a man who was able to command an audience and give them relief from their pain ("Anatoliy Kashpirovskiy i effektnost' samovnusheniya", "Anatoliy Kashpirovskiy:

Biography"). In fact, Kashpirovskiy reappeared for a couple of shows in St. Petersburg in 2005 and 2006, to wide acclaim (2005 "Kashpirovskiy vernulsya i obeshchaet istseleniya", Press-sluzhba Ufimskoy eparkhiyi Russkoy Pravoslavnoy Tserkvi 2007).

Today, many TV health shows air on public and cable television. Some include "TeleDoktor," which airs on Saturdays on the Channel "Russia" ("Tele-Doktor") and "Zdorov'ye," which shows Saturdays on channel 1 of St. Petersburg ("Perviy Kanal"). The spread of these TV shows indicates that now that the Russian state has accepted some forms of alternative medicine, Russians are taking advantage of the ability to share health knowledge and increase their own knowledge. Many Russians actively search to learn about new health treatments. They want to possess this knowledge themselves, rather than relying on a doctor to preserve their health. Russian women in particular (the majority of guests on these shows are women) want to live healthily and they actively search for new options to improve their health.

Once a St. Petersburg mother is aware of the health options available, before she chooses what specific form of treatment to use, she must make many other more basic decisions, including how much money and time to spend on treatment, whether to pursue alternative or western medicine treatment, when to go to the doctor, whether to go to a doctor or an alternative medicine practitioner, if to an alternative medicine practitioner then whether to go to a medicine man or woman, whether to follow the health practitioner's advice, and if not then how and from whom to get the help needed.

Early on in the decision-making process a sick person in St. Petersburg needs to decide how much money to spend on diagnosis and treatment. This will help determine whether to pursue western or alternative treatments and whether to go to a professional

health practitioner or to self-treat. Patients must pay much more money to see the doctor or buy western medications than to prepare remedies themselves after gathering herbs in the forest or meadows surrounding St. Petersburg or growing them at the family *dacha* or at home on windowsills.



**Figures 9 and 10.** Plants that Zina proudly grows on her windowsill at home to make remedies for herself and her husband. She does not have a *dacha*, so she grows the plants where she can. Photographed by author.

If a sick person chooses to use a doctor's services, once the doctor prescribes a medication s/he needs to choose whether to fill it. Filling prescriptions can be costly since many western medications are imported. Even domestically produced medications and remedies can cost a fair amount of money, depending on the pharmaceutical company. Take amoxicillin, a common antibiotic, for example. As sold by the pharmaceutical company Pul's in St. Petersburg, 16 amoxicillin 250mg capsules cost 23.82 rubles if made by Barnaulskiy 3-D medprepa, or 48.95 rubles if made by Hemofarm, a Serbian company ("PUL'S"). Taking three capsules a day for 10 days, as many prescriptions for common antibiotics stipulate, would require the sick person to

spend between 50 and 100 rubles. While 50 rubles is less than two US dollars, for a family that does not make enough money to save very much each month, having to pay an extra 50 rubles several times a year, still requires stretching earnings.

In addition to thinking about cost, informants consider how much time they will spend trying to get well. If they go to the doctor, they expect to spend a full day, and possibly several days, at the clinic. Clinics have long lines, require the doctor to fill out a lot of paperwork for each patient, and are run inefficiently, all of which make a doctor's visit a frustrating process. According to Klavdiya Fyodorovna (Klava), (1-15-09), a grandmother of a fifth grader, who lives in an outer region of the city, only one polyclinic center services an entire region of St. Petersburg. More and more people move from the countryside to the city, she says. More and more apartment buildings appear yearly, while the number of polyclinics stays virtually the same. Information about health programs in each region published by the official St. Petersburg website makes public that more than one polyclinic serves each region, contradicting Klava's claim ("Rayony goroda"). However, to Klava, because of the long lines, it seems like every resident of her region comes to just one regional state medical center. The center of the city suffers from similar insufficiencies as well, says Alyona Georgiyevna, mother of two daughters, one 22 years old and the other 21 years old, and who currently works as an information analyst manager:

Close to 500,000 people live in our region [the Admiralteyskiy region]. For this group of people, there is one adult polyclinic, one children's clinic, one hospital, one maternity clinic, one dentist office, and one women's consultation clinic. A therapist (a doctor who treats general ailments) works three hours a day, four days a week. To get to see the doctor is extremely hard. (Alyona 1-25-09)

Again, Alyona expresses Klava's feeling that population numbers outstrip clinic capacity.

In addition to overcrowding, clinics operate by a “first come, first served” system for appointments. Patients must wait in long lines for every doctor’s visit. Unlike in the United States, patients do not make doctors’ appointments. Rather,

It is necessary to get up really early to stand in the line to get a number (a living line). Then it is necessary to come back at the appointed hour and sit there through a long line in front of the office (in this line there are people who took a number today, people who are ending their medical excuse, people with a serious ailment, people who were brought from another office, and “their own” people [meaning people who have connections with the doctors in the office so they get special privileges and do not have to wait as long]). (Alyona 1-25-09)

Such long lines make doctor’s visits very costly in terms of time.

If the doctor cannot offer a service that a sick St. Petersburg resident cannot already provide for him or herself, the sick person will find the doctor’s visit too costly and opt to use self-treatment. As a 91 year old grandmother shared,

I haven’t gone to the polyclinic already now for five years... Of course I have felt bad, but... the polyclinic is far from us and I cannot get there alone, without help. And Alina [her granddaughter] has no time, of course... And the lines. There are such lines such that you have to sit and wait for a really long time... And you can sit for an entire day, and be there at the polyclinic, and I can’t get there by myself. And what is more, now it is winter... it is slippery... I’m scared. (Granddaughter Alina: No, simply you will sit there a long time, and then you will have 5 minutes with the doctor. You could instead call [the doctor] to you. I called a neuropathologist). He looked at what had been prescribed me and agreed. And that was everything. He didn’t prescribe anything new. (Valya 1-17-09)

From a doctors’ appointment, patients hope to receive a diagnosis based on diagnostic tests, a medical excuse to miss work<sup>20</sup>, and a prescription for treatment or some recommendations of how to proceed with healing. If St. Petersburg residents know that

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<sup>20</sup> Workplaces still require that employees submit a medical excuse, *bol’nichnyi list*, if they need to miss work due to illness. This system has its roots in Soviet bureaucracy, when civil servants required proof of illness in order to discourage people from idleness. Now, a *bol’nichnyi list* guarantees reduced pay during the period of illness, rather than receiving no pay at all (Tonya, Field 1957).



the doctor will not be able to provide new information, they will not choose to waste a day waiting at the clinic, but will self-treat instead.

When deciding whether to go to the doctor, St. Petersburg dwellers will evaluate whether they feel confident treating themselves or the sick person by themselves. St. Petersburg residents visit the doctor to confirm the illness they self-diagnosed, to ensure that they do not mistreat. In addition, some patients visit the doctor to confirm the suitability of what they had intended for self-treatment and to ensure that their intentions will not damage their bodies. In this way St. Petersburg residents bring their self-treatment to the doctor to receive some official support of a self-treatment idea, and in so doing, mix alternative medicine and western medicine practice.

St. Petersburg residents must decide when to go to a professional health practitioner once they have become ill. Do they determine to avoid the doctor and let the illness run its course, or do they want to go to the doctor to receive quick help to get well sooner. If they avoid the doctor, they do not wait in line at the polyclinic, they save money, and in the case of traditionalists and converts, they do not receive unwanted prescriptions for western medication. However, if they do not go to the doctor and attempt to treat themselves at home, they may misdiagnose themselves or their treatment may be ineffective and they could grow sicker and need serious help later.

Yet, as Anastasia Antonovna (Nastya), an art history and English teacher and a school administrator, and Stepan Borisovich (Styopa), a math specialist who currently is the principal at a classical gymnasium, readily exclaim, "In Russian culture there is no tradition... to go to the doctor" (1-12-09). When St. Petersburg residents get sick, they do not automatically respond by going to the doctor. Rather, they will go to the doctor



when they have no other option left. As Galina Andreievna (Galya), a grandmother of a fifth grader, adds, "I only go to the doctor when I am already very sick. I am patient" (1-13-09). Several informants remark that one should not completely attribute the poor track record of doctors as the doctors' fault. Inga explains, "Russian people are very patient... Because we wait until the last moment, we go to the doctor when we already cannot do anything to solve the problem (1-23-09). St. Petersburg sick people find the lack of help available from the doctor and the time wasted in the long lines such a deterrent that they may choose not to go to the doctor, even when they need his help.

The crucial choice, however, is whether to take western medications or alternative remedies. In St. Petersburg, traditionalists and converts think of western medications as invasive to the body and capable of inflicting significant damage. This supposition invariably locates its roots in the tradition of Russian folk medicine and culture that emphasizes the close connection between the individual and nature. The traditionalists, having grown up with this idea that western medications harm at the same time as they heal, and the converts, having experienced and read about the potentially deleterious effects of western treatments, understandably wish to avoid what they view as needless and dangerous.

However, other St. Petersburg dwellers, pragmatists, believe that western medications provide the most effective, dependable, and efficient treatment. Pragmatists voice the opinion that medicine has developed significantly thanks to science. Alternative medicine no longer offers the only form of medicine available to people. They wish to use the most modern and scientifically proven treatments as possible. Clearly, beliefs about alternative as opposed to western medicine determine preferences

either for or against each. However, interviews demonstrated that preferences are not the only factors considered when St. Petersburg residents decide which form of medicine at a given time.

St. Petersburg women consider the timeframe required in taking one kind of treatment over another when they decide whether to take western or alternative treatments. While western medications act quickly, they can do more damage; while alternative medicine remedies stress the body much less, they often require continual treatment for months before achieving recovery.

Instead of going to an alternative medicine practitioner, St. Petersburg dwellers could choose to go to a medicine man or woman for help. According to informants, several medicine men and women continue to work throughout the city and in the surrounding areas. Yet, while some St. Petersburg residents may consider trying alternative medicine practices not fully supported by science, the scientific rational world still has great influence on people's everyday awareness. The alternative medicine practiced by these medicine women appears suspicious to many informants because they cannot understand the origins of the power that medicine women use and because they have to entrust their well-being to another person. Other informants, on the other hand, contend that medicine men and women wield a special innate power and provide the only treatment available for some rare illnesses. A schism appears to have grown up within St. Petersburg residents' willingness to believe in alternative medicine. While many St. Petersburg residents may believe in the efficacy of alternative therapies and remedies, few accept the ability of medicine women's ancient practices to heal. Nonetheless,

medicine women continue to exist and St. Petersburg residents continue to go to them for help, even if they do not believe in medicine women's powers to heal.

In making these decisions about how to care for health, and sifting through the options available to residents for health support in St. Petersburg, the three types of St. Petersburg women, the traditionalists, the converts, and the pragmatists, have distinct ways of thinking about the health care options available to them in the city and which issues (time, money, or comfort level) are most important. Members of each group eagerly shared their practices and expressed surprise and consternation when thinking about those who do not address health as they do. Nonetheless, interviews with them made it apparent that they themselves do not adhere as strictly to their health beliefs as they immediately profess. Rather, they do what they need to do with whatever they have access to, even if that means trying a treatment that they do not believe in. They divorce their beliefs from the treatment they use. Even if the treatment that they do not believe in works, they continue to hold the same opinions about alternative as opposed to western medicine. Like anywhere in the world, St. Petersburg residents want the best health care. Their beliefs tell them which treatments are the best. They fight to control who treats them and with what so that they can fit the treatment's success or failure logically into their personal belief system and they can retain a sense of control over their well-being.

All St. Petersburg residents face the same basic set of options for treatments and considerations about how to pursue treatment. Yet, residents use different health practices, because of their underlying beliefs about health and medicine. These beliefs make them more or less comfortable using a particular treatment. Differing comfort levels result in making different decisions, even when faced with the same illness and

same circumstances. St. Petersburg women roughly divide into the three broad categories that I have identified, traditionalists, converts, and pragmatists, based on these preferences and modes of decision making.

## Chapter 4

### A View from the Dacha: St. Petersburg Alternative Health Culture:

Ultimately, the most important health decision a St. Petersburg resident makes is whether to use alternative or western medicine. An individual's upbringing fundamentally determines which form of treatment she prefers. Traditionalists, who have grown up with home alternative medicine, repeat what their mothers and grandmothers taught them, that natural products are best for their bodies. They continue to prefer to use alternative medicine and they have a deep knowledge of home treatments. Converts, who did not experience much home treatment growing up, have come to prefer alternative medicine because of experiences with western medicine. But their use of alternative medicine differs from that of traditionalists. They do not have much previous knowledge of alternative treatments so they actively research, experiment with, and seek out new treatments. Pragmatists, the third health group of St. Petersburg women, did not grow up with much home treatment either. They differ from converts in that they do not have serious complaints against western medicine, so they continue to use western medicine. Their parents did not actively research home treatment possibilities, nor did they warn against western medicine. As pragmatists observed their parents doing in childhood, pragmatists cope with health issues as they arise, using the most convenient option available, and not thinking about health otherwise. The wealth of health options available in St. Petersburg enables these three types of women to coexist in St. Petersburg and find the treatment they need. Conversely, the fact that these three types of women continue to exist creates demand for all these different health options, creating the diverse health industry that exists in St. Petersburg.

### Traditionalists

*"I use herbs. There is practice. There is tradition... In Russian culture there is a tradition. There is this practice especially in the family, among friends."*

*- Nellya 1-16-09*

Family tradition plays a strong role in St. Petersburg individuals' health practices and beliefs. If the family has traditionally used alternative medicine, members will continue to use alternative medicine and teach their children to do so. Oksana Filippovna, a mother of two children, reflects what members of such families, whom I call traditionalists, express when talking about why they so strongly prefer only alternative remedies: "In our family we always used, and continue to use, folk remedies... Folk medicine is better for you than western medicine. My mom healed that way... Now I try it" (1-25-09). As Zhenya, who also grew up with alternative remedies, commented: "Personally, my own relationship [with herbal remedies] is that herbs will not harm. Even if they will not help, they will not harm... Even if... they do not help, at least I will not make the situation worse" (3-23-09). Traditionalists experienced the healing power of alternative medicine during childhood. They learned from their mothers that alternative remedies inflict much less damage on the body than western treatments. Over the years, they have built up the experience to self-treat comfortably and to trust their instincts regarding health.

Despite these strong feelings about alternative treatments and about self-reliance, all of the traditionalists have relied on western medicine at one time or another and view western medicine as the option to turn to should their own knowledge fail them. According to Irwin Press's analysis, alternative medicine is an "open system." It "can relinquish its 'authority' over certain aspects of disease and appear to do so with greater

frequency in cities (where modern medical facilities are more numerous and accessible)” (1978: 76). Despite the clearly defined boundaries that these traditionalists see between western and alternative medicine, they willingly turn to western expertise in order to reinforce their own capacities to heal.

Traditionalist families pass knowledge down from generation to generation. Children of these families grow up helping their mothers and grandmothers gather herbs in the forest surrounding St. Petersburg and at the family *dacha*. Children witness, and sometimes help out with, picking herbs and preparing them for storage. When traditionalists talk about how they know how to recognize specific herbs and prepare them as remedies for particular illnesses, they say they learned about remedies from observing and helping their mothers. Nellya says that she learned from her mother “in practice, without any specific theory” (1-16-09). Tamara Vitalievna (Toma), who has a grown daughter and son and a 13 year old granddaughter and infant grandson, agrees that the learning for her was more “experience” (1-10-09) than actual lessons from her mother. Exposure to these practices during childhood lastingly influenced these women. They remember hearing stories of healing and random recipes or remedies from their relatives in childhood. Margarita Alekseevna (Rita), the mother of several young adults and an ethnographer herself, shares that the stories her grandmother told her in childhood have become extremely useful in adult life. Rita’s husband just left the hospital after lying in a coma. She has used her grandmother’s remedies to help him recover:

Now I will show you one of my grandmother’s remedies, which I have had to use again. I think that you have never seen something like this. Apples themselves do not hold a lot of iron. But there is a very old remedy. Sometime, when I was very young... my grandmother told me about it. And she said that at one time, when a person had very little blood, they used to push little nails or pins into an apple... The acidity of the apple...



reacted with this iron and generated extra iron, which in its chemical [manufactured] form, as the doctors explained to me, assimilates itself worse than if you took it from food. Therefore... you see the pin, it is perfect. It is becoming rusty. In other words... the salt of the iron with the acidity of the apple acts as though it is with food. And, it is thought, this is an excellent remedy for low hemoglobin levels. That said, my husband, he never really liked apples, but I will buy these apples for him and he eats them. So, the pins are pulled out and he really likes it... I never thought that I would ever use this remedy in my life. I simply recollected that in childhood a big impression was made on me, that my grandmother said that they pushed nails into... apples. I recollected this and now it is proving incredibly handy... It is hard to say whether it is helping, that the apples and such rich iron... But it will still be a long process. It is not clear when he will start getting better because in general the iron is assimilating really badly for raising the low hemoglobin levels. A lot of time has already passed. We are trying with all our might, but we do not know, will the medicine help or will our home remedies help, but we already decided to use what we have. Then the doctor could say, 'Sure, go ahead and try treatment using natural remedies also.' This was especially important when he still lay in the hospital. His kidneys were really bad and the doctors said that 'we do not want to start him on powerful western treatments. Let's start with food.' Because to heal [with a western treatment] would be an extra burden on the kidneys that were already so traumatized that they had to deal with a very heavy pressure. His kidneys suffered. They said that 'we do not want to start medications. No matter what he will have to take them for a long time. So, please, start with food, with pomegranate juice and beets.' (Rita 1-19-09)



**Figure 11.** Apple with iron needles in it, prepared by Rita for her husband. Photographed by Rita.



Without her extensive knowledge of alternative remedies that she learned as a child, Rita would not be able to help her husband recover from a nearly fatal illness and avoid the western treatments that would make him even sicker. When a woman makes a home for her own family she already has the knowledge to care for her family's health. She mimics what she observed and experienced during her own childhood, and her children learn from her as she learned from her mother. Clearly, childhood experiences greatly influence members of these families that traditionally practice folk medicine. During childhood, preference for alternative remedies instills itself into traditionalists, and the choices they make in adulthood reflect this indoctrination.

St. Petersburg traditionalists strongly believe in the purity of the natural remedies of alternative medicine and that natural remedies are "softer" on the body than manufactured medicines. Oksana stressed that "in nature there is everything that we need. Nature is more helpful than western medications. They are a blow on the body. They have a strong effect on the body" (1-25-09). The majority of traditionalist informants, at one point or other in the interview, recite a proverb: "While you heal one [part of the body] you damage another." (Toma 1-10-09). Traditionalists would rather take natural remedies for a longer period of time than do harm to their bodies. They only choose to turn to western medications in extreme circumstances, such as the flu, appendicitis, or tuberculosis, when they need immediate drastic attention that only western medications can provide. In traditionalists' minds, exclusive use of natural treatments has its roots in reverence for one's body.

St. Petersburg traditionalists believe so strongly that western medicine harms more than helps that even when they are relatively ill, they will first ask the doctor to

recommend a natural treatment to cure the illness, rather than agreeing to take western medications. Or, instead of going to the doctor, traditionalists will treat themselves in the hopes that they will recover. They speak of western medications with severe distaste and distrust. More than anything, they believe that a child whose body is still growing and developing should never take any antibiotics. One mother, Zhenya, appalled at what she considers the incompetence of doctors because of their hurry to give children dangerous antibiotics, said:

The majority of doctors are biased all the same. Especially for children. They prescribe antibiotics in any situation. Why? Because they are used as a security measure, all antibiotics practically these days of wide use act faster than is necessary for that illness. But they are simple. I would say, they [doctors] over-insure... And they even give [antibiotics] to their own [children] (1-18-09)

Women who embrace alternative medicine are certain that western medicine can be dangerous to a person's bodily systems. They also know many different treatment options that would allow them to avoid this possible harm. As such, they distrust western medicine and find other possibilities for treatment with which they feel more comfortable.

Traditionalists are very aware that each person's body is different and responds to different illnesses and to different treatments differently. "The diagnosis may be the same, but you must treat everyone differently" (Sasha 1-12-09). In other words, each person requires an individualized treatment that reflects his or her uniqueness when deciding the course of action and throughout treatment. Yet no matter how unique, these families know that they can find the necessary treatments in natural remedies for everyone and for most illnesses. For example, if an infusion of chestnut does not cure a

drippy nose, perhaps a juice made of milfoil<sup>21</sup>, or perhaps an infusion of the root of aloe. Or, if an infusion of St. John's wort will not cure a cough, perhaps an infusion of the root of elecampane will, or of the roots of guelder-rose (Belyaev 2005). If none of these herbal treatments work, perhaps some other alternative therapy (e.g. osteopathy, homeopathy, seed therapy) will help. St. Petersburg residents who have a history of treating themselves with home remedies understand health and medicine as an art that one must adapt to fit each individual, instead of a science for which tests can determine everything.

Traditionalists have usually embraced the new forms of alternative medicine that have spread in Russia since the fall of the Soviet Union, even though they did not grow up with these forms of treatment. So long as the alternative practices use only natural products they will consider trying them. Some residents have branched out into the use of such forms of alternative medicine as phytotherapy, homeopathy, allopathy, and osteopathy. They are all more modern forms of natural therapy that can treat many of the illnesses increasingly faced in today's world such as asthma and allergies. Much as Allen Young (1976) and Irwin Press (1978) found in their studies that urban dwellers assimilate new health treatments into their health belief systems to cope with the new illnesses appearing in the population, St. Petersburg residents have adopted these newly introduced forms of alternative medicine to treat the new health problems becoming prevalent in St. Petersburg. Alternative medical doctrines offer different ways of treating the more usual ailments that afflict people. For example, leech therapy works well for cardiovascular illnesses or blood circulation abnormalities ("Zhivaya pomoshch"). Osteopathy helps with constipation (Osteopatiya – Eto nauka, iskusstvo i praktika). Homeopathy treats

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<sup>21</sup> Another translation for this herb (*rysychelismik*) is "nosebleed."

sleeplessness and headaches effectively (“Gomeopatiya – Lecheniye Bol’nogo a ne bolezn’’”). Most alternative medicine clinics advertise that they can heal virtually any illness, although some claim more effectiveness healing certain types of illnesses. Again, because all of these therapies only use natural means of healing, informants view them as not harming the body and therefore permissible to use.

St. Petersburg women purposely use different forms of medicine depending on the individual and the affliction. Informants voice the warning that for different ailments different forms of treatment may be necessary. Veronika Vladislovna (Nika), who has a grown son and has worked in the medical industry, states:

In some situations... it [homeopathy treatment in small doses] is more important... And there are things which are more under control for homeopathic doctors than for traditional [western] doctors. There are some complicated, chronic illnesses, which are continuously located in a person's body for a long time. In such a situation... sometimes homeopathy works better than western dictates. But this is all very... individual. In other words... first of all the patient himself must think about to whom he should turn. This always needs to be in his head. Then, of course, it should be an understanding and knowledgeable doctor. (1-26-09)

Traditionalists do not draw lines between different types of alternative medicine. Instead, they differentiate between the two major health doctrines: invasive western treatments and softer alternative remedies.

Despite their willingness to try forms of alternative medicine other than home folk treatment, surprisingly few traditionalists feel comfortable trying new remedies for self-treatment without first consulting a doctor. They are aware both of the healing qualities of herbs and of their dangerous potential. Zhenya warns, “You need to know how, what, which, because herbs are different. There are herbs that are more harmless, but in general herbs... are a very serious thing” (3-23-08). Some herbs, like Echinacea, which Zhenya

knows is very good for her three year old son as a prophylactic against colds, are very poisonous if used incorrectly. Zhenya gives her son one little sugar-coated pill of Echinacea each morning with his breakfast. Although she knows what the plant looks like and where she can gather it, she only buys the ready-made sugar-coated pills, to make sure she gives him a safe dosage. Toma agrees, saying, "The first safest thing is herbs, but to heal with herbs... In order to make use of herbs correctly, it is necessary, I think, to go to the doctor. Because herbs even, they heal one person, but harm another" (1-10-09). St. Petersburg mothers in particular ask a doctor's opinion of a treatment intended for their children before administering it to them. These traditionalists, who believe in all-natural remedies and distrust western medicine offerings, in the end trust the western doctors' medical knowledge more than their own.

Some traditionalists believe that before treatment, one should also go to the doctor to confirm a diagnosis. Toma describes when she believes one should go to the doctor:

First of all, if a person is sick, seriously sick, I believe that he should always go to the doctor... A person should go there so that the doctor can give him a diagnosis. Only at that point can you begin to treat. Therefore, it doesn't matter. I believe that one should never avoid the doctor completely (1-10-09).

Traditionalists trust the doctor's diagnosis more than their own self-diagnosis because doctors diagnose based on the results of diagnostic tests and their own medical education. Although traditionalists often ignore the doctor's recommendation for treatment, they still turn to western medicine for certain services. While on the one hand they reject western medical doctrine, on the other hand they depend on the knowledge western medicine provides. Traditionalists routinely combine the strengths of western and alternative medicine in order to treat themselves most effectively.

With this wish to verify efficacy and safety of new treatments with doctors, traditionalists clearly do not completely dismiss doctors' knowledge or help. Even though during one part of her interview Alyona proudly demonstrated her knowledge of health and healing by creating a long list of ailments that she can identify, diagnose, and treat herself, later in the interview she talked about how she often will go to the doctor or bring her children to the doctor to have diagnostic tests done to confirm what she diagnosed, before beginning to treat the illness, especially if the illness appears to be relatively serious.

Not only do these women from traditionalist families ask doctors for advice about a particular treatment, but they will go to the doctor for help if they cannot treat themselves. Traditionalists will ask the doctor to suggest a natural treatment rather than a western one. If no such treatment is available, they will ask for the least-invasive western treatment, even if it is the slowest acting. They say that doctors usually comply and find a natural alternative for treatment. In fact, some informants claim that doctors themselves prefer to prescribe natural remedies before western medications. "In general, doctors prescribe medications, but they can change their relationship to plant products. They can change the medication to one of plant products... They recommend [plants], they recommend them very often" (Nellya 1-16-09). Traditionalists acknowledge that even doctors are very aware of the detrimental effects of "unnatural" substances on the bodily systems. These informants respect doctors' knowledge and consider what the doctor suggests, even though they prefer just to receive their medical excuses for work and treat themselves.

Despite their willingness to go to the doctor to hear the doctor's advice and receive a formal diagnosis, informants with extensive knowledge of self-treatment practices still do not have much faith in doctors. They feel that they know themselves and their families better than anyone else. Zhenya explains:

It doesn't matter, I am the best, the mother. No one knows and sees that he coughed and how he coughed, how he slept the night, how he is, what is going on with him. It doesn't matter. I know this the best. Well, I don't know. Maybe I have that ability. Some other mother probably calls the doctor and of course will methodically do everything that the doctor prescribes and fulfill all of his recommendations... Either that or I have a lot of acquaintances to whom I may turn – lots of medics. (1-18-09)

Traditionalists reinforce the view that everyone is different, that the doctor sees thousands of patients, and that they do not always see the same doctor. When they go to the polyclinic, the secretaries assign them to whichever doctor is available at the time of their visit.

Adding to doctors' inability to treat individuals, traditionalists say, doctors need to follow a set regimen that the government gives them. Viktoria Sergeyevna (Vika), an ethnobotanist, remarked: "Every year lists are handed to the doctors about which medications are allowed" (1-10-09). The polyclinic's system of treating people is not tailored to the individual, whereas these informants' mothers treated them personally using family knowledge of natural remedies. They have been treating themselves during their adult lives using those same remedies and maybe some others they have learned of with experience. They have treated their children since giving birth to them.

Overcrowded polyclinics with rushed doctors do not instill confidence in traditionalists that they will receive adequate treatment. They prefer to rely on their own knowledge

and ability to find other options from the many educational resources available in the city.

Traditionalists have grown up in an environment of self-treatment. They have a sufficient store of knowledge to keep themselves and their family healthy. To the idea of going to a doctor for treatment, Inga says, "This [going to the doctor] takes a lot of time and does not always turn out to be helpful. In other words it turns out that I already have experience. And I generally know what I need" (1-23-09). And as Nellya said, "[I'll go] when I don't know. Do you understand, I've lived many years, and many [illnesses] that I know how to treat. If I don't know, then I go to the doctor" (1-16-09). These women would prefer to control their own treatments. Traditionalists only cross doctrine boundaries between alternative and western medicine, and surrender their health autonomy, when they have no more options left in alternative medicine. The boundary line separating alternative and western medicine practice blurs in extenuating circumstances for traditionalists, but remains relatively stark otherwise.

### Converts

*"I used to work as a nurse at a polyclinic and at a preschool. One day I fell very sick.*

*When I went to the surgeon, he told me "Under no circumstances should you take powerful western medications. They are not needed in life. Tablets are treatments that will go too far. They are poison." Since then I have never taken any western tablets. I did not know anything about natural remedies. I watched "Malakhov Plyus" and from there I learned everything."*

*- Klava 1-15-09*



Like traditionalists, converts strongly believe that one should only use natural remedies and that western medicine does unnecessary damage to the body. Yet different from traditionalists, converts prefer to use only alternative medicine today but have not done so for most of their lives. Many of these informants belong to the retired generation. Growing up, working, and raising children during Soviet times, these mothers and grandmothers used public health care because the government provided the services for free, the mothers had relatively convenient access to such services (conveniently located and convenient to address any health problem), and these informants had never really become acquainted with any other form of health support as traditionalists had, because their family had no such tradition. For the minor ailments, they treated themselves by going to the pharmacy to pick up a medication; for the more serious ailments they went to the doctor. The doctors provided adequate health care for their limited needs. These mothers were young and healthy. They went to the doctor so rarely that they had no reason to look for other options for treatment. They trusted the doctor and did what he prescribed or recommended. Now, they avoid western medicine because of cost, disenchantment with western medicine's ability to address all their health problems, or a bad experience.

While young, these informants did not pay much attention to their health or lifestyle. Now, older, they have more health problems so they have more need for health care. But, they receive an insignificant income each month. They cannot afford to pay all of the fees that western medicine requires. With increased exposure to western medicine treatments, these converts also have realized that long-term use of western medications, such as high blood pressure tablets, can cause unpleasant side effects and

may not actually alleviate the problems they should address. Therefore, because of money, the negative side effects of western medication, and the chronic nature of many of their health problems, these converts have realized the healthfulness of alternative medicine.

The decrease in quality of health care services that occurred under Soviet power has continued since perestroika and has created a health care system that many pensioners feel they cannot take advantage of. Arkadiy Mikhailovich (Arkasha), a western medicine doctor, claims that starting in the 1970s, the quality of Soviet health care began to fall because doctors received no recognition for good work. Paul Dudley White corroborates Arkasha's claim that the Soviet government overworked doctors. He states that the quality of state health care fell because the time each doctor was allowed to spend with each patient was cut down to "an average of only eight minutes... More than three fourths of that very brief time was devoted to paper work, with only one minute and a half for the history-taking and examination of the patient" (1957: viii). Doctors had to fit within the bureaucratic machinery that the Soviet state had become and fill out paperwork at the expense of their medicine practice. Recall that the state placed little priority in medicine, under funded the health care system, and undervalued the doctor (Bernstein and Shuval 1994: 142, Field 1957: 22).

Today, informants claim, doctors are disinterested, lazy, and sloppy in their medical practice. When pensioners go to the doctor, they feel he does not think about their limited income when he prescribes medication, nor can he determine the cause of some of their health complaints, and so he cannot prescribe an effective treatment.

Zinaida Yegorovna (Zina), who is retired, and has a grown son and a granddaughter and grandson, explains her dissatisfaction with doctors:

Doctors themselves do not know about [healing], or they simply don't want to say... They are scared. Young doctors, still I even will go to them sometimes and ask, "can I take this for my heart?" They are scared. They only prescribe pills. And they even try to prescribe expensive pills. But we are retired. What am I to do? Here what do I have... I buy the pills – one thousand eight hundred rubles, 28 items. It isn't even enough for me for a month, these little packages, and one thousand eight hundred rubles. And for my high blood pressure I have other expensive pills that they prescribe. And so I help myself with these different herbs. And that's all. (1-10-09)

Pensioners find the current quality of state-sponsored health services unsatisfactory and insufficient to satisfy their health needs and their limited financial means. So, they feel that they must self-treat.

In addition, since Russia abandoned socialism with the fall of the Soviet Union and adopted capitalism, all informants point out that now a patient must pay for virtually all services provided even by "free" health clinics. Alyona clarifies the situation, "In the state clinics your medical insurance company pays for a visit to the doctor. Everything else – analyses, X-rays, operations, medications, nurse's services – the patient pays for himself" (1-25-09). Pensioners cannot afford to pay for all of these services on a regular basis. If they treat themselves, they can save money. They can grow or gather their own herbs and prepare their own remedies and go to the doctor only in extenuating circumstances.

Based on this brief history, these converts who relied virtually solely on state health care during Soviet times had access to adequate, cheap, convenient medical services for the first half of their lives. As they grow older, they find that the state health system no longer provides a sufficient level of health care for them. They have had to

turn away from it and explore new options. The opening of Russian borders during and after perestroika and the ushering in of new alternative medicine options has made it possible for converts to find alternatives to unsatisfactory expensive western medicine. And, the easing of sanctions against alternative medicine since the fall of the Soviet Union, has made it possible for Russians who had limited childhood exposure to alternative medicine practices, to learn about the treatments that alternative medicine offers. Russian city residents no longer have to have been born into a family that traditionally practices alternative medicine in order to gain sufficient knowledge of home medicine to practice self-treatment.

Every member of this convert group of informants claimed that her decision to turn to natural medicine either arose from an experience with a serious illness in the last five to ten years, for which western medicine provided inadequate treatment, or, as Klava, quoted in the epigraph of this chapter, remarked, her doctor actually made her aware of the detrimental effects of powerful western medicine on the body. Since then, each convert has respected her body by very consciously using only natural products, remedies, and therapies in the maintenance of her health. After deciding to reject western medicine, each convert began to research other health support options, read books, talk with friends, buy magazines and newspapers, and watch television shows, all to acquaint herself with how her body works and the importance of maintaining an equilibrium within it. Many of these women who converted to preferring alternative treatments actually talk about having allergies to western medications, so they can only use alternative remedies. They do not object to the extra time required to get well when using natural remedies, because they have learned through experience that the natural

treatment inflicts less harm on the body in the end, and so they will maintain their health longer. As Allan Young writes, individuals' health "'interests' focus on the *efficacy* of medical beliefs and practices" (1976: 6). These women who decided as adults to try alternative medicine because of their dissatisfaction with western medicine have truly taken advantage of St. Petersburg's pluralistic health industry. They try the different forms of medicine that health clinics, media, and acquaintances offer, and choose what combination of health practices would most benefit them.

Converts actively seek out new information about alternative medicine treatments, much more so than the traditionalists. Because converts did not grow up with alternative medicine, they have to build their own knowledge base of alternative treatments to take care of their health themselves. They have the unique opportunity to try many different alternative medicine options to find the best regimen for them as individuals, because they do not have any preformed opinions about forms of alternative medicine. Converts displayed the greatest awareness of media resources available and made clear that they rely on these sources to build their knowledge base. They take notes as they encounter treatments they may like to try. Zina explains:

There are a lot of herbs [that you need to know]. I even, now, have all herbs in my notes. I don't recall everything, already my memory has so much... already it is all muddled about all these herbs. But I have everything in my notes. I do, I have everything written, papers. Look, here is from Malakhov, he has a show, yes? ... And I look and whatever he presents, I take notes on, all into these notebooks. (1-10-09)

To learn about new treatment possibilities, St. Petersburg women excitedly exchange information about various remedies. Zina quickly took control of the interview to prove her knowledge of alternative medicine and her wide use of it. She began to name all of the remedies she currently takes, why, and from where she learned of them.

Converts' relationship with alternative medicine becomes one of an excited researcher learning about a pet subject, as opposed to the informal comfort of the traditionalists who confidently know that they have sufficient knowledge to address most health problems, such as drippy nose, cough, the flu, a fever, or a sick stomach. Instead of tradition-based use of alternative medicine, converts use alternative medicine much like the American women do who Shelley Adler studied. Both St. Petersburg converts and Shelley's American women use alternative medicine utilitarianly, not because they have a particular belief in it.

Converts are searching for a better option for health care than western medicine can provide them now that they have become dissatisfied with western medicine. Converts' main reason for preferring alternative medicine is that it is "natural," not necessarily because it is culturally Russian, medicine. While they will use Russian remedies, they will at the same time use any combination of such alternative forms of medicine as Chinese folk medicine (acupuncture), Indian folk medicine (yoga), or Korean folk medicine (seed therapy) to support and maintain their health. The only parameter that they set for themselves is not to ingest damaging products, such as western medications. Traditionalists adhere more closely to Russian folk medicine simply because they have the most familiarity with it. They, too, will adopt other alternative medicine practices should the need arise, but this occurs less frequently than with the converts.

Even though most converts have had a bad experience with western medicine, they make use of western medical services available in St. Petersburg. Several informants go to the doctor once a year to receive a prescription to go to the sanitarium

cheaply for therapy. Zina says, "I go to the polyclinic once a year, when I need to go to the sanatorium... I need to go through all the analyses so that then at the sanatorium I don't have to pay them. And here I will do everything for free" (1-10-09). In addition, many converts go to the doctor for advice about treatment, as the traditionalists do. Converts repeat what traditionalists say, that doctors do not always prescribe western medication and a patient can prevail upon a doctor to suggest something natural. Therefore, like the traditionalists, converts use what western medical services they believe in, like massage and the sanitarium, and what services they have access to, those which are not too costly either in terms of money or time, like diagnostics and doctors' visits. In brief, converts pick and choose which western medical services are acceptable to them, and so which western medical services to utilize.

### Pragmatists

*"Concerning medicinal herbs, in general I don't believe in them, in any herbs... for medicine. I don't believe in them because I believe in fast-acting treatments. The best and my favorite fast-acting treatments are laxatives. Yep, those I believe in, because I take them and in a couple of hours I see a result. But I don't believe in herbs. And honestly speaking, I don't believe in homeopathy either. Something else I believe in is anesthesia. There you are – laxatives and anesthesia. Those are the best."*

*- Alina 1-17-09*

Instead of holding strong beliefs as do traditionalists and converts with regards to western as opposed to alternative medicine, the last type of informant, whom I call pragmatists, does not have a strong opinion about what treatment she uses, so long as it works well and efficiently. Unlike traditionalists and converts, pragmatists do not see any danger in using western medicine, nor do they have a great affinity for alternative



medicine. Pragmatists adhere entirely to the rule: do what will help. They do not spend time thinking about their health or researching different health options. They subscribe most of all to western medicine, the mainstream medical services provided by the government or for which they can pay more money to go to a private clinic. Nonetheless, they do not keep themselves only to western medicine, but use whatever form of health care that makes itself available to them.

Unlike traditionalists and converts, pragmatists usually follow the doctor's prescriptions, unless it costs too much money. The doctor acts as their main source of information and diagnosis. They do not do background research on health or health support options as do the members of the other two groups. Valentina Maksimovna (Valya), who is 91 years old and has a grown granddaughter, says that when she gets sick: "The only thing, I think is... I go [to the doctor]" (1-17-09). Pragmatists depend on doctors because doctors have received medical education, the doctor's job is to treat people, and the government makes treatment relatively accessible. They adhere to doctors' prescriptions because the doctor knows more about their illness and how to heal than they do. Pragmatists want cheap, effective, fast-acting treatments, and do not worry about possible long-term effects as do the traditionalists and the converts.

Like the other two groups, pragmatists only go to the doctor when they must. They treat themselves "from experience" when they are not terribly sick. Often they will go to the pharmacy, ask the pharmacist's advice given their symptoms, and buy the medicine the pharmacist recommends, be that an alternative remedy or western medication. Or, if they have an illness from which they often suffer, they will use

whatever has helped in the past. They do not actively experiment with different medications to find the best one. Again, they consider cost, time, and efficacy.

Not wanting to spend a protracted amount of time to get well, pragmatists want a powerful medication that will quickly make them start to feel better, and that they will not have to take on a long-term basis. Valya says, "I don't believe in homeopathy, because it is done in really small doses... You need to do it continuously, so much so, so that a person should be punctual, and for a very long time" (1-17-09). These informants do not want to spend a lot of time finding an effective treatment. They will do what the doctor recommends and not mull over all of the possible future implications of their decision. Valya says, "whatever they recommend I take" (1-17-09). To which her granddaughter, Alina, responded, "Yes, of course what they recommend you take – it is a principle of life" (1-17-09). This type of patient places a lot of faith in the medical practitioner. Throughout the interview, Valya continuously said, "I don't know, I don't know. You should ask [this neighbor] or [that friend]" who practices folk medicine. Pragmatists do not actively participate in their own health care because they have no interest in learning about the options available to them in St. Petersburg as the converts are. Converts like to have control over their own health. They value it because they have experienced serious illness. Pragmatists, who the converts formerly were, have no reason to worry about their health, because they have not experienced a serious enough illness (for them) to feel the need to control the health care they receive, nor have they encountered an instance in which western medicine failed them.

People with this health approach do not worry about or express awareness of the possible damage that western medication can inflict. Valya laughed and said, "Whether I

take it [the medication] or don't take it, the results are the same" (1-17-09). Valya takes high blood pressure medication because the doctor tells her to, not necessarily because she expects drastic results. High blood pressure has not affected her quality of living, so she has no incentive to search for another treatment. The doctor presented a convenient option in the form of pills, so she takes them every morning. Pragmatists take what options become available, rather than seeking out other, perhaps better, possibilities.

Despite the tendency of pragmatists to use western medicine and disregard alternative medicine as ineffectual, they will use alternative medicine should the circumstances demand it. They unashamedly talk about these experiences when they used an alternative therapy. Alina talks about an incident from childhood:

Now, there is a very fun story. I will not forget this in my life. I was seven, I think, or even six, and at the *dacha*, there was a huge boulder on a meadow nearby my house and we were playing there and we were jumping on and off and we were doing all kinds of crazy things, a huge stone. And, one day I jumped off the stone and my foot went like this [*she demonstrates with her hands, a twisting motion*], you know?... I didn't break it. But I disjointed something there and it immediately swole up and it was really big... But it was clear for everybody that I didn't break it. And someone in the village recommended to my parents to take hay... – May hay, I think they specified that it should be hay collected in May, so... spring hay, not summer hay... My mother lay this hay in a pot. The water boiled... Then they lay this floor cloth onto my leg. Then this hot hay and then tied it up. For the whole night. I was bawling such that, I would imagine, the entire village heard me. It was very painful. I mean it was hot hay! And in the morning, when they took off this bandage, everything was in these grooves because of individual... This continued for three days. I was screaming and shouting at the top of my lungs. But, on the fourth day, I could already walk around. It really helped. That I can swear... I think that the idea was that hay, this particular hay, sucks out certain things, like extracts... certain whatever. Maybe they knew that in May hay there's certain special grasses, or that May hay grass has specific qualities as young grass. I have no idea. But, I remember it was a huge torture. But I was walking... around, after three days... It was not a village village [where we were]. Usually there were people who would live in the city and come there for one or two months in the summer... [it could have been a city person], same person as us [who advised the use of

May hay]. Maybe it was somebody local. There were some local people whom we maintained relationships with. Maybe, maybe. (1-17-09)

Alina remembers this incident of using an alternative treatment for her sprained ankle as a funny back-story about when she once tried crazy folk medicine and luckily it worked. While Alina undoubtedly would never use this treatment if she sprained her ankle again, she does not discount that the treatment healed her. At the time, May hay presented the most convenient option for treatment, so her parents (also pragmatists) used it. The treatment's efficacy does not make Alina believe in alternative medicine, but at the same time she does not criticize it. She is an observer of an interesting folk event and does not judge that event. Her ability not to judge makes it possible for her to recount the episode without shame.

The other time Alina used pure alternative medicine happened when she was an adult. This time when she needed medical help, her ability to suspend her disbelief in alternative medicine made it possible for her to receive the help of a medicine woman.

In 1999, before we were supposed to leave for an expedition to Novgorod, something happened to me for the first time in my life. It is called in Russian *panaritsiy*<sup>22</sup>... It was... already several days into the expedition and I already couldn't get anything done. I... began to shake... and... I was getting sicker and sicker... And people started telling me, 'oh you should do something because you are going to lose your finger... because this puss may go into the bone'... And then somebody tells me, 'there is a *babka*. And she will whisper over your finger, say *zagovory*... So I went to this *babka*... She put me in her house so that I was standing... on the crossing of two imaginary lines – one from the hearth to the room, and the other from the room to the outside. So she specifically put me on one very marked place. And she opened the doors... She asked me my name, and she started saying something... in a very low voice... And then she said, 'Okay, now go home, don't drink.' I think she said 'don't drink', but I don't remember, like alcohol... And then she said, 'Oh, incidentally, come with me.' And she took me to her garden.' And there was this cabbage

<sup>22</sup> *Ponaritsiy* in English means agnail.

grove growing there. And she took a leaf of a cabbage and she said, 'Put it on your finger and just keep it, and by morning everything will be all right.' So it's hard to tell which was more important, the first, or second. So that's what I did. And, I think that I fell asleep. And then, in the middle of the night, I had this excruciating pain in my finger, like excruciating. I thought I was losing my bone there... And then, in the morning, all of a sudden, you know... there is this feeling sometimes that you still feel pain in whatever part of your body, but this pain changes its character. And... it's almost somewhere on a junction between pain and pleasure. And you know that if you reach this point, it means you'll start healing. And that's what happened. And the swollen part started to recede... I have a small dent here, but it was gone. Don't ask me what helped – the cabbage leaf – well, everybody knew about the cabbage leaf. People would advise me to attach the cabbage leaf, before I went to the *babka*. But I thought, well let's try something else... [I had] not [been] to an *herb-babka* [before]... With the first part, she was more professional – a more professional witchery type thing, witchcraft... But the second part, with the cabbage leaf, it was part of common knowledge (1-17-09)

Alina demonstrated a willingness to try whatever medical help she has easy access to when she needs it. She does not worry about what belief system the treatment she receives is based on or what exactly the treatment requires her to do. She wants to get well quickly, conveniently, and efficiently. She flexibly crosses belief boundaries without confusing her own disbelief in alternative medicine.

Another informant, Nastya, told a story (1-20-09) about her encounter with a medicine woman during childhood. She does not believe in medicine women, incantations, or holy water, but when she was six years old, she was afflicted by a skin sickness that turned into inflammation and a high fever from swimming in cold water for too long in the village where she and her family vacationed that summer. Her grandmother, a surgeon, was ready to bring her directly to the hospital far away. But people in the village told them about a medicine woman who lived on the outskirts of the village in a tiny little hut. The medicine woman was from a great family that had owned all the land in the area and had lived in a huge house. When they met the medicine

woman, little Nastya could tell that she was crazy. Nonetheless, they accepted her help. The medicine woman took water out of a bucket, said something over the water, and gave it to Nastya to drink. By the time Nastya left the hut, she had healed completely. After telling the story, remembering experiencing the incident, Nastya repeatedly commented, "I didn't believe at all and I still don't believe. I don't know what happened. I don't know if it worked or if it was just a coincidence." Whether the incantations worked is materially unimportant. The fact that little Nastya recovered fully has significance. A family that traditionally follows western medical practices decided to take their child to a fabled medicine woman for treatment. The girl needed immediate attention; the medicine woman provided the only opportunity for such attention. The surgeon grandmother decided to trust the medicine woman to help. Both Alina and Nastya say they probably would never try such scientifically unfounded modes of treatment again, but at least the treatment worked then, when they really needed it and had no other options available. In hindsight, even though they cannot explain what happened, they admit that the medicine women did help. And yet, they continue to reject alternative medicine as an effective form of treatment.

Another informant, Lyuba, whose son suffers from cerebral spastic infantile paralysis, a debilitating disease that often results in complete paralysis, also does not believe in alternative medicine. However, she, too, will try anything to help her son, who miraculously walks and climbs stairs on his own, thanks to her persistence in finding new therapies and treatments: "We use everything – everything that presents itself, everything..." (4-23-08). Within the sphere of western medicine, this young mother takes her son to a whole team of doctors regularly, including a family doctor, a

psychologist, and a physical therapist. In addition, he attends some therapies religiously several times a week, such as sessions in hippotherapy (horseback riding therapy), designed specifically for children with this disease. She believes that so long as the therapy will do no harm, she might as well have him try it. Before she takes her son to participate in a new treatment, she always checks with friends who are doctors to verify its safety and efficacy. Although she professes to believe most in the knowledge and capabilities of western medicine, she desperately wants her son to be able to live a full life, so she willingly explores all options.

At therapy sessions, Lyuba talks with other mothers who have children with this disease and she learns how they help their children. During one such conversation, she learned about a medicine woman who works wonders on children and helped one of the children in the therapy session. Lyuba took her son to see this medicine woman. The medicine woman treated the boy, placing spoons all over him and performing other treatments. Both mother and son remember how much she helped and what a positive experience it was:

At one time we went, when there was... nothing in medicine, we went to a medicine woman who had... an aura or something for children... She directed her forces toward him [Nastya's son]... she healed him somehow... and when we went to do an X-ray before and after her... there was a result. (4-23-08)

Lyuba says that she does not believe in such medicine and power, but the therapy worked; therefore this woman must have some special abilities. Lyuba cannot explain how or why it worked. She reinforces that so long as it does no harm to her son, no matter the treatment, they might as well try. In order to help her son to the best of her ability, she pursues treatment possibilities offered by various health doctrines, adopting



different therapies from different medical schools in order to find the strongest combination for her son, even if she does not believe in them.

Even though a St. Petersburg pragmatist may believe that only western medicine holds true legitimacy in the health industry, when faced with a serious ailment, she will try any treatment options that present themselves, so long as they will not cause more harm. Pragmatists demonstrate an aptitude to divorce themselves from their personal opinions about different forms of medicine in order to take advantage of the many options around them. These St. Petersburg pragmatists reflect the ability to accept medical help that they neither fully understand nor believe in, similar to what Susan Beckerleg found in the pluralistic medical society in Swahili communities in Kenya. There, she observed a villager who searched to find a cure for his “severe bout of fever, including resorting to poorly understood Western medicine, to home remedies, and to humoral-based treatment” (1994: 299) without abandoning his fundamental belief in the cause and nature of the fever. For St. Petersburg pragmatists, just as for this Kenyan man, the doctrine behind a particular treatment is not as important as its accessibility, convenience, and efficacy.

While each type of St. Petersburg woman readily explains how she chooses which treatment to use, her practice of health care often does not reflect her professed preference. Ultimately, St. Petersburg residents, as anywhere, will use whichever option is most convenient and comfortable at the time. How they differ in their health practices from many parts of the world, including the United States, is that they frequently cross doctrinal boundaries and use a form of medicine they pointedly do not believe in and sometimes even believe is ludicrous. They are this flexible in their health practices

because so long as they can choose the treatment to use, they can find a way to make sense of how the treatment works given their personal understanding of health, medicine, and their own bodies.

## Conclusion

### The Result: Time, Money, and Comfort Level

*"[The treatment should] be effective. What is most important is that it is effective."*

*- Alisa 1-21-09*

Despite St. Petersburg residents' different beliefs and preferred health doctrines, these St. Petersburg informants do not drastically differ in their health practices. They all use a combination of western and alternative medicine. Nor do informants greatly differ in their health decision-making process. They all consider time and money. They simply differ in their priorities.

When considering what form of treatment to choose, informants think about how much time they will spend getting well. Traditionalists and converts willingly accept the long-term treatment that may require months or even years of taking remedies in exchange for assurance that the treatment will not harm the body further. Pragmatists want to heal and recover immediately and do not want to have to juggle taking the treatment for an extended period of time. They assume the risk that their quick powerful treatment may very likely do more harm to their body whilst it heals them. Some informants from all three categories avoid visiting the doctor because they do not want to waste a day or two waiting at the polyclinic. They would rather self-treat, and they feel confident enough in their knowledge of themselves, of illness, and of possible treatments, to treat their health complaint effectively. Other informants, again from all three categories, would rather see a doctor before beginning any kind of self-treatment, or in order to do a diagnostic and receive a treatment plan, despite the long lines they will face at the polyclinic. No matter how the individual informant feels about time, doctors, and

harm to their bodies, she will invariably think about the necessary time required in the entire treatment and healing process when deciding her course of action.

Like time, money plays a strong role in the decision-making process of a Russian mother or grandmother when deciding how to treat an illness. She must think about how much she can afford to spend. This may change how she adheres to different forms of medicine, given the current economic situation. In fact, one informant, Nina Vladimirovna, even suggested that now that the international economic crisis that started in 2008 has hit Russia, St. Petersburg residents' health habits may change because many of them find it hard to pay for necessities. She recounted that at the time of the major economic crisis in 1998 St. Petersburg residents did not have the means to buy anything from pharmacies, so they gathered their own remedies and treated themselves. Now, with the current economic crisis, she thinks that perhaps people have returned or will return to this form of self-treatment. Another informant, Nastya, who for the most part relies only on western medicine, offered that in her opinion, the way people decide which type of medicine to use completely depends on money. When Russians have less money or the western medications become too expensive, they choose to use natural remedies to heal themselves.

Nastya also introduced the example of the 1998 economic crisis, when, for the most part, people only used natural remedies. She agrees with Nina that St. Petersburg residents will begin to rely predominantly on herbs again for treatment. "In other words," she says, "people do what they can do." Clearly, how much a St. Petersburg dweller is willing to pay influences her decision about which type of medicine to pursue. How confident she feels in her ability to treat herself or her family also plays a large part. The

more confident she feels, the less money she will spend on treatments. How much money she will pay will also depend on how strongly she believes in one form of treatment over another. The more strongly the mother believes, the more hassle she will willingly face to receive that treatment and the less likely she will tolerate another kind of treatment.

Above all, Russians abide by the rule of doing whatever helps and will not harm. As we clearly saw with the pragmatists, it does not matter whether a Russian believes in the type of treatment, so long as the treatment has the potential to heal. But, when a mother is aware that a particular treatment has the possibility of harming, she weighs the consequences with the benefits. If she must use that treatment, she finds some way of supporting the body systems so that the treatment does less harm.

Unfortunately, because of the fear of harming, many informants say, they go to the doctor when it is already too late for help. Doctors and common individuals alike recognize this fact. When presented with the statement that in the United States people generally go to the doctor about once a year just for a check-up, they agree that this is the "correct" way to take care of one's health. One grandmother responded, "Once a year? Yes, that's the right way to do it, once a year. But that is expensive, and it is not in our culture" (Inna 1-14-09).

Russians embrace the cultural practice of the uninhibited combining of, and experimenting with, many different forms of medicine in the search for a cure, even if the underlying doctrines of the forms of medicine contradict one another. In St. Petersburg, Russian culture allows for the breakdown of boundaries between different forms of medical doctrine. If over centuries medical practices in Russia have grown progressively

closer to western medicine, then in the last five to ten years, since the fall of the Soviet Union and the opening up of Russian borders to outside influences, foreign medical traditions, including alternative medicine practices, have infiltrated into the Russian health conscience and have made themselves available to the masses. Now, in St. Petersburg, the health industry represents an eclectic, diverse supermarket of health support options. Underlying this myriad of health options lies the simple wish to maintain one's health.

In many ways, the particular medical system or sector to which health care options belong may be irrelevant; for individual health seekers in times of illness the immediate material of health care decision making is neither systems nor sectors, but available health care options (Stoner 1986: 47).

To achieve this goal, St. Petersburg dwellers willingly cross the boundaries of different health doctrines to find the best option or collection of options for their particular case. The fundamental Russian saying is "above all do no harm;" "if it won't hurt, might as well try it."

This willingness to try different treatments in search of the best option for a particular individual in a particular circumstance originates from Russian people's wish to remain autonomous with regards to their bodies, to have control over their own health. This finding is unexpected because talking with some of these same informants who shared their health practices, and given the disinterest many St. Petersburg residents express when considering such democratic activities as elections, one would expect to find Russians just as apathetic in the maintenance of their health as they are in their participation in politics. Throughout history, the Russian people have had little reason to value state health services, both because either the state did not offer services to the common folk, as during early tsarist times, or state services did not satisfy the needs of

the Russian people, as in late tsarist and Soviet times. To this day, Russians do not feel comfortable entrusting their health to unfamiliar hands, so they continue to pass down their knowledge, encourage their children to be self-sufficient, and expand their knowledge base. Self-sufficiency results in the existence of many health options in St. Petersburg, an individual's willingness to combine different belief systems, and the continuance of alternative medicine use in a modern technologically-advanced city. Future studies should examine this phenomenon of St. Petersburg individuals' desire for autonomy in other aspects of St. Petersburg culture. Such studies could help determine in which parts of their lives St. Petersburg residents fight to retain control, and in which parts they surrender their right to make decisions, and why such a pattern appears.



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APPENDIX

Glossary of Russian Terms.....	106
Chart of Medical Centers and Population by Region of St. Petersburg.....	107
Chart of Informants (pseudonyms).....	110
Glossary of Interview Quotes (English translation and Russian original from interview).....	117
List of questions for visits at general pharmacies.....	140
List of questions for visits to specialty pharmacies.....	142
List of questions for interviews with school doctor.....	144
List of questions for interviews with doctors of western medicine.....	146
List of questions for interviews with doctors of alternative medicine.....	148
List of questions for interviews about medicine and herbs.....	150
List of questions for interviews about health care, family, and personal history.....	154
List of questions for interviews about special therapies.....	158

Glossary of Russian terms

Russian (transcribed)	Russian (Cyrillic)	English
<i>apteka</i>	аптека	pharmacy
<i>babka</i>	бабка	healer, medicine woman
<i>babochka</i>	бабочка	grandmother figure (healer, medicine woman) – diminutive form of <i>babka</i>
<i>banka</i>	банка	Alternative medicine treatment: medium-sized glass jars suctioned to one's back using heat, according to energy points
<i>bol'nichny list</i>	больничный лист	medical excuse
<i>dacha</i>	дача	summer home
<i>meditsina</i>	медицина	medicine
<i>narodnaya meditsina</i>	народная медицина	folk medicine, what I refer to as "alternative medicine"
<i>narodnaya pochta</i>	народная почта	folk mail
<i>ofitsial'naya meditsina</i>	официальная медицина	official medicine, what I refer to as "western medicine"
<i>panaritsiy</i>	панариций	agnail
<i>tysyachelistnik</i>	тысячелистник	milfoil, nosebleed herb
<i>zagovor</i>	заговор	incantation
<i>zdorov'ye</i>	здоровье	health
<i>znakhar'</i>	знахарь	medicine man
<i>znakharka</i>	знахарка	medicine woman

Chart of Medical Centers and Population by Region of St. Petersburg

Region	Population	Total Number of Medical Centers	Number of Each Type of Medical Center
Admiralteyskiy	154,931 (as of 1/1/08)	12	4 state polyclinics 1 women's consultation center 2 dental polyclinics 1 dermatovenerologic center 1 psychoneurological center 1 antituberculous center 1 specialized psychoneurological center for children 1 children's pulmonology sanitarium
Vasilyevostrovskiy	195,100	not published	not published
Vyborgskiy	not published	not published	not published
Kalininskiy	more than 460,000	37	10 adult polyclinics 7 children's polyclinics 4 women's consultation centers 6 emergency care centers 4 trauma centers 1 antituberculous center 1 dermatovenerologic center 1 adult dental polyclinic 1 children's polyclinic 1 specialized psychoneurological center for children 1 center of restorative medicine for children
Kirovskiy	not published	not published	not published
Kolpinskiy	174,800 (as of 1/1/04)	not published	not published
Krasnogvardeyskiy	more than 307,000	15	not published
Krasnosel'skiy	not published	not published	not published

Kronshtadtskiy	42,000	14	1 city hospital 1 gynaecological center 1 infectious center 1 antituberculosis center 1 military hospital 3 city polyclinics 1 general practice doctors' office 1 prosthodontic center 1 children's polyclinic center 1 women's consultation center 1 narcological office 1 children's sanatorium
Kurortniy	67,900	1	1 hospital
Moskovskiy	not published	29	3 city hospitals 1 maternity hospital 1 antituberculosis center 1 city center for restorative healing for children with psychoneurological damage 1 region narcological center 1 center for the health of the territorial management 6 city polyclinics 1 medical sanatorium 3 children's polyclinics 1 center for children's emergency care 1 center for the restorative healing of children with allergenic illnesses 2 psychoneurological centers for children 1 women's consultation center 1 dermatovenerologic center 1 psychoneurological center 1 oncology center



			2 dental clinics 1 nighttime dental first aid center
Nevskiy	not published	not published	not published
Petrogradskiy	not published	not published	not published
Primorskiy	not published	38	1 consultative-diagnostic polyclinic 9 city polyclinics 7 children's polyclinics 3 women's consultation centers 5 general practice doctors' offices 4 emergency care centers 2 city dental polyclinic 1 trauma center 1 dermatovenerologic center 1 city psychiatric hospital 1 psychoneurologic center 1 children's psychoneurologic center 1 hospice 1 sanatorium
Pushkinskiy	not published	not published	not published
Frunzenskiy	390,000	21	7 state polyclinics 6 children's polyclinics 1 young person's consultation center 1 women's consultation center 2 dental polyclinics 1 psychoneurological center 1 center for restorative healing of children's psychiatrics 1 specialized children's center 1 antituberculosis center
Tsentral'niy	not published	not published	not published

Chart of Informants

**Total number of interviews: 55**

**Total number of informants: 49**

**Number of informants interviewed two times: 6**

**Spring 2008:**

Total number of interviews: 16

Number of interviews with school nurses: 1

Number of interviews with pharmacists: 7

Number of interviews with non-medical St. Petersburg residents: 8

**January 2009:**

Total number of interviews: 39

Number of interviews with western medicine doctors: 2

Number of interviews with alternative medicine doctors: 4

Number of interviews with non-medical St. Petersburg residents: 33

	Informant	Male/ Female	Mother/ Grandmother	Education	Occupation	Residence	Date of Interview(s)
1.		Female			Pharmacist	Location: St. Petersburg	3-15-08
2.		Female			Pharmacist	Location: St. Petersburg	3-15-08
3.		Female			Pharmacist	Location: St. Petersburg	3-15-08
4.		Female			Pharmacist	Location: St.	3-15-08

Names of informants removed for privacy.

					Petersburg	
5.		Female			Pharmacist	Location: St. Petersburg 3-23-08
6.		Female			Pharmacist	Location: St. Petersburg 3-23-08
7.		Female			Pharmacist/ honey specialist	Location: St. Petersburg 5-16-08
8.		Female	Grandmother	higher		3-23-08, 1-18-09
9.		Female		higher	Ethnobotanist	3-23-08, 4-8-08
10.		Female	Mother	higher		3-23-08, 1-18-09
11.		Female	Mother	higher	Ethnographer	4-8-08, 1-19-09
12.		Female	Mother	higher	feldsher – school doctor	4-16-08

Names of informants removed for privacy.

13.		Female		higher	Communications		4-19-08
14.		Male	Father	higher	English		4-23-08
15.		Female	Mother	higher			4-23-08
16.		Female		student of higher education	computer science		1-9-09
17.		Female	Mother	higher			1-10-09
18.		Female	Mother	higher	biochemist		1-10-09
19.		Female	Grandmother	higher			1-10-09
20.		Female	Mother	higher			1-12-09

Names of informants removed for privacy.

21.		Female	Grandmother	higher			1-12-09
22.		Female	Grandmother	higher			1-12-09
23.		Female		higher	Linguistics and Art		1-12-09, 1-20-09
24.		Male	Father	higher	Mathematics		1-12-09
25.		Female	Grandmother	higher			1-13-09
26.		Female	Grandmother	higher			1-13-09
27.		Female	Grandmother	higher			1-14-09
28.		Female	Mother	higher			1-14-09
29.		Female	Grandmother	higher			1-15-09

Names of informants removed for privacy.

30.		Female	Grandmother	higher			1-15-09
31.		Female	Mother	higher	Russian Literature		1-16-09
32.		Male		higher	English, Russian Literature		1-16-09
33.		Female	Grandmother	higher			1-16-09
34.		Female		higher	Anthropologist		1-17-09
35.		Female	Grandmother	higher			1-17-09
36.		Female	Mother	higher	Biologist - Agriculture		1-21-09
37.		Male		higher	Medical Doctor		1-22-09
38.		Female	Mother	higher			1-23-09

Names of informants removed for privacy.

39.		Female	Mother				1-25-09
40.		Female	Mother	higher	folklore		1-25-09
41.		Female	Mother	higher	biology		1-25-09
42.		Female	Mother	higher			1-26-09
43.		Female	Mother	higher	Medical Doctor – surgeon – respiratory system		1-27-09
44.		Male		higher	Computer Science		1-27-09
45.		Male	Father	higher	Medical Doctor		1-27-09
46.		Female	Grandmother	higher			1-28-09
47.		Male	Father	higher	Medical Doctor, osteopath		1-28-09

Names of informants removed for privacy.

48.		Female	Mother	higher	acupuncturist		1-28-09
49.		Male		student of higher education	being educated to be a surgeon, currently working as a massager		1-28-09

Names of informants removed for privacy.



## Glossary of Interview Quotes:

English	Russian
<p>p. 3 Herbs... should be a system that is all worked out – everyday you infuse and drink them... In a word, you can say it is like a preventive treatment... against contracting an illness. In other words, it is better not to treat an illness, but to prevent it... So, with the help of herbs, this is in principle very good... In order not to stuff antibiotics into yourself, and other medicine tablets, in order not to wait for a sore that may appear on you, but instead if you have precursor signs of illness, it is better to prevent getting fully sick... with the help of a remedy. If this is possible, it is best...</p> <p>I, honestly speaking, I did not believe [in <i>babki</i><sup>23</sup>]. I did it, I drank this water, I gave the water to my child... I simply, discernibly, did not want to do this. But all of a sudden it may help. I did it, but I cannot say that directly, honestly I believed in it because all the same I went to the western doctors, all the same I turned to western medicine. But at least, again, I act such as not to do more harm. In other words I may do this, it may or may not help, but at least I did not make it worse... I don't regret that I did it. How much it helped, I do not know. But honestly speaking about my opinion, I of course am probably more on the side of western medicine than this with <i>babki</i>, with these healers. But when something serious happens with the health of your relatives, you already, wherever you hear of something, wherever you see something, you try to do it so that later you do not curse yourself and think, aaa, maybe this could have helped me. (Zhenya 3-23-08)</p>	<p>p. 3 Травы... Эта должна быть система выработанная – каждый день ты завариваешь и принимаешь... Одним словом, это можно сказать как профилактика... заболевания. То есть, лучше болезнь не лечить, а предотвратить... Вот, с помощью трав – это в принципе очень хорошо... Чтобы не пихать в себя химию, и таблетки, чтобы не ждать вот этой вот там вот болячки, которая у тебя может наступить, а если есть такие-то предвестники, лучше ее предотвратить... с способом лекарства. Если это возможно, то это здорово...</p> <p>Я, честно сказать, я не верила [в бабу]. Я делала, я пила эту воду, я давала ее ребенку... Я просто видимо, уже, не хотелось как бы делать это. А вдруг поможет. Я это делала, но я не могу сказать, что я в это прямо вот свято верила потому, что я все равно ходила к врачам, я все равно обращалась к традиционной медицине<sup>24</sup>... Но по крайней мере, опять такие же, я следую тому, чтобы не навредить. То есть, может я это сделаю, может оно не поможет, по крайней мере хуже я не сделаю... Я не жалею, что я это сделала. Насколько оно помогло, я не знаю. Но вот, честно говоря о моем мнении, я конечно все-таки наверное сторонник традиционной медицины, нежели вот с этими бабками, с этими целительницами. Но, когда вот происходит что-то такое серьезное с здоровьем твоих родственников, ты уже, где только что услышал, где только что увидел, ты пытаешься делать, чтобы</p>

<sup>23</sup> *Babka* – medicine woman.<sup>24</sup> Здесь – «официальная медицина».

	потом себя не ругать, что ааа, вот может быть. Вот мне бы это помогло. (Zhenya 3-23-08)
<p>p. 33 We have few people who know <i>zagovory</i>. It has already become outmoded. But there still are some. For example, in our region, in the Leningradskaya oblast', we have such a place... where there are still some <i>babochki</i> left... There are <i>znakharki</i>. There were a lot in Ukraine... They still have many... They exist, <i>znakharki</i>... For example, there was a problem with my friend when she had St. Anthony's fire<sup>25</sup>. When I began to search, the doctors said directly, "find a <i>znakharka</i>." It is the type of illness, hernias and St. Anthony's fire for which <i>babki</i> do <i>zagovory</i>. And they will be saying <i>zagovory</i> for her. They know old <i>zagovory</i>. And we searched and we found one... <i>Znakharki</i> are not too far away from us here. In general, they do not take anything [in payment], in general nothing. Maybe a package of tea, or something, just in some hotel or other, like candy, tea, and that's all. They never take anything. True <i>znakharki</i>, they never take anything... They are hard to find, hard to find, because now there are a lot of fallacious <i>znakharki</i>... But very few real <i>znakharki</i> remain. And only true <i>znakharki</i> are able to heal. Yes, yes. But some still remain, some remain. They pass on [their knowledge] by inheritance. Such still exist... Later they should pass on their knowledge, because they have this belief that they will die a very hard death if they do not pass on their knowledge. So, it is still being kept. But it is dying. It is dying. (Tonya 3-23-08)</p>	<p>p. 33 У нас мало, кто знает [заговоры]. Это уже тоже устаренно. Но есть еще. Вот у нас, в нашем районе, в Ленинградской области у нас есть такое место там... где еще сохранились бабушки... Есть знахарки. Очень много было на Украине... У них еще сохранилось... А существуют [знахари]... Вот у нас такая проблема была с моей подругой, вот когда у нее была рожа. Когда началась, и я стала искать, прямо врачи сказали, «ищите знахарку». Это такая болезнь, вот грижа и рожа заговаривают вот бабки. И ей заговаривают, знают старые заговоры. И мы искали и мы нашли... Знахарка тоже тут недалеко у нас, вообще ничего они не брали, вообще ничего. Пачка чая или что-то так вот, просто в гостинице какой-то или можно там конфетки, чай, и все. Они никогда не берут. Настоящие знахарки, они ничего не берут... Трудно, найти трудно, потому что вот таких ложных сейчас знахарок много... А настоящих знахарок осталось очень мало. И только настоящие могут вылечить. Да, да. Но остались, еще остались. Они передают по наследству. Ну существует такое... потом они должны передать свое знание, потому что существует такая поверие, что они очень тяжело умирают, если они не передали свои знания. Вот, поэтому, еще сохраняется, но умирает уже, просто, умирает. (Tonya 3-23-08)</p>
<p>p. 33 I think that these people do not demand any money, specifically these people never take any money... No, they do not take</p>	<p>p. 33 Я думаю, что есть такие люди, которые не требуют каких-то денег, и именно вот эти люди, они никогда не берут денег...</p>

<sup>25</sup> Medically called erysipelas

anything. They, well, we bring some food or other little things to them and that's all. (Lyuba 4-23-08)	Нет, ничего не берут... Они как бы, продукты к ним приносим и это все. (Lyuba 4-23-08)
p. 41 We do self-treatment for the most part. (Inga 1-23-09)	p. 41 У нас самолечение, в основном. (Inga 1-23-09)
p. 41 Folk medicine is the first line of defense when you get sick. Grandmothers and grandfathers lived that way, and they continue to this today to live like that. (Inna 1-14-09)	p. 41 Народная медицина – эта первая очередь когда заболеешь. Бабушки и дедушки так жили, и продолжают так жить до сих пор. (Inna 1-14-09)
p. 42 You have to know how, what, how much, because there are all kinds of herbs. There are herbs that are more invasive, and in general herbs are a very serious thing... Because there are many different types of remedies, we have many discerning shows, TV shows which tell how to make something... I myself do not risk it. I myself do not experiment. (Zhenya 3-23-08)	p. 42 Надо знать как, что, чего потому, что трава траве рознь. Есть травы более безобидные, а вообще травы... очень серьезная вещь. Травы очень серьезная вещь... Потому, что много всяких лекарственных у нас различных, много передач, вот телепередач, которые... вот там... рассказывают, как что-то делать... Сама не рискую. Сама не экспериментирую. (Zhenya 3-23-08)
p. 42 Well, its life experience. In other words it depends on, well, if you have a cold, you know that you have it, and you know how to treat yourself for it. (Inga 1-23-09)	p. 42 Ну уже жизненный опыт. То есть в зависимости, если простуда там, уже знаешь, что там, чем себя лечить. (Inga 1-23-09)
p. 42 I would say that there is a small set of herb medicines that everybody knows, absolutely, and I would say that <i>devyasil</i> and <i>zveroboy</i> are among them. (Alina 1-17-09)	
p. 42 It is general knowledge. Everyone knows. (Sasha 1-12-09)	p. 42 Это же обычное знание. Все знают. (Sasha 1-12-09)
p. 43 We advise one another. Neighbors, friends. Someone will say, "Oh I know, here that remedy there. Gather that herb." And that's the way it is. <i>Narodnaya pochta</i> . (Tonya 3-23-08)	p. 43 Мы советуем. Соседки, подружки, одна скажет, «А я знаю, вот такое средство там. Такую травку собери.» Ну вот так. Народная почта. (Tonya 3-23-08)
p. 43 There is an Italian folk tale. Do you know it? The tale goes like this: One day a king	p. 43 Есть такая сказка итальянская. Ты знаешь? Сказка такая: однажды один

<p>is doing nothing. He woke up in the morning and said, "it would be interesting to find out, in my state who do we have more of." "I'll let you know," his jester told him. It was very important that it was his jester because he makes the king happy and he can say to him the truth. The king may not like it, but the jester has the right. And nobody judges him because of this. It is his role. So, the jester said, "By evening I will tell you. I will search out what and who, what kind of people you have the most of. And so he took his kerchief. Like this he tied it up around his neck and left for the city. In the evening he returned. The king saw him before his eyes and said "My God! You have a sore tooth! You need to do this, this, and this. There he took off the kerchief, laughed, and stood up, "In your citizenry, more than any other kind of person you have doctors – medics. "Why," he asked. "Because everyone with whom I met gave me advice." Do you understand? That's how it is. Here, everyone really loves to give advice. We are a country of advice. Everyone advises. People are never indifferent. They always say: did you do this? Do you have a drippy nose? Have you tried this? (I asked: And often does everyone have different advice?) Yes. Between themselves it is like that. Non-stop. (Nellya 1-16-09)</p>	<p>король делает ничего, он проснулся утром, сказал «интересно, в моем государстве кого больше всего.» "Я вам скажу," сказал ему шут. Очень важно. Он веселит короля и он может говорить ему правду. Ему может не нравится, но шут имеет право. И его никто из-за этого не отсудит. Это его роль такая. Вот, шут сказал, «к вечеру скажу вам, поищу и что кого, каких людей больше всего у вас. Вот и он взял платок. Вот так завязал, шек у себя, и ушел в город. Вечером он вернулся. Король увидел его перед глазами и сказал «Боже! У тебя болит зуб! Надо сделать то-то, то-то, и то-то. Тут снял платок, смеялся и встал, ваше количество – больше всего у нас врачей – медиков. «Почему» спросил. То каждый человек, с которым я встречался давал мне совет. Понятно? Так вот. У нас все очень любят. У нас страна совета. Все советуют. Всегда неравнодушно. Всегда: ты сделал это? У тебя насморк? Сделал ли этот? (я: И часто у всех есть другой совет?) Да. Между собой это. Бесконечно. (Nellya 1-16-09)</p>
<p>p. 44 But at least... again, I... I go by that which will not harm. In other words, I may do this, it may not work, but at least I will not make it worse. (Zhenya 3-23-08)</p>	<p>p. 44 Но по крайней мере... опять такие же, я... следую тому, чтобы не навредить. То есть, может я это сделаю, может оно не поможет, по крайней мере хуже я не сделаю. (Zhenya 3-23-09)</p>
<p>p. 44 Simply, I was going to the pharmacy, I said that I need something for a cough. In general the pharmacists know [what to advise]. I simply felt that I was already getting sick, here I had a cough. I simply called and said, what do you have for a cough. Yep, and they advise at the</p>	<p>p. 44 Просто я приходила в аптеку я сказала, что мне нужно что-то от кашля. Вообще фармацевты знают. Я просто чувствовала, что я уже заболела, тут и кашель. Я просто позвонила и говорила, что у вас от кашля. Да, они советуют в аптеке. (Rita 4-28-08)</p>

<p>pharmacy. (Rita 4-28-08)</p> <p>p. 44</p> <p>When I go, I can consult with a pharmacist about, for example, which kind of syrup for a cough I should buy for my child... about something like that... but not about serious medications. In other words there are more serious medications at the pharmacy. With the pharmacist I would not... well... They can know [about the options available], they can know, but I prefer to do such things with a qualified doctor, to learn [about my options] not from a pharmacist at the pharmacy, but from a doctor. A pharmacist at the pharmacy is such a person that even though they can give advice... well it's not really... (Zhenya 3-23-08)</p>	<p>p. 44</p> <p>Когда вот я иду, я могу проконсультироваться с фармацевтом допустим, какое... какой лучше сироп от кашля мне взять для ребенка... вот такого-то возраста... но не серьезные препараты. То есть более серьезные препараты в аптеке с фармацевтом, как бы я не... ну... Они могут знать, они могут знать, но вот я предпочитаю такие вещи, все-таки у квалифицированного доктора. Не у фармацевта в аптеке, а у врача узнавать. Вот фармацевта в аптеке, что-нибудь такое, ну вот то, что они могут посоветовать... но такое не очень... (Zhenya 3-23-08)</p>
<p>p. 44</p> <p>Well, he has a chronic illness – bronchial asthma. He's had it for a long time. At the beginning, of course, we a respiratory doctor observed him and we went for a follow-up. But now I already know how to cut short his attacks and I know what to do. Simply it's...</p> <p>Interviewer: But you found out how from a doctor.</p> <p>Inf: Yes. From a doctor. Yes.</p> <p>Int: So from the beginning it was from a doctor.</p> <p>Inf: Of course</p> <p>Int: That makes sense. And what do you do for him? What treatments? Are they western medicine? Are they herbal? Or what?</p> <p>Inf: Well, the thing is, because he is allergic, he can't have herbs. In other words we examined him. So no matter what we act through prescriptions. So we examined him and found out that herbals are dangerous for him. You can tell from the reaction. We treated him with an inhaler, one specially made, this treatment. Tvay or Vinatlin or something like, we use for him. And I already know that if it</p>	<p>p. 44</p> <p>Инф.: Ну вот у него вообще хроническое заболевание – бронхиальная астма. И у него очень давно. И в начале конечно мы наблюдались респиролога и стояли на учете. Но теперь я уже знаю, как купировать его приступы и как бы, я знаю, что делать. Просто это...</p> <p>Соб.: Но вы узнали от врача.</p> <p>Инф.: Да. От врача. Да.</p> <p>Соб.: Сначала от врача.</p> <p>Инф.: Конечно.</p> <p>Соб.: Понятно. А что вы делаете для него? Ну какие препараты? Они из химии? Или травяные? Или?</p> <p>Инф.: Ну, дело в том, что как он аллергик и ему нельзя травяные. То есть мы обследовали его. То есть мы все равно действуем через основные рецепты. То есть мы обследовали, что ему травяные ему опасно. Но есть как бы, можно от реакции. А лечили вот ингаляцией делали вот специально сделано вот такой препарат вот там Твай или Винталин или такой препарат мы используем. И я уже знаю, что если начинается, и я уже слышу его кашель, это, я ему просто даю. Если мое, у меня</p>

<p>begins, and I already hear him cough, I simply give it to him. If it is my own, if I have a position, I do not like to call the doctor. (Inga 1-23-09)</p>	<p>такое состояние, такое вот уже не вызывать врача." (Inga 1-23-09)</p>
<p>p. 53 Close to 500,000 people live in our region. For this group of people, there is one adult polyclinic, one children's clinic, one hospital, one maternity clinic, one dentist office, and one women's consultation clinic. A therapist (a doctor who treats general ailments) works three hours a day, four days a week. To get to see the doctor is extremely hard. (Alyona 1-25-09)</p>	<p>p. 53 В нашем районе живет около 500,000 людей. На это количество людей 1 взрослая поликлиника, 1 детская поликлиника, 1 больница, 1 роддом, 1 стоматология, 1 женская консультация. Терапевт (врач по общим заболеваниям) работает 3 часа в день, 4 дня в неделю. Попасть к врачу очень трудно. (1-25-09)</p>
<p>p. 54 It is necessary to get up really early to stand in the line to get a number (a living line). Then it is necessary to come back at the appointed hour and sit there through a long line in front of the office (in this line are people who took a number today, people who are ending their sick paper, people with a serious ailment, people who were brought from another office, and "their own" people [meaning people who have connections with the doctors in the office so they get special privileges and do not have to wait as long]). (Alyona 1-25-09)</p>	<p>p. 54 Нужно очень рано встать в очередь за номером (живая очередь). Потом нужно прийти в назначенное время и там отсидеть большую очередь перед кабинетом (в этой очереди находятся люди, которые сегодня взяли номера; люди, которые закрывают больничный лист; люди, с острой болью; люди, которых срочно паправили из другого кабинета и свои люди). (Alyona 1-25-09)</p>
<p>p. 54 I haven't gone to the polyclinic already now for five years. And that's all. Of course I have felt bad, but now I drink this here, for the most part, for diabetes, only the one medicine. And the other medicines, for the most part, are all for the heart, for heart insufficiencies... And so now, the doctors prescribed tablets for me, at this hospital. And already for two years I have not called on a doctor, not once. Because the polyclinic is far from us and I cannot get there alone, without help. And Anna [her granddaughter] has no time, of course... And the lines. There are such lines such that you have to sit and wait for a really long time... And you can sit for an entire</p>	<p>p. 54 В поликлинику я уже не хожу в пять лет. Вот и все. Конечно у меня было плохо, а сейчас я вот пью тут в основном конечно от диабета только одно лекарство. А остальные, в основном, идут сердечные, от сердечной недостаточности... И поэтому вот сейчас они и таблетки прописали мне этой больницей. И уже второй год и к врачу я не обращалась, не разу. Потому что от нас поликлиника далеко, а мне не дойти одной без помощи. А Анне [внучке] некогда, конечно... И очереди. Там такие же сидеть надо, ждать очень долго... И сидеть целый день можно, там будет в поликлинике, а я не могу</p>



<p>day, and be there at the polyclinic, and I can't get there by myself. And what is more, now it is winter... it is slippery... I'm scared. [Granddaughter Anna: No, simply you will sit there a long time, and then you will have 5 minutes with the doctor. You could not go to the doctor very often, but instead call him to you. I called a neuropathologist] he looked at what had been prescribed me and agreed. And that was everything. He didn't prescribe anything new. (Valya 1-17-09)</p>	<p>дойти сама, а тем более, сейчас зимой... скользко... Я боюсь. [внука Анна: Нет, просто ты посидишь там долго, а потом у тебя 5 минут у врача. Можно, можно часто к врачу не пойти а вызвать. Я же вызывала невропатолога] Он смотрел на то, что уже прописано и согласил. И все. Ничего нового не прописал. (Valya 1-17-09)</p>
<p>p. 54 All the time these statistics come out about the state polyclinics. When you arrive, how many minutes the doctor spends on each patient. Three and a half minutes or five, maximum. So many people who go to the free state polyclinics, that in general there are too few... (Alina 1-17-09)</p>	<p>p. 54 Потом все время ходит эта статистика государственной поликлиники. Когда ты приходишь, сколько минут на каждую пацента есть у этих врачей. Там три с половиной или пять там максимум, да? Что так много народа идет в бесплатную государственную поликлинику, что вообще мало... (Alina 1-17-09)</p>
<p>p. 55 In Russian culture, there is no tradition to go to the doctor every year for a doctor's check-up. People go to the doctor when they have a problem and they need help. (Nastya and Styopa 1-12-09)</p>	<p>p. 55 В русской культуре нет традиции ходить к врачу каждый год для врачебной проверки. Люди ходят к врачу, когда у них есть проблема и им нужна помощь. (Nastya and Styopa 1-12-09)</p>
<p>p. 56 I only go to the doctor when I am already very sick. I am patient. (Galva 1-13-09)</p>	<p>p. 56 Я только хожу к врачу, когда уже очень больна. Я терплюсь. (Galva 1-13-09)</p>
<p>p. 56 Well, it seems to me that Russian people are very patient. Therefore that also says something. If we were... exacting, then maybe something would change here. Yet, because we wait until the last moment, we go to the doctor when we already cannot do anything to solve the problem. (Inga 1-23-09)</p>	<p>p. 56 Ну пока я думаю, что русские люди, они очень терпеливые. Поэтому это тоже наверное рассказывается. Если мы были как... требовательные, то может быть тут бы изменилось, что-то. А так мы терпем до последнего, уже обращаемся, когда уже сами не можем решить проблему. (Inga 1-23-09)</p>
<p>p. 61 I use them. There is practice. There is tradition. In general, in culture, in Russian culture there is a tradition. There is this practice especially in the family, among friends. And at the beginning it is more</p>	<p>p. 61 Использую. Есть практика. Есть традиция. Вообще, в культуре, в русской культуре есть традиция. Есть практика в семье естественно, среди друзей. И сначала это идет как эксперимент,</p>

like an experiment, the first time. And then, depending on how the experiment works, you keep it or discard it. (Nellya 1-16-09)	первый раз. А потом в зависимости от того как эксперимент действует ты оставляешь или образоваешь. (Nellya 1-16-09)
p. 61 In our family we always used, and continue to use, folk remedies... Folk medicine is better for you than chemically-based medicine. My mom healed that way... Now I try it. (Oksana 1-25-09)	p. 61 В семье мы всегда принимали, и принимают, народные средства... Народная медицина – лучшее химической медицины. Мама так лечила... Сейчас я пробую. (Oksana 1-25-09)
p. 61 Personally, my own relationship [with herbal remedies] is that herbs will not harm. Even if they will not help, they will not harm... Even if... they do not help, at least I will not make the situation worse. (Zhenya 3-23-08)	p. 61 Лично мое отношение такое, что травы не навредят. Если не помогут, то и не навредят... Если... не помогут, но по крайней мере хуже я не сделаю. (Zhenya 3-23-08)
p. 62 Well, in practice lets say... Yes, in practice. Without any specific theory. (Nellya 1-16-09)	p. 62 ну, на практике скажем... Да, на практике. Без теории особенной. (Nellya 1-16-09)
p. 62 Interviewer: From where did you learn? Informant: Well... experience... Int: From your mother? Experience? Inf: Experience, experience. Well to a medicine woman, my mother brought me to a medicine woman. (Toma 1-10-09)	p. 62 Соб.: А откуда вы учили? Инф.: Ну... опыт... Соб.: От мамы? Опыт? Инф.: Опыт, опыт. Но к бабке, к бабке, меня привела мама. (Toma 1-10-09)
p. 62 Experience "from my mother. In other words, my mother gave advice. Then I myself healed. I get a diagnosis from the doctors, whatever they say. And if it turns out to be the same, like a cold, then I already know, for example, how to proceed." (Inga 1-23-09)	p. 62 Опыт "от мамы. То есть то, что мама советовала. Потом то, что я сама лечилась. Диагноз у врачей, то, что они назначали. И если бывает повторные, вот там простуда, то я уже знаю примерно, как действовать." (Inga 1-23-09)
p. 62 This again I know from my grandmother, who during the time of the war [World War II] I think had typhus and healed herself with the help of pomegranate juice. She had a dramatic history. It all took place in Kyrgyziya. There was an epidemic there, in Kyrgyziya, of typhoid fever. She got a sick stomach and illness followed. But by	p. 62 Это опять же я знаю от своей бабушки, которая во время войны по-моему от тифа вылечилась с помощью гранитовых корочек. Там была... у нее была такая драматическая история. Дело было в Кыргызии и у нее, была эпидемия там, у них в Кыргызии, брюшного тифа. Вот. Но у нее просто



<p>habit, like usual, she drank a decoction of pomegranate peels so that she would feel a little better. In as much as the epidemic there, the authorities there, where she worked there, the all examined and took analyses. And at some point they told her that she had, according to the results of the tests, typhoid fever and that she needs to go to the hospital. But the hospital was not close... She worked in some kind of little village and she would have had to walk about an hour. And when she arrived and said, here I am and according to my analyses I have typhoid fever, the doctors responded with laughter and said that it isn't possible. With typhoid fever she shouldn't be able to walk. It is a very serious illness that simply, well, immediately brings a person to his knees. But it was all confirmed and it turned out that she truly did have the etiological agent of typhoid fever in her blood. This all happened. But she thinks that specifically thanks to the fact that she always drank pomegranate rinds, that for the illness was not too serious and went away much faster and more easily than usual, because this is in general a terrible disease and often end with death. So, my grandmother also really believed in pomegranate rinds and used them widely. And my mother also knew it. And my children also, of course, grew up with these rinds. (Rita 1-19-09)</p>	<p>как-то болел желудок, как-то расстройство было. Ну и по привычке, как обычно она принимала этот отвар этих гранатовых корок, чтобы себя чувствовать получше. Поскольку эпидемия там, в том учреждении там, где она работала там, всех проверяли и брали анализы. И в какой-то момент ей сказали, что у нее по показаниям, что у нее брюшной тиф, что ей нужно в больницу. А больница была не близка... Она работала в маленькой какой-то деревне и нужно было туда пешком около часа. И когда она пришла и сказала, что вот у нее анализы, у нее брюшной тиф, врачи ее поняли на смех и сказали, что это у нее не может быть. С брюшным тифом она не могла бы ходить. Это тяжелая болезнь, которая просто, ну сразу человека просто валит с ног. Но все подтвердилось и казалось, что у нее действительно были эти возбудители тифа в крови. Все было. Но она считает, что именно благодаря тому, что она все время пила гранатовые эти корочки, что у нее вообще болезнь была нетяжелая и прошла гораздо быстрее и легче, чем обычно. Потому что это вообще тяжелое заболевание и часто с смертью заканчивается. Так что моя бабушка очень всегда верила в гранатовые корочки и использовала достаточно широко. И мама моя это тоже знала. И мои дети тоже, конечно выросли с этими корочками. (Rita 1-19-09)</p>
<p>p. 62 Now I will show you one of my grandmother's remedies which I have had to use again. I think that you have never seen something like this. Apples themselves do not hold a lot of iron. But there is a very old remedy, sometime, when I was very young, probably, my grandmother told me about it. And she said that at one time, when a person had</p>	<p>p. 62 Я вам сейчас покажу один бабушкин способ, который мне осталось пользоваться опять. Я думаю, что вы никогда такого не видели. Яблоки не держат много железа. Но есть такой очень старый способ, когда-то мне, когда я еще была маленькой девушкой мне примерно рассказала бабушка моя. И сказала, что раньше при малой крови,</p>

very little blood, they used to push little nails or pins into an apple. That is to say the acidity of the apple, still... reacted with this iron and generated extra iron, which in its chemical form, as the doctors explained to me, assimilates itself worse than if you took it from food. Therefore, see, you see the pin, it is perfect. It is becoming rusty. In other words, see, this, see the salt of the iron with the acidity of the apple acts as though it is with food. And, it is thought, this is an excellent remedy for low hemoglobin levels. That said, my husband, he never really like apples, but I will buy these apples for him and he eats them. So, the pins are pulled out and he really likes it. It's really hard for him to make himself eat pomegranates. He really doesn't like them. But he eats apples. Yeah, I never thought that I would ever use this remedy in my life. I simply recollected that in childhood a big impression was made on me, that my grandmother said that that they pushed nails into iron, I mean into apples. I recollected this and now it is proving incredibly handy... It is hard to say whether or not it is helping. That the apples and such rich iron, it is all from me it seems. But it will still be a long process. It is not clear when he will start getting better because in general the iron is assimilating really badly for raising the low hemoglobin levels. A lot of time has already passed. We are trying with all our might, but we do not know, will the medicine help or will our home remedies help, but we already decided to use what we have. Then the doctor could say, "Sure, go ahead and try treatment using natural remedies also." This was especially important when he still lay in the hospital. His kidneys were really bad and the doctors said that "we do not want to start him on chemical treatments. Let's start with food." Because to heal [with a chemically-based treatment] would be an extra burden on the

вот в яблоки толкали железные гвоздики или булавки. То есть яблочная кислота, еще... действует с этим железом, и дополнительно образуется железо, которое в химическом виде, как мне врачи объяснили, усваиваются хуже, чем если из пищи принимать. Поэтому вот, вот так, вот видите, вот булавка, она отлична. Ржавеет. То есть вот это вот соль железа с яблочной кислотой, она поступает, как бы с едой, и считается, что это хорошее средство при низком гемоглобине. То есть вот муж мой, он все время яблоко не правда не очень любит, но я ему куплю эти яблоки, и он ест его. Вот... булавки вытаскиваются, и ему очень нравится. Ему трудно заставить, например есть гранитый он не очень их любит. Но вот это ест, яблоко. Да я никогда не в жизни не думала, что я буду пользоваться этим средством. Просто я запомнила в детстве на меня привезло большое впечатление, что бабушка сказала, что гвоздики втолкали в железе, ну в яблоке. Я это запомнила, и сейчас это пригодилось... Трудно сказать помогает или нет, но то, что яблоки и так богатые железа, и это моих, таким образом. Пока, что еще долгий процесс это будет. Неизвестно, когда поправится, потому что железо вообще очень плохо усваивается или чтобы поднять низкий гемоглобин, уже очень много времени прошло. Мы стараемся из-за всех сил, но не знаем, что поможет лекарства, или наши домашние средства, но решили уже использовать что есть. Может, что врачи говорят, что «да, давайте, вот домашними средствами тоже постараетесь.» Это особенно было важно, когда он еще лежал в больнице. У него было плохо очень с почками и врачи говорили, чтобы мы не хотели назначать препараты химические. «Давайте едой.»

<p>kidneys that were already so traumatized that they had to deal with a very heavy pressure. His kidneys suffered. They said that "we do not want to start medications. No matter what he will have to take them for a long time. So, please, start with food, with pomegranate juice and beets. (Rita 1-10-09)</p>	<p>Потому что вылечить лишняя нагрузка на почки, которые так были травмированы, там было давление тяжелое. Почки пострадали. Они говорили, что мы не хотим назначать препараты. Они все равно будут действовать долго. Вот, пожалуйста, вот с едой, вот гранатовый сок там, свекла. (Rita 1-19-09)</p>
<p>p. 62 (Therefore doctors believe in natural products.) Of course, of course. But what does it mean to believe? They are very aware of how the chemical composition of these products. Therefore, they say that if it is well-known, then, let's say, red plants, hold iron. Specifically persimmons for example, but he [my husband] cannot eat persimmons. He really doesn't like them. Pomegranates he eats sometimes. And apples he'll eat. Therefore there will be apples and meat that he'll eat more than once. That's it... She [my grandmother] grew up in the Arkhangel'sk region... in the city of Arkhangel'sk. All of her kin are from Arkhangel'sk. But from where she learned [of these remedies], from her grandmother, or perhaps already here in St. Petersburg or in Leningrad, I don't know. She simply said that this is a very old method of treatment. And I was a girl and this made an impression on me, an apple in which they stuck little nails. That's so, but my imagination is active... It was completely unexpected. I never thought that I myself would use it, but there it is. (Rita 1-19-09)</p>	<p>p. 62 (Поэтому врачи верят в натуральные) Конечно, конечно. Но что такое верить? Как полагается химический состав этих продуктов им известен, поэтому они говорят, что если известно, что скажем красные растения держат железо. Особенно хурма, например, но хурму он не может есть. Он их очень не любит. Гранаты ест так, иногда. А яблоки получается. Поэтому значит будут яблоки и мясо раз он это ест. Вот... Выросла она [бабушка] в Архангельской губернии... в городе Архангельске. Вся ее родня из Архангельска. Вот, но откуда она это узнала, от своей бабушки, или уже здесь в Петербурге или в Ленинграде, я не знаю. Она просто сказала, что это очень старинный способ. И я была девушкой и это на меня привезло впечатление яблоко, в которое толкают гвоздики. Так, но воображение действует... Это совершенно неожиданно. Я никогда не думала, что я сама этим пользуюсь, но вот. (Rita 1-19-09)</p>
<p>p. 64 In nature there is everything that we need. Nature is more helpful than chemical medicines. They are a blow on the body. They have strong effect on the body. (Oksana 1-25-09)</p>	<p>p. 64 В природе есть то, что надо. Природа более полезно, чем химические препараты. Они удары на организм. У них сильные действия на организм. (Oksana 1-25-09)</p>
<p>p. 64 Again, a proverb: "While you heal one you damage another." (Toma 1-10-09)</p>	<p>p. 64 Опять такие, подговорка: «Одно ты лечишь, другое ты калечишь.» (Toma 1-</p>

	0-09)
p. 64 I believe that homeopathy turns out to be softer acting. If the concentration of general medication, if it is sufficiently high, then it is decided that they will have a fast effect. Therefore we give many [medications] so that everything [the illness] will immediately go away. But homeopathy – it is all done by small dosages and continuously removes [the illness]. (Nellya 1-16-09)	p. 64 Я считаю, что гомеопатия, она более мягкое действие оказывает. Если концентрация обычных лекарств – они достаточно высокие, и решитено на такой быстрый эффект. То есть дадим много, чтобы все сразу прошло. Вот гомеопатия – это все она как раз малыми дозами и постепенно выводят. (Nellya 1-16-09)
p. 65 The majority of doctors are biased all the same. Especially for children they prescribe antibiotics in any situation. Why? Because they are used as a security measure, all antibiotics practically these days of wide use act faster than is necessary for that illness. But they are simple. I would say, they [doctors] over-insure... And even to their own [children] they give [antibiotics]. (Zhenya 1-18-09)	p. 65 Большинство врачей – они склоны все-таки. Детям особенно прописывают антибиотики при любом случае. Почему? Потому как, этих просто обезопасен, все антибиотики практически сейчас широкого аспекта действуют быстрее то обязательно на какую болезнь. Вот они просто. Ну, я бы сказала так, перестраховуют... И своим дают. (Zhenya 1-18-09)
p. 65 The diagnosis may be the same, but you must treat everyone differently. (Sasha 1-12-09)	p. 65 Диагноз может один, но для каждого по-другому надо лечить. The diagnosis may be the same, but every person needs to be treated differently. (Sasha 1-12-09)
p. 65 And it is just the same in western medicine, one can be healed with herbs and they will help him; for another herbs, as people say in Russian, are a poultice for the dead – It's understandable, yes? For the dead it is a poultice. In other words, he who already died, if they try to do something for him, it is not helpful. (Toma 1-10-09)	p. 65 И точно так же в нетрадиционной медицине, один лечится травами и ему помогают; другому травы, как по-русски говорят, мертвому припарка – Это понятно, да? Мертвому припарка – То есть тот, кто уже умер, а ему что-то делают – бесполезно. (Toma 1-10-09)
p. 67 In some situations, even, it [homeopathy treatment in small doses] is more important... And there are things which is more under control for homeopathic doctors than for traditional doctors. There are some complicated, chronic illnesses which are continuously located in a	p. 67 В некоторых случаях, как раз, это важнее... И есть вещи, которые может быть им даже более подвластные чем традиционным врачам. Вот какие-то такие сложные, хронические заболевания, которые... долго продолжительно у человека находятся

<p>person's body for a long time. In such a situation with these things maybe sometimes homeopathy works better than western dictates. But this is all very, do understand, it is all very individual. In other words, really, first of all the patient himself must think about to whom he should turn. This always needs to be in his head. Then, of course, it should be an understanding and knowledgeable doctor. (Nika 1-26-09)</p>	<p>вот он в таком состоянии с этими вещами может быть иногда и гомеопатия справляется лучше, чем традиционные дистара. Но это, все очень, понимаете, это очень индивидуально. То есть действительно во-первых самому пациенту думать, кому ему обращаться. Это нужна голова всегда. Потом конечно должен быть врач, понимающий и знающий. (Nika 1-26-09)</p>
<p>p. 67 You need to know how, what, which, because herbs are different. There are herbs that are more harmless, but in general herbs... are a very serious thing. Herbs are a very serious thing. (Zhenyaa 3-23-08)</p>	<p>p. 67 Надо знать как, что, чего потому, что трава траве рознь. Есть травы более безобидные, а вообще травы... очень серьезная вещь. Травы очень серьезная вещь. (Zhenya 3-23-08)</p>
<p>p. 68 In general Echinacea I must say... It is a very serious herb. You need to know how to use it very well. It is a very serious herb. (Zhenya 3-23-08)</p>	<p>p. 68 Вообще эхинацея, надо сказать... это очень серьезная трава. И ее надо очень хорошо знать. Она очень серьезная трава. (Zhenya 3-23-08)</p>
<p>p. 68 I myself do not risk anything. I myself do not experiment. (Zhenya 3-23-08)</p>	<p>p. 68 Сама не рискую. Сама не экспериментирую. (Zhenya 3-23-08)</p>
<p>p. 68 To prevent illness, I give Echinacea. Now see these granules... That's what I give my child every period that starts for us sometime around from October until sometime around March, probably. That period, when there are the most frequent virus illnesses, I give him five of these little granules every morning of Echinacea. In other words, I don't heal. I... try to prevent him from getting sick. (Zhenya 3-23-08)</p>	<p>p. 68 Предотвратить болезнь, вот я даю эхинацею. Сейчас вот такие гранулки... То что я даю ребенку каждый вот период, у нас как начинается где-то там с октября и где-такое март, наверно, вот этот вот период, когда вот такие, в основном самые частые вирусные заболевания, вот я ему даю пять таких вот горошек каждое утро эхинацея, который вот. То есть я его не лечу. Я его... стараюсь предотвратить, чтобы он не заболел. (Zhenya 3-23-08)</p>
<p>p. 68 First safest thing is herbs, but to heal with herbs it is also necessary... In order to make use of herbs correctly, it is necessary, I think, to go to the doctor. Because herbs even, they heal one person, but harm another. (Toma 1-10-09)</p>	<p>p. 68 Первое –самое безопасное, это травы, но травами тоже надо... Чтобы воспользоваться правильно травами, надо, я думаю, обратиться к врачу. Потому что травы, они одного лечат, другого калечат. (Toma 1-10-09)</p>
<p>p. 68</p>	<p>p. 68</p>



<p>No, well, first of all, if a person is sick, seriously sick, I believe that he should always go to the doctor... A person should go there so that the doctor can give him a diagnosis. Only at that point can you begin to treat. Therefore, it doesn't matter. I believe that one should never avoid the doctor completely. (Toma 1-10-09)</p>	<p>Нет, ну, во-первых, если человек болен, он серьезно болен, я считаю, что он должен всегда обратиться к врачу... Человек должен добиться, чтобы к нему поставили диагноз. Вот только тогда можно начинать лечить. Поэтому, все равно без врача, я считаю, обойтись нельзя. (Том 1-10-09)</p>
<p>p. 69 We only go to the doctor (a) in extraneous circumstances (surgeon, heart and something), (b) when we need a medical excuse to present at work (at a lot of workplaces the employer can pay the absent employee for a work day because of illness, usually no more than two weeks). If you'll be out for many more days than this, then it is absolutely necessary to present a medical excuse from a medical center. Otherwise, they can fire the worker. The insurance company, according to its own system, will pay for the medical excuse (in general, the compensation is small). (Alyona 1-25-09)</p>	<p>p. 69 К врачу мы обращаемся только (а) в экстренных случаях (хирургия, сердце и что-то). (б) Когда нужен медицинский лист (больничный) для предъявления на работе (на многих работах работодатель может оплатить рабочие дни сотрудника, отсутствующего на работе по болезни, обычно не более 2 недель). Если таких дней будет гораздо больше, то необходимо предъявлять больничный лист из медицинского учреждения. В противном случае работника могут уволить. Больничный лист оплачивает медицинская страховая компания по своей системе (как правило, компенсация маленькая). (Альона 1-25-09)</p>
<p>p. 69 How do I treat myself and my family? I know a lot of symptoms of different illnesses (from my parents, friends, acquaintances, from books, from the Internet, from my personal experience, and even from doctors themselves). I know which treatments are necessary for the treatment of many generally widespread illnesses. I know how to treat many illnesses. (Alyona 1-25-09)</p>	<p>p. 69 Как я лечусь сама и свою семью? Я знаю многие симптомы различных болезней (от родителей, друзей, знакомых, из книг, из Интернет, из собственного опыта, и от самых врачей). Я знаю какие лекарства необходимы для лечения многих общераспространенных болезней. Я знаю как лечить многие болезни. (Альона 1-25-09)</p>
<p>p. 69 In general, doctors prescribe medications, but they can change their relationship to plant products. They can change the medication to one of plant products... They recommend [plants], the recommend them very often. (Nellya 1-16-09)</p>	<p>p. 69 Как правило врачи выписывают медикаменты, но они могут изменить отношение к растительному происхождению. Могут изменить медикамент к растительному происхождению... Советуют [растения] очень часто советуют. (Нелля 1-16-09)</p>
<p>p. 70</p>	<p>p. 70</p>

I don't need a doctor. I need a medical excuse because I work. (Tonya 3-23-08)	Мне врач не нужен. Мне нужен больничный лист потому, что я работаю. (Tonya 3-23-08)
p. 70 It doesn't matter, it doesn't matter, I am the best, the mother. No one knows and sees that he coughed and how he coughed, how he slept the night, how he is, what is going on with him. It doesn't matter. I know this the best. Well, I don't know. Maybe I have that ability. Some other mother probably calls the doctor and of course will methodically do everything that the doctor prescribes and fulfill all of his recommendations... Either that or I have a lot of acquaintances whom I may turn to – lots of medics. (Zhenya 1-18-09)	p. 70 Все равно, все равно лучше меня, матери, никто не знает и не видит, что, как он кашлял, как он ночью спал, как он, что с ним. Все равно это лучше знаю я. Дальше уже. Ну не знаю. У меня вот может быть такая возможность, опять же. Кто-то любая мамочка наверное вызывает врача и конечно будет методично все прописания врача выполнять, как поможено... Либо вот у меня есть много знакомых кому я могу обратиться – медиков. (Zhenya 1-18-09)
p. 70 In general it would be good to ask the doctor and look at the documents... Because every year lists are handed to the doctors about which medications are allowed. (Vika 1-10-09)	p. 70 Вообще хорошо бы спросить у врачей и смотреть документы... Потому что каждый год передаются справочники для врачей, какие препараты разрешено. (Vika 1-10-09)
p. 70 The doctor looks at a schematic and decides that the body is not like that, and gives a course of supplements... By the way, doctors very often advise taking herbs. Very often. (Toma 1-10-09)	p. 70 Врач смотрит рамки, определяет, что в организме не так, и дает курс добавок... Кстати врачи очень часто советуют пить травы. Очень часто. (Toma 1-10-09)
p. 71 This [going to the doctor] takes a lot of time and does not always turn out to be helpful. In other words it turns out that I already have experience. And I generally know what I need. (Inga 1-23-09)	p. 71 Это [идти к врачу] забирает очень много времени и не всегда оказывается помощь. То есть оказывается, но как бы уже опыт есть. И я примерно знаю, что мне нужно. (Inga 1-23-09)
p. 71 When I don't know. Do you understand, I've lived many years, and many [illnesses] I know how to treat. If I don't know, then I go to the doctor. (Nellya 1-16-09)	p. 71 Обращается к врачу "Когда я не знаю. Понимаешь я прожила много лет, и многие я знаю, как лечить. А если я не знаю тогда я обращаюсь к врачу. (Nellya 1-16-09)
p. 71 I used to work as a nurse at a polyclinic and at a preschool. One day I fell very sick. When I went to the surgeon, he told me "Under no circumstances should you	p. 71 Я работала медсестрой в поликлинике и в детском саду. Однажды заболела. Когда я обращалась к хирургу, он сказал: «не в коем случае не принимать

<p>take chemically-based medication. They are not needed in life. Tablets are treatments that will go too far. They are poison." Since then I have never taken any chemically-based tablets. I did not know anything about natural remedies. I watched "Malakhov Plyus" and from there I learned everything. (Klava 1-15-09)</p>	<p>таблеток. В жизни не надо. Она [таблетка] – лекарство перебарщит и это яд.» И никаких таблеток не принимала с тех пор... Я ничего не знала о натуральных средствах. Малахов Плюс смотрю – отсюда все знаю. (Klava 1-15-09)</p>
<p>p. 73 The condition of the clinics today is worse than during the Second World War – money isn't shared out by the state for repairs, for the payment of doctors. (Alyona 1-25-09)</p>	<p>p. 73 Состояние клиник сегодня хуже, чем было во время Второй мировой войны – деньги не выделяются государством на ремонт, на... зарплату врачам. (Alyona 1-25-09)</p>
<p>p. 74 Doctors themselves do not know about [healing], or they simply don't want to say. Do you understand? They are scared. Young doctors, still I even will go to them sometimes and ask "can I take this for my heart?" They are scared. They only prescribe pills. And they even try to prescribe expensive pills. But we are retired. What am I to do? Here what do I have... I buy the pills – one thousand eight hundred rubles, 28 items. It isn't even enough for me for a month, these little packages, and one thousand eight hundred rubles. And for my high blood pressure I have other expensive pills that they prescribe. And so I help myself with these different herbs. And that's all. (Zina 1-10-09)</p>	<p>p. 74 Врачи сами не знают про это [лечение], или не хотят просто говорить. Понимаете, они боятся. Молодые врачи, еще вот я к ним даже приду иногда и спрашиваю, «можно мне вот это, для сердца я полью там?» Они боятся. Они только выписывают таблетки. Они еще стараются выписать которые дорогие таблетки. А мы пенсионеры. Что я? Вон у меня... покупаю таблетки – тысяча восемь сот рублей, двадцать восемь штук. Это же мне на месяц не хватает даже таблетки, эти пачки, и тысяча восемь сот рублей. И от давления у меня тоже дорогие таблетки выписывают. А вот и я вот себе помогаю вот этими разными травами. Вот и все. (Zina 1-10-09)</p>
<p>p. 74 In the state clinics your medical insurance company pays for a visit to the doctor. Everything else – analyses, X-rays, operations, medications, nurse's services – the patient pays for himself. (Alyona 1-25-09)</p>	<p>p. 74 В государственных клиниках приход к врачу оплачивает медицинская страховая компания. Все остальное – анализы, рентген, операции, лекарства, услуги медицинской сестры оплачивает сам пациент. (Alyona 1-25-09)</p>
<p>p. 75 I still take a pill, but only... a tiny dose. I already try not to take a big dose. But of course with a strong cough, I went to the doctors, two or three years ago. I even went to an allergy doctor, I gave my blood,</p>	<p>p. 75 Я уже пью таблетку только... самую маленькую дозу. Уже большую дозу уже стараюсь не пить, уже. Но конечно вот сильного кашлевого, а что только я ходила к врачам, два, три года тому</p>



<p>and they weren't able to elucidate anything about why I was coughing. My analysis was good. In other words the fluorography was good. I didn't have anything wrong with me, but the cough went on. But why did it continue? They didn't elucidate. And so. So I took off to go treat myself. And so I treat. Already grandfather says to me, "Why don't you go to the doctor?" And I say, "you only sit there and be nervous. The line is big. You sit and wait in it. "Well, here you are, we will write out for you this... And they prescribe a heap [of treatments] and you go there [to the pharmacy] and a thousand rubles isn't sufficient for only these pills, that is how much they prescribe. Therefore I don't go there. (Zina 1-10-09)</p>	<p>назад. Даже ходила на аллергею, здавала кровь, и они все на меня не выяснили, почему я кашляю? Анализ у меня хороший. То есть флюорография хорошая. Нет у меня ничего, а кашель идет и идет. А от чего он идет? Так и не выяснили. Вот так. Вот и я взяла и сама лечить. Вот и лечу. Уже и дед мне говорит, «А что ты не ходишь к врачу?» А что я говорю, а только сидишь и нервничаешь. Очередь большая. Это пока ты высидишь в ее. «Ну давайте вам мы выпишем тот... И кучу выпишет, поидешь и туда – тысяч не хватает одни таблетки, сколько они выписывают. Поэтому туда я не ходу. (Zina 1-10-09)</p>
<p>p. 75 Look, see, I treat myself. In other words, I do not take pills... Because I recently, I have recently, well when, well I used to take pills. But then my stomach came to hurt. And in order to take care of my stomach, I healed myself, I did treatments, this tincture, I did a tincture of <i>Callisia fragrans</i>. (Zina 1-10-09)</p>	<p>p. 75 Вот видите я лечусь сама как. То есть я таблетки не пью... Потому что у меня потом эти последнее время, когда, я раньше пила таблетки. А у меня стал желудок болеть. И чтобы значит желудок я себя вылечила, сделала лекарства тоже вот это настойку, я сделала из золотого уса. (1-10-09)</p>
<p>p. 75 Under the Soviet Union I didn't practice anything. My husband worked as a doctor. He laid out everything – how to live, what to eat... I crossed over to this conclusion [that natural products are healthier]. Two hears ago I received a very serious diagnosis about my blood vessels. Every day I had to pay 1600 rubles in order to clean my blood, my vessels. It was very expensive and did not help much. I saw the show [<i>Malakhov Plyus</i>] and decided to try [natural self-treatment]. Already have am much better – more energy, more coordination. (Zoya 1-12-09)</p>	<p>p. 75 При Советском Союзе я ничем не занималась. Мой муж работал врачом. Он все определ – как жить, что есть... Я перешла к выводу [что натуральные средства здоровее]. Два года назад я получила очень серьезный диагноз про сосуды. Каждый день мне надо было платить 1600 рублей, чтобы чистить крови/сосуды. Очень дорого и не очень помогло. Я смотрела на передачу [Малахов Плюс] и решила попробовать. Уже я стала гораздо лучше – более энергии, координации. (Zoya 1-12-09)</p>
<p>p. 76 There are a lot of herbs [that you need to know]. I even, now, have all herbs in my notes. I don't recall everything, already my</p>	<p>p. 76 Там очень много трав еще надо. Я даже сейчас, все травы, у меня все в записях. А все не запоминаю, уже память у меня</p>

<p>memory has so much, how to say, already it is all muddled about all these herbs. But I have everything in my notes. I do, I have everything written, papers. Look here is from <u>Malakhov</u>, he has a show, yes? Have you listened to it? And I look and whatever he presents I take notes on, all into these notebooks, all into these notebooks. About which illnesses... (Zina 1-10-09)</p>	<p>столько, как сказать, уже запуталась о всех этих травах. Но у меня по записам. Я делаю, у меня все записенно, бумажки. Вот Малахов у нас передает передачи, да? Вы не слушаете? И я вижу то, что он передает, я тоже записываю, все в эти тетрадошки, все в эти тетрадошки. О каких только болезнях... (Zina 1-10-09)</p>
<p>p. 78 Once a year, I go to the polyclinic once a year, when I need to go to the sanatorium. I go to the sanatorium. I need to go through all the analyses so that then at the sanatorium I don't have give them payment. And here I will do everything for free. (Zina 1-10-09)</p>	<p>p. 78 Раз в год, вот я хожу в поликлинику раз в год, когда мне надо ехать в санаторий. В санаторий я еду. Мне надо, все анализы пройти сдать, чтобы мне потом в санатории платно не здавать у них там. А я здесь все бесплатно сдам. (Zina 1-10-09)</p>
<p>p. 78 Concerning medicinal herbs, in general I don't believe in them, in any herbs, yes? For medicine. I don't believe in them because I belive in fast-acting treatments. The best and my favorite fast-acting treatment are laxatives – laxatives. Yep, those I believe in, because I take them and in a couple of hours I see a result. But I don't believe in herbs. And honestly speaking, I don't believe in homeopathy either. Something else I believe in is anaesthesia. There you are – laxatives and anaesthesia. Those are the best. (Alina 1-17-09)</p>	<p>p. 78 Что касается лекарственных трав, вообще в них не верю, в всяких herbs, да? For medicine. Я в них не верю, потому что я верю в быстро действующие лекарства. Самым лучшим, самым любимым быстро действующем лекарством – это слабительные – laxatives. Вот тут, я это верю, потому что я это принимаю и через пару часов я вижу результат. А травки я в них не верю. И в гомеопатию, честно говоря, не верю. Еще я верю в анестезии. Вот – laxatives and anaesthesia. Those are the best. (Alina 1-17-09)</p>
<p>p. 79 The only thing, I think is that these usual doctors, not ours, allapathy, they are, all the same... These allopaths... I go [to the doctor]. (Valya 1-17-09)</p>	<p>p. 79 Единственное, я считаю эти вот обычные врачи, а не наши, аллапатии, они все-таки... Эти аллапатии... К врачу [обращаюсь]. (Valya 1-17-09)</p>
<p>p. 80 I don't believe, I don't belive in homeopathy. Because it is done in really small doses... You need to do it continuously, so much so, so that a person should be punctual, and for a very long time. (Valya 1-7-09)</p>	<p>p. 80 Не верю, я не верю в гомеопатию. Потому что это видимо очень маленькая доза... Это надо постоянно, насколько человек должно быть пунктуальным, очень долго. (Valya 1-17-09)</p>
<p>p. 80</p>	<p>p. 80</p>

Whatever they recommend I take. (Valya 1-17-09)	Что они советуют, я принимаю. (Valya 1-17-09)
p. 80 Yes, of course, what they recommend you take – it is a principle of life. (Alina 1-17-09)	p. 80 Да конечно то, что советуют принимаешь – это принцип жизни. (Alina 1-17-09)
p. 81 Whether I take it [the medication] or don't take it, the results are the same. (Valya 1-17-09)	p. 81 Что пью, что не пью, все одинаково. (Valya 1-17-09)
p. 81 Now, there is a very fun story. I will not forget this in my life. I was seven, I think, or even six, and at the <i>dacha</i> , there was a huge boulder on a meadow nearby my house and we were playing there and we were jumping on and off and we were doing all kinds of crazy things, a huge stone. And, one day I jumped off the stone and my foot went like this [ <i>she demonstrates with her hands, a twisting motion</i> ], you know? So it was... I don't know what it was... It was not... I didn't break it. But I disjointed something there and it immediately swole up and it was really big and everything. But it was clear for everybody that I didn't break it. And someone in the village recommended to my parents to take hay – hay – May hay, I think they specified that it should be hay collected in May, so like early spring, or spring hay, not summer hay – they lay it – my mother lay this hay in a pot. The water boiled – you know, the water is actually boiling. Then they lay this floor-cloth onto my leg. Then this hot hay and then tied it up. For the whole night. I was bawling such that, I would imagine, the entire village heard me. It was very painful. I mean it was hot hay! And in the morning, when they took off this bandage, everything was in these grooves because of individual grasses and whatever they were. This continued for three days I was screaming and shouting at the top of my lungs. But, on the fourth day, I could	p. 81 Now, there is a very fun story. I will not forget this in my life. I was seven, I think, or even six, and at the <i>dacha</i> , there was a huge boulder on a meadow nearby my house and we were playing there and we were jumping on and off and we were doing all kinds of crazy things, a huge stone, and, one day I jumped off the stone and my foot went like this [ <i>she demonstrates with her hands, a twisting motion</i> ], you know? So it was... I don't know what it was... It was not... I didn't break it. But I disjointed something there and it immediately swole up and it was really big and everything. But it was clear for everybody that I didn't break it. И кто-то в деревне посоветовал моим родителям взять сенну – hay – Mayhay, I think they specified that it should be hay collected in May, so like early spring, or spring hay, not summer hay – они клали – мама клала эту сенну в кастрюлю. Вода капитилась – you know, the water is actually boiling. Потом на мою ногу клали такую тряпочку. Потом эта горячая сenna и завязывали. На всю ночь. Я орала так, чтоб по-моему вся деревня слышала. Это было очень больно. Вот горячая сenna. А утром, когда снимали эту повязку, то все было в таких grooves because of individual grasses and whatever they were. Это продолжалось три дня. I was screaming and shouting at the top of my lungs. But, on the fourth day, I could already walk

<p>already walk around. It really helped. That I can swear... I think that the idea was that hay, this particular hay, sucks out certain things, like it extracts – that would be the word – it extracts. Certain whatever. Maybe they knew that in May hay there's certain special grasses, or that May hay grass has specific qualities as young grass. I have no idea. But, I remember it was a huge torture. But I was walking, you know, around, after three days... It was not a village village [where we were]. Usually there were people who would live in the city and come there for one or two months in the summer... Yeah [it could've been a city person], same person as us. Maybe it was somebody local. There were some local people whom we maintained relationships with. Maybe, maybe. (Alina I-17-09)</p>	<p>around. It really helped. That I can swear... I think that the idea was that hay, this particular hay, sucks out certain things, like вытягивает – that would be the word – вытягивает. Certain whatever. Maybe they knew that in Mayhay there's certain special grasses, or that Mayhay grass has specific qualities as young grass. I have no idea. But, I remember it was a huge torture. But I was walking, you know, around, after three days... It was not a village village [where we were]. Usually there were people who would live in the city and come there for one or two months in the summer... Yeah [it could've been a city person], same person as us. Maybe it was somebody local. There were some local people whom we maintained relationships with. Maybe, maybe. (Alina I-17-09)</p>
<p>p. 82 In 1999, before we were supposed to leave for an expedition to Novgorod... Something happened to me for the first time in my life. It is called in Russian <i>panaritsiy</i><sup>26</sup>, in English I don't know, but in French <i>le panarie</i>, just the same as in Russian. It's a Latin word – panarit – in other words it's when, see it uses this little dimple, and all of a sudden a person partially swells up, gets sick, terribly red there, and there feels that there is puss – puss – there. So it was literally already several days into the expedition and I already couldn't get anything done. I simply somehow began to shake and that was all. And there I was getting sicker and sicker and all the time it seemed that it was extracted by that place until everything, all the time, was in pain, pain. And so during one night it began and everything – until morning – all over everything – I have to survive until morning and then I just leave to do something with this. And people started telling me, 'oh you should do</p>	<p>p. 82 В 1999-ом году, значит до мы должны уехать на экспедицию в Новгород... Вот и что-то мне первый в жизни, это называется по-русски панариций, по-английский не знаю, а по-французский, <i>le panarie</i>, то же самое. Это латынское слово – panarit – то есть когда, вот используется такая ямочка, и вдруг вот это частное человек распухает, болеет, ужасно красна там, и там чувствовал, что там гной – puss – такой там. Вот и уже там буквально за несколько дней экспедиции уже не успевала сделать. Я просто как-то заматала чем-то и все. А там я как заболела, как заболела, и в чем, и все время казалось, что трягывается тем местом до всего, все время больно, больно. А вот, и в какой-то ночи началось и все – до утра – по всему – I have to survive until morning and then I just leave to do something with this. And people started telling me, 'oh you should do something because you are going to lose your finger, blah blah blah, so do,</p>

<sup>26</sup> *Panaritsiy* in English means agnail.

something because you are going to lose your finger, blah blah blah, so do, do, because this puss may go into the bone' and, you know. And then somebody tells me, 'there is a *babka*. And she will whisper over your finger, say *zagovory*, like, well *zagovor* – it is very difficult to find a good equivalent. It's not charm, it's not incantation, it's *zagovor*. So I went to this *babka* and I had my voice recorder, my recorder somewhere, you know, under my t-shirt, just in case. And I remember what she did. She put me in her house so that I was standing, like, on the, like on the crossing of two imaginary lines – one from the hearth to the room, and the other from the room to the outside. So she specifically put me on one very marked place. And she opened the doors. And she started, she asked me my name, and she started saying something, but very very very low, in a very low voice, so that the recorder didn't record anything, unfortunately. And then she said, 'Okay, now go home, don't drink.' I think she said 'don't drink', but I don't remember, like alcohol. I don't remember. I would not swear to it. And then she said, 'Oh, incidentally, come with me.' And she took me to her garden. And there was this cabbage grove growing there. And she took a leaf of a cabbage and she said, 'Put it on your finger and just keep it, and by morning everything will be all right.' So it's hard to tell which was more important, the first, or second. So, that's what I did. And, I think that I fell asleep. And then, in the middle of the night, I had this excruciating pain in my finger, like excruciating. I thought I was losing my bone there. It was just terrible. I didn't sleep at all after I woke up. And then, in the morning, all of a sudden, you know there are, there is this feeling sometimes that you still feel pain in whatever part of your body, but this pain changes its character. And you're almost, it's almost

do, because this puss may go into the bone' and, you know. And then somebody tells me, 'there is a *бабка*. And she will whisper over your finger *заговаривать*, like, well *заговор* – it is very difficult to find a good equivalent. It's not charm, it's not incantation, it's *заговор*. So I went to this *бабка* and I had my диктофон, my recorder somewhere, you know, under my t-shirt, just in case. And I remember what she did. She put me in her house so that I was standing, like, on the, like on the crossing of two imaginary lines – one from the hearth to the room, and the other from the room to the outside. So she specifically put me on one very marked place. And she opened the doors. And she started, she asked me my name, and she started saying something, but very very very low, in a very low voice, so that the recorder didn't record anything, unfortunately. And then she said, 'Okay, now go home, don't drink.' I think she said 'don't drink', but I don't remember, like alcohol. I don't remember. I would not swear to it. And then she said, 'Oh, incidentally, come with me.' And she took me to her garden. And there was this cabbage grove growing there. And she took a leaf of a cabbage and she said, 'Put it on your finger and just keep it, and by morning everything will be all right.' So it's hard to tell which was more important, the first, or second. So, that's what I did. And, I think that I fell asleep. And then, in the middle of the night, I had this excruciating pain in my finger, like excruciating. I thought I was losing my bone there. It was just terrible. I didn't sleep at all after I woke up. And then, in the morning, all of a sudden, you know there are, there is this feeling sometimes that you still feel pain in whatever part of your body, but this pain changes its character. And you're almost, it's almost somewhere on a junction between pain and pleasure. And you know that if you reach



somewhere on a junction between pain and pleasure. And you know that if you reach this point, it means you'll start healing. And that's what happened. And the swollen part started to recede. I came back and there was a partition here (*she holds out her finger and points to a part of it*) at some point. And I had to rip it off when it was already dry, after some time. I have a small dent here, but it was gone. Don't ask me what helped – the cabbage leaf – well, everybody knew about the cabbage leaf. People would advise me to attach the cabbage leaf, before I went to the *babka*. But I thought, well let's try something else, and probably record the *zagovor*. So, *cabbage*, and I think that except for cabbage you can also attach the beet root leaf. I think they are on a par with this kind of action... [I had not been] to an *herb-babka* [before]... She was time and again an herbalist. There she was more like conversing with a monk. So. And she was at the same time, with the first part, she was more professional – a more professional witchery type thing, witchcraft, if you could call it this, like this. But the second part, with the cabbage leaf, it was part of common knowledge, obviously. *Babki* only [I work with], I don't with herbalists, unfortunately. I never had to deal with herbalists – herbalists, you say?, herbalists? Only with *babki* who communicate with devils... Well, this time [I went to the *babka* for] both [to interview and for healing]... [In the past it was always for interviews.]... [Did I believe?] Well, about the first part, it's not a logical question whether or not I believe my informants. I believe them to the extent that that's what they believe in. If they are sure that the, you know, that the land is based three whales or four tortoises, that's okay for me. That's what they believe in. No, we have to keep a distance, of course. This was, to a certain extent, a breach of

this point, it means you'll start healing. And that's what happened. And the swollen part started to recede. I came back and there was a partition here (*she holds out her finger and points to a part of it*) at some point. And I had to rip it off when it was already dry, after some time. I have a small dent here, but it was gone. Don't ask me what helped – the cabbage leaf – well, everybody knew about the cabbage leaf. People would advise me to attach the cabbage leaf, before I went to the *babka*. But I thought, well let's try something else, and probably record the *zagovor*. So, *капустя*, and I think that except for cabbage you can also attach the beet root leaf. I think they are on a par with this kind of action... [I had not been] to a *бабка-травница* [before]... Она как не была раз *травница*. Она была скорее там с чернцем разговаривает. Вот. И она была на самом деле первой частью, она была как-то более как-то профессиональной – a more professional witchery type thing, witchcraft, if you could call it this, like this. But the second part, with the cabbage leaf, it was part of common knowledge, obviously. *Бабки* только вот с травницами не мне, к сожалению. I never had to deal with *травницы* – herbalists, you say?, herbalists? Only with *бабки* who communicate with devils... Well, this time [I went to the *бабка* for] both [to interview and for healing]... [In the past it was always for interviews.]... [Did I believe?] Well, about the first part, it's not a logical question whether or not I believe my informants. I believe them to the extent that that's what they believe in. If they are sure that the, you know, that the land is based three whales or four tortoises, that's okay for me. That's what they believe in. No, we have to keep a distance, of course. This was, to a certain extent, a breach of the ethical code, if you actually go to her as

the ethical code, if you actually go to her as a witch or as a ritual specialist for healing. (Alina 1-17-09)	a witch or as a ritual specialist for healing. (Alina 1-17-09)
p. 84 We use everything – everything that presents itself, everything... (Lyuba 4-23-08)	p. 84 Пользуемся всем – все, что предлагается, все, что как бы... (Lyuba 4-23-08)
p. 85 At one time we went, when there was nothing interesting, nothing in medicine, we went to a medicine woman who had... an aura or something for children... We went to her... For us, she directed her forces toward him [Lyuba's son]. There the head she healed him somehow, something, and when we went to do an X-ray before and after her... there was a result. (Lyuba 4-34-08)	p. 85 В то времени ездили, когда чего-то интересного не было нет, и то как бы медицина, как бы, к бабушке, у которой... аура там или что-то к детям... Мы ездили к ней... Она нам опраивляла мощною, как правило к нему. Через голову как-то, что-то его лечила, но когда мы сделали рентген до и после нее... то получение было... (Lyuba 4-23-08)
p. 88 Be effective. The most important is that it is effective. (Alisa 1-21-09)	p. 88 Эффективно. Самое главное – эффективно. (Alisa 1-21-09)
p. 90 Once a year? Yes, that's the right way to do it, once a year. But that is expensive, and it is not in our culture. (Inna 1-14-09)	p. 90 Раз в год? Да, это правильно раз в год, но дорого стоит, и не в наше культуре. (Inna 1-14-09)□

Опросник: По Аптекам

Вход: У меня болит глoло:

Дайте мне что-нибудь от горла.

Что лучше/здоровее – что-то натуральное или что-то из химии? Почему?

Какие варианты лечений вы предлагаете? (от кашла?)

Какая разница между ними – в смысле почему я бы выбрала одно над другим? Что лучше?

И какие побочные эффекты я должна ожидать?

Когда мне станет лучше?

Сколько дней я должна пить это лекарство?

Как надо приготовить это лекарство?

Что запрещено в течение, когда я иью это лекарство?

Выход: Спасибо, я подумаю.

Мне надо подумать.

Мне нужно посоветоваться.



List of Questions: Pharmacies

Entrance: I have a sore throat.

Can you give me something for my throat, please?

Which would be better – to take something natural or something made from chemicals?  
Why?

What types of treatment do you offer? (for coughing?)

What is the difference between them? In other words, why would I choose one over another? Which is better?

And what kinds of side-effects should I expect?

When will I get better?

How many days should I take this treatment?

How do I need to prepare this treatment?

What is forbidden while I take this treatment?

Exit: Thank you. I'll think about it.

I need to think about it.

I need to talk things over.

Опросник: По Аптекам: Специальные

- 1) Чем эта аптека лучше, чем общие аптеки?
- 2) Что лучше в этой аптеке?
- 3) Почему лучше?
- 4) Как эта аптека отличается от общих?
- 5) Как и что вы думаете об общих аптеках?
- 6) Почему вы выбрали работать именно здесь – в специальной аптеке, а не в общей аптеке?
- 7) Как эта аптека отличается от других специальных аптек?
- 8) Почему этот вид лекарств – из масла, или из растений – лучше других видов?
- 9) Как и что вы думаете о химии в лекарствах? В питании?
- 10) Что вы предпочитаете: лекарства из химии или натуральные лекарства? Почему?
- 11) Чем натуральные лучше?
- 12) Вы получили специальное образование, чтобы работать именно здесь?

List of Questions: Pharmacies: Special

- 1) How is this pharmacy better than general pharmacies?
- 2) What is better in this pharmacy?
- 3) Why is it better?
- 4) How does this pharmacy differ from general pharmacies?
- 5) What do you think about general pharmacies?
- 6) Why did you choose to work here, at a specialty pharmacy and not at a general pharmacy?
- 7) How does this pharmacy differ from other specialty pharmacies?
- 8) Why is this type of treatment – made from oil or from plants – better than other types?
- 9) What do you think about chemicals in treatments? In food?
- 10) What do you prefer: remedies made from chemicals or natural remedies? Why?
- 11) How are natural better?
- 12) Did you receive special education in order to work here?

Опросник: Школьный Врач

1. Какие проблемы вы встречаете чаще всего?
2. Какой вред? Травмы?
3. Как ребенок получил его?
4. Какую болезнь?
5. В течение одного времени года дети приходят чаще, чем в другие?
6. Почему они так часто приходят? Вред? Болезнь?
7. Если вред, какой? Из-за чего?
8. Если болезнь, какая? Из-за чего?
9. Дети какого возраста приходят сюда чаще всего?
10. Дети обычно сами решают прийти к вам, или учитель им говорит идти к врачу?
11. Как вы относитесь к родителям? Вы иногда говорите с ними? Как они относятся к вам?
12. Какое образование вы получили?
13. Какие требования/ограничения/условия необходимы, чтобы стать врачом в этой школе?
14. Как давно вы работаете школьным врачом? В этой школе?
15. Какие лечения вы даете?
16. Какие лекарства?
17. Первую помощь, больше всего?
18. Обычно из трав или из химии?
19. Откуда вы получите эти лекарства?
20. Вы можете выбирать какие лекарства использовать?
21. Откуда деньги, чтобы платить за лекарства?
22. Есть ли общая обязательная профилактика, которые вам надо дать всем?
23. Кто решает?
24. Как вы можете всем дать?
25. Кто платит за эту профилактику?
26. Почему вы решили работать *школьным* врачом?
27. Обычно вы заняты – многим ли детям нужна ваша помощь?
28. Иногда вы лечите учителей?
29. Вы работаете где-то в другом месте, в добавление к вашей работе здесь?
30. По вашему мнению, лучше использовать натуральные лечения или химические таблетки?

List of Questions: School Doctor

1. Which problems do you see most often?
2. What type of injury? Traumas?
3. How did the child get it?
4. What illness?
5. At what time of year do children come to your office most often?
6. Why do they come so often? Injury? Illness?
7. If injury, what kind? Because of what?
8. If illness, what kind? Because of what?
9. Children of what age come the most often?
10. Do children usually decide to come to you themselves or does the teacher tell them to go to the doctor?
11. How do you get along with the parents? Do you talk with them sometimes? How do they get along with you?
12. What kind of education did you get?
13. What kinds of requirements do you need to become a doctor at a school?
14. For how long have you been working as a school doctor? At this school?
15. What kinds of treatments do you give?
16. What kinds of remedies/medications?
17. Do you do first aid more than anything else?
18. Usually, are your treatments made from herbs or from chemicals?
19. Where do you get these remedies from?
20. Are you able to decide which types of remedies to choose?
21. Where does the money to buy these remedies come from?
22. Are there some general required prophylactics that you have to give to everyone?
23. Who decides?
24. How do you distribute them?
25. Who pays for this prophylactic?
26. Why did you decide to become a *school* doctor?
27. Usually, are you busy – are there a lot of kids who need your help?
28. Sometimes, do you treat teachers?
29. Do you work somewhere else in addition to your work here?
30. What is your personal opinion: should natural remedies be used or chemical medications?

Врач – Официальной Медицины

- 1) Какое у вас образование? Откуда?
- 2) Как давно вы занимались медициной?
- 3) У вас специализация/специальность в области медицины?
- 4) У вас есть личная или государственная практика? Вы всегда служили там? Почему вы выбрали эту практику?
- 5) Вы всегда хотели стать врачом? Почему?
- 6) Какое количество клиентов обращают к вам? Большое? Богатое? Бедное? Какого возраста? Мужчины? Женщины? Дети?
- 7) Как вы получаете зарплату? Зарплата достаточная?
- 8) От каких болезней клиенты страдают?
- 9) Что клиенты хотят от вас? Больничный лист? Совет? Диагноз?
- 10) Как часто вы видите того же самого клиента?
- 11) Когда клиент приходит к вам, как вы его лечите? По каким степеням?
- 12) Вы используете травы или другие натуральные средства в вашем совете/ в вашей практике? Как вы их советуете? Как дополнительные? Как единственное лекарство?
- 13) Как вы относитесь к химиям?
- 14) Как вы относитесь к народной медицине?
- 15) Как вы относитесь к альтернативным видам медицины?
- 16) Что вы думаете о рекламах о лекарствах или медицинских службах?
- 17) Вы ходите в медицинские конференции?
- 18) Вы получаете дополнительное образование, чтобы остаться знающим о всех новых способах медицины?
- 19) Что вы думаете о государственном обеспечении медицины и людей?
- 20) Государство требует, чтобы вы использовали/лечили по какому-то протоколу медицины?
- 21) Что изменилось после распада Советского Союза? Какие различия между временем Советского Союза и сегодняшним днем?
- 22) Лично, вы используете травы или другие натуральные средства? Для себя? Для семьи? Для друзей, которые хотят вашего совета?
- 23) Как вы лично относитесь к химиям? К народной медицине? К альтернативным видам медицины?
- 24) Что вы лично думаете о рекламах?
- 25) Как вы лечитесь?
- 26) Как семья лечится?
- 27) Какой вид медицины использовала ваша семья в детстве? Во время Советского Союза? Сейчас?

Doctor – Official Medicine

- 28) What type of education do have? From where?
- 29) How long have you been practicing medicine?
- 30) Do you have some kind of specialty in medicine?
- 31) Do you have a private or a state practice? Did you always serve there? Why did you choose that practice?
- 32) Did you always want to become a doctor? Why?
- 33) What group of people come to you? Big? Rich? Poor? Of what age? Men? Women? Children?
- 34) How do you receive payment? Do you receive a satisfactory amount of money for your services?
- 35) What illnesses do these people suffer from?
- 36) What do people want from you? Sick papers? Advice? Diagnosis?
- 37) How often do you see a particular client?
- 38) When a client comes to you, how do you treat him? By what step?
- 39) Do you use herbs or natural remedies in your advice/ in your practice? How do you advise these remediees? As an addition to what you have prescribed? As the only treatment you prescribe?
- 40) How do you feel about chemicals?
- 41) How do you feel about folk medicine?
- 42) How do you feel about alternative forms of medicine?
- 43) What do you think of advertisements of remedies and medical services?
- 44) Do you go to medical conferences?
- 45) Do you receive additional education so that you remain current in your medical knowledge?
- 46) What do you think about governmental support of medicine and people?
- 47) Does the government require that you follow some protocol of treatment?
- 48) What changed after the fall of the Soviet Union? What differences are there between the Soviet Union and today?
- 49) Personally, do you use herbs or natural means of treatment? For yourself? For family? For friends who want your advice?
- 50) What do you personally feel about official medicine? About folk medicine? About alternative medicine?
- 51) What do you personally think about advertisements?
- 52) How do you treat yourself?
- 53) How does your family treat itself?
- 54) What type of medicine did your family use during your childhood? During the Soviet Union? Now?

Врач – Альтернативной Медицины

- 1) Кто вы, по профессии?
- 2) Какое образование у вас есть?
- 3) Как вы предпочитаете лечить(ся)? Почему?
- 4) Я понимаю, что вы занимаетесь народной медицины/ натуральными средствами. Почему?
- 5) Чем вы занимаетесь?
- 6) Как вы учились, как этим заниматься?
- 7) Как вы встретились с этой практикой?
- 8) Когда вы встретились с этой практикой?
- 9) Как давно вы этим занимались?
- 10) Какие клиенты обращают к вам? Страдают от каких болезней? Мужчины или женщины? Какого возраста? Они только используют народную/натуральную медицину? Они используют все виды медицины?
- 11) Как люди узнают о вашей практике?
- 12) Какое количество людей приходят к вам? Большое? Богатое?
- 13) Ваша практика личная или государственная? Как люди платят?
- 14) Вид альтернативной медицины, которым вы занимаетесь новый в Санкт-Петербурге? Работал во время Советского Союза?
- 15) Современное правительсто/государство принимает вашу альтернативную практику?
  
- 16) Какая у вас история с медициной? В детстве как ваша семья лечилась? Народной медициной? Натуральными средствами? Официальной медициной?
- 17) Как вы относитесь к официальной медицине? Как вы относитесь к народной медицине? Как вы относитесь к видам альтернативной медицины?
- 18) В ваш взгляд, здравоохранение полезное, хорошее в России? Почему? Вы используете службы здравоохранения?
- 19) Вы используете другие виды альтернативной медицины? Вы используете травы? Для себя? Для вашей семьи? Для ваших клиентов?
- 20) Вы предпочитаете один вид медицины больше другого? Почему?
- 21) Как вы лечились во время Советского Союза? Какие различия – время Советского Союза в сравнении с сегодняшним временем?



Doctor – of Alternative Medicine

- 22) What are you by profession?
- 23) What type of education do you have?
- 24) How do you prefer to heal (yourself)? Why?
- 25) I understand that you practice folk medicine/ natural remedies. Why?
- 26) What exactly do you practice?
- 27) How did you learn how to do this practice?
- 28) How did you encounter this type of practice of medicine?
- 29) When did you encounter this type of practice?
- 30) For how long have you been practicing this medicine?
- 31) What type of clients come to you? What illnesses do they suffer from? Men or women? Of what age? Do they only use folk/natural medicine? Do they use all types of medicine?
- 32) How do people learn about your practice?
- 33) What group of people come to you? A big group? A rich group?
- 34) Is your practice private or state-funded? How do people pay?
- 35) Is the type of alternative medicine that you practice new in St. Petersburg? Did it exist during the Soviet era?
- 36) Does the current government accept your alternative practice?
  
- 37) What history do you have with medicine? In childhood, how did your family treat you/members of the family? With folk medicine? With natural means? With official medicine?
- 38) How do you feel about official medicine? How do you feel about folk medicine? How do you feel about different types of alternative medicine?
- 39) In your eyes, is the health system helpful, good? Why? Do you use the health system services?
- 40) Do you use other types of alternative medicine? Do use herbs? For yourself? For your family? For your clients?
- 41) Do you prefer one type of medicine more than another? Why?
- 42) How did you treat yourself during the Soviet Union? What differences are there between the Soviet era and today??

Опросник: Медицина и Травки

1. Вы используете травы? Для чего? Как? Когда? Какие?
2. Откуда вы берете эти травки? (покупаете? Собираете сами? Выращиваете? Берете еще где-то?)
3. Где вы их покупаете? В аптеке или у кого-то?
4. Если в аптеке – то спрашиваете ли вы совета у продавца? Или знаете сами, что вам нужно?
5. Если собираете сами, то где? (лес, поле) В какое время надо собирать травы (начало роста, цветение, плодоношение)? Какие части растений надо собирать? Как давно вы собираете травы?
6. Если выращиваете – то где? Какие травы? Почему именно их? Как давно вы начали выращивать травы?
7. Если вы берете травы у других людей – как вы с ними познакомились? При каких обстоятельствах? Как вы платите за эти травы? Вы спрашиваете у них совета или просто покупаете травы? Вы покупаете травы или готовое лекарство?
8. Как вы сохраняете травы? (сушите, отвариваете, выжимаете сок). Где их надо сушить?
9. Где вы их храните?
10. Как вы готовите эти лекарства? (отвары (пить/вдыхать); настои; настойки; мази; припарки/компрессы)
11. Эти лекарства обычно смесь трав, или только из одной травы?
12. Вы пьете лекарство? Или делаете что-то другое? Почему?
13. Эти лекарства из трав имеют большую силу? От чего эта сила зависит?
14. Где вы научились использованию травок?
15. У вас есть записки об этих лекарствах, или вы все знаете наизусть?
16. Как вы думаете, у вас достаточное умение лечения травами?
17. Вы лечитесь сами, лечите свою семью/друзей, или помогаете другим людям?
18. Получаете ли вы плату за это? (деньгами или другими способами?)
19. Если нет, то почему?
20. Как вы думаете, это умение лечения травами умирает? Или продолжает играть какую-то роль в жизни русских? Насколько большую?
21. Где вы родились и выросли? В городе или в деревне?
22. Иногда вы пользуетесь лекарствами из химии? Для чего? Когда?
23. Почему вы выбираете травки, а не химические препараты?
24. Почему вы бы предпочли одно другому в определенном положении?
25. Какое количество из ваших друзей и знакомых предпочитают траву химии?
26. Как вы относитесь к официальной медицине? Помогает ли она лучше, чем народная?
27. Советуют ли иногда врачи какие-то травы? Другие народные средства?
28. Советовал ли вам врач обратиться к народной медицине? К конкретному человеку?
29. Обращались ли вы к знахаркам?

30. Какое ваше впечатление – как люди думают о медицине? О лекарствах из трав? О врачах? О лекарствах из химии? О болезни? О здоровье? О современной медицине в сравнении с традиционной/народной медициной?
  31. Вы делаете что-то, чтобы сохранять ваше здоровье? (профилактика)
  32. Медицина опасная? Химия? Трава?
  33. Когда вы плохо себя чувствуете, вы всегда делаете что-то, чтобы вылечиться?
  34. Как и когда вы решаете, что вы должны приготовить лекарство?
  35. Учите ли вы кого-нибудь своим знаниям о лекарственных травах?
  36. Пользовались ли вы другими средствами народной медицины? (мед, варенья, ягоды, животные средства, минералы, святая вода (пить/кропить), иконы)
  37. Есть ли заговоры, связанные с этим использованием или собственно с этими травами или лекарствами?
  38. Вы используете эти заговоры?
  39. Лечили ли вас заговорами? Кто? Когда? От какой болезни? Кто вам посоветовал обратиться к этому человеку? Помогло ли лечение?
  40. Есть ли истории, связанные с этим?
  41. Какое значение и какую важность имеют эти истории в использовании лекарств из трав?
- 
1. Используете ли вы травы для приготовления чая?
  2. Как приправы?
  3. Для ароматизации?
  4. Как оберег?
  5. Для уничтожения насекомых?
  6. Для украшения?

Шалфей  
Зверобой  
Липа  
Мята  
Калган  
Мелисса  
Березовые почки  
Кора дуба  
Чабрец

List of Questions: Medicine and Herbs

1. Do you use herbs? For what? How? When? Which?
2. Where do you get these herbs? (Do you buy them? Gather them? Grow them? Get them somewhere else?)
3. Where do you buy them? At a pharmacy or from some individual?
4. If you buy them at the pharmacy, do you ask for advice from the pharmacist? Or do you already know what you need?
5. If you gather them, then where? (the forest, fields/meadows) When do you collect herbs (at the beginning of their growth, when they are flowering, when they are producing fruit)? What parts of the plants are necessary to gather? How long have you been gathering herbs?
6. If you grow them, then where? Which herbs? Why these herbs? How long ago did you begin to grow herbs?
7. If you get your herbs from other people, how did you meet them/become acquainted with them? Under what circumstances? How do you pay for these herbs? Do you ask the person you get them from for advice or do you just buy the herbs? Do you buy herbs or already-prepared remedies?
8. How do you keep/save the herbs? (Do you dry them, boil them, squeeze their juice?) Where should you dry them?
9. Where do you keep/save them?
10. How do you prepare the remedies? (broths/concoctions (to drink or breath in); infusions; extracts; ointments; poultices/compresses)
11. Are these remedies normally a mixture of herbs or only one herb?
12. Do you drink the remedy? Or do you do something else? Why?
13. Do these herbs have a lot of strength? What does this strength depend on?
14. Where did you learn to learn the use of herbs?
15. Do you have notes about these remedies or do you know everything by heart?
16. What do you think: do you have sufficient knowledge of healing using herbs?
17. Do you treat yourself, your family/friends, or do you help other people?
18. Do you receive pay for this? (Money or some other form?)
19. If not, why?
20. What do you think: is the knowledge of healing using herbs dying? Or does it continue to play some kind of role in the life of Russians? How much of a role?
21. Where were you born and where did you grow up? In the city or in the country/village?
22. Do you sometimes use treatments made with chemicals? For what? When?
23. Why do you choose herbs and not chemical drugs?
24. Why would you prefer one to the other in a specific situation?
25. How many of your friends and acquaintances prefer herbs instead of chemicals?
26. How do you relate to official medicine? Does official medicine help more than folk?
27. Do doctors sometimes recommend some herbs? Other forms of folk medicine?
28. Does the doctor sometimes recommend that you turn to folk medicine? Ever to a particular person who practices folk medicine?
29. Did you go to the medicine-man/woman?

30. What is your impression: what do you people think about medicine? About herbal remedies? About doctors? About chemical treatments? About illness? About health? About modern medicine in comparison to traditional/folk medicine?
  31. Do you do something to maintain your health? (prophylactics)
  32. Is medicine dangerous? Chemical? Herbal?
  33. When you feel poorly, do you always do something to make yourself better?
  34. How and when do you decide that you should prepare some remedy?
  35. Did someone teach you their knowledge of medicinal herbs?
  36. Have you used some other form of folk medicine? (honey, jam/preserves, berries, animal products, minerals, holy/sacred water (to drink/to sprinkle), icons)
  37. Are there *zagovory* (chants) connected with these practices or are the treatments simply herbs or remedies?
  38. Do you use these *zagovory*?
  39. Have *zagovory* ever healed you? Who did the *zagovor*? When? For what illness? Who advised you to go to this person? Did the treatment help?
  40. Is there some story or history related to this *zagovor*?
  41. What knowledge and what importance do these histories/stories have in the use of remedies made from herbs?
- 
1. Do you use herbs for the preparation of tea?
  2. For spices?
  3. For air fresheners?
  4. As defense (against spirits...)?
  5. To kill insects?
  6. As decoration?

Common medicinal herbs:

clary, sage

St. John's wort

basswood, lime, linden, linn

mint

tormentil

balm

birch buds

oak bark

thyme

Здравоохранение – Семейная и Личная История

1. Как вы понимаете историю медицинских практик/ практик для здравоохранения в России? До Советского Союза? При Советском Союзе? После распада Советского Союза? Сейчас? Почему так изменились? Почему не изменились?
2. По вашему мнению, какие разные варианты медицины использованы в России. Как они называются? Как они определяют? Когда человек должен использовать один вариант или другой? Какие из этих форм вы используете? Когда? Почему?
3. В семье вы обращаете внимание к официальной медицине или к совету врача? Или вы предпочитаете сами лечиться семьей? Или друг умеет лечить, и вы предпочитаете обращаться к нему?
4. Почему вы так предпочитаете?
5. Когда вы обращаетесь к врачу, и когда к знакомому? Почему?
6. Вы уважаете официальную медицину?
7. Вы уважаете народную медицину/практики народной медицины?
8. Почему вы так уважаете?
9. Когда вы выросли кто лечился семьей? Мама? Папа? Бабушка? Дедушка? Тетя? Врач? Кто? Когда – тот, кто лечится зависит от положения больного?
10. Как он/она лечился? С чем? С средствами натуральными? С таблетками? Как решил? Почему?
11. Вы принимали что-нибудь для профилактики? Что вы принимали? Когда? Кто вам сказал, что вам надо было тот принять?
12. Вы сейчас принимаете что-нибудь для профилактики? Что? Когда? Как вы решаете? Кто вам советовал, что это хорошая/нужная практика?
13. Вы даёте что-нибудь для профилактики кому-нибудь? Что? Когда? Почему?
14. Вы лечитесь, то же самое, как вы лечите членов семьи или друзей? Почему? Как вы решаете?
15. Вам удобно сам лечить других/ лечиться? Почему? – Вы умеете лечить?
16. От кого/ Как вы учились лечить?
17. Вы обращаете внимание на рекламы о разных вариантах медицины – официальной или народной? Вы следите за советом таких реклам? Почему?
18. При Советском Союзе, как вы лечились? Вы обращали к доктору? Была сильная система здравоохранения, обеспеченная государством?
19. Что вы помните о здравоохранении при Советском Союзе?
20. Вы надеялись на государственных службах в том времени? Почему? Почему нет?
21. Вы занимались народной медициной?
22. Какой процент населения вы бы сказали занимались народной медициной? Предпочитали народную медицину? Почему вы бы сказали они так предпочитали?
23. Как вы тогда относились к официальной медицине и химии? Почему?
24. Как вы сейчас относитесь? Почему?

25. Что вы бы считались, народная медицина сейчас более принята, чем в  
времени Советского Союза? Или наоборот? Почему?
26. Какие медицинские сервисы/службы предлагает правительство теперь? Они  
хорошего качества? Они полезные и удобные? Почему?
27. Как вам кажется: какой процент Петербуржцев использует эти сервисы,  
предложенные правительством? Почему? Если они не используют, какие  
выборы у них хранить свое здоровье? Почему?

Health Care – Family and Personal History

1. How do you understand the history of medicinal practices/ practices for health care in Russia? Before Soviet times? During Soviet times? After the fall of the Soviet Union? Now? Why did they change? Why did they not change?
2. In your opinion, what are the different types of medicine that are used in Russia? What are they called? How are they defined? When would each one be used? Which of them do you use? When? Why?
3. In your family, do you pay attention to official medicine or to the advice of a doctor? Or do you prefer to treat your family yourself? Or does a friend of yours know how to treat people and you prefer to have him/her treat you or your family?
4. Why do you prefer to receive treatment that way?
5. When do you go to a doctor, and when do you go to someone you know for help? Why?
6. Do you respect official medicine?
7. Do you respect folk medicine/ practices of folk medicine?
8. Why do you feel respect in that way?
9. When you were growing up, who treated the family? Your mom? Your dad? Your grandmother? Your grandfather? Your aunt? A doctor? Who? When – did the person who treated depend on the situation or condition of the ill person?
10. How did this person treat? With what? With natural remedies? With medications? How did he/she decide? Why did he/she decide in that way?
11. Did you take something as a prophylactic? What did you take? When? Who told you that you needed to take it?
12. Do you take something as a prophylactic now? What? When? How do you decide? Who advised you that this is a good/necessary practice?
13. Do you give something to someone else as a prophylactic? What? When? Why?
14. Do you treat yourself the same way that you treat family members or friends? Why? How do you decide?
15. Are you comfortable treating others or treating yourself? – Do you know how to treat?
16. Who did you learn/how did you learn to treat?
17. Do you pay attention to advertisements about different types of medicine – official or folk? Do you follow the advice of such advertisements? Why?
18. During Soviet times, how did you treat yourself/were you treated? Did you go to a doctor? Was there a strong system of health care supported/provided by the state?
19. What do you remember about health care from Soviet times?
20. Did you rely on state services at that time? Why? Why not?
21. Did you practice folk medicine?
22. What percent of the population would you say practiced folk medicine? Or preferred folk medicine? Why would you say that they had such preferences?
23. How did you feel about official medicine and chemicals then? Why?
24. How do you feel about them now? Why?



25. What would you say, is folk medicine more accepted now in comparison to Soviet times? Or the opposite? Why?

What medical services does the government provide today? Are they of high quality? Are they useful? Do you take advantage of them? Why?

26. What percentage of people in St. Petersburg, do you think, makes use of government-provided services? Why? If they do not make use of them, what choices do they have to maintain their health? Why?

Опросник: Медицина и Травы: Другие Терапии

1. Вы используете другие формы лечения, кроме химии (таблеток) и трав?
2. Для чего?
3. Для кого?
4. Какие способы лечения вы используете?
5. Как вы думаете, они народные или из официальной медицины?
6. Как вы узнали о них? От кого? Где?
7. Врач иногда советует такие средства лечения?
8. Вы сами ищете и находите их?
9. Вы обсуждаете их с другими (друзьями, другими людьми, имеющими эту проблему)?
10. Почему вы решаете следовать этим альтернативным способам лечения?
11. Вы верите в них? Сейчас? Раньше – первый раз, когда вы услышали об этих? Всю жизнь?
12. Эти способы лечения русские?
13. Откуда эти способы лечения появились?
14. Когда они появились?
15. Какое количество людей знает о них?
16. Эти лечения известные? Среди людей с этой проблемой? Среди обычных людей?
17. Есть другие средства лечить эту проблему?
18. Почему именно этим способам лечения вы следуете?
19. Как давно вы следовали/принимали эти лечения в последний раз?
20. Как они помогают? Как они работают?
21. Они могут вылечить проблему? Или они просто помогают – благодаря им жизнь легче?
22. Трудно ли найти место, где занимаются такими лечениями?
23. Есть ли хорошие специалисты в этой области?
24. Что ваши друзья думают об этих способах лечения?

List of Questions: Medicine and Herbs: Other Therapies

1. Do you use other forms of treatment besides chemicals (pills) and herbs?
2. For what?
3. For whom?
4. What forms of treatment do you use?
5. What do you think: are they folk or official medicine?
6. How did you find out about them? From whom? Where?
7. Does the doctor sometimes recommend such types of treatment?
8. Do you look for them and find them yourself?
9. Do you talk with others (friends, other people, people with the same problem)?
10. Why do you decide to follow this alternative type of treatment?
11. Do you believe in it? Now? Before – the first time that you heard about it? Your whole life?
12. Are these types of treatment Russian?
13. Where did these forms of treatment appear from?
14. When did they appear?
15. How many people know about them?
16. Are they well-known? Amongst people with this problem? Amongst the general population?
17. Are there other ways to treat the problem?
18. Why do you follow this particular form of treatment?
19. When was the last time that you did this treatment?
20. Do such types of treatment help? How do they work?
21. Do they help heal the problem? Or do they just help – thanks to them life is easier?
22. Is it hard to find a place where they offer such treatments?
23. Are there good specialists in this field?
24. What do your friends think about these forms of treatment?