

## Queue Tips: Teaching Socialist Consumer Culture with *Kolejka*

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ON A COLD WINTER MORNING, more than fourteen people stood in a lengthy queue outside of a store that had reportedly received a recent shipment of food. Those in line may not have even realized they were waiting for food. Regardless, they likely grumbled about the conditions, speculated as to whether or not there would be anything left by the time they would get to enter the shop, and jostled for position. One person near the end of the line alleged that someone closer to the front of the queue had recently expressed critical thoughts about the government, and dutifully reported this to the local authorities. As a reward for this loyal denunciation, the informant earned the privilege of moving closer to the front of the line and thus that much closer to procuring basic necessities that were in short supply. Naturally, the accused critic simply moved back two spaces.

The above describes a turn in *Kolejka* (Queue), a board game created by Poland's Institute of National Remembrance (*Instytut Pamięci Narodowej*, or IPN). Recently, fifteen Colby-Sawyer College students enrolled in a seminar titled "Authoritarianism and Daily Life" played multiple rounds of the IPN's version of



**Figure 1:** Cover of *Kolejka*. Photo courtesy of Karol Madaj.

“Communist Monopoly” in order to learn about the impact of scarcity on day-to-day life in 1980s Poland and to identify potential coping strategies employed by Poles in order to survive.<sup>1</sup> Released in February 2011, *Kolejka* sought to preserve a significant part of Poland’s history in the late socialist era, in which queues were long, ubiquitous, and widely seen as a sign of the system’s failure. In recounting his experiences in the late 1970s and early 1980s, Jacek Orłowski noted, “Nobody asked what the queue was for: only that there is a queue—you had to go and stand there, and take whatever there [was.]”<sup>2</sup> The game’s designer, Karol Madaj, explained to *Der Spiegel* that those “too young to remember how it was back then will be able to play this game with their parents or grandparents and maybe talk about how things were for the older generation.”<sup>3</sup> The game’s central premise, aesthetic, and references, including the goods represented on the sixty product cards, would be familiar to those who directly experienced the scarcity of the 1980s or have heard about it from loved ones who navigated the rampant shortages.

Admittedly, I had some apprehensions about using a board game as a learning tool in the classroom. For starters, a roomful of students in a small, rural college in northern New England might prove to be a less receptive audience for such a game. Secondly, the very notion of gaming raised questions about historical accuracy and whether or not the game would trivialize the past. Doubts regarding the game's authenticity and trivialization were alleviated by the early reviews. *BBC News* interviewed a forty-four-year-old Pole, Piotr Zochowski, who proclaimed, "it was exactly like this."<sup>4</sup> Madaj informed *Der Spiegel* that an eighty-four-year-old play tester verified the game's authenticity.<sup>5</sup> The game's credibility is perhaps reinforced by news that Russian authorities have criticized the game as "anti-Russian" and sought to alter elements of the game under threats of a potential ban on additional imports, which my students and I first learned about approximately one month after playing *Kolejka* in class.<sup>6</sup> The gaming sessions in the "Authoritarianism and Daily Life" course were the culmination of a unit exploring socialist consumer cultures in the Soviet Union since the 1930s as well as Eastern Europe throughout the Cold War. Incorporating the game into this section of the course represented an innovative and interactive means of determining how material conditions shape the experience of everyday life, as well as developing a more nuanced understanding of human agency. Playing *Kolejka* also provided students with the opportunity to assess how historical materiality framed the relationship between state and subject within the context of a communist dictatorship.

### **An Overview of *Kolejka***

*Kolejka* is designed for two to five players, each of whom represents a family of five. In the world of *Kolejka*, there are up to twelve goods in each of the five categories: food, clothing, appliances, toiletries, and furniture.<sup>7</sup> The objective of the game is to be the first family to successfully complete their shopping list, comprised of ten goods, but players must navigate a consumer culture marred by production shortages and uneven distribution. Each family's shopping list consists of different quantities of specific goods, so one family may need to obtain four pieces of furniture, three articles of clothing, two toiletries, and one food item, while their competitor may require four appliances, three pieces of furniture, two articles of

clothing, and one toiletry. It is conceivable that a family may not need any clothes to win the game, while another may not need any food!

The game, which lasts less than one hour, takes place over the course of several days (or perhaps weeks), with each round consisting of a single day in the life of the families. Up to six types of events take place each day: 1) queuing up; 2) delivery of goods; 3) jockeying for position through the strategic use of queue cards; 4) purchasing goods; 5) black market trading; and 6) “preparatory closing time” (PCT). Each of the first four phases reflect the uncertainty of the consuming experience in the midst of shortages, as families must try to best position themselves to obtain crucial goods without necessarily knowing if there will even be any goods for them.

*Queuing Phase:* *Kolejka* begins with each player placing one member of their family in a queue, one at a time, until all members of each family are on the board. In other words, would-be consumers line up at the stores *before* knowing which goods will be distributed on that particular day. Then, a speculator—who is not controlled by any of the players—is placed at the end of the line at the five stores. Speculators set out to secure items that they can trade on the black market.

*Delivery of Goods Phase:* Once everyone has lined up, three delivery cards are turned over to reveal the types and quantities of goods set for distribution.<sup>8</sup> Each delivery card corresponds to a type of good, and features a number indicating how many of those goods have been produced and will now be available through delivery. The maximum number of goods that may be distributed per delivery card is set at three. Hence, a purple delivery card with the number three means the furniture shop will be supplied with three pieces of furniture—assuming there are enough items of furniture to *actually* be delivered—while an orange delivery card with the number one results in the distribution of a single food item to the food store. Already on the first day, many families will discover that their relatives are standing in line at a store with empty shelves.

*Jockeying the Queue Phase:* Following delivery, players have the opportunity to use queue cards to boost their chances of acquiring a good—or prevent their opponents from snatching a

desired commodity. Each player is equipped with the same set of ten queue cards, which provide them with special privileges, affect the number of available goods in a given store, or impact queue positions. Perks include the opportunity to buy a good “under the counter” before a store has officially opened, or to take advantage of a local friend’s connections and sneak a peek at upcoming deliveries. Three queue cards impact the availability of goods: the “delivery error” queue card, complete with a picture of a confused-looking lorry driver, results in a good being brought to the wrong store, while an “increased delivery” queue card means an additional item was inadvertently distributed to a store. The card that invokes the most *schadenfreude* is the “closed for stocktaking” queue card, which allows players to forcibly shut down a store for the day, thereby depriving their opponents the opportunity to shop. Half of the queue cards directly relate to positioning, however: “Mother carrying small child,” “This was not your place, sir,” and “Lucky strike” allow players to advance their family member’s pawn at the expense of others, while the “community list” queue card permits a player to invert the entire queue. As such, the person last in line would suddenly find themselves at the front of the queue. The “criticizing the authorities” queue card forces a grumbler to drop back two spaces as local authorities examine their documents. At the start of the week, each player shuffles their ten queue cards, drawing three cards from the top of the stack each day. The start player can then either play a card or pass. A card can only be played if its effect can actually be implemented. Once someone passes, they are done with this phase of the round and will simply wait until the stores open, potentially leaving themselves at the mercy of the other families. Players must be judicious in their use of these ten cards, however, since using the three allotted queue cards each day would leave them with only one card for the last two days of the week.

*Purchasing Phase:* The stores finally open during the fourth phase of the round, and any store that is open for business and has physical goods on display can distribute merchandise to those waiting in line—while supplies last. Therefore, if three articles of clothing are available in the clothing store, they will be distributed to the first three players in line. Rationing applies in the formal economy, so a family member can only buy one good at a time. As soon as



**Figure 2:** *Kolejka pawns queued up at a store closed for inventory. Photo courtesy of Karol Madaj.*

they have bought the good, the family member returns home with their new possession. Any goods purchased by the speculators are sent directly to the outdoor market, where they will be available for barter. Stores end up with a surplus when they have more goods than potential customers, and all surpluses remain in place for the next day's business.

*Black Market Phase:* Once all legal transactions have been completed, attention is turned to the outdoor market. Unlike the shops, the bazaar is part of the informal economy and is not subjected to the same rules and regulations. Players who have sent family members here can do as much trading as they desire and can afford. The world of bartering is not so easy, though. The going rate is two-to-one, requiring players to give up two goods in order to get one commodity in return. There is a manager's special

of sorts, as a discounted rate of one-to-one applies to goods in the pile immediately in front of the outdoor market manager's own pawn. There is a pre-determined order to which type of good will be discounted each day, so savvy players will be able to determine in advance when trips to this underground economy are likely to be the most cost-effective.

*Closing Phase:* The day ends when all activity at the outdoor market is completed. This initiates "preparatory closing time" (PCT), which essentially serves as a reset. Used delivery cards are set aside, the bazaar's manager moves to the next day's table at the outdoor market, the start player token is passed to the next player in clockwise order, and players reset their hand to three queue cards. Players will also have the opportunity to remove any family members still standing in a line before the next day's business commences. Once PCT is complete, play resumes following the same sequence of phases: family members are sent to wait in line, goods are delivered, queue cards are played, stores open, trading may occur at the bazaar, and PCT marks the end of the day. After five days, all used delivery cards re-enter the game, used queue cards are returned to players and reshuffled into their respective decks, and the outdoor market manager returns to the first (or Monday) table. The game proceeds along these lines, day-to-day, week-to-week, until a player successfully completes their shopping list or there are no more goods to be delivered to the stores. If multiple players complete their list, the player with a greater surplus of additional goods wins the tiebreaker. If no one completes their lists before the game ends, the player with the fewest goods left on their list can celebrate.

### **Teaching Authoritarianism and Daily Life**

The "Authoritarianism and Daily Life" course begins with a review of key concepts, theories, and methodologies that students will use throughout the semester to assess how ordinary citizens experienced and navigated dictatorships. The introductory class session includes an overview of everyday life history as a methodology of historical research. Drawing upon the works of Alf Lütke and Dorothee Wierling, students are asked to consider the meanings and significance of historical agency, as well as how histories of daily

life can help situate “those who have remained largely anonymous in history” into historical context.<sup>9</sup> During the first week, students read excerpts of works by Erving Goffman, Michel Foucault, Michel de Certeau, and James Scott.<sup>10</sup> In addition, students read the opening chapter of Barbara Demick’s *Nothing to Envy: Ordinary Lives in North Korea*, which illustrates how the failures of a system creates spaces and opportunities for subjects to violate political expectations and social norms. In this case, North Korea’s lack of electricity enabled two young lovers to meet in the dark of night and go for long walks while holding hands.<sup>11</sup> These early readings are used to explore notions of power and historical agency, so as to familiarize students with the idea that the nameless and faceless historical actors are not necessarily powerless or voiceless. It also enables students to recognize that the seemingly mundane can oftentimes be imbued with historical significance.

Following this introductory section, the course shifts its focus toward the totalitarian systems of Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, looking at how both regimes sought to consolidate their power, as well as what constituted normality for various groups of citizens and subjects. The principal topics covered during this unit are housing, vacations, and censorship and self-censorship, culminating in an exploration of panopticism within the Soviet Union and East Germany. Exploring these particular subjects in context enables students to identify ways in which the boundary between state and subject is malleable and, at times, porous. One recurring theme throughout the course relates to how repressive systems of power often seek to break down traditional social bonds and replace them either with an atomized society or new bonds that tie the subject directly to the state. Thus, as Diane Koenker argues, Stalinist-era vacations in the Soviet Union, for instance, traditionally revolved around the individual as opposed to the family, and were initially intended to function as a respite for the worker’s body.<sup>12</sup> Similarly, authoritarian police states often rely on informers and denunciations to construct an image of omnipresence, thereby creating a social system in which trust is often absent and seemingly anyone could wield power by acting as the eyes and ears of the state.

A central theme for this unit of the course is the materiality of daily life, which we explore through the histories of consumption, Socialist consumer culture, and consumers. Here, students are asked

to compare two sets of relationships: the cultures of consumption in the United States and Eastern Europe, as well as the real and imagined socialist consumer experiences within the Soviet Union and Soviet bloc. Consumption presumably served different purposes in the capitalist and socialist systems, a belief perhaps best summarized in the epigraph to Patrick Hyder Patterson's study of socialist department stores in *Communism Unwrapped: Consumption in Cold War Eastern Europe*: "The aim of socialist commerce is not profit, but service to consumers."<sup>13</sup> According to Patterson, department stores were not anathema to the socialist system because they represented "a centralized, concentrated, modern, and 'scientific' form that lent itself readily to top-down planning."<sup>14</sup> In the 1960s and 1970s, such stores and the promotion of consumption in general held out the promise of a new era of abundance and pleasure in socialist societies, an era that would mitigate the relative lack of political freedoms through the provisioning of desirable goods.

The lived reality, however, did not always match the promises made by socialist governments. By the end of the 1970s and early 1980s, shortages (once again) came to characterize the socialist consumer culture and impact day-to-day life for those living amidst scarcity. In "The Socialist Approach to the Store: A Story of Queuing in the People's Republic of Poland," which appears at the end of the *Kolejka* instruction manual, Andrzej Zawistowski, Director of Education at the IPN, attributed the "chronic shortage of supplies" to the communist government's need to prioritize ideology and military production "over the good of the citizens."<sup>15</sup> As in the Stalinist era, "things mattered," due in large part because "they were so hard to get."<sup>16</sup> Some of the game's queue cards reflect how family and friends could work together to contend with scarcity, as visible in the "Mother carrying small child" card, which enables players to borrow a baby in order to be "served without queuing." Yet, shortages frequently bred resentments, as the struggle to acquire basic necessities came to dominate much of daily life, both in the 1930s and in the 1980s. Under Stalin, housing shortages necessitated the use of *kommunalka* (communal apartments), which encouraged denunciations, often for the purposes of settling grudges.<sup>17</sup> East Germans interested in owning a Trabant had to wait years for the opportunity to procure the car and, as Jonathan Zatin notes, the pent-up demand for Trabis resulted not only in the emergence of an

extensive black market trade, but also produced new forms of social differentiation and inequality within the socialist society.<sup>18</sup>

The question of quantity should not necessarily lead us to ignore the question of quality. Many goods, when they were available, were often of poor quality due to the use of “inappropriate materials” or “were designed in such a way as to create intense aggravation.” Krisztina Fehérváry’s study of socialist material culture referenced sandals that “fell apart after one wearing because of poor-quality glue” and consumers’ frustrations with “flimsy plastic bags” for milk, which often resulted in spillage. Even construction design failed to take into account the material needs of inhabitants, as characterized by bedrooms that were often “too small to furnish with a bed and still allow for opening the closet door.”<sup>19</sup> Such experiences are perhaps best encapsulated in a scene from Péter Bacsó’s 1969 satirical (and banned) film, *A Tanú* (*The Witness*), which I share with students. In it, the ill-prepared and undereducated protagonist, Pelikán József (Ferenc Kállai), is put in charge of Hungary’s Orange Institute, whose efforts result in a single orange. Despite the limited output, the solitary orange is set to serve as the centerpiece for a public celebration of Hungarian socialism’s ingenuity. József’s young son consumes the citrus fruit before it can be delivered to the festival’s principal guest of honor, Hungary’s leader. Upon learning about the mishap, Comrade Virág (Lajos Öze), József’s superior in the party, pulls a lemon out of his coat pocket and explains that this is the Hungarian orange—no questions asked. A befuddled József is left to showcase the “new Hungarian orange,” nervously explaining that it is a paler and sourer version of the traditional orange. Despite obvious doubts, the leader grimaces as he takes a bite out of the “orange,” either out of ignorance or a need to avoid drawing attention to the institute’s failure while in a public setting.<sup>20</sup>

The paucity of quality goods did, however, create space for citizens to express criticism of the state, provided they did so through proper channels. In East Germany, citizens could communicate their frustration and provide suggestions to the ruling party via petitions (*Eingaben*), a practice that was captured in Wolfgang Becker’s popular 2003 film, *Good Bye Lenin!* In multiple scenes, Christiane (Katrin Sass) can be seen dictating brief letters complaining about clothing measurements that fail to take into account the proportions of ordinary socialist citizens before signing off “with socialist

greetings.”<sup>21</sup> Such forms of dialogue between citizen and the state “underlined a somewhat deferential political culture of reliance” on the state, while also enabling East German citizens to vent, with the understanding that certain subjects were off-limits, such as the Berlin Wall.<sup>22</sup>

Consumers in Poland encountered shortages on multiple occasions following the Second World War, but the scarcity of the late 1970s and early 1980s seemed to reach new depths. By the early 1980s, Poland’s formal economy and retail trade were decimated and failed to provide almost anything. According to Zawistowski, “80 per cent of all consumer goods were in short supply,” prompting the reintroduction of rationing for meat, “followed by alcohol, gas, shoes, candy, chocolate, butter, full-cream milk, soap, cigarettes, diapers, washing powder, grain products, vegetable and animal fats, as well as school notebooks” and, eventually, even ration cards.<sup>23</sup> The deterioration in standards of living required citizens to act as active agents in seeking to improve their conditions. Common strategies included waiting in the lines that dotted the socialist consumer culture’s landscape, utilizing personal connections, and engaging speculators and black marketers in the informal economies that took on greater roles, each of which are reflected in the game itself.

### ***Kolejka* in the Classroom**

For the game sessions, students were split into four groups and assigned to one of two days to come in and play the game. We devoted a portion of the final class meeting before our game sessions to cover the rules, objectives, and game’s mechanics. To prepare for the game, students had to read the *Kolejka* instruction manual, which was available as a PDF, and watch a YouTube video that illustrated the game’s basic sequence of play. On game day, following a brief tutorial, students began the process of trying to accumulate their family’s essentials in order to win. As they played, students were supposed to pay attention to the types of actions that were required in order to get necessary items, as well as to how difficult it was to procure the goods on their shopping list, as this information would be central to the paper they would write afterwards.

Game play proceeded relatively smoothly, with some minor but understandable moments of confusion here or there. Very quickly,

it seemed that most students grasped the game, its purpose, and the devious joy that could be had by deploying the “closed for stocktaking” or “community list” cards against their classmates. It was not uncommon to hear a triumphant voice once someone turned an entire queue around, only to have their opponent negate the effects of this act by playing their own “community list” card to re-reverse the queue. During the first set of games, players and groups seemingly developed their own strategies and identities. For example, one group featured two players who actively and openly collaborated with one another at the expense of their opponents. Some students also liked to specifically accuse another player of being disloyal whenever they played the “criticizing the authorities” card against an opponent, occasionally even inventing the reasons for the accusation. Isolated moments of confusion tended to stem from misunderstandings related to the sequencing of events or when certain queue cards were applicable.

Following the game session, students had to complete a paper assignment using all relevant course readings to compare the experience of scarcity in *Kolejka* to the history of scarcity in primary sources and the secondary literature. In particular, students needed to assess whether or not the game’s theme, design, and mechanics reflected the historical reality of socialist consumerism and the factors that impacted whether or not they were able to support their families. I had two interrelated goals with this paper assignment. Students needed to analyze the board game as a historical source while also drawing connections between *Kolejka* and other relevant course materials. To facilitate the completion of this assignment, I allowed the students to play a second round of the game. Overwhelmingly, the students felt that the board game was an accurate historical representation, in part because of the frustration they experienced whenever supplies ran out, or a competitor’s tactics denied them the opportunity to procure a much-needed good. Several papers noted direct links between the *Kolejka* queue cards and the situations described in the historical scholarship, including the importance of personal connections and family resourcefulness. One student connected the game to the general idea of atomization, suggesting that the combination of shortages and the ten queue cards encouraged players to deceive, bluff, and cheat their opponents whenever possible. Another compared the general need to procure as many

goods as possible to Croatian essayist Slavenka Drakulić's reflexive response to pick up a discarded muffin from a trash can upon visiting New York City, illustrating that pervasive shortages rendered the idea of waste moot.<sup>24</sup> The presence and use of the bazaar reminded students of several examples from Małgorzata Mazurek's essay about familial coping strategies in the late socialist era, in which several subjects described "*kombinowanie*" (finagling) and "*chachmecenie*" (swindling) as "necessary" aspects of daily life.<sup>25</sup>

While they generally praised the game and its mechanic for providing an intriguing means of better understanding the cumulative effect of persistent shortages, students also noted potential shortcomings. One student commented that not everything would have been in short supply, specifically pointing to Mark Lawrence Schrad's *Vodka Politics*, which we had read portions of in class, as an example of a consumer good that may have been readily available. Echoing Schrad's argument about vodka in Russia and the Soviet Union, the student postulated that maintaining a steady supply of alcohol or turning a blind eye to homemade variants might have been a relatively effective means of social control, mitigating dissent stemming from the experiences of deprivation.<sup>26</sup> Another critique put forward by students related to the relative absence of gender as a factor in the game's narrative and outcome. Patterson's essay on socialist department stores highlighted how the typical consumer was assumed to be female, as in capitalist societies, which impacted the design and layout of such consumer spaces.<sup>27</sup> The imagined connection between gender and consumption is itself reinforced in the *Kolejka* instruction manual, which includes several historical photographs depicting mostly women standing in line. It is worth noting, though, that the ten queue cards feature five representations of women and five depictions of men.

## Conclusion

*Kolejka* added a unique dynamic to the course and the learning experience. While the game may not completely capture the historical moment it sets out to represent, as students are able to pack up and return to their own lives after the game is over, its incorporation into the classroom did reinforce key themes and objectives of the course. Comparable to educators who have integrated wargames

and simulations into their history courses, *Kolejka* simultaneously developed students' decision-making processes and strategic thinking with respect to achieving the objective laid out for them in the game while also teaching them about daily life in the People's Republic of Poland.<sup>28</sup> In an imagined world defined by a finite number of goods, students had to rely upon critical thinking and time management skills to procure the items on their shopping list. They also had to contend with forces beyond their control, including the unpredictable deliveries and the actions of their competitors. As a result, students made decisions and had to cope with the outcome of their actions. This kind of dynamic reinforces the centrality of human agency, even in extreme circumstances of political repression and economic uncertainty, which in turn underscored historian Dorothee Wierling's argument regarding the importance of studying everyday life. In a point introduced to students in the first class meeting of the semester (and included in the course syllabus), Wierling contends that daily life "is the domain in which people exercise a direct influence—via their behavior—on their immediate circumstances."<sup>29</sup> Here, students used *Kolejka* to gain a better sense of how this principle applied to the daily lives of ordinary Poles living amidst widespread privation in the early 1980s. Finally, this activity has the added benefit of being repeatable. I look forward to using *Kolejka* in future offerings of "Everyday Life and Authoritarianism," and can easily see it being integrated into other courses, such as a history of the Cold War or a seminar on post-1945 Europe.

## Notes

1. Jill Petzinger, "The Waiting Game: 'Communist Monopoly' Teaches Downside of Socialist Life," *Der Spiegel*, 20 January 2011, <<https://www.spiegel.de/international/zeitgeist/the-waiting-game-communist-monopoly-teaches-downside-of-socialist-life-a-740587.html>>.
2. Małgorzata Mazurek, "Keeping It Close to Home: Resourcefulness and Scarcity in Late Socialist and Postsocialist Poland," in *Communism Unwrapped: Consumption in Cold War Eastern Europe*, ed. Paulina Bren and Mary Neuberger (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 312.
3. Petzinger.

4. Adam Easton, "Polish Game Recreates Communist Shopping Hell," *BBC News*, 8 February 2011, <<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-12380433>>.
5. Petzinger.
6. Damien Sharkov, "Russia Bans Poland's 'Communist Monopoly' Board Game," *Newsweek*, 21 March 2016, <<http://www.newsweek.com/russia-bans-polands-communist-monopoly-being-anti-russian-438972>>.
7. The total number of goods at the start of each game is dependent upon the total number of players. For instance, two goods are removed from each of the five categories in a contest between four players. A game featuring only two players will only include seven goods per category.
8. As with the total number of goods, the number of delivery cards that are revealed each day is determined by the number of players. For three or four players, two delivery cards are turned over each day. Only one type of good is distributed each day in a two-player game.
9. Alf Lütke, "Introduction: What is the History of Everyday Life and Who Are Its Practitioners?" in *The History of Everyday Life: Reconstructing Historical Experiences and Ways of Life*, ed. Alf Lütke (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), 3-4.
10. In an early session about theories, methodologies, and definitions, students read Detlev J. K. Peukert, *Inside Nazi Germany: Conformity, Opposition, and Racism in Everyday Life* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987), 21-25; Michel Foucault, "Power as Knowledge," in *Social Theory: The Multicultural and Class Readings*, ed. Charles Lemert (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2010), 473-479; Erving Goffman, "Front and Back Regions of Everyday Life [1959]," in *The Everyday Life Reader*, ed. Ben Highmore (New York: Routledge, 2002), 50-57; Michel de Certeau, "General Introduction to *The Practice of Everyday Life* [1980]," in *The Everyday Life Reader*, ed. Ben Highmore (New York: Routledge, 2002), 63-75; Georges Perec, "Approaches to What? [1973]," in *The Everyday Life Reader*, ed. Ben Highmore (New York: Routledge, 2002), 176-178; and James Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985), 28-37. In subsequent class meetings, students also read Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977), 195-217; and Vaclav Havel, "The Power of the Powerless," in *Perspectives From the Past: Primary Sources in Western Civilization*, ed. James Brophy, Joshua Cole, John Robertson, Thomas Max Safley, and Carol Symes (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2012), 565-568.
11. Barbara Demick, *Nothing to Envy: Ordinary Lives in North Korea* (New York: Spiegel & Grau, 2009), 3-17.
12. Diane P. Koenker, "Whose Right to Rest? Contesting the Family Vacation in the Postwar Soviet Union," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51, no. 2 (April 2009), 416-417.
13. Patrick Hyder Patterson, "Risky Business: What Was Really Being Sold in the Department Stores of Socialist Eastern Europe?" in *Communism Unwrapped: Consumption in Cold War Eastern Europe*, ed. Paulina Bren and Mary Neuberger (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 116.

14. Patterson, 122.
15. Andrzej Zawistowski, "The Socialist Approach to the Store: A Story of Queuing in the People's Republic of Poland," in *Queue Instruction*, ed. Karol Madaj (Warsaw, Poland: Institute of National Remembrance, 2012), 26-27.
16. Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism: Ordinary Life in Extraordinary Times—Soviet Russia in the 1930s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 40.
17. Fitzpatrick, 47-48.
18. Jonathan Zatin, "The Vehicle of Desire: The Trabant, the Wartburg, and the End of the GDR," *German History* 15, no. 3 (July 1997): 370-373.
19. Krisztina Fehérváry, "Goods and States: The Political Logic of State-Socialist Material Culture," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51, no. 2 (April 2009): 446.
20. *A Tanú*, dir. Péter Bacsó, 103 mins. (1969; Budapest, Hungary: Mokép, 2007), DVD.
21. *Good Bye Lenin!*, dir. Wolfgang Becker, 121 mins. (2003; Barcelona, Spain: Cameo Media, 2007), DVD.
22. Mary Fulbrook, *The People's State: East German Society from Hitler to Honecker* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 271-275.
23. Zawistowski, 30-33.
24. Slavenka Drakulić, *How We Survived Communism and Even Laughed* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1993), 113.
25. Mazurek, 303.
26. Mark Lawrence Schrad, *Vodka Politics: Alcohol, Autocracy, and the Secret History of the Russian State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).
27. Patterson, 118.
28. William B. Robison, "Stimulation, Not Simulation: An Alternate Approach to History Teaching Games," *The History Teacher* 46, no. 4 (August 2013): 578; and Solomon K. Smith, "Pounding Dice into Musket Balls: Using Wargames to Teach the American Revolution," *The History Teacher* 46, no. 4 (August 2013): 564-565.
29. Dorothee Wierling, "The History of Everyday Life and Gender Relations: On Historical and Historiographical Relationships," in *The History of Everyday Life: Reconstructing Historical Experiences and Ways of Life*, ed. Alf Lüdtke (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), 151.