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# **Section 1**

## **Migrations and Migrants: Languages of Description**

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## Host Society and Migrants: Searching for the Languages of Mutual Description

Konstantin V. Grigoriev<sup>a,b</sup> and Natalia P. Koptseva<sup>c\*</sup>

<sup>a</sup>*Irkutsk State University*

*Irkutsk, Russian Federation*

<sup>b</sup>*National Research Tomsk State University*

*Tomsk, Russian Federation*

<sup>c</sup>*Siberian Federal University*

*Krasnoyarsk, Russian Federation*

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**Abstract.** The article provides a selection of studies on the problem of developing languages for the mutual description of migrants and the host society. The authors consider the problem, on the one hand, through the prism of heterogeneity of the language for describing migrants in the host society, and on the other, through the absence of legitimate representatives of migrants representing them in the dialogue with the Russian society. It offers a point of view on the reasons for the dominance of ethnic discourse in the description of migrants and the migration situation, and wide pluralism in the use of ethnic categories in describing migration. It is shown that migrants do not participate in the development of rhetoric of organisations recognised by the authorities as their legitimate representatives. The article raises the question about the formation of new representatives of migrant groups, whose legitimacy is based not on powers delegated by the authorities, but on recognition by horizontal communities. It is assumed that, on the basis of the network representations, a mechanism is being formed for the humanisation of the image of migrants through the return of subjectivity in communication with the host society.

**Keywords:** languages of description, host society, migrants, ethnicity, horizontal networks, YouTube.

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\* Corresponding author E-mail address: grigoriev@yandex.ru, decanka@mail.ru  
ORCID: 0000-0002-5256-5658 (Grigoriev); 0000-0003-3910-7991 (Koptseva)

Despite the uneven economic development, numerous crises and recessions following periods of rapid growth, Russia is confidently becoming a country of migrants. Russian society painfully searches for a language of reflections regarding this phenomenon, which is new to it, often through the development of new ones and the reconstruction of old stereotypes and phobias (Dyatlov, 2010). Being the first and, perhaps, inevitable way of reflection on a new phenomenon, they nevertheless sharply pose problems of developing effective communication strategies with migrants and their communities in the host society. In a broader perspective, this communication problem is not only societies and states with migrants, but also the development of languages spoken by a heterogeneous host society about migrants, migrants about the host society, and migrants with migrants and about migrants. It seems to us that this problem lies not so much in the difference of languages, but in the mismatch of problems and discourses.

The distance with a migrant stranger, at the first stages of Russia's inclusion in cross-border migrations embodied at the household level in non-verbal communication strategies, has become less obvious in recent years due to the widespread use of *lingua franca* strategies, which is Russian as a matter of fact (see, e.g., Grigorichev, Guzey, 2017). The problem of the difference in the languages of describing migrants by different groups of the host society, the lack of consensus in terms, ideas, and images regarding migrants remains less obvious, but the most acute one. The discursive distance between the languages of power, science, media and the street in Russia is often greater and more difficult to overcome than the language barrier between the average person and the migrant. It is significant that the difference between media images and academic ideas about migrants at the end of 2000s (Dyatlov, ed., 2009) and at the end of 2010s (Bryazgina et al., 2019) not only did not decrease, but almost became larger. The inclusion in the structure of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Federal Migration Service in 2016 with the closure of public councils working in cooperation with the latter, in fact, eliminated the communica-

tion platform between the authorities, the academic community and migrants, which, with varying degrees of success, but still helped to develop a common language.

One of the consequences of the lack of such platforms for communication was the disappearance of migrants and/or their figure representing the communication about migration. In this perspective, it is significant that the vast majority of academic texts devoted to the analysis of the description of migration and migrants focuses on the description of migrants by the host society. The second side, i.e. a participant in the description of migration as a social phenomenon, remains beyond observation and reflection. Euphemistically speaking, the second side of the dialogue is deprived not only of the language, but also, contextually, of the right to have one. The different reality of migration (locals and new comers) fits into the Procrustean bed of the language of one-sided descriptions. Given the heterogeneity of the languages of describing the host society itself, a migrant view of the host society and its interaction with it has almost no chance of being said and heard.

It seems that such a one-sided approach to communication between migrants and the host society is becoming one of the factors in the instability of migrant status in the Russian society. Not only the emergence of new migrants, but also a change in the structure of already familiar migration flows easily turns a migrant-alien, but familiar and necessary, into an absolute stranger. If the former has a place and function that is understandable for the host society in everyday life, then the only explanation for the reason and meaning of the appearance of the latter is 'capture', 'occupation', or at least cultural aggression (Grigorichev, 2018). In this sense not only massive (including academic) texts in connection with the rapid growth of tourist flow from China are quite indicative, but also a Russian (especially non-academic) view of the migration crisis in Europe in 2015-2017.

In this regard, the question remains open not only about the difference in the languages of mutual descriptions of the host society and migrants, but also about whether a development



of a language for self-description of migrants and their description of host communities occurs. Who and where develops the words and meanings that migrants 'say' about themselves and the host society? Who articulates the migrant view of the migration situation and how is the right to such articulation set, and more broadly, the right to speak on behalf of migrants? Finally, what communication strategies of migrants and the host society are developed in the context of pluralism of the language(s) of the description of migrants in the host society and the uncertainty of the second side of the dialogue?

### **The language of the host society**

It seems that the specifics of the Russian situation lies not only in the relatively recent inclusion in the logic of world migrations (and indeed cross-border migrations in general), but also in the path dependence of the post-Soviet situation, from the Soviet background, which largely determines the heterogeneity of the language for describing migrations and migrants in the host community. In our opinion, difficulties with seeing eye to eye about the words and meanings of the description of migrants in the Russian society is largely determined by the absence of a cross-border migrant figure (and a migrant in general) in the image of a stranger in the Soviet society. As vividly showed by V.I. Dyatlov, a stranger for the Soviet people "was a 'man from the moon', from another dimension" (Dyatlov, 2010: 124), who did not correlate with everyday life neither as a Friend nor as a Stranger. There was simply no place for a foreigner in it. The giant internal migration organised by the state, suggested other dimensions for description, including the dominant category of the enemy (especially in relation to mass forced migrations), or, on the contrary, the image of a hero (virgin lands, construction of the Baikal-Amur Mainline, Bratsk Hydroelectric Power Station, etc.). Both of them were equally representing a stranger who intrudes into their usual everyday life, but their otherness was not determined by their migration experience.

The first post-Soviet cross-border migrants in Russia turned out to be by no means

Simmel- strangers (Simmel, 2008): another, but necessary, far and close at the same time, performing the most important function for the existence of the host community. Rather, they became strangers in the Bauman sense (Bauman, 2008): bringing chaos and destruction to the familiar world. Appearing in Russian cities and, first of all, in the Russian province, which was not ready for such a massive flow of various strangers, cross-border migrants found themselves outside the sphere of familiar concepts and stable descriptions. The society simply had not enough words and meanings to define them. The important thing here was the exclusion in the Soviet society of the most important function of a stranger – trade. If in Simmel's understanding no one but a stranger can fulfil the function of a tradesman and more broadly a mediator, then in the Soviet society the functions of a stranger are performed by power-distributive functions of the state. Having been forced out onto the periphery of the everyday life, the function of a tradesman-mediator did not leave a place for a stranger in the usual way of life in the Russian society, and especially in a conservative province.

The role of Simmel's stranger, forced out from everyday life, did not exhaust the obvious internal heterogeneity of the Soviet society. The class discourse, despite its obvious dominance, did not exhaust the differences faced by the Soviet ordinary people. Rapid urbanisation has dramatically increased the cultural diversity of urban space already due to multidirectional migration flows, including from the periphery to metropolitan cities and large cities. However, the migration experience did not become the leading marker of the stranger, although in a number of cases it was the experience of spatial movement that became key for determining the stranger (for example, Moscow 'limiters'). It can be assumed that the reason for this was the predominantly organised Soviet migrations, when each inhabitant could become a relocatable resource.

The legal option for describing the stranger becomes the language of ethnography, which recorded intergroup differences through predominantly ethnic discourse, both in the official academic position and, for example, in

the non-orthodoxal constructions of L.N. Gumilyov. The language of power in many respects was formed precisely on this basis, and partly dates back to the Stalin's "Marxism and the problems of linguistics". It legitimised precisely ethnic categories to describe intergroup differences, which naturally became the language for describing the stranger in the Soviet media. In turn, the Soviet media (newspapers, radio, television) formed the reality of the media, the discourse of which about the stranger was based largely on the ethnic categories. As a result, for the Soviet citizen, the language of ethnicity, together with the language of class differences, became the basis for describing personal experience of contact with the stranger. The strongest Soviet cinematic images of gypsies are quite characteristic in this sense (for example, "Gypsy", 1979, directed by A. Blank), in which the other way of life was interpreted through ethnic images.

It is no coincidence that it is ethnic categories that are widely distributed to describe and attribute certain properties and occupations to rather large groups that have fallen out of the Soviet system of functions and statuses. In most Soviet cities there was the image of the gypsy "pit" – the criminal districts, as a rule, in the "private housing sector", which concentrated not only the criminal, but also non-criminal extralegal practises (for example, the collecting of the "steklotara", i.e. empty glass bottles). Non-state construction teams of "Armenian shabashniks" were known throughout the USSR, in which representatives of Transcaucasia might not constitute a majority. Perhaps the image of a Georgian as a market-trader was just as stable.

The actualisation of ethnicity and the collapse of the Soviet Union dramatically increased the degree of otherness of the ethnically labeled strangers. Along with the set of foreign practices (cultural, economic, linguistic), ethnically different strangers become carriers of a priori mobility, migration experience if not of their own, then of previous generations. Representatives of the 'fraternal peoples', often living in a particular locality of Russia for several generations, becomes visitors, migrants. Migration and adaptation experience, together

with ethnicity, become key characteristics of the strangers and, to a large extent, begin to be identified with each other, giving rise to an inverse relationship between migration and ethnicity. It is significant that Russian-speaking migrants from the former Soviet republics to Russia in the first half of the 1990s were described by the host communities through the pseudo-ethnic category 'other Russians' (Vitkovskaya, 1999; Kiseleva, Damberg, 2001; Rotar', 2001): the presence of a migration symbol required ethnic characteristics to describe the group as well.

The emergence of cross-border migrants in Russia has become, first of all, one of the mechanisms for returning the figure and function of a trader to everyday life. This phenomenon required the search for new words and meanings not only to designate new actors, but also their role. Along with building new words and concepts, the old Soviet ideas about the traders called 'torgash' (profiteer), 'meshochnik' (haggler), 'spekulyant' (speculator), were updated. Habitual due to their own experience, or recognisable and borrowed from official history, these words gained new content and meaning, but steadily reproduced negative connotations. The language of ethnic categories, perhaps the only 'legal' categorical apparatus in the Soviet discourse for describing extra-class differences, becomes the generalising language of descriptions for former Soviet and new roles and statuses.

With the development of practices for interacting with them, the Chinese, Tajiks, Uzbeks, and 'Caucasians' acquired important functions for the host community, which smoothly transferred their status of the strangers as an integral part of 'us'. Along with overcoming the distance "We *versus* Others", the Soviet stereotype of a tradesman as a carrier of 'non-Soviet' values was gradually overcome. It does not seem accidental that in the descriptions of migrants the key feature is not the type of activity, but the migration experience (individual or group) through which the social position is described and attributed. However, their nomination as non-migrant, but ethnic groups continues to dominate the power, media and everyday discourse. According to E.V. Filippov-

va, this sets “a conceptual framework that can be called an ‘ethnic prism’ or ‘ethnic glasses’” (Filippova, 2019: 202).

This raises the problem of an increasingly acute discrepancy in the understanding of ethnic categories in academic, media, and everyday discourse. Whether it is the spontaneous primordialism of ‘expert knowledge’, or the cautious constructivism of academic texts by anthropologists, the use of ethnic categories already contextually defines the grouping of descriptions. A constructed or inalienable ‘ethnic’ identity, a connection with a group for one reason or another, arises here even against the will of the authors. The categorisation here, contrary to Roger Brubaker (Brubaker, 2012: 33), makes grouping, if not in the author’s ideas, then in the logic of media reality, where what a person read/saw/heard means more than their own experience (Luhmann, 2005).

On the contrary, ethnically the categories in the description of migrants and migrant groups at the household level have turned less into a tool for determining a group, but into a way for marking acceptable practices of interaction, ‘execution’ according to E. Goffman (Goffman, 2000), possible and approved in certain situations and no less clearly defined localities. Thus, ‘Chineseness’ perceived precisely as an ethnic category (especially in the context of spontaneous primordialism of the media), in everyday practice turns out to be a category that describes not a certain group, but the situation, urban locality and the practices which are allowed/approved here. It is noteworthy that the dominance and even the presence of the Chinese themselves is often not a necessary condition for determining a particular city locality (open-air market, store or service) as ‘Chinese’ (Grigoriev, 2018).

As we can see, ethnic categories in the daily descriptions of migration and migrants do not necessarily imply anchoring of grouping on the basis of ethnic solidarity or similarity of migration experience. However, reproduced in the media and as such falling into the research focus, such definitions can be endowed with ‘traditional’ meanings for researchers. As a result, the ‘Chinese car service’ from a specific one in terms of cost, quality and timescales of

service becomes an ethnically labeled migrant locality. In other words, the ‘ethnic prism’ as the dominant language for describing migration and migrants to a large extent turns out to be a question of the meanings invested in the corresponding categories by researchers, authorities, media, and ordinary people, each of which describes different realities using the same words. As a result, the language for describing migrants in the host society turns out to be many languages for describing multiple realities. Herewith, a purely academic discussion about the ‘death of the ethnic group theory’ (Tishkov, 2016) becomes not only a polemic about connecting the languages of different sciences and scientific generations, but also a purely applied problem of connecting migrant discourses of science, government, media, and everyday life.

#### **The voices of ‘migrants’: between formal legitimacy and informal approval**

Despite the question posed at the beginning of the article, it would be still an exaggeration to say that no one speaks on behalf of migrants. For about 30 years, national-cultural autonomies and communities (NCA and NCC) have been considered as traditional representatives of migrants in the dialogue with the authorities. Perhaps now it is impossible to find a single Russian region where these public organisations would not be considered by the authorities as representatives of migrant groups. A whole system of representation has been formed at the regional and federal levels, within the framework of which NCCs represent the interests of the ‘diasporas’ (Berg-Nordlie, Tkach, 2016: 181). However, as Galina Kalugina showed, the emergence of NCCs as representatives of migrants occurred not in the process of delegating by migrants to such organisations the right to represent their interests, but rather as a result of reconsidering the ‘national issue’ by the authorities, the framework of which included a new migration problem solving: “the contradictions between migrants and the local population were designated as national” (Kalugina, 2010: 93). It is indicative that already in the middle of the 2000s, ethnocultural and mi-

gration discourses in the activities of the authorities (at least the municipal one closest to the problems ‘on the ground’) are considered as different ones (Kalugina, 2010: 104), but NCCs continue to fulfill their proposed function of representing the interests of migrants.

In this sense, NCCs are usually described using the term ‘diasporas’, as observed by V.I. Dyatlov in a situation of democratisation (in the understanding of Reinhart Koselleck) and suggesting “the institutional nature of the diaspora, its organised nature, membership, leadership, etc.” (Dyatlov, 2017: 127). The basis for being described as a member of the diaspora is both migration experience and ethnicity in the primordialist sense. In other words, NCCs as ‘diasporas’ represent the interests of a group that is extremely blurred, the significant part of which does not have migration experience, or has it in a fairly distant past. The experience of interaction between authorities and ‘leaders of diasporas’ turned out to be more important here, which gives the first ones an opportunity to assign some responsibility for the actions of both the ethnic group and the ‘migrants’ assigned to it to NCCs, giving them symbolic power, and the latter to solve private issues in relations with power structures, often not related to migration issues (Berg-Nordlie, Tkach, 2016: 184). On the other hand, this approach allows to reproducing familiar ethnic categories not only in the description of migrants by the authorities and the media, but also in the self-descriptions of migrants. However, the big question remains whether the rhetoric of NCC leaders can be considered a form of self-description of any migrant groups.

An alternative to NCCs was public organisations of migrants, the largest of which is the Federation of Migrants of Russia (FMR), established in 2007. Created as an organisation of migrants and for migrants, one of its tasks on the official website, is “the formation of a positive image of a migrant in the minds of society”. The right to speak about migrants and on their behalf is set not only in the goals and objectives of the organisation, but also through the publication of the monthly newspaper *Migrants Today*. However, in the newspaper texts, migrants are present only as an object, deprived

of a voice, and therefore require an external description:

*“Migrants got to know a lot about traditional vacancies, such as cleaners, movers, pickers, and also got acquainted with vacancies for migrant women, for young people who speak Russian well and for qualified specialists” (Migrants Today, 2019, December, p. 2).* Here migrants turn out to be listeners, not speakers; words and meanings are not produced by them, and even, which is characteristic, not on their behalf, but for them.

An attempt to give the floor to the migrant is the FMR project “Migrant Stories”. Built as a video interview with migrants in various situations, the project really brings the migrant to communication with the audience. However, such communication is, firstly, mediated by the figures of the interviewer and director, determining the content and presentation of the video, and secondly, one-sided, since the reaction of the audience does not imply any feedback.

Migrants find themselves in the same position in the publications of “News of Labour Migration” – “an organ of the Central Committee of the Trade Unions of Migrant Workers”<sup>1</sup>: migrants here are almost faceless masses, in whose interests the organisation acts. Migrants themselves in the texts of the site are more likely an audience than a subject of communication. A representative example of the programmes of the weekly seminar conducted by this organisation is:

*“The programme of the seminar is as follows:*

- *coverage of issues related to the migration legislation of Russia, innovations in the legislation;*

- *questions of migrants and, accordingly, answers to all the most acute problems, analysis of situations;*

- *speeches for migrants delivered by trade union specialists, lawyers, invited experts”.*<sup>2</sup>

For all the variety of publications of such organisations, their rhetoric is united by a sim-

<sup>1</sup> Migrant Labour Union, available at: <http://www.profmigr.com/index.php> (03.04.2020)

<sup>2</sup> Seminar for migrants in the office of the Migrant Labour Union, available at: [http://www.profmigr.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=1351&Itemid=2](http://www.profmigr.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1351&Itemid=2) (03.04.2020)



ilar position of migrants: they are either an object of descriptions or an audience. In both cases they are represented as an almost completely depersonalised mass, not speaking in its own name. This is probably a natural consequence of the creation of organisations offering a vertical system of relations in one form or another. The delegated or assigned right to speak on behalf of migrants deprives them of subjectivity in communication.

Migrant electronic social media become a living organ producing the self-description language of migrants as direct speech. Forming as horizontal networks with applied tasks – the search for a solution to situational problems through an appeal to collective experience (see, for example, Timoshkin, 2019), migrant online forums have become self-presentation mechanisms. It is here that the migrant acquires subjectivity as a participant in the polylogue: in posts or comments on them, the discussion participants speak about themselves and on their own behalf. Outlining their stories with purely pragmatic goals (exploring opportunities, finding a solution to a problem, etc.), the migrants set out their story, their interests and intentions, creating a self-portrait of a particular person. Similarly, in the descriptions, personality traits are also acquired by representatives of the host society — officials, employers, and common people. Arising in the network ad hoc with the function of interaction's nodes, such resources are formed as a collective text, in which there is no single author or interpreter, and only a moderator can be a director who monitors compliance with the rules of the resource.

In this sense, the key difference between descriptions and self-descriptions of migrants produced in migrant social media is their personification. They contain the image of migrants as a group formed through a description of specific individuals, as opposed to other sources, where the characteristics of the group are extrapolated to each of its representatives. In a broader perspective, it is here that the humanisation as a whole of a rather successfully dehumanised image of a migrant takes place.

Migrant YouTube channels are becoming a new and so far extremely weakly reflected in

the academic text method of self-description of migrants. Having appeared quite recently, this phenomenon, however, has rapidly turned into a vast array of data on migrants and their interactions with host communities and the state. This source remains highly underestimated by researchers, despite the fact that, it is actually a slightly open door to a closed field. If in ordinary situations the researcher requires extraordinary efforts to get into this field as a “friendly”, and even more so, in the format of the included observation, then such channels, in fact, allow the anthropologist to see the behind-the-scenes life of migrant communities that are adapting in the country and region of arrival. The video content through ‘online observation’ (Roser, 2011) allows the researcher to be involved in “the inner working” of the adaptation process, reflecting both the details of interaction with government agencies and a wide range of everyday details of adaptation to the realities of the host country and region.

A retrospective analysis (Bassi et al., 2019) of comments on videos and video channels in general allows us to observe the process of interaction between new comers (or those just planning to migrate to Russia) with migrant communities adapted in the host country. In a broader sense, they allow to see the processes of building the interaction of new comers with migrant networks and the use of collective experience to build individual migration paths. These processes are fixated here as plots for individual videos, discussions, ratings, links to other, including online and offline migrants’ resources. Reconstruction of the processes of building such relationships allows to us see a system of relations, which often remains hidden from a researcher, even they having gained the access to the closed area.

Working as a tool for constructing individual migration paths and adaptation scenarios, video channels also become an important mechanism for the formation of social capital. The authors of such channels not only create entry points for a migrant in horizontal networks and the opportunity to join the collective experience. They not only show the real

life and problems of migrants, but also form the language that migrants speak with the host society. They (the authors of migrant YouTube channels) produce language and meanings that are relevant to the collective and personal experience of migrants, and, at the same time, understandable (or at least accessible to understanding) to representatives of the host society. As a result, such migrant video bloggers become mediators not only between newly arrived migrants and migrant groups adapted in Russia, but also between migrants and host communities.

The role of a mediator, which the authors of such video channels begin to take *de facto*, on the one hand, turns out to be less noticeable in everyday life: they are not included in the direct social interactions of migrants, as a result of which the opportunities for ‘cashing out’ social capital are not great. However, on the other hand, the role of the author of words and meanings turns them into a body that accumulates collective experience and speaks on their behalf, which opens less obvious, but larger-scale opportunities for the realisation of social capital.

One of the most important options for its use is the opportunity and the right to speak on behalf of migrants. The appearance of such “network” figures, entitled to represent migrants as broad communities, is almost more significant than the formation of a channel for transmitting the collective experience of a group (migrants) for newcomers. The emergence, albeit in the future, of an alternative to the “leaders of diasporas” (Dyatlov, 2017) gives a chance to change the group view of migrants to an individual, and therefore the opportunity to return the migrant’s personality to the discourses of the host society.

It is also important that the privatisation of the right to speak on behalf of migrants takes place here without the transfer of an ‘exclusive license’. The right to speak on behalf of migrants is not institutionalised for video bloggers ‘from above’, as is the case with NCC leaders, but is rather “bottom up”. It is determined not by a complex system of relations within NCCs, which is ambiguous not only to an outside observer, but also to members of migrant com-

munities, but by the number of views, likes and dislikes – a system that is noticeably more transparent and verifiable. The verification tool also becomes the amount of comments under the video, which directly or indirectly confirms not only the authenticity of the broadcast experience, but also its applicability in similar situations.

It should be emphasised that the language of many migrant channels is Russian. This is not only its setting as a *lingua franca* and a communication strategy that ensures successful interaction with migrant networks that are different in the country of origin, mother tongues, occupation and regions of residence. This means that the Russian language confidently entrenched itself not only in the Internet space, but in the everyday life of traditional migrant places: markets, construction sites, catering establishments (Grigorichev, Guzey, 2017). Russian-language migrant YouTube channels also become a tool for constructing a mutual description language, which is offered on behalf of migrants to the host community. In fact, this is an attempt to present migrants beyond the reality of official media, bringing the description of migrants beyond the stereotypical representations of the media and social media to the plane of individual interactions. In a way, this is an attempt to deconstruct the migrant’s media image and transfer it from the group to the human dimension. It is important to note here that on some migrant YouTube channels such a premise is present directly, as a disclaimer, either as a whole channel or for individual stories, which suggests the reflexive nature of the construction of migrants’ self-description language for the host society.

Migrant YouTube channels are becoming not an alternative, but rather an important addition to the ‘migrant’ cinema, the most striking example of which in recent years has been the drama “Ayka” (2018, directed by S. Dvortsevov). Even though the created images are quite acute, this and other films remain examples, rather, of art-house cinema, and therefore are focused on fairly narrow groups of ‘intelligent viewers’. The target audience of migrant video channels, by contrast, is as broad as possible and claims to cover, if not

the entire host society, then a significant part of it that is encountered in everyday interactions and which, importantly, lives on close stories and problems.

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It can be stated that today in Russia the languages for mutual description of the host society by migrants and migrants by the host society appear to be quite different. Despite more than thirty years of interaction experience and undoubtedly the existing dynamics (which requires at least an independent article), up to this day in Russia there has still not been a more or less stable consensus of mutual representations and descriptions. Moreover, we can confidently say that the host society is not at all familiar with the language of migrants, which they use to describe themselves and the communities of the country and the region of arrival. This creates the image of parallel worlds, not inter-

secting realities, aliens from which are almost as far apart from each other as a foreigner from the Soviet citizen.

At the same time, everyday practices demonstrate the inclusion of migrants in the joint use of urban infrastructure with their host communities and even its formation. The common of space encourages to search for a language of mutual description, its development in the process of everyday contacts. It can be assumed that this process is more productive at a horizontal level in the process of folding informal networks, both migrant and mixed, than in a dialogue between authorities and representatives of migrants, whose legitimacy is guaranteed by authorities, and not by ordinary members of the group. The language of social media in this perspective is not only another field for the researcher, but also a good platform for finding the language of mutual descriptions.

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## Принимающее общество и мигранты: в поисках языков взаимных описаний

К.В. Григоричев<sup>а,б</sup>, Н.П. Копцева<sup>в</sup>

<sup>а</sup>Иркутский государственный университет

Российская Федерация, Иркутск

<sup>б</sup>Национальный исследовательский

Томский государственный университет

Российская Федерация, Томск

<sup>в</sup>Сибирский федеральный университет

Российская Федерация, Красноярск

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**Аннотация.** Статья открывает подборку исследований, посвященных проблеме выработки языков взаимного описания мигрантов и принимающего общества. Авторы рассматривают поставленную проблему, с одной стороны, через призму неоднородности языка описания мигрантов в принимающем обществе, а с другой – через отсутствие легитимных представителей мигрантов, представляющих их в диалоге с российским обществом. Предлагается взгляд на причины доминирования этнического дискурса в описании мигрантов и миграционной ситуации и широкого плюрализма в использовании этнических категорий при описании миграции. Показывается, что мигранты не принимают участия в выработке риторики организаций, признаваемых властью в качестве их легитимных представителей. Ставится вопрос о формировании новых представителей мигрантских групп, чья легитимность опирается не на полномочия, делегированные властью, а на признание горизонтальными сообществами. Предполагается, что на основе сетевых репрезентаций происходит формирование механизма гуманизации образа мигрантов через возвращение им субъектности в коммуникации с принимающим обществом.

**Ключевые слова:** языки описания, принимающее общество, мигранты, этничность, горизонтальные сети, YouTube.

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## From the “Influx of the Yellow Race” to “Migrant Workers”: Dynamics of the Languages for Describing Cross-Border Migrations in Russia

Victor I. Dyatlov<sup>a,b</sup> and Elena V. Dyatlova<sup>a\*</sup>

<sup>a</sup>*Irkutsk State University*

*Irkutsk, Russian Federation*

<sup>b</sup>*National Research Tomsk State University*

*Tomsk, Russian Federation*

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**Abstract.** The phenomenon of mass cross-border labour migrations to Russia of the late imperial and post-Soviet periods was in an urgent need of comprehension in order to build relationships (for the population) and to “manage the process” (for the authorities). The novelty of the phenomenon required the formation of a corpus of migration terminology, both ordinary and official, public one. The importance of studying the issue lies in the fact that both the understanding of the phenomenon and the relation to it are implied in the terms, and a discourse is formed with their help. In the late imperial era, the familiar terminology of citizenship and social class was used, and ethnic categories started being applied. However, the key metaphor was the term “the influx of the yellow race”. It implied the idea of migration as a natural spontaneous process and of migrants as a part of racially alien persons. The Soviet era preserved the dominance of primordialist ethnic discourse, which prevailed at the first stage of the post-Soviet era migration process. However, it was soon supplemented and then replaced by social and, particularly, migration terminology. A “Chinese” becomes a “Chinese migrant”, and then simply a “migrant”, followed by a “migrant worker”. These dynamics did not mean a complete replacement of one system of representations and the description language with another; the hierarchy of discourses changed. However, it clearly demonstrates a change in the attitude of the host Russian society towards migrants and the migration situation in general.

**Keywords:** migrations, migrants, late imperial Russia, post-Soviet Russia, migration terms, “influx of the yellow race”, “Chinese migrant”, “migrant worker”, “Tajik”.

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\* Corresponding author E-mail address: vikdyatlov@yandex.ru, dyatlovae@mail.ru

ORCID: 0000-0002-2348-797X (Dyatlova); 0000-0003-3584-6009 (Dyatlov)

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The late imperial and post-Soviet situations in Russia formed not only new ways of life, but also new words, images, metaphors, new understandings and discourses. And the situation of the "two waves" of cross-border migrant workers, separated by the era of the Iron Curtain, when they were completely unnoticeable in everyday life and historical memory, provides great opportunities for comparison and analysis. Of course, it is necessary to take into account the difference in scales – the cross-border migrant workers of the late imperial era concentrated in one, although strategically important region. They were critically important mainly for the development and simply for the existence of the Far East. For the post-Soviet era, it was already the factor of national importance. The scale and structure of migration flows radically differ. Accordingly, the situation of mass, daily and ordinary contacts with migrants expanded to the scale of the whole society.

It is impossible to say that by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Russia did not have experience in regulating cross-border migrations. Engagement of foreigners in the public service, resettlement of entire religious or national groups from other countries as agrarian colonists on newly developed lands, and their endowment with special rights, privileges and obligations – all this contributed the formation of relevant legal norms, state mechanisms and systems of practices.

Nevertheless, both waves of cross-border migrant workers became an absolutely new problem for Russian society and the authorities, and as a result – a big shock. And there is more to it than the scale and burst nature of the migration flows, the novelty of their cross-border nature, the huge impact on the host society and the negative reaction of this society to the problem. This is, of course, also the case. But the main thing is the spontaneous, independent on the state will nature of these migrations that was unique to the Russian experience. For the first time, a huge number of people crossed and

cross the Russian border of their own choice and decision, outside the framework of state-organised, regulated and sponsored programmes.

In addition, the state border is acquiring a new quality, its role in the regulation of interstate and intrastate relations and processes is increasing immeasurably. The fact of crossing the border and related formalities are acquiring tremendous symbolic and practical significance.

The state could have a positive, negative or neutral attitude to external migration, but in any case, it should have developed and implemented a certain policy, created normative and institutional tools, and formed a system of bureaucratic practices. And to do this following the rapidly developing process, stressed by the intolerable for the bureaucracy feeling of losing control over the situation.

Society, ordinary people and average citizens can also experience a state of frustration facing with an unexpectedly appearing mass of new aliens that differ in their appearance, behaviour, lifestyle, language, a system of moral standards, taboos, etc. In the conditions of urban mass society, migrants can no longer exist in the form of territorially and/or socially isolated class type groups, in a situation of minimal communication with the host society. The scales of everyday and common contacts and interaction in the economic, social, and cultural fields radically expands. And not only at the level of groups, but at the level of people, individuals. There is an urgent need to build a typical model of relationships and to develop a set of relevant stereotypes.

Therefore, the phenomenon is in an urgent need of comprehension in order to build relationships (for the population) and try to "manage the process" (for the authorities). To comprehend it is necessary to name. But to name also means to assess. Therefore, the formation of migration terminology, both common and official ones, is an important indicator of the "state of minds". An aspect of the problem that was called by R. Koselleck

ideologisation and politicisation of the term (Slovar' osnovnykh, 2014: 27-32) is even more important. It is a situation when terms form an attitude and encourage actions. It is important for us to understand how the description language reflected and shaped public moods, to reveal the possible dynamics of the process, and to raise the question of its continuity or discreteness. At the same time, there is no task of criticising how the "linguistic formation of migration terminology" and, moreover, participation in the important work of "forming a unified semantics of the migration field" took place (Gulina, 2016).

***"The influx of the yellow race":***

**cross-border migrants**

**in the pre-revolutionary Far East**

The annexation of the Far East to Russia in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the development of this vast and incredibly remote from the capital city region (the "distant outskirts", according to the common definition of those years), required the creation of a primary administrative, military, communication, and economic infrastructure, its maintenance, and the support of elementary life-sustaining activity of the emerging population. This fact created a huge solvent demand for labour, which was simply impossible to satisfy using only Russian resources. It created a big and constantly growing influx of labour migrants from neighbouring countries: from China and, to a lesser extent, from Korea and Japan. Their role in the strategically important region was so substantial that it was perceived as an overall imperial problem which required introduction of a special policy.

The predominant flow from China consisted of temporary, mostly seasonal male migrants. Hence the migration strategy, aimed at temporary stay in Russia and minimal adaptation to the host society. There are no accurate estimates of their numbers due to constant changes, seasonality, as well as poor recording and control. But in some years, it was more than one hundred thousand people (according to A.G. Larin, 200-250 thousand in 1910), i.e. it accounted for 10-12% of the region's population (Larin, 2009: 20-21).

By 1912, the number of migrants from Korea was estimated at 65 thousand people, including 17 thousand who had Russian citizenship (Petrov, 2001: 46). According to the form – migrant workers but, in fact, almost refugees from the unbearable living conditions. They strived for Russian citizenship, and for this purpose they massively converted to Orthodoxy, sought to give their children Russian education and knowledge of the language. Being the lowest paid and disenfranchised layer of labour force in gold mines and in the urban economy, they occupied a prominent place in agriculture. A lot of them managed to get Russian citizenship, the right to land and the possibility to create their own villages. Small, but energetic Russified elite with modern education was being formed.

There were few Japanese migrants, about five thousand people in 1902, but they found their niche in the economy, taking up occupations that required modern education and craft skills.

This was, apparently, the first case of mass cross-border labour migrations in the history of Russia not organised by the empire authorities. This labour force was the basis of agriculture, gold mining, construction, the service sector and personal services, as well as trade and catering.

This situation required comprehension and verbalisation. The main producers of meanings and words were military and civil servants of the capital and the region, as well as journalists, travellers and scientists. They usually had great colonial experience, a high humanitarian culture, excellent analytical skills, and good knowledge of the regional situation. This allowed them to freely use, and if necessary, to create, predominantly domestic conceptual and terminological resources.

The problems of migrants' naturalisation were solved in the usual categories of nationality and citizenship (Pozniak, 2004; Lohr, 2017; Glebov, 2017). This is not to say that the small and only emerging state apparatus of the "far outskirts" coped with this extremely difficult thing perfectly, but the mechanism for issuing visas, documents, registration, collecting duties, etc. functioned. In solving these problems,

it was necessary to enter complex, sometimes conflict, negotiations with the authorities of the Qing Empire, Japan and Korea (before the establishment of the Japan's protectorate). The problem of receiving and naturalising Korean migrants was particularly controversial. All this formed a set of routine bureaucratic practices and procedures, developed records management and relevant terminology.

The social class approach was customary. It is no coincidence that conversion to Orthodoxy was an obligatory condition for granting Russian citizenship. The future Governor General P.F. Unterberger noted that "Koreans-ploughmen who were granted Russian citizenship were equated with peasant societies and peasant public self-government was extended to them" (Unterberger, 1900: 116). They were ranked to the social class of state peasants and in many cases were described in this way.

In a sense, the so-called "Zazeiskie Manchurians" can be considered as a social class group. It was a sedentary peasant population (about 7000 Chinese, Manchu and Daur in 1900) of the Zazeisky district, adjacent to Blagoveshchensk. Under the Treaty of Aigun, its inhabitants remained under the jurisdiction of the Chinese authorities.

The widespread use of the term "manzi" can be considered in the same context. This is not exactly an ethnonym (since both the Hanzu and Manchu were called manzi), but it is not a characteristic of citizenship either. This was the first name of all settled and "wandering" Chinese of the region at the time of its accession to Russia, and then of all immigrants from China, including seasonal migrants.

Ethnic discourse ("nationality") was intensively gaining influence. The terms *Chinese*, *Koreans*, *Japanese* were widely used, as ethnonyms as well. This is especially noticeable in the case of Koreans, many of whom were born in Russia, had Russian citizenship, converted to Orthodoxy, and were assigned to the peasant class. But they were habitually considered as Koreans.

However, the traditional categories of citizenship and social class, as well as ethnic discourse and terminology that were quickly entering into circulation, evidently did not satisfy

society and the authorities. Ethnic categories seemed to be too particular and not operational at all. On the other hand, the authorities did not consider migrants from the neighbouring states of the Far East as ordinary foreigners, subjects of general policy and legal regulation. This was directly formulated during an attempt to introduce the first migration legislation in the history of the country at the initiative of Amur Governor General P.F. Unterberger. According to his categorical assessment, "our laws concerning the rights of foreigners living in the Russian territory are in many ways absolutely inappropriate for the Chinese" (Unterberger, 1900: 274).

The response to the formed request was given by a worldwide complex of ideas about the world, ideologies, stereotypes, fears and prejudices, known as the "yellow peril". It was based on a racial approach, proceeding from the presumption of the natural, organic belonging of a person to the "race", in which biological characteristics predetermine intellectual, moral and spiritual qualities, as well as a person's lifestyle, behaviour, value system and group loyalty. Belonging to the "race" as a natural object is not a matter of personal choice, since you cannot choose skin colour or eye shape.

Using this approach made it possible to transfer the principles of legal regulation and specific management practices from the categories of citizenship, ethnicity and socio-economic status ("migrants") to the category of race. And that means getting the basis for a specific attitude and a specific policy.

The most striking manifestation of the racial approach was the generally accepted use of the epithet "yellow". It was used widely and freely, as a normal and habitual word in everyday speech by the representatives of both ordinary people and the elite class. It was used by journalists, researchers, departmental analysts, officials and senior administrators. At the same time, the word "yellow" could have different implications – from emphasising racial connotations ("yellow race") to convenient aggregation of the total of Chinese, Koreans, and Japanese. The word "yellow" could imply an assessment (most often negative one), but it could also be neutral. However, in any case, it



is a manifestation of an absolute and natural foreignness. The nature and essence of relationships and fears are concentrated in the epithet "yellow". This is the dominant discourse, but not just a part of a randomly formed term and concept.

The widespread not only in Russia practice of evaluating the Chinese as "The Jews of the Orient" complements it. The King of Siam, for instance, wrote a book with such title. For Russia, such a comparison was at the intersection of class, ethnic, and racial understanding, which was based on the category of "petty trading". Assessment of these groups as natural ("race") carriers of the entrepreneurial principle, assessed as an inevitable, but undesirable and condemned element of reality.

The epithet "yellow" is used along with ethnonyms. Literate audience, as well as a significant part of illiterate population, especially in the Far East, knew that there were Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Mongols, etc. A lot of them understood the differences between them. When analysing specific phenomena and processes in the region, officials, military men and professional experts were traditionally applying these categories.

They clearly saw the difference in migration strategies of different ethnic groups. The administration policy was often formed in accordance with this. The anti-Korean campaign of Governor General P.F. Unterberger, a well-known researcher and expert of the region, was based on a clear understanding of the fact that Koreans are excellent colonisation material: hard working, loyal, ready for integration, useful, and simply irreplaceable people in the agricultural sector. However, unlike his predecessors, he was afraid of precisely these qualities. The essence of his policy was concentrated in the phrase that he prefers to see the Far East as a desert for the Russians, but not a blooming garden for the "yellow". He saw the region as a reserve territory and a place of residence for the future generations of Russians. Therefore, he did not welcome the settlement of their potential competitors in the region. He preferred temporary guests, "migratory birds," the Chinese, who were not looking for a new home

here, but an opportunity for earning money (Grave, 1912: 137).

The language strategy of his project – restrictive measures against the Koreans, as a tool to combat the "yellow", were relevant. Koreans, whose adaptation efforts were obvious, were not recognised as future Russians because they were "yellow".

Asian subjects of the empire, like Buryats or Yakuts, were not rated as the "yellow". A class system of categories was used, and in the last years of the empire, the ethnic system appeared as well. Although, the racial approach could arise in some cases here. The idea of resettlement of the Transbaikalian Buryats into the inner regions of the empire due to the fact that "in the impending war with Japan, they were considered as potential allies of the yellow race" (Dameshek, 2016: 41) had been discussed in the highest government spheres, but it did not find support.

Assessing the situation generally, it can be mentioned that specific problems of the region's development and the issues of its management related to migrants, were usually considered in terms of social class, ethnicity or citizenship. But as soon as the analysis concerned formation of geopolitics, strategy and a general vision of the region's role in the country and in the world, the "yellow" discourse started its domination. This fact can be confirmed by the works of such insightful and competent analysts as V.V. Grave and V.K. Arsenyev. This can be clearly traced in such strategic documents as the Annual Most Humble Reports of the Amur Governor Generals.

Here is a distinctive and almost typical assessment from the Most Humble Report of the Amur Governor General (dated 1893, 1894 and 1895), "The yellow race that had been resting on the Pacific coasts for many years, has now been disturbed by intrusive strangers and involuntarily perked up... They faced the impending European domination. The head of this race, Japan, has risen. Its population, based on its island position and the mix of energetic and intelligent Malay blood, is the brain and nerve centres of the giant body – China and Korea. The battle, while still indistinct, between the five hundred million yellow race and the Eu-

ropean descendants has begun" (Vsepoddanneishii otchet Priamurskogo..., 1895: 167). "The Race" appears as a single living organism that can rest, perk up and raise its head. It is distinctive that this is a thorough and detailed analysis of the situation with migrants in the region. The benefits and risks of the presence of the Chinese, Koreans and Japanese, but not the aggregated "yellow", are assessed.

Not everybody in Russia shared the idea of the "yellow peril", but it was typically not accompanied by protests against the use of the epithet "yellow" itself or its neglect in their own texts. Even an opponent of the racial theory, a political exile-populist and an outstanding researcher of Siberia D. Klements, fundamentally and reasonably rejecting the "yellow peril" and the possibility of uniting such different nations as Chinese, Japanese and Mongols for joint expansion against Europe, habitually uses this terminology, even without quotation marks (Klements, 1905).

Thus, there is a predominance of racial terminology, while using the categories of citizenship, social class and ethnicity. And, at the same time, there is no conflict, all these words can be used in the texts of one author, depending on the context and situation.

However, the need for migration vocabulary itself was obvious. The terms used to describe internal migration processes were not suitable in this case and were hardly used. The word migrant itself was hardly ever used; the apparent lack of socio-economic understanding of the problem was insignificantly compensated by the widespread use of the category "*yellow labour*". Specialists publications contain its expert analysis: sectoral and regional dynamics of the use of Chinese and Korean labour, its wage level, cost structure, as well as the scale of export of the rouble supply from the country (L.G., 1916; Mezhdovedomstvennoe soveshchanie...; Grave, 1912; Matsokin, 1911; Panov, 1910; Predvaritel'nye itogi..., 1925). Herewith, the word "yellow" was not less but, perhaps, even more important than the word "labour". The position of M. Kovalevsky is a clear exception here: "while Chinese labour is of seasonal nature, it does not threaten a permanent Chinese settle-

ment in our eastern outskirts, and, therefore, it cannot cause serious political concerns" (Kovalevsky, 1909).

The metaphor "influx", which was widely used in everyday speech, the public sphere, bureaucratic practice and documents of the highest level is the closest to the migration discourse. For instance: "Journals of meetings of the commission to develop the measures to stop the influx of foreigners into our western suburbs" (Lohr, 2017; 118). There was a clear tendency for transforming the metaphor into a term.

The choice of exactly this metaphor says a lot. The meanings of spontaneous, almost natural (like a flood, for example) and catastrophic nature are concentrated in the word "influx". There is no reverse movement, and therefore, the idea of a constant spontaneous unregulated inflow that threatens to become a flood of biblical proportions is formed. Hence the negative connotation: the "influx" is a flood, a disaster that must be fought. And since it is a cataclysm, a natural phenomenon, in this case there is no migrant, no decision-maker and no subject of action here. The movement is dehumanised; it does not appear to be the result of people's conscious choice and activity.

The "influx", as an almost natural and tectonic movement, it is organically linked with the category of the "yellow race" and with the racial approach. It was verbally implemented in one of the most common phrases of that situation, country and era – "*the influx of the yellow race*." These words became a key working metaphor, almost a term.

An attempt to combine the understanding of citizenship, race and migration could sometimes create serious political and administrative problems. The draft of the first migration law in the history of Russia, proposed by the Far Eastern administration of P.F. Unterberger and the Ministry of the Interior, was based on the need to limit the influx and use of the "yellow" migrants' labour. There was an attempt to create a special legal status for them, different from other foreigners. This led to the resolute opposition from the Foreign Ministry, since for the ministry they were citizens of China, whose status could not be different from the status of

other foreign nationals and citizens (Sorokina, 2009; Dyatlov, 2000).

Thus, within the framework of the dominant discourse of the "influx of the yellow race", ethnic, socio-economic ("yellow labour") and migratory approaches were gradually formed. And despite all the obvious contradictions, they did not go beyond this common discursive field, they were sometimes considered as its essential and integral parts, but they were preparing the ground for the formation of independent approaches and conceptions for the future. This work was interrupted by the socialist era, which made the topic of mass cross-border migration irrelevant for a long period.

***"A person of geographical nationality":  
the Soviet era vocabulary***

In the early years of the Soviet regime the situation with cross-border migrants was largely a continuation of the pre-revolutionary one – there was a combination of mass migration with attempts to establish state control in the Far East. This was complemented by a policy of forcing migrants out of commercial entrepreneurship. The category "yellow" can sometimes be found in the Soviet texts of the 1920s. The "Great Break" became a dividing line in this case as well. The pendulum labour migration was stopped and the Chinese who remained in the country were partially forced out, deported or destroyed. They were completely forgotten for a long time. Koreans and Chinese (as groups) were forced out or deported from the Far East for the fear that they might become the "fifth column" for Japan. And the only thing that gave reason to believe in such a collaboration was their "yellowness".

Then the country was closed for many years and the problem of cross-border migrants disappeared from social practice and mass consciousness. Cross-border migrations were sometimes practiced in the form of transfers organised by the authorities during the establishment and change of borders.

And when a new, massive, time-compressed influx of cross-border migrants began, a weak willingness to comprehend, and for this to name a phenomenon, appeared again. The process went on spontaneously, by trial and er-

ror method. As it usually happens, new words and images originally came from earlier times and realities. What could the Soviet era offer in this sense?

The category of citizenship, naturally, did not disappear. However, the situation of closed country formed in the Soviet society additional complexes of "abroad" and "foreigners", which were oversaturated with meanings and connotations that went far beyond the legal relationship between a person and the state (On The "Unique Soviet Concept *Zagranitsa*" see: Yurchak, 2016: 311-314). A "foreigner" is not just a citizen of another state. This is a person from "abroad", from another world, another culture, a bearer of a different lifestyle. The incarnate "different" and "alien". In a way, a "repatriate," a person, although of Russian origin, but who arrived from "abroad", from an alien world, who experienced its influence and, therefore, aroused cautious and suspicious curiosity, adjoined this complex.

The complex of a "petty trader" – a carrier of alien values and a lifestyle is indirectly connected with "abroad". Official propaganda and mass traditionalist anti-market mindsets united and gave a powerful effect in its formation and functioning. Taking into account the development (especially during the "era of stagnation") of shadow market relations, their status and prestige, as well as their place in the social hierarchy (both official and unofficial ones) were low. Probably (but this requires a separate study), the attitude was different in some national Soviet republics, especially in the Caucasus. On the whole, moral condemnation of "petty trading", coinciding with its ideological condemnation and legal prohibitions prevailed.

This attitude also partially extended to the "shabashniks" – seasonal workers of the 1960-80s. This was a mass and stable migration phenomenon of those years, which actually formed the labour market in the period its legal prohibition and ideological condemnation (Valetov, 2008; Siegelbaum, Moch, 2014: 16-65). And the noticeable role of the people from the southern republics of the country with manpower-surplus, noted and marked by the population through the generic name "Arme-



nians", gave this phenomenon a national and sometimes racial connotation.

Directly or indirectly, all these images, ideas and words were correlated or directly derived from the key for the dominant ideology discourse of the "ideological issue", "national relations" and "national policy". "National policy" was an essential part of the state policy and state formation, and the view of life, of social relations and relations through the prism of "national" (i.e. primordial-ethnic) is a natural and almost monopolistic position of the vast majority of Soviet people.

The direct link of "nationality" to origin and "blood" spur into racial connotations. Hence the massive use of such explicitly racist and offensive words as "blacks", "blackheads", "khachiks", "jiggaboos", etc. in everyday speech (Merlin, Radvani, 2003). However, this was officially condemned by the authorities. The preliminary censorship institute allowed them to keep this discourse outside of public space.

In concentrated form in the late Soviet years these discourses merged in the image of a "Caucasian" – a temporary migrant from a Soviet, but culturally alien province. In the 1960s and 1980s, there was a flow of labour migrants from there that mainly escaped state control and regulation: the "shabashniks" and vegetables, flowers and fruit market traders. This created the image of a person who is actively and successfully engaged in semi-legal entrepreneurial activity, not approved by the authorities and condemned by public opinion. In addition to that this person had specific appearance, behaviour and domestic culture characteristics. "Profiteers", "strangers", "blacks" (as a marker of cultural alienation) are the main components of this stereotype.

The power bureaucratic discourse "imprinted" into the odious formula "a person of Caucasian nationality." The phrase was invented in the Soviet era either by army political workers or by officials of the labour camp system or the services of the Ministry of the Interior (Levinson, 2005; Pal'veleva, 2008), who tried to comprehend and formalise the most complicated system of social relations and ties in national categories. All of a sudden for them,

it turned out to be oversaturated with meanings. Moreover, the meanings were pejorative. This was facilitated by the overlapping of the meanings "face – person" and "face – physiognomy", and the obvious absurdity of distinguishing "geographical nationality". All these transferred the phrase into an obviously racial and racist field. Although, according to the director of the Institute of Linguistics of the Russian State University for the Humanities, Maxim Krongauz, it was a bureaucratically clumsy, but still a way to remove offensive or simply insulting implication when naming ethnonyms.

The word "Caucasian" (in quotation marks and without them) is widely used, but with a tinge of doubt about its political correctness. Theoretically, it is in the same semantic tier as a "European", for instance, including not only geographical, but also sociocultural and sometimes even racial connotations. However, the word "European" does not cause protest and is widely and freely used. It is more difficult with a "Caucasian"...

#### **The Post-Soviet situation:**

##### ***"There is such a nationality – migrant workers"***

A new massive influx of cross-border migrant workers started in the late 1980s – early 1990s. In a short period of time they managed to become both an extremely important element of the economic and social structure, and an annoying, heatedly debated problem for the society, authorities and the research community. It already concerns millions of people, immigrants, mainly from the countries of Central Asia and China. They may be radically different from each other in a cultural sense but occupy the same social niche. Most of them were temporary migrants, but a layer of people that are oriented towards prolonged or permanent residence was gradually formed. The problem was intensively studied, there was already a more or less adequate idea on the dynamics and structure of the migration flow, on the importance of migrants for the economic and social life of the host society (Migratsiia v Rossii, 2013).

The migration theme was actively mastered by the authorities and the population. It has been already noted that initially they

were not ready for this, did not have the corresponding images, words and stereotypes. Great pre-revolutionary experience was almost completely lost, it disappeared from historical memory. Nevertheless, despite the relatively young age of the phenomenon, Russian society had already gone through several stages of its comprehension and verbalisation. These stages, which were both models and strategies of understanding, can be very arbitrarily described through the images of the "Caucasian", "Chinese migrant", "Tajik" and "migrant worker". The change (but not complete elimination) of the prevailing discourse depended both on the dynamics of the actual migration situation and the intensity of the host society attention. These factors could coincide, but there was no complete correlation between them.

The image of the "Caucasian" was directly inherited from the Soviet era. It was updated and strengthened by the "bulk" influx from the Caucasus (both Russian and gaining independence) of hundreds of thousands of new migrants. Massive and everyday contacts with new migrants, mostly carriers of traditionalist rural culture, created a situation of a sharp contrast and a conflict of types and manners of behaviour. The differences between rural and urban cultures were evaluated in the usual "national", that is, primordial ethnic categories. The conflict intensified the orientation of most migrants to employment in highly competitive small and medium-sized businesses, as well as the visible success of some of them. A part of the Russian elite deliberately formed the "image of the enemy" from immigrants from the Caucasus.

All the fears of the transitional era were concentrated in the image of the "Caucasian": a sense of defencelessness against the "rampant market", against mass individual violence, which replaced state violence, and against the collapse of the old hierarchy of values and social relations. It was a frustration of people who suddenly found themselves in a world where previously pursued, condemned and despised qualities and abilities (individualism, community and community solidarity, an entrepreneurial lifestyle and related skills, abilities and values) turned out to be a key resource for survival and capturing resources. Now "Cau-

casians" are "guests" and "arrogant strangers" who do not want to respect the orders and customs of the "hosts". "Petty traders" who were imposing a hostile system of values. People connected with the mutual responsibility of community relations, therefore bearing collective responsibility (Dyatlov, 2008). The factor of citizenship does not play a significant role, the society is getting used to the existence of a "new expatriate community" and does not perceive it as a real foreign country. To a large extent, the "Caucasian" complex is a product of the "national discourse".

As a result, the annoyance of the late Soviet era and domestic grumble became almost a paranoia. However, by the late 1990s, "Caucasian phobia" paled into insignificance. The migration wave decreased and lost its former "bulk" nature. As a result of the quick adaptation of migrants, they ceased to be distinguished by their behaviour and lifestyle. It became clear that it was not "Caucasian ethnicity", not appearance or racial characteristics ("black") that disturbed people earlier and stimulated fear and hostility, but a model of behaviour, way of life and lifestyle. The negative image of a "petty trader" was disappearing. The opening of borders, as well as mass and daily contacts with the previously mythologised "abroad" pushed the stereotype of the "foreigner" far aside.

All this revealed weak tool capabilities of the construct of "nationality" and "national relations". The authorities, which rushed to pursue a "national policy", creating appropriate institutions and developing regulatory documents for this in the 1990s, quickly lost interest to this. The corresponding ministry was closed, relations with national and cultural societies were routinised and lost their former significance.

The sudden appearance of numerous migrants from China in the early 1990s was an absolute surprise for the vast majority of Russians. Moreover, it was a huge shock. The old Chinese diaspora disappeared, was forced out or destroyed during the Soviet era. This case has gone to the outskirts of historical memory and is perceived as a completely new one by the current generation.

The massive presence of Chinese migrants did not form the atmosphere of everyday habitual, routine human contact with them, even as conflict as the one with the "Caucasians". At least relatively individualised contact – through colleagues, business partners, permanent and personally familiar traders, and through joint work. Therefore, perhaps, there is no special incentive to form an individualised image of a Chinese. This seems strange against the background of a huge number of journalistic publications, social and political essays, statements by politicians and officials, and the growing number of scientific studies. Chinese migrants are regular characters of television programmes, as well as news items and special films. But there are practically no **faces** even in television footage. There is no interest to an individual person, to his/her face, life and fate. There is interest to **function, to mass**, to undivided and not individualised mass. It is the mass that is feared, precisely the mass, the quantity that underlies the formation of various constructs about the "demographic expansion" and the "yellow peril." The metaphor of the "ant", so widespread before the revolution, arises now – the truth is used less often.

Petty traders, construction workers and all labour migrants from China, immediately started to be called the "*Chinese*." And this word was also used, for example, for Chinese Koreans, quite numerous at first. A "Chinese" in this sense is an ethnic Chinese, a resident of China, and a citizen of the People's Republic of China. This, of course, is not a "foreigner" in the Soviet sense, but a representative, a part of a giant power, with which, not a long time ago, relations were on the verge of military confrontation. It was this acutely felt presence of a huge and growing country behind the migrants' backs that almost immediately pushed the ethnic side of the category "Chinese" aside and highlighted and emphasised the sovereign side and the problem of citizenship. This was a significant difference from the "image of the Caucasian", where the problem of citizenship was insufficient, if it presented at all.

If at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries China was seen more as a space, rather than a real carrier of sovereign power, now such a

view is basically impossible. Now, in the ideologists' concepts and in the mass consciousness, this is a superpower whose economic and military power was initially directed outward, at least under the pressure of a gigantic and rapidly growing population and the general limited nature of its resources. Migrants are regarded as an absolutely loyal and obedient instrument, a tentacle of this giant state. In the constructs of the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries a Chinese looks much less etatised, dissolved not in the state, but in the group, in the "race."

The epithet "yellow", which was fundamentally important for the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, was almost out of use. It is preserved in the phrase "yellow peril", but rather as a component of an established term. This is hardly the result of political correctness. Rather, it is a consequence of the fact that a powerful and, possibly, predominant in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century racial discourse in the analysis of social relations and problems became not so relevant. Racism, of course, survived, and racial differences are observed and really affect the nature of human ties and relationships, but mass ideas about the insurmountable abyss between races and perception of representatives of a different race as aliens, generally became a thing of the past. The transition from "yellow" to "Chinese" seems to the authors of the present paper to be a fundamental difference in the most basic characteristics of the image of a Chinese of the two eras under consideration.

The obvious shift from ethnic, "national" understanding and assessment of the problem was expressed in the fact that the definition of "*a Chinese migrant*" entered the socio-political circulation, the mass media, and the ordinary ideas and speech of ordinary people and quickly became dominant. This is an indicator of a clear shift of attention from the sphere of cultural characteristics to a socio-economic function, to the role of the Chinese in the Russian society. At the same time, there was a process of shifting from "*Chinese*" to "*migrant*" within this formula. "*Chinese nature*" remained a significant marker of belonging to the state, rather than culture and ethnic group.

The next powerful migration wave was connected with Central Asia. Residents of Ta-

jikistan, Tajiks by ethnicity were its pioneers. A brief but bloody civil war of the early 1990s stimulated them to migrate. The refugees organically became labour migrants. They quickly formed a migration infrastructure – from the organisation of traffic to the mechanism for the providing intermediary services in Russian cities.

As newcomers, they could not count on the starting opportunities of the people from the Caucasus who had accumulated significant material resources, experience, business and social relations since Soviet times. Starting from scratch, they could count only on the most unattractive, dirty and low-paid professions and areas of employment. Public servants, doctors, scientists, teachers, skilled workers, and people with secondary and higher education became labourers. A Tajik loader in the market, a seasonal construction worker, and a migrant worker, became typical, even iconic figures. A few years later, partly relying on the migration infrastructure they had created, the inhabitants of neighbouring Uzbekistan, whose migration potential is much higher than that of Tajikistan, set in motion. And they occupied the first place in the number of officially registered labour migrants, surpassing the previously prevailing Chinese.

The pioneering role of Tajiks, their massive, daily and constant presence in the life of the host society, formed the "image of a Tajik." This word itself gained new meanings. It remained a usual ethnonym and a reference to a resident and citizen of Tajikistan. However, it is now spread to all immigrants from Central Asia who come to Russia in search of work, mainly temporary, seasonal one. And the reason for this is not only in the fact that few people in the host society distinguish, for instance, a Tajik from Uzbek. The "Tajik" became a mass and familiar figure, a part of everyday life, routine. This implies massive personal contacts with migrants, and hence the formation of relationships. Such fixed expressions as "Tajik labour", "Tajik wage" "work like a Tajik," and even "work a Tajik" appeared.

Accordingly, the image and stereotype of "a Tajik" was also formed. This was, naturally, a person from Central Asia, not necessarily

a Tajik. With the numerical predominance of Uzbeks, for example, they are practically absent in public opinion and consciousness. Although, of course, everyone knows about the existence of Uzbekistan and Uzbeks. It is not Russian, or, according to the widespread definition, not a "Russian-speaking" person. The implication is – not a European. However, not a Central Asian Korean or Tatar. Racial characteristics are explicit, although not verbalised, and often not realised. This person is not just a visitor, but a temporary "migratory bird." This understanding does not interfere with the fact that many migrants come to the same place for many years and join the system of local social ties and relations. And sometimes they stay here for permanent residence, move their family or start a family in the country. But they are also endowed with the characteristic of temporality. When the degree of their integration crosses a certain line, they cease to be "Tajiks", although their Tajik origin and culture are fully recognised.

This is a second-class, low-status and disempowered person, not claiming to anyone else's place in the social hierarchy, ready for any work, just for anything for the sake of earning. This person is not just at the bottom of the social ladder – he/she is outside it. There is more rejection and a desire to distance, rather than fear in relation to a Tajik. Tajiks are only feared as competitors for jobs, but a weak competitor. This person is not supported by the power of the state or energy, hard work and strength, that the Chinese are feared for. This person does not have any aggression typical for the "Caucasians", readiness and ability to use physical force and resources of the bribed state apparatus.

A Tajik ceases to be ethnicity and even citizenship. It becomes a synonym for "labour migrant". The fact that social connotations acquired by the word "Tajik" actually mean its movement towards the original meanings of the word, which were also social (class), but not ethnic, is of special interest.

In this case it is possible to see a tendency to gradual substitution of previously prevailing national discourse by social migration discourse. Migrants took such a huge place in

the life of Russian society and turned out to be such a unique phenomenon that a need for their own, separate attitude and stereotype arose.

The answer to this need was the entry of the word "migrant worker", which was previously extremely rarely and exclusively used in specialised literature, into everyday speech. According to S. Abashin, "the imperceptible transition from a "migrant" to "migrant worker" shifts the topic from the issues of geographical movement to the issues of social interactions in the labour market" (Abashin, 2012: 6). Having appeared in Germany, this word (German *Gastarbeiter*, Russian *растарбайтер*) also reflected a shift in understanding and perception of the problem by society, in particular, a radical transition from the ethnic principle of stereotyping to the migrant one. This transition is remarkably captured in the heading of the article "There is Such a Nationality – Migrant Workers," published in *Komsomolskaya Pravda* (July 17, 2007), the most widely circulated and read Russian newspaper of that period.

The main features of a migrant worker are revealed through the huge amount of the most diverse texts of the recent years. In many ways, this is the continuation and development of the concept of "Tajik". This is a newcomer, not a local person, a "migrant" who came from another country to earn money and leave. No one is interested in this person's ethnicity, culture, country of origin and personal qualities. This person's presence is not welcomed, it is annoying, but people have to put up with them, since someone has to do dirty and low-paid work. This person must "know his/her place", and this place is outside the social hierarchy of the host society. The less you see this person, the better.

With such an attitude ethnic, racial, civil characteristics and differences fade away. The socio-economic function a "labour migrant" is becoming important. This group is endowed with general social and psychological characteristics, an idea of a common way of life and lifestyle of its representatives is formed. Their specific legal status is implied. The parameters and criteria for this status are not limited to citizenship. The real differences existing in this legal sphere (visa and non-visa nationals' migrants, migrants from countries with prefer-

ential migrant regimes and those without them, etc.) play no meaningful role. A foreign citizen with a highly paid job and high-status position working in Russia is not a migrant worker at all. As an object of specific legal regulation they are emphasised precisely as labour migrants. And this makes us recall the class system.

### Conclusion

Two waves of mass cross-border labour migrations in the eras, separated by the Soviet regime and its "Iron Curtain", provide a unique opportunity to reveal both general and specific in the reaction of the host society to them.

We can see constant attempts to comprehend this phenomenon through the system of ethnic categories in late imperial and post-Soviet Russia. The attempts, as a rule, were not very successful, motivating to look for words and images in other problematic areas. It is impossible to understand the descriptive and evaluative role of ethnic discourse without a simultaneous analysis of the role of concomitant – racial, class, legal and normative (nationality and citizenship) and socio-economic ("labour migrants" and "migrant workers") approaches.

We can see how in the late imperial era the "national approach", which was gaining its strength and heuristic opportunities, was hiding "in the shadow" of the racial one or was used as its complementation. The way it relates to still functioning class discourse and the language. How it can conflict with the categories of law, and especially international law that are developed and deeply rooted in the sphere of state functioning.

Due to their dominance in the Soviet era, the "national" idea and the language, that were rather organic and accepted not only by ideology, but by the mass consciousness as well, became a natural and dominant tool for describing and assessing mass cross-border labour migrations after socialism. However, although this language was widely used by the authorities and the mass media, as well as ordinary people and, to put it carefully, a noticeable part of the scientific community, its limited heuristic capabilities soon manifested themselves. In other words, the migration situation did not fit



into the "national" language. This might not even been realised and not reflected, but such words from the socio-economic dictionary as "migrants", "labour migrants" and "migrant workers" smoothly entered, and then started prevailing in the language.

This dynamic did not mean a complete replacement of one system of representations and description language with another. When the hierarchy of discourses changes, overlapping, coexistence and interaction, rather than their replacement, takes place. Even the racial approach, that seemed to be completely discredited and displaced by the events of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, left a noticeable trace of words and images. The "yellow" ones of the late imperial era were replaced by the "blacks" of the late socialism and post-socialist transition. However, for all its operability, now it is a clearly marginal language, forced out from the public sphere, and having lost its heuristic function. The word "yellow" could have a neutral connotation, from the author's point of view, a statement of insurmountable natural differences. "Blacks" is merely an insult.

The ethnic language of description retains its strong positions for a completely obvious objective reason. Cross-border migrants bring not only their workforce, but their languages, cultural norms, behaviour models and prac-

tices, as well as lifestyle. Migration processes have a clear and powerful ethnocultural component, which is not heuristic to ignore from a scientific point of view and dangerous to ignore from the social and political points of view. The point here is the priorities and the adequate use of description languages. It is clear that this is largely a spontaneous and poorly regulated process. However, the fact that authorities declare their desire to "work with diasporas" in solving migration problems at all levels, and that there are plans to transfer migration issues from the destroyed migration service to another "national policy" department, indicates a clear lag in understanding the problem in all its dynamics and complexity.

The migration situation is dynamically developing. Russian society and its attitude to the problem of the presence of migrants is changing dynamically as well. The rich and contradictory migration experience of other countries, especially the countries of Europe and North America is increasingly comprehended and experienced. Probably due to the fact that the process of comprehending and verbalising the migration phenomenon in Russia has not been complete. A new configuration of both already known and tested approaches, as well as radical changes in the language of description and evaluation are possible.

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## От «наплыва желтой расы» к «гастарбайтерам»: динамика языков описания трансграничных миграций в России

В.И. Дятлов<sup>а,б</sup>, Е.В. Дятлова<sup>а</sup>

<sup>а</sup>Иркутский государственный университет

Российская Федерация, Иркутск

<sup>б</sup>Национальный исследовательский

Томский государственный университет

Российская Федерация, Томск

**Аннотация.** Феномен массовых трансграничных трудовых миграций в Россию позднейимперского и постсоветского периодов остро нуждался в осмыслении с тем, чтобы выстраивать взаимоотношения (для населения) и «управлять процессом» (для властей). Новизна феномена требовала формирования корпуса миграционной терминологии – как обыденной, так и официальной, публичной. Важность изучения проблемы состоит в том, что в термины закладывается как понимание феномена, так и отношение к нему, с их помощью формируется дискурс. В позднейимперскую эпоху использовалась привычная терминология подданства и сословия, начали применяться этнические категории, однако ключевой была метафора, ставшая термином «наплыв желтой расы». В нем концентрировалось представление о миграции как о природном стихийном процессе и о мигрантах как части расово чуждых природных тел. Советская эпоха оставила господство примордиалистского этнического дискурса, который преобладал на первой стадии миграционного процесса постсоветской эпохи. Вскоре он начал дополняться, а затем и вытесняться социальной, собственно миграционной терминологией. «Китаец» становится «китайским мигрантом», затем просто «мигрантом», на смену которому приходит «гастарбайтер». Эта динамика не означала полной замены одной системы представлений и языка описания другой, меняется иерархия дискурсов. Однако она отчетливо показывает смену отношения принимающего российского общества к мигрантам и миграционной ситуации в целом.

**Ключевые слова:** миграции, мигранты, позднейимперская Россия, постсоветская Россия, миграционные термины, «наплыв желтой расы», «китайский мигрант», «гастарбайтер», «таджик».

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## Flow Community, or Why Nobody Speaks “About Migrants” in the Khabarovsk Krai

Leonid E. Bliakher\* and Alina P. Ivanova

*Pacific National University  
Khabarovsk, Russian Federation*

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**Abstract.** One of the specific features of most Far Eastern territories is the extremely poor (at least in comparison with the European areas of Russia) development of the discourse “about migrants”. It remains an element of narrow professional reasoning about migration as a phenomenon. Moreover, it most often refers not to a person who has arrived in the Far East (Khabarovsk Krai), but to a former resident of the region who has left for other places. In relation to people arriving in the region, much more “partitive” terminology is used, in addition, this terminology often does not have an evaluative connotation, in contrast to the concept of “illegal migrant”.

In our opinion, the reason for this word usage, which is not quite usual for the whole country, is some peculiarities accompanying creation of a regional community. For the most part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and up to now, the region’s population enlarged thanks to migrants. Moreover, due to the multi-ethnic nature of the USSR, these newcomers belonged to very different ethnic groups. Meanwhile, the outflow of the population, which did not stop even in the most prosperous years, led to the fact that every approximately 20 years the composition of the population changed very significantly. As a result, the concepts of discourse “about migrants” have acquired much more complex and differentiated semantics. This article is focused precisely on this very semantics based on a discourse analysis of the local press and interviews with the residents of the Khabarovsk Krai.

**Keywords:** migrant, migration, flow culture, discourse, host community, Russian Far East.

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Migration and migrants from neighbouring countries are increasingly becoming a stable phobia in Russian mass consciousness, actively promoted both in the academic discourse (Perepelkin, Stel'makh, 2005) and in the media (Varganov, 2012). As linguistic studies show, the number of positive definitions of the neutral concept of "migrant" is almost three times lower than the number of negative ones (8/21). Almost half of the articles (48%), which in one way or another touch upon the topic of migration and which contain the concept of "migrant" (Sherman, 2014), refer to migrants as "unwanted", "illegal", "criminal", etc. Even in "neutral" interviews with official proxies for the state migration policy, there is apparently negative discourse about migrants which is supported by expressions such as "restrict", "strengthen control", "conduct regular raids", etc.

At the same time, the existence of fundamentally different social, economic, natural and demographic conditions in different regions of the country (Zubarevich, 2010) leads to the fact that the discourse that has developed at the federal level takes a different turn in different areas and has varying "popularity" (Bliakher, Grigorichev, 2015). There is certain specificity in the Far East region, which acts as the geographical area of study for the present research. This article pinpoints the specifics of using the term "migrant" and focuses on the related discourse in the Russian Far East. The purpose of the article is not only an attempt to describe this specificity, but to identify those special social, demographic, historical and economic conditions that determine precisely this use of "migration discourse".

The empirical basis of our research is the discourse analysis of the materials derived from 4 major newspapers published in Khabarovsk and Vladivostok ("Tikhookeanskaia Zvezda" (meaning "Pacific star"), "Zolotoi rog" ("Golden horn"), "Amurmedia", and "Konkurent" ("Competitor")) over the past four years (2015-2019). Moreover, we took an advantage of a series of informal interviews with residents of the Far East, collected by one of the authors in 2013-2016 thanks to the support of the "Khamovniki Foundation" (32 interviews in total). Interviews were also subjected to discourse

analysis. The purpose of the analysis was to identify the context of the term's usage and the discourse which the theme of migration generates, as well as the positive, neutral and negative connotations associated with it.

The interviewees included state and municipal employees (9), entrepreneurs, including foreign citizens (16), employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (2), scientists and teachers (2), and journalists (3). To take into account the current situation, the interview collection was supplemented by 3 interviews recorded by the author in 2019 as his own initiative. The choice of media was conditioned by two circumstances. Firstly, these newspapers are types of media with the largest circulation (they have the most visited sites), and secondly, they published articles about migrants or used the concept of "migrants" more commonly than others. We took a liberty of not taking into consideration the slight increase in the number of publications about migrants associated with the events in Yakutsk in March 2019 due to their deliberate hype, which nevertheless quickly faded away.

#### **Discourse about migrants in the Far East**

We have already highlighted above certain specifics of the discourse about migrants in the Far East region. Despite the fact that our empirical material concerns only the southern part of the region, which stretches from North to South for more than four thousand kilometers, it seems that the situation is most acute in the south, since the number of migrants in the northern territories is negligible, and migrants themselves rarely show a desire to stay there after the end of their contracts. The episodic outbreaks of anti-migrant sentiments in 2012 in Kamchatka and 2019 in Yakutsk do not change the general picture and, as a rule, they are a form of shifting discontent from a prohibited object to a permitted one. So, what is the discourse about migrants and migration in the Russian Far East?

In each of the analyzed papers, articles on migrants and migration are quite a common thing. During the period under review, the topic was covered 223 times in the "Tikhookeanskaia zvezda" newspaper, 461 times

in the "Amurmedia" electronic newspaper, 226 times in the "Zolotoi rog" newspaper, and 119 times in the "Konkurent" newspaper. But the very use of the term in publications is quite peculiar. Based on the analysis of dictionaries and articles in the media, N.N. Kasatkina and D.A. Smirnova (Kasatkina, Smirnova, 2017) elicited a number of synonyms for the word "migrant" (migrant, transmigrator, expatriate, visitor, displaced resident, settler, colonist, uitlander, special immigrant, defector, asylee, frontiersman, oustee, newcomer, emigrant, foreigner). Against this background, the authors conclude that the term "migrant" is both the most used and the most general term in terms of coverage. Even this feature manifests the peculiarity of the region. The term "migrant", depending on the context in the regional discourse, is rather often replaced by the terms "newcomers", "settlers", "Gastarbeiter workers", "strangers", "compatriots", indicating their ethnic belonging (Chinese, Koreans, Uzbeks, Tajiks, etc.) with the attitude to different groups being fairly different.

Most often, negative connotations are caused by the immigrants from Central Asia. To a much lesser extent, these connotations can be attributed to immigrants from the Caucasus and Ukraine. There are almost no negative associations as regards the Chinese and Koreans. Minimal negative connotations accompany the concept of "Gastarbeiter workers". A bit more frequent is a negative context in relation to the concept of "former compatriots". This, apparently, arises from the once declared and failed program to attract "fellow countrymen" (Russian-speaking citizens of the CIS countries) to the region. The concept "settlers" turns out not to bring about negative connotations at all. The only negative context that was discovered is linked to the project of providing benefits and sizeable financial support to new residents of the region, which infuriated the author of the studied article. Support, in his opinion, is necessary for those who already live in the Far East, and not for those who may come there later. The largest number of objurgations are to be found in the articles about "strangers" and "settlers". Beyond that, for the most part this harsh criticism does not

involve foreign citizens or representatives of a different culture.

Moreover, of the 223 articles in the "Tikhookeanskaia zvezda" newspaper (where the concept "migrants" (or its synonym) is the key one, only 71 are devoted to the "familiar" topic of migrants from neighbouring countries. Of these, 12 articles are concentrated on the need for migrants for the region and its development. 26 articles revolve around the specifics of the application of new legal norms in relation to migrants. 19 articles touch upon relatively neutral topics concerning the social adaptation of migrants. Only 14 articles in one form or another are directed against migrants. A similar ratio with insignificant deviations can be seen in other papers, too. This alone gives serious differences from the all-Russian discourse, where, as noted above, almost half of the articles are openly xenophobic in nature or apparently directed against migrants.

The overwhelming majority of publications are devoted to migration of a completely different sort: the outflow of the local population outside the region and the country, the desire of the authorities to attract new labour resources (at least it is declared as such) from other regions of Russia. In this case, former neighbours, friends, relatives, etc., found themselves in the position of migrants. It is understandable that the "permanently relocated for good" (the term by journalist O.N. Kriuchok) did not cause negative emotions. Instead, these people triggered maximum sympathy. It is worth mentioning that, as the interviews show, people who have left the Far East do not lose touch with the territory and the community. They act as the "springboard" for the new outflow of the residents of the Far East.

*"No, it's not scary to leave. It's scary to stay. For example, my university group consisted of about twenty people. And only three or four people stay in the city. The rest have all left. Won't they help me for the first time? Of course, they will. They will help me to find housing and work"* (male 28-year-old respondent, entrepreneur, interview of 2014).

A separate and relatively new topic is the outflow of population to the neighbouring countries of East Asia. The interviewees mentioned

Russian immigrants to China, the Republic of Korea, Thailand, and Vietnam. Although this migration (for work and training) is thought of as temporary, and it is not always included in statistical indicators, as respondents noted, many people have been out of Russia for more than a decade. Little is written about these migrants. But they often emerge in interviews, acting as a link between local business circles and the business community of neighbouring countries.

A number of articles are dedicated to the most elusive group of migrants, those settlers who must arrive and, in a very small number, have already arrived in the region. Here, the ratio was meaningfully different. Actually, the immigrants themselves did not cause negativity if they did not demand "special benefits" for themselves. The outrage was caused by the fact that, from the point of view of the articles' authors, the ways used by government to attract people to the Far East were mythologization (a lie, embellishment of reality) of the image of the region itself or huge benefits. What is more, the living standards of the Far East themselves turned out to be very far from the declared and broadcast image. This motive is even more reflected in the interviews. Especially if the respondents associated the "migrants" with the "Muscovites" who *"came and ruined everything here"* (male 59-year-old respondent, municipal employee, interview of 2015). It is interesting that the majority of respondents, including civil servants of regional administrations, adhere to this position.

It is important to note that alongside with the negative connotations (the settlers deprive us of our jobs, worsen the environment, commit crimes, etc.) the prevailing concept in texts, articles and interviews is "migrants". When it comes to value-neutral or positive meanings, other concepts are more often used. Remarkably, this can be noted even within one interview, depending on the turn of thought. There is a dependence of the use of the concept (and the degree of negativity) on the level of statement's officialness. The more official status of the respondent or the interviewee from the publication is, the closer this discourse on migrants is to those described All-Russian forms,

and the more often the term "migrant" is used. Meanwhile, when the discourse becomes private, related to the personal experience of the respondent, the respondents tend to use the wider range of concepts or to spot the distinctive differences between the migrants. But even in relation to a specific type of migrants (foreign citizens), the attitude to them as expressed in the regional discourse is enormously complex and opinions are divided. The next section will look into what kinds of migrants are and how attitudes towards them differ.

### Such very different migrants

Research on migration today is one of the most popular areas in the social sciences (Iontsev, 1999). However, despite the difference in approaches and even scientific disciplines in which international migration is studied, foreign migrants, as a rule, are treated as a whole, perceived as a generalized image. This generalization is especially pronounced when it comes to the perception of migrants by the host community (Zamaraeva, 2014). Likewise, such generalization (migrants = "strangers") is not by all means unique to the Russian discourse on migration (Brettell, 2003).

Some signs of similar generalization of the migrant's image can be found in the corpus of texts we are studying.

*"At that time (at the turn of the century – the author's note), the Chinese used to work at construction sites. If someone else came across, a Korean or an Uzbek, he was a Chinese for us, anyway"* (male 58-year-old respondent, entrepreneur, interview of 2016).

Yet, as the interview analysis shows, generalization here is associated with a specific space and particular activities. Judging by the interview texts, the term "migrants" signify not just foreign citizens, who are temporarily (or not temporarily) located in Russia, but a certain social and professional status of these people.

*"Migrants, oh, they work at a construction site, they do repairs. What else? They clean the streets. It's clear. There are also migrants – lumberjacks and road workers. There are housekeepers. But the latter are mainly women. The elderly are looked after properly if their children have enough money. That's it."*



*Also, migrants work as bus drivers. But this is already too much. They drive, as they do at home, in the mountains, riding their donkeys*" (male 49-year-old respondent, municipal employee, interview of 2016).

Similar views were shared by other respondents. Even regarding sellers in markets and in stores, respondents found it difficult to answer whether these people were migrants or not. This point deserves special attention. "Migrants" (this very term is used) are people who are confined to a specific space, engaged in affairs renowned for relatively low prestige in the eyes of the local population. Moreover, within different contexts in the same interview, one and the same person can appear both as a "migrant" (*"works as a 'migrant' in the cottage of some vile people"*) and as a "neighbour".

*"We have a neighbour in our block of flats, an Uzbek. A good egg. He put things in order in his elevator landing area. He made others stop crapping in the stairwell. Such a calm man. Normal one"* (male 47-year-old respondent, entrepreneur, interview of 2015).

Differentiation outside the space of "migrants" is quite complex and ambiguous. In the already quoted passage from the interview there is also a negative connotation (migrants as bus drivers). Here, it seems, two ideas have collided. The first is associated with a specific driving style in large Far Eastern cities (Pugachev, 2009). In the Soviet years, the transport network of cities hinged exclusively on industrial supply. Other types of vehicles were negligible in numerical terms. In the post-Soviet decades, the number of cars on the roads of large cities has increased by several times, while the expansion of the road transport network has lagged crucially behind this process. To compensate for this situation, the drivers have developed a system of informal rules of the road behaviour, the observance of which for local residents is no less necessary than compliance with official traffic rules. New drivers who do not follow informal rules "do not know how to drive" and "create a danger on the road", from the point of view of local residents. This idea was cited in three interviews and one article. Besides, there is a "second"

factor. "Bus drivers" concept does not completely coincide with the image of the professional sphere of "migrants". The appearance of "migrants" here is considered as an intrusion in "our" space. The bus drivers may be foreign citizens. But not "migrants".

Despite the fact that the provision stated above seems completely absurd from a legal point of view, the respondents distinguished these concepts unequivocally. A person who has successfully adapted to the "non-migrant specific" sphere of activity ceases to be perceived as a migrant. Such people who have fallen out from the traditional areas of employment of "migrants" also quit the discourse about migrants.

*"We think that mathematics is a Korean field of knowledge (laughs). In the whole department, one teacher only is not Korean. Good guy. Uzbek, it seems. Or Tajik. I do not remember. But he is persistent. He writes something all the time"* (female 53-year-old respondent, teacher, interview of 2019).

There are social spaces, occupations taken by people with the legal status of migrants, but they fall into a different type of discourse. Most of all, this type of discourse resembles the discourse of the ethno-professional division of labour. Typically, a particular activity is marked as ethnically tagged. For instance, selling spicy salads in a market or in a store is the Korean sphere of work. At the same time, it does not matter that these dishes themselves have already become a commonplace. In the same way, gardening and melon farming were mentioned as ethnically specific in the interviews collected.

Roadside cafes, with rare exceptions, are divided into Armenian, Uzbek and Chinese. Herewith, the absence of at least one representative of the implied ethnic group does not undermine the marking itself. Apart from that, representatives of any ethnic group, including local residents of Slavic origin, can trade in Chinese stores, though these shops remain Chinese in the minds of residents and respondents.

Cheap hotels, shopping centres and kiosks are supposed to be Azerbaijani. In the perception of local residents, the production of furniture, transportation business, and some other

types of activity look quite an Azerbaijani industry, too. At the same time, going beyond the familiar sphere is associated with difficulties, is a kind of heroic deed for those who embark on this road.

*"When I arrived in Khabarovsk, I was told: 'you are Azerbaijani, so start a business'. I graduated from university at home. I am a psychologist. Only here it is impossible to have such a profession. Well, at least, it is very hard to get such a work. But it is easy to do business. Many countrymen, everything is well arranged"* (male 43-year-old respondent, entrepreneur, interview of 2015).

Spices and fruits in the markets are traded by "Uzbeks," but not "migrants." The Uzbeks often act as owners of convenience stores, cafes with ethnic or "Pan-Asian" cuisine, which gradually replace Chinese fast food cafes.

The image about Chinese has gone through a rather long and complex evolution (Ryzhova, 2014). They were the first foreigners to appear in large numbers in the Far Eastern cities in the early 1990s. They were the most numerous "Gastarbeiter workers" at the turn of the century. They were to spawn a short period of xenophobia in the region. The reason for it is quite obvious: for many decades the basis of the self-consciousness of the region's inhabitants had been the idea about their region as an "outpost of the USSR in Asia. Moreover, this outpost was primarily oriented against China. The appearance of the Chinese in the streets of the Far Eastern cities in the early 1990s was seen as "surrender of the fortress" (Bliakher, 2004), as a defeat.

The Chinese, who have been capturing the Russian Far East, have been frequently mentioned in the written and oral discourse since the first half of the 1990s (Gel'bras, 2016). Later this concept became one of the "constructed threats" (like the threat of Islamic fundamentalism in Tatarstan), with the help of which the regional elites built relations with the federal centre. By the middle of the 2000s, the number of labour migrants from China had turned out to be so minute that the discourse itself was gradually disappearing. In any case, this trend concerns the territory of the Far East in the very least. Today the community speak

about Chinese business, about Chinese tourists, about "Russians there" much more actively than about migrants from China. Only relics of xenophobia occasionally pop up in the media and in interviews with government officials. However, their frequency is not so great. Much higher interest is showed in interacting with Chinese business circles, universities, government agencies, etc. Middle-brow fear is now connected not with "Chinese migrants", but with the fact that "the Chinese will leave", and the region will turn out to be a "double periphery" for both the West and the East (Larin, 2018).

A separate and relatively new topic is Ukrainian immigrants. It is striking that in the interviews the term "settlers" was used only in relation to them and to Russian migrants from other regions. But even this group is not homogeneous in the perception of the region's population. Former migrants from Ukraine fall out of the discourse about migrants (even in the version of "migrants"), if they started to work according to their specialty at a new place of residence. They are perceived simply as "our own fellowmen", who have got in a difficult situation and deserve help and support. Migrants who "throw their weights around", who behave differently from what is accepted or expected from the local community, are treated quite the opposite. And although the interview concerned specifically migrants (refugees) from Ukraine, their falling out of the habitual discourse is the main source of social tension associated with migrants.

*"That's how it was. These arrived ... from Donbass. Normal people bent over backwards, got help, found a job and that's it. They work, live, get settled. And there were others. Who said: 'We need work with salary not less than fifty k, with housing'. Fine. We found them even such jobs. The drivers for the intercity. Road builders. But they do not want to work there. They consider it hard job. But what do you want? To make a big salary and have an easy work, in the city, to sit in the office? Excuse me. This will not ever happen. They made a mess, they blew our minds. And they hit the road"* (male 53-year-old respondent, civil servant, interview of 2016).

It should be noted that, with the exception of these rather exotic circumstances, negative connotations do not address massively contracted workers for megastructures who have recently arrived in the region. They exist in their social niche, which is fully recognized by both the local community and the settlers themselves. In this regard, their existence does not give rise to a particular discourse. Even when certain incidents occur (for example, the struggle between "new" and "old" Muslims in the region), they are connected with the discourse about migration indirectly.

To explain this fact, one can certainly refer to the especial tolerance of the inhabitants of the region, their ability to negotiate. But it is much more rational, as we see it, to recall the features of the region's first settlement, the peculiarities of the functioning of the host community. The latter is to a minimum degree a certain permanent unit, being itself in a state of constant change. We used the term "flowing social community" to call this condition, which will be discussed further.

#### **Flowing community and migration flows**

Despite the fact that no one seems to particularly question the significance of international migration, and the number of migrants is measured by tens of millions of people (Deleva, 2010), migration continues to be thought of as a peripheral, derisory phenomenon in relation to the host community. Probably, as for the most of the host communities, this position is justified. Nonetheless, in the Far East of Russia (Remnev, 2004), more precisely, in its southern and coastal parts, which once formed the Amur General Governorate, this position is far from being always true. Starting from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the population of the region has experienced constant and critical interaction of incoming and outgoing demographic flows. The crisis at the enterprises of the cabinet of His Imperial Majesty and the abolition of serfdom entailed a massive outflow of the population. According to historians (Istoriia Dal'nego Vostoka..., 1990), the territory of the future General Governorate had lost three-quarters of the population by the 1860s. A huge amount of benefits, the allocation of 270 acres of land per family,

the introduction of regular *Dobroflot* fishing company sailings and, finally, the construction of the railway, restored the number of the regional population. It continued to grow, despite all the vicissitudes of the First World War and the Civil War until 1925 (Osipov, 2012). There was no hunger, which was of a frequent occurrence at that time in the western territories of Russia. Outbreaks of violence occurred only occasionally (Smoliak, 2009). In fact, partisan detachments entered cities that did not mind being occupied.

But after the collapse of the Far Eastern Republic in 1922, the situation changed. The replacement of the surplus appropriation system by the tax in kind, which was gladly accepted by the rest of the country, did not bring joy to the Amur villages. Here, the people had not got used to the features of the Bolshevik management. Additionally, the very taxed "kulaks" constituted the core of the "Amur partisans," who had once decided that Kolchak had been the worst evil (Sanachev, 1992). In 1925, the Zeya Uprising began, covering the most populated and developed territories of the former General Governorate. It was crushed by an army with armoured trains, aircraft and artillery. After the suppression of the uprising, there was a massive, incomparable with the "White Guard emigration", peasants flee "across the river" to China.

The richest region of the country inherited by the Soviets turned out to be almost empty and poor in the shortest period. The population decreased dramatically again (Galliamova, 2012). The authorities began a series of attempts to somehow populate empty lands. On this count, one can also remember about the forced relocation of exiled ("dispossessed") peasants, the organization of GULAG branches, the resettlement project for "working Jews", "party and Komsomol calls", and other resettlement initiatives (Bliakher, 2014). The opposite direction of flow was less organized, but the flows of those who did not get accustomed in these areas and were able to break away were no less numerous. At the same time, it is worth considering that a significant part of the population of the Far Eastern Territory was made up of military personnel of the Red Banner Far



Eastern Military District and members of their families. It is very difficult to attribute them to the permanent population (Tkachev, 2011).

In other words, during the Soviet period, a specific population model was formed, consisting of incoming and outgoing demographic flows with an extremely small number of "regional core", which accounted for less than one sixth of the population. We called this type of population creation "flowing social community".

*"We are all migrants, or rather settlers. I was born in Ufa. You were born in Dushanbe. He, someone, – in Riga or Minsk. We all came from somewhere. Now we are the Far Easterners. It just happened. But our children are no longer Far Easterners. Yours are in St. Petersburg, mine live in Moscow. We will leave, new ones will arrive. It has always been like this"* (male 58-year-old respondent, civil servant, interview of 2016).

As for this model of settlement of the region, it is worth noting three circumstances that are highly important for our research. Firstly, the main population of the modern Far East was formed from those who remained after the cessation of the departure of representatives of the incoming demographic flows (immigrants). On top of everything, they stayed not only after the 1920s-1930s outflow, but mainly in the 1950s-1970s (after the builders and workers of the defense giant plants, builders of BAM had left). Being migrants themselves, not rooted in the region (the third generation as a maximum), the Far Easterners fully retain ties with the place from where they once arrived. The latter factor greatly facilitates the achievement of the main goal of every resident of the region – departure.

Secondly, since most of the population of the territory consisted of settlers, the arrival of new people here was perceived as a routine, rather than a momentous event, involving a special reflection. After all, the "locals" had their own resettlement experience, which included the practice of helping new settlers, assimilating them in an existing system of social connections. The indignation of the "locals" (earlier migrants themselves) was caused by the situation when new migrants were given a weightier amount of benefits than them.

*"I don't know about the others, but it just gets me mad when they begin to argue that they need to pay extra money to those who will move to the Far East. Why are they to get the money? What about us, those who have lived here all our lives, are we no longer taken into account? Aren't they interested in us? Maybe it's better to pay us extra so that we don't leave? No, they are not satisfied with present population, they need new ones"* (female 46-year-old respondent, municipal employee, interview of 2019).

Leaving the region became (and was perceived) not as a step of despair or the result of "pushing out" (Arago et al., 1998), but as a normal and completely routine career stage. Those leaving should have been replaced by new settlers, which is also quite normal. As a result, the very fact of the appearance of new people in the region, making up for the departure of the "locals", caused neither rejection nor negative emotions.

Thirdly, the settlement was carried out by the entire USSR, including the republics that became independent states after 1991. Hence, abundant ethnic groups have formed in the cities and towns of the region, which were perceived as no less "our own" than any other residents of the region. Accordingly, in the post-Soviet period, a substantial part of the migrants who had been ethnically labelled in the western regions arrived in the Far Eastern region as "relatives and acquaintances of local residents". Consequently, in the vast majority of situations, they did not fall into the prevailing "discourse about migrants".

## Conclusion

Thus, the prevailing (and described in the present article) "migrant discourse" is partially preserved in the region. However, there is a quite stable and measurable specificity. The number of people being categorized as migrants is significantly less than in European and even Siberian regions. This is due not so much to the fact that there are fewer people with the status of "migrant" here, but to the fact that a large or at least a telling part of them are perceived not as migrants, but differently.

Regional ideas about "migrants" include people who have signed long-term contracts

to work at large construction sites, mines and opencasts in the region, and representatives of a very specific circle of professions. Moreover, these people, as a rule, are not connected with the region and the local population. They do little prestigious jobs, which most often suits local residents who are not particularly keen to take these places. The rest people arriving in the Far East either do not

have the status of a labour migrant (tourists, business partners, scientists at conferences, etc.), or are relatives of completely "local" representatives of ethnic groups. They are evidently described by a different discourse, enter other status-role niches that are created in the region, whose population has been created according to the model of constant migration.

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## Проточная общность, или Почему в Хабаровском крае не говорят «о мигрантах»

Л.Е. Бляхер, А.П. Иванова

*Тихоокеанский государственный университет*

*Российская Федерация, Хабаровск*

**Аннотация.** Одной из специфических черт большинства дальневосточных территорий является крайне слабое, во всяком случае по сравнению с европейскими губерниями страны, развитие дискурса «о мигрантах». Он остается элементом узкопрофессиональных рассуждений о миграции как феномене. Причем чаще относится не к человеку, приехавшему на Дальний Восток (Хабаровский край), но к прежнему жителю региона, уехавшему в иные дали. В отношении прибывающих в край лиц используется гораздо более «дробная» терминология, которая часто не имеет оценочной коннотации в отличие от концепта «нелегальный мигрант». Причиной такого не вполне обычного для страны словоупотребления, на наш взгляд, выступает особенность формирования регионального сообщества. На протяжении большей части XX века и до настоящего времени население региона формировалось за счет приезжих. Причем в силу полиэтнического характера СССР приезжие эти принадлежали к самым разным этносам. При этом отток населения, не прекращавшийся и в самые благополучные годы, приводил к тому, что примерно каждые 20 лет состав населения очень существенно изменялся. В результате понятия дискурса «о мигрантах» приобрели гораздо более сложную и дифференцированную семантику. О ней применительно к территории Хабаровского края на основе дискурс-анализа местной прессы и интервью с жителями региона и пойдет речь в статье.

**Ключевые слова:** мигрант, миграция, проточная культура, дискурс, принимающее сообщество, Дальний Восток России.

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## Migration and Migrants: “When Words Smuggle Ideas”

Marina B. Tashlykova\*

*Irkutsk State University  
Irkutsk, Russian Federation*

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**Abstract.** The article is devoted to the study of the semantic field of *migration* and the corresponding circle of lexical notation. The main objective of the article is to discover those ideas about *migration* and *migrants* that are embodied in the lexical meanings of words, which are the main means of nominating these concepts and / or profiling their individual faces. To solve this problem, the author carried out the analysis of vocabulary denoting concepts related to the phenomenon of migration and made an attempt to comprehend the evolution of these concepts, to identify the dominant images and reactions caused by them. The analysis is carried out based on the material (1) of the dictionaries of the Russian language; (2) texts extracted from The Russian National Corpus and various Internet resources; (3) texts examined during the production of linguistic examinations in connection with the need to identify the presence or absence of signs of extremism. The article shows that in the ways of understanding migration, socio-political and extremist discourses reveal significant similarities at the deepest level, differing only in the degree of explicitness and the choice of lexical designations (more or less politically correct in the first case and “brutal” in the second case).

**Keywords:** migration, migrant, lexical semantics, lexicography, socio-political discourse, extremist discourse, corpus analysis, cognitive analysis.

Research area: sociological sciences.

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\* Corresponding author E-mail address: tashlykoff@mail.ru  
ORCID: 0000-0001-9293-633X (Tashlykova)

### Introductory remarks

The nature and scale of migration processes taking place in modern Russia to a large extent determine its present and are one of the most important factors that determine the vector of economic, social and political development of the state. Russia "is gradually becoming a country of migrants, acquiring a new quality. This is not just an inevitable, vitally necessary, but also a painful, conflict process. New people come to the country, a new quality of the "old" is formed, and new groups appear in a complex and dynamically changing palette of social relations. The rapid and unexpected appearance of a new element in the cultural, ethnic, social worldview inevitably violates the old equilibrium, forms the ground for the emergence of complex problems and conflicts" (Dyatlov, 2010: 451).

These problems and conflicts have always been the subject of analysis by historians, sociologists, political scientists, and economists<sup>1</sup>. "State and public programs for the development of regional migration policies, the advantages and disadvantages of the main strategies for the interaction of public and state institutions with migrants, ethnic, cultural and religious aspects of the adaptation of migrants, as well as the prospects for the development of labour migration" are being actively discussed.

An effective tool for studying this problem is linguistic analysis in all the variety of its methods, "Culture analysis can find new ideas from linguistics, in particular, from linguistic semantics, and the semantic outlook on culture is something that cultural analysis can hardly afford to ignore" (Vezhbetskaya, 1999: 263).

The need to use linguistic analysis is motivated by the fact that, "exploring a language from a cognitive point of view (that is, by its participation in all types of activities with information flowing in the human brain), it is possible to simultaneously make judgments not only about the linguistic phenomena considered, but also about the mental entities behind them, namely concepts, conceptual structures as structures of knowledge and experience, opinions and assessments, plans and goals, at-

titudes and beliefs. The listed mental entities, especially those with a linguistic affinity, are the key to consider human intelligence and human behaviour" (Kubryakova, 2004: 13).

In other words, language in the modern scientific paradigm is understood "not only as a unique object, viewed in isolation, but to a large extent **as a means of access to all mental processes that occur in a person's head and determine their own being and functioning in society**"<sup>2</sup> (Hereinafter highlighted by us. – M.T.) (Kubryakova, 2004: 9).

In the light of what has been said, of independent interest is the analysis of vocabulary denoting concepts related to the phenomenon of migration, understanding the evolution of these concepts in the public mind, identifying the dominant images and reactions caused by these concepts in the past and present.

The object of this work is the semantic field of "migration"<sup>3</sup> and the corresponding circle of lexical notations.

The main task is to discover those ideas about "migration" and "migrants" that are embodied in the lexical meanings of words, which are the main means of nominating these concepts and / or profiling their individual faces.

Based on the foregoing, the analysis is carried out on the material (1) of the dictionaries of the Russian language; (2) texts extracted from Russian National Corpus ([www.corpora.yandex.ru](http://www.corpora.yandex.ru)) (hereinafter – NC), and various Internet resources; (3) texts sent to employees of the Department of Russian Language and General Linguistics of the Institute of Philology, Foreign Languages and Media Communication of Irkutsk State University for the production of linguistic expertise in connection with the need to identify the presence or absence of signs of extremism.

### 1. *MIGRATION* and *MIGRANTS* in the mirror of modern lexicography

Fixing a word in a dictionary is an important indicator of the significance of a phenomenon named by a given word for the life of soci-

<sup>1</sup> See, for example: (Migratsiia naseleniia... 2007; Ot veka bronzovogo do veka..., 2018).

<sup>2</sup> It is in this sense that the words by V.V. Nabokov are used in the title.

<sup>3</sup> Quotation marks in such cases signal that we have in mind a concept but not a word (which is written in italics).



Table 1. List of dictionaries and abbreviations accepted

Dictionary	Abbreviation
<b>Great Dictionary of Russian language.</b> Ch. ed. S.A. Kuznetsov. 1st edition, St. Petersburg, Norint, 1998	<b>GD</b>
<b>Great Encyclopaedic Dictionary.</b> Moscow, Big Soviet Encyclopaedia, 1998	<b>GED</b>
<b>Efremova T.F.</b> New Dictionary of the Russian language. Moscow, Drofa, Russkii iazyk, 2000	<b>DE</b>
<b>Zakharenko E.N., Komarova L.N., Nechaeva I.V.</b> New Dictionary of Foreign Words: 25,000 words and phrases. Moscow, Azbukovnik, 2003	<b>NDFW</b>
<b>Krysin L.P.</b> Dictionary of foreign words. Moscow, Russkii iazyk, 1998	<b>DFW</b>
<b>Muzrukova T.G., Nechaeva I.V.</b> Popular dictionary of foreign words: about 5000 words. Edited by I.V. Nechaeva. Moscow, Azbukovnik, 1999	<b>PDFW</b>
<b>Ozhegov S.I., Shvedova N.Iu.</b> Dictionary of the Russian language. Moscow, Az'' Publishing house, 1992	<b>DOSh</b>
<b>Russian semantic dictionary.</b> Dictionary Systematized by Classes of Words and Meanings. Russian Academy of Sciences, Vinogradov Institute of Russian Language. Under the general editorship of N.Iu. Shvedova. Moscow, Azbukovnik, 1998	<b>SEM</b>
<b>Dictionary of the Russian language.</b> In 4 vols. Moscow, 1981 (Small Academic Dictionary)	<b>SAD</b>
<b>Dictionary of modern Russian literary language.</b> In 17 vols. Moscow-Leningrad, Nauka, 1950-1965 (Large Academic Dictionary)	<b>LAD</b>
<b>Dictionary of the Russian Language:</b> In 4 vols. Ed. by D.N. Ushakov. Moscow, Astrel Publishing House LLC, 2000 (Available at: <a href="http://ushakovdictionary.ru/word.php?wordid=84945">ushakovdictionary.ru/word.php?wordid=84945</a> )	<b>DU</b>
<b>Dictionary of the Russian language of the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. Language changes.</b> Ed. by G.N. Sklyarevskaya. Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Linguistic Studies. St. Petersburg, Folio Press Publishing House, 1998	<b>DLCh</b>

ety. That is why at the first stage of the study, the analysis of dictionary data was carried out with the involvement of the most authoritative defining dictionaries (Tabl. 1).

**Migration** as a noun is represented by all dictionaries, although the compilers seriously differ in determining the number of values – from one (DOSh) to five (NDFW). At the same time, all lexicographic descriptions highlight the idea of 'displacement, change of residence'<sup>4</sup> as the core component of meaning, indicating that *people, animals, chemical and biological elements, capital* can be moving elements. The differences in the presentation of the word as a mono- or polysemantic one are related only to whether the lexicographer considers 'the subject of movement' semantic component to be the basis for distinguishing between meanings, cf., for example:

DOSh: *Migration* (book.). Relocation, resettlement (about many things). *Population*

*migration. Seasonal animal migrations. Fish migration. Cell migration* (special).

NDFW:

- 1) relocation, displacement;
- 2) movement of animals caused by changes in living conditions;
- 3) movement of chemical elements in various zones and shells of the Earth;
- 4) various kinds of movement in the body, e.g. cellular elements in tissues;
- 5) movement of capital from one country to another or from one industry to another<sup>5</sup>.

(In the course of further analysis, the focus is naturally on only the first noun lexeme).

The words denoting movement in space have two others as mandatory semantic actants, namely, 'start point' and 'end point'.

Therefore, two "directive" nouns – *immigration / emigration* – are naturally borrowed (otherwise they would have to be created within the Russian language).

<sup>4</sup> The interpretation of meanings, as is customary in linguistic works, is given in the so-called Marra quotes.

<sup>5</sup> Hereinafter, only those fragments of interpretations that are necessary to illustrate the developed thesis are given.

As a result, speakers have at their disposal linguistic means that allow them to focus on any component of the described situation: on the idea of *moving* as such, on the idea of leaving the starting point, on the idea of reaching the end point. In the language of modern semantics, it is about about a change in communicative focus<sup>6</sup>:

*migration* = 'moving from point A to point B';  
*emigration* = 'departure from point A to point B';  
*immigration* = 'entry to point B from point A'.

It is curious that traditional dictionaries supply the word *migration* with literary (DOSH), historical, ethnographic (SAD) notes. Even the 2014 GD edition retains *ethnographic*, *sociological* notes. Thus, classical lexicography interprets this unit as a term meaning 'the movement of a population within or from one country to another' (GD). As the term should be, it does not have any internal prerequisites for the formation of evaluative connotations.

Only dictionaries of foreign words and DLCh, which contain no corresponding sty-

listic notes, behave somewhat differently; and there is a causal component of 'mass displacement, moving people from one place of residence to another **due to economic reasons, national oppression, natural disasters and catastrophes**' in the interpretation of DLCh.

It is interesting that the words *immigration* and *emigration* (as well as the words *immigrant* / *emigrant*, see below) are interpreted by the dictionaries "asymmetrically". Firstly, *immigration* as a noun is included in fewer sources; secondly, it is interpreted more "neutrally" than the antonym, cf.: *immigration* – "the entry of citizens of one state into another state for permanent or temporary (long-term) residence" (NDFW, PDFW) vs *emigration* – "forced or voluntary resettlement from one's fatherland to another country for political, economic or other reasons" (NDFW, PDFW, SAD, DOSh).

Even more surprising is the situation with the lexicographic fixation of the word *migrant*.

In the traditional and most popular dictionaries (DOSH, SAD) it simply does not exist. It was not included in the GD either, see the impressive picture from the Gramota.ru portal (Fig. 1).

<sup>6</sup> "Participants move from light to shadow – and even into the complete darkness of pure implication – and vice versa, without changing their role in the situation" (Paducheva, 2004: 97).

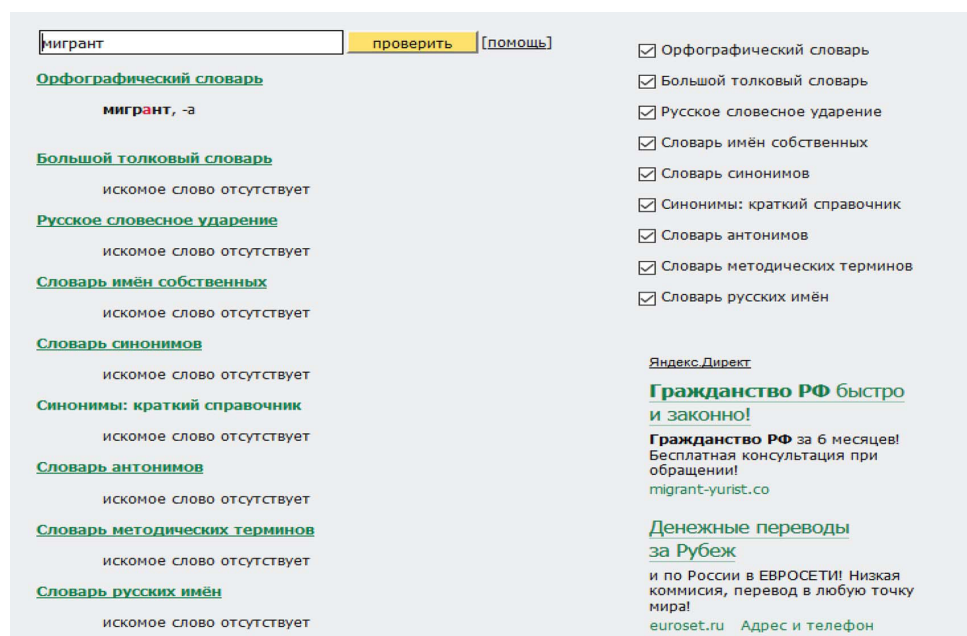


Fig. 1

The academic.ru portal, in the "Interpretations" section, offers 20 references to various sources, among which the leading encyclopedic type directories are "Demographic Encyclopedic Dictionary", "Encyclopedia of Law", "Dictionary of Business Terms", "Dictionary of Geography", "Big Legal Dictionary", "International Migration Law: Glossary of Terms", "Thesaurus of Russian Business Terms", etc. There is even a reference to the novel by Ukrainian science fiction writers Marina and Sergey Dyachenko "Migrant, or Brevi finietur" (2010). Against this background, the weak lexicographical elaboration of the corresponding concept is especially striking.

The word *migrant* is recorded in the dictionaries of foreign words (NDFW and PDFW), but it has not really been included in the dictionaries, as presented only in three, and in each case the interpretation contains some indicative features.

In SEM, it means only **internal** migration, see: *migrant* – 'a person moving **within** one's country from one place to another, from one locality to another (*A wave of migrants after an earthquake*)'. DLCh does not interpret the singular, referring to the plural: *migrant* – see *migrants*; DE presents the vocabulary in the form of the plural: *migrants* are 'people forced to leave their place of residence due to any unfavorable reasons (natural disasters, military operations, ethnic persecution, etc.<sup>7</sup>)'.

The use of the plural form is very representative, since **generalizing assimilation, generalization, which becomes the basis for pejorative exclusion**, should be considered the "functional-semantic center of such forms. The essence of the latter is that the speaker, negatively evaluating one or another object, brings this negative assessment to the limit by excluding the object from his cultural and / or value world and, therefore, alienates it, characterizing it as an element of another culture, alien and hostile to him (objectively or subjectively due to his own hostility), another alien world" (Penkovsky, 2004: 17).

As you can see, dictionaries in describing the meaning of the noun *migrant* begin to experience semantic and pragmatic fluctuations,

which are preserved when interpreting the "guiding" lexemes *immigrant* and *emigrant*. When describing the first, lexicographers are limited to indicating the components 'displacement' and 'end point': *immigrant* is a citizen of **one state who arrived in another state** for permanent or temporary (long-term) residence'; when describing the second in one form or another, the reasons for the displacement are given: *emigrant* is 'a person voluntarily or involuntarily relocated from his country to another' (NDFW, PDFW). Schematically, the strategy of the authors of the dictionaries can be represented as follows:

*migrant* = 'one who moved from point A to point B'

+ (in definition) 'forced'

+ (in definition) 'unfavorable reasons'

*emigrant* = 'the one who left point A to point B'

+ (in context) 'for political reasons) /

+ (in the definition of NDFW, PDFW 'voluntarily / involuntarily')

*immigrant* = 'one who entered point B from point A'

Thus, the analysis of lexicographic practice allows us to draw some intermediate conclusions regarding the specificity of the functioning of words associated with the designation of migration processes.

Firstly, to indicate the process itself and to identify the persons involved in it, the Russian language uses lexical triads that allow the speaker to put into the communicative focus any component of the situation ('moving', 'starting point', 'end point').

Secondly, along with these semantic components, the 'reason' component should be distinguished, which is reflected in the interpretations inconsistently, although this component, as will be shown below, ensures the formation of those pragmatic meanings that are regularly reproduced by the speakers.

Thirdly, the vocabulary of migration is perceived by the authors of the dictionaries as not quite mastered (as evidenced by stylistic notes), which cannot but cause doubts.

It seems that lexicographic descriptions do not quite adequately reflect the lexical meaning of the corresponding words that has formed

<sup>7</sup> DLCh adds more economic reasons to this list.

to our time, "lag behind life". Justification and verification of this thesis is contained in the following sections of the article.

## 2. *MIGRATION* and *MIGRANTS* in the mirror of socio-political discourse

A study of the use of the considered substances in modern Russian speech was carried out on the basis of various types of texts.

### 2.1. *Texts created as part of special projects:*

- *Forum of resettlement organizations* (migrant.ru),
- *Migrants Portal* (<http://www.migration-patent.ru>),

- TASS project (<http://tass.ru/spec/refugee>).

An analysis of the peculiarities of word usage shows that the authors of texts posted on the named portals use the words *immigrants*, *migrants*, *refugees*, *compatriots* in an undifferentiated way, see several illustrative examples.

Below is the main page of the *Forum of Migration Organizations*: cf. the name of the forum, its "decoding" (*International Public Movement for the Promotion of Migrants*), email address, slogan, tag cloud, project name *Migrant! This name should sound proud* (Fig. 2).

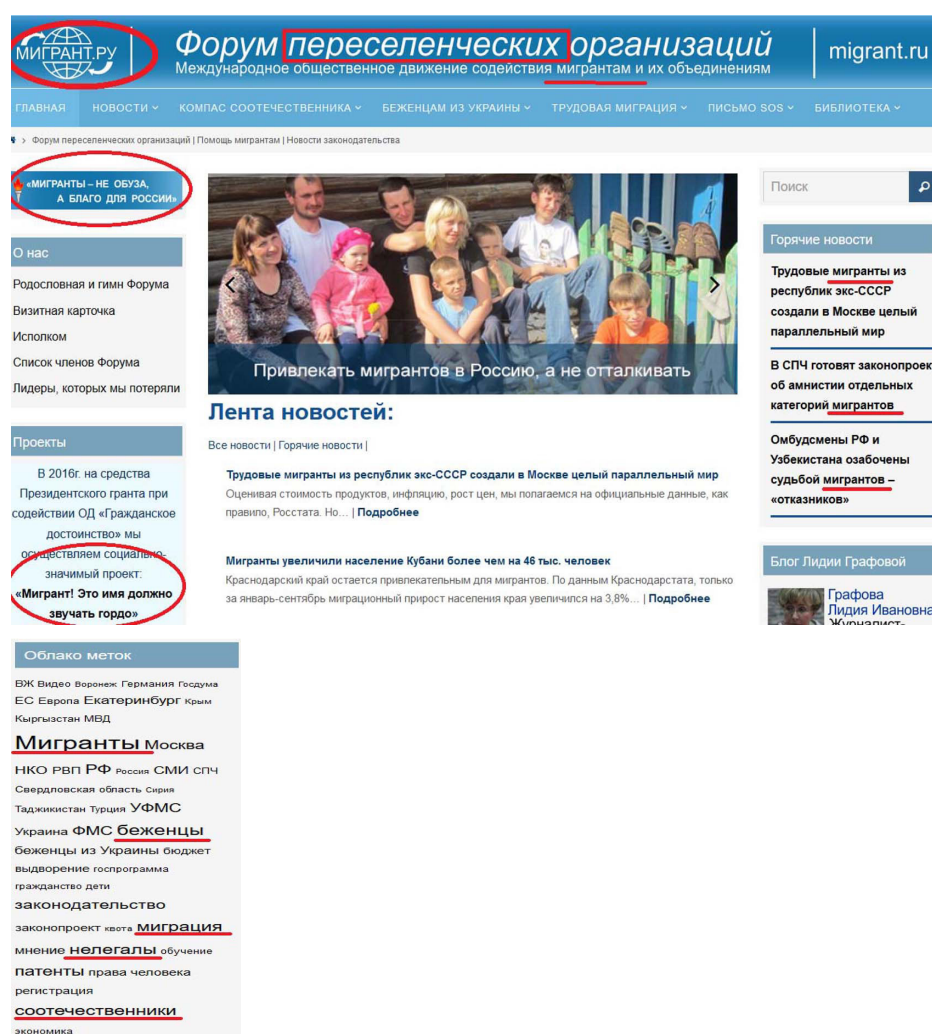


Fig. 2



The analyzed vocabulary is also used in numerous publications; see, for example, *Migrant communities began to arise in the former republics of the Soviet Union even before they left for Russia, when the earth began to burn underfoot. Once in their historical homeland, most of the settlers did not know anything about each other. The idea of joining forces had long ripened in the minds of Russian migrants* (Forum Pedigree); "... It so happened that for as many as 25 years (a quarter of a century!) the tragedy of **compatriots** who returned to Russia and turned out to be unnecessary for me has become the main topic not only in journalism, but also in life" (description of the project "Migrant! This name must sound proud" by L. Grafova).

As follows from the above examples, a site that positions itself as dealing (and which really deals) mainly with the problems of **immigrants** in the terminological sense of the word does not experience lexical hesitation in the choice of nouns. Text authors, accustomed by the school curriculum to avoid tautology, do this by neglecting the semantic differences of words or not considering it necessary to articulate them.

Similarly, it is possible to comment on the nature of the word usage on the website of the special TASS project available at: [tass.ru/spec/refugee](http://tass.ru/spec/refugee). The program article, "The Refugee Problem: The UN is Sounding the Alarm", begins with a focus on the exact differentiation of concepts<sup>8</sup>: definitions are placed immediately after the lead a link to the UN Refugee Convention is available ([https://www.un.org/ru/documents/decl\\_conv/conventions/refugees.shtml](https://www.un.org/ru/documents/decl_conv/conventions/refugees.shtml)).

Nevertheless, even in the lead we can read:

*The migration of the population as a result of wars, economic turmoil and natural disasters began not today and will not end tomorrow – the process of finding safe conditions for life in recent years by people has been increasing in several regions of the planet. This encourages governments and international organizations to look for answers to serious challenges related*

<sup>8</sup> **Migrant** is a person making a resettlement, changing his place of residence within a country or moving from one country to another, most often due to economic, political, national legal instability. The term **refugee** means all persons who left their home country in which they lived on a permanent basis due to extraordinary circumstances and reasons.

*to the need to accommodate refugees and their integration in new places of residence. Along the way, we have to solve problems such as the safety of migrants, which was especially evident in the operation to rescue those in distress in the Mediterranean Sea. Reports published by the UN and other organizations on this subject clearly indicate that the problem of migrants and refugees is becoming more acute, and, alas, no solution has yet been found.*

It is clear that in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> sentences the terms are used as exact synonyms, but in the 3<sup>rd</sup> one there are **migrants and refugees**. Similarly, in the following fragment, *During the first six months of 2015, 137 thousand migrants and refugees arrived in Europe across the Mediterranean Sea...*

Then, strictly speaking, there are ambiguities in understanding: are these different groups of people or one? See further, *Until this year ... the main flow of migrants and refugees had been directed to Italy. Last year, about 170 thousand people arrived in this country across the Mediterranean Sea*. Does the author distinguish two different categories among these 170 thousand people? The question remains unanswered.

Thus, on the TASS project website (as well as on the website of the *Forum of Migration Organizations*), the intention of distinguishing concepts, even formulated explicitly and as if reflected, is not maintained in real usage.

## 2.2. Texts extracted from The Russian National Corpus ([ruscorpora.ru](http://ruscorpora.ru))

Further, the study of socio-political discourse was carried out using corpus analysis: in particular, the use of the word *migrant* in the main corpus of the Russian Language and in the newspaper corpus was examined.

The **main corpus** includes prosaic (including dramaturgy) written texts of the 18<sup>th</sup> – early 21<sup>st</sup> centuries; the **newspaper corpus** (the corpus of modern media) includes articles from the media of the 1990-2000s.

There are two words about the national corpus for non-specialists.

"The corpus is an information and reference system based on a collection of texts in

- 657 -



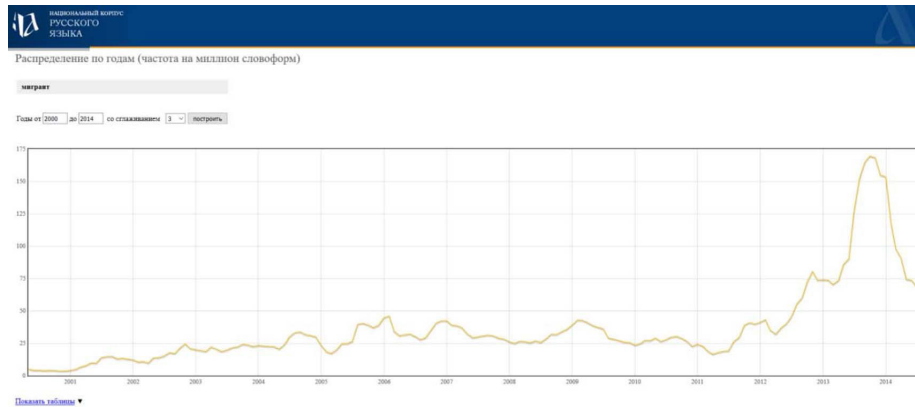


Fig. 4

национальный корпус  
РУССКОГО  
ЯЗЫКА

главная Основной корпус

Поиск точных форм ? A B E

Слово или фраза

Искать Очистить

Лексико-грамматический поиск ?

Синтаксический

Слово ? A B E

Грамм. признаки ? выбрать

Семант. признаки ? выбрать

мигрант

Доп. признаки ? выбрать

Словообразование выбрать

1-е знач. ☒ др. знач. ☐ фиг. ☐

Расстояние: от 1 до 1 ?

Слово ? A B E

Грамм. признаки ? выбрать

Семант. признаки ? выбрать

Доп. признаки ? выбрать

Словообразование выбрать

1-е знач. ☒ др. знач. ☐ фиг. ☐

Искать Очистить

использование корпуса

Работы в 2015–2016 г. выполнены при поддержке РГНУ, проект № 15-04-

Национальный корпус русского языка  
© 2003–2019

Fig. 5

*the USSR; **got** to Moscow; **replenish** the population of Russia;*

- rooted: *migrants settled / settling in Russia; remaining in the area;*

- work: *migrants **work** 10-14 hours; perform **work**; **rebuilt** a new city; **operate** in a new market segment;*

- benefit the host society: *they will help preserve the population of Russia, can save a rapidly becoming empty country; will bring substantial income to Russia, stimulate the development of the economy;*

- earn and transfer money: *labor migrants transferred 27 billion to Ukraine; provide an*

*influx of hard currency; entered into fierce competition; the migrant opens a special card account;*

- commit crimes, damage the host state, behave immorally (and therefore become an object of hatred): *migrants take away jobs; take away work; live on benefits; every Moscow illegal migrant harms the city; migrants interfere, annoy; commit a large percentage of crime, commit dozens of crimes, violate the law, create a criminal situation, pose a threat; barbecue in unsuitable places; carry terrible diseases; rape, have become brutalized; have become a “natural” object of hatred.*

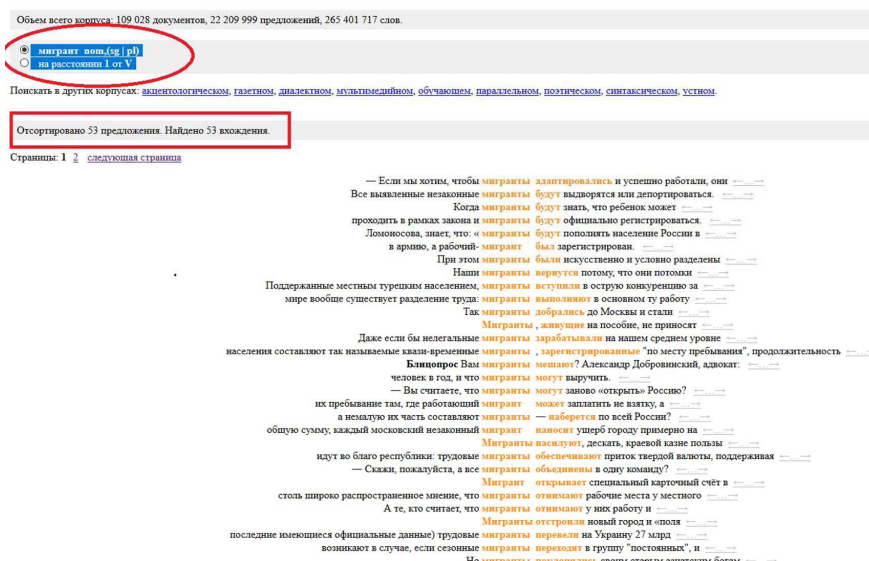


Fig. 6

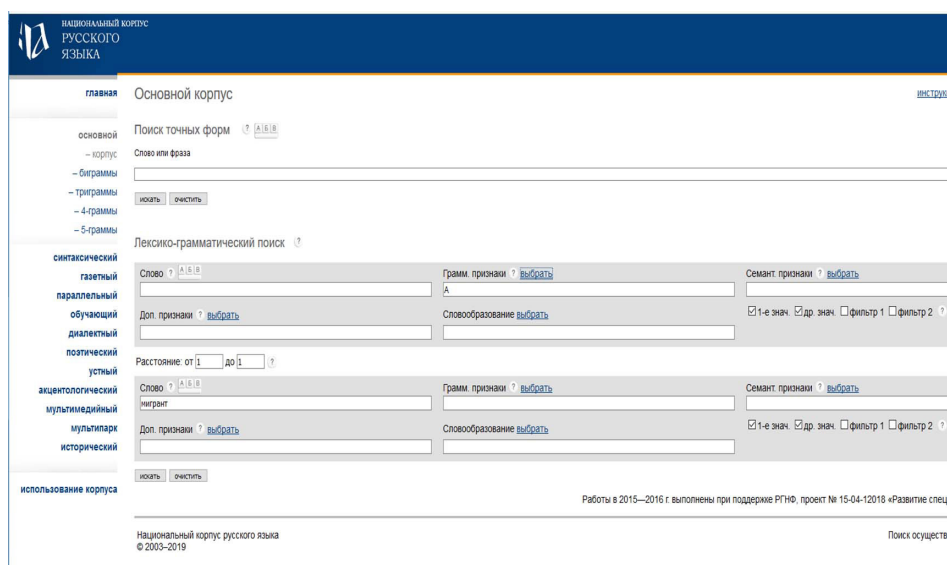


Fig. 7

2.2.2. Another type of request allows us to understand what attributes the modern press gives migrants, with what quantitative words this noun is combined, etc. We give one more fragment of the analysis.

The query formula  $A + \text{migrant}$  searches for such uses in which the noun *migrant* is preceded by any adjective (*A*) (Fig. 7).

As a result, 317 entries were identified in the main corpus and 2606 in the newspaper one.

Adjectives combined with the analyzed noun give an assessment according to the following parameters: 'legality' / 'illegality' of staying in the country; type of movement (outside / inside the country); field of activity.

In the examples below, quantitative indicators characterize the search results in the main (before the + sign) and newspaper (after the + sign) corpuses:

*illegal migrants* (57 + 261 = 318);  
*illegitimate migrants* (50 + 91 = 141);  
*legal migrants* (14);  
*legitimate* (1);  
*labor* (72 + 380 = 452);  
*work* (6 + 10 = 16);  
*economic* (3 + 2 = 5);  
*environmental* (+ 2);  
*training* (5);  
*external* (1 + 3);  
*international* (11);  
*foreign* (1 + 10);  
*abroad* (1);  
specifying a country, for example,  
*Afghan, African, Brazilian, Uzbek* (20 + 10 + 13 + 12);  
*domestic / intra-Russian / intra-regional* (8 + 11);  
*Russia's / Russian* (5).

A fairly representative group of examples is also formed by the phrase *forced migrants* (25 + 5).

2.2.3. Very representative data is found by searching for *S + migrant, gen (sing, plur)*: such constructions are a metaphorical rethinking of the spontaneous movement of a mass of matter (water, snow, etc.): *wave / influx / flow / shaft / avalanche of migrants*. This metaphor explicates the idea of a threat, a growing danger, cf. the following expressive examples, *Central Asia is beginning to be perceived as a region, from where more and more waves of migrants are coming that threaten the culture and the very prospects of preserving Russia; A large / colossal / huge wave of migrants threatens to wash away Europe; Europeans are washed away by a shaft of migrants; "The Ninth Wave" of migrants, which has swept Europe, is already called a catastrophe; Today it is only necessary to open the legislative window, and we will literally be blown away by a shaft of migrants; The end of Europe: destruction under the avalanche of migrants.*

The lexical environment of the analyzed metaphorical constructions is also indicative

here: in all contexts of this kind, words that actualize the semantics of *threat, catastrophe, and death* are widely used.

Thus, corpus analysis allows identifying the main thematic fields of vocabulary in which the word *migrant* is embedded. Distracting from the specific form of expression and methods of "grammatical packaging", these fields can be represented by the following list:

- 'relocation' (with the implementation of semantic components 'from' and 'to');
- 'accommodation and work';
- 'making money and transferring it to their homeland';
- 'a large number of';
- 'crime and domestic offenses';
- 'threat to the indigenous population' / 'threat to European civilization'.

### 3. MIGRATION and MIGRANTS in the mirror of extremist discourse

A special place in the circle of reviewed texts is occupied by materials directed to the Department of Russian Language and General Linguistics of the Institute of Philology, Foreign Languages and Media Communication of Irkutsk State University for conducting judicial linguistic examinations in order to establish

(a) the presence or absence of linguistic means by which public calls for extremist activities are realized;

(b) the ability to qualify the materials presented as aimed at inciting hatred or enmity, to humiliating the dignity of a person or group of persons on the grounds of gender, race, nationality, language, origin.

Such materials do not include only texts in the narrow sense of the word, but also other objects that combine elements of several semi-otic systems, namely, videos, posters, comics, etc.

In the framework of this study, we are not very interested in texts that contain explicit indicators of the "hostile language", such as

- negative derogatory names of a person or a group of persons as representatives of a certain nationality, ethnic group, race (*wog, gook, chink, kike, chump*);

- language forms and constructions used to create a negative image of these people and to express hostile or aggressive attitude towards them (see *Tajik* poster below);

- statements about the antagonism of representatives of one national, ethnic, racial group in relation to representatives of another; thus, in the song "Moscow is not Brooklyn", the alleged image of the future is depicted, in which, according to the author, immigrants will constitute the majority in power structures (*They came as cheap labor, // And they will remain here as the ruling class*); oust the Russian nation (*Our nation will be gradually exterminated // And will be ousted by the nation of gooks // Soon there will be more of them than the Russian people*) and will exploit its representatives (*Already you will work for them for a penny, And they, bitches, will become oppressors of the masses; Gooks are the majority, while Russians are in fetters*);

- incitement to violent actions against persons belonging to a certain nationality, ethnic group, race (see the *Pogrom* poster below).

Here we restrict ourselves to two expressive examples from the so-called "Belyi Bukvar'" (Fig. 8, 9).

### *Tajik*

*Here is Tajik, bad and dirty,  
All smeared in paint.  
He doesn't know how to work,  
A tolerant man regrets him:  
"Ah, Tajik, poor guy,  
Your life is so awful here!  
Skins want to kill you  
And abuse your girls!"  
Only a stupid tolerant man  
Can't understand  
That our people can't bear dirty Tajiks,  
Full of vile dope,  
And suppress them not just for nothing,  
We hate their faces!  
... well, tolerant men too!*

### *Pogrom*

*Everything about gooks is very simple:  
A gook is the raw material for the Holocaust!  
So, brother, take a scrap  
And arrange a pogrom!*

It is important, however, to emphasize that in those texts that contain no offensive nominations, derogatory characteristics, direct calls for violence, the same complex of xenophobic stereotypes is realized.



Fig. 8

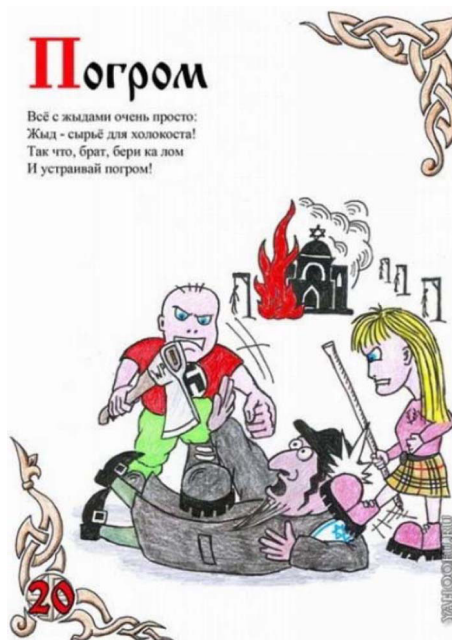


Fig. 9



Here is one illustrative example.

The video "Appeal of the Slavic Union fighters to Russians" is really built as an *appeal*, that is, 'an official appeal, a speech to a wide audience, to the people' [SEM]; 'request, appeal, speech addressed to someone, smth.' [SAD]: the speaker, shown in close-up, delivers a short speech that ends with words accompanied by an index gesture, *Russian man! I **appeal** to you. If you want to change something, then start with yourself. Stop drinking bad beer, stop smoking, and stop using drugs. Do some sports.*

This "call for a healthy lifestyle" is preceded by the following text:

*The fact is that it is no secret to anyone that our city has been **overwhelmed by a real plague**. These are **whole hordes** of illegal immigrants: Tajiks, Kyrgyz, Uzbeks, and the worst thing is those who come from the Caucasus. For example, Dagestanis, Ingush, Chechens.*

*Well, for those who forgot: we fought with them for many years. Unfortunately, these people, because of their ethnic characteristics, hate the indigenous population, hate us, Russians. In principle, it is understandable, because, unfortunately, our new generation of young people, the so-called Pepsi generation, lead a fairly marginal lifestyle. They use drugs. They smoke, drink ... Unfortunately, it means that now the Russian people are associated only with alcohol, beer and drugs. Due to the fact that all immigrants from the Caucasus are, as a rule, professional athletes, naturally, such a Russian person does not cause any respect in their eyes. And what's the most annoying is that they judge us all by such people.*

The theme of migration is introduced here by the words *plague* (trans. 'About an **extremely dangerous, disastrous** social phenomenon' [BAD]) and *hordes* ('a **huge**, usually **enemy army** [GD]<sup>11</sup>). The meaning of the first noun is supported by the verb *overwhelm*, 'capture, absorb' [SAD] and the adjective *real* 'representing the complete likeness of someone, anything' [SAD]; the meaning

of the second word is enhanced by the adjective *whole* 'similar to anything in importance; real' [SAD].

It is clear that this vocabulary is used to actualize the idea of the illegality of staying on the territory of the country of those who are called *illegal immigrants*, representatives of the nationalities listed below, *These are whole hordes of **illegal immigrants**: Tajiks, Kyrgyz, Uzbeks, and the worst thing is those who come from the Caucasus. For example, Dagestanis, Ingush, Chechens.*

Despite the fact that the author uses evaluative neutral ethnonyms, he finds other ways to introduce ideas about the antagonism of the groups *Us – Them* and about the threat to the indigenous population from migrants. These semantic components are contained, as already noted, in the semantic structure of the words *plague*, *overwhelmed*, *hordes* (see the highlighted parts of definitions above), as well as in a fragment of the second statement, that is *the worst thing is those who come from the Caucasus*. The following statement confirms, *Unfortunately, these people, because of their ethnic characteristics, hate the indigenous population, us, Russians*. It is important that *hatred of the Russians* is presented by the speaker as something genetically inherent in the named peoples (this is indicated by the use of the expression **due to its ethnic characteristics**, introduced by a causal pretext). This idea is based on the statement, which in the text of the video is immediately before the above: *... we fought with them for many years*.

Consequently, in the fragment examined, the idea is drawn up that *Tajiks, Kyrgyz, Uzbeks and ... immigrants from the Caucasus* are something like an enemy army (*whole hordes*), while it is *immigrants from the Caucasus* that are characterized as representing the greatest threat to the indigenous population.

Opposition of *Us – Them* is revealed, which, however, is not surprising in the vast majority of texts belonging to extremist discourse. Here are a few more quotes from the above song "Moscow is not Brooklyn", which has a characteristic "epigraph" *dedicated to all immigrants*.

<sup>11</sup> In most contexts, this word is combined with lexemes denoting something negative (cf., for example: *hordes of flies*, *hordes of ragged people*).

### Cheap labor

*Drives the population of Russia into the grave.  
We have nowhere to work, we have nothing to eat.*

*There is only one choice – to gradually die out.  
There are thousands of us, millions of them  
They work for us, and we get into prison.*

*.....  
They come to one house, then live at another one,*

*And we can't get rid of them.*

*They rent an apartment, one for the whole village,*

*Why are you here, who pulled them here?*

*Moscow is already cramped for them.*

*Which city is next, oooh, are you interested?*

*"It doesn't matter", "Uh, in fact, yes" –*

*And they captured Russia all without difficulty.*

*Looking harmless, but accumulating anger*

*Slaves, they will soon want their freedom.*

*Thee will receive it and become rulers,*

*After a couple of generations – the indigenous people.*

*Moscow will be renamed Gook-City,*

*But you don't care, you keep silent.*

*.....  
Everyone is moving to Moscow, everyone, everyone who feels like it,*

*Thus casting a dirty shadow on it.*

*There are more visitors than indigenous people here,*

*There are fewer participants, and more viewers.*

Thus, the study of materials aimed at linguistic examination in connection with the

need to establish the presence or absence of signs of extremism in them makes it possible to detect typical collocations that embody the connotations of the words *migrant*, *emigrant*, *immigrant*, and allows us to state that all "classical" stereotypes of xenophobic consciousness remain relevant.

### Conclusion

An analysis of several fundamentally different groups of sources allows us to formulate some generalizations.

The vocabulary of the modern Russian language used to describe the conceptual field of *migration* is characterized by a sufficient degree of development: the existing lexical triads make it possible to focus on any of the components of the situation ('displacement', 'start point', 'end point').

Lexicographical practice, however, reveals a certain incompleteness of interpretations, a lack of consistency, and an insufficient degree of reflection of the concepts in question. This is indirect evidence of the fact that academic linguistics does not have time to reflect those complex social processes that significantly affect the formation of relevant lexical meanings.

A comparison of socio-political and extremist discourse allows us to argue that in the ways of understanding *migration* they have significant similarities at the deep level, differing only in the degree of explicitness and the choice of lexical designations (more or less politically correct in the first case and "brutal" in the second one).

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## Миграция и мигранты: «когда слова провозят мысль контрабандой»

**М.Б. Ташлыкова**

Иркутский государственный университет  
Российская Федерация, Иркутск

**Аннотация.** Статья посвящена исследованию семантической области миграции и соответствующему ей кругу лексических обозначений. Основная задача статьи – обнаружить те представления о миграции и мигрантах, которые воплощены в лексических значениях слов, являющихся главными средствами номинации данных понятий и / или профилирующих их отдельные грани. Для решения этой задачи осуществлен анализ лексики, обозначающей понятия, связанные с феноменом миграции, предпринята попытка осмыслить эволюцию этих понятий, выявить вызываемые ими доминантные образы и реакции. Анализ осуществляется на материале (1) словарей русского языка; (2) текстов, извлеченных из Национального корпуса русского языка и различных интернет-ресурсов; (3) текстов, рассмотренных в ходе производства лингвистических экспертиз в связи с необходимостью выявления наличия или отсутствия признаков экстремизма. Показывается, что в способах осмысления миграции общественно-политический и экстремистский дискурсы обнаруживают существенное сходство на глубинном уровне, различаясь лишь степенью эксплицитности и выбором лексических обозначений (более или менее политкорректных в первом случае и «брутальных» – во втором).

**Ключевые слова:** миграция, мигрант, лексическая семантика, лексикография, общественно-политический дискурс, экстремистский дискурс, корпусный анализ, когнитивный анализ.

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## “Returning Home as an Enemy”. The Languages for Description and Self-Description of Inner Asia Repatriates

Ivan O. Peshkov\*

*Adam Mickiewicz University (Poznan)  
Poznań, Poland*

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**Abstract.** The article explores the doubts and anxieties associated with the return of two communities of Russian long-term residents of Inner Asia – the Cossack repatriates of the Three Rivers Region and the local Mongolian Russians – to the Soviet citizenship. The theoretical basis of the article is the statement about the epistemological character of the presence of the past, which determines a crucial influence of the current terms on any historical knowledge. In this perspective, the memory of the past can be considered not only as its subjective reflection, but also as a social practice that identifies the community's status. The purpose of this article is to show how the Soviet people used speech practices in relation to the temporary and spatial discrepancy of repatriates. The main characters of this article will be the ways of creating an image of the enemy linguistically and mastering it by target groups in everyday life. In this perspective, the decision to repatriate, which causes distrust and alarm, is a convenient marker for the inclusion of local political folklore in the conflict between ethnic and political solidarity in Soviet society.

**Keywords:** China – Russia – Mongolia-frontier mythology.

Research area: social anthropology.

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## Introduction

Let's imagine: the remote border regions of the 1970s USSR are dwelled by the Cossacks-like enemies, who live openly in a completely militarized and clear borders triangle – the USSR, Mongolia and China. They live together with the Soviet people or separately in the settlements, keeping a centuries-old lifestyle. They hate the Soviet regime, as well as the Soviet people; the bravest people among them cross the Soviet-Chinese border, going bold on the raids on the frontier posts and killing the Soviet soldiers. If they live in the Transbaikalian territory, they aggressively get rid of the Soviet soldiers in the *Cossack izba* (log huts), being desperate to shoot at any Soviet thing. They are dressed in old-fashioned manner and armed. Though life keeps going on: the collective farms and factories are trying to execute the plan, soldiers are serving, and the parties of the border conflicts are ignoring the rebel *ataman* (the Cossacks' chieftain). Television, central newspapers – even "Zabaikalskiy Worker" – remain unvoiced. The truth, terrible and appealing, fragmented and hidden, was said people-to-people, turning the vast territory of Mongolia, Transbaikalia and the Chinese border territories into a space of strange and impossible events.

Despite the silence, chronic to the the Soviet people, someone must stand between the idyllic country and the enemy. The soldiers, specialists from other regions who came to Transbaikalia, the Soviet people in Mongolia regard such indifference of the locals as a partnership, or maybe even a conspiracy. They are not completely aware of how the state can give the Soviet citizenship to the white guards from Mongolia and China. What is the sense? A blind eye of the capital, which doesn't see all the specifics of the region? Underestimating the enemy's foul play and determination or a forced obligation to take home a superficially reformed enemies? The Soviet people are eager (or, mainly, forced) eliminate the state's mistake: the people from the past must remain there. They do not communicate with the local Russians in Mongolia and avoid the Chinese repatriates. The Soviet citizenship cannot be withdrawn, still it can be ignored – like an an-

noying accident. Someone must tell the truth that "the enemy always remains the enemy".

This image is not a fiction of a graphomaniac writer or dreams of an officer who is tired of his pension time. This is a common and partially embodied model for the mass perception of events related to the implicit political and social alternatives in the Soviet, Mongolian and Chinese border regions. When facing such phenomenon, the first question is the status of the speech practices that make so huge retro-hallucinations possible.

The article describes a set of unexpected effects of the distrust to the post-war Mongolian and Chinese repatriates, that is reflected in the official Soviet dictionary. That sounds quite simply: the absence of a verified past and a common fear in the people who left the USSR by themselves – have led to practices of exclusion and mistrust. Most post-war repatriates, one way or another, encountered the same problems and their route to the homeland was not always so easy. Still, it is not that simple, as it might seem. The consequences mean the ability of speech to create a context that tear the time and space framework, owing to which not just long-dead enemies could become alive, but also the border territories again plagued into the Civil War mystery. Their unexpected nature was to declare that there were some areas in the Soviet Republics that were inhospitable to the Soviet power. Why then, in an era when "the signifiers are intentionally attached to the signified" (Humphrey, 2005: 337), it is possible to voice certain doubts in the most tolerate dictionary, that the state can guarantee internal safety? Why can the state's decision be thrown there into question? What is the language feature of an illegal fear of a created enemy in the time of "vegetarian socialism"?

The article aims finding the answer by investigating the return of two Russian old communities to the Soviet citizenship from Inner Asia, i.e. the Cossacks repatriates from the Three Rivers Region and the Mongolian Russians. Methodologically the article is based on the epistemological treatment of the past, which decisively causes influence of the contemporality on all the forms of historical knowledge (Kaplonski, 2010: 116-117). Both, in science and

in the memoirs of "ordinary people", the meaning of the past (evaluations, lessons, emotional component) does not exist objectively and remains as a result of the experience interpreted through the prism of the present time. In this way, the memory of the past can be not only its subjective reflection, but also a social practice determining the community status. The article is aimed not at presenting a whole picture of the Soviet citizenship's semiotics, but – more modest – at showing how the Soviet people practice their language when speaking about the temporary and spatial inconsistencies of the repatriates. The linguistic means for the enemy image creation and for mastering it by the target groups in their everyday life are the focus of this article. In this way, a decision on repatriation, which rises concerns and mistrust, is an appropriate indicator for engaging the local political folklore into the conflict between ethnic and political solidarity in the Soviet society. The article relies on the field data obtained in the 2015 – 2016 fall in Mongolia, Inner Mongolia and Chitinskaya Oblast' are used.

#### **Calling for the past:**

##### **Soviet-China border stays the same**

The relations between language and reality are the basic interest for the social sciences, which cannot be satisfied through a simple referential-performative opposition in the description of the world (Agamben, 2018; Benveniste, 1966). The problem becomes even more complicated if the speech practices are past-centered: the physical absence of the referent (past) enables drawing the past closer by complex linguistic constructions, which links the tracks decoding, causality projections and emotional attitudes into a relatively uncontroversial whole. The combination of poor representation means and the endless scale of the unexpressed is universal and doesn't refer to the era of epistemological doubts, as well as to the end of grand narratives directly. Those societies, who maintain their memory by rigid teleological views, inevitably face the control boundaries both over the language of past representation and over its understanding (Zalejko, 1994). The Soviet society was not an exception. The sacralization of political language was not

a panacea for doubts, irritation, and even for alternative views on the past. The analysis of dissident movement in the USSR shows that the "real Lenin" was no less dangerous than the dissident groups or "Voice of America" (Nikonova, 2008). The reduce of the traumatic past representations, available for the society, paradoxically caused new forms of representations that creatively use official discursive forms to get their own goals.

The Soviet people's collective imagination was mainly captured by the mythologies of three places of political and ethnic confrontation, i.e. the Bandera's Ukraine, Semenov's Transbaikalia and Central Asia filled with the Basmachi bandits. In many ways, the followers of Semenov, Bandera and Basmachi were the ones who shaped the geography of political demonology of the Soviet frontier. Despite all the differences in time, places and culture, their dark legends were combined by the function of border management, – in other words they played a role of disciplinary narrative under the frontier socialism mode. Telling about the traumatic experience of the expansion of Soviet models of life, these legends were simultaneously a way of experiencing cultural hierarchies, fears, and a semi-conscious inner need for the material presence of the enemy. Their near-borders presence allowed considering them as a contact with something foreign and hostile in the Soviet perspectives. Therefore, unlike the *classical* enemies of the Soviet man, the border virtual non-communities (Zahra, 2010) were the groups of luminal creatures made of contradictions in the Soviet worldview. In this way, the post-Stalinist Soviet society was rather ready to create and use the enemies to experience complex time regimes and implement cultural hierarchies, than to eliminate them.

In the Soviet Transbaikalia, the collective imagination was mostly focused on the mythology of the Semenov movement. In the perspective of this legend, the public consciousness of the late USSR conceptualized alternative and less desirable models of the Russian culture and the opposition between ethnic and political solidarities (Peshkov, 2010). Being something close (representing a lost subculture) and act-

ing as a semi-criminal anti-communist, a Semenovite was a complete stranger. The issues of metisation, anti-communism and territories untouched by modernization were raised within this discourse as an ideological context of absolute evil. Formal and informal stories about the cruelty of Semenov and his followers identified the Soviet Transbaikalia and an element of denial practices of decossackization and the long-term Old Settlers marginalization. Following this discursive logic, the denial practices reverse the context of events completely, representing the Communists repression as a form of public defense against a stigmatized group (Peshkov, 2010).

After Stalin's death, the stories about the Ataman and his followers became a collective retro-hallucination of a cross-border anti-communist resistance network in the region that threatens the Soviet people. The Soviet specialists in Mongolia, soldiers of the Transbaikalian military okrug (district) and the Soviet population in Mongolia People's Republic, the migrants in Transbaikalia from other parts of the USSR, and even KGB (*Community for State Security*) officers are so mesmerized by the semi-official legend of the Semenovites' presence, that they start to recognize them in the marginal groups of Russian Old Settlers of Inner Asia, who had nothing in common with them. The problem of negative description of sterile and militarized border areas cannot be raised in simple categories of factual truth. One can assume, that the spatial representations of the world on the other side of the border combined with the temporal patterns enabled the possibility to meet with the difficult Revolutionary past and its uncompromising imperative political definition.

As the Soviet soldiers in Transbaikalia and Mongolia remember, the Mongolian and Transbaikalian periphery made it possible to see the Semenov's Cossacks settlements which were closed to the Soviet citizens. Such meetings with the enemy, rumors of closed *stanitsa* (Cossack settlements) and attempts to feel the enemy express both the unconscious willingness to recognize the enemy, as well as a imaginary geography of the Soviet frontier. Constantly repeated stories about the expulsion of the Soviet

citizens from the Cossacks' own space, which remained untouched by the Sovietization, fixes a virtual Semenov's territory as a boundary between the modern life and the past that is completely lost. It should be noted that such a statement, which is undoubtedly a discriminatory practice, was still a form of symbolic exclusion, which was practically not supported by the repressive apparatus of the Soviet state. Paradoxically, this only strengthened the power of the legend, turning it into a semi-official knowledge of how things really look in the border areas.

Speaking on behalf of the dead, leaving them in the past – that is one of the main issues culture deals with. But haunting the past, one, to some extent, is haunting the dead, with their demands and their rights. The example of Antigone and Hamlet convince us that people are weak to imagine all the consequences of the dialogue with the past if one takes the dead's rights seriously. Even the instrumental use of return of the passed leads to new problems, such as the appearance of new communities, which "recognize" themselves in other people's biographies, or extreme politicization of other people's biographies that reproduces the past conflicts. By inhabiting the conventional border regions of Inner Asia with revived white guards, the Soviet society met the problem of how to treat their real or fake descendants.

### **Genealogy of a non-community**

Where a non-community comes from? The historical prototype of the imaginary Semenov's non-community in Inner Asia was a part of the Transbaikalian Cossack community, which supported the white guards in Transbaikalia and continued to fight against the Soviet power till the end of the World War II (Peshkov, 2012). After the anti-communist statehood in Transbaikalia was defeated, the most politically active part of emigration didn't stop their attempts to cross the border and continue fight in the USSR with the Chinese and Japanese military support. After the Kwantung army was crushed, the whole residence areas were forced to obey the Red Army and the NKVD (*People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs*) – all this led to the fact that the Cossack emigra-



tion's political activity was almost ceased. The Transbaikalian Cossacks in the USSR and abroad were completely depoliticized, plunging into the Soviet life or turning into a new emigrant community (the Cossacks from the Three Rivers Region), which oriented to peaceful coexistence with the Soviet government. Still, sterilization of the border areas of Transbaikalia and Mongolia was not the end, but the beginning of a new history of the Semenovites' symbolic presence in the Soviet Transbaikalia, Mongolia and China. Surprisingly, inevitable demilitarization of the community took place at the same time with increasing of its symbolic role in the cultural policy of the Soviet Transbaikalia. Semenov's regime becomes the main official trauma of Transbaikalia: all the regional memorials commemorate the victims of the Ataman Semenov's rule. The real and fake crimes committed by the Semenovites are a crucial element in the Soviet Transbaikalia identification, as they create a picture of absurd kingdom of terror, which even now determine the perception of the region's history.

Then, what groups were recognized as the followers to the Ataman's dubious fame? First, they are the residents of the former Cossack settlements of Transbaikalia, the Mongolian Russians and the Russians (former and present) who live in the Three Rivers Region, in China. Among all this collection of groups, who often had no idea about each other, repatriation didn't touch the descendants of the Transbaikalian Cossacks, who stayed in the USSR, and the contemporary Russians in China. Those who belonged to the first community were ordinary Soviet people, whose only difference was to preserve unofficial memories about the Civil War events: now the atrocities of the Semenov's were a wise (prosperous) attempt to protect the Cossacks from further sufferings, and the legendary heroes are analyzed on the basis of common origin. The second community (Chinese Russians) is a group which includes mainly the descendants of mixed China-Russian-Mongolian Orthodox families who live in the region at the present time. Their identity is based on the oral version of their history, made up of three traumas: the Civil War and famine in Transbaikalia, the Japanese occupation

and the Cultural Revolution (Peshkov, 2014). Their memory of living together with the Cossacks is generally negative, they do not want to have anything in common with the "Cossack Vendée" (Basharov, 2010).

The local Russians in Mongolia represent a mixed community of the descendants of Russian peasants, Western Buryats, Cossacks and Chinese who escaped from the hunger and collectivization; it is recognized in the dictionary of frontier disloyalty (Mikhalev, 2008). Despite fighting in the Great Patriotic War and being generally loyal to the Soviet regime, the community was not able to overcome the negative image of being an implicit enemy. The rapid growth of the Soviet-Mongolian cooperation after 1966 caused a mass arrival of the Soviet specialists and military officers who were surprised by the existence of non-Soviet Russians in Mongolia. The story of Ungern-Sternberg Cossacks' descendants, hiding in Mongolia, is becoming the label of this community. Though they live with the Soviet citizens together but separately – nominally compatriots, but always perceived as former enemies. The complete recognition of their civil rights in 1979 did not change the situation: neither they, nor the Soviet specialists noticed any changes. Alexei Mikhalev described the relations between the Mongolian Russians' civil status, historical experience of the frontier banditry and the community being used as a disciplinary mechanism as follows:

"(.....) the local Russian were compared to the white guards and enemies. This model was easily naturalized because till the mid-1930s, there were the military units subjected to different atamans on the Mongolian border, who were engaged into the cross-border banditry. Such pattern which explains the origin of the local Russians stigmatized this community and set the task "to atone for the Motherland". This guilt was formed by the social exclusion – denied access to political rights or to profitable work, as well as the gaps in consumption and social distance. The latter was especially important because, as the guidance of the Soviet specialists says, "for communication with the local Semenovites, one will be deported to the mainland" (Mikhalev, 2016: 110).



After 1991, the local Russians were no longer considered as the Semenovites, but remained aliens. Now they had to tackle the Transbaikal acculturation, manifested in non-classical Orthodox practices and visits to shamans and lamas. Such strange Orthodoxy is quite ironically becoming a new marker of exclusion: the former Communists demand canonical Orthodoxy from the former white guards.

The Cossacks-repatriates community of the Three Rivers Region was associated with the problematic region, social estate and time. The Three Rivers Region (*Sānhé qū*) is the Russian name for the delta of the three tributaries of the Argun River (i.e. Derbul, Haul and Gahn), which underwent an integrated agricultural colonization by refugees from the former Russian Empire and then became the main Russian agricultural center in China. Emergence of Manchukuo which led to semi-forced participation of the emigrants in protection of the border. (Perminov, 2008). All this completely demonized the community in the Soviet society's eyes. The aspect of real and mythical collaboration largely pre-determined the community life after the War. When the Kwantung Army was defeated, the local Cossacks began step by step moving to the USSR – first, as a forced deportation to the Soviet camps, and after Stalin's death, as a semi-forced repatriation with restricted rights for settlements in the Northern Kazakhstan and the Ural Region. Only in 1994, 15 families returned in Transbaikalia to the settlement of Senkina Pad', near Priargunskiy Rayon (District). It is worthy to note, that there was another emigration movement. Fearing repressions, a big part of the Cossacks emigrated through Shanghai to the USA, Canada, Australia and the Philippines, and arranged their own agricultural settlements there.

### The enemy after the Thaw

What does it mean "to be an enemy after Stalin's death"? When the judicial category "the enemy of the people" disappeared (1958)<sup>1</sup> it did not mean neither the old enemies vanished nor new ones stopped being created. Of course, a dramatic fall of political sentences,

massive amnesties (caused by sentences re-statements) and general optimism of the Thaw empowers the caesura of political repression. But the category "enemy" did not simply disappear from the political horizon, but rather took on new and, in most cases, unexpected forms. The massive return from the camps leads to new problems to families, employment, and to public places (Humphrey, 2010). A new round of the battle against religion, causes new victims, which cannot be compared with the Stalin's scale, but still very significant. The collective guilt undergoes a careful revision: most of the deported peoples can return to their small motherland, but some must patiently wait for their chance. This leads to the first dissidents and public creative communities' emergence that violates the party strategy.

In this perspective, despite that punitive measures are generally mitigated, the category of "enemy" becomes more complicated, in a new way combining the past, present and future in the people's perception. "Former people" are replaced by former prisoners and exiled men, often restricted in their rights on mobility and residence. The "enemy" becomes an anachronism that does not suit the "era of space and corn", which is marked by a brighter future vector. Obviously, not everyone can enter this future: the state still does not trust a huge number of people. Slightly changing the well-known words of Anna Akhmatova, both, "executed Russia" and "executing Russia", must look into the eyes of the state first, which suspect their executors as well as their victims.

There comes a new phenomenon: the society begins to outpace the state when recognizing the enemies. Thus, the disappearance of punitive vocabulary from the code of criminal procedure leads to a shift in the process of enemy creation. If the state must call the enemies allegorically (a sectarian, freeloader, distributor of prohibited literature or pervert), then the society takes the right to clearer the definitions over. O. Kharkhordin describes the shifting processes, which convert the maintenance to more subtle and horizontal and only strengthen this trend (Kharkhordin, 2016). But what is the status of the recognized enemy? Of course, through the lens of law, the enemy

<sup>1</sup> Fixed in the Constitution till 1977 (Gutarova, 2012).

cannot be recognized without the state's sanction and support, i.e. it does not have any legal force and cannot be regarded as a performative act. But how do the society and the recognized groups treat that? In this case, the situation looks quite ambiguous. One should not underestimate these more simple and weaker forms of performative activity. The recognition creates a semi-fictitious control community and no less fictitious community of enemies. The reproduction of this regime does not result in the criminal prosecution, though may lead to long-term restrictions on the real rights and consent to exclusions. While direct forms of discrimination can theoretically be suppressed by the state involved in the discussion about the person's status, then more implicit forms of enemies distancing can occur automatically and still be not so much clear (Humphrey, 2010).

In this way, "the public legal creativity" shows increasing control of the society over the state (referring to the values of confrontation and clear friends-enemies distinction). One may ask a question about the mechanisms of creating new enemies. First, this relates to the people who had lived abroad and after 1945 were massively returning. Who were they? Were they innocent? Was it possible to redeem their past sins? The answers are not that simple as it may look. The emigration posed the questions about the attitude to the past on the territory of the enemy. How to measure involvement (which is compulsory) into the army of other state or into the work of political body, study at an intelligence institution, or just a quiet life away from a warring country (Ablazhei, 2007). How far they can be called "the Soviet citizens"? How can they prove their loyalty to the country? The Soviet Union received the right on a part of the emigration, but did the emigrants receive the right to live among us?

The answers were hard to find due to a new round of the Revolution and the Civil War cult, directly related to the attempts to bring Lenin back. The purity and humanism of revolutionaries put the framework of ethnic and political solidarity under discussion once again. The Civil War quite convincingly demonstrated that the ethnic solidarity does not guarantee political consent. This doubted

the fact, whether people from the past had a right for a brighter future. The situation worsened by certain reactions to emotional blackmailing by the Soviet society. The problem was not the rumors about a happy life abroad: the former emigrants, except for the brave old Cossack women-repatriates, quickly understood the rules and restrictions. The problem lied in avoidance and silence [Humphrey 2005], reinforcing the idea that they had something to hide. The emotional atmosphere of the Soviet work did not imply silence, the silenced Russia of the prisoners and emigrants seemed a thrilling anachronism and nobody knew what to do with it. The encountered silence only increased distrust; avoiding conversation was a challenge that called the public's desire to understand who became one of them into question. This seems paradoxical, but such fear evoked a hidden voice and concealed thoughts: in the eyes of the society, avoiding confrontation looked like a confirmation of the deepest concerns.

When speaking "Russian emigration", one might not think of the rural refugees from Transbaikalia, patiently reconstructing the ruined village life in the border areas of Mongolia and China. The world of Cossacks, peasants, Old Believers and Christianized foreigners, fleeing hunger and repression, seems to be completely lost in the maelstrom of great events and dramatic changes in the frontier areas. Their life there, first, as incomprehensible, and then often negatively recognized communities, turned simple stories of the village life into a part of the massive process of the border territories filtration. It is the border that links the time and place into an insoluble substance made of suspicion, fear and negative thoughts. In this perspective, the former people of the Russian settlements in Inner Asia represent a forbidden life, condemned by the state and society to a collective name, responsibility and penance. They had no place in the state's fate and, thus, they were forever locked up by the official versions of its past.

The Soviet people's imagination demonized the local Mongolian Russians, fitting into this myth the normal features of the peripheral and agrarian group of the region: metisation, aggression and bilingualism. The "Semenov-

vite" in Mongolia becomes a symbol: an aggressively disposed metis – a descendant of the Soviet power's enemies and the one who no longer related to the modern Russian culture. The response aggression towards the Soviet Union confirms the rumor, and the community's closed nature and its partial acculturation in the Mongolian culture leads to new mythologization. On the other hand, the local Russians accept this name by themselves, often not quite capturing its meaning. To put simply, they played a game, not feeling its rules. All attempts to compromise and unite with the compatriots are stopped even at the school level: the Semenovites and the Soviet people live in different styles and try not to meet each other. *The people from the past* evoke different feelings: fear, respect, contempt, hate, but not mercy and sympathy. Their feelings and intentions are vague, they are completely in the shadow of the imposed hostile image, which makes it impossible to be interested in their internal problems. One of my respondents described a life full of contradictions in two ways: a normal Soviet school girl in Mongolia and a recognized member of the enemy community: *"We still do not fully understand why the Soviet people hated us so much. We just wanted to be and indeed were like them, but no one heard or took us seriously. We had to be enemies, traitors, descendants of the white guards"*. The transformation of peasant refugees (Scott, 2009) into fearsome enemies of the Soviet regime was supported by a lack of clear story about their experience. The group described in terms of exclusion (non-Soviet, non-Mongols, non-Chinese) has never become more than a regional community. Their memory concentrates on the horrors of the Civil War, hunger and hard life in Mongolia.

For the Cossack repatriates, the life in China and Kazakhstan grounds the group identity. Except a few senior members of the families born in Transbaikalia, the Manchurian experience has determined the community identity. Its memory is centered around a happy childhood and youth in the Three Rivers Region and the Soviet life. The first post-Cossack generation lives in an ideological vacuum: they are far from both the anti-communist movement and the USSR: being seized by the reality

of living together with the Semenov's followers form the one side and the general negative Soviet stereotype of Semenov's from the other, their public memory focuses on a mutual drama of the Civil War and on "peaceful" aspects of their parents life in Manchuria (economics, religion, community). Indeed, contrary to the Soviet stereotype, the Cossacks of the Three Rivers Region and their descendants recognize themselves as a peaceful and politically passive group, which was the instrument of Japanese policy and became a victim of the Soviet and Chinese repressions. Their motherland met them with the black fame of the Ataman and the official label of being Semenovites. The lack of Soviet socialization and the real experience of life in the border areas made any dialogue impossible. The society did not want to hear about the past, and the repatriates did not understand the black-and-white picture of the Transbaikal disaster. For the community it was hard to learn the Soviet semiotic field: to speak the language of power (Kotkin, 1997), to remain silent (Humphrey, 2009) and to adapt narratives about the past to the capacities of the host society (Figes, 2007).

The popular Soviet version and its influence on the attitude of institutions-society relations cause de-politicization of biographies and family histories. The surnames and events used in the Soviet narratives (Semenov, Semenovites, collaboration with the Japanese army) are generally excluded from the dictionary and the main emphasis is put on universal neutral elements of the memories: family, religion and Chinese exoticism. Being unable to confront the Soviet propaganda machine, the group completely rejected the political components of the family history. The stories about the past of the Cossacks are aimed at opposing the Soviet cliché about the Semenovites' crimes to a semi-idyllic image of a peaceful and hardworking community. The complete de-politicization of the past was a natural reaction to the political conflict provoked by the Soviet society. The Soviet propaganda and the collective imagination of the Soviet people artificially politicized the group, considering them as anti-communists and enemies of the Soviet society. When they returned to the USSR, the group did not have

any strong anti-Soviet position, and the crash of the Semenov alternatives was obvious.

One can state, that the de-politicization of narratives about the past strengthened its alienation in Soviet society, rather than led to the group's Sovietization. Being out of the policy sharpened the need for the family independence, religion and individual work ethics as the main criteria for the identity. After 1991, the community continued to distance from the post-Soviet versions of the Civil War, but, unlike the pro-Soviet residents of Transbaikalia, it finds the cause of the region's economic and social crisis in the politics of Soviet period.

The dangerous past of the border regions is haunting the Cossack-repatriate communities and the local Mongolian Russians in the unexpected form of symbolic exclusion, almost not supported by the repressive state policy. Both communities were weak to understand, much less to accept the projected collective guilt for the Civil War, representing typical agriculture of refugees. The lack of the Soviet socialization in the first case or the basic stigmatization in the second, leads to leaving and avoiding the political language through the family stories. In both cases, communities try to get away from the politics, constantly emphasizing their severe fate, hardworking nature and loyalty to the Russian culture.

## Conclusion

The article analyzes the specifics of the Soviet practices of suspicion, restricting the

border population through the prism of inevitable political impurity, using the experience of repatriates from Inner Asia as example. The communities captured by this phantom are not able to resist the language of accusation: they either do not understand the essence, or do not know how to speak the language of the Soviet memory. The complex temporality of the Soviet worldview made the past a realm of political struggle and sharply politicized almost neutral reactions: avoidance, silence, misunderstanding, or tiredness from a wild history of the border regions. In this way, the foreign guests immediately became "the people from the past", reinforcing the concerns and fears about the credibility to the Soviet state. Unlike the Stalin period, when panic and fear were a strictly planned performance of the loyalty, now we deal with the public initiative, only partially and with huge limitations supported by the state.

Even though a certain degree of distrust in the ethnic or political conformity of new citizens is almost universal, the described case highlights the intensity of the public demand from "normal" citizens for the doubts about the repatriates' loyalty. The described ways for creating and recognizing the enemy represent possible turning political actions into fantasies, silence, or even misunderstanding. In this perspective, the need for the enemy can be far from what the state expects and continues to be the main obstacle to reconciliation after a national catastrophe.

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## «Вернуться на Родину врагом». Языки описания и самоописания репатриантов из Внутренней Азии

**И.О. Пешков**

*Университет имени Адама Мицкевича в Познани  
Польша, Познань*

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**Аннотация.** Статья исследует сомнения и тревоги, связанные с возвращением в поле советского гражданства двух сообществ русских старожилов Внутренней Азии: казаков-репатриантов из Трехречья и местнорусских из Монголии. Теоретической основой статьи является положение об эпистемологическом характере присутствия прошлого, что обозначает определяющее влияние современных условий на историческое познание в его любых формах. В этой перспективе память о прошлом может рассматриваться не только как его субъективное отражение, но и как социальная практика, определяющая статус сообщества. Задача данной статьи – показать, как советский человек использовал речевые практики по отношению к временному и пространственному несоответствию репатриантов. Способы лингвистического создания образа врага и его освоение целевыми группами в обычной жизни будут главными вопросами этой статьи. Вызывающее недоверие и тревогу решение о репатриации в этой перспективе является удобным маркером включения локального политического фольклора в конфликт между этнической и политической солидарностями в советском обществе.

**Ключевые слова:** мифология китайско-российско-монгольской границы.

Научная специальность: социальная антропология.

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## Russian-Speaking “Migrant YouTube” as a Focus of Urban and Social Studies

Daria S. Pchelkina<sup>a\*</sup> and Dmitriy O. Timoshkin<sup>a,b,c,d</sup>

<sup>a</sup>*Siberian Federal University  
Krasnoyarsk, Russian Federation*

<sup>b</sup>*Irkutsk State University  
Irkutsk, Russian Federation*

<sup>c</sup>*National Research Tomsk State University  
Tomsk, Russian Federation*

<sup>d</sup>*The Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy  
and Public Administration  
Moscow, Russian Federation*

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**Abstract.** In the Russian-speaking YouTube segment, there is a large number of channels whose authors, coming to the Russian Federation from Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan, publish the scenes of their everyday life in the host country: searching for a job, furnishing an apartment, meeting migration services and police officers, relationships with other migrants. These videos and comments to them describe the migration experience of the author and reflect the reaction of other migrants and host society representatives to their opinions. Such digital platforms are more than just venues for experience exchange and accumulation of social capital between the migrants; they are a meeting point for “us” and “them”, the conventional migrants and the locals. The specificity of the digital platform and its daily life blog focus allows us to suppose that the studies of the “migrant channels” are an opportunity to see Russian cities through the eyes of the foreign labourers. At the same time, the “migrant segment” of the Russian-speaking YouTube has hardly ever been described. The objective of the article is to partially fill this gap by categorizing the “migrant YouTube” channels selected with the snowball principle based on the retrospective online observation method, to assess their heuristic potential for further thorough sociological and anthropological studies of migration, and, if possible, to formulate several hypotheses on the social functions on the “migrant YouTube”.

**Keywords:** migrant, social media, horizontal networks, YouTube, city.

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\* Corresponding author E-mail address: pchelkina.ml@mail.ru, dmtrtim@gmail.com  
ORCID: 0000-0002-4154-5862 (Pchelkina); 0000-0001-5478-0469 (Timoshkin)

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In Russian-speaking mass media, the migration as a term has always been closely associated with quite a limited scope of the spatial and social properties. They often got in the centre of the researcher's attention (Eberl et al., 2018; Kalygina, 2009; Wood, King, 2001). Focused on the way the "migrant" is presented through the eyes of the host community, the researchers remark that this image is static, with the connotation being its only changing aspect. A young tanned man in a working robe may be seen as an essential element of the daily urban life, as an invader, as an eternal source of any problems or as the hope and backbone of the Russian economy. In any situation, however, the centre of attention is the "migrant" himself, a young tanned poor man and his real or imaginary deeds. It is usually up to journalists and social media users to judge whether he is good or bad, dangerous or safe, whether Russia needs him or not; sociologists and linguists analyze the constructs that come up in the process.

The academic texts seem to be recording only a small share of the images arising around the migration process, i.e. those created by the host society representatives. The languages of describing migration in different Russian-speaking media created by the host society are well known; it is also known how the migrants are perceived by members of various social and age groups. All these studies make up a detailed map of the host society's ideas of migration translated through the media. At the same time, we have hardly found any information on whether the migrants form similar description languages in the mass media and how the host society is presented through them.

We suppose that the study of the "migrant YouTube" segment is an opportunity to fill a part of this gap. In the numerous autobiographic, entertaining or news videos

made by the migrants, it is possible to find some exclusive information about their daily life in Russia and to discover the language describing the host society. The objective of the article is to test this hypothesis on the Russian-speaking channels selected with the snowball method, which, as can be judged from the title or the content of the channel, are made by migrants.

The reasons of selecting YouTube among many other digital platforms are the following: first of all, it makes an impression that the studies of the "migrant YouTube" are relatively scarce (Malakhov, Olimova, Simon, 2018). The researchers either do not distinguish YouTube as a separate empirical category or regard it as a space presenting common statements of the host society (Horsty, 2016), not the migrants themselves. Therefore, the "migrant YouTube" is understudied to a great extent, unlike other digital platforms used by migrants (Komito, 2011; Pendry, Salvatore, 2015). Secondly, YouTube is the second most sought for source after Google, the most popular digital social network in the world. Thirdly, the specificity of this digital platform gives us a reason to suppose that there we may find open access to regular video reports of the daily lives of the migrants, and, most importantly, the reaction of other users to these translated images. Fourthly, even the most superficial search in the Russian-speaking YouTube segment shows that there are hundreds of channels created by the migrants directly focused on their migration experience.

The material for the research was collected through the YouTube search engine with the inputs containing such words as *migrant*, *migrant worker*, *expat*, *Moscow*, *Russia*, and the names of the main donor countries for the RF: *Uzbekistan*, *Tajikistan*, *Kazakhstan*: *Tajik in Moscow*, *Migrant Russia* etc. The YouTube search results included "migrant" channels in

all CIS languages. This study covered only those where at least a part of the video was made in the Russian language. We have studied the channels with the content matching the objective of the study, i.e. containing any messages on the experience of migration from Central Asia to Russia. The major part of the material was collected with the method of retrospective (Paechter, 2015) observation (Bassi et al., 2019) over the statements of the channel authors and viewers, which included both comments to the videos and the videos themselves. Then, having analyzed the content of the selected channel, the links to other "migrant channels" the authors or the users provided were used.

It should be noted, however, that the objective of this study does not include a thorough analysis of the "migrant channels" content; it is about the determination of the general scope of statements of their authors and viewers, classification of channels depending on the topics they focus on. Nevertheless, we will attempt, if possible, to come up with several hypotheses on the social functions the "migrant YouTube" may cater.

The YouTube search engine provides hundreds, if not thousands of channels made by migrants from Central Asia. If we choose to rely upon the search engine algorithm rating the most relevant results in the top of the list and limit the study to the first one hundred results for every search request, the results can be divided into several categories. This division is quite conventional, as the majority of authors publish a diverse content, sometimes combining sports highlights, views of Moscow streets and the author's home town, conversations with the police and family celebrations.

The first category is autobiographic channels with reports on the days of immigration, work, accommodation etc. The second category consists of news channels with information on the changes in the migration regulations, patent prices and labour quotes. The third category covers the channels that discuss legal issues. The largest category is the entertainment channels, from the "ethnic" cuisine recipes to pranks and attempts of the young migrants to pick up a Russian girl in Moscow.

### **Between the motherlands:**

#### **autobiographic channels**

The authors of autobiographic channels tell us about their preparations for moving, reasons for their decision, how they settled down in Moscow and other cities<sup>1</sup>, and where they found themselves in the end. Their audience may vary from a couple of people to thousands. The channels may contain information about arranging the accommodation for those who move to Moscow as well as their jobs and duties. One of the channels' author rents a tiny room, stuffed with his belongings, that he comments on as follows: *"If anyone of your relatives or people you know has worked at a construction site in Russia, Moscow or St. Petersburg, you must have seen places like this. Not very comfortable, but there are no other options. You may rent an apartment, but then seven to eight people will be living in the same room. I'm gonna make a video about this as well. Subscribe and click like"*<sup>2</sup>.

Apart from the details of their migration experience, the authors discuss the reasons the "migrant YouTube" exists, explaining their motivations. The author of the "Sunboy TV" channel attempts to debunk the stereotypes about migrants, showing what they are and what they do. As he says, the "migrant YouTube" is there for both those who leave and those who stay. Based on his logic, the "migrant channels" also include those focused on life in the country of the migrants' origin. Those who left can follow Uzbek, Tajik, and Kyrgyz bloggers to be informed about the situation back in their motherland, and those who stay, see the atmosphere in Russia through the migrant channels.

On the "Sunboy" channel, the highlights of sports events are interspersed with videos of Hadj, weddings, various Islamic ceremonies, and describing the migrant organisations of Yekaterinburg, such as air ticket offices, medical centres, and restaurants. The author makes video tours around Yekaterinburg in his native tongue, showing markets, malls, places to buy air tickets with Tajik speaking staff. Some videos may be useful as a map of the migrant Yekaterinburg; they provide information about

<sup>1</sup> Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RIRzXYS66tM>

<sup>2</sup> Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8lCkHnHBm5g>

the horizontal networks that include the author and his followers who leave their comments. The author makes recommendations on where and how to buy proper Hadj footwear<sup>3</sup>, where to bring the lost documents so that their owner can find them later<sup>4</sup>, where to buy dried fruits, and where migrants' children can improve their Russian and English before school<sup>5</sup>.

The channel acts as a meeting point for the migrant horizontal networks. The author intensively interacts with his subscribers offline, just like most of his videos' characters do. Moreover, many of his videos are intended to encourage offline interactions, i.e. advertising of language courses or Hadj organisation services. As we can judge from the uploaded videos, the author intention is rather to create a guide around the migrant Yekaterinburg and to help the newcomers find their way around than to promote a product or a service.

The channel shows us the migration experience of the author himself, his trips around the country and walks around the streets of Yekaterinburg, different jobs and impressions. This channel alone presents over 10 venues used by migrants and presents how the supernational horizontal networks are formed, integrating people into the city life. Another interesting point about the channel is the list of sources followed by the author. Those sources provide even more information about the migrant Yekaterinburg, such as martial art clubs, farmers who sell cows and sheep, and language schools. Such a channel may significantly ease the life of newcomers, especially those who speak little Russian. For example, there is a video introducing a clinic with the doctors speaking the author's native language.

Other channels<sup>6</sup> also demonstrate the life lines of newcomers to various cities of Russia; their authors have come to Russia for different purposes, they are of different age, sex, and status. The first ten "migrant YouTube" channels prove that it makes no sense speaking of a unified "migrant YouTube", as it presents

lots of different "migrations", with every one of them creating their own social and spatial images.

A master's degree student of the Higher School of Economics representing one of the Central Asian countries describes his first days at university, tells the viewers about how he found a part-time job, shows his dormitory, his working place and his duties. We find out that digital media becomes a tool of social capital gain. In one of the videos, the author tells about how he found a part-time job by asking for help in his Instagram stories<sup>7</sup>.

In the video about his first day at a Moscow construction site, the author tells about how he found the way to the site, the people he worked with, the details of the working process, and the amount of money he earned. Another author picks migrants in the Moscow streets crowd and interviews them about the reasons that made them move, their activities, and whether they are happy about their lives. It is not only the answers but also the reaction of the respondents to the questions that are of the greatest interest<sup>8</sup>. In the third video, the author visits a tea house where the Higher School of Economics masters' students normally go. The author shows the menu and prices. In other videos, the author expresses his attitude to Russian stereotypes about migrants from Middle Asia and comments on the insulting phrases of a Russian TV host concerning Kyrgyz people.

The "migrant channels" allow observing the everyday life of female migrants from Middle Asia. The opportunity is unique, considering the gender disproportion of immigration to Russia<sup>9</sup>, and the unwillingness of women to contact with unfamiliar interviewers, frequently detected during the field researches. So, the author of the "I am a Tajik woman" channel tells in Russian about her tailor shop business, her family, and everyday life in both Tajikistan and Russia<sup>10</sup>. The author shows the places where she has breakfast, menus, prices, and how she and her children celebrate family holidays. Be-

<sup>3</sup> Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vWfc8T-32GE>

<sup>4</sup> Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iqOpCy2A28k>

<sup>5</sup> Source: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iEs4E\\_h-1SI](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iEs4E_h-1SI)

<sup>6</sup> Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uMxOeZ-vq97s>; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SVbrbzgVURg>

<sup>7</sup> Source: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=shF5\\_mu4RKY](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=shF5_mu4RKY)

<sup>8</sup> Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QHDH3yAF7nM>

<sup>9</sup> Source: <https://ac.gov.ru/files/publication/a/16766.pdf>

<sup>10</sup> Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PpMDTVeCmQ>



sides her everyday life, the author focuses on responding to the questions of her followers. From these monologues, we get to know the target audience of the channel, the reason why she makes her videos in Russian, and how her business started. The purpose of the channel is not only to present her lifestyle but also to sell the hand-made clothes she makes<sup>11</sup>. The author tells about her customers and their preferences. In particular, we find out that many of her customers are migrants, ordering national dresses.

The channel is interesting for both migrants from Central Asia living in Russia and people staying in Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan. For them, it is a bridge connecting Russia and their country, a way to satisfy their need for nostalgia watching videos from Tajikistan or to learn more about Russia. The followers ask the author to make video reviews of Russian and Tajik cities, to tell the story of her business. According to the author, she uses Russian for two purposes: to widen her potential audience using Russian as a lingua franca, and to prevent the storm of reproach from the orthodox-thinking fellow citizens.

The authors of autobiographic channels do not only tell about their everyday life but also share their professional skills, let those be specific aspects of curing proctologic diseases<sup>12</sup> or the basics of butchering. The videos posted by migrants cover diverse aspects of their lives not necessarily united by any common narrative, but it is not a disadvantage. A channel of a new migrant employed as a taxi driver has only one subscriber, but its videos guide us through several nights of the author driving around the streets of Moscow. In the video, he tells about the company he works for, discloses his nightly income and the destinations of his passengers<sup>13</sup>.

Another "migrant channel" with several dozens of subscribers has a video where an old man makes a strange massage to a patient, lying on the floor, while the people around are laughing and cheering<sup>14</sup>. We can also spectate a

young migrant wearing work clothes performing a breakdance right at the construction site<sup>15</sup>, or two other migrants roaming the streets of Samara to some music<sup>16</sup>.

The video diaries of the migrants are important not only for their content, but also for the difference in situations experienced by authors living in different cities, working at different places, and having different statuses. In terms of mental geography, fragments of the videos make up a migrant map of Russia, with details that can hardly be picked during offline field surveys. This is a great opportunity for a benchmark analysis of the individual migrant experience and the self-reflection presented in the videos. The variety of the everyday life stories, which have become accessible due to the "migrant channels", lets us see the transboundary movement beyond the spectrum of values set by journalists and academic literature.

#### **Bureaucracy for dummies and arrest school: channels on legal issues**

The content related to numerous bureaucratic procedures is one of the most common to find. It can be found on the entertainment, news, and autobiographic channels, but it is mostly concentrated on the special channels of the migration lawyers<sup>17</sup> and legal advocates. They are valuable for presenting local law enforcement practices and making references to the practising lawyers in different regions. For example, one of the authors published a big video explaining why registration with the migration bodies should not be done through the Russian post offices<sup>18</sup>, and another provided a thorough description of the procedure of exclusion from the Russian Federation<sup>19</sup>.

The channels of the second group are more specific; their authors may teach the viewers talking to officials, illustrating every situation with the videos of their personal experience. Another trend is presenting the cobwebs of the Russian labour legislation, teaching migrants

<sup>11</sup> Source: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?time\\_continue=473&v=8P-yPjz04Oo](https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=473&v=8P-yPjz04Oo)

<sup>12</sup> Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wjxB8Fc1rcw>

<sup>13</sup> Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=heecLZUaxrE>

<sup>14</sup> Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DPKm73AUjBk>

<sup>15</sup> Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E4fANju4CDs>

<sup>16</sup> Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tAiyTcmfVRE>

<sup>17</sup> Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tAiyTcmfVRE>

<sup>18</sup> Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4z1MbrQ6lfw>

<sup>19</sup> Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zET0VuF4-y8>

how to communicate with their employers and landlords.

The channels where their migrant authors publish videos on the offences committed by the Russian police stand out as a special group. Ungrounded searches, demands for bribes and physical violence are demonstrated to the public, and, according to the comments, the channel viewers consider those as a "beginner's course". Analyzing the documented conversations with the police, the users learn how to respond in different situations, how to behave and what laws to refer to. Other videos provide the list of documents a migrant should carry not to cause any suspicions of the police<sup>20</sup>.

These channels are also interesting for presenting the shadow economy exploiting the migrant traffic. The channel of Karimjon Yerov, for example, is a real school of labour migration. Besides other things, the author publishes the videos of disputes with the Moscow police officers on the illegal demands they make. For example, in a discussion that took place near the migration centre in Sakharov Street, the author asserts his right to request the police officer to present the grounds for checking his documents<sup>21</sup>. It reveals some interesting details of the interaction between the Moscow police and the migrants; for example, the "anti-riot regiment" of the police is known for its cruelty and negligence of the written regulations. In another video, the author begins a discussion with the police officers, persuading them to release two migrants detained in the Moscow underground, and finally succeeds<sup>22</sup>.

The most interesting part of the study is the comments posted by the video viewers. For example, in one of the videos, a man begins a dispute with the police and gets beaten<sup>23</sup>. Below, we find the comments of the migrants who do not only express their attitude to the Russian police but also criticize the "friend and foe" dichotomy created by the host society, suggesting the media projects alternative to the Russian mass media mainstream.

One of the viewers recalls the identity of the "Soviet people", referring to it as to the beautiful past: *"This is unbearable for me to see. It has been going on for 30 years and there is no hope it would ever be over. I have been living and working in Russia for over 15 years, I've been to different cities, and everywhere you can find such rascals who, I am sure, don't even the laws of their country, or use our ignorance to make money or to get any other profit. There are lots of us in Russia, and by saying "us", I mean Uzbeks, Tajiks, Kyrgyz, who have to come here to win their bread. We are everywhere, at the construction sites, markets, transport, and plants. This is not our fault that we happened to live in Central Asia. We used to live in the same state as you, under the same red flag for over 70 years, and we have to find the right way in the end. We are not your enemies; we are your friends. We may be poor, but we are true friends of yours, though we feel no friendly attitude from you when everyone sees what is going on but does not say anything. We are in a great need for well-educated people with a good command of the Russian language and the expertise of Russian law, let those be 100 people from Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. Let the migrants and the embassies of our countries give them financial and diplomatic support so that they could work for the people coming here so that all the offences people make were revealed and made public on all the channels. Then, I believe, it will be alright"*.

In other videos, the author shows a lecture given in a small auditorium about the basic skills the migrants need to avoid getting scammed in Moscow. The lecturer organizes roleplays with the listeners, simulating a morning visit of the police, a search in the street or a document check. In every game, the lecture participants and the lecturer play the roles of a police officer or an employer, and the others act as themselves.

Thus, in the house search role play<sup>24</sup>, the lecturer teaches the migrants to ask the police officers to present the grounds for the search and the suspect profile if the police refer to a crime committed on the premises. The listeners make notes, tell funny situations from

<sup>20</sup> Source: [https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCeLQQB-8bA58U\\_YiT-nz9ptw/featured](https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCeLQQB-8bA58U_YiT-nz9ptw/featured)

<sup>21</sup> Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PBC2k6izJFE>

<sup>22</sup> Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1IKJAwUvaUg>

<sup>23</sup> Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JymVeIkanEA>

<sup>24</sup> Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j1yopMjyRu0>

their experience, and the lecturer shares life-hacks they may use to avoid prosecution in the future.

In other videos the migrants are taught selecting employment ads, making agreements with insurance companies<sup>25</sup> and other useful skills. Based on the examples of the ads from Moscow newspapers and recruiting websites, the migrants are taught distinguishing fair employers from scammers. According to the lecturer, a good ad must feature: the address of the company, obligations of the worker, salary, applicant requirements and the work schedule<sup>26</sup>.

The channel and the users' comments contain a great deal of updated information on the fraudulent practices of Russian companies and the shadow economy they develop. For example, one of the Moscow companies advertises a job with very attractive conditions but requires the applicants to present a health permit. If the applicant fails, the employer offers the service of a "friend" company, which is, of course, not free. After that, many other services may be imposed on the applicant, such as the uniform, the security service etc. This way the company collects up to 18 thousand rubles from each applicant and rejects him or her, for example, referring to the negative results of the security check. The author advises the migrants to avoid the companies that demand prepayment of a part of the future salary in exchange of the search for the suitable vacancies, as well as any other places that require any forms of payment for employment.

The head of Tong Zhakhoni, Moscow organization advocating the migrants' rights, runs training courses where he demonstrates the cases from his legal practice, presents the agreements concluded by the scammed migrants he had to defend. Based on these examples, the lecturer teaches newcomers to distinguish the suspicious symptoms that may indicate the fraudulent intentions of the employer. Those include the agreement articles stipulating the liability of the employee for damage of any property at the employer's site, or the obligation to purchase the working

robes, inventory or expendables at the worker's expense. The lecturer made a special emphasis on multilevel marketing, explaining the audience how to distinguish the ads of the MLM companies among others.

The lecturer makes it obvious that even large contractors, working with such famous companies as Megafon, sometimes do not mind using such techniques. The lecture mentioned many large and famous companies exploiting the labour of Central Asian migrants. For instance, according to the lecturer, a contractor of Megafon, a cleaning company from Moscow, forced its cleaning staff to work for 15 hours per day, buying detergents from the employers for the money exceeding the market price by several times. Moreover, the staff bears full liability for the damage of all the equipment used in the offices.

The channels on legal issues help to evaluate the level of uncertainty the migrants have to face and to learn the ways this uncertainty may be overcome. Publishing another piece of current information on the cost of patents in Russian regions, quotes<sup>27</sup>, and the most recent changes in the migration legislation<sup>28</sup>, the necessary documents<sup>29</sup>, the authors make immigration to the RF a much more predictable matter, therefore expanding, though to the smallest extent, the planning horizon for their subscribers.

The legal advocates' channels provide several arrays of useful research material. First of all, those are videos themselves. They provide the material for a thorough study of the contacts between the migrants and the police officers that are hard to reproduce but can be used to study the microsocial interaction structure. The video records of the words, facial expressions, gestures and actions create the canvas of the social scenes, attractive for application of a dramaturgic metaphor.

The comments to them, presenting the reaction of the migrants to the depicted situations, are just as valuable; that is the material impossible to collect in the field, through in-

<sup>27</sup> Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GJrZB56fUls>

<sup>28</sup> Source: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IEW6TW\\_OSaA](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IEW6TW_OSaA)

<sup>29</sup> Source: [https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCeLQQB-8bA58U\\_YiT-nz9ptw/featured](https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCeLQQB-8bA58U_YiT-nz9ptw/featured)

<sup>25</sup> Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u2Dg0wXpN00>

<sup>26</sup> Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j1yopMjyRu0>

interviews or questionnaires. This is the pool of the potential respondents, authors and actors of the videos, migration legislation experts, familiar with the reality of the shadow economy exploiting the migration traffic, as well as the migrants themselves.

### **Pranks, sports and the Red Square pickup: entertainment channels**

For obvious reasons, the content we classified as entertainment is more common and popular among the audience than the law-related and autobiographic ones. It includes channels with sports highlights, pranks, music etc.

These channels are interesting not only for their content but also for the comments to the videos. For example, the video of an Uzbek (?) rap artist about the fight at Khovanskoye cemetery<sup>30</sup> in Moscow<sup>31</sup> collected over one and a half thousand comments, in which the users discussed the event. The author blames the Chechens and Russians for their aggression to "simple Tajik labourers"; comments are left by representatives of both of these communities and many others. The major part of the discussion is in Russian; it focuses mainly on the acceptability of a money conflict between Muslims. Then the parties touched upon the employment of the migrants to the least prestigious jobs, such as cleaning, discussing the acceptability of such jobs for a Muslim.

Entertaining content also encompasses multiple videos of social campaigns run by the authors of the channels, migrants living in Russian cities. Many migrant communities such as "The Kind Tajik"<sup>32</sup> specialize in such videos. In their live broadcasts, the authors help a random migrant to buy a ticket to his motherland<sup>33</sup>, give presents to children in the streets of Yekaterinburg, visit orphanages etc.

In the comments to the videos, there are numerous calls for help: to pay for a patent, to find a lost relative and event to buy a hoverboard for a child. Some dialogues form threads in the migrant horizontal networks

when a call for help from one migrant attracts others ready to share their resources and information.

An interesting kind of videos presents the social campaigns that illustrate the relations between "us" and "them" in Russia at the microsocial interaction level, when, for example, a young Tajik man is trying to start a conversation with Russian girls on the Red Square under a candid camera. Such videos encourage the audience to discuss the "us-them" dichotomy as well as the relations between Russians and migrants. These discussions represent the "migrant" agenda through the eyes of the migrants. The image formed by Russian mass media and often quoted by academic texts is being often reflected upon by the migrants themselves. Comparison of the dialogues with those that occur on the channels of the major Russian digital media may form a topic for a separate study.

A large share of the entertainment channels covers highlights of sports, such as martial arts, football, sports bets. Sometimes they include some educating content, for example, the reasons why migrants take microloans<sup>34</sup>. In the comments underneath, there begins a discussion on the acceptability of loans for a Muslim migrant and what ends justify the means.

The numerous channels, publishing videos about the national language and culture of the country of origin<sup>35</sup>, may also be to some extent classified as entertaining content. These channels may equally contain information on the "migrant locations" of the Russian cities. Those may be the places<sup>36</sup> where the authors interview their respondents, the venues where ethnic music concerts, language courses, or weddings are organized<sup>37</sup>. In some videos, the authors are directly asked about places where, for example, a Kyrgyz could have a good time in Moscow; as a response, the author provides some guidance about the Kyrgyz clubs of the city<sup>38</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> Source: <https://www.rbc.ru/story/573997819a79471d09a146ad>

<sup>31</sup> Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K3dtjfWHXNM>

<sup>32</sup> Source: [https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPgkiwtA-aX\\_efCZ1Ez9r3rw](https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPgkiwtA-aX_efCZ1Ez9r3rw)

<sup>33</sup> Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q09Ua96mspE>

<sup>34</sup> Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GmfvRywydZc>

<sup>35</sup> Source: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8hscaG4IY\\_E](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8hscaG4IY_E)

<sup>36</sup> Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ci1tIBTiduo>

<sup>37</sup> Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HU0HruqyWEc>

<sup>38</sup> Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8BjgvYHLxqo>



The entertainment channels often react to the newsworthy events related to migration issues of both regional and federal scale. From such posts, we can learn more about both the "migrant locations" in this or that Russian city as well as about some local problems. For example, in one of the entertainment channels, there was a video, where a middle-aged man spoke about a criminal group backing foreign dealers at the Novosibirsk market.

From the context, it is understandable that this is a video of questioning a witness to a massive fight at the market between the market dealers and the criminal group members<sup>39</sup>. Under the video of the fight itself, there are dozens of comments from the migrants on how the situation can be settled and whether it is worthwhile dealing with the Russian police. The comments are valuable for presenting the opinions of migrants on such urgent issues as shadow economy and powerful groups exploiting the migrants that the respondents usually refuse to discuss during regular interviews.

Just like the autobiographic content, the entertainment channels mark different migrant locations, such as companies, assembly spots, public spaces, entertainment sites, on the city map. In one of the videos of "The Kind Tajik" channel, the author decided to give out free food near a mosque; besides other migrant bloggers, the video mentioned some halal food catering cafes<sup>40</sup>. The entertainment channels make it possible to trace the migration history of their authors through the autobiographic interview, questions and answers videos etc. But their greatest value is the narrations of the most typical problems of the migrants, such as the issues of self-identification in the host country, interaction with the host society and other migrants etc.

## Conclusion

One of the key functions of the "migrant YouTube" segment is introducing various aspects of the host country and the migrants' daily lives to those who are moving or planning to move. The authors of the channel may pres-

ent the information in various forms, such as humorous videos of what Russian ladies think of Tajiks<sup>41</sup>, how Russians distinguish between Tajiks and Uzbeks, or those may be serious videos on legal matters. In any situation, whether the author is recording a conflict with the police<sup>42</sup>, speaks about arrival and departure procedures<sup>43</sup>, or reviews the Kyrgyz hospitals in Moscow<sup>44</sup>, this is an opportunity for the viewer to get an idea of one of the numerous segments of the migrants' daily lives.

The fact of the existence of the "migrant YouTube" segment as such may prove the developing request of the migrants for a language to describe their host country, the social and physical space they found themselves in. The videos that serve as presentations of the migrant life in the Russian Federation come up because of the growing need to formulate and present the migrant identity in the media. It needs to be presented both to the host community and the people looking at the migration to the Russian Federation from the donor countries. Perhaps, this is why there are so many videos presenting Uzbeks in Russia or Tajiks in Russia as positive characters and an example to look up to.

Some of the channels become real mechanisms for identity edition and production<sup>45</sup>, especially when a video about an urgent problem gathers migrants from all over the CIS to decide how to treat each other and Russia, whether they have something in common or something that separates them. The studied channels demonstrate that migration becomes an international CIS myth, which in some situations serves as an integrating frame for those who move around it and those who say goodbye or welcome. Some of them can be regarded as platforms collecting the political opinions of the migrants<sup>46</sup>.

<sup>41</sup> Source: <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCrLJ22SM-339RKFcf2CqhLnQ>

<sup>42</sup> Source: [https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCobfSEJ3m-wDkU1N3L9L\\_CGQ/videos](https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCobfSEJ3m-wDkU1N3L9L_CGQ/videos)

<sup>43</sup> Source: [https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC\\_WL5U-W9AL5M\\_p1GKlalZjg/about](https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC_WL5U-W9AL5M_p1GKlalZjg/about)

<sup>44</sup> Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i94YU-WtCNt4>; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rca-2XTTrzk>

<sup>45</sup> Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HE5DPMvhVJE>

<sup>46</sup> Source: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V\\_wfSdKNG0Q](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V_wfSdKNG0Q)

<sup>39</sup> Source: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iRenGGMOj\\_k](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iRenGGMOj_k)

<sup>40</sup> Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=esOD8sEGtOo>



These channels are of great value for social science. They present an almost unlimited array of information on how the migrants use the Russian language as their lingua franca, how it transforms in the environment of the migrants, and how it develops the professional migrant slang. Such channels are a tool of mythologizing migration, of transmitting these constructs over the national and regional borders, causing them to transform. These channels present a rich material for the migration visibility research: how it looks both to the one who hosts and the one who moves. There are short report videos about one day of men and women of different status, income and occupation living in different cities.

The "migrant channels" may be used to study the religious practices of the migrants, the "migrant medicine", education, entertainment. They can make up a "migrant map" of many Russian cities including food and beverage services, education institutions, informal meeting places and hostels. The "migrant channels" open access to the "migrant world", disclosing the names and contacts of the potential respondents aware of the specificity of the migrant world in this or that region of Russia.

Even the most superficial analysis allows formulating several hypotheses on the "mi-

grant digital space". The "migrant YouTube" serves as a means of the social capital accumulation both by the authors and their audience by involving the horizontal network resources. It may happen, for example, at the moment when the author requests the audience for a resource to redistribute in favour of other migrants (for example, like the video of "The Kind Tajik" channel calling for help for a girl who got hit by a car), or when the author shares his or her own migration experience, knowledge of the city where he or she lives.

Such interaction would be almost impossible without a certain level of trust, which should be quite high. The users do not only take the risk of transferring their money without any formal guarantees from the channel authors but also listen to their opinions on such serious matters as employment or communication with the police. It raises the questions on how this trust is formed and how the users can determine whether this author or audience can be trusted. Where is the borderline between "us" and "them"? Perhaps, the "migrant YouTube" facilitates the development of the self-description language to articulate these borders and meeting points, building the borders between the migrants and the locals in certain places and crushing them in other.

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## Русскоязычный «мигрантский» YouTube как объект социальных исследований города

Д.С. Пчелкина<sup>а</sup>, Д.О. Тимошкин<sup>а,б,в,г</sup>

<sup>а</sup>Сибирский федеральный университет

Российская Федерация, Красноярск

<sup>б</sup>Иркутский государственный университет

Российская Федерация, Иркутск

<sup>в</sup>Национальный исследовательский

Томский государственный университет

Российская Федерация, Томск

<sup>г</sup>Российская академия народного хозяйства

и государственной службы при Президенте РФ

Российская Федерация, Москва

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**Аннотация.** В русскоязычном сегменте YouTube существует множество каналов, авторы которых, приезжая в РФ из Кыргызстана, Таджикистана, Казахстана, Узбекистана, выкладывают в открытый доступ зарисовки своей повседневности в принимающей стране: поиск работы, обустройство жилья, общение с миграционными и полицейскими чиновниками, взаимодействие с другими мигрантами. Эти видео, а также комментарии к ним отражают авторский миграционный опыт и реакцию на высказывания со стороны других мигрантов и представителей принимающего сообщества. Данные цифровые пространства становятся не только площадкой для обмена опытом и накопления социального капитала между мигрантами, но и местом контакта между «своими» и «чужими», условными мигрантами и местными. Специфика цифровой площадки, ее ориентированность на публикацию видеодневников повседневности позволяют предположить, что изучение «мигрантских» каналов дает возможность буквально увидеть российские города глазами приезжих. При этом «мигрантский» сегмент русскоязычного YouTube практически не описан. Цель статьи в том, чтобы частично восполнить этот пробел, категоризировав отобранные методом снежного кома «мигрантские» YouTube-каналы, используя метод ретроспективного онлайн-наблюдения, оценить их эвристический потенциал для проведения качественных социологических и антропологических исследований миграции, а также по возможности сформулировать несколько гипотез о социальных функциях «мигрантского» YouTube.

**Ключевые слова:** мигрант, социальные медиа, горизонтальные сети, YouTube, город.

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## Construction of Horizontal Networks on “Migrant” Russian-Language Digital Platforms

**Dmitry O. Timoshkin\***

*The Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy  
and Public Administration  
Moscow, Russian Federation  
Irkutsk State University  
Irkutsk, Russian Federation  
Tomsk State University  
Tomsk, Russian Federation  
Siberian Federal University  
Krasnoyarsk, Russian Federation*

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**Abstract.** The article discusses the Russian-language “migrant” groups in the social networking service “Vkontakte.” The author analyses mechanisms of constructing horizontal networks in these groups uniting Russian-speaking immigrants in the Russian Federation, their role in migration planning and solving everyday household, legal and moral problems. The article uses the language of describing mobility by J. Urry: we consider “migrant” digital platforms to be the space in which thematic network “nodes” are created, which allow accumulating the information resources of several horizontal networks needed to solve a particular current problem. The article also formulates a hypothesis about the existence of a “migrant” meta-network consisting of people who are part of migration flows, and who service or exploit them. We assume that the digital platforms under consideration significantly simplify the integration process by being a space that allows the formation of local, “thematic” nodes of the “migrant” meta-network that accumulate a social capital and information.

**Keywords:** mobility, migrants, social network, digital platforms, nodes, legalization.

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\* Corresponding author E-mail address: dmtrtim@gmail.com  
ORCID: 0000-0001-5478-0469

The importance of horizontal networks in the daily lives of immigrants is undeniable (Rouz, 2009). Acquaintances and family ties help to look for a job, accommodation, neighbours to share, to solve legal issues, to survive, in a word. Most migrants arriving in Russia from Central Asia actively join the networks created by their predecessors. Relatives and friends of the newly-arrived who have already visited the Russian Federation and are more familiar with the nuances of staying here actively contribute to this inclusion.

The attitude towards “migrant” networks is very ambiguous both in the academic community and in the media. On the one hand, the network organization of migrant communities is considered as an occasion for alarmist statements about the existence of closed “migrant” enclaves in large cities that are aggressive in relation to local ones. On the other hand, they see them as a powerful integration tool that makes up for many shortcomings of the state integration mechanisms, allowing “locals” and “migrants” to interact (Ivleva, 2009; Dmitriev, Piadukhov, 2013) and create common spaces and practices (Elias, Lemish, 2009).

Increasingly (Hayness, Wang, 2019; Andersson, 2019; Dekker, Engbersen, Klaver, 2018), research works focus on the role that the digital space plays in the process of constructing migrant networks and identities. Being a highly mobile and marginalized group (Ban’kovskaia, 2002), migrants willingly use the tools for creating horizontal networks offered by digital platforms. The latter contribute to the simplification of global migration by eliminating many barriers related to the information deficit (Van Meeteren, Pereira, 2018). Moreover, digital communication platforms contribute to the formation of supranational “migrant” communities, which, according to some researchers, make it possible to more effectively solve integration problems than stand-alone community groups offline (Komito, 2011). In short, digital platforms have begun to play an important adaptive role in migration processes (Alencar, 2018).

The digital space complements the capabilities of horizontal offline networks (Dekker

et al., 2018), becoming literally guides across state lines, determining the choice of direction, a way of crossing the border and even specific phrases that a migrant will tell the customs official (Dekker, Engbersen, 2014). Social media allows “migrant” families separated by large distances to maintain unity (Dekker, Engbersen, 2013). In a certain sense, they become a weapon of the weak (Scott, 1985), just like the existing offline “weak ties” that allow migrants to go beyond the state-proposed mechanisms of border crossing and adaptation in the host country (Timoshkin, 2019).

In general, Russian-language “migrant” digital spaces perform the same functions, ranging from moral support to the accumulation of social capital. At the same time, they often find themselves connected through a multitude of cross-links with other online and offline spaces united by a common theme. Links can be published by creators of the digital platform (for example, an author of a YouTube channel publishes a list of resources similar in topic), or by users who, in response to a particular request, provide links of other digital and offline spaces containing the necessary resources.

The links can occur if the information and social capital (as understood by P. Bourdieu) accumulated by users of the given digital community is not enough to solve the problem under discussion. So, for example, a user of a regional “migrant” group on Vkontakte can give a person in need a link to another site where it is easier to find more complete and relevant information for his request.

We assume that many cross-linked thematic digital and offline sites constitute a “migrant” meta-network. It unites not only migrants directly, but also other actors servicing, exploiting, supporting and researching migration flows in the Russian Federation. By “meta-network”, or “network of networks”, we mean a vast, unstructured community that exists simultaneously in offline and online spaces. Dialogues in “migrant” groups are the nodes of this meta-network, in which information and social capital of various local networks, that are part of it, are accumulated. Cross-links arising spontaneously connect individual regional or



narrowly specialized "migrant" networks into a single whole, albeit very unstable in space and time.

We suppose that one of the semantic frameworks that ensure the existence of a meta-network include the need for migrant users to regularly contact the state, and solve the numerous problems arising during such contacts. They may not know each other, however, the migration experience that unites them, in particular, the experience of interacting with the Russian bureaucracy (which is one of the most frequently discussed topics in the previously considered migrant groups) at any time allows them to create a thematic network node in the digital space. Which, in turn, will attract many users with relevant experience interested in discussing it.

The purpose of the article is to concretize and conceptualize this hypothesis. The subject of the research is the "migrant" communities in the Vkontakte social networking service. It is the leader in the number of registered users in Russia and there are thousands of "migrant" communities concentrated. The groups under the study were selected from many others due to the fact that a significant number of dialogs between the users take place publicly, on the "wall."

Another reason is that these groups are "live", daily new information appears here, and many active users participate in the discussion. These groups are focused on a discussion of migration issues reported by moderators in a short text placed next to the name of the group, they can be found in the built-in search engine at the request of "migrant."

Thus, the study was conducted in the groups called "migrant messenger", "NSRL – native speakers of the Russian language", "refugees-migrants-resettlers", "FMS", as well as "plus resident". All groups are united by the fact that they are positioned precisely as a "migrant", supranational association that accepts migrants from different countries, and the only condition for using them is knowledge of the Russian language. The groups position themselves as private initiatives to provide legal support to foreigners, create conditions for free communication and exchange of experience

between migrants who find themselves in similar situations.

The method used in the analysis of groups can be characterized as a retrospective (Paechter, 2015) online observation (Bassi et al., 2019; Beneito-Montagut, 2011), while the researcher retains the role of a passive observer (Kas'ianov, 2017). The authors viewed dialogs between users posted on the group wall, as well as messages posted in group discussions. We looked for references to how the information received in the group was somehow used offline, and how this could affect the fate of a particular user. We were also interested in user references to the horizontal networks they were a part of – other virtual and offline communities. Based on these observations, tracking this or that dialogue, we tried to determine how horizontal online networks are built and used, how they are interconnected and whether these networks and their capabilities go beyond the limits of virtual platforms.

#### **Dialogues on digital platforms as "migrant" network nodes**

The specificity of the described digital platforms presupposes the emergence of small dialogs in terms of time of existence and volume of information. Most of them take place in a "question and answer" format, when one of the users, having encountered difficulties in the migration route, describes the situation on the wall and asks for help. This appeal may be answered by moderators or users with relevant experience who will describe how to solve the difficulties that have arisen. Those who have a different problem may show up. They post their question in the hope of catching the moment while there are experts in the "live" discussion who are able to answer them.

If moderators consider it important to spread information over the network, they attach it on the group wall so that each visitor sees it in the first place. This may be a post about changes in the work schedule of migration officials, the beginning of the issuance of quotas or some warning. New users evaluate information from a position of their own expe-

rience. In such dialogs, there are many links to social networks in which the authors of statements are included.

Thus, the administrator of the “migrant messenger” publishes a warning addressed to amateurs to openly discuss not quite legal methods of integration in public: *“You cannot buy fake registration, you can not violate 90/180, you cannot work informally, you cannot fictitiously marry. Those who like to argue and say ‘I do this and I am good’ will answer: talk about it as loudly and often as possible. It is desirable to have a real photo on the profile picture and real name in the profile;”).*<sup>1</sup>

A debate flares up, based on one’s own or another’s experience, about the justification for using such services. The discussion lasts no more than an hour, and during this time it accumulates information collected within several networks. The first is a network of “migration experts”, to which the group administrator belonged, as well as several regular visitors who play a similar role. The second can be attributed to a migrant who claimed, referring to the experience of friends, that status can be bought without problems – it is all about money. The third network is represented by a person who clearly belongs to the academic community and has posted on the group wall an announcement on the recruitment of employees for a migration research project in Moscow.<sup>2</sup> Referring to his field experience, he quotes migration cards in a city and region, claiming that thousands use this service.

For a rather short period of time, information was accumulated in the dialogue, which was the result of informal contacts of many people who belong to different social groups and belong to different, possibly unconnected networks. This was made possible thanks to a sequence of random and planned events, the totality of which was reflected literally in several text paragraphs. Such events were the participation of one of the users in the field work of one of the Moscow research groups, which, perhaps, allowed him to observe the informal

economy built on the exploitation of migration flows. His message was the result of the contact of academic networks with others formed as a result of informal contacts of migrants and security officials.

The event of another dialogue is citizenship through business marriage. When discussing this, users mention another horizontal network, which was the result of informal contact between migrants and representatives of the host community, where everyone sees a business marriage as a win-win deal.

A dialogue in which a migration lawyer, based on a combination of court decisions from his practice, indicates the danger of any, even the smallest, offenses for a migrant due to possible expulsion and a ban on entry into the country is similarly constructed.<sup>3</sup> As in the previous case, users with their own experience discuss the problem, confirming or refuting the statement of the lawyer.

Dialogue participants can cut off channels that distribute substandard or irrelevant information that could be harmful. So, in one of the discussions, a user requests a template for filling out a document, the other sends it to a digital platform, where it is proposed to fill out a document of interest for 500 roubles. The administrator deletes this message, publishing, in turn, links to regional groups that help to do the same for free.<sup>4</sup>

Each of the links provided by the administrator leads to digital sites where network nodes arise that unite migrants arriving in a particular Russian city. Apparently, the administrator sends the user to them due to the fact that these sites accumulate more relevant information that is characteristic of a certain region, and, at the same time, enjoy a good reputation. The horizontal networks arising in the dialogs can be called “thematic”, since each of them unites people who find themselves in a similar situation, who are interested in the same problem. It is the topic set at the beginning of the dialogue that simultaneously becomes both an invitation and a filter.

<sup>1</sup> Source: [https://vk.com/vestimi-granta?w=wall-142390258\\_176298%2Fall](https://vk.com/vestimi-granta?w=wall-142390258_176298%2Fall)

<sup>2</sup> Source: [https://vk.com/vestimi-granta?w=wall-142390258\\_181549%2Fall](https://vk.com/vestimi-granta?w=wall-142390258_181549%2Fall)

<sup>3</sup> Source: [https://vk.com/vestimi-granta?w=wall-142390258\\_176638%2Fall](https://vk.com/vestimi-granta?w=wall-142390258_176638%2Fall)

<sup>4</sup> Source: [https://vk.com/vestimi-granta?w=wall-142390258\\_176599%2Fall](https://vk.com/vestimi-granta?w=wall-142390258_176599%2Fall)

Some dialogues are opened with a goal of creating new communities on other digital platforms. One of the visitors of the “migrant messenger” suggests creating a clan in the on-line game Player Unknown’s Battlegrounds, or PUBG<sup>5</sup>, trying to attract users from one digital community to another. Users from different digital hub platforms join the dialogue: someone is part of the PUBG gaming community, others are members of the Minecraft clans, and others offer to play Call of Duty: Modern Warfare. However, all of them are united by the experience of migration to Russia.

These dialogues became the nodes connecting the experience of representatives of all these networks in space and time, and at the same time the result, a summary of a series of events that allowed these networks to exist. They helped to accumulate information coming from several networks, sending links, if necessary, to other similar network nodes that are more relevant to the problem stated by another user. In a certain sense, each dialogue, a node of horizontal networks, can be considered as a thematic micro-community of migrants.

Communities are unstable within digital sites; they are fluid, small, and spontaneous. Being the embodiment of the world of “Bauman mobility” (Bauman, 2008), situational, thematic communities become a point of attraction for several others that exist both offline and online. A spontaneously occurring dialogue can be called a network node. It can exist just a few minutes, falling apart and occur again.

A request or a replica becomes an invitation to the formation of a thematic micro-community. The subject can be varied, however, as a rule, dialogues are associated with one or another fragment of the legalization procedure. A dialogue – a community is joined by those who either themselves have experience of a similar situation, or are part of a horizontal network in which the necessary information is distributed. The number of communities of several thousand people, as well as the presence in the expert group, allows users to count on either

providing information in a fairly short time, or sending it to other digital hubs.<sup>6</sup>

Communities arise and disappear when necessary: a theme of the initial appeal unites those who now have a common interest in obtaining or transmitting certain experiences. Everyone can simultaneously contact many other micro-communities, collecting information from several groups and several digital platforms at once.

Thus, in one of the dialogs, a user can attract the information resource of the network that unites migrants trying to obtain legal status with the help of a specific state programme.<sup>7</sup> In the other, to attract the resource of the local neighbourhood network created by the residents of the region in which he settled; in the third – the resource of the migrant network operating at the country level.<sup>8</sup>

The general flow of migrants is divided into numerous social categories: those who obtain citizenship by marriage; in a simplified manner as a native speaker of the Russian language; fellow countrymen who arrived from the common region of the exodus, mothers, refugees, and many others. Each of these categories has its own digital platform. Using a dramaturgical metaphor of Hoffmann, you can imagine a digital group with decorations, which are both an invitation and a thematic frame for anyone who wants to enter into a conversation on a given topic. It is the migration experience and related issues that become the common framework. The second (albeit rather dubious) factor is the solidarity of actors in the face of common problems.

The way such networks work is illustrated by the example of dialogs that simultaneously demonstrate the scale of “migrant” spontaneously emerging networks and the reasons for their emergence: *“Good day. Here is the story. I myself live in the Russian Federation (Tomsk), I have a residence permit, official work, working experience of more than a year (in general, I meet the criteria for resettlement in Tomsk). When learning about the*

<sup>5</sup> Source: [https://vk.com/wall-142390258\\_176017](https://vk.com/wall-142390258_176017)

<sup>6</sup> Source: [https://vk.com/vestimigranta?w=wall-142390258\\_181456%2Fall](https://vk.com/vestimigranta?w=wall-142390258_181456%2Fall)

<sup>7</sup> Source: [https://vk.com/nositeli\\_russkogo\\_yazyika](https://vk.com/nositeli_russkogo_yazyika)

<sup>8</sup> Source: [https://vk.com/murino\\_infrastruktura](https://vk.com/murino_infrastruktura)

*program of resettlement of compatriots and going to the information on applying for citizenship, and when I had already received the resettler's card, I saw that I needed a document ("A document confirming the application for declaration of alienage and a receipt on registered mail"). Question No. 1, is it (a document) executed by a notary? Can I make it in the Russian Federation, and send it by mail, and do I need to wait for a response from Kazakhstan, or would just a declaration of alienage and the receipt itself be enough? Question No. 2, in the end, anyway, after obtaining citizenship of the Russian Federation, it is "advisable" for me to notify the consulate of the change of citizenship personally, or I can do it in written? Question No. 3, obviously, there is no need to de-register for permanent residence; where can I find the information that it is not needed, so that I could show it to the inspector, just in case (since in Tomsk people were forced to do it). Thanks in advance, and thanks for this group, you often help out.*

*– When do you apply for citizenship? I am preparing a letter to Kazakova with an explanation of the unlawful requirements of consular registration and de-registration for permanent residence. Tomsk is the fourth region on my list with similar inadequate requirements. I will get the reply in 40-50 days at best.*"<sup>9</sup>

The user in the first part of the appeal models a social situation in which he finds himself, indicating the place of action, his status, and also the stage of the migration path. He then indicates a specific problem that he has encountered and asks for help. This dialogue, which has become the node of several local horizontal networks, demonstrates that they are interconnected, their participants are aware of a common interest and know how to defend them. At the same time, each individual fragment is invisible, but is implied in the response that the user received.

The task of this network is not only local changes in the fate of a particular migrant, but also attempts to influence the migration policy of the state in general. The user mentions that he is preparing an appeal to Kazakova, and

most likely he is referring to the head of the Main Directorate for Migration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia Valentina Kazakova.

Information that can directly affect the migration trajectory of a particular user is distributed through such network nodes, practically ignoring spatial boundaries and shifting the time ones. The recipe available to a small local network, for example, in St. Petersburg, becomes available to many other local networks by going through the discussion node on the wall of a digital platform.

Similar thematic micro-communities exist in a multidimensional space: information circulates from one node to another, from one time period to another, affecting many local nodes and processing a significant amount of information. A researcher who is in the observer position and does not cooperate with the administration of the social network is unlikely to be able to track such user transitions between spaces. Communication events can lead participants to different planes<sup>10</sup>, to different digital platforms<sup>11</sup>, removing them from the observer's field of view. Then the following question arises – do these networks go beyond the digital space, are they embodied in reality?

#### **Migrant meta-network and transitions from digital space to offline**

The boundary between offline and digital spaces is supposedly permeable. This is evidenced by regular references to existing offline "migrant" spaces and communities, and numerous examples of the use by users of the advice received in groups, in practice. Reports on the results of such actions can be easily found publicly. The user can apply the information received on a digital platform offline almost in real time.

For example,<sup>12</sup> a user with documents in hand can request instructions for filling them out by creating a dialogue on a group's wall.

<sup>9</sup> Source: [https://vk.com/kaz-2rus?w=wall-149967104\\_4482%2Fall](https://vk.com/kaz-2rus?w=wall-149967104_4482%2Fall)

<sup>10</sup> Source: [https://vk.com/kaz-2rus?w=wall-149967104\\_4134%2Fall](https://vk.com/kaz-2rus?w=wall-149967104_4134%2Fall)

<sup>11</sup> Source: [https://vk.com/kaz-2rus?w=wall-149967104\\_4090%2Fall](https://vk.com/kaz-2rus?w=wall-149967104_4090%2Fall)

<sup>12</sup> Source: [https://vk.com/kaz-2rus?w=wall-149967104\\_4346%2Fall](https://vk.com/kaz-2rus?w=wall-149967104_4346%2Fall)



Guided by the advice received, the user fills out documents, which can seriously affect his fate. Then the user can literally within a few hours post a review on how useful the received tips were, and ask for others.<sup>13</sup>

Another visible "bridge" connecting digital migrant groups and offline reality is the tradition adopted in some of them to publish photographs of new passports<sup>14</sup> upon obtaining citizenship. A photo is accompanied by words of gratitude to the community for their help and support, as well as a description of the migration history: *"So here I am having gone through the quest)))) I submitted a quota in 2014; in 2015, complained to the president's reception office through a letter, and in 2016 they gave a quota. I filed for temporary residence permit immediately, after half a year they gave it to me. Then they said to wait another half a year and only then apply for permanent residency. Exactly half a year has passed, I collected all the documents and then I faced a problem – a certificate of income is required. I went to the tax agency, paid 14,500, but this was not enough, turned out I needed a certificate that I worked. I went and registered as a self-employed individual and all the headache ended... I applied for it all, got a residence permit, and only by 2019 I applied for citizenship at the beginning of the year... (why so long? I have been waiting for a lot of different certificates)."*<sup>15</sup>

Users not only take congratulations, but also answer questions of those who have not gone this way to the end.<sup>16 17</sup> The tradition allows people to demonstrate solidarity between the members of the group and at the same time confirm its effectiveness, which positively affects its reputation. Sometimes in such "grateful" dialogs, a user tells in detail about his misadventures on the way to the coveted

document,<sup>18</sup> or, on the contrary, about the lack thereof.

Users literally lead those who post a request on the wall from one stage of the migration process to another, responding to each of their requests.<sup>19 20 21</sup> In one of the discussions, a user asks a question regarding the legality of actions of a migration official. Several people with relevant experience join the dialogue, who not only point to normative acts confirming the official's wrongness, but also prompt the user with an algorithm that allows him to influence his decisions.<sup>22</sup> Similarly, thematic communities suggest which areas in the city people should be wary of,<sup>23</sup> where to go to get public services,<sup>24</sup> etc.

In numerous publicly available dialogs, one can guess the process of forming supranational, migrant solidarity based on common problems and common needs on digital platforms. Each invitation-question that appears on walls becomes a representation of the social situation in which the respondent finds himself. This description may be detailed, or, on the contrary, very short, but, as a rule, it is enough for the rest of the community to visualize the picture in detail. Such a visualization is necessary in order to give other users the minimum data needed to assess the appropriateness of sharing their experience in the dialogue. Sometimes, literally just a few keywords are enough for a user who has been in a similar situation to understand the difficulties experienced by the applicant and suggest the necessary sequence of actions.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Source: [https://vk.com/vestimi-granta?w=wall-142390258\\_182059%2Fall](https://vk.com/vestimi-granta?w=wall-142390258_182059%2Fall)

<sup>14</sup> Source: [https://vk.com/rossi-yavsem?w=wall-74133362\\_178187](https://vk.com/rossi-yavsem?w=wall-74133362_178187)

<sup>15</sup> Source: [https://vk.com/nositeli\\_russko-go\\_yazyika?w=wall-80511847\\_263834](https://vk.com/nositeli_russko-go_yazyika?w=wall-80511847_263834)

<sup>16</sup> Source: [https://vk.com/kaz-2rus?w=wall-149967104\\_4297%2Fall](https://vk.com/kaz-2rus?w=wall-149967104_4297%2Fall)

<sup>17</sup> Source: [https://vk.com/vestimi-granta?w=wall-142390258\\_179214%2Fall](https://vk.com/vestimi-granta?w=wall-142390258_179214%2Fall)

<sup>18</sup> Source: [https://vk.com/nositeli\\_russko-go\\_yazyika?w=wall-80511847\\_262013](https://vk.com/nositeli_russko-go_yazyika?w=wall-80511847_262013)

<sup>19</sup> Source: [https://vk.com/kaz-2rus?w=wall-149967104\\_4372%2Fall](https://vk.com/kaz-2rus?w=wall-149967104_4372%2Fall)

<sup>20</sup> Source: [https://vk.com/kaz-2rus?w=wall-149967104\\_4379%2Fall](https://vk.com/kaz-2rus?w=wall-149967104_4379%2Fall)

<sup>21</sup> Source: [https://vk.com/kaz-2rus?w=wall-149967104\\_4411%2Fall](https://vk.com/kaz-2rus?w=wall-149967104_4411%2Fall)

<sup>22</sup> Source: [https://vk.com/kaz-2rus?w=wall-149967104\\_4471%2Fall](https://vk.com/kaz-2rus?w=wall-149967104_4471%2Fall)

<sup>23</sup> Source: [https://vk.com/vestimi-granta?w=wall-142390258\\_180473%2Fall](https://vk.com/vestimi-granta?w=wall-142390258_180473%2Fall)

<sup>24</sup> Source: [https://vk.com/vestimi-granta?w=wall-142390258\\_180499%2Fall](https://vk.com/vestimi-granta?w=wall-142390258_180499%2Fall)

<sup>25</sup> Source: [https://vk.com/kaz-2rus?w=wall-149967104\\_4280%2Fall](https://vk.com/kaz-2rus?w=wall-149967104_4280%2Fall)



Sometimes a few phrases may not be enough, and the user creates a narrative in which he describes his "migration" history in detail. A dialogue in which "migration" as a physical movement did not occur at all, however, due to problems with paperwork, a user born in the Russian Federation may be at risk of expulsion from the country, is interesting. Having completed all the necessary steps, he fears that he will not pass the final part of the procedure, the "exam" for the native speaker of the Russian language, thus levelling all the previous efforts: *"Hello everyone, I wanted to share my situation and ask for advice. I was born in Russia, in Mordovia, my parents are citizens of Ukraine. I have never left the territory of Russia. Parents did not deal with documents and since I was 18, I had to do it myself. <...> I didn't have any passport; I was forced to get a passport of a Citizen of Ukraine. I received it at the embassy in Moscow, but they gave me an international passport; they cannot give an internal one because I have never been there! After that, the question of migration registration arose. They said that I should go to Ukraine to get a migration card to register, so I went to a lawyer; he said that if left the Russian Federation, they would not let me go back, they would give me at least a 3-year deport. <...> One month later I received a positive reply, then I received a migration card and went through registration. Then I started collecting documents for the native speaker of the Russian language. Since my grandmother was a citizen of the Russian Federation, I had problems with documents because my mother was married 3 times and they could not track the relations with my grandmother because I had divorce certificates on my hands, but I had to have marriage certificates. <...> So, on 07/28/2019 I submitted the documents, they said to come in 3 weeks, but after that they called back and assigned to the 8<sup>th</sup> to submit the documents and come on the 13<sup>th</sup> to pass the exam. What should I expect on the exam?? What questions will they ask? What to prepare for? I will be very grateful for your help."*

Members of the occurred micro-community with similar experience reassure the user, showing him that there should not be any diffi-

culties with the exam, and he does not require serious preparation:

*– If the passport is Ukrainian, then they will take you to the hall and say: you are recognized as a native speaker, because when you filed documents, the employees talked to you and gave an assessment.*

*– We did not even have an interview. All those with the Ukrainian citizenship were brought into the hall, read the law and said that they were talking to you when submitting documents and understood that you are a native speaker of the Russian language. My husband submitted documents in Kotelniki; they just took everyone to the assembly hall and said that everyone was recognized as native Russian speakers.*

After some time, the user reports how the event went and thanks for the advice: *"Sergey, we went into the hall, we were all told that we were recognized, that's it. Thank you all for your support, good luck to everyone."*<sup>26</sup>

A number of keywords published in the initial request sets the coordinates not only of the space (host city, region of origin, unit of the migration service), but also of time (the timing of going through a particular bureaucratic procedure, the timing of expulsion, filing of documents). These coordinates are important for constructing the scene in which events will unfold. Each advice has a certain resource of relevance – today's advice may become useless tomorrow if, for example, the legislation changes, or the applicant misses the deadlines that are, for example, related to the submission of a document.

The space is specified by the region of exodus/region of arrival, city of residence or a specific region/specific territorial migration authority. Time limits can be set by the formal dates for going through a bureaucratic procedure, or by the time that an actor is willing to spend waiting for information or searching for it.

Time limits are very important because the information discussed in a particular group has a limited resource of relevance. Today's advice may become useless tomorrow. As a result, if

<sup>26</sup> Source: [https://vk.com/nositeli\\_russko-go\\_yazyika?w=wall-80511847\\_262675](https://vk.com/nositeli_russko-go_yazyika?w=wall-80511847_262675)

the requests and interests of several visitors to the digital platform coincide in time and space, they form a node (discussion on the wall) that allows you to combine the information they have. The guarantee of the quality of information is "migrant" solidarity, moderation, as well as the observation of active and supposedly competent users. And the most "material" effect of these virtual hubs is the time spent by users connecting to the state network node.

Perhaps the best permeability of the boundaries between online and offline realities within the "migrant" nodes is shown by the groups of joint lease of housing. Here, migrants, both internal and cross-border, post their social profiles, requirements for possible neighbours, housing and living conditions by posting, as in regular migrant groups, a message on the wall. In dialogues, those who wish to accept the proposal are noted, and, depending on the success of the communication, its result is a joint lease of housing.<sup>27</sup> Many users of the above groups are also members of joint lease communities in Moscow and other large Russian cities.

Calls for help published in all types of groups can be considered as invitations to create a local network node, in which the information (mainly experience) necessary for the user will be concentrated. A set of social and spatial coordinates that the user provides with a call for help allows potential interlocutors to determine whether their experience or the experience available to the horizontal network that they are a part of, is relevant. Each of the requests can be caused by a desire to make an imaginary journey, similar to what people experience while sitting in front of a TV set (Urry, 2012: 100), where the key social parameters indicated by the user become the desired direction.

The technology allows us to level spatial and partly temporary boundaries, in fact, realizing the "migrant" meta-network as a set of cross-links involved in the dialogue, which allow us to concentrate and process a large volume of memories of individuals who have come across the same situation. When the call resonates and information accumulates in the dialogue, the user increases his social capital.

If digital platforms become a tool that makes the creation of network nodes possible, then the reason and, at the same time, the semantic framework that unites these nodes into something more becomes the need for many local, marginalized and super mobile groups to gain access to the global network node – the state (Castells, 2016: 64). To be more precise, the part of it that deals with the distribution of a key resource for a migrant – the possibility of naturalization. A migrant meta-network can arise as a response to this need, being set up to create mechanisms to facilitate connection to the state node and obtain necessary resources from it. Experiencing the situation in a digital space allows users to turn to account various tactics of connecting to the state node, understand how successful they are given the conditions, and thereby save time and effort in offline reality.

In this context, the numerous requests for virtual travel published by users acquire a common goal: to facilitate access to a particular fragment of the state resource node. The goal is recognized by the participants in the networks themselves, who openly discuss, for example, loopholes that open with the introduction of another regulatory act.<sup>28</sup> In this context, "migrant" digital platforms can be considered as tools for creating meta-network nodes (Castells, 2016: 65). Nodes can disintegrate after completing their task, but they can also persist when users who go through all the necessary procedures and are connected to the state hub help their followers do the same.

## Conclusion

The very existence and popularity of the digital platforms described here suggests that the interfaces provided for contacts with state nodes (regulations, job descriptions, normative acts) are complex and often not suitable for ensuring communication at the proper level. Without mediation, additional, artisanal entry points, contact with state information nodes seems to be very difficult. "Migrant" digital platforms and the network nodes created within them become an instrument that compensates

<sup>27</sup> Source: [https://vk.com/topic-27701671\\_25196225](https://vk.com/topic-27701671_25196225)

<sup>28</sup> Source: [https://vk.com/kaz-2rus?w=wall-149967104\\_4311%2Fall](https://vk.com/kaz-2rus?w=wall-149967104_4311%2Fall)

for the technological imperfection of the state information hubs. They are more mobile, they better adapt technologies to a situation, quickly adapt to any changes in the rules of access to state hubs.

"Migrant" digital platforms become a place of concentration of information available to many disparate local horizontal networks. And this information can most directly affect the fate of certain people. The platforms can exist only under the condition of trust experienced by users for digital platforms and their visitor. And such trust clearly exists, given the willingness of a number of users to take advantage of advice from strangers that can change their lives.

The "migrant" digital platforms themselves can be considered as a complex "mobile hybrid" in the terminology of J. Urry (Urry, 2012: 28), in which a person, the material and, in fact, the digital platform, are one (Urry, 2012: 114), a tool aimed at gaining access to the state resource node.

The network nodes inside the dialogues make it possible to compose memories of different people, a subjective sense of time, scenery, put them in a single social context at a time when users experience the same situation suggested by the author of the appeal from the perspective of their own experiences. For a relatively short period of time that a user spends sitting in front of the screen of his device, he can "live through" several social situations at once. A few hours online allow you to save days, weeks, months, and even years of real time. In this context, the fare of a few hours, which a user who acquires citizenship spends in order to answer all who wish to join his ex-

perience in a ritual dialogue, seems very modest.

We assume that the trust between migrants, regardless of the country of origin, transmitted in network nodes – dialogues, as well as the common need to receive resources from the state network node, leads to the emergence of a meta-network related by similar cross-links, united by the common problem of a combination of local "migrant" networks. Meta-network nodes are created at the moment when one of the migrant users wants to connect to it in order to obtain the necessary information. He describes the situation and other users who responded to his request create a unique configuration of mobile hybrids, which contributes to the accumulation of collective experience and social capital, which can be used to solve the originally stated problem. Collective experience allows a person to play possible options in virtual space for developing the situation in which he finds himself, and then think of the most favourable scenario in reality.

Digital platforms, human experience, the need for it on the part of newcomers and the willingness to share it are likely to form a "migrant" meta-network. Each of the users who make up the micro-community goes on imaginary journeys into the past and the future, just as they would go with the help of more conservative technologies (Castells, 2016: 100). You are free to order this textual trip at any time: if a person needs to go, for example, from Moldova to Russia, he enters a digital platform and, by setting the parameters of his social situation, invites other users to create a meta-network node, where others can share their experience and social capital.

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## Конструирование горизонтальных сетей на «мигрантских» русскоязычных цифровых площадках

**Д.О. Тимошкин**

*Российская академия народного хозяйства  
и государственной службы при Президенте РФ*

*Российская Федерация, Москва*

*Иркутский государственный университет*

*Российская Федерация, Иркутск*

*Национальный исследовательский*

*Томский государственный университет*

*Российская Федерация, Томск*

*Сибирский федеральный университет*

*Российская Федерация, Красноярск*

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**Аннотация.** В статье рассматриваются русскоязычные «мигрантские» группы в социальной сети «ВКонтакте». Анализируются механизмы конструирования в этих группах горизонтальных сетей, объединяющих русскоязычных иммигрантов в РФ, их роль в планировании миграции, решении повседневных бытовых, юридических и моральных проблем. В статье использован язык описания мобильностей Дж. Урри: «мигрантские» цифровые площадки мы считаем пространством, в котором создаются тематические сетевые «узлы», позволяющие аккумулировать информационные ресурсы нескольких горизонтальных сетей, необходимых для решения той или иной текущей проблемы. Формулируется гипотеза о существовании «мигрантской» метасети, состоящей из людей, которые являются частью миграционных потоков, обслуживают или эксплуатируют их. Мы предполагаем, что рассмотренные цифровые площадки существенно упрощают процесс интеграции, являясь пространством, позволяющим формировать локальные, «тематические» узлы «мигрантской» метасети, аккумулирующие социальный капитал и информацию.

**Ключевые слова:** мобильности, мигранты, социальная сеть, цифровые площадки, узлы, легализация.

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## **Section 2**

# **Urgent Problems of Ethnic Studies**

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## Compensatory Role of Symbolic Mediators in Constructing Ethnocultural Identity

Yuliya N. Avdeeva, Kseniya A. Degtyarenko\*  
and Natalia P. Koptseva

*Siberian Federal University  
Krasnoyarsk, Russian Federation*

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**Abstract.** The article studies the problems of cultural identity under the conditions of modern global transformations. Approaches of foreign and Russian researchers are analysed presenting both negative and positive assessment of hyperdynamism of modern development in terms of personality formation. The article provides the analysis of the phenomenon of ‘culture historicising’, which reflects the importance of turning to the origins in order to overcome the problem of alienation, loneliness, increasing gap with the past and loss of the continuity of generations. The theory of compensation and the theory of memory are considered herewith as they offer specific cultural forms of history representation and play an important role in the formation and maintenance of the ethnocultural identity.

**Keywords:** ethnocultural identity, cultural universalism, symbolic mediators, compensation theory, culture historicising, globalisation, memory theory, museumisation.

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### **The concept of cultural universalism: followers and critics**

With the beginning of the modern era and further rapid sociocultural and technical development in the field of the humanities, a significant rethinking of reality, the role of the individual and the role of the state in society took place, new forms of life and methods of understanding the world began to develop. There are many responses to the processes of globalisation and hyperdynamism of the culture development in the scientific community, controversial points of view, critical positions and proposals for stabilising public life in the current cultural conditions. The statement of Odo Marquard, who had a great influence on cultural policy and the intellectual climate in Germany, is quite illustrative: "The more modern the modern world becomes, the more necessary the humanities become" (Rumyantseva, 2016).

One of the dominant positions today is the destructive reaction to the rapid development and over-rationalisation of modern culture based on the loss of a person's identity, orientation in a complex reality and synchronism of human consciousness. Today, an increasing number of researchers point to the crisis of modern culture, expressed in the development of cultural universalism: everyday life in modern society is routinised, has a unified, standardised and complex character, where a person experiences problems with the orientation system, identity and loneliness.

The problem of overcoming all kinds of dogmatism and political idealism, human alienation to the world and maintaining continuity with its cultural and ethnic heritage is becoming ever more acute for modern society. An individual, by virtue of even anthropological features, cannot exist in this super-rationalised reality, which is separated from the historical context, deprived of its historical and cultural heritage.

In the context of post-modern social instability, the problem of identity is becoming one of the key ones. Global transformations entailing cultural and political pluralism, de-traditionalisation, religious polytheism, an extensive set of sociocultural patterns of be-

haviour, and alternative choices have led people to many difficulties. Under the conditions of cultural relativism, a person loses orientation and ability to determine the main thing in the environment and in their own inner world. In the public consciousness, any hierarchy of cultural values has collapsed, all cultural patterns and values have become equivalent (Leskova, 2009).

Karl Rosencrantz in his essay "Progress in the Uniformity of Our Civilization" in his own way reveals the processes of globalisation of the modern world and says that civilisation is absolute McDonaldisation: everything is brought to uniformity, all the elements of society's life become standardised and unified. Fashion, games, means of transport communication, sports, armament of the armies of various states, government structures, means of communication and modern media, even tame animals and plants – all of that becomes uniform and this uniformity goes beyond any borders.

Representatives of the "Philosophy of Life" also critically consider modern European culture and call it a culture of barbarism, where science serves the ideas of political domination, destruction and nihilism with typical features of massive involvement, religiosity, spreading of socialist ideas that subordinate an individual to society. The concept of 'civilisation' means the stage of decline, the death of culture. F. Nietzsche blames modern culture for following the tradition of the Socratic principle. It is in a deep crisis due to the predominance of rationalism over life, over instincts and, as a result, over human freedom: "It was not the Athenians who killed Socrates, it was he who established the dictatorship of reason, offered Athens a bowl of poison" (Nietzsche, 1990). These ideas have been developed in this sense, the opposition to rationalism and materialism is increasing in favour of the development of individuality, based on a strong-willed principle, on instincts that have a direct impact on the dynamics of culture. The dominance of reason ultimately leads to the formation of masses blindly following behavioural stereotypes, familiar landmarks, where an individual becomes controlled and lives like in a 'labyrinth'.

In modern culture, person's identity is multiple and changeable. People play many social roles every day. Many scientists emphasise the negative side of such a multiplicity. E. Fromm wrote that "a person can play many roles and be subjectively certain that each of these roles is the main one. In fact, a person plays every role in accordance with their ideas about what others expect from them; and for many people, if not most, the true identity is completely stifled by pseudo-personality" (Fromm, 2007). W. Dilthey, referring to the problem of personal identity in modern society, also emphasises that, in the final analysis, out of the whole set of roles, a person is not completely included in any of them. "Individuals are not included in the complex of influences in their entirety" (Dilthey, 2004). K. Marx paid particular attention to the topic of alienation, which was a specific ethnic core, the pathos of Marxist criticism of capitalism, saying that "the work of a worker is not their self-activity. It belongs to another, the workers lose their inner self" (Marx, 1974), that is, a person does not participate in it as a person. Marx sees the solution to the problem of alienation in a person's ability to freely change roles.

A famous Russian culture studies specialist V.A. Kurennoy, comparing the processes of identification in traditional and modern culture, indicates that in a traditional society people are whole, their identity is total. At the same time, in the modern culture of 'insecurity', a person needs to be ontologically guaranteed something. In this sense, Kurennoy places special emphasis on segmented identity as the most necessary one for each individual, in order to build their private life in a world where there are no traditional rules and rituals.

D.N. Shul'gina (Shul'gina, 2010) notes that the big blow of modern hyperdynamism falls on the culture in which there are deep qualitative transformations: a change in value orientations, criteria for assessing life satisfaction, absence of stable ideals, and illusory nature of the future. The author states that the sociocultural space of identities is rapidly expanding, resulting in rapprochement with what was previously 'alien'. Globalisation creates conditions for alienation from the original 'self' and is

not at all in favour of assimilating the best of the 'alien'. The boundaries between cultures are blurred, and universalism and standardisation are spreading among different sociocultural communities. There is a transformation of the cultural core that consists of traditions, language and worldviews. Herewith, global changes influence the structural elements of the entire cultural system. This results in subordination of all local cultures to one common basis. They adapt not to one another, but to a metalanguage. Thus, the deformation of traditional attitudes, which are the core of human identity, leads to an inevitable crisis and collapse of sustainable communities.

Shul'gina pays special attention to the process, which she designated as 'detraditionalisation' of society. In modern society, traditions coordinate their status and significance, they lose their sacred character. We are talking about the decline of the sociocultural influence of tradition, removal of traditional values, patterns of behaviour and life styles to the periphery of society, their marginalisation. The ascriptive connections of the individual with the family, living space, and social background are weakened.

The functions of tradition are replaced by surrogate 'substitutes' in the form of products of mass culture, role of the media, various social organisations, religious movements, consumer ideology, etc. People begin to see traditions as a set of prejudices, superstitions, unverified information, entrenched in the experience of past generations and requiring its verification in modern conditions.

In the context of the mentioned problems, it would be appropriate to recall the acute statement of E. Giddens: "Tradition deprived of content and subjected to commercialisation, turns into either a part of historical heritage or kitsch trinkets from a souvenir shop at the airport" (Giddens, 2004). Thus, tradition begins to be perceived as an artificial limitation of a person's free expression, rather than concentration of cultural experience of generations. When traditions lose their force and the free choice of lifestyle prevails, this cannot but affect the individual's sense of being a personality. Traditions become not the basis of a per-



son's passive perception of already established, rigidly fixed attitudes, values and stereotypes, but a component of an extremely diverse, pluralistic information space.

If in traditional societies the cultural tradition covered an individual setting them free from numerous situations of personal choice and responsibility, then modern societies are developing radically differently. It turns out that a person belongs to various sociocultural realities, fulfilling only a part of their personality in each of them.

In culture, the identity and continuity of the development of society are coded, and cultural identity, in turn, provides a person with continuous, lasting confidence, security, ability to predict social situations, uniqueness of one's own position in society. This means that radical changes in this area have the most traumatic consequences. Piotr Sztompka called this situation of traumatic changes 'cultural trauma' (Sztompka, 1996). Among the social consequences of the 'cultural trauma', he emphasises the lack of trust in social institutions and other people; feeling of powerlessness, passivity, apathy; focus on today and reduction of long-term goals and objectives; a complex of fears, an uncertain state of anxiety, a tendency to believe myths; cultural disorientation, uncertainty about which patterns should be followed by a person's own behaviour, what values are dominant.

Like P. Sztompka, Z. Bauman (Bauman, 2008) considers one of the main reasons for social instability to be the refusal of people to achieve long-term goals and objectives, that is, a radical change in the value system. People prefer the short-term perspective of planning their own activities, as a result of which the continuity of generations is destroyed, the value of family traditions and values is reduced. The category of short-term planning devalues the concepts of trust, fidelity, devotion to any relations, phenomena, objects.

P. Berger and T. Luckmann (Berger, 1995) also point to the problem of losing the individual's orientations in modern social space. They attribute this to social disorganisation and individualisation of society, which violates interpretative patterns of human behaviour. It is

important for an individual that there is a significant probability that unfamiliar people in a typical everyday situation will behave in the expected manner, since the nature and principles of constructing their interpretative schemes are the same. Thus, an understanding of the events and actions of others does not arise as a result of a person's individual work to create values, but as a result of 'adoption from the other' of the world in which 'others' already live.

Speaking about postmodern culture, A. Flier and W. Welsch (Flier, 2000; Welsch, 1992) talk about cultural pluralism, relativism, conventionality of cultural norms, and absence of a visible framework of ethnic traditions and restrictions. That is, the modern picture is composed of a mosaic of historically local cultures, the identity and system of which has a random, heterogeneous, unstable and phantom character. Moreover, A. Flier raises the problem of the formation of "a new sociocultural identity of a citizen of modern society" and introduces the concept of "cultural competence of an individual". The task of forming the latter is imposed on education and national politics. Flier sees a positive trend in the emerging new (national) type of society and culture: in the process of human life, the role of religious, estate and other restrictions significantly decreases, they are replaced by more active implementation of creative and labour abilities, there appears free competition of 'self-fulfilling personalities', growth of scale and dynamics of the information transmission, spread of universal literacy, democratisation of self-government processes.

Several researchers from Russia address the topic of the sociocultural crisis: L. Ionin (Ionin, 2008), V. Yadov (Yadov, 2006), S. Klimova (Klimova, 2000), A. Dugin (Dugin, 2008). They put the crisis of identity at the forefront, which for Russia is the result of not only global transformations in the world system, but also qualitative regional changes. After the collapse of the USSR, a radical reform of society and its main institutions took place, which is considered to have caused the value-worldview and structural uncertainty at the personal, group and social levels.

The concept of A. Dugin is especially interesting within the framework of this work, as

it is based on a specific line of development and transformation of identity. The author says that identity develops along the lines of pre-modernity, modernity and post-modernity. Empire, ethnos, religion and hierarchy are the identities that correspond to the first period. The process of the second period is characterised by the identity of the state, nation, secularism and equality of individuals. The situation of post-modernity reveals new identities to us in the form of globalisation (unlike classical bourgeois states), individual myth-making (unlike the setting for secularity), planetary cosmopolitanism (unlike nations). Speaking about post-modernism, the author considers it to be an era of ultra-individualism, which developed as a result of endowing one's virtual self with arbitrary qualities projected onto cyberspace.

The main identity of postmodernity is the 'humanity' where individualism reaches its critical limit. Any identity implies the 'friend or foe' principle, but in the modern era, a person becomes so autonomous that they generally lose the sight of the 'foe'. A person exists among many inconsistent worldviews, languages, discourses, they are free to believe in anything and identify themselves with anything. A person has no spiritual limitations, but there are no guidelines either. Moreover, Dugin points out that postmodern people are getting more and more inclined to possess a game identity due to the increasing inclusion of their life, work and leisure activities in virtual worlds. Thus, the human 'self' dissolves in a dubious fragmentary existence, which is exacerbated by an expanding addiction to drugs and contributes to the existential nature of life. As a result, instead of any kind of social integration (civil or hierarchical), we get the prospect of developing an 'individual delusion'.

Meanwhile, Dugin draws attention to the fact that in the transition from modernity to postmodernity, abandoned and forgotten attitudes of 'traditional society' reopen. No matter how paradoxical this may sound, but archaic identities keep reminding of themselves: for example, the term 'empire' is again used in the political science; ethnic communities again remind of themselves after centuries of depression by nation states; religions again become a

condition of world real politics; radical political organisations and sectarian movements reproduce the specificity of ancient hierarchies.

In the context of the above-described problems of modern society, researchers pay special attention to individual cultural creation (Tul'chinskiy, 2002). Each individual should be active in social life, thus fulfilling their cultural and historical mission. Such cultural development should be the task of not only creative personalities (superhuman, according to Nietzsche), not of a person in general, but of a specific, individually defined person. This is due to the fact that it is the culture that is the key area on the way to self-affirmation, self-fulfilment and recognition by society. It is the culture that sets life-meaning values and models of people's activity, behaviour and communication.

Therefore, it is typical for our era that completely different, conceptually conflicting identities can manifest themselves under its conditions. We can find in the same plane traces of all paradigmatic eras, which are not localised in modern space clearly enough: fragments of pre-modernity and modernity can be found in the post-modern West, and post-modernism, in turn, can penetrate the archaic social spaces of the East and the Third World. In this transient, fragmented existence, with its endless stream of changes and knowledge, a person needs to fix, crystallise specific historical knowledge with the help of cultural forms, allowing them to take root in their community, feel their belonging to it, have a reliable support, a stable system of values and orientations, and, of course, maintain the continuity of generations.

#### **Historicising culture as modern academic and everyday practice**

After the culture of reason typical for the Enlightenment era (having spread not only in the field of science, but also in culture, aesthetics, art and philosophy), the universal implantation of rationalistic ideas and unhistorical thinking, noticeable qualitative changes take place in the sociocultural environment of the civilised society. The origins of the new European culture start with the ideas of history as something connected exclusively with remnants, delusion, erroneous opinion. However,

with the era of modernity, a new understanding of the world comes, within which the interest in a deep understanding of historicity is revived, history is understood as what makes us individual.

For modern society, in contrast to traditional society, historical consciousness is characteristic: the further we move away from the past, the greater the need becomes to find our uniqueness there. Even the Baden school of neo-Kantianism put the historical (ideographic) method at the head of the cognitive process, because, unlike natural science, it does not go away from the individual characteristics of the subject, does not select the universal. Neo-Kantians also point out that it makes no sense to strive to comprehend all aspects of reality, because in this case cognition is impossible, since reality is infinite. In this context, school representatives were the first to thoroughly research the concept of 'values' and became the founders of axiology. If we look at the current sociocultural situation from this point of view, we can see that this situation continues to exist: an individual and society as a whole lose themselves in an endless stream of changes in this incomprehensible reality, they cannot get to know themselves, feel safe and confident, because there are no values, no sense of belonging to something. Moreover, personal identification becomes the subject of numerous interpretations from various social institutions that try to 'recommend' certain value systems and norms of behaviour.

The further people move away from the past, the more they indulge in illusions. Past experience accumulated by people is becoming less and less a future experience, i.e. in the future its source remains scarce, due to the intensive dynamics of development. The world is losing its character of continuity, the expectation of the future is less and less controlled by experience, and this turns people into 'waiting' dreamers. O. Marquard calls modern people 'children' who have stopped growing up because they live in the age of 'alienation to the world'. This means that the great speed of the appearance of more and more innovations leads to the fact that more and more phenomena are rapidly becoming obsolete. This happens with

our experience, because in everyday reality the situations for which we gained this experience become less and less common. Therefore, instead of becoming an independent 'adult' in the course of constant layering of experience, a person is increasingly thrown back to the unknown, new, alien world. According to Marquard, experience is the only way to overcome the alienation to the world.

Political conservatism and the romantic movement ('political romanticism') are at the forefront (Mannheim, 1991; Schlegel, 2015; Görres, 1987). Edmund Burke (Burke, 1993), criticising the revolutionaries (referring to the French Revolution) for completely casting aside the past, writes that "you chose to act like you had never been a civilised society and you had to start it all over again. You got sick because you started with contempt for everything that belonged to you. You started trading without capital. ... Honouring your ancestors, you would learn to honour yourselves".

Moreover, knowledge and understanding of history is seen as liberation. Theorists of historicism indicate that we ourselves are a product of history, which means that, having discarded the past, we will not come to an understanding of ourselves. V. Dilthey summarised this position by saying that "history makes us free, since it exalts us above the conditioning of views arising in the course of our lives". Thus, realising the historical random nature of our views, we can free ourselves from them, which is an important condition for modern democracy.

Later, in the framework of the compensatory theory formulated by J. Ritter, history and historical sciences about culture became a necessary element of the modern world. This theory rejects criticism of civilisation and argues that only civilisation – global, universal, impersonal and standardised – is a condition that interest in history will appear in our society. The relations of civilisation and culture are being revised: as the civilisational dynamics of modernity accelerate, the number of local cultural relics is growing. That is, the demand for local cultural identity is growing not contrary to, but due to the expansion of the global standardised civilisation. Civilisation creates the

conditions for interest in our own culture. If we live locally, we ourselves are not aware of the historical value of what we have.

Moreover, as O. Marquard notes, the faster the changes occur, the more a person needs those life skills that are guided by cultural customs: "people do this because they have been always doing that". That means that the more extreme the life situation is, the more important it is for people to have such skills, accepted forms of behaviour and traditions. These very 'habits' are also gaining importance because they have the ability to free from the illusions which a person is overwhelmed with in a changing world.

Concluding the review of studies on the problems of contemporary cultural development, it is worth noting one of the recent publications by V. Kurennoy "Borders in a Limitless World" (Kurennoy, 2018), where he speaks of two opposing development trends and their possible dialectical existence. He says that all existing theories in one way or another come down to the fact that the modern era appears as an erasure of borders that extends to absolutely all systems (civil equality, a unified system of law, a unified tax system, uniform document management, capitalist economy, where money is a universal means of mediating any exchanges, progressive rationalisation and McDonaldisation of society) (Rittser, 2011).

On the other hand, paradoxically, Kurennoy writes about the reverse trend of boundaries' production, which in classical cultural philosophy is usually called culture. "Not a single epoch has generated as many boundaries as the modern one": fragmentation and increasing pluralisation are experienced by all spheres of society's life. This may include the increase in the number of states, various religious movements, replenished with quasi-religious belief systems, and a truly explosive increase in the number of borders falls precisely on culture. A whole industry is being formed to generate these various borders: tourism, gastronomic tours, the invention of local stories, 'places of memory' and their 'geniuses of place'. That is, while the civilisation not being tied to local history and a certain territory, is gaining momentum in the world system, the demand for

the formation of boundaries and differences related to locality and history of origin is becoming more and more active. People strive to maintain and emphasise their identity, crossing the border of their locus. Thus, the construction of a local identity is as much an integral part of modernity as spreading of McDonalds. Social networks, for example, are introducing more and more new tools to create an individual profile that allows us to demonstrate our personal history, emphasise our differences and draw borders.

Kurennoy notes that for the successful development of society in the modern civilised world, a balance between civilisation and culture is necessary. There is nothing wrong with the fact that in everyday life today we choose the products of civilisation, as it is progress. Not in a lofty enlightening sense, but in the ordinary one: it is comfortable for our existence. Meanwhile, civilisation gives us a sense of alienation and leads to the loss of any kind of identity. It is precisely with the help of culture that a balanced existence of civilisation can be achieved: through the production of cultural, historical and cultural borders, attention to historicism, regionalism, to one's own local identity.

Thus, the wide range of problems highlighted by modern scholars includes cultural and political pluralism, alienation, loss of orientation and identity, detrainning, 'loneliness in the crowd', blazoning, endless change in socio-cultural conditions, synchronised consciousness of mankind, McDonaldisation, trends of overall development of universalism and blurring the boundaries between 'friends and foes', crystallisation of culture. All this forces modern society to seek compensation through the preservation of the past, which is permanent and historical in nature: museums, conservatories, archives, reconstruction with the help of archaeology, history, etc.

The compensation theory, which is of great importance for preserving the identity, has already been mentioned and offers specific compensatory ways for overcoming the negative consequences of the hyperdynamic development of modern society. It makes sense to dwell on it in more detail for further

understanding of which forms and categories represent history, and what role they play in the formation and maintenance of ethnocultural identity.

### **The compensation theory of culture**

The development of the compensation theory started in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The very concept of 'compensation' gained the greatest fame and popularity in Germany in the 1970s.

The compensation theory is associated with the name of Joachim Ritter. He was the student of E. Cassirera, author and editor-in-chief of the "Historical Dictionary of Philosophy" (1971-2007). J. Ritter, having created the Collegium Philosophicum in Münster, brought together various scholars who were close to his understanding of modernity. Among them were H. Lübke, O. Marquard, R. Spaemann, G. Rohrmoser (Plotnikov, 1994). Often, in the framework of the conversation about the Ritter School, the political discussion of the latter with the Frankfurt school is of great importance within the framework of the theory of modernism.

J. Ritter considers the phenomenon of 'bifurcation' of the space of modernity between the past and the future to be one of the main features of modernity, which was for the first time revealed to the world by the Great French Revolution. In the framework of the theory of modernity, J. Ritter sees the main importance of historical development in human freedom, and the main reason for the duality of modernity is the 'historical orientation of modern institutions' (Rumyantseva, 2017). The modern world carries the problem of disorientation (crisis of orientation), the lack of necessary guidelines which a person can rely on in performing their activities. Speaking of historical orientation, the answer to the crisis of orientation is the conservation and updating of the past.

The compensation theory by Hermann Lübke and Odo Marquard, which has also been criticised by supporters of the Frankfurt School, suggests compensation for the negative effects of modernity through the development of social, cultural and educational spheres. Thus, the distinguished spheres, 'sciences of

the spirit', fulfil the spiritual need of society through compensation for the reality that is constructed by modernisation, providing the modern man with an opportunity to be included in the process of historical individualisation. In this sense, the position of H. Lübke is interesting, who, in continuation of the concept of J. Ritter, speaks of the great importance of the narrative component of history, rather than theoretical one.

Dynamic civilisational development causes an increase in the number of relics of the recent past, outdated and beyond the usual (H. Lübke defines this situation with the concept of "relict growth"). Thus, modern society, increasing the scope of innovation, leaves behind an array of past experience that no longer meets the needs of the present. In the process of the constantly accelerating present, a person faces the problem of losing clear self-determination, self-understanding. As a result, conservative actions are born, as a response to the accelerating progress. They do not reject the latter, but form some kind of slowdown opportunities that can help a person cope with the stream of innovations. A growing number of museums, organisations for the protection of historical and cultural monuments, restoration work are meant to compensate for the progressive civilisational development through the prism of historical consciousness. Through the creation of museum values, a person shows a desire to preserve their own identity. "Museums and interest in personal stories are two different manifestations of the same process: a compensatory reaction to the world that is changing too fast" (Rumyantseva, 2015a). All this happens in a situation of danger of the identity dissolution in a constantly transforming modernity.

In the situation of the informational glut of modern culture, the necessary historical knowledge is selected for future generations. H. Lübke defines this phenomenon of modernity with the term 'preception' (Präzeption).

Aleida Assmann, arguing in the framework of finding new meanings of the temporal mode of modernity, relies on two theories that produce a new look at the constantly transforming modernity: the theory of com-



pensation developed by J. Ritter, H. Lübke and O. Marquard, and the theory of memory, which differs from the first one by understanding of the past.

In the context of the theory of memory, the past does not disappear irrevocably, but is exposed to finding new meanings within the framework of a new round of social development, “as departed, disappeared and lost, it can always be returned, presented and preserved” (Assmann, 2017). A. Assmann identifies the debatable, traumatic events of past years as the most significant objects for reconsideration.

A. Assmann also considers which forms allow to represent history, outlining narrative, displaying and staging:

1) building a certain chronology of events, the narrative shows cause-and-effect relationships between events, and fulfils itself in the text. The author emphasises that narratives can be classified according to the type of plot: “a story of origin, conversion to a new faith, a novel of upbringing or formation, etc.” (Assmann, 2019). The narrative can be found in other forms of historical representation – displaying and staging, which is a way of structuring the eventual and semantic component;

2) displaying involves the placement of historical artefacts in space, which can be a text, an image or an object. The fundamentals of organisation of space rely on the narrative basis, but when it comes to objects and images endowed with unique non-verbal specifics, a special semantic component of space ordering appears;

3) in the framework of such a representation form as staging, A. Assmann distinguishes between “media staging” and “spatial staging”. In the first case, it is a story presented in moving images, cinema, television or digital media. In the second, it is reconstructing actions taking place on a specific site, prepared for stage production, which at the same time is a historical place and carries a memory of a real event of the past. Religious buildings, castles and rural areas, memorial sites, concentration camps serve as an example of such historical loci, and the preserved relics of the past allow you to immerse yourself in this memorial atmosphere of a certain historical period. These memori-

al sites are used for filming, museum spaces, archives, research centres are organised there (Assmann, 2019).

The above statements give us an idea of the extent to which modern society needs some moderation, compensation for the rapidly changing present, structuring of the recent past and maintaining a holistic view of itself.

Modern man is interested in the restoration and preservation of their identity and the fundamental role in this process is played by symbolic mediators as carriers of cultural memory, which in turn represents a model for the transfer of cultural meanings, knowledge about the past, their recreation, accumulation and actualisation. The space of cultural memory is a certain community of people that identifies itself through symbols, artefacts of the past that have no time boundaries. Storage facilities for cultural memory are museum spaces, archives, libraries, films and literature, etc. The cultural memory is broadcast through rituals and traditions. Symbolic mediators are a kind of “collective symbolic construction, the functioning of which is ensured by social communication and assimilated by the memory of individuals” (Assmann, 2018). As a result, memory is formed using signs with memorial meaning and symbols.

The rapid changes of modern time did not pass by local and already vulnerable ethnic cultures of indigenous peoples. The unifying impact of global processes exacerbated the problems of cultural, social and spiritual revival, which results in the loss of ethnic certainty, marginalisation and erasing of ethnic boundaries. The practice of preserving the culture, native language, traditional forms of management, and indigenous beliefs has become a global problem that requires certain institutional conditions to protect the rights and interests of indigenous people, both at the state and regional levels.

Religions of indigenous peoples are mistakenly understood as primitive, as a gross manifestation of primitive consciousness, devoid of deep feelings. Many scholars focus their attention on the study of world religions, but they have no idea about the rich symbolism and depth of the picture of the world of

local ethnic religions. This has led to the loss of a number of myths and legends, ritual ceremonies, not only revealing their traditional culture, but also providing answers to 'eternal' universal human questions. The essence of the worldview of indigenous peoples is that any actions that fill the human life, have great value and significance not themselves, but as a repetition of an ideal, mythological model. This repetition is revealed to us in the form of a ritual. Many researchers show their interest in considering the specific features of the religion of the indigenous peoples of the North (Tokarev, 1976; Pospelova, 2000), in particular, the reconstruction of an integral idea of religious consciousness in the process of cultural transformations (Avdeeva et al., 2019a, 2019b; Zamaraeva et al., 2019).

Currently, much attention is paid to the processes of preserving the languages of the indigenous peoples of the North and various attempts are being made to recreate them (Koptseva, 2014; Koptseva and Reznikova, 2015). In particular, for a long time, the system of 'language nests' has been actively operating in the northern regions of the Russian Federation (Dolzhenko, Bayanova, 2016; Reznikova, 2015) as part of teaching indigenous languages, with immersion in the language environment primarily of children of preschool and primary school age. Researchers of the Krasnoyarsk Krai study the linguistic problems of small indigenous peoples living compactly in the north of the Krasnoyarsk Krai, in particular, the possibility of reconstructing the language: in 2018 the group of scientists led by N.P. Koptseva implemented the Evenk Language Revival Research Project, in 2019 the Project Office for the Development of the Arctic and Siberian Federal University launched joint scientific activities to create the Enets written language (<http://энцы.рф/>).

The appeal to the cultural landscapes of the indigenous peoples of the North, as a form of museumisation of culture (Kimeev, 2008) and having great symbolic significance, also develops and appears in the allocation and study of sacred places (Balalaeva, 1999; Novikova, 2013), the space of ecomuseums (Gnedovskiy, 1994; Korostina, 2000; Kimeev, 2008), ethno-

graphic parks (Ol'zina, 1997), including places of traditional nature management (Krasovskaya, Tul'skaya, 2013).

Therefore, unstable processes occurring during global changes cause the demand of modern society for historicising and crystallising of their own local culture. Preserving the culture and ethnocultural identity of indigenous peoples is one of the most difficult tasks, since it is a question of preserving the ethnographic content of culture (folklore, traditional forms of management, traditional holidays, crafts and art, language). The most effective compensatory practices for the revival and preservation of indigenous cultures are practices for creating a network of special museums or other ethnographic centres; formation of the registers of intangible cultural heritage of indigenous peoples in a number of constituent entities of the Russian Federation; providing opportunities to engage in traditional activities (reindeer herding, fishing and hunting); the formation of the political and economic elite of ethnocultural groups that play the role of representatives of their community and integrate into urban political culture. Moreover, an interesting practice for ethnocultural groups themselves is turning to the results of scientific research of their own culture, as a kind of tool for the formation of self-identification of indigenous peoples.

## Conclusion

Constructing the ethnic identity of the indigenous peoples of the North and Siberia is being studied today in the following areas:

- 1) ethnographic descriptions that use the classical methodology are based on field research, including longitudinal studies with an interval of 10 years;
- 2) analysis of complex ethnic and cultural processes that are typical for the modern period of ethnic history, the use of constructivism as the basic methodological approach;
- 3) identification of individual phenomena characteristic of the ethnic construction, their study during field research using high-quality methods of social research.

Currently, traditional ethnographic studies coexist in the same research space with

constructivist analyses. There is a possibility that in the future an integrated approach will be found combining the strengths of both traditional and constructivist methodologies.

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## Компенсаторная роль символических медиаторов в конструировании этнокультурной идентичности

Ю.Н. Авдеева, К.А. Дегтяренко, Н.П. Копцева

Сибирский федеральный университет  
Российская Федерация, Красноярск

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**Аннотация.** Статья посвящена исследованию проблем культурной идентичности в условиях современных глобальных трансформаций. Сделан аналитический обзор концепций зарубежных и отечественных исследователей, связанных как с негативной, так и с позитивной оценкой влияния гипердинамизма современного развития на формирование идентичности. Проанализирован феномен «историзации культуры», отражающий значимость обращения к истокам для преодоления проблемы отчуждения, одиночества, увеличивающегося разрыва с прошлым, утраты преемственности поколений. Рассмотрена теория компенсаций и теория памяти, которые предлагают конкретные культурные формы репрезентации истории, играющие неопределимую роль в становлении и поддержании этнокультурной идентичности.

**Ключевые слова:** этнокультурная идентичность, культурный универсализм, символические медиаторы, компенсаторная теория, историзация культуры, глобализация, теория памяти, музеизация.

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## Buryat Migrations and Diasporas in Historical Space and Time (20<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>st</sup> Centuries)

Marina N. Baldano<sup>a</sup>, Victor I. Dyatlov<sup>b,c</sup>  
and Svetlana V. Kirichenko<sup>a\*</sup>

<sup>a</sup>*Institute for Mongolian, Buddhist and Tibetan Studies SB RAS  
Ulan-Ude, Russian Federation*

<sup>b</sup>*Irkutsk State University  
Irkutsk, Russian Federation*

<sup>c</sup>*National Research Tomsk State University  
Tomsk, Russian Federation*

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**Abstract.** The article focuses on diasporas and migration in the Mongolian world (both inside and outside its borders). There is a wealth of ethno-diasporal forms and mechanisms, unexpected and peculiar adaptation processes of migrants and host societies on this research field. The novelty lies in the attempt to compare the Buryat migrations to Mongolia, China and South Korea. The rich “line” of migration types from traditional migrations to modern educational and labour migration in a globalizing world makes the problem extremely urgent. The goal is the analysis of diasporal strategies (from the transplantation version of Shenekhen Buryats to modern cross-border Buryat migrants consolidating via the Internet) and a preliminary assessment of the characteristics of cross-border Buryat migration to South Korea. The study of ethnomigration processes makes it possible to consider the practices of adaptation of migrants to the host society, strategies for constructing migrant communities, the institutionalization processes of the Buryat diasporas associated with the creation of interaction mechanisms in host countries. The study takes into account the latest achievements of various sciences, at the junction of which it was carried out. Along with general historical approaches, methods of qualitative sociology were used: interviews, polls, discursive analysis of the media, and research on a set of official documents, statistics. The article consists of three case-studies and is based on an analysis of Russian, Mongolian, Korean official documents, media materials, a series of conversations and interviews obtained during field studies of the authors in Mongolia, China and South Korea.

**Keywords:** Mongolian world, Buryats, Shenekhen Buryats, decampment, migration, migrants, adaptation, host society, Russia, China, Mongolia, South Korea.

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\* Corresponding author E-mail address: histmar@mail.ru, vikdyatlov@yandex.ru, l-a-n-a@mail.ru  
ORCID: 0000-0002-2005-5362 (Baldano); 0000-0003-3584-6009 (Dyatlov); 0000-0002-7798-0209 (Kirichenko)

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The Mongolian world, of which the Buryats are a part, is traditionally distinguished by a high intensity of migration processes. By the Mongolian world we understand the historical and cultural space that has formed in the vast expanses of Inner Asia. It is united by the similarity or kinship of languages, cultural norms, and the commonality of history or the idea of such a community, common traditions, historical memory, and mythology. This is a phenomenon that is extremely heterogeneous and diverse, structured by tribal lines, scattered over a vast territory.

For centuries, nomadic cattle breeding has been the way of the economy and lifestyle. In the modern era, the specifics of the Mongolian world, divided by several political borders and experiencing various variants of nation-building, raises the question of the possibility (or impossibility) of the formation of diasporas within the borders of this world as a result of multidirectional migration processes.

In the process of formation of the states of the modern type and their borders, the traditional mechanism of moving and migrations is also filled with new content. Numerous and massive cases of refuge, including in the form of migrations, were caused by cataclysms of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The automatic reproduction of sociality, the transfer of a traditional social structure, way of life, a system of power and other relations, property and the economic structure to a new place were the result of migrating or leaving for a new territory, another state by clan groups with cattle as the basis of the economy. This was a fundamental difference from classical refugee – there was no de-

classification and marginalization. There was no dissolution among the culturally related host societies. This led to the formation of new types of sociality and new mechanisms of intergroup relationships in the general context of modernization processes.

At the same time, there are processes of migration beyond the Mongolian world to other states. And here it is important to see what happens to migrants there, what the range of their individual and / or group integration strategies is (from assimilation to “pupping”, enclaveization).

A special role in these processes is played by the Buryat society, which is undergoing rapid modernization, intensive nation-building, an integral and important part of which are migrations both within the Mongolian world and beyond its borders. This suggests the possibility of different strategies for adapting to host societies, different diasporalization models. We will try to test this hypothesis by the example of several cases of fundamental importance for the Buryat society.

### **Buryats in Mongolia**

Buryats constantly went to the territory of Mongolia with cattle during seasonal migrations. The formation of the main Buryat ethnic enclave here took place at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> – the 1<sup>st</sup> tertial of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It was formed gradually (Boronoeva, 2010; Nanzatov, 2010; Natsagdorzh, 2010; Rinchinova, 2011) in the course of constant diffusion, migrations of individual families and clans in search of pastures across an almost symbolic border. This was followed by several waves of refuge from

the land policy of the tsarist authorities and the mobilization of the First World War, the turmoil of the Civil War and the policy of the Soviet government. Buryats settled mainly in the bordering northeaster regions of Outer Mongolia.

Their legal status was determined only after the Revolution of 1921. The authorities of independent Mongolia were kind to the Buryat migrants. The creation of their own institutions was fully supported; they were recognized by the bodies representing the interests of the group. In Urga in 1918, the Buryat Committee was formed. The First Buryat Congress (1921) was formed by the Buryat Khural, recognized by the government as a representative body of the Buryats. Special areas were allocated for the settlers, Khalkha-Mongols moved from there if necessary. Buryat *khoshuns*, special administrative units, were created. Migrants were exempted from taxes for a period of three years. 35517 people (9243 families) received Mongolian citizenship in 1923-1929. The rest were evicted to the USSR after 1924. As a result, the Buryat population amounted to 35 thousand people (according to the 1924 General Census).

Such kindness of the authorities had quite practical reasons. For the formation of modern society and the state, the Buryats, with their education, knowledge of crafts and advanced technologies of animal husbandry and agriculture, represented valuable human material. The Buryat intellectuals and politicians, directed by the communist regime of Russia, at first formed the most influential group in the country's leadership. They sought to create a nation-state in the vast expanse of the Mongolian world in the modern European sense of the time. On the path to realizing this goal, they lobbied for the interests of the Buryat immigrants, taking an active part in their self-organization and arrangement. For some time, the nationalism of Buryat intellectuals and politicians did not contradict the Bolshevik ideas of the world revolution.

The Soviet authorities reacted quite favourably to the process of migration and rooting of the Buryats in Mongolia. It was necessary to strengthen its independence and create

a viable foundation for statehood. At that time, Mongolia was also considered as a support base for the expansion of the world revolution in China, primarily in the area of Inner Mongolia.

By the beginning of the 1930s, the situation had changed radically. The authorities of the USSR became disillusioned with the ideas of the world revolution, including in terms of uniting the Mongolian peoples under their auspices. The Buryat part of the political elite of Mongolia lost their political confidence. They turned into "bourgeois nationalists", and the word "pan-Mongolism" became a label and a political accusation. The Buryat population of the north-eastern aimaks of Mongolia began to be considered in the categories of "white emigrants", opponents of the Soviet regime and counter-revolutionaries.

In the political elite of Mongolia torn by group conflicts, a group of representatives of the youth "Khudon" wing, Khalkha by origin, stood out. They joined the fierce struggle for power, striving to push back the veterans, mostly Buryats, under the banner of the struggle with the "right". The struggle of generations and ideologies took on an ethnic character. Supported by the workers of the Comintern, the "leftists" their Buryat rivals, many were destroyed physically as well. The fabricated "Lkhumbo Case", the secretary of the Mongolian People's Party, the head of the Mongolian trade unions, became the peak of this struggle. Together with the elite, all Buryats as a group became political enemies and came under attack. Almost every family suffered from mass repression. Up to 90% of men in some Buryat regions were physically destroyed (Rinchinova, 2011: 78-90).

The result was that the Buryats sought to hide their origin, did not wear national clothes, and did not use the Buryat language in public places. According to the Mongolian researcher R. Regzendorzh, the extermination of most men caused an increase in the number of mixed Khalkha-Buryat marriages, which sharply accelerated the assimilation processes (Regzendorzh, 2003: 17).

The processes of modernization in the socialist version, which accelerated sharply after

the Second World War, had a significant impact on the further destinies of the Mongolian Buryats. The process of the formation of the Mongolian nation on the basis of the culture and language of the Khalkha, with their dominance, was accelerated. This predetermined the position of those who were not a Khalkha. Repressions against the Buryats as a group ceased. Back in the late 1920s, their national areas were eliminated. But they were recognized as one of the national minorities of Mongolia. In practice, the Khalkha had a higher status and opportunities for a career in life with legal equality. According to observers, one of the strategies to overcome actual inequality was the massive and pronounced desire of Buryats to educate their children, including higher education. This probably explains the high proportion of Buryats in the educated elite of the country.

Throughout the socialist era, the desire to hide the Buryat origin, to declare oneself as a Khalkha, was very popular. U. Bulag (Bulag, 1998: 35-36), who conducted field research in 1991-1992 among the Buryats of the capital and northeastern aimaks, notes the widespread occurrence of this phenomenon. Mandatory record of nationality in passports did not interfere with such practice. The fluency in the Mongolian language was widespread; the Buryat language was more often used as a home language, in family communication, or was completely lost.

Despite this, assimilation did not occur, which emerged after the democratic revolution. The number of people who declared themselves Buryats during the Censuses was constantly growing: in 1956 – 24.6 thousand, in 1963 – 28.5 thousand, in 1969 – 29.8 thousand, in 1979 – 29.8 thousand, in 1989 – 35.4 thousand, in 2000 – 40.6 thousand, in 2010 – 48.5 thousand people. Some experts are inclined to believe that the real number can reach up to 100 thousand people (Rinchinova, 2011: 108-110).

Moreover, Buryats are not just a statistical category. Nobody did any calculations of their specific weight in the composition of the country's modern intellectual, political and business elite, and they are hardly possible. However, the fact that many of the largest businessmen, public figures, and politicians are Buryats says a

lot. Of course, they mainly position themselves as Mongolian (in the civilian sense) politicians and public figures, but at the same time some are actively involved in the development of the Buryat community. They participate in the creation of a network of Buryat public and cultural institutions. The Buryat Community Council, the Foundation for the Development of Buryat Culture and Traditions in Mongolia, and the Toonto Youth Organization were founded and are actively functioning. Where Buryats live compactly, the Foundation has regional branches; it holds many social and cultural events, organizes and finances the publication of literature. At the initiative of the Foundation, in 2008, the Academy of Buryatology was established. The Foundation initiated the creation of the Altargana festival in 1994, which became an influential social movement throughout the Buryat world.

The administrative-clan principle of resettlement, which emerged at the beginning of the migration process, makes it difficult to consolidate the Mongolian Buryats as a single community. According to individual aimaks, tribal groups of the Buryats are clearly localized territorially (Ochir, Serzhee, 1993; Oyuntungalag, 2004). The Polish researcher Z. Shmyt is right, noting that “weak cooperation between different groups of Buryats in Mongolia and the much greater importance of patrimonial and territorial contacts may indicate the incompleteness of the process of ethnic consolidation of the Buryats in Mongolia” (Shmyt, 2007: 84). One of the possible explanations for the inhibition of the process of their consolidation as a single community, and not a complex of territorial clan groups, is that the Buryats were always active participants in the formation of a civil nation in Mongolia, having accepted the dominance of the culture and language of the Khalkha in this process, defending their specific interests through a system of territorial clan groups.

#### **Shenekhen Buryats in China**

A local ethnocultural group of Shenekhen Buryats was formed in the area of the Shenekhen River (Barga region of the Inner Mongolia of China) by Buryat refugees from Russia (Bal-



dano, Dyatlov, 2008; Boronoeva, 1999; Abida et al., 1985). The turmoil of the civil war and the cataclysms of the socialist transformations in Russia became a pushing factor for this group. An application for permission to the Aga Buryats to resettle in Barga (Khulun-Buir) was submitted by the outstanding scientist and public figure M.N. Bogdanov and Buryat *Noyon* (prince) Namdak Bazarov at the end of 1917. Having received the official consent of the local authorities, the first immigrants arrived at the same time. Their stay was finally legalized by a decision of the local authorities in 1921. They got a vast territory in the Shenekhen river valley and created a special administrative unit – the Buryat *khoshun* (county), which included four *somons* (lots). Administrators were appointed from among the immigrants. More than 60 families, or about 700 people, lived there in 1922. With the beginning of collectivization in the USSR, the influx of new migrants increased, continuing until 1933. By that time, there were more than 700 families, i.e. about three thousand people, in the Buryat *khoshun*.

With the onset of the Japanese occupation and the formation of Manzhou-Guo, migration almost completely ceased, ties with the historical homeland were cut off for a long time. The Shenekhen Buryats, as subjects of the “empire” of Manzhou-Guo, were to serve in the security forces and carry out common duties for all. Japanese was introduced at school as a compulsory subject. The Buryat *khoshun* was eliminated. By setting exorbitant taxes, the Japanese authorities constantly carried out requisition of livestock. In an effort to get away from the border and the alleged places of hostilities, several groups of Buryats migrated from Shenekhen.

With the advent of Soviet troops in 1945, repression began against those accused of collaborating with the Japanese. About 400 people (up to half of the adult male population) were forcibly deported to the USSR and partly repressed. The civil war between the Kuomintang and the Communists (1946-1949) also brought great casualties and huge material losses.

The proclamation of the PRC was accompanied by major changes. A number of administrative-territorial transformations were made. Today, the Shenekhen Buryats live in three so-

mons of the Evenki *khoshun* of the Hulunbuir aimak. Their number is estimated in the range of 6.5–7 thousand people. They survived collectivization, mass repression in the socialist era, especially during the years of the “cultural revolution”. The opportunity to return to the usual foundations of life appeared with the beginning of Deng Xiaoping’s reforms. The Shenekhen Buryats are a rather prosperous group whose economy is based on cattle breeding. In a 30-year lease they received large tracts of land for farming. Wage labour was often used. With the opening of the border with Russia, relations with the “historical homeland” were restored, where more than 400 people returned.

Refugees were the founders of this group. Refugees had a traditional and habitual form of migrating since imperial times. “A powerful incentive to create a virtually new ethnolocal group was a forced separation from the clan base, from the main ethnic massif. Not just a conglomerate of people living in one place, but a community united by self-consciousness and a developed system of internal relations, interdependencies and social control, but on a traditional and habitual basis, on the basis of generic relations and structures brought with them” (Baldano, Dyatlov, 2017, with. 237).

On the part of the old-age population, migrants did not meet with hostility, due to the absence of a conflict of interest, as well as the kinship and close historical ties of the Buryats and Barguts. The lands allotted to the settlers were “escheat”. Neither the natural type of economy, nor the nature of the economic structure (traditional cattle breeding) required advanced integration. There was no conflict of interests with neighbours over resources, nor developed economic cooperation, exchange and competition. As a result, there was no need for constant and everyday communication. Therefore, such a difficult adaptation problem as mastering the language of the host society was painlessly resolved. The language of everyday communication is the Buryat language. It could serve almost the entire range of linguistic needs of the group until recently.

The Lamaist religion was a factor in rallying the Shenekhen Buryats. Traditions, customs, ceremonies, holidays, national clothes

brought from the historical homeland, as part of everyday everyday life, became the basis for the consolidation and formation of the ethnocultural community. Here we see a classic community-based model of organization right down to the rigid system of internal marriage. There were almost no mixed marriages with representatives of neighbouring groups, despite ethnocultural kinship. There was no tendency to dissolve in a culturally close Mongol-speaking environment. The unique combination of disinterest in acculturation (especially assimilation) in the host society with the absence of external pressure (up to the “cultural revolution”) determined the fate of the Shenekhen Buryat group.

Minimum openness to the host society, a clear internal organization, the existence of a system of power, control and sanctions made it possible to form a single community from a conglomerate of clan groups and individual refugees. In terms of economic specialization, it was self-sufficient. Separated from the host society by the system of tribal relations, traditions and customs, the Buryat language, the community was large enough to support the structure of sociality. It closed itself in, not receiving impulses for integration from the host society.

The memory of the “historical homeland” and the realization of its “shard” became one of the pillars of the isolation of the group. “But what was meant by the “historical homeland” – the state, locality, people, relations? It is unlikely that all this was shared in the minds of people, but the first place in the respondents’ answers is “*toonto niutag*” (a small homeland), then relatives and, finally, the Russian state” (Boronoeva, 2011: 187). The main clan array remaining there did not occupy the last place in this hierarchy of representations. The dream of return was based on the desire to reunite with relatives. In the hope of a speedy return, the representatives of the first generation of the Shenekhen Buryats deliberately did not learn Chinese. There are many Russisms in their language today. Respondents emphasized that they learned how to handle agricultural machinery, build houses, bake bread, mow and harvest hay from Russians. This gave them

additional advantages over their neighbours – Barguts, Dagurs, Evenks.

With the era of Deng Xiaoping, rapid modernization transformations began. In a market economy, private property, economic freedoms, the ability to conduct one’s own economy destroy isolation and self-isolation. New opportunities and temptations related to urban culture, fierce competition for resources, education, jobs appeared. Shenekhen Buryats are engaged not only in cattle breeding, but also in medicine, healthcare, education, and the service sector. Their territorial and social mobility is growing. About 300 Shenekhen Buryats came to Russia in the 1990s. Today their number is about 400 people. The main motives for returning are nostalgic (“the homeland of the ancestors”), economic (search for new opportunities), educational (within the framework of existing preferential programs). In any case, they *returned* to Buryatia, to the homeland of their ancestors, to their compatriots-Buryats. But a quick merger with the “mother ethnos” did not happen. Migrants occupied specific niches in the economy, and used internal networks, connections and relationships in social terms. The main massif of the group that remained in China actually became a “national centre”, in some ways – a new “historical homeland”.

Thus, a special ethnocultural group was formed, developing on its own basis. Its main characteristics were set by the transboundary way of life and the way of formation during the short historical era, saturated with cataclysms. Being an integral part of Chinese society, it is closely connected with the Buryat people, Buryatia, and through them with Russia.

### **Buryats in South Korea**

The Buryats demonstrate a different type of building migration strategies and practices in the process of modern intensive cross-border migrations outside the Mongolian world. These are not the old migrations, these are quite modern typical labour migrations when not groups migrate, but individuals who can form communities, or can do without it. Buryats are actively involved in the processes of diaspora building as Russian migrants, on the one hand, and part

of the Mongolian cultural world, on the other hand. This increases their adaptive capabilities in the host society, expands the set of appropriate tools.

Extremely interesting material for studying such a migration model is provided by the situation in South Korea. This country implements a migration policy aimed at overcoming the shortage of labour in small and medium enterprises, filling the need for scientists and highly qualified specialists for advanced sectors of the economy. In particular, the number of migrants from Russia is growing. Additional factors contribute to this are: 1) Russian Koreans receive special visas in accordance with the agreement of 2010 on dual citizenship; 2) Seoul attracts young foreigners to South Korean universities through grant systems; 3) a visa-free regime was introduced between Russia and South Korea in 2014; 4) in Russia, the socio-economic situation has worsened.

The main flow of migrants is formed from the inhabitants of the east of the country, and the Buryats are very noticeable among them. The crisis economic situation in the republic encourages them to emigrate. In 2014, the once successful Baikalfarm distillery was closed, which provided jobs for about 2 thousand people across Russia, of which about 600 were in Buryatia. Baikalbank went bankrupt, this caused the loss of about 900 jobs. The "Milk of Buryatia" and "Ulan-Ude Stal'most" factories were in a difficult situation. The industrial production index in January 2017 compared to January 2016 fell by almost 7%.

According to Buryatstat, the average monthly salary in Buryatia in February 2017 was 27,571 roubles (more than 36 thousand roubles in the country). A high proportion of those whose wages range from 10-15 thousand roubles. Overdue salary arrears increased over the year by 10.4% and amounted to 55.9 million roubles. According to the Republican Employment Centre, information on the release of workers as of October 31, 2017 was submitted by 804 enterprises for 6149 people, 397 people worked part-time. The number of unemployed registered with the employment service increased from 6186 to 6567 people in December 2016 – November 2017. The unemploy-

ment rate among men in the city amounted to 9.2% in Buryatia (in the Irkutsk region – 7.7%) (Ikhenova, 2018).

In South Korea, according to official figures, "in 2014, 34.8% of all labour migrants earned more than 2 million won (\$ 1.9 thousand) a month, and the share of migrants with wages to 3 million won (2,8 thousand US dollars) increased, and the share of foreigners agreeing to a salary below 1 thousand dollars decreased" (Headline, 2014).

Such a gap in wage levels is the main incentive for migration. In addition, migrants learn new technologies, acquire high professional skills, and absorb the foreign culture that broadens their horizons. The relative emotional comfort of staying in the Korean environment for Buryats is also important, which is determined by belonging to the same anthropological type. The distance, the cost of moving, the level of security, the expected housing conditions, etc. are taken into account. But the main thing is the expected level of income, determined by wages.

People of different ages and backgrounds come to Korea – starting from 18 years old and ending with 60 years old, single, married, and often married couples. But mostly these are young people with a high level of education. Among them are businessmen, bank employees, directors of travel agencies, artists and others. They work in construction, agriculture, catering, seafood processing, hotel business. If a few years ago, most of the Buryats worked in the industry of Greater Kwaju, and some in Seoul, today they live almost throughout Korea.

They are in no hurry to return home, especially if the work is legal. A medical worker from Ulan-Ude, Sergey, who receives \$ 1,500 a month, works at a poultry farm, "As regards returning home, it's worth considering everything carefully. When I left home, I thought it would last for 6 months, now I'm not sure anymore. The dollar is growing, work is becoming more profitable, and in Russia, meanwhile, wages are not increasing, while prices are creeping up, slowly but surely. In general, we can only wait and see. If the situation at home does not change, then I think it's worth

taking my family here, I won't find such work in Buryatia, getting such a salary at home in Ulan-Ude is unreal for me with my education" (Stepanova, 2016).

A young man, Bazyr, told us, "I left because it seems to me that here, in Korea, the atmosphere is different. In Buryatia, honestly, I did not feel in demand. I graduated from college. And where do I go now? I started to look for work and did not find it. My classmates decided to work as consultants in an electronics store. Others went to Canada, USA. I'm here in Korea. When I arrived, I realized right away that I would have prospects here. Though there was nothing – no work, no housing, no money. I had to take a loan in order to leave home and not to trouble my parents. And I do not regret it. I've already paid this loan to the bank, within a year I found everything – work, home, girlfriend ... I'm not going to return. I plan to get married here" (Ivanova, 2018).

There are more and more legalized Buryats in South Korea every year. "The ways and methods for this are different. Some, rummaging through the family tree, take shape as ethnic Koreans. But this is not easy enough. There were cases when people changed their surnames to Korean – Kim, Khan, etc. For girls, the most popular option is to marry a Korean. But this method cannot be called easy, as the migration services closely monitor the formed families for two years, even to the extent that the newlyweds are checked at night. Therefore, not everyone decides to create a fictitious marriage, only for love. Moreover, Koreans themselves do not mind creating a family with home-grown and hard-working Buryats" (Gabysheva, 2017).

Buryats in Korea actively communicate, create fraternities, get married, celebrate national holidays, bring children, become legalized. In Seoul, the Buryat cafe "Baikal" appeared, which became an informal meeting place for Ulan-Udeans.

Migrants, as a rule, use ethnicity as a resource to determine a pattern of economic behaviour and solve their pressing problems. This is necessary to create conditions for effective economic activity, to ensure migration traffic, and to solve socio-cultural and domestic prob-

lems. But at first, the Buryats often positioned themselves as Russians and representatives of the Mongolian community.

As the Korean researcher Jeong Bong Soo noted, "Buryat labour immigrants in the Republic of Korea declare and identify themselves with "Pan-Mongolian" ethnosocial community and also have a fairly confident civic identity as a "Russian" in the Republic of Korea" (Jung Bong Soo, 2012). Today, the Buryats confidently demonstrate their ethnic identity, while building close ties with all Russian-speaking migrants and Mongols.

A vivid example in this sense is the "Seoul Mongoltown", also called "Russiatown" or "Central Asian village". Natives of Mongolia, Russia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan live and interact intensively here. An extensive infrastructure, a special way of life, and diverse networks of migrant relations and ties have been created. This is a complex social organism, and not just a place of mechanical housing and business concentration of migrants. And it was formed not on an ethnic, but on a cultural basis. People from different countries are united by the Russian language and the Soviet past. Two Russian-language newspapers are published in Seoul and Busan, namely, *Seoul Herald* and *Window to Korea*. In 2015, the Russian-language channel RusKorTV was opened. In September 2016, 6448 people were registered as users on the Russian-language website "Russian Korea" (Fayzrakhmanova, 2018). The number of users of *Buryats in South Korea* website in the VKontakte social network amounted to 2,000 in December 2018.

The working and living conditions of labour migrants in South Korea are quite difficult: there is no medical insurance, no social assistance. Some do not withstand the loads, start drinking, families break up. Someone ceases to send money home, loses contact with relatives.

The big problem is violation of migration laws. Some live and work in Korea for years without being caught by the migration services. Despite the discontent of many Korean entrepreneurs interested in exploiting the illegal, and therefore cheap labour, deportations are periodically carried out. In 2017, 13,255 foreigners

who were staying illegally in the country were detained, 15,728 illegal immigrants voluntarily left the country through the “green corridor” (Asmolov, 2018).

These difficulties do not stop new migrants. According to the lawyer B. Dugarov, “our economy, unfortunately, does not create jobs; there are no new ideas and projects. There are practically no high-level specialists left. Those who came from Korea dream of returning there again, despite all the hardships of life there” (Baikal-Daily, 2017).

### Conclusion

Traditionally, migratory-moving Buryats developed several models of cross-border migrations and diasporal strategies for integration into the host society in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Even the Buryat groups that arose as a result of traditional migrations in China and Mongolia demonstrated fundamentally different integration strategies in a culturally and historically related Mongolian environment.

The Shenekhen Buryats in Inner Mongolia of China created a closed and self-sufficient socio-cultural and economic group, preserving traditions, customs, way of life and lifestyle for a long time. This enclosed enclave, which withstood all the military-political cataclysms of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, began to collapse only under the influence of modern turbulent modernization processes in China. Buryats in Mongolia took

an active part in the processes of nation-state formation. Preserving their cultural Buryat self-identification, they integrate into the political nation of Mongolia.

The “Odyssey” of the Shenekhen Buryats and the experience of centuries of life in independent Mongolia indicate that the uniformity of the socio-economic structure, the relationship of languages and culture, the commonality of fate and history did not become factors and mechanisms of assimilation. Deep adaptation to the host society went hand in hand with the internal consolidation of these groups, the formation of special self-identification and the adoption of a diasporal model of the structure of life.

Modern Buryat labour migrants demonstrate individual strategies of both choosing a migration strategy and ways of integration into the host society. For the most part, these are well-educated citizens who form diasporal communities on a voluntary basis as an instrument of economic and cultural adaptation to the host society. They pragmatically use the possibilities of their belonging both to the Russian-speaking world and to the Mongolian historical and cultural community.

The world and the Buryat society are changing dynamically, as well as the Buryat migrant, his migration strategies, lifestyle and way of life, the nature of relations with the letting and receiving society.

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## Миграции и диаспоры бурят в историческом пространстве и времени (XX-XXI вв.)

М.Н. Балдано<sup>а</sup>, В.И. Дятлов<sup>б,в</sup>, С.В. Кириченко<sup>а</sup>

<sup>а</sup>Институт монголоведения, буддологии и тибетологии СО РАН

Российская Федерация, Улан-Удэ

<sup>б</sup>Иркутский государственный университет

Российская Федерация, Иркутск

<sup>в</sup>Национальный исследовательский

Томский государственный университет

Российская Федерация, Томск

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**Аннотация.** В центре внимания статьи – диаспоры и миграции в монгольском мире (как внутри, так и вне его пределов). На этом исследовательском поле наблюдается богатство этнодиаспоральных форм и механизмов, неожиданные и своеобразные процессы адаптации мигрантов и принимающих обществ. Новизна заключается в попытке сравнения миграций бурят в Монголию, Китай и Южную Корею. Разнообразная «линейка» миграционных типов – от традиционных откочек до современной образовательной и трудовой миграции в условиях глобализирующегося мира делает проблему чрезвычайно актуальной. Цель – анализ диаспоральных стратегий (от трансплантационного варианта шэнэхэнских бурят до современных трансграничных бурятских мигрантов, консолидирующихся посредством интернета) и предварительная оценка особенностей трансграничной бурятской миграции в Южную Корею. Изучение этномиграционных процессов дает возможность рассмотреть практики адаптации мигрантов к принимающему обществу, стратегии конструирования мигрантских сообществ, процессы институционализации бурятских диаспор, связанных с созданием в принимающих странах механизмов взаимодействия. В исследовании учтены последние достижения различных наук, на стыке которых оно проводилось. Наряду с общеисторическими подходами применялись методы качественной социологии: интервью, опросы, дискурсивный анализ СМИ, исследование комплекса официальных документов, статистики. Статья состоит из трех case-study и базируется на анализе российских, монгольских, корейских официальных документов, материалов масс-медиа, серии бесед и интервью, полученных в ходе полевых исследований авторов в Монголии, Китае и Южной Корее.

**Ключевые слова:** монгольский мир, буряты, шэнэхэнские буряты, откочка, миграция, мигранты, адаптация, принимающее общество, Россия, Китай, Монголия, Южная Корея.

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## Value Orientations in Musical Folklore Peculiar for the Indigenous Minorities of Krasnoyarsk Krai: Research Overview

**Svetlana V. Bereziuk and Mikhail Ia. Khrebtov\***

*Siberian Federal University  
Krasnoyarsk, Russian Federation*

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**Abstract.** The article presents the results of the musical folklore analysis from the perspective of cultural knowledge. The analysis is aimed to determine value orientations in the course of the musical folklore phenomenon comprehension. The comparative and typological research methods are applied for an analytical overview of this issue. The conducted analysis has resulted in the conclusions about the peculiar features of musical folklore in its historical and cultural development. The main purpose of the considered phenomenon in its value orientation has been revealed. It is claimed that musical folklore is one of the areas of musical art. It has its own spiritual space and displays some features of cultural knowledge. The obtained data can be used for further research of the peoples from other regions of Russia.

**Keywords:** musical folklore, value orientation, values, society, people, culture, ethnos.

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## Introduction

Musical folklore reflects the way of the people's life, their cultural values, views on moral, ethical and aesthetic ideals, as well as their attitude towards society as a whole. The value of folk music is in its truthfulness and depth of text content, expressiveness of its form. Folk songs are focused on a human who embodies the ideal of the people with their best qualities. Besides, musical folklore contributes to the generations' ideological education. The lyrics is semantically oriented, whereas the music is emotionally loaded, thus, complementing the impact of the word on the listener.

The analysis of value orientations in musical folklore of the indigenous minorities of Krasnoyarsk Krai reveals certain regularity between the peculiar features of the musical language and the people's traditional song culture. In addition, the study of the concept of "values" makes the people's self-determination in modern cultural space clear.

The research of musical folklore of Siberian peoples grasped the attention of ethnographers and professional musicians of the 20<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>st</sup> centuries for more than a decade. The issues of musical folklore of the indigenous minorities are covered in the works by L.Ia. Sternberg (1936), I.M. Suslov (1928), G.M. Vasilevich (1969), V.N. Dobrovolskii (1903), A.F. Middendorf (1965), M.G. Voskoboinikov (1980), Iu.I. Sheikin (2002) et al.

The rarest examples of the indigenous minorities' folk music are collected in the works by A. Middendorf, I.M. Suslov, A. M. Eisenstadt (Eisenstadt, 1995), E.V. Hippus (Hippus, 2003).

Overview of the study of folklore of the indigenous peoples of the North is given in the articles by Yu.N. Avdeeva and her co-authors (2019a, 2019b), M.A. Kolesnik (2014), M.A. Kolesnik and the co-authors (2018), N.P. Koptseva (2014), V.N. Ivanov (2013), K.I. Shimansky and N.P. Koptseva (2014), Yu.S. Zamaraeva and her co-authors (2019), A.V. Kistova and the co-authors (2019), N.N. Nevolko (2011), K.V. Reznikova and her co-authors (2019), N.M. Libakova and E.A. Sertakova (2018), N.M. Libakova and her co-authors (2017), et al.

Field researches of musical folklore of Krasnoyarsk Krai of the last decade are described in the articles by L.D. Eckard (2012), M.M. Chikhacheva (2018), G.S. Vinogradov (2009) et al.

The value aspect is viewed in the works by M.K. Petrov (2004), V.E. Davidovich (2013), Iu.A. Zhdanov (2005), G.V. Drach (2003), E.Ia. Rezhbek (2002), V. P. Filatov (1989), O.M. Shtompel (2009), S.N. Iaremenko (1997), T. P. Mates (2016), S. Ia. Podoprigora (2015), M.V. Zakovorotnaia (1999) et al.

This overview proves the relevance of the musical folklore research and its values as well as the interest it arises in the course of years, the key focus being on the musical language of traditional songs and on the semantic content of the text. Yet, the elements of musical folklore are still poorly understood.

## Methodology

The specificity of musical folklore is in studying the elements of musical culture, rituals, and rites as autonomous definitions as well as in their interpenetration. The indigenous minorities' traditional folklore displays interpenetration of these elements. The main method of studying this phenomenon is that of the "structural" analysis of musical folklore works. The methodology of the "comparative" and "functional" analysis can also be applied in order to clearly analyze the melody of songs, as well as their poetic texts.

The structural and typological method in the study of rites reveals the systemic relations within the ritual tradition. Thus, it provides with the material for considering the relationship between the rite and the folklore.

Analyzing the features of musical folklore, V.A. Lapin wrote about the musical folklore methods. In particular, the scholar considered the possibility of historical study of this phenomenon. In addition, he put forward the idea of a comparative study of local traditions, as well as of their typological continuity of development.

The combination of musical-analytical and sociological methods makes it possible to identify the features of solo and ensemble singing as well as to determine the type of the sing-



ers performing in this ethnic group under the conditions of following the traditions.

When studying musical folklore, it is also necessary to consider the verses as per the types of musical-and-song rhythms in their dialectical and historical aspects.

#### **Value orientations peculiar for musical folklore**

The concept of “values” is a key one in defining human society. Values are crucial in a human’s life orientation; they are also vital for maintaining social order.

Philosophers had been turning to the comprehension of values for centuries. For example, according to Schopenhauer (1969), the main value is the search for the meaning of life. In his argument, the philosopher emphasizes everyone’s personal happiness. He introduced the concept of “will”. The purpose of “will” is to continue the human race, but not to make the individual happy. A person can never be happy, since happiness cannot last for a long time in the present. Schopenhauer believes that happiness is always in the unknown future or in the past.

In his time, Wilhelm Dilthey (1980) approached the structure of the subjective value system through the process of personal development. He considered this process as an alternation of certain states of life. A certain structure of subjective values is characteristic for each state of life. Hence, according to Dilthey, the individual’s development is “the transition of the individual from one system of subjective values to another system of higher life values”.

It is from the position of the cultural-historical relativism that Jean Baudrillard (2008) models the scheme of evolutionary-historical development of values. This scheme consists of the so-called “three orders of simulacra” of the individual’s development, alternating from the Renaissance to the present day. Baudrillard paid attention to the role of value variability in each order of simulacra.

J. Habermas (1992) raises the issue of value variability in relation to the spiritual sphere of society. He conditionally divided all values into two groups. The first category includes ethical values that contribute to the individ-

uals’ and communities’ self-identification, the second group embraces moral values that display a universal character. Following and developing I. Kant’s ideas, Habermas distinguishes ethical, pragmatic and moral spheres of practical reason application. The ethical sphere covers the issues of self-knowledge of values as well as self-determination of an individual in his/her space of values. The pragmatic one includes human actions or deeds that can be accepted as a general law for everyone.

The moral sphere manifests itself in the form of norms, which in this case are applied as a duty and are objective in nature, i.e. do not depend on subjective consciousness. As a result, Habermas in his time determined the peculiarities of the development of culture, science, technology and all human activities, and namely, internationalization of cultural life, demonstration of power, power of technology, and human mind. It is this background against which revaluation of values and a change of philosophical paradigms took place in the context of a contradictory cultural situation in philosophy.

G. Rickert (1998) analyzed the values as an ideal and reference point for sociocultural development of society, which also forms social motivations of individuals and society as a whole. As a result of value awareness people form certain attitudes peculiar for their daily activities.

Regarding the issue of values, P. Sorokin claims that “the value is the basis of all cultures. Each culture has its own axiological core. Depending on a dominant value, this core divides all cultural super-systems into ideational (the predominance of spiritual values), sensory (the predominance of sensory-empirical perception of reality), and idealistic (the synthesis of the first two types)” (Sorokin, 1992).

The central link in value orientation is a human, his/her life and development. A person who is able to foresee the consequences of his/her actions will not prevent deviations from the balanced development of the “man – society – nature” system.

Value orientation of musical folklore, developed by the scholars, ethnographers, and

folklorists for many years, gives a clue to the nature of values as an important component and regulator of the activity of the individual and the society. This allows us to establish the place of cultural values, social ideals and personal orientations in human behavior.

Such values as humanism, taking care of each other, respect for the elders, politeness, justice, etc. are conveyed in the song tradition through the text and music. From year to year, beautiful songs, tools and traditional clothing have been created. The beauty of the native land is hymned in traditional songs of the indigenous minorities of Siberia. Their love is shown not only in words, but also in action. Every word that sounds in their traditional songs is deeply felt and internally meaningful. "The beautiful is not an end in itself; it is an integral part of the people's life" (Volkov, 1976)

The moral and ideological values of traditional music in musical folklore are closely linked. The ideas underlying traditional songs are complemented by the moral ideals of each nation. The ability to approach music from the position of moral and ethical qualities characterizes the individual's true musical culture.

Acquisition of value orientations in society is primarily associated with mastering the generations' spiritual heritage and with a careful attitude to folk traditions of the region where one or another ethnic group lives.

Considering the traditional values of folk music, Z.Z. Krymguzhina claims: "Only by assimilating national values one can understand the ideals of other times, peoples, and the world. Human values are not reduced to the sum of accumulated material and spiritual values only; they imply the formation of the new generations' ability to create new values, new systems of relations" (Krymguzhina, 2017).

The formation of ethno-cultural orientations consists of value actualization. The key feature of folklore is the unity of music and movement in it, which favours the perception of all its elements. A person's musical consciousness formation, in its turn, is a result of the impact of mass musical culture he/she is currently in.

Siberia is diverse and rich in both its beauty, the originality of nature, and the cultural

values of the peoples living here. Each nation has its own culture and customs, as well as music with its own distinctive elements and tools. A human with his/her inner world and value orientation is the subject of the research. It is owing to values, that a certain way of thinking is formed in a human's mind and, thus, helps them in their way of life and their own understanding of their life path.

### **Peculiar features of musical folklore**

Folklore is a certain type of art reflecting the specific components of the people's culture. It can be regarded as the foundation of the entire artistic culture, an original layer in the culture of the society. Considering the phenomenon from this perspective, it can be stated that folklore is one of the oldest strata of a particular people's culture. It unites the culture of the society as per certain ethnic components at a certain period of its historical development. Besides, any folklore piece of art is bifunctional in nature, since it has an aesthetic, utilitarian and applied function.

Musical folklore is one of the main examples of the Humanities. It can be considered not only as a phenomenon of the people's material and spiritual culture, but also as a universal history in general. Regularities in its development, processes and relationships determine the main functions of culture as a whole.

The research of this phenomenon is primarily related to the research of customs, myths, and rituals, as it is an integral part of musical folklore. In addition, the main subject of the analysis is its psychological component. This direction is reflected in C. Jung's and G. Roheim's works. According to the first scholar's conclusions, the collective unconscious serves a sort of the foundation for a human's spiritual life, since it is the result of generic life by itself while being transmitted from generation to generation (Jung, 1991).

The works by the Russian authors are of particular importance in the research of folk tradition. As a system-forming element of culture, it is given the focus of analysis from the 60s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century by N.S. Zlobin (1980) and E.V. Sokolov (2010).

Based on the mentioned above, it can be argued that the study of musical folklore begins from the origins of philosophical knowledge and continues till modern research. The theoretical direction in this study is represented by the information and semiotic cultural analysis. The subject field in cognizing the facts and phenomena of musical folklore is their cross-cultural connection.

The indigenous minorities of Siberia (the Evenks, the Dolgans, the Selkups and the Nganasans, in particular) have established a specific unique form of their living environment in their historical development. Considering the cultural values of the indigenous minorities of Siberia, one can state that it is homogeneous in nature. Most of them have similar life, norms, customs, and spiritual and moral values.

These peoples' system of value orientations was formed under the influence of harsh climatic conditions. Besides, the territory of their residence was also of great importance for their cultural development. All this is reflected in their folklore, rituals, traditional holidays, and a harmonious contact with nature.

The indigenous minorities' folklore reflects ancient archetypal stories, which can contribute to tracing the evolution of culture and their interaction with each other. The ceremonial sphere is of particular significance for the Siberian peoples' traditional culture. It somehow displays customs, peculiar features of holidays, rituals, etc. One of the important elements of their culture is musical folklore, expressed in traditional songs.

Musical folklore of Siberian indigenous minorities is a socio-cultural phenomenon with its own traditional way of manifestation. Each intonation and word carries the deepest meaning in spiritual and creative practice. In the traditional musical culture of Siberian indigenous minorities there is interpenetration, a mixture of elements, genres, and stylistic features that form their own peculiar cultural layer.

The key feature of Siberian musical folklore is its heterogeneity, determined by social and natural factors. The genre composition of Russian musical folklore is quite diverse: calendar and agricultural cycle, song lyrics, epics, ritual songs, etc.

The cultural heritage of Siberia is a real historical treasure trove, represented by grand epic paintings, philosophically deep mythology and endangered languages, picturesque rites and exotic ceremonies. Passing through various stages of its development, the musical folklore of Siberian indigenous minorities has been formed over many centuries.

Their song culture is characterized by the diversity of themes, as well as by characteristic regional musical features. So, for example, when performed in different areas the same song acquires a peculiar, intonation-new sound.

In the traditional folklore of Siberian indigenous minorities the predominance of song culture is great. As a rule, the songs give extremely detailed descriptions of the objects encountered on the way; they describe clothing (one's own and someone else's), a boat, a forest, the habits of animals, etc. Images of nature predominate over personal feelings and experiences. It is especially true for old songs. Nature is very often ensouled. This is primarily due to the psychology of the tribal system. Many songs are associated with fishing, since hunting and fishing were the main types of occupation, and, thus, the people's lives often depended on luck or failure in these activities.

The songs widely reflect life and various customs. A significant place is given to lyrical and humorous songs. At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, there appear songs on social, domestic and political themes. Labor and historical songs are quite rare. This is due to several reasons: firstly, hunting and fishing require complete silence, and, secondly, historical songs were usually not cultivated in improvisational folklore, thus becoming part of oral folk art.

For a long time, songs had no musical notation; they were passed from mouth to mouth. In this regard, the same song may sound different in different regions or even in different courtyards. All possible invocations, lullabies, funeral and wedding songs were improvisational: new melodic-and-rhythmic and poetic variations were introduced at each performance. Yet, over time the most expressive songs got fixed and improved. As a result of natural ex-

pansion of ancestral ties, the boundaries of the distribution of folklore common for these peoples also expanded, the folklore gradually becoming more stable.

In addition, there appear songs that differ from humming-improvisation. These are specific musical samples with stable fret and structural features. Whereas the information that is fixed can exist for a certain time independently of human consciousness, oral-visual traditions necessarily assume their preservation in the people's memory.

Before the Great October Revolution, the musical culture of the peoples of the North was hardly studied. In the course of the post-revolutionary period, Soviet composers, musicologists and ethnographers began to study them seriously. Special interest in traditional music of the indigenous minorities of Siberia arises only in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Since that time, the systematic study of folklore as a special scientific category begins. Tradition, in its turn, is expressed as a kind of social and group experience. Moreover, it is necessary to distinguish between traditions transmitted by oral folk art or as a result of using the observation method and then recording this material in writing. Whereas fixed information can exist for a certain time independently of human consciousness, oral-visual traditions necessarily assume their preservation in the people's memory. Regarding the tradition, I. Zemtsovskii stated that "traditional nature concerns everything in folklore, without exception, from a special way of thinking, a worldview that is not subject to fashion, a special point of view on life and history... to the manner of sound extraction" (Zemtsovskii, 1978).

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In his comparative-historical analysis of cultural features of folklore of the indigenous minorities of Siberia Iu.I. Sheikin (2002) distinguishes its following types:

*Traditional folklore* is associated with social and psychological mechanisms of social consciousness, which are traced in songs, hymns, and chants.

*Archaic folklore* is an expression of the human's natural instincts regarding the sonoric. The boundaries of genres are usually blurred; their belonging to a particular type is determined by the singer's inclination and his/her emotional state.

*Professional folklore* is associated with performing skills. It is the stage of the formation of folklore mechanisms uniting folk traditions, as well as of own schools with their teacher – student position.

The main element of *modern folklore* is variability, it being a factor of creativity. Art songs, vocal and instrumental ensembles with folk repertoire are among the new genres that appear in musical folklore.

Thus, the overview of the researches in the field of musical art results in the following conclusions:

Firstly, musical folklore is a process of a human's spiritual and moral self-development and a foundation of artistic culture in the system of intercultural communications.

Secondly, it is based on a system of values formed as a result of the natural development of human society as a whole.

Thirdly, the components of musical folklore have informational and sign value, which makes it related to other branches of cultural knowledge.

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## Ценностные ориентиры коренных малочисленных народов Красноярского края в музыкальном фольклоре: обзор исследований

**С.В. Березюк, М.Я. Хребтов**

*Сибирский федеральный университет*

*Российская Федерация, Красноярск*

**Аннотация.** В настоящей статье представлены результаты анализа музыкального фольклора в ракурсе культурологического знания. Цель анализа была связана с определением ценностных ориентиров в понимании феномена музыкального фольклора. Для аналитического обзора данной тематики выбран сравнительный и типологический методы исследования. На основании проведенного анализа сделаны выводы об особенностях музыкального фольклора в его историческом и культурном развитии. Его результаты установили главное предназначение рассматриваемого явления в его ценностной ориентации. Обнаружено, что музыкальный фольклор есть одна из областей музыкального искусства. Он имеет собственное духовное пространство и раскрывает некоторые особенности культурологического знания. Полученные данные могут быть применены для дальнейшего изучения народностей других регионов России.

**Ключевые слова:** музыкальный фольклор, ценностная ориентация, ценности, общество, народ, культура, этнос.

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## Historiographical Overview of the Research on the Transformation of the Russian People's Values

Mikhail Ia. Khrebtov\* and Antonina I. Fil'ko

*Siberian Federal University  
Krasnoyarsk, Russian Federation*

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**Abstract.** The article gives a historiographical overview of the research on transformation of the Russian people's values. It deals with the concept of "socio-cultural transformation" as the basis for the process of transformation of values in the society. The article also considers the concept of "value" presented in classical works in order to thoroughly cover the historiography of the issue of transformations of values. The issue of axiological transformation was regarded by the scholars at the intersection of or from the point of view of such fields of scientific knowledge as philosophy, history, economics, political science, sociology, psychology, cultural studies, etc. The overview focuses not on the works that analyze the values themselves, but on the research that is based on the issues and phenomena that reflect the moment, premise or cause of a social value transition, movement, revaluation, paradigm shift, formation, etc. The research overview also gives a complete picture of research on the transformation of the Russian people's values and shows some dynamics in the development of values in modern Russian society.

**Keywords:** transformation of values, research approaches, values, changes in the Russian people's values, Russian people's values, socio-cultural transformations.

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## Introduction

In modern society, socio-cultural values are undergoing rapid changes. Former ideas about the world order no longer reflect the objective reality, including the social one. All these changes gradually lead to reassessments of the issues important for the representatives of a particular society. This is a prerequisite for a socio-cultural change of the value paradigm indicating axiological changes in the course of social development.

At the end of 20<sup>th</sup> – beginning of 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, modern Russian society faces a systemic crisis. Structural and institutional restructuring can form a society with a new value and spiritual basis. Social inefficiency of standards forces social groups and individuals to adapt to new socio-cultural patterns. This indicates the attitude towards the “challenges” of the social environment and also aligns expectations with innovations. Such innovations do address socio-cultural landmarks. At the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the ideology of consumption gets widely spread in Russia, which is facilitated by Western-type advertising, aimed not only at promoting specific products, but at reproducing a certain lifestyle as well as at forming certain consumer motivations. All this is reflected in the cross-section of socio-cultural orientations of the Russian society.

## Methodology

An overview of various sources such as monographs, encyclopedias, articles, journalistic notes, and Internet sources. The descriptive method is applied to analyse transformation of the Russian people's values. Generalizing methods (synthesis, induction, and deduction) are also involved.

## Discussion

### *The concept of sociocultural transformation*

The study of value changes in society is difficult for scientific knowledge. The society is viewed as a socio-cultural system of values. All societies are more or less involved in the overall system in the course of interaction with different cultures. The options for value changes are very diverse. The spectrum of ongoing processes is regarded as socio-cultural dynamics

of values. An important part of socio-cultural dynamics of values is socio-cultural transformations that change the entire socio-cultural system of values. In modern science, there are several different theories, approaches, and conceptions that address the issue of socio-cultural transformations, the transformations being worth considering.

The category of socio-cultural changes affects the levels of social organization and covers the spheres of society. N.N. Pimenova (2015) notes that the category of socio-cultural changes embraces the transformation of social structures, practices, the emergence of new groups or the functioning of previous groups, forms of interaction and behavior. The scholar claims that the term “socio-cultural changes” is often replaced by the concept of “modernization”, which is used to analyze the processes of renewal and to consider the socio-cultural value system. Shtompka (2001) distinguishes three approaches to the concept of “modernization”: a progressive social change, a complex of social, political, economic, and cultural transformations developing according to the “Western model”, and a set of the underdeveloped societies' efforts aimed at “chasing” more developed civilizations.

N.N. Pimenova (2015) suggests three models of socio-cultural dynamics: a cyclic model representing the history of culture as the community's life cycle; a linear model providing an evolutionary approach to culture; and a synergetic model developed since the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The cyclic model of socio-cultural dynamics has two directions: the desire to describe the entire history of mankind in a single cyclic movement (Dianova, 2002) and the denial of this integrity through distinguishing autonomously developing civilizations. It is G. Viko (1994) who is considered to be the founder of this conception. The scholar viewed the cycle as a sequence of three epochs: “the age of gods”, “the age of heroes”, and “the age of humans”. O. Shpengler (2019) claims a single rhythm of the cycle. Yet, at the same time he distinguishes eight cultures that develop autonomously in subordination to this cycle. N.Ia. Danilevskii (2008) presents the conception of “cultural-his-



torical types”, civilizations, the existence of which is subject to the law of life cycle with four stages: birth, flourishing, decline, and death. A.Dzh. Toynbi (2001) suggests the theory of local civilizations, the main mechanism of socio-cultural changes being the so-called “challenge-and-response”. L.N. Gumilev (2008) distinguishes the following phases in ethnogenesis: the incubation period, the passionary push, the acmatic phase, the fracture phase, the inertia phase, the obscuration phase, and the memorial phase. The driving forces in the process of socio-cultural changes are certain representatives of the community, the passionaries. P.A. Sorokin defines the principle of immanent change of the socio-cultural system and the derivative principle of limits. He distinguishes such characteristics of the mechanisms of socio-cultural changes as repetition, rhythm, linearity, and eternal novelty.

The linear model of socio-cultural dynamics interprets history as a progressive movement, mechanisms of sociocultural changes in the conceptions of human history as linearly developing ones being internal grounds for this path (Pimenova, 2015). G.W.F. Hegel (1990) argues that social dynamics is subject to the law of the movement of the spirit as an absolute world potency on the way for its release. O. Kont (1971) writes that the main direction of the sociocultural reality development is the progress of the human mind. Tailor (1989) suggests an evolutionary view of sociocultural transformation. He puts forward the ideas of progress and regression of culture. The human history is viewed as the evolution of nature, so the main law is the law of evolutionary development.

The paradigm approach also regards the linearity of the cultural dynamics trajectory. Yet, it focuses on the global significance of the value bases of culture and the paradigm as a cultural matrix that structures its reality (Pimenova, 2015). R. Inglehart points at the socio-economic structure and fundamental value attitudes in their constant connection and mutual movement. Transformations of cultural values are the force of changes, whereas the changes in socio-economic conditions are the impetus for their changes. A.G. Dugin (2002)

defines the paradigm as a set of initial value attitudes of a cultural phenomenon, action, including thoughts, this set of attitudes organizing reality in a special way. The nature of socio-cultural transformations in the paradigm approach is manifested in the fact that it is impossible for the movement to return to the former paradigm, but there is no rigid determinism in the transformation of one cultural matrix into another.

The synergetic model of socio-cultural dynamics is based on the idea of culture as an open self-organizing system. Sociocultural transformations are changes that occur during the system transition from chaos to order in the course of a new order formation. S.P. Kurdoi-umov considers synergetics as a new cultural paradigm of values and defines the bifurcation point as the branching point of the nonlinear system evolution paths. It is the bifurcation point that facilitates the detection of changes in the system, the transition to a new qualitative state. At that the transition is no longer reversible. The synergetic approach regards sociocultural changes as the process of value system transition from the previous quality to a new qualitative state through a crisis, the mechanisms of such a change being the internal cultural self-organizing forces in their reaction to changes in the environmental constants, important parameters of the socio-cultural whole.

A.N. Tarasov (2011) regards sociocultural transformation as a process of reducing the level of system-hierarchical structuring, complexity and polyfunctionality of the cultural complex as a whole, i.e. the degradation of this culture as a system. According to the scholar, socio-cultural transformation entails the loss of integrity and the balance of culture, after which it can no longer regulate the individuals' social life. Sociocultural transformation is a process of direct changes, a process of transition to a new quality.

The concept of socio-cultural transformation is referred to by Ia. Bagdasarova (2009) when considering the migrants' adaptation. The scholar links this concept to cultural diversity. Migrants who find themselves in a new cultural environment pass through a crisis in their native culture, as they are forced to adapt

to new conditions. Yet, at the same time, they do not lose it while completely passing through the processes of acculturation, but transform it in accordance with the conditions changed.

N.A. Yankova (2016) argues that socio-cultural transformation is manifested in the change of social organization and types of reproduction of cultures as well as of the determinant strategy for the development of values in modern society. The scholar claims that these value processes can relate to the ontological characteristics of the language, its conceptual and instrumental aspects. This suggests that the language is actively involved in socio-cultural dynamics. In her dissertation E.A. Yerokhina (2015) notes that socio-cultural transformation of values, which determines the transition of the society from its traditional state to a modern one, manifests itself in the change of types of social organization and types of cultural reproduction.

Thus, the dynamics of culture organized by socio-cultural reality can hardly be generated by internal factors only, since the percentage of cultural isolation is low. Modern world is a situation of constant cultural exchange, a sharp perception of cultural boundaries, which become a field for the emergence of meanings and practices. In this case, "socio-cultural transformation" will be regarded as the process of transition of one value system to a new quality. As a result, socio-cultural transformation is often characterized by the crisis of a particular culture. Such crisis occurs when the culture cannot adapt to new conditions and is in need for radical changes.

It is the concept of "value" that is worth while considering first for a research overview.

### ***The concept of "value"***

The concept of "value" was first referred to in ancient times. Socrates made it the central point of his philosophy when framing it as "What is the good?" question. The good, according to Socrates, is the realized value – utility. The philosopher believed that value and utility are two sides of the same coin. Completeness of Being was understood as an absolute value for a human, the value expressing both ethical and aesthetic ideals. In Plato's con-

ception, the One or the Good was identical with Being, Good, and Beauty.

In the Middle Ages, the idea of the objective supreme value of the Absolute as the source of wisdom and all good and the human's subjective existence got its approval. On this basis, ancient values with their aspiration to the ideals of truth, good and reason were re-valuated. The significance of subjective values that characterize a human's personality, such as love, faith, hope, conscience, etc., increases. Avgustin Avrelii (1989) in his work "Confessions" dwells on a human's comprehension of value not by the rational, but sensually-volitional way of discovering the uniqueness of each human's personality.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the German naturalist and philosopher G. Lotze suggested the theory of values (axiology) as a field of science. Lotze distinguishes the "world of values" and the "world of phenomena". The values, in his opinion, belong to the sphere of duty. The philosopher distinguished the field of value definition of the due from the field of phenomena of reality (facts) and their knowledge (truths). Axiology development is associated with the German classical philosophical tradition. According to Kant (1966), the values are requirements to the will; goals a human faces; significance of certain factors for the individual. The philosopher claims that the values are determined by certain goals (subjective and absolute). The value of all objects acquired through our actions is always conditioned. Objective goals, according to the philosopher, are objects the existence of which is a goal in itself, and this goal cannot be replaced by any other goal for which they should have served as a means only (Kant, 1966). Hegel defines the value as the equivalent of need, which is expressed in cost value. He elevates culture to the rank of absolute values, since it is the result of human development along the path of ascent from subjectivity to universality: "It is ... revealing the universality of thought which is the essence of the absolute value of culture" (Hegel, 1990).

The Baden school representatives regarded the concept of value as the highest philosophical category. Vindel'band interpreted the value as ideal norms that serve the basis for

evaluating what is done with natural necessity. He claimed that the values as norms form the basis of his aesthetic and theoretical work, and that transcendental consciousness is the source of values as ideals. This means that the value is the goal. Vindel'band wrote that higher values rise above the humans' changing temporal interests and are justified by the highest spiritual reality (Vindel'band, 1993). G. Rikkert distinguishes the concepts of the value and the due. According to the scholar, when the value is related to the cognizing subject it opposes the subject as the norm and the rule in the sphere of the due. G. Rikkert emphasizes the transcendental nature of value. He introduces the category of transcendental understanding, or referring to the values when it becomes clear what is generally significant, what relates to the values. As for culture, it is also understood as a set of objects associated with generally significant values and cherished for the sake of these values (Rikkert, 1911).

T. Hobbes (2001) expands the understanding of nature of values providing economic, social, political and moral grounds, which give an economic colouring to the value. A human's value is viewed through the level of demand. Leibniz characterizes the nature of values through the prism of rationalistic philosophy. He regards the ideas of harmony, balance, and proportionality as the highest values (Leibniz, 1982).

The conception of value creation is a main one in Nietzsche's philosophy. According to the philosopher, it is not the democratic structure of society that is more correct and progressive, but the aristocratic one with the power belonging to the most charismatic, smart, energetic, strong-willed, and active people. Nietzsche claimed that it is the creation of the superman that justifies the existence of humanity. The man is not the "crown of creation", but only an intermediate in biological evolution. A new species will eventually emerge in its place, the species being the superman (Nietzsche, 2005).

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, axiology developed in two main directions. The first regards the values of the product of awareness of a human's biological and mental needs. Thus, the values act as objective factors. The other direction in-

terprets the value as a phenomenological phenomenon. Husserl notes that instead of objects, values, goals, and auxiliary means it is the subjective experience in which they manifest themselves that is considered (Husserl, 1991).

N. Hartmann regards the value as the entity or something that makes everything involved in it what they really are, and namely that makes them valuable (Hartmann, 1926). According to Hartmann, the proper being does not have the power to determine the humans' activity; on the contrary, the human is a trustee of value and duty in the real world. He/she is an intermediary who introduces them into reality. If the values could determine the reality from themselves, then they would determine a human and there would be no freedom (Hartmann, 1926).

Zimmel regards the values as the facts of life that turn into the cultural dimension: "the facts of life such as work and creativity become values only when they transcend the limits of their natural existence in themselves and when viewed from the point of view of certain cultural ideals" (Zimmel, 1996).

M. Heidegger criticizes the main values of the Western world: humanism, anthropocentrism, and rationalism. Questioning these values, Heidegger argues that they hinder the search for the hidden essence of Being. Developing Nietzsche's idea of value revaluation, he states the existence of nihilistic processes in the West, nihilism being regarded as the removal of values from culture (Heidegger, 2000).

Starting with M. Veber's works (1994), the center of gravity of the study of values shifts to the field of sociological sciences, in particular, to the sociology of culture and the sociology of management. Weber interprets the "worldly values" as the direction of interest peculiar to a particular era. "Higher values", according to the scholar, acquired the meaning of "timeless"; their implementation in the framework of "culture" became independent of the implementation in time. Weber regards the values as a figment of a human's imagination with its freedom of choice for developing his/her own values depending on internal motivation.

N. Luhmann associates the values with the most preferable consequences of an action. Ac-

according to the researcher, communication establishes social reality; for this reason, communication within the social system determines the formation and functional characteristics of values at the local level (Luhmann, 2007).

Thus, for many centuries, "value" had quite a number of semantic meanings. This concept of value is viewed by the philosophers of different times. It is not only the concept of philosophy and sociology, since it denotes objects, phenomena, their properties, as well as abstract ideas that embody social ideals and thus act as a standard of the due. The meanings formed in the system of axiological knowledge give the values a more multi-dimensional and multi-paradigmatic character. The sphere of values is not static, thus the values undergo multiple transformations in human life. As a result, the scholars, studying the sphere of human values, consider value orientations through the aspect of their variability and dynamics.

#### ***Overview of research on the changes in the Russian people's values***

In the Soviet period, the theory of values had long been considered a bourgeois idealistic doctrine. The researches on value changes in Russia got their relevance and significance during perestroika. This period resulted in significant axiological changes in Russia. The scholars responded to these changes by the search for new social facts and systematization of the applied research materials on value changes.

Russian scholars have obtained new and interesting data on the attitudes, ideals and goals of the representatives of various social groups. Known or newly suggested solutions got their problematic and debatable plane. The scholars' interests were related to the logical analysis of changes in value attitudes, as well as to the study of the dynamics of values in society. For example, N.G. Bagdasarian (Bagdasarian, 1995) studied the variability of value orientations in the students' adulthood. S.G. Klimova (1996) distinguished the value bases of identification and stratification dynamics of axiological orientations in society. I.M. Kliamkin (1994) studied liberal and democratic values. L.M. Kosareva (1987) examined the dynam-

ics of value orientations. S.F. Anisimov (1988) studied the population's values of production and consumption. A.V. Andreenkova (1994) analyzed materialistic and post-materialistic values. A.O. Boronoev (1992) focused on the Russian people's mental values. N.I. Driakhlov and V.A. Davydenko (1997) studied the changes in the social and cultural values. N.E. Tikhonova (1996) analyzed the worldview values and the political process in Russia. Theoretical and empirical works of the "local" level of such Russian researchers as Z.I. Kalugina (2001), O.P. Fadeeva (1999), O.V. Novokhatskaia (2006) et al. focused on daily activities, adaptation and values of the rural population of the Novosibirsk oblast. V.A. Artemov and his co-researchers (2002) studied the rural Siberian areas in the course of the entire period of perestroika up to the 2000s.

N.I. Lapin's study of the dynamics of values of the Russians (Lapin, 2000) is of great importance. The research of the scholar and his colleagues focused on the younger generation's thinking. Since the early 1990s, there has been a change in value markers of the adolescents mainly. At the same time, the basic values were passed from generation to generation in their fairly stable configurations. The younger generation has not yet completely rejected the old generation's values. In the context of globalization and the power of the media, the young Russians' value system is likely to become increasingly autonomous. The researchers also predict that by the end of the radical socio-economic reforms of the 1990s and the stabilization of new structures and processes, it is by 2009 when the society will enter the third stage of transformation which will contain either a historical alternative of moving forward or that of rolling back.

Basing on the example of the North Caucasian culture, R.R. Nakokhova (2008) identified the principles, factors, structure, regularities and specifics of the system of value orientations of ethnos individuals. She developed a socio-psychological conception of the determinants system development and functioning, mechanisms and stages of transformation of value orientations during socio-economic crises. As per the conception, ethnogenesis of

value orientations has a hierarchical character. The processes that lead to changes in value orientations take place at various levels: individual-personal, group, ethnic, and interethnic. There are two processes of ethnogenesis: a socio-historical shift of value orientations and a socio-psychological one. The basic mechanisms for the value system formation and development at all levels are mechanisms of adaptation, assimilation, and accommodation.

P.P. Kozhevnikov and N.V. Sidorova (2006) focus on the issue of revaluation of values by the Russians. They argue that this revaluation is due to the transitional state of the modern world, the values of modern society being highlighted and analyzed. Nowadays, according to the researchers, the conceptual basis of any value system is in basic values, which are ranked, clarified and supplemented each time. Yet, natural values, air, water, and solar energy, which are closely linked to the object world created by man, remain immutable.

I.F. Dement'eva claims that traditional family values often become an impediment to assimilation of new realities of life. The process of adaptation to new living conditions often implies active participation of the younger generation in the family. In Russian society, the way the parents recognize their children's high competence in a number of issues related to the real values of a new society is quite atypical (Dement'eva, 2004). In a transitional Russian society, it is worth while mentioning the multi-directional participation of two generations in the process of development. Therefore, at the intergenerational level, assimilation of basic values by the children results in their parents' value transformations.

In their works, V.I. Chernov (2013), A.V. Babelo (2016), A.O. Surkova (2010), V.P. Shcherbakova (2013) consider the issues of formation and development of a new human generation, pay attention to the conflict between generations and the ways they are resolved. They focus on such an important sphere of social relations as correlation of the two opposite value scales. The issue of fundamental incompatibility of different generations is also given the analysis. New standards of a new generation's social interaction do not receive

the unanimous recognition due. As a result, according to the researchers, the philosophy of extreme individualism prevails. It generates a situation of uncertainty, instability, antinomanism, and inconsistency.

In her dissertation, O.S. Anisimova (2013) emphasizes that these are the values that integrate society. So, deformation processes in the sphere of values are more dangerous than changes in the economy. The Russian society faced profound changes and deformations in its socio-cultural content. They served the indicators of the violation of the continuity of value and moral orientations as human behavior regulators in post-Soviet society. This took place in the context of increasing uncertainty, crisis socialization, and the risky nature of the Russian society. Such situation leads to an increase in individualization, the victory and power of consumer society standards, and the short-term states of uncertainty in life strategies.

Tepliakov considers the process of psychological development of people's values in the Russian society of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The personality itself is given a priority, since it is in it the personality that reveals an active component of personal development. The moment of identification is transferred from the external value structures imposed by the society to the individual's internal spiritual potencies, i.e. self-identification is put into the forefront (Tepliakov, 2016). The psychologist claims that the social situation changes, associated with a sharp transition from one social system to another, cause the change in the value orientations system. This can lead to both productive development and collapse of the value system.

V. Petukhov states the issue of the effectiveness of social institutions. The changes in socio-economic situation and instability of the 2000s had led to the formation of a large class that does not expect any support from the state. For them, participation in political life does not promise tangible benefits. This class faces a significant set of socio-political problems (Petukhov, 2015). Therefore, the citizens need fair, transparent rules of the game as well as laws that would allow them to work honestly and earn money. The researcher dwells on the need for impartial courts, the importance of the



police for their health, property and peace protection, and the need for local government and social services.

N.A. Golovina and V.A. Sibireva (2016) argue that typical values of the consumer society are significant for a large part of society, the values (work, family, success, and entertainment) manifesting themselves immediately and simultaneously. Young people show high value and lifestyle differentiation. For them, age differences play a more significant role than the standard of living. These are young people for whom a certain new set of lifestyles and values has been formed. These lifestyles and values are inherent in the consumer society; they can hardly be rejected even if the economic situation gets worse. This indicates that consumerism values have been firmly internalized and have become an integral part of values.

R.N. Shmatkov shows the dynamics of value transformation towards moving away from the humanistic paradigm to the technocratic one. This is due to the loss of the significance of a workforce as the individual's most important life support. These circumstances are associated with people's orientation towards interesting work and social activities with the means of earning money and career advancement as key values (Shmatkov, 2012). This indicates a crisis in the educational function, which is getting more and more acute with decades. The problem of education, according to the researcher, is not easy to solve, since modern Russian society is divided into classes with opposite socio-economic and political interests.

In social sciences in Russia we can also distinguish the synergetic approach to studying axiological transformations in Russian society, the approach being developed in the works by academician V. Stepin (2001), research schools of V.G. Nemirovskii (2013), V.I. Kabrin (2011), I.V. Chernikova (1955), works by V.V. Vasil'kova (Vasil'kova, 2003), et al. The scholars turn their research focus on a human in his/her integrity. They take into account the aspects of how the human inner world manifests itself as well as how it is interconnected with his/her physiology, culture, social structure, and material and technical base in the development of the society.

A number of Russian researchers associate the transformation of social values with ethnic processes, including those that are peculiar for the indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East (Avdeeva et al., 2019a; Avdeeva et al., 2019b, Berezhnova and Pimenova, 2015; Degtyarenko et al., 2019; Pchelkina, 2015). As a rule, these studies are conducted in the field, the authors applying quantitative and qualitative methods of social research (Koptseva et al., 2018; Libakova et al., 2016; Zamaraeva, 2014; Zamaraeva et al., 2019a; Zamaraeva et al., 2019b).

One of the most important conclusions the Russian researchers come to regarding the issues of social value transformation is postulating a significant role of artistic practices, including those related to the formation of artistic images. They dwell upon visual art works and ways of appropriate artistic images formation (Kolesnik, 2018; Kolesnik et al., 2018; Kolesnik et al., 2019; Koptseva and Sitnikova, 2019; Reznikova et al., 2019; Semenova, 2010; Seredkina et al., 2019; Sertakova, 2013; Sitnikova and Zhukovskaia, 2015).

As a result, a lot of empirical and theoretical research on the Russian residents' value transformation has been conducted in Russia. Many studies register the general value-normative crisis the Russians face, the crisis having the character of revaluation of previous generations' cultural, ethical, spiritual and family values. The data obtained in the researches are often interpreted as violation of continuity and transfer of socio-cultural experience from the older generation to the next one. They raise the issue of globalization values formation in the Russian society.

## Conclusion

Thus, value transformations in Russia are an urgent research issue nowadays. It is given a multidisciplinary consideration within the scientific fields of philosophy, history, economics, political science, sociology, psychology, and cultural studies. The researches on axiological changes reflect socio-cultural dynamics, which is manifested in the form of socio-cultural transformation. Classical scholars applied various approaches to the analysis of the issue.

Later such branch of science as axiology was introduced.

This field of science has its own history in Russian scientific research. The article reviews the researches on axiological changes in the Russian society. These are the issues of the modern generation's worldview formation that often become the subject of the research. The issues usually cover the processes of education and development of young people as well as the complexity of interaction between the younger generation and their parents. The family issue is considered to be a particularly important focus of analysis in modern Russia, the phenomenon of the interethnic family being highlighted. In their works many researchers willingly dwell on characteristic features of the local process of variability and dynamics

of values the residents of the country's specific regions display. Most researchers claim that, on the one hand, there still exist Soviet values in the Russian population's mass consciousness. Yet, on the other hand, a new structure of value consciousness is being modeled. The impact of cultural values of the consumer society is highlighted. This contributes to the predominance of the individual benefits over the public ones. The researchers consider the issue of weak efficiency the public management institutions demonstrate in the social sphere. To date, the scholars are unanimous when stating that the issue of transformation of values in Russia has not been given a thorough analysis yet. Therefore, this issue is in the focus of continuous studies by the researches from different fields of science.

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## Историографический обзор исследований трансформаций ценностей российского населения

**М.Я. Хребтов, А.И. Филько**

*Сибирский федеральный университет  
Российская Федерация, Красноярск*

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**Аннотация.** Статья посвящена историографическому обзору исследований трансформаций ценностей российского населения. В статье разбирается понятие «социокультурная трансформация» как основа для процесса трансформации ценностей в обществе. Для полного понимания историографии проблематики трансформаций ценностей в статье рассматривается понятие «ценность» в работах классиков. Вопросы аксиологической трансформации ученые касались на пересечении или с точки зрения таких научных дисциплин, как философия, история, экономика, политология, социология, психология, культурология и т.д. В обзоре делается акцент не на работах, в которых ученые разбирают сами ценности, а на исследованиях, где основу составляют вопросы, явления, феномены, отображающие момент, предпосылку или причину общественного ценностного перехода, движения, переоценки, смены парадигмы, формирования и т.д. В конце обзора представлена целостная картина исследований трансформации ценностей россиян, а также дана некая динамика развития ценностей жителей современного российского общества.

**Ключевые слова:** трансформация ценностей, исследовательские подходы, ценности, изменения ценностей россиян, ценности российского населения, социокультурные трансформации.

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## Methodology for the Study of Complex Identity

**Anna A. Shpak and Daria S. Pchelkina\***

*Siberian Federal University  
Krasnoyarsk, Russian Federation*

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**Abstract.** The article is devoted to the study of methods for the formation of complex social identities in the semiotic context of culture. On the basis of empirical and theoretical material, the article describes modern provisions regarding social identities. The interconnection of personal and group identities and the features of their interaction with each other are noted. Based on an analytical review of theories of complex social identities, methods for constructing them are proposed. The concept of culture presented in this article as a landmark system is based on the classical and modern research. Cultural memory is presented as a factor constructing self-awareness. The main factors of constructing a complex ethnocultural identity, the authors include cultural mechanisms. The article is based on studies of the subjective and objective languages of the literary text of culture.

**Keywords:** social identity, complex identity, ethnicity, ethnocultural groups, sign systems, cultural mechanisms.

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The methodology for the formation of complex identities in this article will be considered primarily from the broad concept of social identity itself. The emphasis in this case is shifted to the combination of an ethnic identity with other social identities.

Turning to the study of the problems of social identity, it is necessary to note its interdisciplinary nature that determines the relationship between an individual and various social groups. In sociology, the study of identity is associated with a feature of the social functioning of an individual as a result of the action of social mechanisms of individual self-determination. Identity issues in sociological research were dealt with by such authors as H. Becker, P. Berger, P. Bourdieu, I. Hoffman, T. Luckmann, R. Merton, R. Turner, and others.

### **Types of Social Identity**

Formation of identity ensures the integration, wholeness and unity of self-awareness of a personality as a complex individual. Identity in sociology is seen from the point of view of a social phenomenon accessible to the empirical approach, since it is the effect of various social institutions on the self-determination of a person. Identity as a complex entity manifests itself at the cognitive, semantic, and affective levels (Biankina, 2017). With this approach, social ideological systems are studied from the point of view of social institutions, which in turn form a personal identity. This approach analyses the impact of external factors, that is, society, state and professional environment, on a personality, as well as the reaction of this personality to this impact.

Let us point out the classification of types of identity proposed by S. Huntington: cultural, political, ascriptive, social, territorial, and economic (Huntington, 2008).

According to Z.A. Zhade, E.S. Kukva, S.A. Liaushev, A.Iu. Shadzhe, the sociological approach analyses personal and collective identities and their interconnection as a bidirectional process of society's self-identification, in which some contradictions between collective and individual identification are possible (Zhade et al., 2006).

D.S. Mart'ianov notes that the concept of social identity "describes how other people define a person based on broad social categories or characteristics, such as age, profession or ethnicity. These are the components of an "I" person that a person experiences at the level of awareness of belonging to any group" (Mart'ianov, 2015).

Social identity, given the above factors, is the determination of an individual through his belonging to certain social groups. Societies and communities, in turn, have a collective identity.

According to A.V. Mikliaev and P.V. Rumiantseva, an interdisciplinary nature involves the consideration of the phenomenon of identity as a social process determined by the sociocultural situation of society. The concept of social identity is associated with a person's self-determination on the basis of various social categories and signs, through which a person reckons himself in a specific group, which means social comparison (Mikliaeva, Rumiantseva 2008).

S. Moscovici, J. Habermas are developing a theory of social representations through the concept of identity balance. The concept of equivalence of identities presented by J. Habermas considers personal identity through the reflection of connections of a person's personal experience, while social identity reflects the fulfilment of various social roles. A person is in search of a compromise between the two aspects of identity. J. Habermas' study of the phenomenon of identity through a personal category involves focusing on the diversity of groups that include an individual. As for the social category, it is seen as the identity of an individual with one or another group (Habermas, 1999).

The characteristics of the concept of social identity are such properties as relationality, collectivity, sociality, diversity (Semenenko, 2017).

Considering identity from the point of view of sociology, it is worth noting its division into a personal and group type. Personal and group identities are inextricably interconnected, and personal identity, in turn, is formed by both internal and external factors. The formation of personality identity through external factors occurs through various social groups.

As I.V. Lysak and L.F. Kosenchuk note, personal identity has two main approaches to the problem of determination. The first approach involves personal identification as a mechanism that promotes the formation of identity, and identity, in turn, is the result of this process. The second approach is based on the statement about the processuality of the phenomenon of identity itself. These approaches differ in the role of the personal "I" of an individual in the process of identity formation.

### Concepts of complex cultural identity

Theories related to the consideration of complex social identities can be noted as studies on the positive attitude of intergroup interactions with predominance of complex social identities of an individual. The development of these theories is based on the model of complex social identity of a personality proposed by S. Roccas and M. Brewer (Roccas, Brewer, 2002), which represents four types of complex identities: "intersection", "predominance", "fragmentation", "merging", where the emphasis is shifted toward the prevalence of complex identity in an individual subject, not a social group, and the development of G.V. Bodenhausen's theory, which is based on the types of S. Roccas and M. Brewer, but identifies three patterns of functioning of a complex identity: "dominance", "division", "integration." In the latter theory, the emphasis is put on solving conflicting group problems. Attention, as in the previous case, is focused on a complex identity of a personality (Bodenhausen, 2009). The publication of O.E. Khukhlaev and M.A. Khait (Khukhlaev, Khait, 2012) sets out the basic principles of this theory, which distinguishes several types of complex social identities: "intersection", "predominance", "fragmentation", "merging". "Intersection" is a type of identity when a person relates himself to any social group, and it, in turn, combines two or more groups, and only if all the significant social characteristics of the group are present, the individual relates himself to this group. The second type of "predominance" is when an individual has many identities, there is one that is predominant. The third type is "fragmentation," when, depending on a specific situation, an

individual in various social groups selects one that is most suitable. The single social whole of personal identities breaks up showing the sides necessary in a given situation. The fourth type is "merging". In this type the whole complexity of the identities that a personality has is equally significant. However, as M.B. Brewer notes in his article "The Complexity of Social Identity and Acceptance of Diversity," individuals in complex communities have multiple social groups that have some categories of intersection with each other, but this position may not reduce intra-group prejudice and discrimination. More likely, it is precisely the subjective representation of the complexity of identity that matters for intergroup relations. It is necessary to mention a property of duality of identity, in connection with the simultaneous desire to have characteristics that are similar and different from differentiated social groups. Variability of identity is a hallmark.

N.K. Steffens, Małgorzata A. Gocłowska, and A.D. Galinsky examine the positive impact of complex identity on the creative potential of an individual. Having multiple social identities is associated with the increased creative potential through cognitive flexibility (Steffens et al., 2015).

In connection with the positive settings in the study of complex social identities, the question of their construction and formation in a social environment of modern society arises. In this case, it is necessary to turn to the symbolic direction of research in the field of cultural studies. The cognitive approach is to examine culture through the prism of signs and symbols. The symbolic direction in culturological research is based on the cultural theory of Clifford Geertz, in which culture is the production and use of symbolic forms (Geertz, 2004). It means that cultural systems are formed through symbols, that is, culture itself is considered as a space of symbolic forms. The interconnection of such symbols can have a dual meaning: expression and reproduction of reality, and its construction. Since culture is viewed through symbolic forms, we can talk about the formation of ethnocultural groups. Ethnocultural groups, viewed through the prism of signs and symbols, allow the emergence of such a con-



cept as cultural mechanisms that use cultural texts having certain consequences and effects on complex social groups.

Turning to the study of identity, some authors point out only two main approaches: primordialism (historical conditionality and innate nature of certain characteristics of identity) and constructivism (identity has a focused nature aimed at certain manipulations with different social groups). Ethnologist M.N. Guboglo notes the difference only in the development factors of a community – internal mechanisms or external management. Also, one of the approaches in ethnic self-identification is an instrumental approach that is characterized by the fact that the belonging to an ethnic group itself can be used as a growth resource in various spheres of social activity. Belonging to one or another identity is considered as a social capital. In the study of ethnicity, constructivism is a basic analytical approach, the followers of which are B. Anderson, P. Bourdieu, E. Gellner, E. Hobsbawm, V. Tishkov. According to primordialism, ethnicity as a category has only objective grounds independent of human self-awareness. Ethnic identity, in turn, according to the constructivist approach, can be interpreted as a product and result of social relations between people. Thus, ethnic identity has a dynamic nature, in which transformational processes can occur. In scientific literature, some researchers distinguish the following approaches to the problems of identity formation: essentialism (includes a primordial set of properties and qualities), constructivist approach (identity is regarded as a social construct), as well as constructive realism (identity has stable and constructive components with a conscious and unconscious nature) (Lysak, Kosenchuk, 2016).

#### **Methodology of the study of complex social identities**

The modern era with a large number of social transformations leads to strengthening of the role of social construction of identities. To a greater extent, this statement can be traced at the regional, civil, national, ethnic, digital levels, through state apparatuses. For example, V.A. Tishkov notes the following in relation to

national identity: “a nation is not only the result of ethnocultural unification, but the result of the deliberate influence of the political and intellectual elite on establishing ideas about people as a nation, common values and symbols of culture” (Tishkov, 1994; Sertakova, 2013).

The construction of a complex identity is associated with the possibility of a comprehensive impact on a personality from a psychological point of view. “Smart” and “soft” forces of influence on society are associated with cultural practices aimed at human consciousness and reproduce cultural codes, signs and symbols that determine individual’s membership in a particular ethnocultural group (Berezhnova and Pimenova, 2015; Kistova et al., 2016; Reznikova, 2012; Zamaraeva, 2014).

Ethnosocial and ethnocultural processes record the degree of foundation of traditional cultural structures and changes in axiological characteristics and ethnicity parameters from local and general sides. On the general side, it is worth noting the processes of heterogenization as exacerbation of such phenomena as ethnogenesis, ethnic interest, ethnic culture, and ethnic roots (Avdeeva et al., 2019a; Koptseva, 2014; Koptseva et al., 2018; Koptseva and Reznikova, 2015; Libakova et al., 2016; Zamaraeva et al., 2019a, 2019b; Zhgunova, Ivanova, 2011).

The formation of a complex identity ensures integration, integrity and unity of self-awareness of a person as a complex individual. The instruments of the constructivist approach include categorization, situational actions, cognitive meanings, projects, actions, events, social institutions (Kashaf, 2014).

Dividing the methodological approaches into narrow and broad ones, we can say that the broad approaches are determined by the analysis of literature, inductive approach and conceptual analysis, but narrow approaches are mainly sociological.

Considering the broad approaches through comparing various statistics, one can note the development of ethnosociology in the Soviet period of the 1980’s. This area has been studying the problems of interethnic relations and ethnic identity. Ethnosociology has developed three levels of relationships: institutional,

intergroup, and interpersonal (Dugin, 2011). Broad methods also include the historiographic method, which is determined primarily by the descriptive characteristics of the phenomena of identity.

Considering the narrow methods of constructing a complex identity, we can distinguish the sociological approaches that are formed using semiotic systems, as noted earlier. Based on the concepts of sign systems, we can conclude that they can reproduce, produce and transform. When studying ethnocultural groups, the stability of their components should be designated.

We also should consider a comparative method, since the very nature of identity presupposes comparison of an I individual and the Other (Habermas, 1999). Identification and comparison are a simultaneous process, which in the framework of design means the need to ensure the continuity of this process in the formation of a complex identity. In this case, reflection is precisely the process in which the formation of identity takes place. Comprehension of identity and formation of self-consciousness through comparing an individual and the other lead to the integrity of the individual's perception of himself, that is personal identity. When determining the formation of cultural identity, it is worth noting the cultural comparison determined by some cultural differences in socio-cultural societies. In this case – through certain symbolic forms: language, values, historical memory, religion, traditions, national character (Galkina, 2010; Kolesnik, 2018; Koptseva et al., 2012; Pchelkina, 2015).

The method of constructing psychosemantic spaces, as noted by A.I. Popova and S.G. Maksimova, helps to correlate the subjective experiences of a personality and the methods of consciousness developed by society through language forms (Popova, Maksimova, 2018). Mentioning the features of language in the formation of an ethnocultural group, it is worth noting the presence of a special set of concepts.

Turning to the definition of culture as production and reproduction of symbolic forms, it is necessary to consider the cultural mechanisms of constructing complex identities.

The elements of culture do not exist outside of human activities, and therefore, in Clifford Geertz's theory, culture has a set of such control mechanisms as cultural programs that control an individual's behaviour (Kovalenko, 2010).

In the structure of the mechanism of formation of one or another identity, N.V. Ivanova distinguishes two aspects: cognitive and affective. The affective aspect is a positive or negative emotional attitude towards any group, while the cognitive aspect includes identification awareness and self-identification with a social group, and knowledge about the differences between one's own and another social groups will be a constituent (Zhgunova, Ivanova, 2011). Differentiation is based on the awareness of the "in" and "out" groups about the difference in certain signs of a social group.

On the basis of semiotic systems, a category of memory as a mechanism for constructing identity arises. Memory has an impact on the development of traditional culture to a greater extent because it acts as "the only system of codification of information within the boundaries of the primitive stage of the society development" (Kostina, 2013). Memory as a tradition contains an objective side of the cultural and historical process. In the context of cultural memory, spiritual and material culture can be considered from a syncretic point of view determined by the totality of experience. A tradition acts as a norm pervading the past and influencing modern relations both within the group and outside it. Iu. Lotman indicated that, in canonical cultures, the reproduction of a cultural text leads to the formation of a new information field. The tradition, in turn, reproducing and supporting the existing social system, renews the values, ideas, stereotypes, customs and rites of an ethno-cultural group. Social mechanisms used in the ethnocultural space are aimed at preserving the sign system in its immutability and stability. They are divided into one or another degree of regimentation into more or less rigid ones. One of the ways of expressing regimentation, which is less regulated and demonstrates more desire than a ban, is folklore that has an instructive character. Turning to the definition of cultur-

al memory, according to Assmann, “culture is the objective memory of society, preserving its identity and transmitting it along the chain of generations. The forms, in which society organizes the transfer of information necessary to preserve the given identity, and the institutions that care about the transfer of such information, denote the uniqueness and the unique style of a particular culture” (Assmann, 2004).

#### **Cultural mechanisms for constructing complex identities**

When considering the cultural mechanisms of constructing complex identities, it is necessary to note the symbolic and sign systems of representing different cultural meanings through a comparison of the subject and object characteristics of formulas. There are intra-system mechanisms of detailed representation of complex cultural knowledge in the folklore formulas (Dobrova, 2018).

N.M. Libakova, N.N. Pimenova, A.V. Kistova explore artistic, ceremonial culture, folk life, rituals as a constructive element of ethnic identity. N.A. Safonova considers a traditional ritual culture as a cultural mechanism for the preservation of ethnocultural identity. The signs of the phenomenon of ethnocultural identity are distinguished as follows: a territorial sign, a cultural component and language. Ritual practice, as a mechanism, regulates the processes of ethnocultural identity (Safonova, 2016). A.V. Kistova considers complex ethnic identities as belonging of an individual to different ethnic groups, provided that the individual simultaneously understands the differences and integrates their values (Avdeeva et al., 2019b; Kistova, 2013; Kolesnik et al., 2019; Reznikova et al., 2019).

Distinguishing such a constructive element of culture as a work of art, the catego-

rial apparatus associated with this definition should be designated. According to the theory of N.P. Koptseva and V.I. Zhukovskii, a work of art is defined as a thing of the second nature, which is created artificially and have material dimensions. Its purpose is creating an artistic image aimed at uniting human and Absolute principles. The artistic image, in turn, includes the concept of art space as a meeting place for a person-spectator and a work-thing. It is the artistic space that is interesting to consider from the point of view of constructing identity as the space of an artistic text. This space includes certain artistic signs that make it possible to trace a complex identity in them by referring to the object and subject of language (Kolesnik et al., 2018; Koptseva, Zhukovskii, 2004; Semenova, 2010; Seredkina et al., 2019; Shimanskaia and Koptseva, 2018).

Works of art contain an extensive ethnic memory and a spiritual experience of generations. For complex identities, the connection of various ethnic symbols is typical, but at the same time, the equivalence of different ethnic and cultural groups is traced. In turn, social identities combined with ethnocultural identity have positive characteristics for the self-determination of an individual in society. The constructing cultural mechanism is considered from the semiotic point of view of the subject and object languages of an artistic text of culture.

Thus, the indicated conceptual foundations for the study of the phenomenon of complex identities allow us to highlight the features of ethnic identity in the system of social sciences. The study of methodology identifies some qualitative methods for the study of complex identities, while cultural mechanisms focus on various cultural texts.

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## Методология исследований сложной идентичности

**А.А. Шпак, Д.С. Пчелкина**

*Сибирский федеральный университет  
Российская Федерация, Красноярск*

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**Аннотация.** Статья посвящена исследованию методов формирования сложных социальных идентичностей в семиотическом контексте культуры. На основе эмпирического и теоретического материала в статье дается описание современных положений, касающихся социальных идентичностей. Отмечается взаимосвязь личностной, персональной идентичности и групповой особенности их взаимодействия друг с другом. На основе аналитического обзора теорий сложных социальных идентичностей предлагаются способы их конструирования. Представленное в данной статье понятие культуры как знаковой системы опирается на классические и современные исследования. Культурная память представлена как конструирующий самосознание фактор. К основным факторам конструирования сложной этнокультурной идентичности авторы относят культурные механизмы. Основа данного исследования базируется на изучении субъективного и объективного языков художественного текста культуры.

**Ключевые слова:** социальная идентичность, сложная идентичность, этничность, этнокультурные группы, знаковые системы, культурные механизмы.

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## Mechanisms for Social Ties Formation in the Information Environment in Modern Domestic and Foreign Studies

Svetlana V. Bereziuk, Natalia P. Koptseva  
and Antonina I. Fil'ko\*

*Siberian Federal University  
Krasnoyarsk, Russian Federation*

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**Abstract.** This article discusses the features of the emergence and strengthening of social ties in the studies of Russian scientists and their foreign colleagues. The main emphasis is made on the research studying these processes in the modern information environment. For a complete insight of the issue, the concepts of “social ties” and “information environment”, as well as their featuring in monographs and scientific articles are studied in the article. The article summarises domestic and foreign studies in this area regarding migrants and indigenous peoples. The features of the formation of social ties with relatives living remotely and fellow countrymen living in the same environment are specified. The features of expanding social ties through mobile phones and Internet communications are emphasised.

**Keywords:** social ties, information environment, social ties formation, social ties of migrants, social ties in the information environment.

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## Introduction

The issue of social ties and interactions has always been of specific interest to sociology. Today this interest is actualised by the transformation of society into a complex dynamic system with numerous forms of interaction between people, a greater speed of these interactions and a greater remoteness.

Every year, the influence of the information environment on modern society is more and more intensified. Scientists specialising in various fields, such as cultural scientists, sociologists, computer scientists, and physicists start studying this phenomenon. Studies in this area reveal the essence of the modern information environment, as well as its impact on society as a whole.

In the framework of the research conducted in the territory of Krasnoyarsk Krai, the study of social ties formation among the indigenous peoples of the North is considered significant and relevant. The modern scientific literature presents a wide range of research related to the study of various aspects of the life and culture of indigenous peoples, each of which plays an important role in maintaining ethnic identity. It may be noted that the constructivist approach proposed by a Norwegian researcher F. Bart (2006) and developed by V.A. Tishkov (1994) and L.M. Drobizheva (2013) in domestic science, is relevant in modern ethnography. Studies related to the situation of indigenous peoples in the context of global transformations are currently relevant in the field of cultural anthropology in other countries. M. Blaser, Harvey A. Feit and G. McRae (2004) study how changes affect indigenous peoples' lifestyles, as well as offer projects for their development. B.L. Hall, G.J.S. Dei and D.G. Rosenberg (2000) study cultural knowledge of indigenous peoples regarding daily realities of life. There is a discussion of contemporary political and legal conflicts between tribal peoples and nation states and efforts to preserve the culture of indigenous peoples in the context of globalisation (Coates, Coates, 2004).

Research activity on the study of indigenous peoples living in the territory of Krasnoyarsk Krai is carried out by the scientists of

Siberian Federal University. There are studies on the issues of global transformations and their influence on the indigenous peoples of the north of Krasnoyarsk Krai (Amosova et al., 2019; Seredkina, Strucheva, 2018; Koptseva, 2014, 2017; Koptseva, Reznikova, 2015; Zamaraeva et al., 2019; Zamaraeva, Sergeeva, Fil'ko, 2018; Kolesnik et al., 2018; Sitnikova, 2018; Kistova et al., 2018).

## Social ties and their formation

Supporters of network theory and network analysis make a significant contribution to the study of social ties. Researchers note the presence of two main approaches in network theory: "cultural" ("relational sociology") presented by the studies of H. White (2008), and the "actor-network" theory by B. Latour (2011) and M. Callon (1999).

In the modern concept of social ties, the concept of "social action" is a central one. Social action is an elementary unit of interaction. This concept correlates with the constructivist approach in ethnography, which describes ethnicity through the construction of interactions (Bart, 2006; Tishkov, 1994; Drobizheva, 2013). Relational sociology considers action from the point of view of the intersubjective context of relationships, which includes a single action. Structures arise from relationships and interactions. The actor-network theory (ANT), based on its name, combines actor and network into a single whole. It suggests that new forms of relationships of an individual with others arise due to the increasing role of non-human objects in a knowledge-based society and consumer culture, as well as the changing nature of objects in the structure of personality.

Social ties consist of such elements as: subjects of ties (two or more people); the object of ties based on which ties are established; the mechanism of conscious regulation of the relationship between the subjects of ties.

There are following types of social ties:

1) social contacts – common ties between individuals, usually superficial; social contacts can be single (sporadic) or regular;

2) social actions – targeted actions aimed at other people;

3) social interactions – systematic interdependent people's actions in relation to each other;

4) social relationships – stable ties between people or groups of people, practiced over a long period of time in accordance with the norms of behaviour accepted in society, as well as the system of social roles and statuses.

M. Granovetter (2009) emphasises the importance of studying social ties and networks. He divides social ties into strong (between an individual and his/her closest environment), weak (between an individual and his/her acquaintances) and absent ones (in the situation of absence of any relationships and their insignificance).

### Information environment

The information space is vast, as it comes to an individual from various sources. It is valuable and efficient only if it is adopted by a person and transformed into knowledge. The "information environment" is seen as a part of the information space, as well as a complex of conditions in which human activity is carried out.

Studying this phenomenon V.I. Vernadsky (Vernadsky, 1989; Sokolov, 2013) said the following: "Radiations of different wavelengths are around us, in us, everywhere, continuously changing, coinciding and colliding without interruption ... All space is filled with them".

And indeed, the information environment formed around a person is diverse, heterogeneous and individually perceived by every person. The information boom that was intensified in the era of post-industrial society has led to a qualitatively new perception of the information space as a whole. As a result, the reality surrounding us is radically changing – new conditions for cultural exchange and interaction appear.

Currently, every modern person can simultaneously exist in several information spaces at the same time. But the personal information field of an individual is formed at the intersection of these spaces. There are different daily impacts on the formation of an individual information environment: the development of

technical means and technologies, new economic conditions, etc. Communication networks, television and computer technologies are rapidly developing.

In Russian science, the concept of the information environment was actively developed by Yu.A. Shreider. In his opinion, the information environment is the environment "where research and development, technical and engineering activities, as well as planning and management of science and technology take place" (Shreider, 2008). The concept itself arose as a result of perception of "the common nature of the information phenomenon, manifested in the forms of existence, processing, storage and dissemination of scientific and technical information" (Shreider, 2008). The information environment is an *intermediary* in communication.

Contemporary information environment is a flow where information and physical means necessary for its functioning, support and development are distributed.

The information society has the following characteristics:

1) The increasing role of information in the life of a person and society as a whole, as well as its transformation into an economic factor of development;

2) The merger of various communication methods;

3) Focus on technologies contributing to high-quality information processing;

4) development of a person's creative potential, as well as the continuity of his/her culture.

For better understanding of the phenomenon of "modern information environment" it is necessary to turn to the authors who define it from different cultural positions.

Thus, according to L.A. Pronina, "the information environment is a part of the information space, the nearest to an individual external environment, the totality of the conditions in which his/her activities take place" (Pronina, 2009).

M.A. Smirnov, in turn, says that the modern information environment is "a set of informational conditions for a person's existence" (Smirnov, 2001).



Having studied this aspect, T.F. Berestova sees it as “a form of interaction of subjects with each other and with information objects in order to create information and provide conditions for its use” (Berestova, 2016).

The modern information environment is a product of society with a predominance of mass culture and communication, and their clash occurs through the use of mass communication. It gives rise to its own analogues of reality, its own virtual world where traditional reality is partially distorted. By changing the social reality of a person, the information environment makes adjustments to his nature.

Considering the modern information environment through the prism of general regularities and patterns, it is possible to distinguish the following: firstly, due to globalisation, it is constantly increasing, capturing new spheres of human life; secondly, having a huge impact on a modern person's life, it reflects the main forms of social relations between people in its resources; thirdly, it is able to create its own reality, its own digital world.

The modern information environment acts as the habitat of information and is a multi-level formation, consisting of individual characteristics of each person, public opinion and mass media.

Some Russian scientists consider the information environment as an environment of network virtual interaction, with an automated information system as its technological basis (Krevskii et al., 2014; Maksimov, 2009). The information environment is also assessed in terms of the current state of television and the Internet as types of mass media (Nazarov, Kovalev, 2014).

K.A. Kalyuzhnyi defines the information environment as “the anthropogenic part of the space where subjects and objects of information processes, supported by the information infrastructure and related to the search, processing and storage of information and knowledge interact and self-organise” (Kalyuzhnyi, 2015). He also highlights such features of the information environment as openness, polymorphism, excessiveness, anthropogenicity and irreversibility.

A.D. Elyakov notes that in a narrow sense, the concept of “information environment” reflects the information processes existing in a society (Elyakov, 2012). The modern information environment is mainly determined by circulating and stored messages, information, knowledge and, above all, the latest scientific technologies (super-personal computers, telecommunication systems, satellite and cellular communications, databases, the Internet, etc.), as well as skilled people (electronic engineers, programmers, Internet users, etc.).

#### **Mechanisms for the social ties formation in the information environment**

It can be noted that studies of social networks created both in real and in virtual space are relevant both in Russian and foreign practice (Valitov, 2000; Whillans, 2016; Wu, Li, Evans, 2018).

Researchers note the development of artificial communications, transport and contacts, as well as methods for recording, storing and processing data (Izmailov, Poizner, 2012). D.B. Damskii and N.I. Koloskova (2018) note the impact of technology on social ties. They claim that technology eliminates the simplest ties between people, but greatly increases the quantitative indicator of social interaction and social relationships. Modern means of communication connect people at a great distance and give an opportunity to build relationships in constant communication with a partner. A. Groh (2016) considers the impact of mobile communications on indigenous peoples' ties. He notes an increase in the number of communications with relatives. At the same time, he notes the use of the native language to maintain such communications.

Classical interactionism, role theories and reference group theories state that an individual's behaviour is determined by three main factors – personality structure, role and reference group.

In case of social ties construction by representatives of dispersed living groups, such studies mainly relate to the consideration and identification of mechanisms for forming ties among migrants. N.L. Antonova (2016) considers foreign students studying at Ural Federal

University. The author distinguishes the following main groups of ties which form the basis for social networks of migrants: educational activities (which connect foreign students, Russian students, faculty and organisational structures of the university which activities are associated with the educational process of migrants); daily activities (communication with fellow countrymen living in a hostel and supporting ethnic practices, as well as with external actors: bus conductors, shop assistants, medical staff, etc.); family ties (communication with those who stayed at home through email and social networks). S. Koelet, C. Van Mol and H.A. De Valk (2017) study social networks of European migrants with partners in Belgium and the Netherlands. They noted that over a period of time, the composition of social ties among such migrants changes. The number of contacts in the place of stay increases, and what is typical, the contacts are established either with fellow countrymen or with migrants in a similar situation. At the same time, ties with friends at home are weakened.

I.W.A. Wirawan (2018) considers the basics of building informal cultural ties between the Balinese ethnic community and the Sasak ethnic community in Mataram, West Nusa Tenggara province. As a result of the study, it was found that there are four factors of influence: cultural contact between the Balinese ethnic and Sasak ethnic communities during

the historical period, the introduction of the Balinese culture and Sasak culture in Lombok, as well as cultural adaptation of each cultural identity and the construction of informal cultural ties as means of interethnic communication. Informal cultural ties are essential for maintaining integration between the Balinese and Sasak ethnic communities in Mataram.

### Conclusion

Modern studies pay specific attention to the creation and maintenance of social ties in information environments. Researchers are particularly interested in migrant communities.

The study of modern social groups gives an opportunity to identify the features of social ties formation in difficult for adaptation environments. This allows to gain new knowledge about the adaptive mechanisms of people living remotely from each other and, nevertheless, having strong modern communities that successfully operate in the modern world and reproduce cultural memory of their own social identity.

Such features of social ties formation as the fact that the strongest ties are formed with relatives living remotely, as well as with fellow countrymen living in the same environment, are typical for dispersed ethnic groups. In addition, it is possible to note the expansion of these ties through mobile phones and Internet communications.

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## Механизмы формирования социальных связей в информационной среде в современных отечественных и зарубежных исследованиях

**С.В. Березюк, Н.П. Копцева, А.И. Филько**

*Сибирский федеральный университет  
Российская Федерация, Красноярск*

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**Аннотация.** В данной статье рассматривается отражение особенностей возникновения и закрепления социальных связей в работах российских ученых и зарубежных коллег. Основной акцент делается на исследованиях протекания данных процессов в современной информационной среде. Для полного понимания вопроса в статье разбираются понятия «социальные связи» и «информационная среда», а также их отражение в монографиях и научных статьях. Обобщаются отечественные и зарубежные исследования в данной области касательно мигрантов и представителей коренных малочисленных народов. Отмечаются особенности формирования социальных связей с родственниками, проживающими отдаленно, и земляками, проживающими в той же среде. Выделяются особенности расширения социальных связей посредством мобильных телефонов и коммуникаций в интернете.

**Ключевые слова:** социальные связи, информационная среда, формирование социальных связей, социальные связи мигрантов, социальные связи в информационной среде.

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# **Section 3**

## **North and Arctic in the Mirror of Research**

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## Routes of Sustenance: Infrastructure and Food Security Strategies in Chukotka

Vladimir N. Davydov\* and Elena A. Davydova

*Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology  
and Ethnography (Kunstkamera) RAS  
St. Petersburg, Russian Federation*

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**Abstract.** The problem of food supply is especially poignant in the remote and hard to reach Arctic settlements. Therefore, local people have to develop their own food distribution strategies. They actively employ the alternative ways of food acquisition and accumulation to maintain a sense of their food security via the use of local infrastructure, networks of relatives and friends and technologies for self-production, processing and storage of products. The article describes the recent trends in food circulation in the Iul'tinskii district of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug. The authors consider the existing model of food redistribution between the tundra camps, reindeer herding and coastal villages, as well as the district center. They analyze the impact that one of the largest Soviet projects in Chukotka – the Iul'tinskaia road had on food security practices of the local people. The emergence of new infrastructure has affected both their mobility and perception of food. The article demonstrates how a whole set of various state projects and commercial initiatives frame local nutritional needs, but at the same time can either hinder or contribute to their satisfaction. The relations between the infrastructural projects and the basic needs have both intersection points and “gaps” which require active regulation both by the members of the local community and the state. In this context, local people can be seen as the active agents who creatively use the existing in the region infrastructure in order to maintain their food security.

**Keywords:** Arctic, Chukotka, infrastructure, food security, autonomy, resources, supply, anthropology of food, mobility, reindeer herding.

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Research area: ethnography, ethnology and anthropology.

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\* Corresponding author E-mail address: [davydov.kunstkamera@gmail.com](mailto:davydov.kunstkamera@gmail.com)  
ORCID: 0000-0003-2738-4609 (Davydov); 0000-0002-9299-7551 (Davydova)

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## **Introduction**

The socio-economic problems of the Russian northern regions are in the focus of the attention of both scientists and politicians. Recently the issues related to infrastructure, workplaces, and climate change have increasingly become the objects of study for sociologists, historians, ethnographers, anthropologists and other specialists. However, food supply – one of the basic domains of human life in the Arctic and the important criterion of local people's wellbeing in the remote regions, still remains the unresearched area.

During a six-month field research, which took place in the Iul'tinskii district of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug from 2017 to 2019, we found out that the most pressing problem for local people was food supply of the native settlements and reindeer herders' camps in the tundra. The existing range of products definitely does not satisfy all the nutritional needs of local people. Therefore, they use the alternative and often invisible, from the point of view of an external observer, ways of acquiring and accumulating food resources. This article aims to analyze the contemporary trends in circulation of products in the Iul'tinskii district in Chukotka.

We will be focused on one of the largest Soviet projects in the region – the Iul'tinskaia road. This is a 207 km long highway connecting the seaport of Egvekinot on the coast of the Bering Sea with the continental part of the Iul'tinskii district of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug. The prisoners of Chukotstroilag had been built the road from 1946 to 1951. It was the easternmost road of the Soviet Union and people used it year-round to reach local tin-tungsten deposits and maintain the work of the Iul'tin mining and processing plant. Nowadays local people employ this road to conduct everyday tasks and sustain a regular food supply. The road serves both as a "transport artery" and a resource for acquiring material objects and building materials. It does not only facilitate mobility

but also changes the perception of food by local inhabitants.

## **Anthropology of food: supply in the Far North**

Anthropology of food has a long history; a huge amount of literature has been written on food and nutrition in different parts of the world (Mintz, Bois, 2002: 99-119). However, food practices rarely became the main focus of research until the 1970s (De Garine, 2004: 16). Modern investigations cover a wide range of issues connected with the relationship between people and food in global context: identity, memory, power, colonialism, ritual, exchange, feelings, etc. (Holtzman, 2006: 361-378, Sutton, 2010: 209-223, Yamin-Pasternak et al., 2014: 619-646, 2017: 117-136). It should be noted that scientists have been interested in this field since the formation of the anthropology/ethnography as a discipline. The classical works, based on the field data gathered in Chukotka, had the character of detailed ethnographic descriptions and researched food patterns of particular local groups (Bogoraz, 1991: 126-142, Vdovin, 1965).

It should be emphasized that in the 19th and the first half of the 20th century anthropologists studied local food systems and investigated how autonomous economic systems functioned. Gradually the interest of anthropologists shifted to the research of food practices in larger and more complex societies (Chatwin, 1997, Goody, 1998, Lentz, 1999, Lockwood, Lockwood, 2000, Mayer, 1996, Matossian, 1989). Since the second half of the 20th century the researchers incorporated the topic of food to build various theories (Levi-Strauss, 1969, Douglas 1966, 1972, Mintz, 1985, 1996). The turning point was the work of J. Goody (1982), revealing the connection between food systems and socio-economic structures. Since that time the anthropological study of food has been developed sufficiently to become a tool for studying various theoretical and methodological issues. However, despite the important

contribution to anthropological theories, the researchers did not pay significant attention to food supply in the northern regions.

The problem of sustainable food supply is especially poignant in many Arctic settlements. Products are frequently overdue, have low quality and cost too much. Associated with the Arctic regions, “remoteness” is a relative and external category and it often serves as an object of manipulations. The Iul’tinskaia road in Chukotka provides the access to Amguema native village and functions as a main direction of food transportation. It makes the village accessible, but at the same time it does not mean that Amguema benefits from distance reduction to district center in the context of food supply. This closeness creates the possibility to deliver overdue products to the rural stores.

The processes and institutions of the global economic system, including the offshore economy have a serious impact on the life of local communities (Urry, 2014). Mechanisms of informal economy regulate food supply in Chukotka. Thus, the idiom of “remoteness” creates a scarcity in supply that gives the possibility to sell the low quality and overdue products. At the same time the products produced locally are often absent in the local shops. For instance, local fish and venison can be rarely bought in the stores of Egvekinot and native villages. Therefore, local people have to develop their own food security strategies. The distribution of low quality and overdue products in the “remote” places motivates them use the alternative ways of food supply and accumulation to maintain a sense of food security. People actively use the existing infrastructure, local friends’ and relatives’ networks as well as particular technologies for self-production, processing and storage of food. Local inhabitants are very creative and actively experiment in this field.

The article aims to answer the following questions: How do residents of the remote northern settlements independently maintain a sense of their food security at the local communities’ microlevel? How do people in Chukotka, under the conditions of “weak” and irregular supplies, acquire the acceptable food resources for themselves? What kind of strategies of food

storage and accumulation do they employ? To find the answers we will analyze various aspects of food supply practices in the native village of Amguema. First, we will identify local food distribution networks that exist both within a particular community and beyond. In this context it is important to pay attention to the materiality of food and track “cultural biography” (Kopytoff, 1986) of products within their movements and to the knowledge of the local community about its specific characteristics. Second, we will describe the impact of larger structures on food practices in the local communities: state, private trading companies, the global market economy. In particular, we will identify the role of the infrastructure in transportation and distribution of products. Third, we will observe how it affects the technologies of food preservation and cooking. Finally, we will pay attention to the process of how the infrastructure changes food aesthetics and local people’s sensory perception of products (Yamin-Pasternak et al., 2014).

#### **Food routes: two-way traffic**

Local people are the active agents of food transportation. Their movements often imply the mobility of food between different locations. This mobility, as a rule, has a systematic character. Food supply means the functioning of particular mobility channels (Urry, 2012a; 2012b). Products continuously circulate between the reindeer herders’ camps in tundra, coastal and inland settlements and the district center Egvekinot.

Any society has a tendency for domination of a certain circulation process, it has structured routes along which people, objects move and transmit the information (Urry, 2012a: 143). This process also characterizes food circulation between different localities. Meat is the main food at the traditional feasts of the Amguema Chukchis (Kuznetsova, 1957: 272). New feasts had appeared rather recently, such as the International Day of Indigenous People, celebrated on August 9th. People organize them in settlements and demonstrate Chukchi cuisine, that requires the transportation of products from the tundra to the village and the regional center. From the tundra people



bring dried and fermented meat, herbs, berries and other products. In many respects, the food transportation became possible due to building and maintenance of the Iul'tinskaia road, which serves as the main mobility channel in the region and the route for food supply of native villages and reindeer herders' camps.

The local reindeer herding enterprise "Amguema" constantly supplies the camps in the tundra with the basic products. However, the delays and interruptions may take place due to breakdown of equipment, weather and products scarcity. The range of products supplied by the enterprise is often limited. In order to achieve the necessary products, reindeer herders order them by a radio set or a satellite phone. In this case their friends and relatives deliver food on private transport – cars or snowmobiles. In many cases reindeer herders can make pendulum movements to the village or Egvekinot on their own vehicles to purchase the necessary goods.

Until now we can find a parallel with the mutual exchange of reindeer and coastal Chukchis, which functioned in earlier times (Bogoras, 1904: 53, Krupnik, 2000: 50). Reindeer herders and coastal sea mammal hunters had various diets (Afanas'eva, Simchenko, 1993). Like these two groups, people living in the village and reindeer herders – groups, located in different places and having access to different resources, cooperate to obtain a variety of tastes and maintain a feeling of their food security. This system of food circulation also includes Egvekinot – the district center where these people periodically buy products. In Egvekinot, the choice of goods is bigger, products can be fresher and are sometimes sold cheaper. Reindeer herders, in turn, bring meat, fish and other produced products to supply their relatives, who live in the district center.

People transport food in two main directions. Therefore, when we speak about mobility of food in the 'remote regions', it means that people move material objects in two ways. Obvious is the fact that objects move with the mobility of people (Urry, 2012b: 98). Moreover, food supply is often the reason of these movements. Some places serve as hubs coordinating the mobility of various products and the plac-

es for food exchange. Reindeer herders' camps function as locations where people distribute food. People constantly move between villages, the regional center and reindeer herders' camps in the tundra, and take food with them.

Another route of food transportation is Egvekinot – Amguema – Nutepel'men / Vankarem. Vankarem and Nutepel'men are the coastal villages. Residents of these settlements take venison in reindeer herders' brigades, which approach the coast with herds. They may exchange products from the local store and seal meat and fish to venison. They also may export the products of sea hunting for sale to Amguema, Egvekinot and sometimes to Anadyr. Basically, they exchange and sell fish, fat and meat of marine animals, including whale fat, walrus fermented meat and fat (*kopal'khen*).

Thus, the remote villages are not just the passive recipients of the external food supply, they create their own products such as venison, sea mammals' meat or fat, fish and local plants which often move the other way. The supply should not be seen as one direction process. As we have seen, food mobility between different points in Chukotka always takes place in two ways. Therefore, food security in this region is a result of the activities of the members of the whole local community. Continuous food redistribution helps people avoid the situation of food scarcity in numerous locations where they perform their daily tasks.

The described food circulation system is largely possible due to existence of the Iul'tinskaia road, which is actively used by local people and provides most of the movements in the area. The road significantly reduces the way from reindeer herders' camps and coastal villages to Amguema and district center. It provides the opportunity for food transportation in the region and makes it rather sustainable.

#### **Refrigerators and greenhouses: vernacular food security strategies**

Local people imply the use of a set of food security strategies. This helps them to avoid the lack of food supply in cases of force-major situations. They use different strategies to maintain particular food autonomy regime (Davydova, Davydov, 2018). For instance, peo-

ple tend to increase the number of refrigerators to store products. At the same time, they became more dependent on the external electric energy supply. In comparison, the idea of automation, which is central to a strategy of self-isolation during the increasing of the risks of coronavirus (COVID-19) infection, led to the growth of the demand for refrigerators in spring 2020 in the Russian cities in order to be able to keep more products at home. Local people usually combine different kind of fridges – old Soviet, contemporary foreign and Russian, and self-made Chukchi fridges – different kind of frames and boxes made outside windows for keeping products. Moreover, they keep food in sheds and iron containers outside their flats and cottages. The use of a whole set helps them to avoid possible breaks in food supply.

Another strategy is centered on the autonomous production of food. Arctic is not a rigid space of a passive consumption. Local people creatively incorporate innovations into their way of life. They built a number of structures, which can function as a kind of food production infrastructure. During our fieldwork in Amguema we have observed numerous self-made greenhouses which help local people to maintain their food security. Traditionally the spaces of the Arctic were not broadly employed for growing plants. This recent trend in Amguema is an attempt to fulfill a gap in vegetables' supply. Local Chukchis adapted the use of greenhouses from newcomers.

Transformation of things is a common way of dealing of the nomadic population with the material objects. Reindeer herders' movements imply continuous transformations of the dwellings and other material objects (Golovnev et al., 2018). The growing own vegetables in a greenhouse is a new trend of food security in the Arctic settlements. In Amguema the construction of the greenhouses became possible only due to the existence of abandoned buildings along the Iul'tinskaia road. These ruins, however, still full of life (Tsing, 2017: 21) for local people and serve as a storage of building materials and fuel. People use the wooden parts both to build and heat their greenhouses.

Local people produce their own smoked fish. They build small separate buildings they

use as smokeries. In Amguema for this purpose people often employ old iron containers and sheds. They use woods from the poles of the old power line as fuel. In this sense, people extend the existing infrastructural projects by adding own structures to store and process food.

#### **Variety of tastes: perception of food**

The inhabitants of the Iul'tinskii district of Chukotka divide food into various categories: in addition to the common for the region classification of food into marine and tundra, people speak about Chukchi and Russian food, as well as about 'tundra' and 'state' (produced at slaughter centers) venison. Access to different types of food resources in different places is not equal. For instance, it is obvious that marine food is concentrated on the coast, and tundra food is produced by the reindeer herders in the tundra. People prepare particular types of food and associate them with particular places. As a result, the nutritional demands of local people create a need to establish a system of food circulation.

The idea of foreign food dates back to the time of the first contacts of Chukchis with Russians and Americans. V.G. Bogoraz described this situation in his monograph (Bogoraz, 1991). The serious restructuring of food habits took place as a result of the policy of Sovietization. Due to the spread of European products, new food processing technologies, and infrastructure changed the aesthetic perception of food by the members of local communities, which creatively incorporated numerous cultural and technological innovations. Today the diet of reindeer herders and hunters includes a large number of imported products called by the local people 'Russian' food. It does not mean the products are really Russian in their origin. Many products are part of contemporary local people's diet, but people associate them with the certain locality: the tundra or the village. As the reindeer herders say, "In the tundra we are missing Russian food, in the village we are missing Chukchi products." In the tundra, local people consume "Chukchi" food more frequently than in settlements. They apply the similar ethnic division into 'Russian' and 'Chukchi' to other material objects such as

sledges (Golovnev et al., 2018: 93, 94), clothes and firewood. The quality of firewood is very important component for products taste. Therefore, in order to prepare food on the hearth some people prefer using local Chukchi firewood – gathered locally brushwood instead of Russian or ‘Ivan’s firewood’ (*ivanovy drova*) made from logs and planks, which were brought from the mainland.

Local informants say that they like the Chukchi food, they feel a sense of nostalgia while consume it and often contrast it with the Russian food, which, according to them, is not energetic enough and “leaves a person hungry”. Thus, people in Amguema associate the Chukchi food with a sense of satiety and taste sensations familiar to them from childhood. In modern conditions, people maintain food exchange between different localities, which includes not only coastal and tundra food, but of the local Chukchi and imported Russian or European food.

The taste of food is a result of particular technological operations and it depends on a large number of components. The context or environment is an active agent of food production. Local people say that they differentiate the food prepared on fire in *yarangas* and on the electric stoves in cottages and flats. In many cases people cook the Chukchi food directly in their dwellings in the village, but, according to local residents, its taste would be inferior to tundra products. The taste of food is affected by the place where it is cooked. For example, a dried venison (*kykvatol*) made in a *yaranga* tastes differently from meat wilted in a cold hallway of a house in the village.

Local people incorporate numerous technological innovations into their way of life. The introduction of imported products was accompanied by the spreading of new food processing technologies. For example, earlier, during cold period of the year Chukchis used freezing and consumed a significant part of food frozen (Mikhailova, 2015: 108). They also actively employed the technology of fermentation and drying. However, the spreading of refrigerators and freezers made freezing one of the main technologies used to store food and people use it in any season.

Combining different technologies, local people try to keep the variety of tastes, which would not be available just through the distribution of products via the local stores. They employ a whole set of possibilities to create food of different tastes. Sharing a food, in this sense, means sharing of something exclusive with a particular story and “biography” (Kopytoff, 1986). This helps people to avoid the lack of tastes, which could be produced via the products obtained within the centralized food supply system. Therefore, people employ their knowledge and creativity to make a diversity of tastes, which become incorporated into the local system of food exchange. This strategy is not just a way to share memories, it is also a way to maintain the relations between the members of the local community. However, food exchange is not just a method of building local identity and a sense of solidarity. It creates an important food security mechanism of making additional stocks of products in order to be less dependent on the external supply.

#### **Infrastructure and food security strategies**

Local infrastructure is a result of a set of different development projects, which were carried out in different time, but today they all are present in local people’s lives. In the context of food practices, the most important of them are the Iul’tinskaia road, the reindeer-slaughter center, apartment buildings and cottages in the villages. All these projects are an integral part of the daily practices of local people and affect the supply of the local community with products. In this way, they help people to maintain a sense of their food security.

The introduction of a new infrastructure affects the perception of food resources by local people. On the one hand, the emergence of additional opportunities for transportation, processing and storage of food allows them to organize the use of the resource. On the other hand, this inevitably affects the physical qualities of the products, because it changes technologies of their transportation and storage, transforms their condition and taste. Infrastructure changes food practices of local people and creates the possibility of emergence of new sources of food. For example, as mentioned above,

the inhabitants of the Iul'tinskii district divide venison into 'tundra' and 'state'. This division was the result of the slaughter companies that spread during the Soviet period. A new reindeer-slaughter center was built near Amguema on 94 km of the Iul'tinskaia road. Previously, the special rituals always accompanied slaughter in the tundra and took place mainly during reindeer herders' feasts (Bogoraz, 1939). Contrary to the to the camps in tundra, slaughter at special centers does not contain this ritual component.

In Amguema reindeer slaughter takes place in fall. People send venison to Egvekinot, and then its main party goes to Anadyr. Small part of meat remains in the village, primarily to supply kindergarten and boarding school. Sometimes local people buy frozen meat at the refrigerator of the reindeer herding enterprise. At the same time, they consider that it has a very bad taste and low nutritional properties. In this regard, many of them try to avoid buying venison from the slaughter center, and prefer getting it from the tundra. Thus, people transport most of the slaughtered meat by the road to the seaport in Egvekinot and use water transport to deliver it to Anadyr. Tundra meat goes from reindeer herders' brigades mainly to Amguema, Nutepel'men, Vankarem and Egvekinot for consumption by local people.

Thus, the infrastructure development project, such as the building of the slaughterhouse as well as functioning of the reindeer herding enterprise and its commercial tasks generate the existing venison mobility channels. However, their existence became possible largely due to another project of the Soviet era – the Iul'tinskaia road. In other words, we can talk about a whole 'cascade' of projects, which give local people 'affordances' (Gibson, 1979, Ingold, 2000), providing the possibilities for implementing certain practices. In many respects, these possibilities appeared due to financial investments of the state. In case the state had not ensured the development of the infrastructure in the region, people would not be able to implement these practices (Etkind, 2020: 59).

If we consider the problem of food supply in Amguema in the historical perspective, we can conclude, that the very creation of this

settlement, with the aim of transferring the nomadic population to sedentary life, created a need to transport venison from the tundra to the village. This type of supply became especially important since the products brought from the outside did not completely satisfy the needs of the local people.

The policy of sedentarization implied the construction of houses for reindeer herders and facilitated permanent pendulum migrations between camps in the tundra and the settlement, which also led to periodic changes in population density in the settlement and the tundra depending on the 'seasonal variations' of local people's activities (Mauss, 1979). Today people live in apartment buildings in Egvekinot, they live mostly in "Abramovich's cottages" in Nutepel'men and they use both block houses and cottages in Amguema. The new buildings have almost completely replaced the old wooden houses of the Soviet era. Several old houses are still in use in Nutepel'men.

New types of housing frame particular micro-mobility of local people – the movements of people within a settlement and its surroundings to satisfy their nutritional needs. For example, in the apartment buildings, people may face the stigmatizing of their eating habits by neighbors. In particular, this situation characterizes the district center, where many newcomers live. According to informants, in order not to disturb their neighbors by strong smell, they sometimes prefer short trips to the tundra to cook seal and walrus meat in the open air. In cottages, according to local people, which operate similarly to thermoses, some products are poorly preserved and cannot be prepared. In many cases, the thermal properties of new houses do not allow following traditional cooking technologies. For instance, seal fat may become rancid and spoiled if people keep it inside a cottage.

Therefore, it is not possible to prepare some Chukchi products inside the houses and flats and local people employ additional buildings for storage and cooking. They use containers, build sheds, as well as *yarangas*. From spring to summer some families construct their *yarangas* on the shore of the Amguema River, where they can cook. This food, according

to them, is very different from what can be prepared on an electric stove in a house or an apartment. Moreover, the hearth in a *yaranga* serves as a mediator in relations between people, reindeer, the land, and the dwelling itself (Vaté, 2013: 192). Thus, local people prefer to cook food on the hearth in a *yaranga* or bonfire on the river bank to create the variability in the tastes of food and avoid cooking it exclusively by the use of the infrastructure, affordable in settlements.

### Conclusion

On the one hand, various development projects, commercial initiatives and their material incarnations in the form of roads, buildings, slaughterhouses, cottages, flats and shops form people's needs in particular products. On the other hand, they may both hinder or contribute to the satisfaction of local people's food requests. In other words, the relations between these projects and the needs of people can be characterized by both intersection points and "gaps" that require active regulation by the local community. Moreover, each project can be embodied into the network of other initiatives, that leads to the formation of a whole "cascade" of projects. The reindeer herding enterprise, the slaughterhouse, the Iul'tinskaia road, and the seaport in Egvekinot, in their alliance, allow the export of local venison to the district and regional centers, as well as delivering products from the mainland to villages and reindeer herders' camps in the tundra.

The existence of the reindeer-slaughter center in Amguema stimulates people's reflec-

tion on the taste of venison, and also affects their food strategies. Comparing of different tastes of meat by local people forms certain categories of venison, that creates new directions of product's transportation, implying the use of the existing roads. In a similar manner, the other infrastructure projects, such as, for example, rural shops and roads, function in a tandem. On the one hand, the road helps to establish the regular deliveries of expired goods from the district center to Amguema. On the other hand, local people, solve the problem of low quality of products and the lack of their variety in rural stores by making pendulum trips to Egvekinot. However, they would not be able to transport food autonomously without the Iul'tinskaia road, the functionality of which is supported by the state.

Thus, the changes of local people's and material objects' mobility led both to the formation of new food patterns, and to the change in the system of resources' distribution between the settlements of the Iul'tinskii district. All recent systemic changes became possible due to the integration of this transport facility in a series of other infrastructural state projects, ranging from the Northern Sea Route and the reindeer-slaughter center to power lines and trading bases, located along the highway. Therefore, the Iul'tinskaia road exists as an unfinished project, which functionality depends on the actions of numerous actors. In this context, the infrastructural incompleteness of the road, supplemented by other projects, contributes to its creative use by local people.

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## Пути к существованию: инфраструктура и стратегии пищевой безопасности на Чукотке

**В.Н. Давыдов, Е.А. Давыдова**

*Музей антропологии и этнографии*

*им. Петра Великого (Кунсткамера) РАН*

*Российская Федерация, Санкт-Петербург*

**Аннотация.** Для отдаленных и труднодоступных арктических поселений чрезвычайно актуальной является проблема снабжения продуктами питания. Вследствие этого местные жители активно используют свои собственные стратегии распределения продовольствия. Они применяют альтернативные способы приобретения и сохранения продуктов питания в целях поддержания ощущения своей продовольственной безопасности посредством использования местной инфраструктуры, задействования сетей родственников и знакомых, а также применения технологий для самостоятельного производства, обработки и хранения продуктов. В статье описываются актуальные тенденции циркуляции пищевых ресурсов в Иультинском районе Чукотского автономного округа. Авторы рассматривают сложившуюся модель перераспределения продовольствия между окруженными тундрой и находящимися на побережье селами, оленеводческими стоянками, а также районным центром. Они анализируют влияние одного из крупнейших советских проектов на Чукотке – Иультинской трассы на практику обеспечения продовольственной безопасности местного населения. Появление новой инфраструктуры в регионе повлияло как на его мобильность, так и на восприятие пищи. В статье продемонстрировано, каким образом целый ряд различных государственных проектов и коммерческих инициатив влияют на формирование пищевых потребностей, но в то же время могут либо препятствовать, либо способствовать их удовлетворению. Отношения между инфраструктурными проектами и потребностями в продуктах питания имеют как точки пересечения, так и «разрывы», которые требуют активного регулирования со стороны членов местного сообщества и государства. В данном контексте местные жители являются активными агентами, креативно использующими имеющуюся в регионе инфраструктуру в целях поддержания своей пищевой безопасности.

**Ключевые слова:** Арктика, Чукотка, инфраструктура, пищевая безопасность, автономность, ресурсы, снабжение, антропология пищи, мобильность, оленеводство.

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## Igarka as a Frontier: Lessons from the Pioneer of the Northern Sea Route

Nadezhda Yu. Zamiatina\*

*Lomonosov Moscow State University*

*Moscow, Russian Federation*

*Laboratory of Historical Geography and Regionalism*

*Tyumen State University*

*Tyumen, Russian Federation*

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**Abstract.** The article considers the development trajectory of Igarka, a pioneer export port of the Northern Sea Route. The focus is made on analyzing the possibilities of preserving the town after the collapse of the town-forming enterprises. The main conceptual framework of the analysis is the Jack London's hypothesis introduced by Alaskan economist Lee Husky (about potential of frontier cities for further development in the post-boom period). The findings are that the reason for the current economic and social crises in Igarka is not only the change in the conditions of timber export and navigation along the Northern Sea Route in the 1990s, but also the reduced economic functions of the town, as well as the decrease in the diversity of the urban environment as a whole, after paradoxically record production indicators in the last Soviet decades.

**Keywords:** resource development, Northern Sea Route, export, transport, frontier, cyclical economic development, boom and bust, dependence on course, Jack London's effect.

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Igarka is a port on the river Yenisei which has been specializing in the transporting the exported Siberian timber to the sea ships moving along the Northern Sea Route and further to the foreign ports. Being at the 2<sup>nd</sup> place in the USSR after Arkhangelsk, Igarka was posited as one of their “currency producer” of the country.

Founded in 1929, Igarka was one of the first Soviet towns in the Arctic, and an iconic symbol of the success of the Soviet power in the North exploration. “Look at the map of our North. According to Stalin’s decree, lights of new towns and district centres shone across the Arctic. Whereas 12 years ago Trans-Polar Igarka had only 49 people, now it has 20 thousand inhabitants,” I.D. Papanin reported to the XVIII Congress of the Party in 1939 (XVIII s’ezd Vsesoiuznoi..., 1939: 332).

It was with the beginning of timber shipment through Igarka that systematic, “flow” use of the western section of the Northern Sea Route (hereinafter referred to as NSR) as a commercial mainline began. One should bear in mind that by the time Igarka was founded, many attempts had already been made to enter the foreign market from the Yenisei: there had been expeditions of the merchant Mikhail Sidorov, the voyages of captain Viggins and captain Schwanenberg; trade operations of the Norwegian explorer Jonas Lid, the Kara Sea operations of the Kolchak’s time and the first years of Soviet power. But it was Igarka’s port where these “flow”, regular exports started, which made it possible to overcome the economic barrier of high insurance payments for merchant shipping through the NSR: “The increase in tonnage of vessels entering the Yenisei... testifies to the higher degree of studying the conditions of passing, and hence to the reduction of danger of these voyages. There was a pattern of annually decreasing amount of insurance to be paid by ships leaving for Igarka,” the town reported in 1935 (Ostroumova et al., 1935: 7).

Being the “showcase” of the Soviet Transpolar region, the “heroine” of many reports and books, Igarka went through one of the most catastrophic scenarios of transformation in the post-Soviet era; it lost its town-forming enter-

prise, almost three-quarters of the population and the status of a town of regional subordination. And the deeper one penetrates into Igarka’s fate, the more one wonders how inevitable this tragedy was.

First of all, the most characteristic point is the contrast between the efforts of the first builders to create a town with a permanent population, a diversified economy, self-sufficiency in food supply, a town which was to become a cultural and information centre of the vast area of the Transpolar region, and the final of this classic mono-profile settlement, fully dependent on the town-forming enterprise. More than that, even the famous by itself Igarsky Pedagogical College of the Indigenous People of the North was closed after the cessation of timber transshipment, although there had to be no technological or financial connection between the college and the town-forming enterprise.

This article is an attempt to rethink the economic history of Igarka in terms of the concept of the frontier, and in particular Jack London’s effect proposed by the Alaskan economist Lee Husky (Huskey, 2017). The main material used in this work is interviews and personal observations made during the trips to Igarka in 2013 (3 expert and 1 in-depth interview) and 2018 (18 expert and 15 in-depth interviews taken during the joint expedition with M. Agapov and F. Korandey, my colleagues from Tyumen State University). Obviously, this material allows researchers to estimate mainly the peculiarities of the last stages of Igarka’s development (the memories of the majority of informants did not go earlier than the 1970s, though in some cases there were earlier ones), and also (this is perhaps the most interesting issue) the findings may lead to conclusions about the possibility of other options for Igarka’s exit from the frontier cycle. Earlier stages of town development are analyzed according to earlier published sources.

#### **Rises and falls of frontier towns: concept of escaping the resource trap**

The concept of the frontier as a “meeting point between savagery and civilization” (Turner, 2009: 13) was introduced into science



by the American historian F.J. Turner in his seminal essay “The Significance of the Frontier in American History” published in 1893 (Turner, 1893); Turner’s concept was later polished in a book with a similar title (Turner, 2009: 13). He paid much attention to the fact that the frontier is not a line, but rather a border zone, a frontier zone, and this zone is mobile: as the territory becomes developed the frontier is extended to new lands. That is how the frontier zone has “swept” practically all over the United States from the east to the Great Plains, and, according to Turner, the frontier zone had “closed” by the time his historical work was written.

In the Turner’s concept, the closure of the frontier implied the transition of the territory to a developed state. Nevertheless, later in the works on the frontier subject there was often raised the issue of boom and bust cycles (Asche Van et al., 2016): the boom of economic activity of the frontier is usually caused, as a rule, by the discovery of a new resource or removing the barrier to its development, and after the boom there logically comes the phase of resource depletion and the corresponding decline in economic activity. The U.S. frontier was mainly associated with the development of new agricultural land, hence the phase of depletion and decline was not as pronounced<sup>1</sup> as in the case of the mountain frontier (the development of mineral deposits, so called gold and similar fever). The history of the mountain frontier knows a lot of examples of towns being abandoned as soon as the deposit is depleted (ghost towns in the areas of former resource extraction – Kennecott in Alaska with its copper or Forty Mile, Yukon, known for its gold).

In connection with the “diverge point” of the trajectories of development for the territory when its key resource is depleted, the aforementioned work of Anchorage economist Lee Husky is of great interest (Huskey, 2017; see also: Goldsmith, Berman and Huskey, 1987; Huskey, 1987). Husky shows how during a frontier boom there can be created a critical amount of diversified local enterprises in re-

mote areas, enabling the territory’s economic development to start with meeting domestic demand; these measures may help to prolong the life of the frontier region after a decline in the export industry. Jack London’s hypothesis, the author writes, can be summed up as follows: “Resource exploitation causes such growth and development of related industries that they will be able to exist after the come-down of the resource boom, which in turn stimulates new economic activity.” Jack London’s hypothesis describes a chance for a more optimistic “post-boom” life of frontier towns. Structural changes that occur during the resource booms may change the economic environment in ways that promote future opportunities. Local policymakers may wish to pay attention not simply to resource development but also to the part of the economy that is left behind after the boom” (Huskey, 2017: 344).

Today the specialists wonder why the idea of possible closure of areas of new development was not clearly covered in the first decades of the development of the Soviet North, although the agenda was the very resource development, and American examples of ghost towns at the turn of 19-20<sup>th</sup> centuries should have been still on everyone’s lips.

The study of the 1930s materials brings us closer to the answer to this question: in addition to the narrow task of providing resources for the country’s economy, there was an objective of transformation of the North itself. In that logic, the Soviet North simply could not become a zone of shift settlements (although in reality it was to some extent such a zone: with a lot of reservations, GULAG camps can be considered a Stalinist variant of shift-labour development concerning resources of poorly populated territories). In official ideology, the Soviet North was invariably presented as a result of the transformation of the backward and wild North of Tsarist times. This opposition was perfectly voiced in 1934 by S.M. Kirov, who was later quoted many times: “What yesterday seemed completely oblivious, where, as they used to say, ‘the sun don’t shine’, where in Tsarist times people were exiled, now there is a new, rapidly growing industrial centre of the Arctic Circle; it was created by the will of the Bolsheviks in

<sup>1</sup> Although dust storms that smote the lands of the Great Plains inhabited by the colonists-homesteaders in the 1930s were relatively recent, they can also be considered as a stage of recession for the agricultural frontier.

the treasury of natural resources (apatite, iron, molybdenum, mica, thorium, titanium, etc.), in the half-tundra, where no man had gone before (17<sup>th</sup> Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (b)). The cliché opposition between the Bolshevik progress (expressed in the involvement of more and more new previously “sleeping” resources in the economic turnover) and the incessant savagery of the Tsarist times, was cited for decades: back in 1960 S.V. Slavin, the chief theorist of the Soviet North exploration, began his book with a passage that “by the time of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the natural resources of the North had been almost not developed and also had not been studied enough...” (Slavin, 1961: 4).

The continuous growth and improvement of socialist production, postulated as the basic economic law of socialism, implied, in particular, the constant need for new resources; the state of constant competition with the hostile capitalist world reinforced this need greatly. The development of the North was seen as an answer to this need (this practice, perhaps, can be extrapolated to all the years of Soviet power). Let us continue reading from Slavin: “the continuous growth of production, caused by the basic economic law of socialism, necessitates not only wider use of the raw materials and fuels of the old, long inhabited and industrially developed areas of the country, but also the development of new areas with large, virgin natural resources... Further growth of the national economy and the solution of the main economic task of the USSR, i.e. to catch up with and overtake the advanced capitalist countries in the production of major products per capita, require an ever greater involvement in the national economy of more and more new natural resources of the North...” (Slavin, 1961: 4).

Even a cursory acquaintance with the ideology of Marxism-Leninism allows us to understand that urbanization of the Arctic had a special significance: for that system cities and towns are not just large localities, but the places of concentration of the proletariat. They were considered progressive as opposed to peasant regions, and even more so to the “backward suburbs”. That is why cities were seen as the true “crown” of socialist transformations. In

the spirit of this ideology, the Arctic space of national villages, such as, for example, Canadian or Alaskan ones, could not satisfy the tasks of large-scale socialist transformations. Only proletarian cities and towns in those years could signify the triumph of socialism, namely, the towns “shining with lights” (by the way, it is a parallel with the Leninist formula of communism through the electrification of the whole country) became the measure of the success for the development of the North. Obviously, this ideological foundation determined the “correct” version of the Soviet North, which shall be urban. So, the Far North saw towns growing.

The young Igarka perfectly illustrates the early policy of the Soviet government in relation to the development of the North, which implied the transformation of the “backward outskirts” into a new socialist reality.

Let us pay attention to the fact that in the process of creating the young cities and towns of the Far North, much attention was paid to their “full value”, they should have been not just industrial centres, but also loci of civilization of the surrounding territory. We may turn to the first book about the town written in 1935, when it was only six years old: “The role of Igarka in the task of developing the Far North is also great because in places where culture, technology and its revolutionary influence were previously unknown, where the economy of tsarist Russia ended up with a primitive standard of living with a natural and semi-natural way of life, there appeared a town with growing population, the working class, electricity, schools, hospitals, cinema, clubs, etc.” (Ostroumova et al., 1935: 7).

Now let us take another mental step, and there is an analogy: in the early USSR, during the development of the North, the Jack London effect was deliberately assumed, presupposing the transition from a raw-materials based, immature, unbalanced economy to a full-fledged, “normal” society of an ordinary, non-frontier town. By and large, in the end the development of the North should have destroyed the North as a concept. However, in the case of Igarka, the situation was exactly the opposite: after the initial take-off in the 1930s, record production and the seemingly economic prosperity of the

1970s and 80s, there followed a crushing fall – all the more strange that the economy of Igarka was based on the benefits of its economic and geographical location, which, unlike mineral deposits, it would seem, could not have been exhausted.

#### **Igarka as a frontier: a rethinking of the already known.**

##### **Geographical location as a “deposit”**

Most often, the frontier emerges following the unexpected “discovery” of a new type of resource, in connection with the discovery of the resource itself or the possibilities of its extraction or transportation. A well-known example of the former factor is the discovery of the prairies of the Great Plains for American colonists coupled with the invention of a steel plough capable of lifting a powerful layer of steppe turf (Billington et al., 1949: 693-694). The informational, technological, infrastructural, barriers are thus broken down.

The construction of Igarka triggered the mass export of the Yenisei timber, and Igarka was chosen as a unique place for the junction of river and sea navigation: rafts could travel there relatively safely (further downstream the Yenisei, with almost constant sea storm winds timber rafting could have been too difficult) and at the same time the depth was enough for ocean ships to enter the port: “The southernmost harbour available for deep-sea vessels on the Yenisei, the Igarka anabranch, is at the same time the northernmost point that allows rather safe rafting in the river anabranch”, such was the evidence of 1928 (Cited by Gorchakov, 1995: 44).

Moreover, convenient anabranch allowed ships to shelter from storms (common in this area of the Yenisei basin), as well as to winter in relatively safe conditions (whereas port cranes in Dudinka still have to be lifted up to the hill every year, to be saved from ice drift, in Igarka there are no such problems due to the anabranch). Nonetheless, technological innovation was also important: there was found a *cheap* way of mass timber transportation along the Yenisei, at the same time not only technological barrier, but also psychological one were removed: the same already cited Gorchakov

wrote how the very possibility of mass transportation of timber along the Yenisei was demonstrated. This is the timber self-transportation by rafts of *Volga type* instead of delivery by means of tugboats. And this was implemented to a great extent thanks to personal initiative of a native of the Volga region – B.V. Lavrov, who was appointed the chairman of Komsevmorput, Northern Sea Route Committee (Rostislav Gorchakov describes how Lavrov invited to the Yenisei rafters from Vyatka, and how in 1930 the head of forest management of Komsevmorput F.P. Tetenkin personally headed the lead raft through rapids) (Gorchakov, 1995: 53-54). There were also purely infrastructural changes: in 1934 the most complicated to be passed Osinovsky rapid on the Yenisei was blown up.

Igarka’s location, which ideally suited the transshipping of floating timber, turned out to be played out when the self-rafting of timber finished. For other means of transportation, Igarka retains some advantages (first of all, convenient anabranch), but as Dudinka’s experience shows, they are no longer meaningful. According to economists, the location of Igarka turned out to be a specific asset, i.e. an asset suitable mainly for one use, such as, for example, a rare metal deposit (suitable only for metal mining). Under current conditions, the delivery of timber from Lesosibirsk using modern mixed-type vessels (river-sea vessels) is more advantageous than through Igarka, which, in fact, is no longer needed as a port. Despite this, V.E. Golenkov’s estimates show that even under modern conditions (as for 2007) timber export through Igarka can be profitable, but this is true only if a number of conditions are met, for instance, when timber is exported to northern European countries (Golenkov, 2007).

Therefore, Igarka’s location can be considered as a kind of “deposit”, which opens possibilities of obtaining economic benefits at a certain stage, but which then runs out of these possibilities. However, a new question comes up, why did Igarka continue to function in the 1960-80s, when there was a move to timber exports in unit loads instead of on rafts, when mixed-type vessels appeared? The exhaustion of the initial “deposit” did not lead to the closing of a town. Moreover, maximum indicators

in timber exports were reached in the 1970s. And vice versa, why did not its potential, gained during the years of prosperity, save it from the collapse in the post-construction period, why did not this famous town get Jack London's effect without turning into a complex centre of the development of the lower Yenisei?

#### **Igarka in the 1970s:**

##### **the rise or the sunset?**

During an interview a lot of informants called 1970s and 1980s the best period for Igarka, its "golden age". Actually, record levels in town's key economic sectors were reached during this period. The maximum amount of timber, precisely 1,322.5 cubic meters (a comparable, but lesser, export volume remained until 1990) was sent through Igarka in 1978.

Igarka was being radically transformed during these years; multi-storied buildings (5-9 storeys) were being built massively: the so-called first and second micro-districts were being built in the 1970s and mainly in the 1980s, respectively. "More than 32 thousand square meters of living space in new stone buildings were completed in the 10<sup>th</sup> five-year period [1976-1980 – Author's note]. The "first-born" high-rise buildings are growing – nine-storey buildings" – this passage was written in the anniversary in 1979" (Novikov, Troshev, 1979). These micro-districts – new buildings, by the way, make essence of what remains of Igarka today (Fig. 1).

Finally, a colossal victory was won over remoteness: a direct flight to Moscow was launched in 1977 (Gorchakov, 1995: 176).

The town was seemingly booming. The continued development of the transshipment in Igarka despite the loss of the advantages of the town's position compared to the times of self-rafting is easy to explain by the well-known phenomenon for economists as "path dependence" and increasing returns on the use of already inhabited place: it is more simple to continue, where the town has already built its infrastructure. However, one can deduce after the detailed study of Igarka's evolution that the depth of crises of the 1990s resulted from the previous period of Igarka's development, specifically in the 1970-80s.

Breakthrough and revolutionary decisions were made earlier, in the 1960s. So, record volumes of timber transshipment, many times more than pre-war level, were made possible by the introduction of a new transportation technology in the previous decade: not individual logs were overloaded in Igarka but powerful unit loads, often straight from a barge to a timber truck, without being unloaded onto the river bank. A new Igarka's part, "New Town", appeared after a fire in 1962 (mostly consisting of two-storey buildings), a new general plan was developed (providing for the micro-districts, which were being built over the next two decades). The image of "White stone Igarka" was being spread (a construction of the first

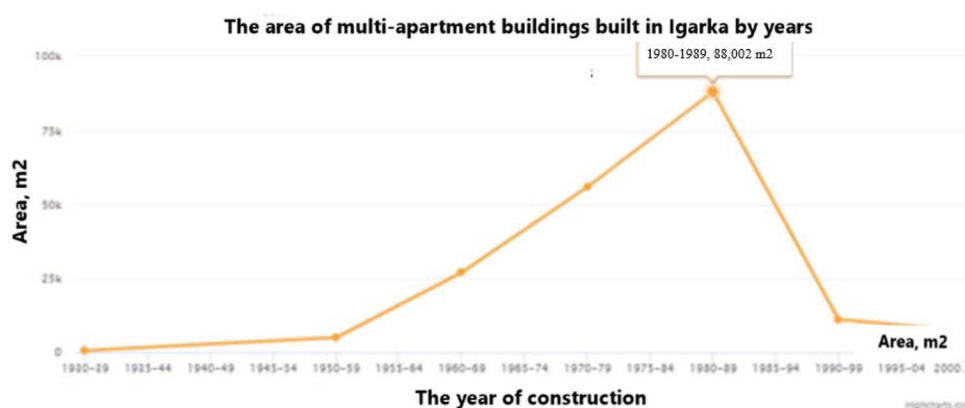


Fig. 1. The distribution of modern multi-apartment buildings in Igarka by construction period. Source: Dom.MinZhKH.RU. Available at: <http://dom.mingkh.ru/krasnoyarskiy-kray/igarka/#stats>

multi-storey micro-districts in the 1960s started with the construction of a light coloured (panel) buildings, yet, following five and nine-storey buildings were made of red brick); the image reflected the Igarka's transformation in the "real" town. The town television was launched in 1964; in 1963 there opened the unique underground part of the permafrost museum (in the mine, transferred from the research station). The first cruise ship entered Igarka in 1966: that is how the development of the tourism industry started.

In the 1970s, development was no longer qualitative but quantitative. Meanwhile, gross figures were often achieved at the expense of quality. For example, loading timber onto timber trucks requires special skills and experience, but because of the severe shortage of manpower, seasonal workers were massively involved in loading<sup>2</sup>. Here the witness is a famous writer V. Konetskii, who came to Igarka in 1975 as a captain of a timber carrier: he horrified at recalling about the admission of careless students to loading (Konetskii, 2007: 434):

"By nine o'clock in the morning, barges came under both sides and dockers appeared, verdant youth, students from Siberian universities. Basically, the future chemists, specialists in pulp and paper manufacturing... The profession of a docker is complicated and difficult. It is mastered over the years, the docker must have special training and a plenty of experience. Working with boards is dangerous and requires compliance with both the rules of safety and rules for laying the boards in the holds. College kids do not understand and do not know anything about all this. It is terrifying to see girls in the role of tallymen running on a bulwark, flirting with everybody, or standing under a bundle of boards that is lowered into

the hold, with their heads pulled up and their mouth opened, into the mouths every second a five-meter-long piece of timber can be pierce. One of the girls on this navigation has already been slammed. It's called as such: "Lack of workforce."

Apparently, similar substitution of quality by gross indicators occurred in other areas as well; in particular, the massively built apartments in the 1970s, on average, were more cramped than apartments in older houses (Fig. 2).

The general policy of domination of departmental interests in the raw-materials based areas, which was typical for the era, was complemented by the need to build everything for the sake of industry. E.G. Smirnova, the chief specialist on architecture and building control, told how in the 1980s it was necessary to commission building cultural institutions (in particular, school of arts) as apartments or industrial premises: according to the norms, Igarka was not entitled to "any more culture".

This statement contradicts the official rhetoric of those years, which looks quite frontier, almost in the spirit of Turner: the spirit of the pioneers allows you to go to new victories. Let us turn to reading the jubilee edition:

*"Much has been done in Igarka in fifty years. The town was built in permafrost. The first mill in the Arctic Circle. The first sovkhov. The first airport. Everything for the first time. And this is the main object of pride. But people cannot be satisfied with what has been achieved. Are there houses with gas-fired furnaces? Good! But we have to make the town fully gasified. And even better, electrified: a power transmission substation is being built for that purpose today. Upon being included in the united Taimyr "energy ring", Igarka will get a huge flow of energy.*

*Once, on its fifth anniversary, the dwellers of Igarka were proud: "100 passengers were carried". Now aviators dream: '100 passengers per hour'. <...>*

*And it does not seem a fantastic dream to navigate the Northern Sea Route all year round" (Novikov, Troshev, 1979).*

But if you think about it thoroughly, it is a gradual replacement of fundamental inno-

<sup>2</sup> It stands to reason that seasonal workers have been involved in port operations for almost the entire history of the port, and the dynamics cannot be traced; it is curious that, however, in the first half of the 1930s the authorities insisted on the reduction in the number of seasonal workers: "Almost all of these points of production united several industries... in such a way that within each economic hub, these industries would ensure full employment and full use of the workforce, giving free reign only to certain industries to bring in seasonal workers for loading and fishing. (Slavin, 1961: 116; see also: Gorchakov, 1995).



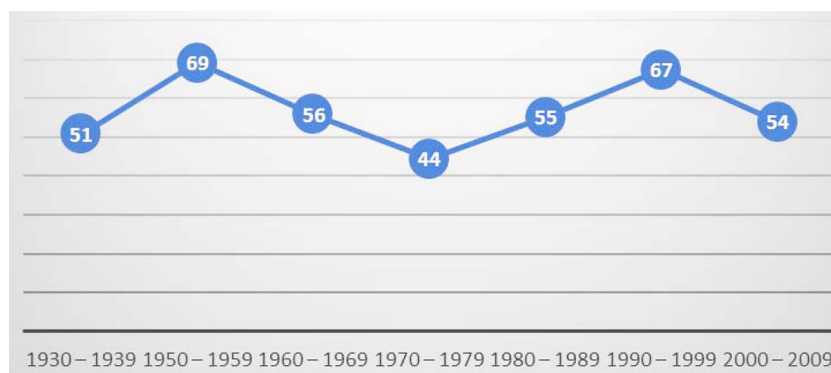


Fig. 2. Dynamics of average living space in Igarka per one apartment – by periods of construction (as regards the houses that were there in 2019).

Source: Dom.MINZhKKH.RU. Available at: <http://dom.mingkh.ru/krasnoyarskiy-kray/igarka/#stats>

ventions with quantitative growth. The history frontier itself ends (or its first phase, depending on the date) and the era of mass production begins.

The transition to the epoch of mass production is a qualitative boundary: the innovative potential of the frontier line is dwindling, and the institutional and production systems are “withering”. The main signs of reducing everything to the needs of production are loss of creativity, diversity of production and cultural life, absence of radical innovations; and all these events happened when production indicators were at their peak. As a matter of fact, in its “golden age” Igarka became even more “mono-profile”, narrowly specialized town, it lost its originality and diversity of economy and urban environment.

Let us try to assess indirectly the level of diversity and innovative potential of the local socio-economic system of the “golden age” compared to the 1930s, as well as to the current situation. As for the first years of Igarka’s existence, there is a document, remarkable in its detailedness: this brochure was prepared in 1935 to represent the town during the visit of the Town Council delegation to M.I. Kalinin. The document contains specific facts, and even with an allowance for its evidently “demonstrative” character, it correlates well with other sources and can be considered an excellent “encyclopedia” of culture and economy of Igarka in the first years of its existence. For com-

parison, let us take the 1960s – the decade of breakthrough to the revolutionary new technology of timber loading; the 1970s – the decade of record indicators of timber export and the modern period after the termination of timber export (unless otherwise stated, the main data are given according to the book by R. Gorchakov) (Tabl. 1).

Even passing reference of genuinely experimental, innovative technical decisions, research infrastructure objects, scientific, educational and culture institutions, which had already been built by 1935 and were enlisted in considered brochure, is really striking. Moreover, majority of them served not only Igarka, but also surrounding territories:

*“Now Igarka became the only construction site serving the whole Far North: Dudinka, Norilsk, Ust-Port and the other places of Taimyr District are supplied with timber from Igarka’s lumber mill. Standard north houses (winter huts, etc.) are fully completed in Igarka and transferred to their destination in disconnected parts. Igarka’s experimental agricultural works are exclusively important for the whole Far North. Igarka’s experiments proved that problems of growing vegetables and other agricultural plants can be successfully solved in Siberian Arctic Circle conditions. This will greatly remove the agricultural edge. Igarka’s experiments are already integrated in other Northern sites, where Igarka’s conclusions stood up to reality again. In 1934 Dudinka,*

Table 1. Comparative analysis of a variety of economic and research activities in Igarka in different periods

Parameter	1935	1960s (according to various sources)	1970s (according to various sources)	After 1995 (according to various sources)
1	2	3	4	5
Population	1934: 10.0 thousand people 1939: 23.7 thousand people <sup>1</sup>	14.3 (according to census of 1959)	1979: 16.4 thousand people <sup>2</sup>	1995: 13.0 thousand people 2006-2007: mass migration to the "mainland" 2019: 4.4 thousand people
Sawing, timber loading, timber export, export	1934: 132 thousand m <sup>3</sup>	Since 1968 – export has exceeded 1 million m <sup>3</sup>	Since 1970 – substitution of foreign ships by Soviet ones in timber export 1976: 1,265 million m <sup>3</sup>	1997: division of the plant into saw-mill and port 2004: export of 33,6 thousand m <sup>3</sup> 2008: Liquidation of OJSC "Igarsky Sea Port"
Breakthrough technological solutions in the main industry	1930: transition to the forest self-rafting	1962: First load with hard transport packages	?	?
Additional industries	By the end of 1930s: Brickworks; Graphite mining (in Kureyka, subordinate to Igarka); Fish factory (in Ust-Port, subordinate to Igarka) Production of wooden houses for Taimyr (wintering people)	?	Maintenance of power lines with Kureyskaya HES	LLC "Taimyrenego", power distribution area No. 2 (Maintenance of power lines with Kureyskaya HES) Fish factory (since 2004; nowadays not functioning) Transportation base for the development of the Vankor oil field
Agricultural production	1934: Sown area 96 ha; 5740 kg of onions, 2263 kg of cucumbers, 675 kg of tomatoes were grown in greenhouses; in the hotbeds there were grown 43 kg cauliflower, 1212 kg of onions, 433 kg of cucumbers, 372kg of ordinary cabbage, 445kg of carrots, etc.; cattle – 220	Vegetables have been imported since 1950s.	The main indicators of the state plan of the Igarsky state farm for 1979 was to sell to the state 820 centners of meat, 8315 centners of milk and 1420 thousand of eggs <sup>3</sup>	Experiments: ostrich farming, etc. 2016: livestock and poultry production in live weight – 19 tons, 120 tons of milk, 380 thousand eggs; 2017: 2,9 tons, 80 tons, 0 pcs respectively <sup>4</sup> . 2007: 60 pigs, 118 cows <sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Results of the All-Union population census of 1939.

<sup>2</sup> Data from the municipal administration "Igarka Town".

<sup>3</sup> (Novikov, Troshev, 1979).

<sup>4</sup> Data from the municipal administration "Igarka Town".

<sup>5</sup> (Gapeenko, 2016).

Continued Table 1

1	2	3	4	5
Research in Arctic farming	Since 1932 – Branch of the All-Union Institute of Plant Production – experimental station. New varieties introduced	–	–	–
Permafrost research	1930: Permafrost station opened	1960: the station was transferred to the Yakutsk Permafrost Institute of the Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences	Is working	Is working 1996: the underground part of the station was transferred to the Town Council
Research in polar medicine	A Branch of the All-Union Institute of an experimental medicine	–	–	–
Broadcasting and Television	Radio station	1964 – foundation of the Igarka Television	1983: closure of the Igarka Television Studio due to the stable broadcasting of the programmes of the Central Television	In 1998, the municipal television channel was launched (without electronic version)
Professional education	School for training Soviet officials, in 1939 Pedagogical College of the Peoples of the North opened		1977: closing of a branch of the Krasnoyarsk Polytechnic College [with such name] (which had worked since 1959) <sup>1</sup>	1998: Pedagogical school of the Indigenous People of the North closed (moved to Dudinka) 2001: a branch of the professional college of Dudinka Since 2004 – professional college (nowadays: Igarka multidisciplinary college)
Tourism	[Regular visits to the town by journalists, including foreign]	1962: museum of local lore burned down 1965: opening of the permafrost museum (in the department of the permafrost station) 1966: the first tourist ship	Cruise tourism development	Occasional

<sup>1</sup> Information from the museum of the Igarka multidisciplinary college.

*Ust-Port and other towns planted vegetables on their own premises with Igarka's seeds. Igarka's Soviet Party School <for training officials> prepares Soviet and Party staff for all Far North. ...Igarka branch office of "Experimental Medicine Institute" has a huge importance... technical importance of Igarka permafrost station ought to be clear. Igarka's cultural institutions – hospitals, schools, clubs, etc. have not only local, town importance, but partly they serve other far North districts population. In this connection one should acknowledge a big cultural role of radio station, which is one of the most powerful in Krasnoyarsk Krai...Being the big centre-consumer, Igarka always has huge stores of goods, which help to cover needs of neighbouring districts in rigorous times, including Taimyr district. For example, in winter of 1934 Igarka transferred goods of 1,500 thousand rubles cost to Taimyr district" (Ostroumova et al., 1935: 7-9).*

Particularly it was a potential try on diversification, on Jack London's effect, and it was expected to be widely spread by building "business house", a kind of club for engineering technical staff. This club also can be used for technical studies and further training of Igarka workers..." (Ostroumova et al., 1935: 41).

Igarka in 1970 was a field-specific centre of timber sawing and transshipping; a serving centre for navigation equipment and north aviation, a base for several geological expeditions. But "after boom" Igarka lost any facilities which could have furnished innovations, strengthen economic development base: in 1977 Igarka branch office of timber college moved to Krasnoyarsk. Growing of vegetables, which were bred in Igarka, stopped, except personal subsidiary plots; local television closed; wooden housebuilding perished, in other words, the perspective of future specialization dissolved into thin air.

It is interesting that population against active production successes did not grow, but always fluctuated. In the anniversary year of 1979, it amounted to 16.5 thousand of people, it is lesser than in 1955 (20,000 people).

**Crossroads time.** In 2005 timber transshipment in Igarka ceased forever. For several previous years the town had suffered the hard-

est times: the plant employees had been given food coupons (on the black market they could be exchanged for money at an unfavourable rate). In the most advantageous position were those whose job was connected with the extraction of fish, the respondents report that only those engaged in fishing, for example, were able to send their children to study in Krasnoyarsk.

There were several components of the Igarka's collapse. The fundamental one was the exhaustion of the potential economic benefits of timber transshipment from river to sea vessels, though surprisingly, it did not play the key role. More important was the desire of the "upper mills", which had traditionally supplied timber to Igarka, to work directly with the customers in the troubled years; the timber was shipped for export by rail and further through Novorossiysk. The choice of the southern route was greatly facilitated by the introduction of the so-called "ice dues": in a nutshell, for the sake of maintaining the viability of the icebreaker fleet (officially for the sake of preserving the entire navigation facilities of the Northern Sea Route) there were introduced tonnage dues for the passage along the Northern Sea Route, moreover, they were collected even in the summer time, when no icebreakers are used<sup>3</sup>.

This aspect is worth dwelling in more detail. The widespread use of the nuclear icebreaker fleet (the first atomic icebreaker "Lenin" was put into operation in 1959, however, the situation on the Northern Sea Route changed radically in the 1970s) helped extend-

<sup>3</sup> Item 3.7.6 of "Price list N 11-01. Tariffs for the carriage of goods by sea (coastal navigation)" (approved by Decree of the State Committee on Prices of the USSR of 27.03.1989 N 274) asserts as follows: "Dues for icebreakers shall be levied once per ton (container) of the cargo being transported, arriving or departing from (to) ports of the Northern Sea Route, or being transported through the NSR as transit by coastal navigation and foreign voyages year-round, also year-round fee shall be levied for passing along the NSR of vessels not belonging to the Ministry of Maritime Fleet of the USSR". The dues introduction is motivated by the fact that "ice tonnage dues are charged by the NSR company from the consignor not in connection with the transportation of exported cargoes, but for the implementation of a set of measures aimed at maintaining navigation, that is, for the provision of services to ensure the safety of navigation during the passage of Russian vessels, including those owned by the company, along the Northern Sea Route" (citation from the Decree of Federal Arbitration Court of North-Western District of 26.05.2005 N A42-1315/04-22).

ing the navigation period, increasing the capacity of the NSR (the queue of ships to be loaded in Igarka was in every description of it in 1960-1980s). However, the victory over nature was very expensive here. The widespread use of the nuclear icebreaker fleet, in fact, brought the NSR into a new state. The ice road became almost all-weather, but also very expensive in general. For several cargoes extending the navigation period paradoxically made the course economically unprofitable, since it became more expensive (certainly, it would have been possible to introduce some kind of electoral tariffs, but this was not done). In fact, “ice dues” actually prevented the NRS from transporting goods at a relatively low cost (including lumber); there was only transportation of such more expensive cargoes as oil, nickel concentrate; in the last years liquefied natural gas has joined the league. The general crisis of the NSR led to the decline and technical degradation of all the ports of the Arctic Ocean, not associated with high-cost cargoes, including the “timber” Igarka. In fact, it was the second factor (along with the rejection of timber self-raftering) that eliminated the uniqueness of Igarka’s location.

But was there any other possible plot apart from economic and social collapse? In the theory, we can imagine the development on the basis of Igarka of a scientific research and cultural centre similar to Fairbanks, which, after the end of the gold rush, would become a university centre in 1917. In the Russian version, there is a possible analogue – the Apatity town with its Kolsky Science Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Both equivalents are factitious: they are in much better transport situation. However, as shown in the previous section, Igarka lost a part of its scientific, creative capital before the crisis. Then the bases of geological exploration expeditions stopped working – this would happen practically throughout the country, geology declined and researchers “pulled together” into large centres.

However, at the basic level probably any town can envy Igarka’s creativity under such difficult conditions. Ostriches were brought here, the authorities promised the development of an international yacht club, an underwater power station; the remarkable project “Tras-

polar Igarka: the archive revives the town” in 2005 was among the winners of the 2<sup>nd</sup> contest “Changing Museum in a Changing World” (Zapoliarnaia Igarka...). Apparently, there was not enough critical mass of capital (human, financial, capital of trust in the territory), there was a sufficient number of creative projects, but there was a lack of industries *already formed* during the boom years that could have become the main new economy. Perhaps the only one of these industries is tourism. However, the damage to the tourism sector was caused by the loss of the originality of the urban landscape, and again one has to admit that the foundation was laid already in the 1970s, when typical houses were built in Igarka, although the completely historical landscape of the town was destroyed back in 2010, during the recultivation programme, when, in order to save budget for the support of extensive communal networks, the entire remaining population of the town was resettled in two microdistricts, and the rest of the territory, in fact, was burned<sup>4</sup>.

Undoubtedly, the negative factor was the fact that Norilsk industrial region laid hands on the majority of scientific and educational functions of Igarka (research in polar medicine, agriculture of the Far North and especially geocryology).

It is needless to say that the status of a district centre would have helped Igarka a lot, but the Soviet system of granting northern industrial towns the status of a town of regional/Krai subordination undermined this possibility, and therefore Igarka obviously “did not accumulate” enough potential for becoming an administrative and organizational centre of the surrounding area – although in fact it has always been such centre, even today (for example, Svetlogorsk Hospital “is subordinated” to Igarka).<sup>5</sup> It is interesting that in 1990 among the attempts to find a new economic base for the town development the Igarka Town Council ratified the Declaration on the Establishment of the North-Yenisei Oblast (Norilsk, Dudinka, Khatanga, Dixon, Ust-Yeniseisk, Talnakh, Kayerkan, Igarka) with the possibility of creat-

<sup>4</sup> Based on interviews in Igarka.

<sup>5</sup> Interview with the chief physician in Igarka’s hospital, 2018.



ing a free economic zone in Igarka (Gorchakov, 1995).

Everything that was described above said makes one reevaluate the golden age of Igarka. The “fat” 1970-80s did not lay down anything that would have helped Igarka to survive the crisis of the 1990s and the subsequent difficult external economic conditions, on the contrary, Igarka lost potential “institutions of knowledge”, research and educational institutions exactly in its golden age. The “golden age” of mass production and exacerbation of narrow specialization (set in the pre-war years after repressions in the Northern Sea Route system, and repeatedly reinforced by pursuit of gross indices in the last decades of Soviet power) turned out to weaken its urban system which could hardly face the economic difficulties of the 1990s. By no means justifying the irresponsible decisions of the 1990s (in particular, the closure of the town-forming enterprise without evacuating the town population), the numerous economic abuses and even crimes at the time, the general policy of the leadership of the country on “leaving the North”, largely inspired by the World Bank (cf., e.g., Mel’nikova, 2005), I can conclude: possibilities to build alternative, scientific-research, tourist, educational economic specialization (which would have flourished in the new stage of the town development with the arrival of Vancorneft JSC) were not promoted, instead they were, in many ways, squandered during the period of the largest economic indicators, in the 1970s-1980s, during the period of construction of the “model” town called Igarka.

### Conclusions

The example of Igarka is a fascinating encyclopedia of lessons in the development of resource territories. The first lesson, of course, is to link the advantages of a location to a specific technology that potentially threatens the well-being of any transport hub. Loss of advantages connected with location, you can say, is the typical fate of many and many transport hubs that have appeared on the main tracks from a deep antiquity, and disappeared from the map together with the paths, Igarka is more interesting by another thing. The second lesson

of Igarka is, on the contrary, the inertia of the situation in the Arctic. Practically any “bit” of development in conditions of complete absence of roads for hundreds of kilometers creates to even little developed areas colossal advantages of increasing output. Kosmachev at his time wrote about the role of scattered taiga wooden cabins as the first “bases” for the development of resource areas – the presence of at least a cabin made it easier to enter the virgin territory (Kosmachev, 1974). All the more reason, the town turns out to be a more effective point for a new wave of development than working from scratch, despite the weakening influence of the initial advantages of geographical position.

In Igarka, during the transition to the export mode of unit loads there was increasing return from the previously created infrastructure (although the assessment of the port’s performance in the 1970s raises questions and requires a separate study), and even more so in recent decades, when Igarka turned out to be “useful” for the development of a new Vankor oil field. Development of Vankor, by the way, teaches another lesson, which is bitter again: in modern conditions, the cycle of demand for the town in the development of the field is limited, in fact, by several years, while the development is underway, but this topic is beyond the scope of this article.

The fourth and most important lesson of Igarka is the sharp contradiction between gross production indices and the diversity of the urban environment, virtually between the momentary economic efficiency of production and the viability of the town oriented to production. Having reached record levels in the 1970s, Igarka lost the diversity of the town economy, and after the collapse of the town-forming enterprise it became frail during the crisis.

As it is known from Jacobs’ books, the contradiction between short-term production efficiency and long-term viability, brilliantly illustrated by the comparison of the highly specialized Manchester and the multi-sector Birmingham, takes on a special meaning in the Arctic. Typically, this contradiction is seen as a dilemma “production centre – the base of development”, or “the town at the deposit / the base for the development of the entire district”.

And this can also be seen by the example of Igarka.

The town's position among other economic centres of the North of the Krasnoyarsk Krai has played a big role. Being a pioneer of development in the region, in the early years Igarka played the role of a centre for the development of new settlements; it was used for air reconnaissance, radio communications, it supplied construction materials, products and experience. If Igarka had established itself as an economic centre of the lower reaches of the Yenisei, especially if it had become an administrative centre, it would obviously have had a completely different fate. This is proved by comparison with Naryan-Mar, which has lost the timber export industry (the timber factory in Naryan-Mar after a number of conversions was declared bankrupt in 2010, Igarka's timber processing plant, also after a number of conversions, went bankrupt in 2008, as well as Igarka's sea port). But it stayed the capital of Nenets Autonomous Okrug. However, due to the greater economic importance of Norilsk, the younger "brother" of Igarka, most of the functions of the "central place" associated with the maintenance of the surrounding area (scientific, educational, cultural, infrastructure management, communications) passed to this town. Igarka turned from a centre of the territory development into a highly specialized industrial centre, and that is what apparently deprived it of the possibility to survive in the general crisis of the Far North.

This is where the roots of the impossibility of the Jack London's effect are: having focused on implementing narrow production tasks, having "parted with" specialized education and agriculture, television broadcasting and scientific research (except for permafrost studies), Igarka lost the very "service" industries, which followed the main raw materials-based ones, which at the end of the resource boom could have become the basis for the further existence of the town. In the name of viability.

Upon reestimating the situation of Igarka, not just as a case of the collapse of the

town-forming enterprise, but as a case of loss of the role in becoming the centre for the territory development, one can find many analogues in Russia. Such cases occurred, for example, in the interior parts of Kolyma, where in the early 1930s it was even planned to relocate the administrative centre of the new district, and which are almost depopulated at present. Such are certain settlements and towns in the region of rich oil and gas fields of Western Siberia, which are now in dead ends of transport routes, on the economic and social periphery due to the rise of Nizhnevartovsk and even more – Surgut; some bright examples of such "dead-end" settlements are the town Raduzhny, and the settlement of Novogansk.

This teaches a lesson for all existing resource centres of the Arctic, and Norilsk first of all. Norilsk loses the opportunity to reach Jack London effect in the long run by not fulfilling the functions of the development of the surrounding territory; such social functions as education, medical services and alike were transferred to Dudinka; tourism, the media, scientific research, etc., are focused on serving the needs of the town itself, and, apart from tourism, experience a serious crisis. Having lost the status of the administrative centre of a subject of the Russian Federation, Dudinka suffers the losses of these opportunities of growth and development, too. Undoubtedly, it does not concern the "eternal" preservation of cities in the same size, this refers to preserving the basic functions of scientific, educational, service industries of the vast surrounding area, preserving viable centres despite possible radical changes both in the town-forming industry and in the number of population. Meanwhile, as Igarka's second lesson shows, the future development of the Arctic may suddenly call for any once developed area, the preservation of the developed islands in the middle of the "white silence"; so, the preservation of potential bases even in seemingly "worked out" areas is an important relay baton to pass to future generations.

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## Игарка как фронтир: уроки «пионера» Севморпути

**Н.Ю. Замятина**

*Московский государственный университет имени М.В. Ломоносова*

*Российская Федерация, Москва*

*Лаборатория исторической географии и регионалистики*

*Тюменского государственного университета*

*Российская Федерация, Тюмень*

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**Аннотация.** В статье рассматривается траектория развития Игарки, пионерного экспортного порта Севморпути, с точки зрения анализа возможностей сохранения города после краха градообразующего предприятия. Основной концептуальной рамкой анализа служит гипотеза «Джека Лондона» аляскинского экономиста Ли Хаски о возможности накопления фронтирными городами потенциала для дальнейшего развития в послебумовый период. Причиной современного экономического и социального кризиса Игарки видится не только изменение условий лесоэкспорта и судоходства по Северному морскому пути в 1990-е годы, но и сужение экономических функций города, а также уменьшение разнообразия городской среды в целом, парадоксально сопутствовавшее рекордным производственным показателям в последние советские десятилетия.

**Ключевые слова:** освоение, Северный морской путь, экспорт, транспорт, фронтир, циклическое экономическое развитие, «взлеты и падения», зависимость от пути, «эффект Джека Лондона».

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## Main Principles of the Strategy of Socioeconomic Development of the Northern and Arctic Regions of the Krasnoyarsk Territory (Krai)

Anatolii G. Tsykalov<sup>a</sup>, Ruslan V. Goncharov<sup>b</sup>,  
Natalia P. Koptseva<sup>c</sup>, Aleksandr N. Pelyasov<sup>d,e</sup>,  
Aleksandra V. Poturaeva<sup>d,e</sup> and Nadezhda Yu. Zamiatina<sup>d,e\*</sup>

<sup>a</sup>*Government of the Krasnoyarsk Territory (Krai)*  
*Krasnoyarsk, Russian Federation*

<sup>b</sup>*National Research University Higher School of Economics*  
*Moscow, Russian Federation*

<sup>c</sup>*Siberian Federal University*  
*Krasnoyarsk, Russian Federation*

<sup>d</sup>*Institute of Regional Consulting*  
*Moscow, Russian Federation*

<sup>e</sup>*Lomonosov Moscow State University*  
*Moscow, Russian Federation*

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**Abstract.** The article reflects the main features of the new Strategy for Socioeconomic Development of the Northern and Arctic Regions of the Krasnoyarsk Territory of Russia. The work employs standard methodological tools for the development of the regional strategic documents, such as assessment of the situation, general principles of the socioeconomic development of the Northern and Arctic regions, characteristics of the main tools and expected results of the strategy, and spatial planning issues. The new policy is aimed to soften development contrasts between the Northern and Arctic municipalities of Krasnoyarsk krai. Big expectations are associated with the introduction of innovations in the delivery of the critical services and products to the remote towns and settlements of the area. The main methodological innovation applied in the Strategy is the establishment of three project offices working on the problem on three large-scale levels. These are the “Person”, “Settlement” and “Territory” project offices. Their tasks involve ensuring synergy between the government, large and small businesses, and social bodies. It is assumed that in the year 2030 the implementation of the proposed measures will enable the Krasnoyarsk Territory to regain its leading position in the development of the Russian Arctic it used to hold during the first decades of the Soviet period.

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\* Corresponding author E-mail address: decanka@mail.ru, nadezam@yandex.ru  
ORCID: 0000-0003-3910-7991 (Koptseva); 0000-0002-4941-9027 (Zamiatina)

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## Introduction

There is no other territory in the Russian North so gifted with natural resources and rich in picturesque landscapes, unique ethnical and exploration traditions as Krasnoyarsk krai (Korytnyy, Tulukhonov, 2016; Shadrin, Larionova, 2019; Koptseva, 2017, et al.)

But how can all these enormous spaces of the Krasnoyarsk “spontaneous” tundra and taiga be tamed? This is one of the challenges the Russian state has always been facing; during the Soviet time, a lot had been done (Slavin, 1961; Kosmachev, 1974; Sartakov, 1985; Malov, 2014).

The Krasnoyarsk Territory (Krai) has accumulated a vast experience of supporting the indigenous people in different historical periods of transition to a new technological and socioeconomic stage. From here the basics of the governmental national policy had been elaborated and tested to be later implemented in the other territories of the Russian North. The Northern regions of the Krasnoyarsk Territory had always (since the 1930-s) been the pioneers in the development of the industrial transport infrastructure of the North and the Arctic; krai had been the outpost of exploration of the circumpolar zone of the Arctic Ocean (since the 1960-s) and the development base for the Eastern sector of the Northern Sea Route (since the 1960-s).

In the last 25 years, however, the government seems to have frozen its active and conscious transformation efforts to replace them with the invisible hand of the market. It had led to some dramatic, if not to say tragic consequences. The internal contrasts between the areas of relative prosperity and depression, unprecedented for the global North, had come up. The short-term experiment of establishing

the Evenkia and Taymyr autonomous okrugs failed to fulfil the great expectations associated with it. All the attempts to reverse the situation were unsuccessful, though the hope for a miracle, which in the North of the region is always associated with the new mineral extraction megaprojects, would still appear now and then.

But what are the ways of raising the living standards of the residents of the North and the Arctic, how can the “disparity of rights” compared to the South of the region be overcome? How can the limitless territories of the North and the Arctic areas of the Krasnoyarsk Territory be covered with the Internet connection and proper cost-effective and efficient transport infrastructure? And finally, how can we make the indigenous peoples of these territories, the Russian old-timers and the local ethnicities, feel the government support without getting paternalistic and overprotective, how can we encourage their self-development, how can we make them feel like hosts, not the outcasts in their own land?

The Krasnoyarsk Territory has everything to start the process of positive transformations in the North and the Arctic: the power and will of the governor’s team relying upon the legendary traditions of the pioneer exploration of the Soviet Transpolar territories, the strong Russian corporations that established their presence in the region long ago, the patriotism of the local people who have always valued this land as their home.

The Krasnoyarsk Territory was the first of the Arctic and Northern territories of Russia to articulately announce the revival of the active governmental policy for the development of the North after almost three decades of dominating market self-regulation in the scarcely populated, remote territories with severe cli-

mate. Just like in the 1930-s, when the region became the first to deploy the Soviet Northern industrialization project, after over 80 years the Krasnoyarsk Territory is ready to take up responsible leadership in getting the federal and regional authorities personally involved in the development of these strategically significant areas, from the local social paternalism to the proactive strategic partnership with the large and small businesses located in the North and the Arctic. This is the first time when new principles of partnership and smart direct participation of the government in the exploration of the Arctic and the North, of the stimulation of introducing new solutions into the development and social evolution will be developed here to be spread later over the other territories of the Russian Arctic and the North.

### **1. Analysis of the situation**

The most important result of the socioeconomic development of the Krasnoyarsk North and the Arctic of the last three decades was the unprecedented aggravation of the internal contrasts. On one hand, there are the prosperous “corporate” territories of the Norilsk industrial district, the new rotation production camps, with the per capita revenue exceeding the average for the region. With the efforts of the major resource companies focused on the generation of new and modernization of the old assets, implementation of the corporate social responsibility programmes, the accumulated economic and social potential of the area can never be exhausted.

On the other hand, there are depressive areas and spots with the actual revenues and the social infrastructure quality below the average for the region, with the continuous outflow and marginalization of the remaining population forced to make their living with illegal activities. Compared to the formal improvement of the housing and social infrastructure per capita, these areas are experiencing extreme deterioration or even destruction of the previously accumulated social and economic potential, the loss of the economic specialization and rapid ageing of the remaining population. Together with the reduction of the permanent population by over one and a half times since the year

1990, the number of rotation workers employed at the new and old mineral extraction projects is dramatically increasing. The segregation into the progressive and depressive poles is typical for the Krasnoyarsk North and Arctic territories more than for any other northern areas in the world.

The key feature of the socioeconomic situation in the Northern and Arctic municipal entities of the Krasnoyarsk Territory is a slow, but consistent reduction of the population. All around the territory, the only city experiencing population growth in the last eight years is Norilsk.

Comparison of the population growth dynamics in the districts and municipalities belonging to the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation (AZRF) to that of the other northern territories reveals apparent stability of the Krasnoyarsk Arctic and depopulation of the North (Fig. 1).

Comparison of the current condition and the last decades’ development trends of the Krasnoyarsk North and Arctic regions to that of the other circumpolar areas reveals huge diversity of natural resources (attracting the ore, oil, gas, coal mining companies and wood corporations – see Fig. 2), the extreme complexity of the previous economic exploration cycles (with the first one beginning one century ago and the latest one starting only several years ago), the colossal habitats of wild flora and fauna and virgin nature in the northernmost land of the world and, at the same time, a great number of accumulated problems (Maklakov, Malygina, 2016; Gosudarstvennyy doklad..., 2017; Semenova, Popel’nitskaia, 2017, et al.).

The scope of the development problems faced by the Northern and Arctic regions of the Krasnoyarsk Territory together with their great resource and human potential require an active government regional policy to be formulated.

### **2. New regional policy for the Northern and Arctic development**

The strategic objective of the socioeconomic development of the Northern and Arctic regions and the ethnodynamics of the small-numbered indigenous peoples of the Krasnoyarsk Territory in the nearest years is to

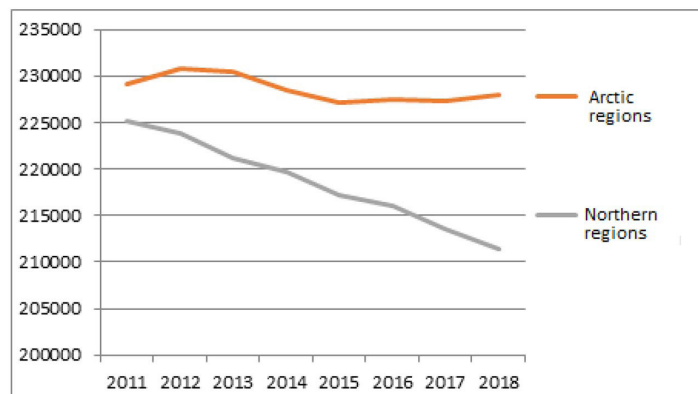


Fig. 1. Dynamics of the population rate in the Northern and Arctic regions of the Krasnoyarsk Territory, persons (Krasnoyarskstat: Database of indicators of municipalities)

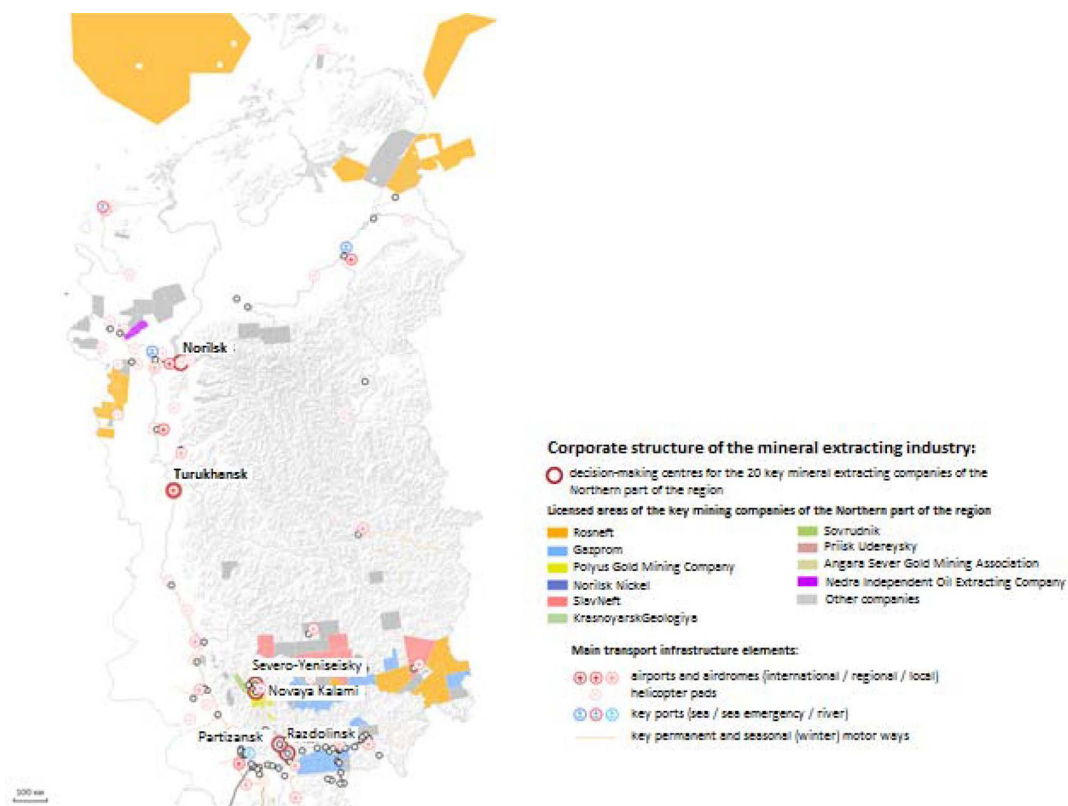


Fig. 2. Main resource extracting projects of the Northern and Arctic regions of the Krasnoyarsk Territory

ensure the maximum deployment of the regional potential to unleash the personal potential of every permanent or temporary resident of the area. This objective had established the princi-

ples, priorities, and approaches of the previous regional policies.

The new system of principles and priorities of the regional policy concerning the Northern

and Arctic regions of the Krasnoyarsk Territory is based on the reassessment of the internal potential of the territory. New understanding of the regional development process underlies such regional policy principles as innovation, proactivity, and responsibility.

Implementation of the innovation principle in the regional policy means universal involvement of the latest achievements into increasing the efficiency of the economy in the North and the Arctic, into the improvement of energy and food security through the introduction of new energy-efficient technologies and specialized Arctic agricultural technologies, the latest teaching methods and education forms, new public healthcare methods, and large-scale digitalization of the Northern economy.

Introduction of the proactivity principle in the regional policy means providing maximum support to the local initiatives facilitating the economic stability of the Northern settlements, their energy and food security, improving the comfort of their habitat and self-fulfilment opportunities. It requires both withdrawal of the excessive statutory and institutional regulations holding back the social initiatives, and establishment of a new system of actions for the consistent development of the creative skills of the population, support and development of the local social initiatives and entrepreneurship.

Implementation of the responsible development principle envisages alignment of the interests of all the actors and future generations of the Northern and Arctic residents, including:

- development of the transparent economic management principles requiring, on one hand, general withdrawal of the excessive and outdated statutory regulations, and, on the other hand, a transparent and efficient system for enforcement of the current norms and regulations;
- development of an efficient system of interaction between the regional development parties (including large resource extracting corporations, small businesses, federal and municipal authority bodies, associations of the small-numbered indigenous peoples of the North and other social organizations);
- comprehensive development of the competences of the Northern and Arctic pop-

ulation including small-numbered indigenous peoples to improve their entrepreneurial capacities, encourage their involvement in the current value chains of production and sales of the environmentally-friendly products manufactured with the renewable resources of the North and the Arctic, and implementation of the best practices of economic management, life support and environmental security in the conditions of the Northern and Arctic territories, as well as introduction of the health-saving technologies and effective local self-government.

Consistent implementation of the innovative, proactive and responsible development principles in the Northern and Arctic regions of the Krasnoyarsk Territory will:

- ensure the activation of the industrial exploration of the North and Arctic regions by introducing transparent economic management regulations, popularization of the effective forms of activity organization and support as well as the modern digital technologies;
- multiply the development effect of the Krasnoyarsk Territory by involving the industrial enterprises of the southern territories of the Territory and other entities of Russia into the exploration of the North and Arctic territories, including the defence facilities conversion programmes;
- increase the overall effectiveness of the Northern economy through broad development of the civilized rational forms of exploitation of the replenishable natural resources, arrangement of the marketing and sales channels and promotion of the environmentally friendly products manufactured in the Northern and Arctic districts of the region;
- increase the sustainability of the Northern settlements by reducing their dependence on the costly fuel transportation and material-intensive structures and equipment, improving the telecommunication coverage, leveraging the food security level by introducing the latest agricultural industry achievements in the Arctic farming;
- enhance the security of life in the Northern and Arctic regions, facilitating the fulfilment of the population protection task by spreading modern medical assistance practices and introducing health-saving technologies;



- facilitate the conservation of the natural resources and traditional culture of the Northern and Arctic districts of the Krasnoyarsk Territory for the future generations.

Introduction of the modern principles of development of the Northern and Arctic territories based on universal fulfilment of their potential requires the implementation of the following regional policy priorities:

- ICT: ensure the large-scale distribution of the modern communication and connection technologies in the Northern and Arctic regions of the Territory to ensure further digitalization of the local economy and the social sphere;

- keeping warm: load the provision systems of the Northern and Arctic regions with fuel and food (increasing the energy and food security of the Northern settlements), ensure the environmentally friendly industrial development, development of the innovative technologies for providing environmental sustainability of the industries and support of life in the Northern and Arctic settlements;

- self-development: maximum withdrawal of the administrative barriers holding back and hindering the solution of the current issues of socioeconomic development and transport infrastructure in the remote settlements; comprehensive support of the local initiatives focused on the improvement of the sustainability of such settlements (including proposals of amendments into the Federal Law on self-government to account for the specific local self-government development conditions of the Arctic and the Extreme North);

- non-drinking (healthy) North: universal introduction of the modern population preservation practices in the Northern and Arctic conditions based on the foreign and Russian experience;

- new culture: development of a new system to support and promote the cultures of the ethnicities populating the Northern and Arctic regions (including digital technologies); positioning the Krasnoyarsk Territory as the major cinema centre and the capital of the Arctic;

- rules of the game (coming out of the shadow): development of transparent rules for

the exploitation of the replenishable natural resources and proper control over their enforcement.

To achieve the objectives of the socioeconomic development of the Northern regions of the Krasnoyarsk Territory determined by both the development of the new branches and spheres of economy, promotion of new technologies, and the withdrawal of the outdated obstacles from the way of socioeconomic development, it requires the coordinated effort of many parties, such as administrations of various levels, experts, businesses and local communities. To raise the bar of our achievements, we suggest supporting the currently existing governmental Northern policy bodies with the three new project offices to ensure the coordination of efforts and balance of resources between different parties of the socioeconomic development: person – dignity; settlement – sustainability; territory – accessibility.

The profile focus of the project offices is based on the tasks set by the national projects and strategic socioeconomic development objectives of the Russian Federation, the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation, the Krasnoyarsk Territory and the most complex socioeconomic development problems of the Northern and Arctic regions of the Krasnoyarsk Territory themselves, such as protection of the population, the life support efficiency, enhancement of the economic base of the Northern and Arctic regions of the Krasnoyarsk Territory as a whole. The absolute majority of the measures taken by each project office are intended to raise the living standards of all the residents of the Northern and Arctic regions of the Krasnoyarsk Territory with no exceptions, including the indigenous peoples.

The project office deployment consists of five stages: 1) starting up the activity organization (before the end of 2019); 2) diagnostics of the current situation (2020); 3) development of the new means and methods of development (2021); 4) testing the development methods at the pilot platforms (2022); 5) applying the pilot platform experience to other areas (2023-2025).

*Person – Dignity Project Office.* The objective of the project office is the comprehensive development of the human capital and

establishment of decent accommodation for the people, improving the accessibility of the required qualified services. The main condition for achievement of the set objectives is to ensure fast and direct delivery of high-quality service to every person resident in the territory of the North and the Arctic of the Krasnoyarsk Territory without intermediators. The key tasks of the project office include diagnostics of the people's needs; selection of the living standards' improvement measures; optimization of the existing service delivery procedures and conditions. Due to the scarce population and widely-spread nomadic lifestyle, the services should be delivered using modern (innovative) information and telecommunication technologies.

The office will search for the best solutions in the following key areas: telemedicine and long-distance education development; technical equipment of the air medical service and removal of the institutional barriers for the use of the medical aircrafts; development of the medical self-diagnostic systems; development of the long-distance public environment monitoring and long-distance consulting system; digitalization of the small-numbered indigenous people's (SNIP) culture in the digital space by creating digital archives, digital textbooks, keyboards for communication in their ethnic tongues using SMS and Internet messengers; review of the trade and exchange relations between businesses and the SNIP.

*Settlement – Sustainability Project Office.* The objective of the project office is to ensure sustainable development of the Northern and Arctic settlements of the Krasnoyarsk Territory by improving their food and energy security and arrangement of comfortable housing conditions. The objective will be achieved by implementing innovative management technologies and the optimization of the settlement service delivery schemes.

The key tasks of the project office include the diagnostics of the settlements from the perspective of food and energy security, the level of comfort, accumulation of the best Russian and modern practices of economic management in the Northern and Arctic conditions; development of a set of measures for different

types of settlements depending on the situation and their improvement potential; implementation of the “people's innovators” institution to simplify the introduction of new technologies and techniques; analysis and optimization of the settlement supply and service procedures; testing and optimization of the self-sufficiency improvement measures of the Northern settlements.

It is suggested to establish demonstration platforms at the transport network hubs: Vorogovo/Yartsevo, Motygino, Igarka, Potapovo, Tukhard, Khatanga, as well as in Volochanka which has already accumulated some positive experience of local initiative implementation. A competition will be held to select responsible users of the demo samples of the innovative technologies and devices as the “people's innovators”, entitled to additional financial and/or technical assistance, expanded training opportunities etc., who will get demo samples of the technologies at their disposal and will get regular information support. Social sphere innovation centres will be established. The centres will be equipped with the necessary demonstration equipment, training platforms and experimental polygons.

The best practices will be accumulated and the sets of necessary measures will be developed in the following areas: improvement of the self-sufficiency of the population (substitution of the imported groceries and energy sources) by settlements; optimization of the infrastructure and improvement of the public amenities in the settlements; optimization of the supply and service of the settlements (logistics, contingency prevention etc.).

The social innovation centres will provide demo samples of buildings and structures to be tested by the population ( “demonstration quarter” and “demonstration house”); training sessions and new technology presentations will be provided; reports of the informal local leaders, specialists of the housing and utilities' sector, and local self-government bodies on the implementation of the new technologies will be made.

*Territory – Accessibility Project Office.* The objective of this project office is the comprehensive implementation of the economic

potential of the Northern regions of the Krasnoyarsk Territory using an efficient distribution system for goods and services. The main tasks of the office are the analysis of the transport and logistic roadmaps, natural, mineral and touristic potential of the territory, the opportunities, restrictions and risks of its implementation; accumulation of the best Russian and foreign practices of nature use, processing industries, tour organization, transportation and logistics in the Northern and Arctic conditions; development and implementation of an efficient system of nature use, production and distribution of goods and services.

The pilot platforms will be arranged in the settlements with the preconditions for “sustainable traditional economy management” (Tukhard, Baykit, Yartsevo, Khatanga etc.) owing to their high economic potential (facilities for the production of competitive goods and services; ethnic tourism, environmentally friendly agriculture and fishery, herb picking etc.). These settlements will be the key elements in the economic development of the surrounding territory, hubs in the traffic of goods and services.

In cooperation with the responsible body in charge, the executive authorities of the Krasnoyarsk Territory will develop a rewarding system for the budgetary institutions’ employees contributing to the work of the project office and their initiatives in the project implementation. Another encouragement system will be arranged for businesses; possibility and rationality of applying public-private partnership will be also considered.

### **3. Spatial development and growth areas of the North and the Arctic regions in the Krasnoyarsk Territory**

All the measures taken under the new regional policy of the region in the vast territories of the Arctic and the North need to be territorially differentiated to ensure their effectiveness and efficiency. According to the experts, the greatest impact on the spatial differentiation of the socioeconomic development of the North and Arctic regions of the Krasnoyarsk Territory is caused by the two key factors: the transport accessibility and location of the

large mineral resources production areas. By the combination of such factors, the Northern and Arctic areas of the Krasnoyarsk Territory can be classified into **six main types** that the regional policy measures shall be adjusted to (see Fig. 3).

*Types of regions outside the zones of industrial exploration projects:*

1. The most explored areas of the southernmost regions of the North: the Yeniseisky, Motyginsky, Boguchansky, Kezhemsky and Severo-Yeniseisky Districts accessible by transport all year round; this is where the major cities and settlements including Yeniseisk and Lesosibirsk are located. The south of the northern area of the Krasnoyarsk Territory is the “outpost”, the exploration base for the more remote and less accessible areas, which determines its economic specialization. It makes them strengthen their function as a logistic, technological and HR base for the exploration of the remote northern areas. The local roads need to be improved (particularly, in the Kezhemsky District) to increase the transportation speed and to reduce the transport maintenance costs. The growth areas here are interregional socioeconomic development facilities.

2. Coastal areas of the major rivers and the Northern Sea Route region accessible by large water cargo carriers. The typical settlements are Bor, Vorogovo, Turukhansk, Potapovo, Karaul etc. The main measures to be taken are related to the connection with other settlements (quay facilities, number of flights etc.). The growth areas for this type of regions are local innovation centres, local information and logistic bases, etc.

3. Impassable areas accessible by seasonal motor transportation (mostly, on winter roads), less by rivers and by air. These are the most problematic territories of the Krasnoyarsk North, requiring the urgent implementation of the new and cost-efficient technologies of life support, people preservation, new marketing solutions in the transport organization and the distribution of the traditional products, as well as improvement of the living standards.

On the Taymyr Peninsula, it is reasonable to build a winter power station network; in the southern regions, it makes more sense to use

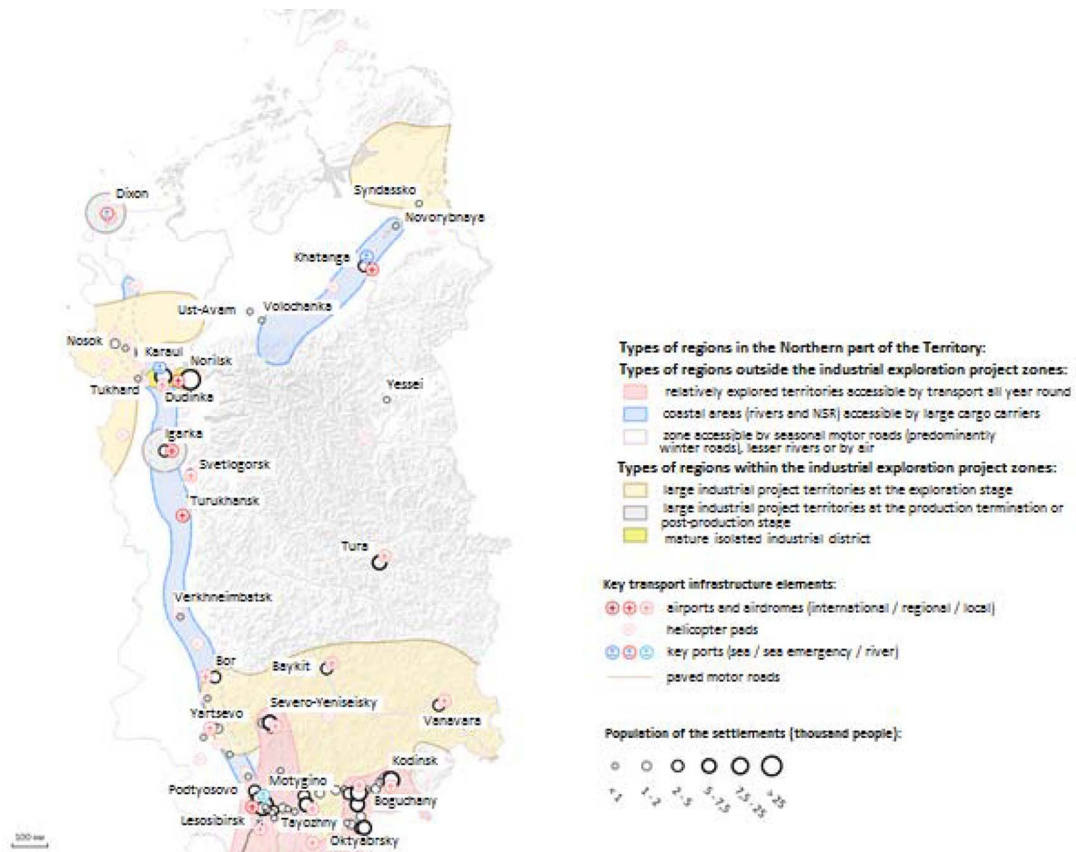


Fig. 3. Main types of the Northern and Arctic regions of the Krasnoyarsk Territory

turf (such as in Yartsevo village of the Yeniseysky District) or micro-hydropower stations (such as on the Ket river of the Yeniseysky District, the Taseevka river of the Motyginginsky District etc.). An important economic factor for the development of these territories would be a reformation of the government use system (concerning the organization of transparent procedures for the catch or collection, certification, transportation and distribution of the reindeer breeding, hunting, fishery, wild herb products).

The settlements standing on the domestic water lines, first of all, bearing the administrative status of the municipal district and settlement centres, will be considered as the potential starting points (growth poles) for the implementation of the innovative technologies to improve the life of the population and the sustainability of the northern economy.

Growth areas here are local innovation centres, local information and logistics bases.

*Types of regions within the zones of industrial exploration projects:*

4. Territories of the large industrial projects at the exploration stage are: the large-scale oil production districts, such as the Vankor Oil Production Cluster or the Vankor Field Group of Rosneft Oil Company, PJSC (the Vankor, Suzun and the adjacent oilfields) in the Turukhansky District of the Territory; the Yurubcheno-Takhomskoe oilfields and, potentially, the Eastern Taymyr (the Khatanga block) oil production districts; the large gold-mining district in the Severo-Yeniseysky District (Olimpiadinskoe and the adjacent deposits developed by Polyus company); the new forest development areas in the Boguchansky and Kezhemsky Districts; potentially, the coal mining district near Dikson settlement, development of the new oil



and gas deposit in the Trans-Angara area etc. They require close interaction with the communities and administrations of the municipal entities (public-private and municipal-private partnership in the spheres of transport, energy, and other infrastructures, food supply orders, such as supplies of fish for the company staff etc.). The main growth areas here are associated with the implementation of large infrastructure projects.

5. Territories in the surroundings of the large industrial projects at the final production or the post-production stage, such as Igarka, Dikson, old Motygin'sky and other forest industry districts (area of the settlements eliminated in the 1960-1980-s). These areas are the most problematic from the socioeconomic development perspective. These are the districts that were the first to be explored (1930-1960-s), featuring a well-developed infrastructure, old-timer population (some families have lived in the settlements for three generations; therefore, they have adjusted to the severe climate, developed perfect Arctic survival skills etc. and have a strong emotional bond with their place of residence) and rich cultural heritage.

For such old industrial districts and settlements, the sanitation mechanism needs to be thoroughly discussed (with the possible options of closing or compression of the settlements to improve the living standards of the remaining population, changing the profile based on the new logistic or cultural and touristic projects). Besides new specialization, the old industrial districts require a lot of efforts for the improvement of housing, maintenance of utilities, as well as sociocultural work with the local population. The growth areas here are associated with local innovation centres, local information and logistics bases.

6. Mature isolated industrial district. This type is represented by the unique Noril'sk industrial district, which combines the problems of the younger resource areas and the old industrial territories. It features a high wear level of the housing and utilities infrastructure like an old industrial district, but, at the same time, suffers from the extensive environmental problems (excessive content of sulphur dioxide and other harmful substances in the atmospheric

air) and the recent migrants' assimilation challenges like a new resource project territory. The perspectives of the area are associated with the completion and development of not only the industrial but the socioeconomic functions of the surrounding territories (scientific, innovative, cultural, medical, educational, trading, construction centre of the entire Taymyr District), which would be impossible without a stable transport connection between Noril'sk and other settlements of the Taymyr Peninsula.

Today it is a universally recognized fact that in the innovative economy the main economic growth drivers are determined by not as much by the large resource and infrastructural projects implemented (such growth is often limited by the deposit exploration time), as by the internal, endogenous factors of the local economic and institutional environment ensuring the continuous production and implementation of innovations and flexible response to the changing economic development conditions, as well as in the peripheric northern areas (Audretsch, Thurik, 2001; Hausmann, Rodrik, 2002; Herrschell, 2012; Huskey, 1987; Rodrik, 2004; Taylor et al., 2016; Petrov et al., 2017; Zamiatina, Pelyasov, 2013; Pelyasov, 2017).

With the diversity of conditions in the North and Arctic areas of the Krasnoyarsk Territory in mind, the Strategy points out several types of growth areas, from the new large-scale mineral extraction projects accompanied with a large infrastructure construction campaign to the new-type growth areas being the "gateway" for implementation of the innovations in the remote territories, ensuring the growth by boosting the quality of the local business environment and the conditions for its development (Table 1). In the short run, the most prominent economic growth areas are the new large-scale resource project implementation zones (the fourth type of the Northern and Arctic regions of the Krasnoyarsk Territory).

The infrastructural growth areas coincide with the districts where new resource projects are being implemented (mainly the new oil and gas fields or gold deposit exploration areas). They require the promotion of public-private partnership to arrange the use of the infrastructural objects by the corporate customers, local



Table 1. Differentiating the growth areas by the socioeconomic development types of the Northern and Arctic regions

Types of territories	Growth area types
Relatively explored zones	Interregional comprehensive socioeconomic development base
Coastal zones	Local innovation centres, local information and logistics bases
Impassability zones	Local innovation centres, local information and logistics bases
New resource project zones	Infrastructural growth areas
Old northern industrial territories	Local innovation centres, local information and logistics bases
Isolated mature industrial district	Interregional comprehensive socioeconomic development base

population and entrepreneurs to improve the living standards and the economic sustainability of the settlements located in the mineral field exploration areas. The use of different transport passageways by the vehicles of proper capacity shall be strictly regulated (to prevent the heavy trucks from moving on the unprepared roads or to ensure adequate compensation).

In the coastal areas and the impassability zones, as well as in the old industrial northern regions (types 2, 3 and 5) the innovation spreading points will be developed for the enhancement of the energy and food security together with the new people-saving technologies. These will be the pilot platforms established for the project offices.

Moreover, to strengthen the economic base of the Northern and Arctic regions in the major settlements with an advantageous location (e.g. Khatanga, Dikson, Potapovo, Tukhard, Turukhansk, Motygin, Boguchany, Tura, Baykit etc.), local information and logistic bases will be organized to ensure the efficient collection and, if necessary, storage, primary processing and transportation of the northern products (reindeer breeding, fishery, wild herb products, traditional crafts etc.) as the measures taken by the Territory – Accessibility project office. Such places will serve as the focus of economic activity of the Northern and Arctic territories in the sphere of concentration and re-distribution of the traditional economy products.

The old industrial territories and, first of all, the major old industrial centre Igarka which is currently in a critical condition, require some dramatic changes. Based on the experience of

the foreign northern old industrial centres, the functions of the city will be reassessed; the image of the industrial centre in a crisis condition will be replaced with that of a logistic centre, a scientific and information base for the Yenisei North exploration.

In this regard, Igarka still has a certain potential, as in the past it used to be more than just an important transport hub, but, just like Norilsk, it also was the “information exploration” base, a centre of scientific research ensuring the sustainability of the economic activities in the Extreme North (geological surveys, cryolithology studies, agriculture etc.), the agricultural production centre (vegetables, dairy), an important SNIP education centre (Igarka used to have a school which was the “forefather” of the Taymyr College transferred to Dudinka in 1998. Today, Igarka is more than just a transfer hub for the Vankor field; to a certain extent the city acts as the economic, social (medical service) and HR base for Svetlogorsk; this is a museum centre and a practice polygon for the cryolithology students; the education function of the area is partially supported by the Igarka College. A consistent restoration of Igarka as a part of the new Norilsk cluster with the new technological base as an Arctic agriculture polygon and a powerful museum and tourism centre (as well as a base for the scientific, expedition and education activities), the improvement of the local medical base, expansion of the education facilities would mitigate the depressive condition of Igarka and facilitate the development of the Northern and Arctic districts of the Territory as a whole (through the development of

tourism, culture, food security, education and medical services).

The sustainable development of all the Northern and Arctic regions of the Territory will depend on the expansion and development of the functions of the major cities as comprehensive interregional development bases. The subject matter here is the Norilsk Industrial District, Yeniseisk-Lesosibirsk agglomeration and, perhaps, a similar base that may grow around Kodinsk and Boguchany. As for service functions provided to the surrounding territories, the scientific, educational, medical and cultural institutions, the core touristic facilities and services have partially lost their potential and remain partially underdeveloped.

The most dramatic situation is found in Norilsk which shows the potential of development not only as a specialized industrial centre but also as a true socioeconomic development centre of Taymyr, its scientific and educational, innovative and sociocultural flagship. The breakthrough development of the Taymyr Peninsula, the Turukhansky District and partially the north of Evenkia is only possible through the reassessment of the role played by Norilsk in this territory.

Paradoxically, at the end of the Soviet period, Norilsk was close to the role of such a comprehensive economic centre more than ever, when it concentrated all the scientific studies in the spheres of geology, construction, polar medicine, Arctic agriculture, development and testing of the construction technologies adjusted for the permafrost conditions. Norilsk also acted as a training centre for the workers of culture including traditional art (Norilsk Art College). Many of these functions have faded or even disappeared during the decades following the privatization of the local backbone enterprise (currently, Norilsk Nickel Mining Company).

But even today, modern Norilsk seems to be unwillingly concentrating many functions of providing services to the surrounding territories; this is an important centre of the social and everyday service, a centre of leisure, transport and logistics (including, but not limited to the wholesale bases supplying groceries to Dudinka and other settlements, no matter how

strange it may look), a raw material processing centre (fish and venison). Norilsk is a centre for extreme sports, hunting, fishing and recreational tourism (though underperforming its actual potential). After the perinatal centre construction, Norilsk has a potential to become a large medical centre for all the Northern and Arctic regions of the Krasnoyarsk Territory, provided that the transport system is improved and, in particular, Igarka gets "connected".

In the future, the functions of Norilsk (Norilsk Industrial District) need to be dramatically expanded to make it the key base of the comprehensive exploration of the Northern and Arctic regions of the Krasnoyarsk Territory, scientific (geology, construction technology, environment and nature preservation technologies, agriculture and modern biotechnologies, Arctic medicine), social (especially medical) educational and transport-logistic centre.

For the nearby areas, Norilsk is the closest (and together with Dudinka, the only) point of access to the modern technologies, high-quality medical, social and educational service, as well as the transit supply base. Moreover, Norilsk is a potential point of departure for many touristic routes and a centre of processing the agricultural raw materials. At all that, the development of the exploration base in Norilsk is relevant not only for the surrounding territory but also to the city itself to support its diverse intellectual urban environment and to keep its specialization range broad as it is.

#### 4. Target milestones

The implementation of the principles and priorities of the new Northern and Arctic regional policy will be monitored based on four blocks of indicators: social development, economic development, rational resource-use and environment protection, administration improvement. The monitoring is suggested to include over 15 different indicators (see Table 2) developed and approved by the State Statistics Service of the Russian Federation.

The challenge specific for the Krasnoyarsk Territory is the absence of individual statistic reports for the Arctic (the Taymyr and Turukhansk Municipal Districts, Norilsk) and the Northern regions (the Evenkia Mu-

Table 2. Indicators (target milestones) of the socioeconomic development of the Arctic and Northern regions of the Krasnoyarsk Territory for the period until 2030

	2018 actual	2024 estimated	2030 estimated
Population for January 01, thousand people	438.0	435	433
Including indigenous population	16.3 (2010)	16.5	17.0
Life expectancy at birth	70.7	73.0	75.0
Official poverty level, %	4.2	3.8	3.2
Average official unemployment rate, per cent – Boundary level for the municipal entities belonging to the Northern and Arctic regions of the Krasnoyarsk Territory	3.6	3.0	2.6
Infant mortality for 1000 live birth – Dispersion of the maximum and minimum values for the municipal entities of the Northern and Arctic regions, times	5.2 (11 Turukhansky District 2.1 Norilsk)	3.0	2.5
Total floorspace of the accommodation available per one person, maximum and minimum values for the municipal entities of the Northern and Arctic regions, sq.m per person	20-29	23-28	28-31
Number of small and medium-sized business entities operating in the Northern and Arctic regions, units	12385	15000	17500
Average rate (without outsourced part-time workers) of staff employed by microcompanies, small and medium-sized businesses and individual entrepreneurs in the total employed population number (without outsourced part-time workers), per cent: maximum and minimum values for the municipal entities of the Northern and Arctic regions	37.8/3.4	38.5/10.0	39.8/14.4
Volume of imported fuel and lubricants, thousand tons	91.7	90.0	82.5
Volume of imported coal, thousand tons	164.7	160.0	150.0
Reindeer, including public and private herds, thousand heads	130.5	132.0	134.0
Share of the retrained, requalified municipal officials of the Northern and Arctic regions of the Krasnoyarsk Territory, per cent: maximum and minimum values for the municipal entities of the Northern and Arctic regions	60-4	65-15	70-25
Share of the representatives of the indigenous peoples in the administration bodies (municipal and regional level) in proportion to the share of the indigenous peoples in the total population of the region, per cent - maximum and minimum values for the municipal entities of the Northern and Arctic regions of the Krasnoyarsk Territory	27-0.33	33-5	38-11

municipal District, Lesosibirsk, Yeniseisk, the Severo-Yeniseisky, Yeniseisky, Boguchansky, Kezhemsky, Motyginsky Municipal Districts) causing the need for collecting input information for every municipal entity, analyzing the social, economic, resource processing and environmental indicators for all the municipalities of the Arctic and the Northern parts of the region.

During the implementation of the Strategy till the year 2030, the actual tendency of decline in the population of the Northern and Arctic regions of the Krasnoyarsk Territory is expected to continue but become less intensive: due to the consistent efforts of the government represented by the federal and regional authorities, the population outflow is supposed to significantly decrease. Against

the background of the general population decrease, the number of the small-numbered indigenous peoples of the North will insignificantly increase due to the growing birth rate of the indigenous peoples compared to the resettlers. The Northern and Arctic regions of the Territory will reach the average Russian life expectancy level of 75 years by 2030 (today, this indicator in the region remains below the Russian average).

The officially registered poverty level will keep decreasing throughout the forecast period, but the process will accelerate after 2024 due to the effect from the implementation of several large resource extraction projects in the Territory, first of all, in the Taymyr Peninsula. There will be a slight decline in the official unemployment rate, but the informal unemployment will significantly drop as the people desperate to find a job do not register as unemployed and are not accounted by the official statistics. The focused efforts of the regional authorities directed at this category of population can result in obvious positive dynamics in the informal unemployment rate. Another reserve is the unemployment of the small-numbered indigenous peoples of the North. The share of the small-numbered indigenous peoples in the total unemployment rate is known to increase every time the general unemployment situation in the Northern and Arctic region improves. Every new per cent of less unemployment requires more and more efforts to settle the situation with this vulnerable part of the population.

The Northern and Arctic regions of the Krasnoyarsk Territory face a large internal contrast in the infant mortality rates, which currently differ by five times between the prosperous and depressive districts. This is why within the forecast period the authorities are expected to make special efforts not only to reduce the general infant mortality rate but to minimize the gap between the values of the urban and rural areas of the Northern and Arctic regions to 2.5-3 times.

A similar focused policy will be run for the accommodation issues. The current contrast in the available accommodation values of the Arctic and the Northern regions of the Territory are unacceptable, reaching approxi-

mately 1.5 times. This value is planned to be improved.

The strategy foresees the growth in the number of the small and medium-sized businesses in the Northern and Arctic regions of the Krasnoyarsk Territory by approximately 1.5 times. The main emphasis will be made again not only to the quantitative growth but to the minimization of difference in the number of people engaged in entrepreneurship between the Arctic and Northern territories; the 12-times' difference we see today will be reduced to three times by the end of the forecast period. The efforts will be made to substitute the imported coal, lubricants and boiler fuel with the locally produced ones. The imported fuel share is planned to be reduced by approximately 10%.

For many natural reasons (increasing excessive overgrazing in the Western part of the Territory by the Yamal border, traditional Taymyr problem of the wild reindeer "splitting off" the she-reindeer from the domestic herds, competition between the reindeer breeding, fishery and hunting within the traditional economy etc.), the increase of the domestic reindeer is expected to be around 4 thousand heads.

In the municipal administration sphere, the number of retrained and requalified officials is expected to significantly grow; the representation of the indigenous peoples in the local (municipal) authority bodies is expected to increase along with the reduction of the intermunicipal contrast of the values.

As for the production values of the nickel, copper, platinum, gold, palladium, oil and gas, strategically important for Russia and essential for the municipal economy, due to the large investment projects run by the local Russian and resource extracting corporations a stable growth is expected. First of all, the investment projects deployed in the Northern and Arctic regions of the Krasnoyarsk Territory in the forecast period will have doubled the gross product of the territory by the year 2030.

## 5. Implementation mechanisms

The key institutional mechanisms for the implementation of the principles and approaches of the new regional Northern and

Arctic policy are the enhancement of the current (first of all, the Agency for the Development of the Northern Areas and Support of the Small-Numbered Indigenous Peoples of the Krasnoyarsk Territory) and establishment of the new elements of the regional development institution system (first of all, the three project offices).

The key financial and economic implementation mechanisms in the spheres of investment policy and development of the small and medium-sized businesses in the Northern and Arctic regions of the Territory are: implementation of the public-private partnership projects; involvement of external investment into the economy as a source for the socioeconomic development of the Northern and Arctic regions of the Territory; introduction of the strategic projects and events of the North and Arctic regions of the Krasnoyarsk Territory into the state programmes of the Russian Federation to gain federal financial support; employment of the non-budgetary and federal investment in the new preferential regimes represented by the advanced socioeconomic development territories, the core development areas of the Arctic region of the Russian Federation; cooperation with the federal development institutions and the state corporations to expand the access to bank loans, guarantee products and other financial tools as well as advanced education, information and consultation resources of the federal level etc.

There is a proposal to make a five-year agreement with the Federal Entrepreneurship Development Corporation for the encouragement of the business projects run by the entrepreneurs from the Northern and Arctic regions of the Krasnoyarsk Territory in the sphere of the energy and food security of the local communities to gain additional budgetary sources for the replacement of import and activation of the long-term use of the local sources of food, boiler and furnace fuels. A paragraph on supporting local business initiatives for the food and energy security may be also introduced into the agreements concluded with Rosneft State Corporation, Norilsk Nickel Company, Russian Platinum and other resource corporations active in the Krasnoyarsk Territory.

Another important task in the implementation measures' system is to restore an integrated federal statistics monitoring system which used to operate in the Northern and Arctic regions when they were divided as separate constituent entities of the federation (as the Taymyr and Evenkia Autonomous Okrugs). It will open new opportunities for planning, assessment of the achieved performance values and evaluation of the practical activities of the regional and municipal authorities for the implementation of the new regional policy principles and approach to the Northern and Arctic regions of the Territory.

## **6. Conclusion: Future of the North and the Arctic regions of the Krasnoyarsk Territory**

By 2030, the Krasnoyarsk North and Arctic will become a geographic and economic centre of industrialization 2.0 for the entire Russian Arctic due to the simultaneous introduction of a dozen of new resource projects in the Taymyr Peninsula, Evenkia and the northern areas. The leadership of the Krasnoyarsk Territory in the Russian Arctic is ensured by the unprecedented expansion of the explored strategic nation-wide resources (oil, gold, coal, non-ferrous metals etc.). Exploration of the new industrial districts will rely upon the equipment and technologies provided by the Siberian and Krasnoyarsk "Arctic Engineering" plants.

With the restoration of the Yenisei-Northern Sea Route transportation corridor as an essential bridge between the Trans-Siberian railway and the Arctic, introduction of a system of efforts for modernization of the ports of Dikson (with the construction of the deep-sea terminals for coal handling), Khatanga and Dudinka, enhancement of the role of Dikson in the updated navigation service for safe river traffic in the Eastern sector of the Russian Arctic, the role played by the Krasnoyarsk Territory in the loading and strengthening the national sovereignty in the Northern Sea Route and the cross-polar (to the North Pole) marine and air spaces will be significantly reinforced.

The so-called "experience economy" represented by the extreme, educating, venture tourism to the Putorana Plateau, the Tunguska



meteorite site, the geographical centre of Russia and other symbolic locations of the Krasnoyarsk Territory, previously accessible only for the premium-class and informal tours, will gain a true national significance and recognition. The environmentally friendly products from the Krasnoyarsk taiga forest will become a national and universal brand.

Consolidated efforts of the state and businesses will bring a breakthrough in the activities directly associated with the living standards of the people: guaranteed employment, high-quality education and healthcare, safe life. The improvement of the living standards is only possible together with the positive changes in the transport infrastructure of the Krasnoyarsk North, energy efficiency of the northern industries and support from the local businesses, including those related to the food and energy security and comfortization of the local service sector.

The increasing accessibility of the high-qualification healthcare specialists will make a positive impact on the average life expectancy of the Northerners, better medical security of the residents of the remote villages of Taymyr and Evenkia. All these can be achieved only with a persistent and meticulous work to ensure the total 4G Internet coverage of every village and settlement of the Krasnoyarsk North and Arctic.

At the Siberian Federal University, the Institute of North and Arctic will be established to offer Master's programmes for the specialists committed to work in the Northern territories, as well as representatives of small-numbered indigenous peoples engaged in traditional nature use and intending to develop new forms of entrepreneurship in the Arctic.

The improvement of the living standards of the small-numbered indigenous peoples requires raising the employment rate in the areas of traditional residence of such people, introduction of new investment projects in the

traditional residence and activity areas of the small-numbered indigenous peoples and support of the youth initiatives and social activities, ethnographic tourism projects etc.

Innovative ethnopedagogy formats are also proposed for implementation. It is planned to provide resource support for the nomadic daycare facilities and nomadic schools, as well as for the "language nests" of the northern settlements to solve the socialization and education problems faced by children representing small-numbered indigenous peoples. An important aspect of education development and preservation of the ethnic culture is the establishment of the internet portals for the ethnic culture and language studies, development of digital archives of the indigenous peoples, creation of online textbooks, digitalization of literature in ethnic languages and audio records, creation of videogames and intermedia materials for history and culture studies. Advanced education and qualification courses for the development of the ethnographic tourism will be developed, ethnotouristic routes, ethnovillages will be created.

The material and spiritual values exhibited at the ethnovillages will be carefully protected. Special support measures will be envisaged for the traditional ethnic artists, writers, and authors of fiction, non-fiction movies and animation representing small-numbered indigenous peoples of the North.

The common feature of all the activities carried out in different spheres of development of the Northern and Arctic regions of the Krasnoyarsk Territory is the encouragement of innovative thinking, introduction of new technologies and business solutions. To enhance the novelty adaptation and succession process, the "pilot-clones" scheme will be used, i.e. a pattern successfully trialled at the pilot platform of one village, mineral deposit, or community, is adopted to many other similar objects.

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## Контуры стратегии социально-экономического развития северных и арктических территорий Красноярского края

А.Г. Цыкалов<sup>а</sup>, Р.В. Гончаров<sup>б</sup>, Н.П. Копцева<sup>в</sup>,

А.Н. Пилясов<sup>г,д</sup>, А.В. Потураева<sup>г,д</sup>, Н.Ю. Замятина<sup>г,д</sup>

<sup>а</sup>Правительство Красноярского края

Российская Федерация, Красноярск

<sup>б</sup>Научный исследовательский университет «Высшая школа экономики»

Российская Федерация, Москва

<sup>в</sup>Сибирский федеральный университет

Российская Федерация, Красноярск

<sup>г</sup>Институт регионального консалтинга

Российская Федерация, Москва

<sup>д</sup>Московский государственный университет им. М.В. Ломоносова

Российская Федерация, Москва

**Аннотация.** Предлагаются новые принципы и подходы к развитию арктических и северных территорий Красноярского края. Основной идеологией новой региональной политики края должно стать активное поощрение саморазвития, предпринимательской инициативы, обеспечение продовольственной и энергетической безопасности местных сообществ Севера и Арктики. Новая региональная политика должна иметь территориально дифференцированный характер исходя из наличия шести фундаментально различных по транспортно-экономическим условиям территорий. Приоритеты новой политики направлены на всемерное уменьшение внутренних контрастов развития между отдельными муниципальными образованиями Севера и Арктики края. Особые надежды связываются с «тотальным» внедрением инноваций в доставку критически важных услуг и товарных групп в удаленные города и поселки края. Для реализации этой идеологии предлагается создать три проектных офиса – «человек», «поселение», «территория», призванных обеспечить эффекты синергии при взаимодействии власти, крупного и малого бизнеса и структур гражданского общества во имя повышения качества жизни каждого жителя северных и арктических территорий края. Каждый из проектных офисов ориентирован на решение проблем соответствующего масштабного уровня: отдельного человека – жителя края, населенных пунктов и северных территорий в целом. Предполагается, что в результате предлагаемых мер Красноярский край сумеет в 2030 году вернуть те позиции лидера в освоении российской Арктики, которые он занимал на протяжении первых советских десятилетий.

**Ключевые слова:** экономическое развитие, северные и арктические территории Красноярского края, инновационная система, проектные офисы.

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## Exogenous Model of Job Satisfaction

Igor A. Shevchuk and Tatyana B. Melnikova\*

*Department for Management, Tourism and Hospitality  
Plekhanov Russian University of Economics, Sevastopol Branch  
Sevastopol, Russian Federation*

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**Abstract.** The paper contributes to the existing job satisfaction models by introducing a new exogenous variable, regional tourism development. Tourism does not only change the regional economy and infrastructure; it creates new cultural practices, causes the change in the attitude to health and leisure, presents a different model of judgement and decision-making. Consequently, it may be suggested that the tourism development rate influences the behaviour model of the local residents. It is proposed to identify the changes based on two-stage modelling with the help of multiple linear and non-linear regression. At the first stage, the relationship between tourism development and cultural practices, as well as between tourism development and quality of life are investigated on the basis of objective data. Low tourism growth rates provoke an increase in both cultural practices and quality of life; however, in the future, at medium growth rates, motivated convictions begin to form dissipated ideas of leisure in the residents' behaviour. At the second stage, the residents' self-assessment was applied to build overall and exogenous models of job satisfaction. The influence of the exogenous variable decreased the impact of the material factor (salary satisfaction) on job satisfaction, forming a new attitude to leisure, and, therefore, causing changes in the people's psychological well-being. The results revealed that one's own sense of sufficient labour-leisure balance decreases as the tourist traffic increases, and the social comparison effect is triggered. Besides, at the high tourism growth rates, habituation to the tourist traffic and regularly updating leisure programmes develops the adaptation effect, which is manifested in the enhanced work schedule satisfaction influencing the job satisfaction.

**Keywords:** job satisfaction, tourism, economic behaviour, cultural practices, exogenous model, leisure, health, labour productivity, work schedule, resident.

Research area: economics.

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\* Corresponding author E-mail address: [sevastopol@rea.ru](mailto:sevastopol@rea.ru)  
ORCID: 0000-0002-2639-498X (Melnikova)

**Introduction.** In one of its latest reports, the World Tourism Organization expressed its concern on “overtourism” (UNWTO, 2019). It turned out that tourism is violently interfering into the residents’ habitat, which may cause discomfort, overloads of the natural places of interest and infrastructure. Henceforth, tourism industry should provide benefits for the local communities, while regional experience industry must be developed with regard to the needs of both the visitors and the locals. Special attention should be paid to segmentation of the visitors. Moreover, it should be emphasized that tourism should not violate the social and cultural environment. It raises the question on tourism can influence the sociocultural environment. According to cultural psychology researchers, each community hold its own memory, communication, evaluation, and choice model (Shweder, 1999; Wagoner, 2014). Thus, it is important to understand, whether the tourist traffic triggers any change in the cognitive process model of the local population. Constant tourist flows bring new patterns of cultural behaviour. In fact, tourism is becoming a trigger for changing the behavioural model of the locals. The presumable changes in the labour preferences of the residents are of special interest. As far as the individual general utility function has extended beyond its usual limits to the happiness concept, the importance of life satisfaction expanded to the area of behavioural economics. In contemporary studies, significant behaviour trends are associated with the concept of happiness (Lane, 2017). Therefore, the awareness of self-assessment trends is of special relevance now.

The study focuses on changes in the job satisfaction model of the local population under the influence of regional tourism development as an exogenous variable.

**Job satisfaction model: theoretical framework.** Using econometric terminology, all job satisfaction studies can be divided into two groups: the ones studying job satisfaction as a dependent variable, and the ones studying it as a predictor.

In the framework of the empirical studies from the first group, it was proved, particularly, that job satisfaction rather depends on the

external factors than personal qualities. The external factors include interest in work, satisfaction with professional achievements, relationships with peers and management, working conditions (labour satisfaction index parameters). Personal traits include emotional stability, sociability, and straightforwardness (Vecherin, 2011). Moreover, job satisfaction is explained by the state of family relationships through depression and health, considered as intermediate variables (Sandberg et al., 2012).

Job satisfaction is also influenced by differences in the perception of work: those who see work as a vocation, rate their job satisfaction higher than those who take their work as a career. In their turn, the latter demonstrate higher overall job satisfaction rate, than those who see their work as a routine (Lan et al., 2013). The job satisfaction models also are developed on the basis of satisfaction with the organization’s prestige and its social significance (Ivanova et al., 2012).

Cross-country comparisons revealed that higher level of economic development, tertiary sector increase, and protestant ethics can positively affect job satisfaction. Human capital has an ambiguous influence, since a higher level of education can provoke greater demands on working conditions (Monusova, 2008).

Recent labour satisfaction surveys focus on cross-sectoral research, combining the sector of industrial relations with social development of households. The negative impact of absolute monetary, relative non-monetary and subjective monetary poverty on the labour satisfaction of household members has been revealed (Bobkov and Matveyeva, 2014). Besides, the equal need for emotional support in personal life and control at the workplace, together with support from management, to increase satisfaction with the work-life balance, has been determined. Emotional support at the workplace has a complementary effect (Abendroth and den Dulk, 2011). It was found that national culture has an influence over the relationship between work-life balance, job and personal life satisfaction. In individualistic cultures, increasing satisfaction with the work-life balance raises job satisfaction, while in collectivist countries the trend is the opposite: increasing work-life



balance is followed by negative subjective assessment of labour (Haar et al., 2014).

The studies from the second group drive forward the effect the job satisfaction makes on corporate loyalty (Radford and Meissner, 2017). A lower personal assessment of working conditions can change the emotional state and make one lose their confidence in the future, which, together with other factors, generates negative investments in health capital (Suvorova and Rozmainsky, 2019).

The greater majority of studies reveals the effect of job satisfaction on both individual and collective labour productivity. Based on the happy worker concept, low job satisfaction (unhappy worker) is believed to make negative spillover effects, manifested in conscious or unconscious avoidance of work, slower actions, sickness-caused absenteeism, and counterproductive behaviour. The authors of the study establish a correlation between job satisfaction and customer satisfaction, subdivision productivity and company turnover (Böckerman and Ilmakunnas, 2012).

Considering job satisfaction as an indicator of work quality, differences are established between subjective and objective evaluations of job satisfaction when they affect productivity: high productivity does not affect the increase in subjective job satisfaction, but improves objective assessment (Royuela and Suriñach, 2013).

Job satisfaction has become an integral part of many economic studies. An even deeper study of the irrational behaviour of an economic agent mixes volume and cost indicators of labour productivity with self-assessment. In fact, the subject matter is productivity of an individual, not of an employee. The difference comes from understanding labour of an employee as a result of organization, and labour of an individual as a result of his or her social identification, which becomes especially important in the context of the ongoing transition from labour philosophy to life philosophy (Sidorina, 2013).

Given that the prevailing current researches focus on job satisfaction while balancing work and family, with no regard to broader social existence of the individual, including community, leisure, church, sports, and other activities, we would like to expand the toolbox

of job satisfaction exogenous models by introducing the factor of relationships between work and tourism.

#### **Introduction of an exogenous variable.**

Existing papers provide a variety of options to measure the socioeconomic influence of tourism on the territory. One of the most common ones is the assessment of the contribution made by tourism to the gross regional product, taking the multiplier effect of tourism consumption in the related industries into account. Some researchers explain regional effects from the integration potential of the tourism industry through joint modernization projects, foreign economic cooperation, expanding specialization of the region, overcoming negative migration and employment trends (Chernova, 2017). Others find that the tourism industry, based on the principles of self-regulation (goal-setting, the diversity and economic entropy), improves the level of socioeconomic development of individual territories and reduces entropy (Shelomentsev and Golovina, 2011).

Under system approach, tourism industry refers to the environmental subsystem of the tetrad. This type of subsystem is characterized by unlimited time and space, as well as the ability to inter-period stabilization and inter-territorial homogeneity (Kleiner and Rybachuk, 2019). Due to the tourism development, the leisure sector is actively developing. Thus, being the core of the tourism industry, leisure environment is not limited with the space and time of the tourists' stay, therefore, affecting residents.

The influence of leisure environment spreads wider than over the infrastructural change in the territory; it changes the behavioural model of the residents. A new life perception is developing under the influence of the growing tourist traffic. In general, tourists bring new traditions: cultural tourism develops a taste for cultural practices, health tourism increases health awareness, adventure and eco-tourism draws attention to environmental problems. Unwillingly, locals face a different attitude to life and work. People's behaviour may also change due to the need for building a new infrastructure and localizing the tourist flow, which does not always happen in-

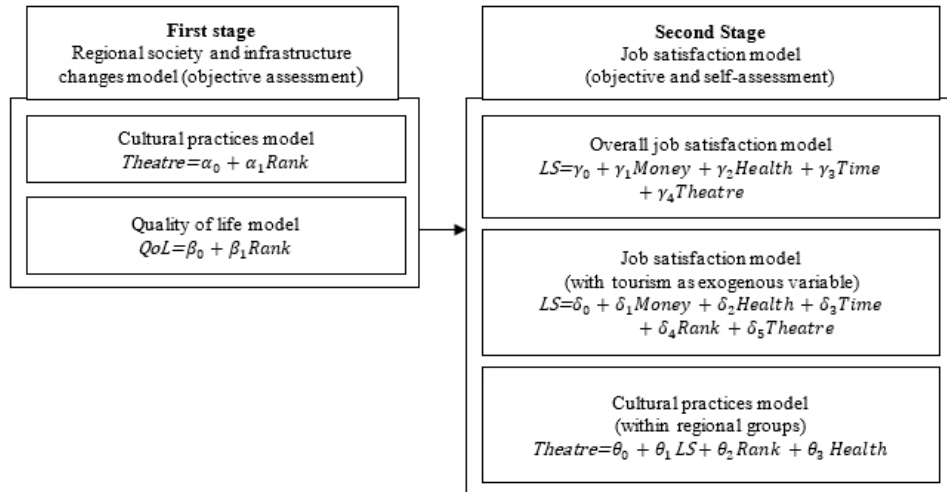


Fig. 1. Logic scheme of the exogenous model of job satisfaction

tentionally. The experience of Corsica shows that tourist-oriented hiking trails forced some changes in the everyday cultural and working practices of the local residents (Melnikova, 2019). Greater availability of leisure forces the local population to change their usual work-leisure ratio. Leisure can change the behavioural model of the residents towards active leisure or a more meaningful attitude to work, transforming the factors of job satisfaction towards avoiding exclusively material ones (wages, bonuses) (Raskov, 2019).

At the same time, there is an ambiguity regarding the impact of leisure on labour productivity. A number of scientific papers refute the relationship between leisure and improving personal performance, while others talk about an inverted U-shaped relationship (Melnikova, 2019). Based on recent research findings, the positive impact of travel on labour productivity has been empirically proven. Travel contributes to the formation of generic skills such as problem solving, time management, communication skills, which, in turn, contribute to human self-efficacy thus enhancing labour productivity (Miyakawa et al., 2019). Despite the fact that in that study the tourist is the subject, the basis for identifying causal relationships is a model of the influence of leisure on personal well-being, including five triggers: restoration through detachment-recovery, autonomy, mas-

tery, meaning, and affiliation (Newman et al., 2014). Therefore, the changes in skills and self-efficacy as a result of collision with new situations, people, or events, and not the actual tourist trip, is regarded as the key to productivity improvement. The territory, constantly adapting to tourist preferences, as well as the traffic of tourists carrying new social practices, create a precedent motivating the residents of touristic region to acquire new skills.

**Overall data and model structure.** The logic scheme in Fig. 1 visualizes the exogenous model of job satisfaction developed by authors of the paper.

The model involves the following variables<sup>1</sup>: *Rank* – the position of the region in the Russian Region Tourism Ranking; *Theatre* – the number of theatre visits per 100 inhabitants; *QoL* – the position of the region in the Russian Region Quality of Life Ranking; *LS* – the share of respondents (residents of region) who answered they were “Psychologically quite satisfied with work”; *Time* – the share of respondents (residents of region) who answered they were: “Quite satisfied with the work schedule”; *Money* – the share of respondents (residents of region) who answered they were “Quite satisfied with the salary”; *Health* – the share of

<sup>1</sup>  $\alpha_0, \alpha_1, \beta_0, \beta_1, \gamma_0, \gamma_1, \gamma_2, \gamma_3, \gamma_4, \delta_0, \delta_1, \delta_2, \delta_3, \delta_4, \delta_5, \theta_0, \theta_1, \theta_2, \theta_3$  – coefficients determined by econometric modelling.

respondents (residents of region) who selected the answer: "My health is very good."

The changes in the behaviour model of the local residents are studied with respect to the tourism development rate. Modelling is carried out within the rating groups of the Tourism Rating of Russian Regions, based on the growth rate of the most important indicators of the tourism industry (Russiatourism, 2018). This ranking provides a wider understanding of the tourism development of the region, including not only the tourist traffic and number of excursions, but also the availability of hotel rooms, development of tax revenues, employment, investment. Russian regions are divided into five groups: with high (1<sup>st</sup> group, 10 regions), relatively high (2<sup>nd</sup> group, 11 regions), medium (3<sup>rd</sup> group, 31 regions), relatively low (4<sup>th</sup> group, 22 regions) and low (5<sup>th</sup> group, 8 regions) tourism development rates.

First, we assume that the dynamics of tourism development in the region make a positive effect on the leisure behaviour model of the residents. As an indicator of leisure time, cultural preferences, namely, the number of theatre visits per 100 inhabitants are used<sup>2</sup>. Based on the existing approaches to the cultural consumption operationalization, the cultural practice analysis allows us to assess the degree of one's involvement in the regional cultural sphere; moreover, such data are quite easy to interpret (Korsunova, 2019). Unlike more tourist-oriented museum practices, theatre practices are popular with a larger share of locals.

Besides, we evaluated the impact made by leisure sphere development on the change in the overall quality of life in a given territory (*QoL*). The Quality of Life Ranking of Russian Regions, carried out by RIA<sup>3</sup>, provides an objective assessment of social environment changes.

Secondly, changes in the job satisfaction model under the influence of an exogenous variable and within the framework of constructing

subjective-objective models are evaluated. We build an overall job satisfaction model, without tying it to the characteristics of tourism development, and then, a model of change is made. Consequently, it is possible to identify the similarities and differences between the model parameters and draw conclusions about those changes caused by the exogenous variable.

*LS, Time, Money, Health*, self-assessment variables, are the elements of the Comprehensive Survey on Living Conditions (KOUZ-2018) conducted by Rosstat<sup>4</sup>. The model includes variables which, in our opinion, reflect modern approaches defining labour as an economic category and express the logic of our approach, which implies examining job satisfaction through changes in the individual's social environment. Transformation of the work-leisure balance under the change in the work schedule, content and place of work, as well as general erosion of borders have gained prominence in recent studies (Kotliarov, 2019). Therefore, satisfaction with the work schedule (*Time*) needs to be included into the model as a variable, which explains the effect of expanding the sphere of leisure and the influence of tourist traffic, and forms the ground for labour perception. Due to the fact that tourist intentions focus mostly on healthcare and treatment, the behaviour is associated with increased spending of money, the changes will be also seen in salary satisfaction (*Money*) and health satisfaction (*Health*).

**First stage results and discussion.** The first stage estimates were calculated based on ordinary least squares method (OLS) and presented in Table 1. OLS estimates of the two models revealed compliance with the Fisher and Student criteria. Though, a low level of determination coefficient has been found: 0.05 for the interdependence between tourism development rates and cultural practices and 0.21 for the interdependence between tourism development rates and quality of life. Thus, a nonlinear relationship has been argued.

When testing models for non-linearity based on the Ramsey test for all cases, the p-value turned out to be under 0.05, which

<sup>2</sup> Open data of the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation on the number of spectators of theatres. Available at: [https://opendata.mkrf.ru/opendata/7705851331-stat\\_theaters#a:eyJ0YWliOiJidWlsZF90YWJsZSJ9](https://opendata.mkrf.ru/opendata/7705851331-stat_theaters#a:eyJ0YWliOiJidWlsZF90YWJsZSJ9) (accessed 05 July 2019).

<sup>3</sup> Available at: <https://ria.ru/20190218/1550940417.html> (accessed 05 July 2019).

<sup>4</sup> Available at: [http://www.gks.ru/free\\_doc/new\\_site/KOUZ18/index.html](http://www.gks.ru/free_doc/new_site/KOUZ18/index.html) (accessed 05 July 2019).

Table 1. Statistical significance of cultural practices and quality of life models

Variable and criteria	Cultural practices model	Quality of life model
Rank	0.156*** (0.078)	0.396*** (0.085)
P-value	0.0499	0.0000128
Fisher test	3.96 >	21.64 >
t-test	1.99 >	4.65 >
R <sup>2</sup>	0.05	0.21

\* Hereinafter: \* –  $p \leq 0.1$ , \*\* –  $p \leq 0.05$ , \*\*\* –  $p \leq 0.01$ . Top – variable coefficient, bottom – standard error.

Table 2. Statistical significance of non-linear multiple regressions

Model type	Coefficient of determination	
	Cultural practices model	Quality of life model
Linear	R <sup>2</sup> = 0.047	R <sup>2</sup> = 0.213
Logarithmic	R <sup>2</sup> = 0.030	R <sup>2</sup> = 0.170
Quadratic	R <sup>2</sup> = 0.123	R <sup>2</sup> = 0.286
Cubic	R <sup>2</sup> = 0.231	R <sup>2</sup> = 0.337

means rejection of the null hypothesis about the models' linearity. In non-linear multiple regressions, cubic dependence has been found to be the closest, based on the determination coefficient (Table 2). However, the wave-like nature of the dependence describes only 23% of the dependent variable variation.

Based on Fig. 2, we can see upward waves among groups with low and relatively low rates of tourism development, as well as among those with relatively high and high rates. At the average development rate, the behaviour model is differentiated.

Fig. 3, presenting the change in the quality of life under the influence of an exogenous variable, shows a more conservative scope of fluctuations, but a larger spread of values in the 2nd and 3rd groups (with medium and relatively high rates of development). Social environment development does not keep pace with the creation of leisure environment.

A common feature for the two models is simultaneous improvement of cultural practices and quality of life at low and relatively low rates of development, as well as at high ones. At an average rate of development, the established sources of motivated beliefs and reasoning of the behaviour of an economic agent

are shaken. The utility function is assumed not only to depend on the choice between goods and services, but also to be influenced by beliefs. The individual beliefs can be motivated by standards of life, organizations, personality identity, and social identity. Social identity is associated with belonging to a city, ethnic or cultural group, profession (Bénabou and Tirole, 2016). Under the influence of changes in the tourism environment and the increasing traffic of tourists, the beliefs and reasoning of local residents undergo changes to varying degrees; new social groups are formed, cultural preferences are differentiated. A similar situation occurs with the quality of life; however, the cognitive and emotional characteristics of individuals indirectly affect this indicator, mainly through changes in the behaviour of small businesses, attitudes to health, spatial development projects, causing the difference in fluctuations.

**Second stage results and discussion.** The multiple linear regression for overall job satisfaction model with no regard to the exogenous variable, mostly showed fairly expected results (Table 3).

Changing cultural preferences do not make a direct impact on job satisfaction. Work schedule satisfaction, as well as satisfaction

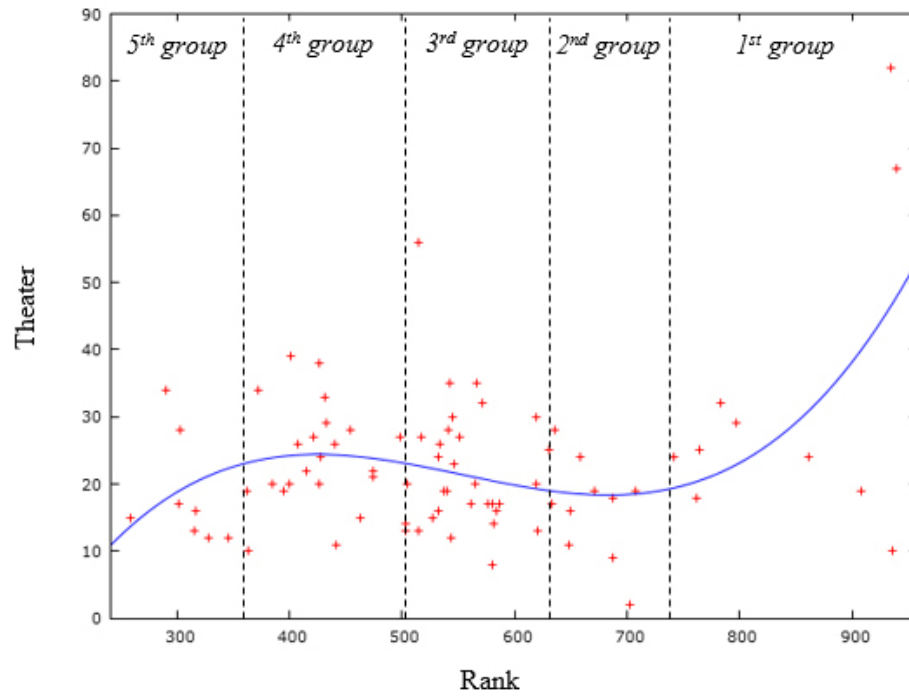


Fig. 2. Changes in cultural practices under different tourism development rates

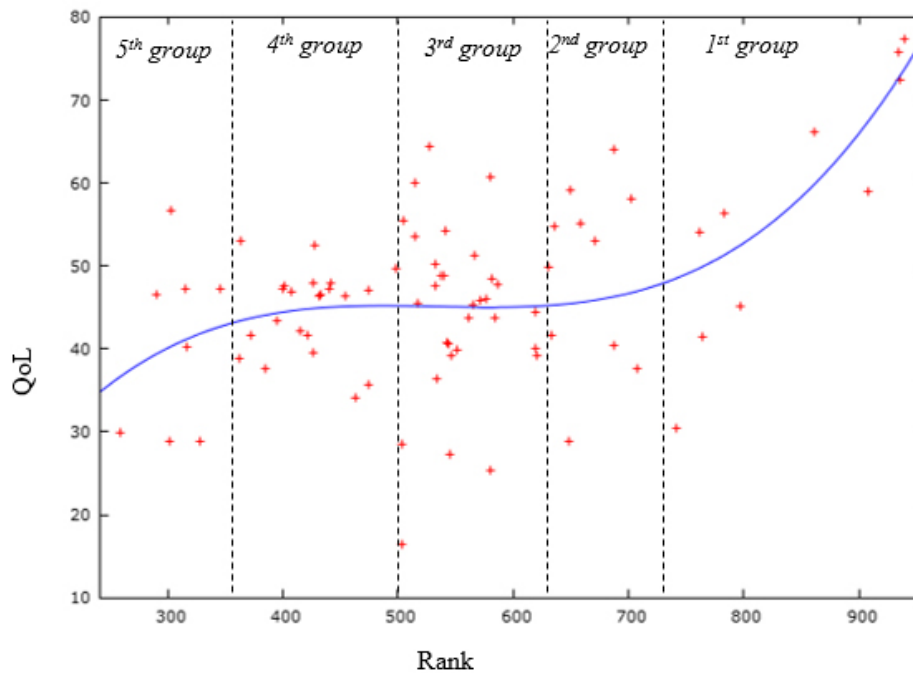


Fig. 3. Changes in quality of life under different tourism development rates



Table 3. Statistical significance of overall job satisfaction model

<i>Variable and criteria</i>	<i>Value</i>
<i>Money</i>	<b>0.25***</b> <b>(0.081)</b>
<i>Health</i>	<b>-0.44***</b> <b>(0.129)</b>
<i>Time</i>	<b>0.49***</b> <b>(0.146)</b>
<i>Theatre</i>	–
Fisher test	12.43 >
R <sup>2</sup>	0.32

with salary and health, are the determining factors. The prevailing positive effect is created by work schedule satisfaction.

Analysis of the *Health* variable raises an interesting situation. Recent survey has shown that health invariably ranks first in the happiness perception of Russians, while stable work is ranked fourth or fifth. The vast majority of Russians consider themselves happy. In general, health status is assessed positively, with the most negative effect on health made by lifestyle and environmental factors (Kiseleva and Strielkowski, 2016). Broadly speaking, arguments should lead to a logical chain linking the two concepts into a single concept of happiness: the higher health satisfaction, the higher work satisfaction. However, the combination of health and work draws us into a balance between work and personal life. The three-component theory details such a balance through a balance of time, a balance of psychological involvement, and a balance of satisfaction. The direct relationship between *Time* and *LS* most likely indicates a balance of time. With regard to its sociocultural profile, Russia is more inclined towards a collectivist culture, which implies that in the framework of work-life balance, there is a greater emotional gravitation towards personal life (family life, social activities, leisure, psychological well-being, and healthcare). Thus, for our balance model, psychological imbalance is, in fact, normal. Positive health self-assessment creates a motivation to further expand the sphere of personal life, which increases the imbalance of satisfaction.

A similar paradoxical effect was obtained in recent empirical studies, when it was found that the importance of health for women is inversely related to life satisfaction. This result is explained by the fact that healthcare activities become important for women's well-being only when actually face problems with it (Mospan et al., 2016).

Table 4 displays the results of multiple linear regression by rating groups. For all groups except the second, the Fisher criterion fit well, heteroskedasticity and multicollinearity are not found, non-linearity is not manifested.

There are several critical trends in inter-group trends that should be emphasized.

Firstly, changes in the leisure environment are accompanied by gradual weakening of material values as a factor of work satisfaction. So, the coefficient for the *Money* variable for the 5th group, characterized by low rates of tourism development, equals 0.83, then for regions with average rates it decreased to 0.53, further, for the first two groups, salary satisfaction has no impact on job satisfaction.

Secondly, the inverse correlation between health perception and psychological satisfaction from work decreases with the growth of tourism (for the fifth and third groups). As regional tourism industry and tourist traffic develop, the local population is forming a new outlook on leisure activities, which makes an effect on psychological health. In the first, second and fourth groups, the health factor is not significant.

Thirdly, cultural practices are significant for job satisfaction only in the fifth group,

Table 4. Statistical significance of job satisfaction model (with tourism as exogenous variable)

<i>Variable and criteria</i>	1 <sup>st</sup> group	2 <sup>nd</sup> group	3 <sup>rd</sup> group	4 <sup>th</sup> group	5 <sup>th</sup> group
<i>Money</i>	0.144 (0.084)	0.17 (0.263)	<b>0.53***</b> (0.121)	-	<b>0.83**</b> (0.107)
<i>Health</i>	1.75 (1.226)	1.60 (1.099)	<b>-0.87***</b> (0.170)	-	<b>-1.52**</b> (0.306)
<i>Time</i>	1.35* (0.544)	-0.085 (0.412)	<b>0.58**</b> (0.223)	<b>0.81***</b> (0.249)	<b>-0.95**</b> (0.174)
<i>Rank</i>	<b>-0.42**</b> (0.147)	-0.176 (0.820)	-	<b>-0.67**</b> (0.272)	-0.27 (0.155)
<i>Theatre</i>	-0.08 (0.085)	0.50 (0.442)	-	-	<b>0.40**</b> (0.082)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.87	0.46	0.63	0.50	0.97

which can be explained by the fact that the leisure sphere is not yet developed and is limited to several positions, among which the theatre is the most important. In further groups, leisure is more diversified, so the contribution of the theatre is not critical.

Fourthly, some groups show an inverse correlation between the intra-group rating and job satisfaction, but the value of the coefficient decreases.

The least prominent factor was work schedule satisfaction. In the original model, an increase in the share of the population satisfied with their work schedule by 1% could cause an increase in the share of the population satisfied with work by 0.49%. Broken by groups, it turned out that at high rates of tourism development, such growth could even exceed 1.35%. However, the wave-like nature of this dependence is fair: from the fifth to the fourth group the coefficient changes its sign, and then, for the third group, the influence decreases from 0.81 to 0.58, then again grows to 1.35. Perhaps, the effect of adaptation and social comparison is triggered. These two effects explain Easterlin's paradox: as incomes are rising, satisfaction with life and financial situation hardly change. According to the comparison, an individual's satisfaction may depend on the income of the surrounding people. The adaptation effect deals with adapting to changes when, for example, additional income brings little increase in life satisfaction (Larin and Filiasov, 2018).

We then suppose, that work schedule satisfaction means satisfaction with the work-leisure balance. In the fifth group, we observe a situation where job satisfaction is ensured by salary satisfaction and the ability to attend theatres. This positive effect is much stronger than the imbalance between work and leisure, which possibly gravitates to long hours of rest. Further development of tourism provokes individual changes in the structure of employment and expands opportunities for leisure, which changes the sign of the coefficient with variable work schedule satisfaction. However, with increasing flow of tourists, the differentiation of involvement in leisure activities gives rise to a social comparison, which reduces perception of sufficient balance between work and leisure. The higher growth rates, the adaptation effect is triggered through getting used to the flow of tourists, accompanied by the constant updating of leisure programs; the desire to have a sufficient rest grows even more. It may even be referred to as development of a more individualistic approach to life.

Table 5 displays the results of a linear model of multivariate regression for changes in cultural practices by rating groups. In the models of all groups, heteroskedasticity and multicollinearity are absent; for the first and second groups, the Fisher criterion is fulfilled.

In groups with high and relatively high rates of tourism development, changes in cultural preferences are fixed under the influence of moral satisfaction with work and feeling

Table 5. Statistical significance of cultural practices model (within regional groups)

<i>Variable and criteria</i>	1 <sup>st</sup> group	2 <sup>nd</sup> group	3 <sup>rd</sup> group	4 <sup>th</sup> group	5 <sup>th</sup> group
<i>LS</i>	<b>3.71**</b> <b>(1.460)</b>	<b>0.63*</b> <b>(0.318)</b>	0.08 (0.224)	0.31 (0.268)	1.18 (1.544)
<i>Rank</i>	-	-	0.09 (0.138)	-0.11 (0.277)	0.46 (0.331)
<i>Health</i>	<b>8.47***</b> <b>(2.062)</b>	<b>-2.61***</b> <b>(0.636)</b>	-0.28 (0.313)	-0.23 (0.262)	-1.14 (1.666)
<i>R<sup>2</sup></i>	0.76	0.68	0.08	0.09	0.38

healthy. At higher stages, as tourist territories develop, work satisfaction increases the theatre visit frequency. The sign at the Health coefficient changes from negative to positive. Apparently, under the influence of extended leisure sphere, mental and social health begins to prevail over physical in the model of human health.

**Conclusion.** The study presents an exogenous model job satisfaction, built through assessment of the impact made by development of tourism in the region, forming a new system of leisure and behaviour of residents.

At the first stage, the hypotheses regarding the positive impact of the regional tourism development rate on changing cultural practices and the quality of life were considered. Based on objective data, econometric modelling was performed. A cubic correlation between the theatre attendance per 100 inhabitants and the tourism development was revealed, as well as between the quality of life and tourism development. The dynamics of cultural preferences increases with the growth of tourist activity, however, crossing the middle line, its decrease occurs due to the differentiation of leisure preferences of locals. For the quality of life, the average development rate also appears as a period

of “decrease in the model significance”, however, starting from the 2nd group, the quality of life grows under the influence of tourism.

At the second stage, work satisfaction modelling was conducted on the basis of linear multivariate regression, carried out on the basis of a subjective-objective data and within each of the rating groups. Work satisfaction with no regard to the exogenous variables of tourism and leisure development is directly affected by work schedule and salary satisfaction, where the former is more than one and a half times stronger than the latter, and, on the opposite, affected by health satisfaction. The opposite correlation between health and job satisfaction is explained mainly by the collectivist culture of Russia, characterized by a psychological gravitation towards personal life (family values, health protection) with a balance between work and personal life.

The change in the work satisfaction model under the influence of such exogenous variable as the growing tourism rate, manifests itself in decreasing significance of the wage factor, a weakening inverse dependence on health satisfaction, a wave-like effect of satisfaction with the work regime under the influence of the social effect and then the adaptation effect.

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## Экзогенная модель удовлетворенности трудом

**И.А. Шевчук, Т.Б. Мельникова**

*Российский экономический университет имени Г.В. Плеханова,  
Севастопольский филиал  
Российская Федерация, Севастополь*

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**Аннотация.** Статья вносит вклад в существующие модели удовлетворенности трудом, вводя новую экзогенную переменную – региональное развитие туризма. Туризм не только меняет региональную экономику и инфраструктуру, но также формирует новые культурные практики, отражает пересмотр взглядов людей на здоровье и большую вовлеченность в досуг, вдобавок представляет иные модели принятия решений и суждений. Поэтому авторы предполагают, что в зависимости от темпов развития туризма происходит изменение поведенческой модели жителей. В статье предложено идентифицировать изменения на основе двухэтапного моделирования с помощью множественной линейной и нелинейной регрессии. На первом этапе на основе объективных данных проверена взаимосвязь между развитием туризма и культурной практикой, а также между развитием туризма и качеством жизни. Выявлено, что низкие темпы роста туризма вызывают рост как культурных практик, так и качества жизни, однако в дальнейшем при средних темпах роста мотивированные убеждения в поведении жителей начинают формировать разрозненные представления о досуге. На втором этапе добавлена самооценка жителей для построения общих и внешних моделей удовлетворенности трудом. Под влиянием экзогенной переменной влияние материального фактора (удовлетворенности заработной платой) на удовлетворенность работой уменьшается, формируется новое отношение к отдыху, которое влияет на изменение психологического здоровья. Результаты показали, что самоощущение достаточности баланса между трудом и отдыхом уменьшается по мере увеличения туристических потоков и срабатывания эффекта социального сравнения. Кроме того, при высоких темпах адаптационный эффект развивается через привыкание к потокам туристов и сопровождается постоянным обновлением программ досуга, что проявляется в повышенном влиянии удовлетворенности режимом работы на удовлетворенность трудом.

**Ключевые слова:** удовлетворенность трудом, туризм, экономическое поведение, культурные практики, экзогенная модель, досуг, здоровье, производительность труда, режим работы, местный житель.

Научная специальность: 08.00.00 – экономические науки.