Журнал Сибирского федерального университета

Гуманитарные науки

Journal of Siberian Federal University

Humanities & Social Sciences

2020 13 (7)

ЖУРНАЛ СИБИРСКОГО ФЕДЕРАЛЬНОГО УНИВЕРСИТЕТА
Гуманитарные науки

JOURNAL OF SIBERIAN FEDERAL UNIVERSITY
Humanities & Social Sciences

CONTENTS

Introduction to the Thematic Issue of the Journal of Siberian Federal University "Historical Science: Regional and World Tendencies

Natalia P. Koptseva*
Siberian Federal University
Krasnoyarsk, Russian Federation

Abstract. This introduction to the thematic issue devoted to Russian historical science reveals the principle of research development as it presents the findings of this research. The articles present the problems of modern historical science and reveal the essence of the materials under study and their importance for modern science. The key tendencies in the development of historical science, culture studies and history of art are determined in the context of the world outline of modern humanities. All studies were based on specific conceptual and methodological approaches with some articles written within the framework of the Siberian Historical Forum held in October 2019. Some articles pay special attention to Siberian regional aspects, as well as there are articles connected with the history of the humanities, education in the field of the humanities in higher educational institutions of the Siberian Federal District. Within the framework of ethnic and migration issues, cases connected with the research in these fields are considered. The geography of the authors is quite varied: from Moscow to Ulan-Ude. Quite a big section is devoted to the history of various ethno-cultural groups of the indigenous peoples of Siberia. The historical science has a special meaning in terms of problem solving of historical and cultural memory. This thematic issue of the Journal of Siberian Federal University, the Humanities series, is aimed at forming this historical memory on the objective scientific basis.

Keywords: historical science, Russian history, history, history of Siberia, history of science, history of culture, history of education.

Research area: history, culturology.

* Corresponding author E-mail address: decanka@mail.ru
  ORCID: 0000–0003–3910–7991

Dear colleagues and readers,

This thematic issue of our Journal considers various problems faced by the historical science. The mission of the Humanities series of the SibFU Scientific Journal is to publish research findings in the field of modern humanities and social sciences, as well as to present regional studies based on modern concepts and methods (Abbot, 1990; Lange, 2012; Morrone & Crisei, 1995, et al.).

The main content of the thematic issue is composed of articles devoted to the history of Siberia and the history of Siberian ethnocultural groups (Kistova et al., 2016; Koptseva, & Reznikova, 2015; Koptseva, 2014). Thus, the scientific research by Yu.M. Goncharov and co-authors represents the integration of a theoretical-historical approach and specific historical studies of Altai of the 18th – early 20th centuries. The authors identify the main trends in the study of the history of Altai, offer their own understanding of the features of the scientific school, which is forming around the Altai historical regional studies. The article presents relevant materials related to the last 20 years of research on this issue. There is no doubt that such reflection will allow historians to see the trends and act with a clearer focus and better organisation.

Regional Siberian historical issues are posed and solved in the article by E.V. Komleva regarding the dynasty of Yeniseisk merchants and the role of merchant dynasties in the formation of Siberian Russian business. The author analyses historical sources that were not previously featured in the scientific literature. Some patterns characteristic of the Siberian merchants as a whole have been identified. The topic of the influence of the Kobychev merchant dynasty on the events of urban public life raised in the article is of particular interest. In the context of the recent anniversary – the 400th anniversary of the city of Yeniseisk – this article also has memorial significance; it introduces the scientific image of the oldest city of the Krasnoyarsk Krai into the world historical science.

O.L. Lushnikova and co-authors used new historical methods, in particular, the method of analysis of oral history in the aspect of study-ing the events of the Great Patriotic War and its impact on the daily life of the population of the Krasnoyarsk Krai. This article is important for the all-Russian and world anniversary – the 75th anniversary of the Victory in the Great Patriotic War. Based on the analysis of sources – the oral stories of eyewitnesses who are now very advanced in age (which makes this type of historical source extremely important), the patterns of leisure activities during the war, as well as the specifics of urban and rural leisure of youth of this historical period, are revealed. Like other articles of the thematic issue, the authors demonstrate an effective combination of empirical historical research and serious conceptual generalisations. The results of this study will be in demand by historians of various fields – in the field of the history of Siberia, the history of Russia, the history of socio-cultural activities, and the history of leisure activities (Lange, 2012). It is also important to test the method of oral local stories, which is currently becoming a significant trend in the modern humanities (Morrone & Crisei, 1995; Perlmutter, 1994).

The history of Siberia is the history of a complex multicultural and multi-ethnic community (Koptseva, 2014; Naumov, 2006; Wood, 2011, et al). The history of the most diverse ethnic and cultural groups unfolds in a single social space. The article by M. Ulanov and co-authors reveals some important aspects of the gender and religious history of Siberian Buryats. It examines the complex status of women in the Buryat tradition, the history of changes in this status, the relationship of social identities with purely religious and purely ethnic ones. The authors pay special attention to the change in the level of Buddhist religiosity among the Buryat ethnocultural group, as well as to the strengthening of the role of women in modern Buddhist religious communities. These trends are contrary to the traditional low status of women in classical Buddhism; however, they correspond to the global trends of Buddhism in a number of modern Mahayana schools, which include Buryat Buddhism. The authors report a number of interesting facts, for example, about the predominance of women among Buddhist believers who are actively

practicing Buddhist religious practices. The regional history of the Buddhist religion presented in this article is of great importance for the history of world religion, including modern Russia and modern countries where Buddhism prevails (we are talking not only about the countries of Southeast Asia, but also about the corresponding Buddhist communities in European and North American regions).

The theme of the history of Buddhism in Buryatia is continued with the article by our long-time author D.D. Amogolonova devoted to the religious politics of late imperial Russia. The author expands the problem area of research and uses the comparative-historical and comparative-conceptual approaches, revealing the contradictions between the Orthodoxy of the late Russian Empire and the traditional Buddhist religion of the Buryats. However, this article does not focus on historical chronological narrative, it puts forward and proposes new solutions to the problems of ethnic, cultural and religious identity, reveals the features of identification processes in a complex socio-cultural Siberian space, where Christianity and Buddhism, ideological monoliths and complex ideological constructs intersect. Since the modern ideological space is just characterised by the increased complexity of its constructs, the historical aspects of their formation are extremely important not only for historical science itself, but also for the humanities as a whole.

The research by V.N. Asochakova and co-authors continues the theme of the ethnocultural history of the indigenous peoples of Siberia. They aim to reveal the history of local communities of the Khakass-Minusinsk Krai in the context of the history of religions, including large faiths and small religious groups. The authors consider the reasons why stable religious communities in this territory did not develop. Similar to other articles of our thematic issue, historical empiricism passes into a substantiated conceptual generalisation, reveals the features of border communities, specific contradictions between different ethnic religious groups. Archival materials that have not previously been published, are introduced; a large historiographic review with its own scientific value is made.

The latest history of migration is revealed in the work by T.D. Egorova and co-authors which presents a scientific model of the pattern of migrants' concentration in one of the areas of Stockholm (Sweden) based on an extensive empirical study. The authors reveal the features of the urban history of the modern European state, which, according to a number of socio-economic and cultural parameters, occupies one of the first places in the world. The history of European urban studies is complemented by identifying the reasons for the formation of such immigration urban communities in the Swedish capital. We see how historical research allows us to draw the most important theoretical conclusions related to migration and ethnocultural studies. The findings of this study are completely relevant to the current Russian, including Siberian, issues where the main problem of migration is the formation of the so-called ethnic enclaves, a type of migration 'ghetto'. What North European states such as Sweden encounter in their recent history is the immediate future for us. Thus, the main conclusions of this article are important for our Russian experts and analysts closely monitoring migration flows in Russian cities.

The second group consists of studies related to the latest trends, including science and education, the history of science and the history of education. In modern northern studies, there is great interest in topics related to prehistoric animal mammoths. The article "The History of World and Russian Mammoth Studies" by V.S. Luzan and co-authors is devoted to the history of social research and the representation of the concept of "mammoth" in modern world and domestic culture. The authors consider an extensive regulatory framework related to the mammoth remains in the northern and Arctic territories. Modern cultural products also actively use the positive image of the mammoth in animated films. Russian cities use the image of the mammoth in their coats of arms. The mammoth really turns into a 'concept', and the history of the formation of this concept is rightfully presented in the historical issue of our journal.

The history of scientific research of the state national policy is disclosed in the article

by Yu.S. Zamaraeva and co-authors. It is generally recognised that Soviet national state policy was advanced and unique. The essence of this uniqueness is represented by authors who actively use the methods of historical analysis and historical comparisons. No wonder state practices of cultural national construction are actively discussed today in various modern states that are looking for new ways of social development in the context of new technological revolutions. It is the national issue that is today acute in many multicultural modern states. The Soviet experience presented in the article is important and is taken into account by politicians of very different orientations.

Finally, the third group of studies is devoted to various metahistorical aspects of modern historical knowledge, the conceptual and methodological basis of modern history. The most important modern technology in the humanities and social sciences is digitalisation technology. On its basis, new formats for the organisation of intellectual work appear in university scientific libraries. This issue is revealed in the work by R.A. Baryshev and co-authors in the article on the transformation of library technology into the digital era. The question of changing and strengthening the role of libraries in the modern history of Russia is also an issue of how to form historical and cultural memory and transfer cultural heritage. The authors propose a solution to a number of discussion issues, referring to the current experience of Siberian Federal University.

The philosophy of history emerges in the 19th century and remains one of the most important forms of metahistorical knowledge (Tuchman, 1994). The application of the category of ideal for research in the field of the history of religion is described in the article by T.V. Izluchenko and co-authors. The philosophical foundations of modern historical research replenished with a meaningful conceptual text. Moreover, in a rather rare case, philosophical studies have a bright applied focus. However, this time historical and philosophical research is connected with the prevention of religious extremism, on the basis of the concept presented in the article, it is possible to formulate criteria for classifying a

particular group, a particular text as extremism, or, on the contrary, to make sure that extremism is absent there. This applied focus of the research is one of the significant trends in modern Russian science. The analysis of the utopian worldview, which is considered in its connection with extremist ideas and concepts, is of particular interest.

The recent history of Tuvan education and Tuvan universities is revealed in the article by O.M. Khomushku and co-authors. At the present stage in the history of Tuvan university education, a trend towards academic mobility has developed and has become possible for scientific analysis. At the universities of the Siberian Federal District, the processes of academic mobility of Tuvan students facilitate the exchange of scientific and educational experience. At the same time, Tomsk universities, which are discussed in this article, are among the best Russian and world universities. The recent history of Tuvan higher education can be understood precisely in this positive trend. The authors describe specific practices of academic mobility and indicate the specific cultural peculiarity of these practices.

Modern ideologemes significant for the history of culture are analysed and discussed in the article by N.Yu. Beregovaya and O.A. Karlova. The classical problem of the national idea is reflected in scientific research, summarising the numerous scientific and expert discussions on the problems of Russia's own historical and civilisational path. The authors consider an important metahistorical problem of the formation of new forms of social identities, the basis for which is one or another historical memory. The problem of markers for cultural boundaries is posed, and assumptions are made that the absence of such borders is rather an ideological manipulation than a social or humanitarian reality. Based on the synthesis of historical and cultural materials, researchers show the reality of a multicultural community and reveal the essence of its ideological foundations.

Thus, the first historical thematic issue presented to the attention of our readers and experts gathered rather extensive and representative issues of historical research. The emphasis on the regional dimension is noticeable. The

use of new research methods, both conceptual and specialised historical, is noteworthy. New archival materials were introduced into scientific use, the history of science and education was replenished with new scientific facts. Topical issues of migration are revealed on the examples of interesting cases. We hope for feedback and expect a heated discussion from our readers, including on the pages of our scientific journal.

References

Abbott, A. (1990). Conceptions of time and events in social science methods: Causal and narrative approaches. In *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History*, 23(4), 140-150.

Kistova, A.V., Zamaraeva, J.S., Pimenova, N.N., Reznikova, K.V., Koptseva, N.P. & Seredkina, N.N. (2016). Regional Peculiarities in Modernization Processes within the Territories of Central Siberia. In *International Review of Management and Marketing*, 6(4), 857-865.

Koptseva, N.P. (2014). Expert analysis of the main trends of Northern Siberia's Indigenous small-numbered peoples economic development. In *Economic Annals-XXI*, (11-12), 93-96.

Koptseva, N.P., & Reznikova, K.V. (2015). Refinement of the causes of ethnic migration North Selkups based on the historical memory of indigenous ethnic groups Turukhansk district of Krasnoyarsk Krai. In *Bylye gody*, (38), 1028-1038.

Lange, M. (2012). *Comparative-historical methods*. Sage.

Mahoney, J. (2003). Strategies of causal assessment in comparative historical analysis. In *Comparative historical analysis in the social sciences*, 337-72.

Mahoney, J. (2004). Comparative-historical methodology. In *Annu. Rev. Sociol.*, 30, 81-101.

Morrone, J.J. & Crisci, J.V. (1995). Historical biogeography: introduction to methods. In *Annual review of ecology and systematics*, 26(1), 373-401.

Naumov, I.V. (2006). *The history of Siberia*. Routledge.

Perlmutter, D.D. (1994). Visual historical methods: Problems, prospects, applications. In *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History*, 27(4), 167-184.

Tuchman, G. (1994). *Historical social science: Methodologies, methods, and meanings*. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (p. 306–323). Sage Publications, Inc.

Wood, A. (2011). *Russia's Frozen Frontier: A History of Siberia and the Russian Far East 1581-1991*. A&C Black.

Введение к тематическому номеру журнала Сибирского федерального университета «Историческая наука: региональные и мировые тенденции»

Н.П. Копцева

Сибирский федеральный университет
Российская Федерация, Красноярск

Аннотация. Во вступлении к тематическому номеру, посвященному российской исторической науке, раскрывается принцип формирования исследований, результаты которых здесь презентуются. Рассматривается актуальная проблематика современного исторического знания, раскрывается суть представленных материалов, их значение для современной науки. Определяются главные тенденции развития исторического, историко-культурного, историко-науковедческого знания в контексте мировой линии современных гуманитарных наук. В основу всех исследований были положены определенные концептуальные и методологические подходы, ряд статей подготовлены по итогам прошедшего в октябре 2019 года Сибирского исторического форума. Обращено внимание на региональную сибирскую проблематику ряда статей, а также выделяются работы, связанные с историей гуманитарных наук, историей гуманитарного образования в высших учебных заведениях Сибирского федерального округа. Особое внимание уделяется этнической и миграционной проблематике, рассматриваются кейсы, связанные с этими исследованиями. Географическая представленность авторов широка: от г. Москвы до г. Улан-Удэ. Достаточно большой раздел посвящен истории различных этнокультурных групп, принадлежащих к коренным народам Сибири. Историческая наука имеет особое значение в контексте проблематики исторической и культурной памяти. Данный тематический номер журнала Сибирского федерального университета «Гуманитарные науки» имеет целью формировать эту историческую память на объективной научной основе.

Ключевые слова: историческая наука, российская история, история Сибири, история науки, история культуры, история образования.

Научные специальности: 07.00.00 – исторические науки, 24.00.00 – культурология.

Religious Policy in Late Imperial Russia: State and Orthodox Church in the Buryat Spiritual Space

Darima D. Amogolonova*

Institute for Mongolian
Buddhist and Tibetan Studies SB RAS
Ulan-Ude, Russian Federation

Abstract. The paper analyses the situation that took the most expressed forms since the late 19th century and reflected strengthening criticism from the Orthodox Church against both the Buddhist clergy and the Russian state. The contradictions between the state and the Orthodox policies were caused by differences in principles, since when giving Buddhism some legitimacy the government was guided by the interests of Russia in the east of the Empire, while the Orthodox Church saw its task in suppressing the influence of the Buddhist clergy through the soonest religious and ideological homogenisation of Buryats with the ethnic Russian population.

* Corresponding author E-mail address: amog@inbox.ru
  ORCID: 0000-0002-1176-4095

Introduction

Buddhist studies in the context of social and political developments in the Russian Empire prove that the relationship between Buddhists and the Russian state has always remained complicated due to the desire of the authorities to keep Buddhists, and especially their clergy, under constant control (Gerasimova, 1957; Tsyrempilov, 2013, 2014; Amogolonova, 2015, 2017; Sanzheeva, 2015).

This paper focuses on the analysis of a separate aspect of the issue of the existence of Buddhism in the Orthodox state with a special accent on the policy of the Orthodox clergy aimed both at fighting the non-Orthodox religion and at changing the state's attitude towards Buddhists through tougher repressions and rejection of compromises. It is noteworthy that the current head of the Orthodox Church in Buryatia Metropolitan Savvaty, contradicting historical data states that 'the Russian Orthodox Church and the Buddhist traditional Sangha have *always coexisted peacefully* (emphasis added – *D.A.*). We have never competed and never had contradictions. There has been a certain neutrality" (Tsyrenov, 2017: 3). In reality, it was the state policy towards Buddhism that underwent significant changes throughout imperial history including the search for compromises. And the Orthodox Church focused on baptising as many Buryats as possible and, accordingly, on limiting the influence of the Buddhist clergy. In this endeavor, the state, of course, supported the Orthodoxy – the only state religion, the dominant status of which was confirmed even after the Highest Decree on strengthening the principles of religious tolerance (1905). The Code of Laws of the Russian Empire published in 1906 read: 'The primary and predominant faith in the Russian Empire is the Christian Orthodox Catholic Faith' (Article 62), 'The Emperor, as a Christian Sovereign, is the Supreme Defender and Guardian of the dogmas of the predominant Faith and is the Keeper of the purity of the Faith and all good order within the Holy Church" (Article 64) (Svod Zakonov, 1906: 5). According to these articles, which had invariably existed from the 18th century, the Orthodox Church had special rights namely on proselytism (up to 1905):

'Within the state, one dominant Orthodox Church has the right to persuade followers of other Christian confessions and other believers to accept its teachings about faith. ... The spiritual and secular persons of other Christian confessions and non-Christians are strictly obliged to leave alone the conviction of those who do not belong to their religion. Otherwise, they are subjected to penalties defined in Criminal Laws' (Svod Zakonov, 1857: 5). Although the same law stated that 'In the Russian state, the freedom of faith is granted not only to Christians of foreign confessions, but also to Jews, Muslims and heathens' (ibid.), nevertheless religious policy aimed in the long run at the cultural russification of non-Russian subjects at that moment meant strict control over non-Orthodox subjects and their clergymen. Despite this clearly articulated principle, the Orthodox Church headed by The Most Holy Governing Synod, one of the supreme state bodies in Russia, was of opinion that the state did not restrict Buddhists sufficiently, and local officials even contributed to the growth of Buddhist influence among Buryats.

Methods and materials

The relationship between state and religion in Russia, as well as interaction between religious communities, should be considered in a multidisciplinary and multidimensional key. *Aernout* J. Nieuwenhuis notes that for centuries religion has determined the position of the state. From the juridical point of view, it was not about religion itself, but about religious institutions that endowed secular power with necessary legitimacy. At the same time, a fairly strong state, acting as a defender of the faith, sought to regulate the activities of the church and religious communities. This situation persists today, and the nationalisation of the church led to its, often complete, dependence on state power (Nieuwenhuis, 2012: 153–174). However, in imperial Russia, a certain conflict between the secular and religious authorities existed, in particular, in relation to differences in understanding Russia's interests in the policy towards non-Orthodox communities. Sociologist Joachim *Wach* proposed to consider religion from the standpoint of comparative

studies, phenomenology and psychology; for him, the most productive approach, along with theoretical and practical ones, is based on the institutional or social aspect. From the point of view of this old, but not outdated approach, interactions between religious institutions and the state depend on religious values, which, in fact, form the institutions that expressed them (*Wach, 1944).* Continuing this thought, one can say that upholding religious ideology is a way of preserving and strengthening the religious institution and clergy. The ideas about *full legitimacy* of only one official religion and, correspondingly, *hostility* to the state and its interests of all other religions create insoluble contradictions in a multicultural community: division into principal and minor religions inevitably leads to the ideas about the best and worst religious communities or ethnocultural groups. In this respect, a special responsibility falls on researchers.

Among the theoretical principles, the principle of objectivity in Peter Berger's wording deserves special mention: "Every inquiry into religious matters that limits itself to the empirically available must necessarily be based on a 'methodological atheism'" (Berger, 1969: 100). Alongside with objectivity, this principle implies avoidance of valence in considering the relationship between religions and religious communities, regardless of the religious preferences of scholars.

Materials for research and arguments are archival documents of the Russian State Historical Archive (RGIA), St. Petersburg, which according to their content and purpose are subdivided into: 1. Laws, decrees and regulations of the state authorities on religious issues in the Russian Empire; 2. Official correspondence between Orthodox religious organisations in Eastern Siberia and The Most Holy Governing Synod that was the *highest governing body of the* Russian Orthodox Church; 3. Publications in newspapers and magazines concerning the problems of relations between the state, Orthodoxy and Buddhism in the period from the middle of the 19th century till the first decade of the 20th century, as well as books written and published by Orthodox leaders at the same time; 4. Personal letters concerning the research topic written by Orthodox and Buddhist clergy.

These materials fully reflect two trends in the religious policy of the Russian empire. On the one hand, the state and Orthodoxy were unanimous in their efforts to create the religious homogeneity of non-Russian subjects with the Russian majority. However, on the other hand, the state and the Orthodox leadership often came into serious contradictions concerning Buddhism, since in that period the suppression of this religion did not meet the interests of Russia in the east of the Empire and in the international arena.

Results

Strengthened efforts of the Orthodox leadership on Christianisation of Buryats, both shamanists and Buddhists, and demands to restrict the activities of the Buddhist clergy even more are apparently connected with Alexander II's ascension to the throne in 1855. As he declared the dominant role of Orthodoxy, the steps were expected from him to tighten regulations concerning foreign religions. In particular, the Orthodox authorities were much opposed to *The Regulations on the Lamaist Clergy in Eastern Siberia* (1853) regarding them not limiting, but rather increasing the influence of Buddhist lamas on Buryat Buddhists.

From a formal point of view, Buryats followed the Regulations and were ready to compromise on institutional issues. In this respect, there was a very indicative (and absurd from the modern point of view) situation in 1859 when Khambo Lama Shoibon Yoshizhamsuev passed away. According to the Regulations, three candidates could apply for a vacancy. Nevertheless, none of them met the demands because they did not know Russian. When presenting the problem to the Council of the General Administration of Eastern Siberia, Mikhail Korsakov, future Governor-General, made a proposal to appoint a person 'not hesitating regarding his religious creed'. This person would fulfill all the duties of the Buddhist leader and for this purpose should know the Mongolian and even Tibetan languages and enjoy confidence and special rights from the High Authorities (Lamaity Vostochnoi Sibiri). Mikhail

Korsakov was speaking about Archimandrite Avvakum who was perfectly advanced in Oriental studies and the Orthodox hierarch at the same time, he would be very successful in promoting morality among Buryats and in bringing them to Christianity through convincing them in the advantages of the true religion.

It is noteworthy that such a solution took place with the support of Buryats: at the meeting on election of the the Khambo Lama, clan chiefs of the Transbaikalia region and the Irkutsk Province, as well as deputies from 33 datsans (Tsyrempilov, 2013: 171) agreed to accept any person, including a non-Buddhist as an acting Khambo Lama, at the discretion of the authorities (Pravoslavnaia Missiia). On the initiative of the Governor-General Nikolay Muravyov-Amursky, this unprecedented decision did not come into effect due to political expediency that took into consideration the situation with neighboring Qing China and particularly the Mongols: it was necessary to be especially careful about Buryat Buddhists.

As advocates of Orthodoxy, the Governor-Generals of Eastern Siberia in their activities towards Buddhism were guided by state interests that implied the need not to aggravate relations with non-Russians and look for possible mechanisms to maintain peaceful and even trust based relationships with them. However, the Orthodox Church interpreted state interests in a completely different way, believing that they consisted in the soonest total Christianisation of non-Christians and, thus, destruction of the social basis of Buddhism and more radical restriction of the Buddhist clergy activities. In their numerous reports and letters, missionaries lodged complaints about the malicious obstacles that Buddhist clergy made in Christianisation of Buryats. In 1866, on the basis of a similar report of The Transbaikalia-Irkutsk Orthodox Mission (for more details, see Amogolonova, 2015: 5-41), the Chief Prosecutor of the Most Holy Synod Dmitry Tolstoy wrote an official letter to the Minister of Internal Affairs Piotr Valuev with a request to immediately solve the problems of the missionaries, which consisted both in the poverty of Orthodox preachers and in the activities of the Buddhist clergy, who allegedly did not fulfill the

laws and meet the requirements. The Minister, in turn, sent his own letter to the Governor-General of Eastern Siberia, which repeated the report of the Orthodox mission and the letter from Dmitry Tolstoy. On February 12, 1867, the Governor-General Mikhail Korsakov gave detailed response to the Minister on all the points of specific complaints. He showed high-quality knowledge of the subject matter. According to the missionaries, one of the biggest mistakes of the authorities consisted in the appointment of Khambo Lama by the Emperor and this sealed letter gave Khambo Lama such a moral power in the eyes of Buryats that missionaries had nothing to compare it to (Pravoslavnaia Missiia).

Mikhail Korsakov explains that since there was no such order of appointment to this position, Buddhists considered it necessary to receive approval from the Dalai Lama, since the position of Khambo Lama required the highest approval. And after the highest assertion was introduced by the Russian emperor, no Khambo Lamas appealed to the Dalai Lama; thus, the prohibition of relations with foreign clergy was fulfilled. Besides, Korsakov retorted the missionaries' demand that *shiretuis* and ordinary lamas were appointed and dismissed by the governor with the argument that since 1853, according to the Regulations, this had been fulfilled exactly, thus accusing missionaries of not knowing the situation. The most disadvantaged financial situation of the missionaries compared to the Buddhist clergy prompted the former to demand 'establishing a tax on various fees charged by Lamaist clergy from laymen for performing pagan rituals and for selling various Buddhist spiritual accessories of their superstitions like *burkhans* (statues), spiritual images, prayers, belts, etc.' To this, the Governor-General replied that 'on the basis of the Regulations, for the fulfillment of spiritual demands, the Lamas receive 'voluntary, by no means a forced payment' (§ 47); the sale of burkhans, images, prayers, belts, and other church items is based on the tax, which is annually compiled by the Bandido Khamba and approved by the Military Governor of the Transbaikalia region (§ 55). If Lamas force people to pay for church items, this compulsion

can only be moral, therefore the establishment of a tax can hardly avert it (§ 55).

Representing Buddhists as internal enemies of the state, the missionaries proposed to impose a ban on Buddhist clergy coming to Russia from Mongolia and traveling to Mongolia from Russia on pain of recruiting them to military service or penal *battalions*. Regarding this, Korsakov explained that the violators of this ban are legally turned into a secular state and according to Art. 1589 on the Penalties for criminals are subject to monetary penalty with relocation to remote places in Eastern Siberia. However, such violations, namely, pilgrimage to Tibet, cannot be completely eradicated, because 'the worship of the Dalai Lama, the god who took human flesh and descended to earth to observe the people living on it, is one of the fundamental tenets of Buddha's teaching' (§ 55).

As for the accusations that lamas hinder Christianisation among Buryat Buddhists, Korsakov, in my opinion, rather mockingly replies that 'to be honest, one cannot accuse the Lamaist clergy of obstructing the conversion of followers of their faith to Orthodoxy.' At the same time, he believed that if any illegal actions of the Buddhist clergy took place (negative suggestions about Orthodoxy, conversion of non-Christians including shamanists to Buddhism), they should be punished in accordance with the law, and local officials must control this. To fulfill the regulations, he proposes to bring these laws to the attention of the Buryats by translating them into the Buryat language and widely spreading them among the clergy and laity.

At the end of his extensive response, the Governor-General wrote a very remarkable comment:

> Without resorting to any restrictive measures regarding Lamaist teaching, which are incompatible with the spirit of our legislation and can hardly contribute to spreading Christianity among non-Russian heathens, it would be useful to put our missionaries in Siberia in more materially favorable conditions, and then it is to be hoped that the personal superiority of the

missionaries over the lamas and the truths they preach can be the best guarantee of success in the spiritual business than any police measures (§ 55).

Reasonable arguments of the secular authorities were based on a fairly good knowledge of the situation on the ground. Thus, an official of the Department for the Spiritual Affairs of Foreign Confessions of the Ministry of the Interior prince Esper Ukhtomsky, a diplomat, politician and orientalist, on the basis of his own observations and research, came to the conclusion that any compulsion in Christianisation of heathens was inadmissible. Although since the early 19th century there were strict rules on that point, they were violated by the Orthodox clergy, which believed that forcible Christianisation was completely acceptable. On this occasion, at the Irkutsk Congress of Siberian Eparchs (1885), there was a discussion between the Bishop of Irkutsk and Nerchinsk Veniamin and representatives of the administration. At the same time, the congress raised questions about the unsatisfactory composition of the missionaries, about the facts of the 'irrelevance and harmfulness of their behaviour.' In addition, based on the documents of the Synod Archive, Ukhtomsky argues that 'the local archbishop exaggerates the number of the converted, and missionaries are rude, drunk and ignorant, they burn and insult Buryat cult objects' (Ukhtomsky, 1892: 7). Ukhtomsky, in particular, condemns the behaviour of the leaders of East Siberian Orthodoxy towards unbaptised Buryats, who expressed a desire to study at their own expense in a teachers' seminary, but received a refusal:

> If you do not accept but deny Buryats in their natural and in every way desirable readiness to implement government goals independently, *which leads to gradual and painless Russification* (emphasised by E. Ukhtomsky. – D.A.) – the latter, of course, will not happen soon, and similarly a momentous day when East Siberian lamaits, by conviction, will at least transit to the bosom of the Church will be far (Ukhtomsky, 1892: 7).

Prince Ukhtomsky occupied a prominent position in the public service and, at the same time, was a recognised liberalist. His convictions, thus, were so to say dualistic: on the one hand, he supported educating patriotic feelings and loyalty to the empire among non-Russians. But on the other hand, he opposed to the methods used by the Orthodoxy when Christian clergy openly discriminated the unbaptised, thus violating Russian legislation and contributing to the growth of discontent with power and anti-Russian sentiment among them.

Of course, the Orthodox clergy of Eastern Siberia, alongside with numerous claims to the central authorities, made great efforts to prevent the growing influence of Buddhism among Buryats, especially in Prebaikalia. Although, as it turned out later, in most cases the achieved successes in baptising activities were formal, the leaders of Irkutsk Diocese tried their best in converting Buryats and Evenks to Orthodoxy. Highest Siberian clergy not only made inspection trips to the territories entrusted to them, but also personally participated in the agitation and baptism of the indigenous groups. In his report for 1867, Irkutsk Archbishop Parfeni gave detailed information about the number of newly baptised and ways to persuade them to convert to Orthodoxy. Among the methods, he named financial assistance in the form of items for baptism (linen, crosses, and icons) and cash allowances for the poor. Explaining the need to bribe non-Russians, the archbishop says:

> Non-Russians often resort to such excuses as: I will be baptised after others will do this; ... therefore it is not surprising that sometimes external attraction – friendship, gifts or honours – helps those who stand on a degree of sensual life to strengthen themselves in the determination of their goodwill. It would be strange to condemn those who are children in their age of spiritual life for the fact that their thoughts are not lofty because sensual wishes of children's age still guide them (Parfeni, 1868: 69-70).

In addition, missioners vividly described the undoubted benefits of baptism giving numerous examples from their practice. In full accordance with stereotypes of public conscience, Buryats baptised voluntary because of naive hopes to recover from diseases: it was a very effective tool in the argumentation. At the same time, late 19th and early 20th century was the time of Buryat social thought and ideology establishment. Buryat national leaders paid attention to Buddhism as one of the channels of national awakening aimed at all-Buryat integration. The Buddhist propaganda among the pre-Baikal baptised Buryats and the recent shamanists was successful. There were numerous reasons for this which included superficial ideas of baptised Buryats about Christianity, the lack of real work of missionaries among the flock, ignorance of Buryat culture by preachers, disrespect for the newly baptised co-religionists (to say nothing about the unbaptised Buryats), who were considered indigenous uncivilised people and, therefore, deserved treating them not as equal co-religionists, but as unreasonable children (Pravoslavnaia Missiia).

The desire to oppose the growing influence of Buddhism made the Orthodox clergy to resort to measures that directly contradicted the laws of the Empire. We are talking about cases of forced baptism (for more details, see Amogolonova, Sodnompilova, 2017: 241-263) that took place even in the late 19th century causing serious protests of Buryats. It is fair to say that the situation changed significantly in 1905 when the Supreme Decree to the Senate "On Strengthening the Principles of Religious Tolerance" was published. From that moment, no one had the right to obstruct the procedure of changing the Orthodox religion to any other. The new legislation was clear in all articles and had to be fulfilled within one month. However, Methodius, the Bishop of Transbaikalia and Nerchinsk, found a loophole in the new law that allowed rejecting petitions on changing Orthodoxy to Buddhism. He found the reason for this in the failure to comply with the condition that applicants had a right to get back to the belief confessed by themselves or their ancestors. As the newly baptised shamanists asked to cross them out of Orthodoxy since they intended to become

Buddhists, while they had never confessed Buddhism before, the bishop considered this to be a strong reason for refusal in the applications. In addition, he blamed Buryats for poor or lack of knowledge of the Buddhist doctrine, thus seeing another sufficient reason to keep them in Christianity (Po adhivu). The Orthodox leaders were forced to stop lawlessness in this field only after the official explanation that transition from Orthodoxy to Buddhism did not need the approval or permission of the Orthodox authorities and simple notification to the secular authorities was enough.

Conclusion

The fight for the supremacy in the Buryat spiritual space lasted for centuries. In this confrontation between Orthodoxy and Buddhism, the Christian religion and the church were supported by the Russian state laws that gave the right to proselytism to the Orthodox Church only. Public opinion was also on its side, and the Russian imperial enlightenment, in particular, by the mass media, contributed this a lot. The strategic task of Christianisation of non-Russians was conceived in terms of the education of imperial patriotism. As a foreign religion, Buddhism, thus, was understood as a potential threat to the Empire.

Buddhist clergy carried out its activities in the framework of prohibitive legislation. Under strict restrictions, the Buddhist lamahood could only seek support from their flock. Loyalty to the tsar and the state became a survival tool for Buddhists, moreover, a profound respect accompanied by presents and reverences was shown to both high officials and low-ranking employees like constables or bailiffs who personified the state.

Expecting support from the state in any way to suppress Buddhism, the Orthodox Church faced the fact that state interests demanded – and these were tactical measures – a certain tolerance towards non-Russians and their religion. In such cases, Orthodox leaders saw nothing but connivance and even anti-state plans in the state structures activities. So, the objects of criticism became well-known and even prominent Siberian leaders (Governor-Generals Mikhail Korsakov and Nikolay Muravyov-Amursky), who were accused of protecting Buddhists and, accordingly, betraying the cause of Christianisation. It is also important to note that in addition to political senses, the inter-religious competition had a pronounced economic connotation. The accusations against the leadership of Eastern Siberia included dissatisfaction with the fact that the state did not interfere with the incomes of the Buddhist clergy and did not set any goals to control, that is, to take money from them somehow. So, in the eyes of the Orthodox clergy Siberian officials became almost enemies of the state and the only state religion.

Fortunately, in modern Russia, the equality of religions and beliefs has become a reality and is a real achievement of social transformations. The struggle for the flock is still topical, but it does not lead to any conflicts and does not have a political connotation. For Buddhism, institutionalisation and inclusion in the Russian socio-political structure turned out to be the most acceptable form for preservation and further development.

References

Amogolonova, D.D. (2015). Buddizm v Buriatii: rossiiskoe gosudarstvo i konfessional'naia konkurentsiia [Buddhism in Buryatia: Russian State and Confessional Competition]. In *Strany i narody Vostoka*, 36, 5-41.

Amogolonova, D.D., Sodnompilova, M.M. (2017). Religiia i identichnost' v Buriatii: konkurentsiia pravoslaviia i buddizma v pozdneimperskii period (na materialakh sankt-peterburgskikh arkhivov) [Religion and Identity in Buryatia: The Competition of Orthodoxy and Buddhism in The Late Imperial Period (on the Materials of the St. Petersburg Archives)]. In *Gosudarstvo, religiia, tserkov' v Rossii i za rubezhom,* 35 (2), 241-263.

Berger, P.L. (1969). *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion*. NY: Anchor Books. 240 p.

Tsyrempilov, N.V. (2014). Buddizm i rossiiskoe gosudarstvo v 19 veke: ot konfliktov k kompromissam [Buddhism and the Russian State in the 19th Century: From Conflict to Compromise]. In *Buddizm v istorii i kul'ture buriat.* Ulan-Ude: IMBT SO RAN, 36-65.

Tsyrenov, M. (2017). Chelovek obretaet sebya [A Man Acquires Himself]. In *AiF v Buryatii,* 3, 3.

Gerasimova, K.M. (1957). *Lamaizm i natsional'no-kolonial'naia politika tsarizma v Zabaikal'e v XIX i nachale XX vekov* [*Lamaism and The National-Colonial Policy of Tsarism in Transbaikalia in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries*]. Ulan-Ude, n.p. [b.i.]. 160 p.

Lamaity Vostochnoi Sibiri [Lamaits of Eastern Siberia]. In *Russian State Historical Archives – RGIA.* F. 821, finding aid 133, item 412.

Nieuwenhuis, A.J. (2012). State and Religion, A Multidimensional Relationship: Some Comparative Law Remarks. In *International Journal of Constitutional Law,* 10 (1), 153-174.

Parfeni (1868). *Irkutskaia dukhovniya missiia v 1867 godu* [*Irkutsk Spiritual Mission in 1867*]. M., V Universitetskoi tipografii (Katkov i Kº). *NSB RGIA.* 108 p.

Po arkhivu Sviateishego Pravitel'stvuiushchego Sinoda. RGIA F. 796, finding aid 189, item 8494.

Pravoslavnaia Missiia sredi inorodtsev-yazychnikov v Sibiri i mery protiv propagandy Lamaiskogo dukhovenstva [Orthodox Mission among Non-Russian Heathens in Siberia and Measures Against Lamaist Clergy Propaganda]. In *RGIA.* F. 821, finding aid 133, item 431.

Sanzheeva, T.E. (2015). Novye dannye o kreshchenii kudinskikh buriat [New Data on the Baptism of Kudinskie Buryats]. In *Buriatovedenie-II. Nauchnoe nasledie E.R. Radnaeva i sovremennoe buriatovedenie.* Ulan-Ude: BGU, 230-233.

Svod Zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii [*Code of Laws of the Russian Empire*] (1906). SPb: Pech. Graficheskogo institute. Vol. 1. Part 1.

Svod Zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii poveleniem Gosudaria Imperatora Nikolaia Pervogo sostavlennyi. Ustavy dukhovnykh del inostrannykh ispovedanii [*Code of Laws of the Russian Empire Compiled by The Decree of the Sovereign Emperor Nicholas the First. The Charters of Spiritual Affairs of Foreign Confessions*] (1857). SPb., Tipografiia Vtorogo Otdeleniia Sobstvennoi Ego Imperatorskogo Velichestva kantseliarii, 11 (1).

Tsyrempilov, N.V. (2013). *Buddizm i Imperiia. Buriatskaia buddiiskaia obshchina v Rossii (XVIII-nach. XX v.)* [*Buddhism and the Empire. Buryat Buddhist Community in Russia (18th-early 20th Century)*]. Ulan-Ude: IMBT SO RAN. 335 p.

Ukhtomsky, E.E. (1892). *O sostoianii missionerskogo voprosa v Zabaikal'e* [*On The State of Missionary Issue in Transbaikalia*]. SPb., Sinodal'naia tipografiia. NSB RGIA. 48 p.

Wach, J. (1944). *Sociology of Religion. Chicago*, University of *Chicago* Press. 418 p.

Религиозная политика в позднеимперской России: государство и православная церковь в бурятском духовном пространстве

Д.Д. Амоголонова

*Институт монголоведения
буддологии и тибетологии СО РАН
Российская Федерация, Улан-Удэ*

Аннотация. В статье анализируются процессы, характерные для межрелигиозных отношений в России во второй половине XIX и начале XX века, когда усилилась критика со стороны православной церкви по отношению к буддийскому духовенству и руководству Восточной Сибири. Противоречия между государством и православной церковью были вызваны тем, что светская власть руководствовалась интересами России на востоке Империи и потому из тактических соображений наделяла буддизм легитимностью, хотя и строго ограниченной. А православная церковь видела свою задачу в подавлении влияния буддийского духовенства посредством как можно более скорого крещения бурят в православие, что подразумевало мировоззренческое единение бурят с русским этническим большинством и обеспечение полной религиозно-идеологической гомогенности населения Восточной Сибири.

Ключевые слова: буддизм, православие, буряты, Российская империя, христианизация, русификация, идентичность.

Научные специальности: 07.00.00 – исторические науки, 24.00.00 – культурология.

On the Formation of Local Communities in the Khakass-Minusinsk Territory in the 19th Century

Valentina N. Asochakova[a,b] and Svetlana S. Chistanova*[b]

[a]*Siberian Federal University*
Krasnoyarsk, Russian Federation
[b]*Katanov Khakass State University*
Abakan, Republic of Khakassia, Russian Federation

Abstract. The purpose of the article is to consider the formation of local communities in the Khakass-Minusinsk Territory in the religious migrant world. The authors refer to religious migrants as migrants who left their place of permanent residence in Central Russia and moved to Siberia in the 19th century in an attempt to preserve and spread their non-Orthodox religion. The authors analyse literature, sources from the Siberian archives, scientific articles and monographs on the life of religious migrants in other regions of Siberia and the Far East.

The article gives a classification of sects, adopted by pre-revolutionary scholars, examines in detail the representatives of all faiths living in the Khakass-Minusinsk Territory, namely Molokans, Dukhobors, Skoptsy, Catholics and Protestants, especially Lutherans, their number, farming conditions and interaction with local population.

The conclusion sets out the reasons why local communities in the studied region did not form: the border location of the region, the indigenous population, which was just beginning to accept Orthodoxy, the fragmentation and small number of sectarians.

Keywords: local communities, Khakass-Minusinsk territory, religious migrants, Molokans, Dukhobors, Sabbatarians, Skoptsy, Catholics, Protestants, Lutherans.

Research area: history, culturology.

* Corresponding author E-mail address: asocvn@mail.ru, chistanovaSS@ngs.ru
  ORCID: 0000-0003-1347-7302 (Asochakova); 0000-0002-5714-3729 (Chistanova)

Introduction

The global processes of our time objectively raise the question of regional identity, place and role of local communities. The term of local community entered historical sciences in the 70s of the last century and, like many modern terms, has several definitions. From English into Russian, local community can be translated as a community of people in any space. But domestic historians put a broader meaning into this concept (Orekhovskaya, 2018: 82). This article discusses the spiritual and religious local communities and the problem of their formation in the Khakass-Minusinsk Territory in the 19th century.

Theoretical framework

In a number of studies, local communities are considered to be a group of people who embody social relations in a particular place, "representing a territorial referent of social and cultural specificity" (Ragulina, 2014). In addition, "a holistic culture of the local community, formed as the result of life in certain natural conditions" is the criterion for distinguishing a group of people into a local community (Kalutskov, 2008). Almost all researchers pay attention to the conjugation of the landscape as a natural-geographical component and the human community. Thus, the compact residence of a group of people united by one religion in a certain territory can be considered a local community.

Statement of the problem

In the framework of this article, we will consider one of the factors in the formation of local communities in the 19th century, namely, religious migration. Migrants, representatives of a particular religious denomination, change their place of residence within the same country and even one region, while they seek to preserve the values and traditions inherent in their culture and affect the local population. If these emigrants practice a religion that is different from the dominant one, in our case, the Orthodox, having arrived at a new place, they retain their religious identity, and also try to extend it to the local population, especially if they were forced to emigrate for religious rea-

sons. Religion was and is a criterion of social differentiation and often a source of social conflict. Therefore, inter-confessional differences are one of the sources of not only religious, but also cultural confrontation, leading to the separation of people.

Religion is associated with the civilizational mechanism, which, in comparison with the ethnic one, provides a wider field of communication that spans the boundaries of all local groups. In a substantial aspect, interfaith relations are realized at two levels: doctrinal (a form of correlation of religious systems and ideas) and institutional (a form of correlation of the interests of faiths).

Methods

In interfaith relations there are four types of relationships: conflict, indifference, cooperation and dialogue. The formation of types depends on a number of particularly on the course of historical events, the leading type of cultural paradigm, and the characteristics of the historical and social development of an ethnic group.

Religion appears in numerous directions and confessional varieties. Various creeds form their own worldview, specific features that are manifested in normative relations, in the daily behaviour of adherents in various spheres of public and personal life. Significant differences present in morality, in moral relations, ideas, characteristic of a particular religion.

There is a hierarchy of faiths In Russia: the Russian Orthodox Church held a dominant position; recognized denominations included Christian non-Orthodox Catholic and Protestant churches and non-Christian churches – Buddhism, Islam, Judaism, paganism; tolerant denominations included Old Believers and some sects; the unrecognized and intolerant denominations included Pashkovites, Dukhobors, Molokans, Sabbatarians, Skoptsy. All sectarians were usually divided into three groups "according to the degree of harmfulness" without taking into account the religious characteristics of each sect. In 1864, an attempt was made to change this classification, based on the attitude to the state and society, the attitude to the Russian Orthodox Church. This attempt did not lead to anything. But, nevertheless, in 1883,

the term "especially harmful sect" disappeared from the "Code of Criminal and Correctional Sentences". Before the revolution, researchers had divided the sects into rationalistic and mystical, this division was not official, legislatively fixed. Rationalist sects (Dukhobors, Molokans, Baptists, etc.) interpreted the Bible based on reason. Mystical sects (Skoptsy, Khlysty) learned the truth through inner revelation, often in a state of ecstasy, reincarnation, dialogue with God (Suslova, Zvorygina, Yarkova, 2017: 205-206).

Discussion

In the south of the Yenisei territory, the landscape naturally restricted the migration of the indigenous population and newcomers and influenced the localization of faiths. The number of representatives of various sects was insignificant, official statistics took into account only Skoptsy, Molokans, Dukhobors and Sabbatarians. Moreover, due to the fact that all sects led a secretive lifestyle, there is no exact data on their numbers.

The eviction of sectarians from the central provinces to Siberia began in the 1920s of the 19th century. The Molokans were sent to the Khakassia-Minusinsk Territory by decision "On the Proposed Settling of Molokans (a schismatic sect) in Siberia" dated October 4, 1827. The state sought to isolate them geographically, so the obligatory conditions for resettlement were the absence of other settlements nearby, the possibility of allocating 25 tithes of arable land, not "adjacent to each other", a sufficient number of meadows and forest.

Spiritual Christians (Molokans and Dukhobors) of Siberia did not live in local, isolated settlements, but among other inhabitants. The authorities exiled the Molokans (and the Dukhobors, without clarifying the differences in their beliefs) to remote and inaccessible places in Siberia, they were ordered to be exiled to the Yakutsk region. When the Russian development of the Far East began, the government used the Molokans as the first resettlement resource. The path to these new lands was difficult, associated with heavy human losses, but in the Far East the Molokans were

able to form a local community, they found material benefits (provided by the government to all migrants) and tolerance of the local population. It was here that the Molokan communities achieved great economic success. Their public positions were strong until the 1917 revolution (Buyanov, 2017: 63).

The situation with sectarians in the Khakass-Minusinsk Territory was different: The Governor-General of Western Siberia P.M. Kaptsevich wrote that there were no places suitable for the resettlement of spiritual Christians in Western Siberia, but there was the Sagai steppe in the Yenisei province. To which A.P. Stepanov, the governor of the Yenisei province, replied that it was dangerous to resettle the Molokans in Khakassia, since there was a border between Russia and Mongolia, in addition, there were no lands suitable for agriculture in the steppe, "it contains the main heritage of the Tatars of the Minusinsk district". And, what is most important, the "Tatars of the Minusinsk district" were already "unstable in faith."[1]

Due to the position indicated by the provincial administration, there were few Molokans in the Khakassia-Minusinsk Territory; by 1837, according to official figures, 36 people had lived there (4 people in Minusinsk, 8 people in the village of Tesinskoye, 12 people in the village of Bir, and 12 people in the village of Novoselovo).

The Molokans were socially isolated, they were forbidden to communicate with the Orthodox and, especially, with the indigenous people, to hire them, etc. In 1852, Arseny Grischenkov, an Askiz priest, complained that "some foreigners work for Molokans and Sabbatarians in the village of Iudino for years. A search was initiated and the assessor of the Steppe Duma Cheblak Chemakchinov reported that there were no such, i.e. working in annual hiring, but "there are those who work on a daily basis by agreement" and noted that he "did not notice the skills of Molokan rites among foreigners." The head of the village of Iudino reported that "in general there are no Orthodox foreigners in the village."[2] The government,

---

[1] SAIR. F. 24. Op. 3. T. 1. K. 3. D .37. L. 1–7 ob.
[2] NARKh. F. I-2. Op. 1. L. 489. L. 1–3.

prohibiting the conversion of Orthodox Christians to any non-Orthodox faiths, protected the converts from co-religionists. For example, Molokan families who converted to Orthodoxy received benefits from the state, Molokan wives could divorce, marry the Orthodox, and leave with their children for a new family[3].

The Dukhobor sect arose in the second half of the 18th century among the state peasants of the Voronezh province as a protest against feudal serfdom. The followers considered themselves "fighters for the spirit" – hence its name. The Dukhobors did not recognize the clergy, temples, icons, sacraments, fasts, monasticism. They understood God as "wisdom", "good", "love" being in the world, and present in a believer. Prince N.A. Kostrov, historian, ethnographer, being the district chief, in 1855 wrote "they believe in the Trinity and the Resurrection, but they do not accept the sacraments."[4]

In Eastern Siberia, the Dukhobors appeared after a special circular (1833) that determined the places of their settlement. And soon, in the 30-50s of the 19th century settled in the Khakass-Minusinsk Territory, mostly following the wave of "Kiselev" relocations.[5]

The Sabbatarian sect that arose in Russia at the turn of the 17th – 18th centuries among the landlord peasants of the central regions of Russia got its name due to the fact that its followers celebrated Saturday. It is usually referred to as the Judaic, i.e. religious associations with a non-Jewish etymology, which profess the "Mosaic Law" in one form or another. Such groups usually arose under the influence of Judaism or as a result of an autonomous study of the Old Testament (Khizhaia, 2015: 160)

In the 19th century tens of thousands of people were ranked as Sabbatarians; they lived in thirty provinces of the Russian Empire. The followers of this sect were large merchants and industrialists, and they, as a rule, belonged to the top of a religious group (Klibanov, 1974: 22, 153, 176, 197). On the territory of the Khakass-Minusinsk Territory, most of the Sabbatarians lived in the village of Iudino, Shush-

enskaya volost, where they were exiled by the government in the 1920s of the 19th century[6].

Skoptsy formed in Russia as a sect in the 18th century after unsuccessful uprisings of peasants. They got their name due to the operation of castration, which had a ritual character. All followers were supposed to go through this procedure. According to representatives of this religious group, human sinfulness is the result of carnal desires. The Skoptsy did not voluntarily enter the Khakassia-Minusinsk Territory, all of them were there by court order. Let us cite Fedor Zhuravlev and Vasily Ivanov as an example; the first of them was "convicted for self-incineration, the last one was for participating in the commission of the aforementioned crime. Since the convicts had long been imprisoned, they were sent to "the most remote place in the Minusinsk district."[7] In 1861, 224 Skoptsy lived in the Yenisei province, of which 157 people, i.e. 70%, lived in the Khakass-Minusinsk Territory. The government resettled the Skoptsy in Minusinsk, in the village of Tigritskaya (96 people) and in the village of Murino. In Minusinsk the Shchegoltsovs, the Gurkovs, the Yurievs, who were petty bourgeois Skoptsy, lived.

At the end of the 19th century, in connection with the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway, the number of sects and sectarians increased. And after the proclamation of the principle of religious tolerance (Decree of April 17, 1905), which granted every adult Russian citizen the right to profess any Christian doctrine, the total number of sectarians in Siberia and the Far East amounted to about 26 thousand. The sectarians took advantage of the decree and, moving to the Siberian provinces, began to conduct active propaganda there.

8.9% of the population considered themselves Catholics in Russia, 5.2% regarded themselves as Protestants. The position of the Western Christian denominations was legalized in the 19th century. The Lutheran church was legislated in 1832, and the Catholic one was later in 1857. The status of these churches was naturally limited, but freedom to profess Catholicism and Protestantism was recognized.

---

3 Ibid. D. 623. L. 4.
4 MGI "ACM". F. 106. Op. 1. D. 22. L. 101–101 ob.
5 SATR. F. F-170. Op. 1. D. 86. L. 25–77.

6 MGI "ACM". F. 106. Op. 1. D. 22. 101–101 ob.
7 SAIR. F. 24. Op. 3. T. 1. K. 18. D. 488. L. 1–4.

These religions were usually practiced by ethnic minorities, i.e. Poles, Germans, Latvians, Estonians, Finns, Swedes, etc. Catholic and Protestant churches instilled moral principles, customs and traditions of Russian nationalities in their parishioners, although most of them belonged to one ethnic group. The national policy of the Russian Empire for several centuries implemented the principle of anti-Catholicism, which had a clear political tone. Catholic or Lutheran issues were not considered independently, they entered the context of political and ethnic relations, were associated with a complex of state and national problems.

Catholics and Lutherans were exiled to the Khakassia-Minusinsk region for political reasons in the 19th century. From 1821 to 1827, 22 Polish exiled settlers arrived in Shushensky volost. After the suppression of the Polish uprising of 1830-1831 Anton Dozherolov, Osip Kliarner, Wojciech Levodovsky, Ferdinand Milevsky, Reginsky, Khelmitsky were exiled to Minusinsk; Ippolit Korsom was exiled to the village of Shushenskoye; Tomash Prezhdetskiy was exiled to the village of Ermakovskoe. In the city of Minusinsk at the end of the 19th century the Polish diaspora was formed, consisting of the Wojciechowskis, the Korzhenevskiis, the Andronovskiis and others. In the house of N.O. Wojciechowski, a Catholic chapel was built, in which services were held with the participation of the parish priest Franchisk Skobeika from Krasnoyarsk (Leonchik, 2016).

Representatives of the Evangelical Lutheran faith in the Yenisei province appeared in the middle of the 19th century – Finns, Estonians, Latvians and Germans were exiled "for unimportant crimes". Member of the statistical committee, current state adviser, chairman of the Yenisei provincial government V. Gaupt in his report "The state of the colony of exiled Lutheran confessions in the Shushensky volost, Minusinsk district from 1850 to 1865" noted that colonies were established for the resettlement of exiled convict Lutherans, and pastors were appointed for the purpose of "spiritual edification" and "observation of their morality."

All the criminals of the Lutheran confession who lived in the Yenisei province absentmindedly went from Krasnoyarsk, Tobolsk, Achinsk and other places to the Shushensky volost to specially formed villages (Second Memorial Book, 1865: 58, 73, 78). But the local community was not formed here as well; the state confessional policy ordered to resettle "all three tribes" in different colonies in order to avoid "misunderstandings, troubles and quarrels" between settlers, "special moral weaknesses and vices, for example, not to allow Finns to drink", as well as the opportunity to send worship and teaching in schools in their native language.

In the village of Upper Suetuk of the Ermakov Volost, founded in 1851 by Yuri Kuldemeä, it was planned to place Finns, in Nizhny Bulanka (1858) it was planned to place Latvians (later the Germans arrived there), Estonians were planned to place in the Upper Bulanka founded in 1861. In 1859, there were 54 Finnish criminals convicted of criminal offenses, vagrancy, misconduct, theft, etc. from among peasants, apprentices, and retired soldiers under the supervision of a pastor appointed with the consent of the Finnish Senate in the Upper Suetuk section[8]. Most of the exiles were unmarried people, while the ratio of male and female population was extremely unfavourable and averaged 1: 9, which contributed to the conclusion of mixed marriages (Second Memorial Book, 1865: 60, 64–68, 75).

The choice of terrain for the founding of the Lutheran colonies was very successful. The settlements turned out to be around 100 versts from the county town of Minusinsk. The presence of free land and soil fertility made it possible to allocate plots of 15-21 acres per male per capita. In 1860, a school was founded in the village of Nizhny Bulanka, which was supported by funds allocated by the central committee of the auxiliary fund for Lutheran parishes in Russia. Teaching at the school was in Latvian and German and was compulsory for all children. In 1886 in the Latvian-German Lower Bulanka, in 1888 in the Finnish-Estonian Upper Suetuk, Lutheran churches, built at the expense of compatriots in the homeland in favour of the "lost countrymen", were consecrated. Of course, the creation of a religious community was necessary due to the crowding of criminal

---

8 MGI "ACM". F. 42. Op. 1. D. 1023. L. 4–15.

elements. Priests lived in the community permanently. The pastor received 1,500 roubles of salary per year and had in his use a plot of land, mowing and a church house, and the catechist had 360 roubles of salary, an apartment in the church house, as well as a plot of land and mowing (Bykonya, 2007: 38, 119, 177).

In 1893, a library partnership was founded in Nizhny Bulanka. Its collections contained about 300 titles of literature and 12 periodicals in the Latvian language, mainly of religious content. Surveys in Siberia revealed that 95% of Lutherans were literate. During the rite of maturity young men at the age of 18 and girls at the age of 16 were confirmed with the condition of being able to read the Law of God and know the Old and New Testaments (Ivanova, 2004: 177).

In 1857, the first group of Latvians arrived from the Valmiera County of Latvia (the Livonia Province of Russia at that time), convicted of various crimes against the masters. They were assigned to live in a settlement in the distance of 80 km southeast of Minusinsk, in the fertile valleys of the Suetuk and Kebezh rivers, near the confluence of the Bulanka River in the Kebezh. The colony gradually grew, and already in 1864 975 people lived in it (Ivanova, 2003: 110).

In the middle of the 19th century several rural communities were formed, consisting of 14 boundary communities and colonies for exiled settlers. The largest of them were the Ermakovskaya, Zheblakhtinskaya, Upper-Kebezhskaya, Grigoryevskaya, Kindyrlykskaya, Migninsky, Raz''ezhenskaya, Salbinskaya communities, the Upper-Bulankovskaya, Lower-Bulankovskaya, Upper-Suetukskaya and Lower- Suetukskaya colonies, where the villages were located.

Conclusion

During the study period, the Russian government avoided the resettlement of representatives of non-Orthodox faiths in the region, which retained geopolitical importance, where a significant number of indigenous people who professed paganism lived. The role of the state intensified in confessional politics and the hierarchy of religious tasks, which is determined by a combination of geopolitical, socio-economic, and religious factors. Secular and spiritual authorities pursued a policy of religious isolationism in the region due to the border situation of the Khakass-Minusinsk Territory and the presence of a large number of autochthons. All non-Orthodox faiths in the region were fragmented, unorganized, and represented to a lesser extent than other parts of Siberia. Having studied this issue, we can argue that local communities as a result of religious migration in the Khakass-Minusinsk Territory did not form. Despite the fact that in the 19th century representatives of all faiths (dominant, recognized, tolerant, unrecognized, and local pagan population) lived in the territory of the region, interfaith relations that developed in the region can be described as cooperation. At the same time, the existence of many social, ethnosocial, and confessional groups, the borders between which were blurred, made ethnic and cultural and social contacts and the process of integration of society somewhat difficult.

References

Buyanov, D.E. (2017). Dukhovnye khristiane v Sibiri i na Dal'nem Vostoke (vtoraia polovina XIX – nachalo XX v.) [Spiritual Christians in Siberia and in the Far East of Russia (second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries)]. In *Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta* [*Tomsk State University Journal*], 418, 62-70. DOI: 10.17223/15617793/418/8

Bykonya, G.F. et al. (2007). *Mezhetnicheskie sviazi Prieniseiskogo regiona: sbornik dokumentov. Ch. 1: 1609-1916* [*Inter-ethnic relations of the Yenisei region: a collection of documents. Part 1: 1609-1916*]. Krasnoiarsk, 215 p.

Chistanov, M.N. (2007). O sotsial'noi ontologii [Concerning social ontology]. In *Vestnik Novosibirskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Seriia: Filosofiia* [*Bulletin of Novosibirsk State University. Series: Philosophy*], T. 5, 1, 34-40

Evdokimov, A.I. (2018). Vliianie tsentral'no-aziatskoi migratsii na sotsial'nuiu sferu zhizni obshchestva v respublike Khakasiia [Influence of Central Asian migration to the social sphere of society in the Republic of Khakassia. In Ecology of Southern Siberia and adjacent territories]. In *Materialy XXII nauchnoi shkoly-konferentsii studentov i molodykh uchenykh "Ekologiia Iuzhhnoi Sibiri i sopredel'nykh territorii"* [*Proceedings of the 22th International Scientific Conference of students "Ecology of Southern Siberia and adjacent territories"*], Abakan, 188.

Ivanova, I.P. (2003). Nizhniaia Bulanka – koloniia ssyl'nykh liuteran [Nizhniaia Bulanka is a colony of exiled Lutherans]. In *Materialy nauchnoi konferentsii "Religiia i obshchestvo"* [*Proceedings of the Scientific Conference "Religion and society"*], Abakan, 109-114.

Ivanova, I.P. (2004). Vzaimodeistvie i vzaimopronknovenie kontaktiruiushchikh etnicheskikh kul'tur na iuge Krasnoiarskogo kraia [Interaction and interpenetration of contacting ethnic cultures in the south of the Krasnoyarsk Territory]. In *Materialy nauchno-prakticheskoi konferentsii "Sokhranenie i vzaimoproniknovenie natsional'nykh kul'tur kak faktor ustoichivogo razvitiia Prieniseiskogo kraia* [*Proceedings of the Research-to-Practice Conference "Preservation and interpenetration of national cultures as a factor of the sustainable development of the Yenisei region"*], Krasnoyarsk, 177.

Kalutskov, V.N. (2008). *Landshaft kul'turnoi geografii* [*Cultural Geography Landscape*]. Moscow, Novyi khronograf, 320 p.

Khizhaia, T.I. (2015). Iudeistvuiushchie: k probleme definitsii termina [The Judaizers: concerning the definition of the term]. In *Vestnik Sankt-Peterburgskogo universiteta. Seriia 17. Filosofiia. Konfliktologiia. Religiovedenie* [*Vestnik of Saint-Petersburg University. Philosophy and Conflict Studies*], 4, 152-160.

Klibanov, A.I. (1974). *Iz mira religioznogo sektantstva* [*About the world of religious sectarianism*]. Moscow, Politizdat, 255 p.

Leonchik, S.V. (2016). *Ssyl'nye poliaki v Sibiri* [*The exiled Poles in Siberia*]. Krasnoiarsk, SFU, 308 p.

Orekhovskaya, E.V. (2018). Perspektivy lokal'nykh soobshchestv v postidustrial'nom obshchestve [The prospects of local communities in a post-industrial society]. In *Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta* [*Tomsk State University Journal*], 437, 82–87. DOI: 10.17223/15617793/437/12

Ragulina, M.V. (2014). Traditsionnoe prirodopol'zovanie korennykh i malochislennykh narodov Sibiri: tendentsii i paradoksy razvitiia [Traditional nature management of indigenous people and minorities of Siberia: trends and development paradoxes]. In *Izvestiia Irkutskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Seriia Nauki o zemle* [*News of the Irkutsk State University. Series Earth Sciences*], T. 7, 116-129.

Shaidurov, V.N. (2018). On the Emerging Polish Diaspora and its Development in Siberia in the First Half of the 19th Century. In *Journal of Siberian Federal University. Humanities & Social Sciences* 10, (2016 9), 2496-2506.

Smorgunova, V.Yu., Dorskaia, A.A., Protsenko, E.D. (2019). Missionary Activity of the Russian Orthodox Church in Siberia: Historical and Legal Aspect. In *Journal of Siberian Federal University. Humanities & Social Sciences* 6, (2019 12), 939–945.

Suslova, L.N., Zvorygina, V.I., Iarkova I.V. (2017). Problemy klassifikatsii i tipologii sekt (po materialam Tobol'skoi gubernii vtoroi poloviny XIX – nachala XX vv.) [Problems of Sects' Classification and Typology (based on Materials of Tobolsk Governorate of the Second Half of 19th — Early 20th Century)]. In *Nauchnyy dialog* [*Scientific dialogue*], 3: 202-214. DOI: 10.24224/2227-1295-2017-3-202-214.

Vtoraia pamiatnaia knizhka Eniseiskoi gubernii na 1865 i 1866 gg. izdannaia Eniseiskim statisticheskim komitetom [*The second memorable book of the Yenisei province for 1865 and 1866 published by the Yenisei Statistical Committee*] (1865). Sankt Petersburg, Tipografiia K. Vul'fa, 344 p.

List of abbreviations

1. SAIR – Regional State Treasury Institution "State Archive of the Irkutsk Region".
2. SATR – State Archive of the Tomsk Region.
3. NARKh – state treasury institution of the Republic of Khakassia "National Archive".
4. MGI "ACM" – municipal government institution "Archive of the city of Minusinsk".

К проблеме формирования локальных сообществ в Хакасско-Минусинском крае в XIX в.

В.Н. Асочакова[а,б], С.С. Чистанова[б]

[а]*Сибирский федеральный университет*
Российская Федерация, Красноярск
[б]*Хакасский государственный университет им. Н.Ф. Катанова*
Российская Федерация, Республика Хакасия, Абакан

Аннотация. Цель статьи – рассмотреть формирование локальных сообществ в Хакасско-Минусинском крае в среде религиозных мигрантов. Под религиозными мигрантами авторы понимают мигрантов, покинувших места постоянного проживания в Центральной России и переселившихся в Сибирь в XIX в. в попытке сохранить и распространить свою неправославную религию. Авторы анализируют литературу, источники из сибирских архивов, научные статьи и монографии, посвященные жизни религиозных мигрантов в других регионах Сибири и Дальнего Востока.

Дана классификация сект, принятая дореволюционными исследователями, подробно рассматриваются представители всех конфессий, проживавших на территории Хакасско-Минусинского края, – молокане, духоборы, субботники, скопцы, католики и протестанты, прежде всего лютеране, их количество, условия ведения хозяйства и взаимодействие с местным населением.

В заключение изложены причины, по которым локальные сообщества в исследуемом регионе не сформировались: приграничное положение региона, коренное население, которое только начинало принимать православие, разобщенность и малочисленность сектантов.

Ключевые слова: локальное сообщество, Хакасско-Минусинский край, религиозные мигранты, молокане, духоборы, субботники, скопцы, католики, протестанты, лютеране.

Научные специальности: 07.00.00 – исторические науки, 24.00.00 – культурология.

Transformation of University Libraries During the Digital Era

Ruslan A. Baryshev, Irina A. Tsvetochkina,
Olga I. Babina, Elena N. Kasyanchuk
and Margarita M. Manushkina*
Siberian Federal University
Krasnoyarsk, Russian Federation

Abstract. The paper considers the transition period of society development, based on the use of digital information and communication technologies. Now the digital economy covers all the spheres of society, so the question of its study is relevant. The transition to a new digital economy model contributes to improving the life quality of the population. In higher education institutions educational paths are changing, a rapid transition from physical to virtual reality is observed. However, the educational environment lags far behind the pace of industrial production based on modern technologies. In such situation, approaches to modernizing the training system need to be developed. This case university strategies, aimed at creating a full environment for the development of education and science, information and knowledge from the intellectual global environment, are being developed. In the context of the transition to digital technologies in education, the library, as one of the main structural divisions of the university, should also become digital.

The paper reveals the different viewpoints of the library community that show the strategy and direction of library development for the digital environment. Libraries are now actively developing information and communications technology providing services to their users, while maintaining traditional forms and methods of working with readers. This symbiosis meets the needs of different groups of readers and users.

On the basis of theoretical research of formation processes and development of electronic library, problems of transition period are considered, strategy of digital library development is identified, technologies of creation and introduction of information resources into university educational environment are determined.

The purpose of the research was to study the activity of using information resources in the educational process and research activities, in order to improve the quality of service to library users. It will identify the attitudes of students towards information resources and library services.

* Corresponding author E-mail address: babina62@yandex.ru, r_baryshev@bk.ru, tsia12@mail.ru, kasyanchuk@inbox.ru, margma@yandex.ru

ORCID: 0000-0002-4383-2830 (Baryshev); 0000-0002-8568-6042 (Tsvetochkina); 0000-0001-6138-8983 (Babina); 0000-0002-9909-3205 (Kasyanchuk); 0000-0002-2369-1882 (Manushkina)

The relevance and importance of the transition to the digital library is noted, the impact of this process on the development of all library activities is analysed, while maintaining the continuity of its main functional purpose. In addition, the emergence of new social and technological tasks is indicated, the specifics of working with digital users are distinguished. The library works with both virtual users and real readers. Book loan and electronic resources to users are analyzed. The library's activities are covered in educational and leisure activities with university students and teachers.
In the article, the recommendations presented will improve the efficiency of the library.

Keywords: fourth industrial revolution, digitalization, digital economy, virtual environment, libraries, information resources, library services.

Research area: history, culturology.

Introduction

Now fundamental changes are taking place in all spheres of society 's life. Such a period is commonly referred to as transformation. Modern society is developing in the context of the total spread of the Internet and the growth of digital technologies that transform the economic, social, cultural and humanitarian environment of our habitat. It changes our lives and the lives of future generations. Transformation is taking place at the level of governments, state institutions, health care, education, etc.

Dr. Klaus Schwab (2016) believes that the fourth industrial revolution is coming, based on the integration of 'cyberphysical systems' into production processes. These systems have the ability to self-adjust and self-learn. Schwab also points to "the mixing of the technologies of the physical, digital and biological worlds that is going to create new opportunities and affect political, social and economic systems". The projected fourth industrial revolution means the emergence of a fully digital industry based on the mutual intersection of industrial and information technologies. The field of application of cyberphysical systems will be extended to all human activities, including economic systems, all types of systems that will support us in our daily lives from medicine to smart houses and cities. The creation of full-fledged cyberphysical systems (Internet of People, Internet of Things and Internet of Services) in the future will lead to approximately the same changes in interaction with the physical world, which led to the World Wide Web (Chernyj, 2018).

With the development of the fourth industrial revolution, terms and phrases such as the digital environment, digitalization and the digital economy are being introduced into our lives. As a rule, the term digital economy refers to a system of economic relations based on the use of digital information and communication technologies. Schreiberg (2018) defined the digital economy as an economy in which all processes are organized online, that develops through the Internet and actively uses information and communication processes and technologies.

The transition to the digital economy and digital society, as the most significant development priorities of any State, updates and increases the importance of the process of digitalization of vocational education. University libraries, as members of the educational community, are called upon to participate in the creation of key conditions in the training system. Libraries should participate in the implementation of educational and research activities of the university, contribute to the formation of an independently and creatively thinking, educated personality.

The processes taking place in modern society influence libraries and force them to change not only the whole system of library's work and resources, but also for the first time raise the question of the very foundations of existence of traditional libraries and their functions. Chunmeng et al. (2019) suppose that the development of technology has made traditional libraries face unprecedented challenges and impacts. Throughout its history, the library has developed from a repository of knowledge for the few chosen to the most popular and universal source of information. However, now there is a marked lag in the development of libraries from the level of modern society. Therefore, in its traditional understanding in the life of modern society, the library plays an increasingly smaller role. That's why the library must determine its place and role in the digital environment.

In the modern world, the library should constantly develop, introduce information technologies: create electronic catalogs, digitize books, launch Internet analogues of the library. The modern library destroys its physical boundaries, moving from real environment to the virtual one. On the one hand, it offers access to information resources owned by other information aggregators, on the other – itself becomes interactive, digitizing its funds and cooperating with other libraries through the Internet (Rosa, 2019; Lenka et al., 2017). The main role of the library is to structure, organize information resources and meet user's needs.

The growing dynamics of technological, economic, social and cultural change poses new tasks for libraries:

– Optimization of library's inner processes based on digital technologies;

– Giving access to the main fund of printed books to everyone who needs it;

– Modernization of the library environment;

– Development and improvement of library services;

– Meeting users' information needs.

The main function of the digital era libraries is to help the community it serves to solve problems related to intellectual activity and adaptation to constant external innovation. The library is transformed into a multi-functional institution, simultaneously performing several tasks of equal importance, which are components of its main activity (Stepanov, 2017). It should be noted that the latest amendments to the Law "About Library Business" (2019) declare the task of forming a "unified Russian electronic knowledge space".

The purpose of this research is to determine the role and place of the university library in the conditions of constant changes according to the requirements presented to universities in the training of competent specialists.

1. Literature review

1.1. Legislative base for the development of the digital economy in Russia

The digital transformation of the Russian economy is becoming one of the main strategic directions of its development. The main peculiarities of the development of Russian society and economy in the context of the fourth industrial revolution were reflected in the National Technological Initiative (2016). A system of road maps, which are implemented in the form of projects, has been identified as the main tool for this initiative.

During 2017-2019, the rate of digitalization has extremely increased in Russia. It was facilitated by the Letter of the President of the Russian Federation V.V. Putin to the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation on the 1st of December in 2016. He spoke about the need to develop the economy of the new technological generation, the so-called digital economy (2016). The development of the digital economy is a strategically important issue for Russia as a whole, determining its competitiveness on the world scene. The changing regulatory framework in Russia is aimed at more rational management of educational technologies. In accordance with Presidential Decree No. 203 of on the 9th of May in 2017 "About Strategy for the Development of the Information Society in the Russian Federation for 2017-2030", one of the most important tasks of the development and application of information and communication technologies for the social sphere is the creation of various technological platforms for distance learning

in order to increase the availability of quality educational services (2017).

Speaking on the 2nd of June in 2017 at the plenary session of the St. Petersburg International Economic Forum, Vladimir Putin specified that the digital economy will let create qualitatively new models of business, trade, logistics, production, will change the format of education, health care, public administration, communications between people, and, therefore, would set a new paradigm for the development of the whole society (2017).

Order No. 1632-r on the 28th of July in 2017 the Program "Digital Economy of the Russian Federation" was approved, which defines the conditions for the development of the digital economy in Russia, where digital data is a key factor of production in all spheres of social and economic activity (2017). At the St. Petersburg Economic Forum in May 2018, much attention was paid to the creation and development of knowledge environment, strengthening the digitalization of education.

The National Programme "Digital Economy of the Russian Federation" (2018) is closely linked to the national projects "Education" (2018), "Science" (2018), "Culture" (2018) and such federal projects as "Regulation of the Digital Environment" (2018), "Personnel for the Digital Economy" (2018), "Digital Technologies" (2018), "Digital Government" (2018), etc.

The adopted normative and legal acts have started the development of the main directions and activities of digital activity in our country. The government has determined that digitalization of the economy will help Russia to solve problems of competitiveness and national security of the country. Thus, all normative and legal acts characterize the state of Russia in the relevant period and outline prospects and directions of development.

1.2. University education in the era of digitalization

The society digitalization development requires people to be flexible and mobile, be able to adapt to changes. In these circumstances, the need to change the system of training of personnel of the highest qualification becomes important for the increasingly changing tech-

nological order. Aleksankov (2017) notes that for a long time most the foreign universities passed in industrialized countries a stage of practical introduction of such models as Life-long Learning, Learning by Doing, model of variable training, etc.

However, we already know that the existing educational system can't keep up with changing needs of rapidly developing industrial production based on new technologies. This situation has led to a conceptual reflection on approaches to modernize the training systems.

The main features, generated by the digital era in this sphere, are (Kondakov, 2017):

1. Education becoming the largest intangible asset of any state. Therefore, its formation and capitalization should be as manageable as possible.

2. The development of digital technologies and telecommunications of the network society changes the ways of creating, transferring and fixing knowledge, the process of personal development of the person, his/her self-identification. Therefore, education that meets the diverse needs of a networked society must also become networked.

3. Digital technologies becoming transnational and transcultural, publicly available and relatively cheap, making any knowledge publicly available.

4. A significant part of innovation in education is already being implemented today through educational and technological start-ups. As a result, outside the formal education system, there is a rapidly growing market for educational services that can lead to new educational standards that meet the emerging and rapidly changing demands and needs of consumers.

5. The dynamics of economic development in conditions of uncertainty, rapid change of technologies create a demand for new competencies and forms of training, including skills and competencies of the twenty-first century; "fast" education under a narrow range of tasks; "long life learning" education ("education on demand", continuous obtaining new knowledge and competences is formal, informal) in the conditions of rapid technological, economic, social and cultural changes.

Thus, the main challenge of the educational system is to change the life cycle of technologies and goods based on the jobs that are required to service these technologies and goods. Today, the life cycle of technologies is becoming comparable to that of training, and there is an increasing threat of disappearance of jobs training for which has begun. If we follow the principle of compliance of the production and educational paradigm, then naturally there is a need for systemic changes in the educational environment. According to Aleksankov (2017), such changes are already being implemented in leading foreign universities and can be classified as following: digitalization of education, personalization of education, design approach, creation of creative environment, creation of inter-university platforms, integration of formal and informal education.

1.3. Problems of library development in the period of digitalization

Professional journals have been discussing possible library reforms for many years. The issue of library modernization still remains open. Nowadays, the process of reform causes the emergence of library activities that are not directly related to the traditional mission of a library: the process, designated by Professor Sokolov (2009) as "debunking", is taking place. The library's original function (collect – store – grant access to documents) is changing. As a result, the role of the library as a social institution changes dramatically (Stepanov, 2017).

The non-informative reasons to visit library are created by foreign and domestic libraries make the task of understanding the library mission relevant. Tikhomirova (2012) spoke a lot about this issue. She noted that the traditional mission of the library, "aimed at socially significant big business, is replaced by small, household affairs". Analyzing the current situation, Babich (2017) estimates the development of social and cultural activities of public libraries as a form of "struggle for survival". The author concludes that reading is replaced by leisure activities and social services that are not characteristic of libraries in their history.

Foreign libraries are also interested in such issues as 'Why do we need library when everything is on the Internet?' or 'Do universities still need to invest in the libraries?' This study argues that libraries are important but, like other organizations, they need an ongoing transformation to remain relevant. In this regard, digital technologies could play a critical role to support such transformation (Limwichitr, 2019).

Russian libraries, in order to remain relevant, have to use extreme measures (Kovaleva, 2013). Library staff offer users non-standard services, create conditions for informal communication of readers. Thus, the author presents the library as a public platform for comfortable communication. Librarians implement a modern international understanding of the library's role as a "public place". Ultimately, this allows the library to unlock the underutilized potential of a significant institution in the formation of civil society (Sokolskaya, Russak, 2015).

From Basov's point of view (2008), "libraries can claim to be the main social institution operating in the sphere of free time, on civic socialization of the population". The same view is held by Sokolskaya et al. (2015). They believe that libraries should realize the most important functions of the social institution – educational, socializing within the framework of leisure activities. Libraries should be a platform for bringing people together for different interests.

The current problems of the library sphere related to the definition of the mission of libraries, their role and place in modern society are presented by Mazuritsky et al. (2019). It is accentuated that the library sphere needs to be modernized. The authors note the lack of a clearly defined public policy in the field of library affairs, which makes it difficult to form library's new unified concept. The main thing about libraries responses to time challenges is their theoretical justification, practical testing, mobility and timeliness.

Rassadina (2018) defines the change of functions of the library in conditions of informatization of society. The functionality of the modern library has long gone beyond the usual

limits, first of all it is due to the needs of the society, used to receive as much service as they can in one point. The search for new forms of work, the rejection of established stereotypes, the use of modern technologies – this is what is necessary in libraries today, in author's opinion.

Research scientists Gendina, Ryabtseva (Gendina, Ryabtseva, 2018), on the basis of processes analysis taking place, reveal four essential entities of the library as a social institution: the library as a phenomenon of culture, the library as a centre of socially and culturally significant information, the library as a foundation for the development of science and new ideas, the library as a stabilizing social factor.

In library science, the problem of classifying library functions as a social institution is debatable. Its social functions often include information, educational, hedonistic, ideological, cultural and educational, compensatory, research and production, educational, pedagogical, cognitive, educational, recreational, educational, memorial, social and cultural, etc. In conditions of global crises, including financial crises, the library should implement its mission, defend the performance of native essential functions even if the current state cultural policy and interests of society do not match (Gendina, Ryabtseva, 2018; Kuznetsova, 2019).

In digital society, citizens have specific needs. Stepanov (2018) determines that the functions of the library as a public institution should be rethought and defined on the basis of these basic needs, as the purpose of the library of the new type is to meet the cognitive interests of citizens. Under fundamentally changed conditions, the library is designed to provide an adequate set of needs-oriented services to their interests. From the institution that collects, stores and provides the public use of the documentary array, the library should become an open innovation and education platform. This platform should support all forms of knowledge and competences for users to adapt to constantly changing living conditions.

In general, taking into account the latest trends presented in professional printing, conferences and exhibitions, the following modern trends in the development of library

affairs in the digital environment can be distinguished: inclusivity, artificial intelligence, green libraries, open access and scientific research, development of "live content", data organization and information search, taxonomy (Schreiberg, 2018).

The library of the future is certainly becoming not only an integral part of the domestic and world information infrastructure, but also one of the main platforms for the formation of the knowledge space. It is libraries – those social, scientific, information and educational institutions, which all their existence support confidence that knowledge will be created in libraries and serve people, the country, society.

1.4. University library in the era of digitalization

Modern concepts of education imply the integration of digital components into the educational process and lead to the creation of a new type of educational institution – a 'digital university'. Accordingly, the library, as one of the main structural subdivisions of the university, should become 'digital'. Digital library makes the accessibility of the information more productive and effective (Raza, 2019; Lippincott, 2015). Digital library is a digital form of library collections and services which includes digitized files of information, cataloged, indexed, and with professional assistance available to help users (Shen, 2019). In a competitive environment, the library can survive only by gaining its own unique place in the digital communications system, providing vital services that no other organization can provide in equal volume and with the same quality.

Modern trends in the development of university libraries are actively discussed in domestic (Russian) periodicals. The library is an integral part of any university. Today it should be a strategic partner of the university, be in continuous interaction with various structures within the university. The main role of the library is to form various kinds of information resources, to provide information to students, teachers, employees of the university (Shamatonova, 2017).

As a structural division of the university, the library is restructuring its activities according to the goals and objectives of the university. Vtyurina (2019) emphasizes that the main tasks of the university library are to ensure physical and electronic access to educational, scientific and information resources, as well as the organization of modern information and library space.

In Kudryashova's monograph (2004) the author specifies that throughout the years of existence the main social functions of the university library remain unchanged – satisfaction of educational requests, preservation and provision of information. Nevertheless, the emphasis on the social role of university libraries is changing.

The modern model of the university library implies its purposeful and effective development on the basis of a carefully designed, structured and planned system of measures, which include the priority of stages, the sequence of their implementation, the availability of resources. University libraries' mission is to be the center of integrated information support of training and research processes. In modern conditions, the mission of the university library can be formulated as following: select, complete, systematize information and provide access to it to university staff and students (Otstavnova et al., 2018).

Modern reader has many demands to the library. He/she wants to receive documents (articles, copies of the source, monographs, textbook) without leaving his/her house (Schreiberg, 2018). The main tasks of libraries today are to improve public access to information and knowledge; to increase the availability of information and communication services; to develop and improve dialogue with user; to improve the level of information awareness of users who should have the necessary competencies (Schreiberg, 2019).

Vahrushev (2018) considers the purpose of the university library to be related to the creation and maintenance of the university's scientific library open archive functioning. He notes that the creation of an open archive is in demand by the scientific community, as all materials stored in it are free of charge. An open archive, formed on a disciplinary or interdisciplinary basis, can become the basis for the creation of an informal association (collaboration, consortium, etc.) around a scientific school or research center (faculty, institute, university, scientific organization).

The conceptual model of the digital era library of a new type, according to Kuznetsov (2019), involves its three-component functional structure: 1) participation in the organization and management of information and knowledge; 2) preserving and ensuring access to cultural and historical documentary heritage, broadcasting cultural samples and humanistic social moral and ethical values; 3) development of social relations and relations with various structures of modern society as an active subject of the system of social communications, including intercultural ones.

Gurdish (2018) wrote that the role of academic libraries in the digital transformation of the universities becomes central. Only those universities that stay relevant and leverage the power of digital and put in place focused digital transformation will survive in the digital era.

Thus, the modern library of the university today should be considered not only as a space for readers to store and receive the necessary information, but also as an educational system for the formation of innovative thinking among readers.

2. Materials and methods
2.1. Research phases

All the work carried out under this study can be divided into three main phases.

At **the first stage**, a detailed analysis of scientific sources was carried out, on the basis of which it was possible to identify existing approaches to the development of university libraries in the conditions of digitalization.

In the second phase, the study examined the usage activity of information resources in the educational process and research activities, with an aim to improve the quality of service to library users. The study identified students' priorities in using library information resources and services.

At the third stage, the analysis of the activity of the Scientific Library of Siberian Fed-

eral University (hereinafter the SFU Scientific Library) was carried out in three main areas of development – formation of information resources, provision of their library users, interaction with library users. The analysis showed that the library is ready to move to a digital environment. The results of the study will improve the efficiency of the library.

2.2. Experimental base of a research

The scientific library of Siberian Federal University is the experimental base of this study.

2.3. Analysis of information needs of library users

Improving the quality of services and working conditions of readers is one of the priorities of the SFU Scientific Library. The questionnaire is conducted regularly in order to attract students to the library and study their interests. The questionnaire method ensures the anonymity of an interviewed, what allows to gather reliable information. This questionnaire was conducted in the form of a written response to questionnaire questions and an online questionnaire. The purpose of the study is to identify the needs of library users to determine further service improvements. 520 SFU students participated in the study. The questionnaire contained nine questions.

The first question 'How often do you use the library services?' determined that more than a third part of respondents (38.4%) visit the library once or twice a week, 23.1% visit the library more often than twice a week, the same number of users use the library services once or three times a month, the rest of respondents (15.4%) indicated other options – "as necessary", "almost never", "when the laptop breaks down", etc. Such activity of users can be explained by the availability of Internet resources. Students come to the library if they cannot find the necessary information on the Internet on their own or when the use of certain library literature is an important condition for successful study of the course or when their teacher's demand.

To the second question, 'Do you know that library services can be used remotely?', 40% of respondents said that they know about them and sometimes use them, 26.2% of respondents know but do not use services; 21.9% of respondents noted that they do not know about services and only 11.9% of respondents regularly use the library remotely. It can be noted that online services are demanded by users. 30.6% of users have problems while looking for information, 55.8% of users sometimes have difficulties with finding information, 21.9% of respondents said that they always find the necessary information. The findings indicate that it is necessary to implement training activities for students more actively.

The fourth question was asked to form the information literacy program of users: 'What forms of training to find information and work with information resources in the library are the most attractive for you?' (see Fig. 1). Most of respondents chose online consultations, re-
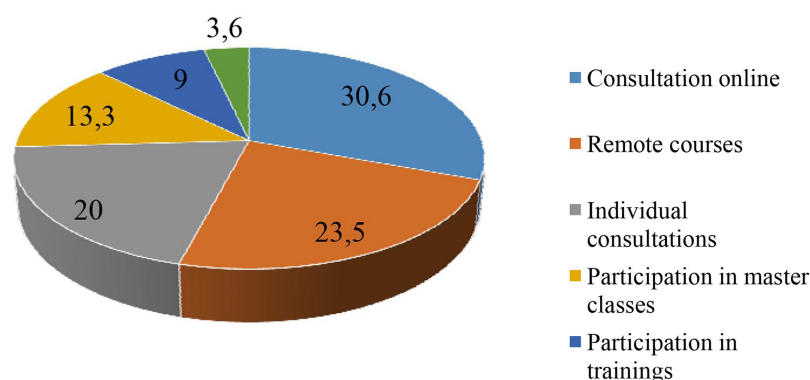
Fig. 1. Information Resource Training Forms

mote courses were chosen by 23.5%. Individual consultations were noted by 20% of respondents; 13.3% of respondents expressed their desire to take part in master classes; 9% of respondents said they would choose trainings, and only 3.6% of students would like the curriculum to include disciplines "Basics of information culture" and "Information resources". Accordingly, online consultations and distance courses need to be developed.

To the question 'What information resources are you more comfortable to use?' slightly more respondents chose electronic resources over printed editions (see Fig. 2). Such data indicate that among users both electronic resources and printed publications are popular.

Personal Cabinet, the reader's personal account in the SFU Library has become a service since 2013. It is a personalized virtual workspace of a student, teacher or university employee in closed access. Services are provided according to user's status and permissions. The library reader enjoys the full range of online services provided. The services of the Personal Cabinet are used by 63.3% of respondents, respectively, 36.7% of users do not use it. The advantages and ease of obtaining the necessary

information through the services of the Personal Cabinet should be advertised.

The next question was about the use of electronic resources acquired by a library (see Fig. 3). The SFU Library provides access to 15 Russian and 37 foreign databases. Analysis of foreign electronic resources usage showed that only 8% of respondents use them; 29% of respondents use Russian library systems. More than 60% of respondents prefer open Internet resources. Only 1% of respondents have said that they used all types of resources. Ignorance of a foreign language and inactive participation in research activities can be cited as the main reasons for the low use of foreign databases.

Respondents were asked to identify the most preferred forms of group work. More than 45% chose meetings with famous people, 23.8% chose clubs based on common interests; 26.7% chose English Speaking Club. Other formats drew less interest from the interviewed. For example, competitions were chosen by 12.3%; discussion events were chosen by 11.3%. Students want to take part in various events held in the library.

Answering the question 'What changes are necessary in the library, in your opinion?', the
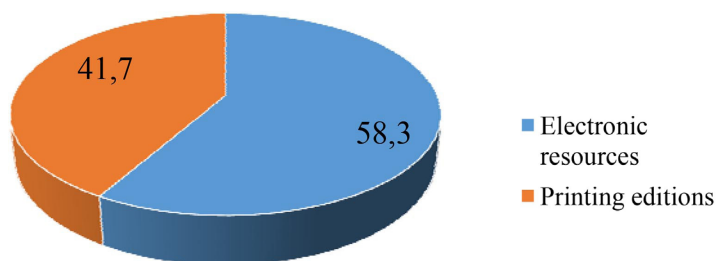
Fig. 2. Users' preferences
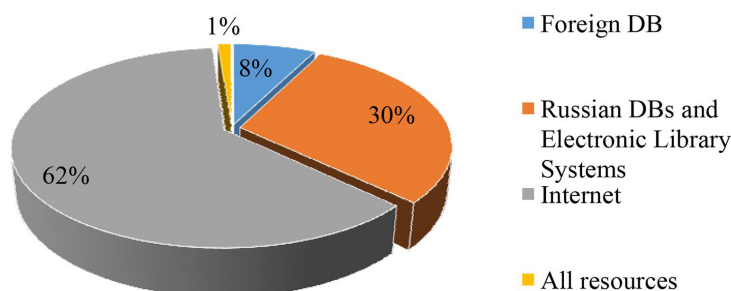
Fig. 3. Use of Russian and foreign electronic resources

majority of readers (62.3%) answered that they don't have any problems using library, 22.5% indicated that they want to receive information about the ends of books' terms of use, new available literature, events held in the library by SMS or e-mail. 30.6% of respondents have told some ideas for computer and software upgrades; 21.9% wanted faster Internet connection; 15.4% wanted rooms for groups of people working together separated from reading rooms; 7.5% wanted to extend library working hours.

In general, students are satisfied with the conditions of work in the library. The study will make it possible to implement a systematic approach to management to set forward-looking goals, to prioritize current tasks, to develop and implement the necessary organizational and economic activities.

Thus, the main directions for the library's development can be determined based on the review of literature and the research and questionnaire carried out: formation of information resources (printed and digital), development of new services and maintenance of old ones. The library needs to find new ways to interact with its users, modernize the old ones and use new work technologies, preserve the traditions and make innovations. These trends will allow the library to maintain its significance in the era of the Fourth Industrial Revolution.

3. Results and analysis
3.1. Analysis of information resources of the Siberian Federal University Scientific Library

The SFU Scientific Library is being actively modified. The Library is mastering a new paradigm of information requests and information needs of users. Information is becoming an important factor influencing the university's educational and research activities. The foundation core of the SFU Library consists of printed publications and electronic resources on the main educational programs and scientific directions of the university.

Currently, the fund of the SFU Scientific Library on material mediums amounts to about two million copies of documents (see Table 1).

The number of electronic resources is more than 66 million. The library prioritizes to electronic resources in the collection of the fund.

Table 1 shows that every year the number of literature received on material mediums decreases. The number of resources in digital format is increasing.

For three years the SFU Library has been creating its own Archive of electronic resources. The archive contains about 100 thousand titles of full-texts of dissertations, final qualification works, materials of conferences, seminars and other publications of university employees.

To meet the needs of users, such Russian databases as the scientific electronic library eLIBRARY, EastView, management electronic library, marketing and finance Grebennikon. The library began to acquire more international research works. Access is granted to licensed full-text international databases such as Computers & Applied Sciences Complete, INSPEC, ORBIT Intelligence, ProQuest Dissections & Things Global, Taylor & Francis, Wiley are actively used.

Totally, there are 52 full-text electronic databases of textbooks, monographs, articles, periodicals, patents, full-texts of theses, final qualification works, video sessions, etc. available through the subscription of the SFU Scientific Library.

Thus, the development direction of the SFU Scientific Library fund shifts towards electronic information resources. Electronic publications have advantages: they contain diverse, up-to-date scientific information, are available to users from anywhere in the world with access to the Internet.

3.2. User activity in the SFU Scientific Library

The number of readers of the university library depends on the number of students. The Scientific Library does intensive work with freshmen – 92% of first-year students enroll in the library. The total number of library users on the unified reading ticket is 28292 people, 93% of them are students (see Fig. 4).

Free access to information is provided by a network of 13 subscription departments and 17 reading rooms. Information and bibliographic services for readers are carried out

Table 1. Quantitative composition of the SFU fund, copies

Indicator / Year	2017	2018	2019
Fund of printed publications	2 052 002	1 967 543	1 831 732
Fund of electronic publications	66 000 000	66 073 707	66 154 808
Receiving of printed publications:	8 816	8 069	6 464
SFU publications	1 232	922	1 374
Periodicals	291	287	231
Receiving of electronic publications:	73 555	73 707	81 101
SFU publications	412	463	407
Periodicals	235	297	376
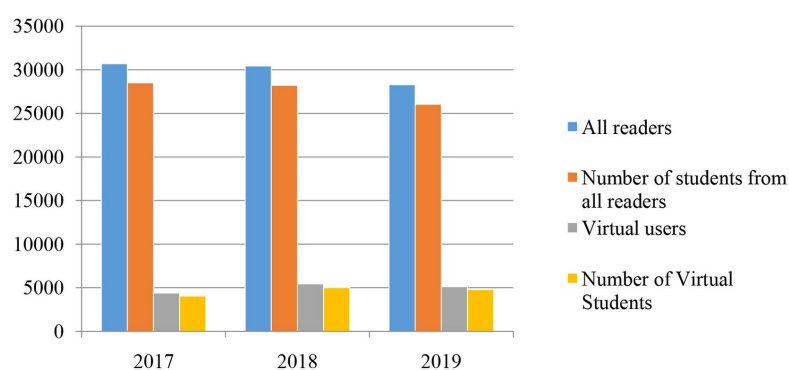
Fig. 4. SFU library readers and virtual users

in an automated mode: accounting and registration of users; booking, reception, issuance and re-registration of literature.

The number of visits is the main criterion for the attractiveness of the library. By 2019, the number of remote visits exceeded the number of physical visits. According to the results of the questionnaire, users prefer printed and electronic resources almost equally. Electronic resources, according to statistics, are in demand by a quarter more than printed publications (see Fig. 5).

This situation has established due to the fact that, firstly, the SFU buildings are located in different parts of the city. It is easier for users to receive services remotely. Secondly, a large number of electronic databases of educational and scientific information are available through the library's subscription. Thirdly, the Scientific Library has developed a convenient technology to serve remote users. This increases the demand for online services.

The Scientific Library provides a wide range of services: inter-library subscription, printing on demand, extension of literature's loan period, booking of publications, introduction of a publication to the Russian Index of Scientific Citation, registration of the literature list, verification of the impact factor of the magazine, etc. The use of information technologies in the library allows to automate the system of service to readers as much as possible. Users can receive these services online. The Scientific Library website provides access to electronic resources and services.

Library services satisfy most utilitarian and intellectual requirements of teachers and students. Development and implementation of new services ensure effective access of users to full-text domestic and foreign resources. Copyright and intellectual property protection laws are respected. Automated services effectively redistribute the workload of library employees.
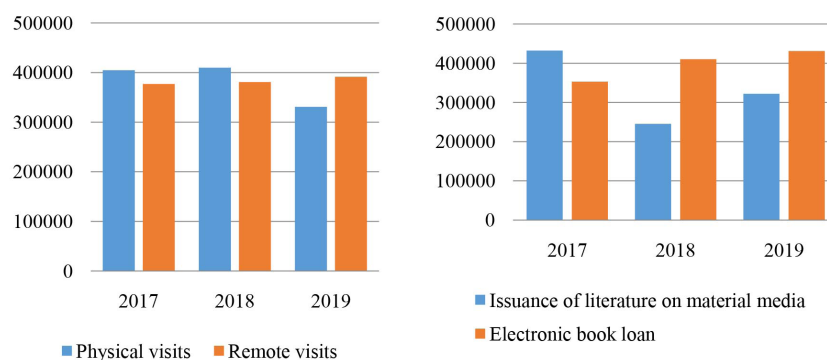
Fig. 5. Visits and book loan of the SFU Library

Released working time is spent to increase professional competences.

Training of all categories of users is carried out to create an information culture in different forms:

− Days of the department, days of the diploma, days of information;

− Training on working with information resources;

− Seminars and master classes;

− Courses on the choice of "Basics of information culture"; "Information resources for education";

− Electronic course "Digital information resources for research and educational activities" in the e-Siberia system of the Regional Competence Center in the field of online training in Krasnoyarsk.

The SFU Scientific Library solves the task of forming information competences of users, implements models of learning through life, learning through practice and develops in accordance with modern trends in educational activities.

Thus, the wide distribution of electronic information resources in the world leads to changes in the activities of library and information institutions. The library's role changes in an electronic environment.

3.3. Cultural and leisure activities of the SFU Scientific Library

Library services for users can change due to various factors. These factors include the transformation of political, social and economic conditions in the country, the information

interests and needs of society and individual users. Libraries take an active part in cultural activities, become cultural and leisure centers of universities.

It can be noted that in the digital environment, the lack of living human communication is more clear. Libraries position themselves as a space for intellectual leisure.

The modern stage of cultural and mass activity development of libraries is characterized by a large space for creativity. Librarians use multimedia technologies, web design, Internet in their work. Mass work develops in a new way. Innovative approaches are combined with traditional methods. Multimedia resources make events more bright and colorful. The display of videos, slides, photos, illustrations, electronic publications on the big screen make introduction to the book more effective.

The SFU Scientific Library actively participates in the life of the university, coordinates its activities with the Department of Educational Work, the Center of Student Culture. Such major events as thematic evenings, meetings with writers, reading conferences, photo exhibitions, competitions, science festivals, debates, oral magazines, book exhibitions, lectures, musical changes, excursions are held in the library. At the same time, new forms of mass events appear: Bibliography, Bibliofest, Piano Bridges, Open rostrum of readers, etc.

The library staff organized about 500 book exhibitions during the year, held more than 150 educational events. For example, event "Create a masterpiece" (colouring sketches of paintings of great artists) has become popular among

readers. "Book Swap" has started, participants exchange books, share the history of books acquisition. Projects "Art Window", "Literature Teahouse". "Restaurant stories" are in popular among students. The campaign to collect books "Present books with love" was carried out in collaboration with the SFU volunteer center. Projects to create a photo zones in the library contribute to the attractiveness of books and libraries. They focus on visualization of book and reading, information technology, scientific and educational information, etc.

Library quests are very popular among students: "Fasting Cuisine" about the healthy nutrition of students; "On the Steps to Knowledge" promotes library's resources and services in a form of a game; "Library Lesson" for junior school students. The contest of readers "About love, about spring" collects more than 40 participants annually. It aims to encourage youth for creative activity and identify talented ones among them.

Promoting the library on social media is a fairly new activity for libraries. Social networks are popular and an effective way to promote libraries. Libraries create groups and pages to contact readers and draw their attention to library activities.

The SFU Scientific Library has representation in popular social networks: VKontakte, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram. Library staff maintain their YouTube channel. A study conducted in the SFU Library showed that the most readers consist in the Vkontakte group of library – more than two thousand users.

Actions and competitions are held to attract new participants. They are timed to the holidays. A creative competition called "55 words" about students' life and library is held annually in October. Library events, reports, polls are featured on Instagram. More than a hundred stories are shot with photos and videos of reading rooms.

Thus, social networks allow to quickly inform the target audience about approaching events, current actions, changes in the schedule of work. Positioning allows libraries to develop in social media in line with the university 's information policy. Information services become more accessible to users.

The SFU Scientific Library provides comprehensive information support to the university in the provision of quality educational services and organization of scientific research and leisure activities. Modern information and education technologies facilitate the fastest, most comfortable and efficient access for users to information according to their needs and goals. Resource promotion is implemented actively. User training is conducted regularly in a virtual environment. The success and effectiveness of the chosen model of library activity is confirmed by recognition in Russia. The projects "SFU Electronic Library" and "Publication Activity Support Service in the SFU Library" became winners in the All-Russian Competition of Library Innovations.

Conclusion

The University Library was and still is the main information center in system of higher professional education. The potential of the modern library is estimated not only by the volume and completeness of the book fund, but also by its relevance and the ability of the library to provide the latest information as soon as possible to all its users.

Modern libraries are in a period of adaptation to the new realities of the digital era, they have to start reforming their own activities, based on the specific needs of the served audience (Stepanov, 2018).

The University Library provides comprehensive information support for the University's activities in providing quality educational services, organizing scientific research and developing partnerships with other organizations. Using modern information and education technologies, library facilitates the fastest, most comfortable and efficient access of users to information according to their needs and goals. It is acceptable to say that libraries got their own "branch" on the Internet. It is exactly the same library, with the same features of resource generation and promotion, service and user training, but in a virtual environment.

References

Aleksankov, A.M. (2017). Chetvertaja promyshlennaja revoljucija i modernizacija obrazovanija: mezhdunarodnyj opyt [The Fourth Industrial Revolution and Modernization of Education: International Experience]. In *Kul'tura i bezopasnost': Internet-zhurnal o kul'ture kak faktore nacional'noj bezopasnosti* [*Culture and Security: Internet Magazine on Culture as a Factor of National Security*], available at: http://sec.chgik.ru/chetvertaya-promyishlennaya-revolyutsiya-i-modernizatsiya-obrazovaniya-mezhdunarodniy-iy-opyit-2/.

Alzahrani, A.I., Imran, M., Ramayah, T., Alfarraj, O., Alalwan, N. (2019). Modelling digital library success using the DeLone and McLean information system success model. In *Journal of Librarianship and Information Science,* 51(2), 291–306.

Babich, I.V. (2017). U istokov bor'by za vyzhivanie: Sociokul'turnaja dejatel'nost' rossijskih bibliotek na rubezhe HH–XXI vekov [At the Origin of the Struggle for Survival: Social and cultural Activity of Russian Libraries at the Turn of the XX-XXI Centuries]. In *Bibliotechnoe delo* [*Library Science*], 21, 39-43.

Basov, S.A. (2008). Grazhdanskaja missija publichnoj biblioteki [Civic Mission of the Public Library], *Informacionnyj bjulleten' Rossijskoj bibliotechnoj associacii* [In *Newsletter of the Russian Library Association]*, 7, 30-33.

Chernyj, Yu.Yu. (2018). Mediasreda prishla v dvizhenie: perspektivy mediaobrazovanija v uslovijah cifrovoj jekonomiki [Media has come into motion: prospects for media education in the digital economy]. In *Media. Informacija. Kommunikacija* [*Media. Information. Communication*], 27, 1-7, available at: http://mic.org.ru/phocadownload/27-cherny.pdf

Chunmeng, W., Jinzhu, C., Feiyun, Z. (2019). Research on Technology Empowerment in Digital Transformation of Library in Information Age. In *International Conference on Computer, Information and Telecommunication Systems (CITS*), 1-10. DOI:10.1109/CITS.2019.8862115

Decree of the President of the Russian Federation of 09.05.2017 No. 203 "About the Development strategy of information society in the Russian Federation for 2017 – 2030" (2017), available at: http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/41919

Diaz, M.V., Matheus-Chacin, C.A., García-Crespo, A., García-Encabo, I. (2019). Comprende: A Digital Media Library for All. In *14th Iberian Conference on Information Systems and Technologies (CISTI),* 1-5.

Federal Law "On Library Case" of May 1, 2019 No. 78-FL (last edition) (2019), available at: http://docs.cntd.ru/document/9010022

Federal Project "Regulatory Regulation of the Digital Environment" (2018), available at: https://digital.gov.ru/uploaded/files/pasport-federalnogo-proekta-normativnoe-regulirovanie-tsifrovoj-sredyi.pdf

Gendina, N.I., Ryabtseva, L.N. (2018). Izmenenie funkcij bibliotek v jepohu sociokul'turnyh transformacij: social'nye riski i problema vybora orientirov [Changing the Functions of Libraries in the Era of Sociocultural Transformation: Social Risks and the Problem of Choice of Reference Points]. In *Bibliotekovedenie* [*Library Science*], 67 (3), 257-265, available at: https://doi.org/10.25281/0869-608X-2018-67-3-257-265

Gendina, N.I., Ryabtseva, L.N. (2018). Biblioteki v jepohu sociokul'turnyh transformacij: sovremennye vyzovy i osnovanija dokazatel'nogo bibliotekovedenija [Libraries during an era of sociocultural transformations: modern calls and bases of evidential library science]. In *Bibliotekovedenie* [*Library science*], 67 (1), 7-15, available at: https://doi.org/10.25281/0869-608X-2018-67-1-7-15

Gurdish, S. (2018). The Role of Academic Libraries in the Digital Transformation of the Universities. In *5th International Symposium on Emerging Trends and Technologies in Libraries and Information Services,* 293-296.

Kondakov, A.M. (2017). Obrazovanie v jepohu chetvertoj promyshlennoj revoljucii [Education in the Era of the Fourth Industrial Revolution]. In *Vesti obrazovanija* [*News of Education]*, available at: https://vogazeta.ru/articles/2017/9/20/analitycs/252-obrazovanie_v_epohu_chetvertoy_promyshlennoy_revolyutsii

Kovaleva, M. (2013). Chtoby privlech' ljudej v biblioteki, im nuzhno predlozhit' gorazdo bol'she, chem tol'ko knigi [To attract people to libraries, they need to offer much more than only books]. In *Bibliotechnoe delo* [*Library Science*], 1, 25-26.

Kudryashova, G.Y. (2004). *Jevoljucija missii bibliotek otechestvennyh vysshih uchebnyh zavedenij* [*Evolution of the Mission of Libraries of Domestic Higher Education Institutions*]. Yekaterinburg, 133 p.

Kuznetsova, T.J. (2019). Funkcional'naja model' biblioteki cifrovoj jepohi [Functional Model of the Library of the Digital Age]". In *Bibliografija* [*Bibliography*], 5, 3-13.

Lenka, S. Parida, V. Wincen, T. (2017). Digitalization Capabilities as Enablers of Value Co Creation in Sovietizing Firms. In *Psychology and Marketing*, 34(1), 92-100.

Limwichitr, S. (2019). From Knowledge to Innovation: Transformation of Thai Academic Libraries in Times of Digital Disruption. In *DSDE*, 1-12. https://doi.org/10.1145/3354153.3354159

Lippincott, J.K. (2015). Libraries and the digital university. In *Coll. Res. Libr.*, 76, 3, 283–295.

Mazuritsky, A.M., Kuzichkin, G.A. (2019). Modern Library and Time Challenges. In *Scientific and Technical Libraries*, 5, 22-36.

Message of the President of the Russian Federation to Federal Assembly of 01.12.2016 (2016), available at: http://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_207978/

Order dated July 28, 2017 No. 1632-r Program "Digital Economy of the Russian Federation" (2017), available at: http://static.goverment.ru/media/files/9gFM4FHj4PsB79I5v7yLVuPgu4bvR7M0.pdf

Order of the Government of the Russian Federation No. 2400-r of November 3, 2018 On the Establishment of an Autonomous Non-Profit Organization Platform of the National Technological Initiative (2018), available at: https://www.garant.ru/products/ipo/prime/doc/71997678

Otstavnova, I.V., Shamatonova, G.L. (2018). Komplektovanie fondov vuzovskoj biblioteki: problemy i puti reshenija [Collection of Funds of the University Library: Problems and Ways of Solving]. In *Nauchnye i tehnicheskie biblioteki* [*Scientific and Technical Libraries*], 5, 81-91.

Passport of the federal project "Digital State Administration" (2018). available at: https://digital.gov.ru/uploaded/files/pasport-federalnogo-proekta-tsifrovoe-gosudarstvennoe-upravlenie.pdf

Passport of the federal project "Digital Technologies" (2018), available at: https://www.tadviser.ru/images/0/0f/%D0%A3%D1%82%D0%B2_%D0%A4%D0%9F_5_%D0%A4%D0%9F_%D0%A6%D0%A2.pdf

Passport of the federal project "Personnel for Digital Economy" (2018). Available at: https://digital.gov.ru/uploaded/files/pasport-federalnogo-proekta-kadryi-dlya-tsifrovoj-ekonomiki.pdf

Passport of the national program "Digital Economy of the Russian Federation" (Approved by presidium of Council at the President of the Russian Federation for strategic development and national projects on December 24, 2018 No 16) (2018). Available at: https://base.garant.ru/72190282/

Passport of the national project "Culture" (Approved by presidium of Council at the President of the Russian Federation for strategic development and national projects (the protocol of December 24, 2018 No 16)) (2018).A at: http://government.ru/info/35562/

Passport of the national project "Education" (Approved by presidium of Council at the President of the Russian Federation for strategic development and national projects (the protocol of December 24, 2018 No 16)) (2018). Available at: https://base.garant.ru/72192486/

Passport of the national project "Science" (Approved by presidium of Council at the President of the Russian Federation for strategic development and national projects (the protocol of December 24, 2018 No 16)) (2018). Available at: http://government.ru/projects/selection/740/35565/

Rassadina, M.I. (2018). Biblioteka v uslovijah global'noj informatizacii: problemy transformacii [Library in the Conditions of Global Informatization: Transformation Problems], *Nauchnye i tehnicheskie biblioteki* [*Scientific and Technical Libraries*], 1, 51-60.

Raza, M., (2019). Application of linked data technologies in digital libraries: a review of literature. In *Library Hi Tech News*, 36 (3), 9-12, available at: https://doi.org/10.1108/LHTN-10-2018-0067

Resolution of the Government of the Russian Federation of April 18, 2016 No 317 "About realization of the National technological initiative" (2016), available at: https://base.garant.ru/71380666/

Rosa, I. (2019). Digital Library Polona: Digitization, Technology, Cooperation, Slavic & East European Information. In *Resources*, 20:1-2, 23-30, DOI:10.1080/15228886.2019.1628495

Schreiberg, Y.L (2019). Informacionno-dokumentnoe prostranstvo obrazovanija, nauki i kul'tury v sovremennyh uslovijah cifrovizacii obshhestva [Information and Documentary Space of Education, Sci-

ence and Culture in Modern Conditions of Digitalization of Society]. In *Scientific and Technical Libraries*, 9. 3-55.

Schreiberg, Y.L. (2018). [Formation of a Single Knowledge Space on the Basis of Network Information Infrastructure in Conditions of Formation and Development of Modern Digital Economy]. In *Nauchnye i tehnicheskie biblioteki* [*Scientific and Technical Libraries*], 9, 3-76.

Schreiberg, Y.L. (2018). Budushhee zavisit ot nas [The Future Depends on Us]. In *Nauchnye i tehnicheskie biblioteki* [*Scientific and Technical Libraries*], 12, 5-10.

Shen, Y. (2019), Emerging scenarios of data infrastructure and novel concepts of digital libraries in intelligent infrastructure for human-centered communities: A qualitative research. In *Journal of information science*, 45 (5), 691-704.

Schwab, K. (2016). "Fourth Industrial Revolution". In *Exmo* Publ., Moscow, 208 p.

Shamatonova, G.L. (2017). "Library of the University in a Changing Educational Space". In *Scientific and Technical Libraries*, 2, 51-56.

Sokolov, A.V. (2009). "Missions and Mutations of Libraries". In *Library Affairs*, 14, 2-10.

Sokolskaya, L.V., Russak, Z.V. (2015). "Modern Library: Loss of Identity or Acquisition of New Social Meanings?" In *Journal of the Chelyabinsk State Academy of Culture and Arts*, 1 (41), available at: https://cyberleninka.ru/article/v/sovremennaya-biblioteka-utrata-identichnosti-ili-priobretenie-novyh-sotsialnyh-smyslov

Stepanov, V.K. (2017). Bol'she, chem knigi: biblioteka i bibliotekari v mire, gde menjaetsja vsjo [More than books: library and librarians in a world where everything changes]. In *Nauchnye i tehnicheskie biblioteki* [*Scientific and technical libraries*], 1, 19-25.

Stepanov, V.K. (2018). Biblioteka i bibliotekari v blizhajshie dvadcat' let, ili v ozhidanii singuljarnosti [Library and librarians in the next twenty years, or in anticipation of singularity]. In *Nauchnye i tehnicheskie biblioteki* [*Scientific and technical libraries*], 1, 19-31.

Tikhomirova, I.I. (2012). Biblioteka: krizis identichnosti. Est' li vyhod? [Library: Identity Crisis. Is there a way out?]. In *Bibliotechnoe delo* [*Library Science*], 20, 7-11.

Vahrushev, M.V. (2018). Nauchnaja biblioteka vuza v roli otkrytogo arhiva [Scientific Library of the University in the Role of Open Archive]. In *Nauchnye i tehnicheskie biblioteki* [*Scientific and Technical Libraries*], 4, 14-22.

Verbatim report of the plenary session of the St. Petersburg International Economic Forum (2018). Available at: http://www.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/54667

Vtyurina, V. (2019). Jelektronnye biblioteki kak resursnaja baza dlja obespechenija uchebnoj i nauchnoj dejatel'nosti universiteta [Electronic Libraries as a Resource Base for the University 's Educational and Scientific Activities]. In *Nauchnye i tehnicheskie biblioteki* [*Scientific and Technical Libraries*], 6, 87-94.

Трансформация университетских библиотек в цифровую эпоху

Р.А. Барышев, И.А. Цветочкина, О.И. Бабина, Е.Н. Касянчук, М.М. Манушкина
Сибирский федеральный университет
Российская Федерация, Красноярск

Аннотация. В статье рассматривается переходный период развития общества, основанный на использовании цифровых информационно-коммуникационных технологий. В настоящее время цифровая экономика охватывает все сферы

жизни общества, поэтому вопрос ее изучения является актуальным. Переход к новой модели цифровой экономики способствует повышению качества жизни населения. В высших учебных заведениях изменяются образовательные траектории, наблюдается стремительный переход от физической к виртуальной реальности. Однако образовательная среда существенно отстает от темпов развития промышленного производства на базе современных технологий. В такой ситуации необходимо вырабатывать подходы к модернизации системы подготовки кадров. В связи с этим разрабатываются стратегии университетов, нацеленные на создание полноценных условий для развития образования и науки, получение информации и знаний, поступающих из интеллектуальной глобальной среды. В условиях перехода к цифровым технологиям в образовании библиотека, как одно из основных структурных подразделений вуза, должна тоже стать цифровой.

Раскрыты различные точки зрения библиотечного сообщества, которые показывают стратегию и направление развития библиотеки для цифровой среды. В настоящее время библиотеки активно развивают информационно-коммуникационные технологии в предоставлении услуг своим пользователям, при этом сохраняя традиционные формы и методы работы с читателями. Такой симбиоз позволяет удовлетворять потребности различных групп читателей и пользователей.

На основе теоретического исследования процессов формирования и развития электронной библиотеки рассмотрены проблемы переходного периода, обозначена стратегия развития цифровой библиотеки, определены технологии создания и внедрения информационных ресурсов в образовательную среду университета.

Данное исследование было проведено с целью изучения активности использования информационных ресурсов в учебном процессе и научно-исследовательской деятельности, для повышения качества обслуживания пользователей библиотеки. Оно позволит выявить отношение студентов к информационным ресурсам и библиотечным сервисам.

Отмечается актуальность и значимость перехода к цифровой библиотеке, влияние этого процесса на развитие всех видов деятельности при сохранении неизменности ее основного функционального назначения. Кроме того, указывается появление новых социальных и технологических задач, подчеркивается специфика работы с цифровыми пользователями. Работа библиотеки рассматривается как с виртуальными пользователями, так и реальными читателями. Анализируется книговыдача и предоставление электронных ресурсов пользователям. Деятельность библиотеки состоит в проведении просветительских и досуговых мероприятий со студентами и преподавателями университета.

Представленные рекомендации позволят повысить эффективность деятельности библиотеки.

Ключевые слова: четвертая промышленная революция, цифровизация, цифровая экономика, виртуальная среда, библиотеки, информационные ресурсы, библиотечные сервисы.

Научные специальности: 07.00.00 – исторические науки, 24.00.00 – культурология.

Ideological Phantoms of Civilisation and Culture: Identity and Tolerance

Natalia Yu. Beregovaya and Olga A. Karlova*
Siberian Federal University
Krasnoyarsk, Russian Federation

Abstract. The article considers the philosophical aspect of defining the immanence and attribution of the concept of "tolerance" to the culture itself. The subject of the research is especially relevant due to the modern processes that are happening in the global world, and the difference in key methodological positions of modern Russian and Western science on this issue today. The purpose of this study is to clarify the philosophical basis of the existing opposition of societies with traditional ethical cultures (Russia, China) and the 'new-type' poly-state European ethnic community. Based on the analysis of current social processes in Russia and Europe using the comparative historical method, modelling methods and model extrapolation in the field of culture studies, social psychology and political science, the article identifies the main approaches to ethnic and social identity, their cultural and ideological components. The authors prove the hypothesis that culture requires designation of its border with another culture, recognition of this border, which distinguishes and confirms cultural semantics. Denial of this fact is a method of ideological manipulation of the ethno-social consciousness of society in the framework of globalisation processes.

Keywords: Sociocultural communications, cultural model of society, cultural tolerance, sociocultural identity, cultural adherence to pluralism.

Research area: theory and history of culture.

* Corresponding author E-mail address: O.A.Karlova@yandex.ru, beregovaya@guszn.admkrsk.ru

Discussion

In the modern world, the problem of sociocultural communications is becoming urgent in many areas of life. In connection with the migration of refugees from the Middle East and Africa to Europe and the unprecedented total contacts of extremely different types of cultures and ideas about social reality, one of the most popular terms in European social sciences today is 'tolerance' and its modifications (Karpov, 2017). Scientists have been arguing about this concept, hundreds of scientific papers have been written in its favour and dozens of articles criticising it. In this article, we turn to this concept primarily in the philosophical aspect of the definition of its immanence and attribution to the culture itself.

The concept of tolerance today is especially relevant not only due to many contacts of cultures that are extremely distant in their roots, but also due to the practice of open conflicts caused by gaps in the sphere of sociocultural communications. Contacts of people that belong to different social groups demonstrating the contrast of their values with others often lead to conflicts: these outbreaks associated with social stratification of modern society are typical for school and university environment, including our country. Russia has not overcome public indifference to the problems of disabled people yet, which demonstrates the loss of sociocultural communication, similar to the desire to distance oneself from people of a different social status in everyday life, and the failure of potential adoptive parents to adopt children with disabilities.

Methods

The importance of the sociocultural identity of people in ethnic, religious and social contacts is universally recognised (Smaldino, 2019; Zolfaghari et al., 2016). Any national culture as the cultivation of a certain type of ideals and patterns is aimed at the development of personal sociocultural identity. The cultivation of ideals means the preservation and reproduction of traditions, archetypes, norms and meanings, i. e. everything that constitutes the content of culture in the synthesis of its spiritual and material components. Signs, meanings and ide-

als typical for one or another social group can also be inherited through birth and upbringing among the certain kind of sociocultural reality (Shengquan, Ting Kin, 2019). If we understand identity as personality traits that are included in the process of self-determination, then sociocultural identity can contain personality traits included in the process of self-determination in relation to social groups, ethnic issues and national culture. This appears in the process of identification, the very concept of which came from Late Latin *identifico* (I identify) (Noveishii filosofskii slovar', 1998). We can say that it is identity that makes a specific personality itself. In contrast to this central concept in traditional culture, Western scholars and politicians in the context of a civilisational approach put the category of tolerance in the centre of cultural development, which was called the measure of 'true culture'. Tolerance (from the Latin *tolerantia* – patience) is most often understood as endurance in relation to someone else's lifestyle, behaviour and feelings, as well as opinions and beliefs (https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/tolerance). It is historically connected, as modern Western scholars believe, with pluralism conceivable as a kind of complex quality obtained in the course of the historical 'superimposition' of different sociocultural identities in a situation of centuries-old cohabitation of peoples. The beginning of the latter in Europe took place in the 17th century. Now this quality is considered inherent in all modern European nations in their cultural, religious and political views.

Hypothesis

It should be specified that culture in a philosophical sense always implies the fact of a different culture, a different understanding, a different sociocultural position. However, does this mean that it must be tolerant of an alien understanding and an alien position up to the rejection of its own identity? We believe that this idea developed on civilisational argumentation, contradicts the philosophical foundations of culture itself. Culture requires the designation of its border with another culture (ethnic, social group, even professional, etc.), the design and recognition of this border, which distinguishes

and confirms cultural semantics. The denial of this fact is a method of ideological manipulation with the ethno-social consciousness of the society.

Models of sociocultural communications

There are numerous sociocultural communication models in the modern world which are divided according to the nature of cultural semantics. The most relevant are the models of ethno-cultural communication. In Russia, the cultural model contains the multiplicity of national cultures, and over the millennia of experience in their interaction, certain anti-crisis mechanisms have been developed for preserving identical cultural boundaries. It is noteworthy that, unlike the American model of states, the ethno-cultural boundaries in the Russian model are reflected in the federal and municipal structure of the country. In this model, such political and sociocultural vectors coexist as territorial entities of the federation with titular nations, the national majority and the national diasporas of the regions; indigenous peoples; the old-timers and new comers, as well as various kinds of sociocultural strata. The norm of joint social life of different Russian ethnic groups is based on the indisputable fact that the border between ethno-social cultural phenomena exists, is recognised and has a fundamental character, which distinguishes and confirms their semantics. In this border zone, a free and respectful dialogue of all existing national cultures is one of the regulating conditions for the crisis-free development of the society. The constantly maintained 'equilibrium' of such coexistence is the dialectic of the society development based on 'democracy of nations (large national communities)'. This dialectic presupposes well-known turbulence in real public life: small and large conflicts are one of the sources of sociocultural development, they are constantly generated by factors of social stratification and features of religious worldview, and the specifics of everyday customs in a multinational and socially stratified society.

Taking into account that the peoples of Russia have been coexisting for centuries, is it possible to speak of the pluralism of Russian culture as a certain complex quality, rather than the coexistence of different cultural trends? Undoubtedly, the content of this pluralism is revealed in the concept of 'Russian people'; in this content, the unifying cultural communicator, i. e. the national Russian language, the centuries-old history of the hostel, the largest jointly developed and inhabited territories in the country (Siberia and the Far East), a number of socio-political realities, among which a significant role is played by the state ethno-cultural policy in different periods of the development of the country.

The concept of tolerance/intolerance in the Russian society is most often used in the analysis of modern sociocultural contacts of the old-timers and new comers, as well as conflicts in adolescent and student environment associated with the demonstration of different social values and behaviour. Therefore, Russia is often criticised for the lack of legislative mechanisms to combat such evil as human trafficking. This risk zone includes mostly young women who seek moving to Europe and America and constantly replenish the ranks of European and Middle Eastern prostitutes. Indeed, these and other conflicts are intrinsically inherent in the cultural model of modern Russia, which has not yet recovered from the crisis of the 1990s, and is being strangled economically by strict sanctions. However, these conflicts, in their mass and severity, are removed by the anti-crisis mechanisms existing in the Russian culture itself.

On the other hand, in traditionally prosperous Europe, today they are talking about a sociocultural crisis, and not about local conflicts. Why? How did it happen that, according to scientists, the European model of cultural communications, perfect in its tolerance and pluralism, in the situation of refugees coming to Europe from the Middle East and Africa, 'bursts at the seams' causing irritation and active resistance among the indigenous population of Europe? Let us note that long before these events, it was Western Europe that conceptualised pluralism and tolerance as the main features of the common European cultural identity, although European pluralistic complexity is based on the principles of good neighbourliness formed not

so long ago (less than a century ago), vectors of ethno-cultural influence, which are quite complicated due to endless national-political redistribution. Such factors as common national language of communication have never existed. Under these conditions, it is reasonable to assume that it is the cultivation of cultural differences with Russia that today serves as the main factor in shaping the cultural identity of Europe, whose tolerance and pluralism are described primarily as the antipodes of traditional Russian cultural diversity.

Indeed, according to Western scholars, the European community is different from traditional communities, which maintained their unity through fundamental traditions in culture and religion. Tolerance in the meaning of 'not imposing one's identity' appears as one of the social products of sociocultural pluralism in the era when the monolithic unity of society has disappeared (Olivier et al., 2008). This applies not only to the ethnic aspect: tolerance has become a byword in connection with, for example, the affirmation of morality and social rights of sexual minorities in Europe. In this aspect, the classical formula of tolerance attributed to Volter, "I do not agree with what you say, but I will sacrifice my life defending your right to express your own opinion", today looks like an implemented metaphor, as European people of traditional views and values often have to put up with the propaganda of sexual minorities even in schools among children. Tolerance implemented in this way appears more as an ideological category than a basic cultural one.

There are many publications in which the identity of the concepts of 'tolerance' and 'respect for another culture, its understanding and acceptance' is affirmed, as well as absence of identity of this concept with tolerance for social injustice, with renunciation of one's beliefs or with concession to the beliefs of others. Nevertheless, in the practical implementation of this formula there is so much conflict that this concept, breaking away from realities of everyday life, gradually turns into an ideological print. Let us clarify that the concept of tolerance looks more realistic in political and economic terms: for example, as trusting the political system of society, which is organised on the basis

of elections from a number of opponents, or as economic competition, the basic principle of the harmonious development of capitalist society. However, once again this is more political and economic, but not actually cultural sphere.

Let us state that tolerance is a more 'ideological-superstructure' phenomenon than a basic cultural quality and value. The basis for this assertion also lies in the fact that tolerance in relation to another race, nation, confession, social group with its special mode of existence is impossible without a more fundamental factor, i. e. providing conditions for the free and non-violent development of each of these sociocultural phenomena. If society does not ensure this sociocultural equilibrium, then tolerance and its consequences start to be perceived as injustice and oppression, in other words, as a factor contrary to culture and social justice.

In ethnic psychology, identification is a mechanism for the formation and preservation of ethnic identity and its basic phenomenon, which is ethnic identity. It helps to assimilate and translate ethnic norms and values, stereotypes of behaviour, traditions and rites of the people in the course of ethnisation, the influence on the formation of an ethnically determined worldview is formed. Europe, which claims to have a special model of culture based on pluralism and tolerance, constantly declares them to be universal cultural features being a civilisational achievement, which contributed to the very existence of a special political multi-state universum, the European Union.

It is assumed that such a culture should generate a special cultural identity itself – pluralistic and tolerant, among all the citizens, including representatives of traditional cultures of the Middle East and Africa integrating into the European society. Geopolitical programmes of a number of leading European politicians have been based on this principle, though they are criticised today, since a significant number of non-European migrants have shown their unwillingness to culturally integrate (while seeking to nonetheless receive all the political, economic and social benefits of this society). Some confusion among politicians today, in our opinion, is due to the discovery of the fact that internal pluralistic ties

in the European culture turned out to be far from universal and ubiquitous, and the appeal of Western European peoples to the sources of their original cultural traditions is becoming increasingly widespread. Moreover, it is not only massive, but also aggressive, if we look at the performances of local nationalists and hard-right forces. Taking into account that, for understandable reasons, public emotions about traditional values and ideals in the tolerant European society are not too prominent and social indifference objectively acts as a companion of tolerance, ultranationalism against this background positions itself as bright and emotionally attractive as ever.

Of course, this cannot be attributed to all European countries, but it once again proves the relative dominance of such qualities as pluralism and tolerance in Western culture. American realities are frankly far from the ideology of tolerance: this is evidenced by the demolition of historical monuments, support for the idea of building a wall on the border with Mexico, a campaign of militant feminism and many other less harmless political and cultural events.

The vector of current Western reality shows that assessing tolerance as a sustainable universal quality of the 'new ethnic group is, mildly speaking, premature. The speed and grouping of the ultranational reaction to the violation of the moral social foundations of a 'pluralistic and tolerant society' suggests that tolerance belongs more to civilisational and ideological, political and economic phenomena rather than basic, ethno-sociocultural phenomena.

This is proved by the constant public manipulation of the Western society with the concepts of 'tolerance/intolerance' when it comes to foreign policy regarding the peoples of Syria, Lebanon, Iran, Venezuela, Cuba, Russia and China. Tolerance loses not only its universal cultural quality, but even its simple meaning when it comes to recognising the sociocultural and any other identity of the peoples of those countries that are in the zone of 'economic interest' of Western states and transnational corporations. These examples have long become rhetorical and show that the declared 'tolerance' (tolerance), strictly speaking, is neither a

universal phenomenon, nor "respectful observance of the borders of all cultures", since the peoples are clearly not equal in their cultural value and international practice shows quite obviously who is 'more equal'.

Herewith, disrespect for European values, massively manifested by newcomers who do not want to integrate into the European society, appears on the other hand as a logical reflection of the aggressive and thoughtlessly shortsighted policy of the West towards their own countries and peoples. This obvious fact of international politics allows to come to a logical conclusion in the context of the philosophy of culture: it would be more correct to consider tolerance not as a basic cultural phenomenon declared as such in Western science, but as a factor external to basic cultural values, most often ideological, since in practice it is too selectively applied in favour of the 'superstructure' interests of Western politics and economics.

We proceed from the fact that identification of a person who professes cultural tolerance of the Western European model is the same recognition of the similarities and identities between it and representatives of other nations and cultures, other social groups and faiths, as it happens with representatives of traditional cultures. Although at the same time, it is imposed on ideological ideas cultivated in the society, which are based not on basic cultural realities, but political and economic macro-interests of governments and international corporations. For example, human trafficking is a global process with over 120 thousand women and children becoming its victims every year in Eastern and Central Europe alone. For $19 billion (according to media estimates, this is the annual turnover of human trafficking), representatives of the most diverse, including Western cultures, forget about the 'human' community that exists between them and their victims from the 'developing' and sometimes from their own countries. In this sense, we can say that European identity does not include tolerance as a basic component, but accepts it as an external civilisation factor, a state rule of life and an ideological norm that should be followed for the sake of one's own peace.

The identity of a person in most life situations is not only the basis of their social action, but also the most important sociocultural marker. In other words, the acceptance/non-acceptance by a person of other cultural and social phenomena of modern reality is somehow related to the their own sociocultural characteristics, on the one hand, and on the other, with the method of sociocultural identification typical for this person, since the person's identity itself depends on the identification process being its result. Thus, identification forms identity, and stands on it in the subsequent assessment of the world.

What happens when external (mainly ideological and political) factors dominate in sociocultural identification? Let us note that the fundamental root of *iden* in the concept of 'identification' means that it does not change for a long time (Slovar' inostrannykh slov, 2006). In other words, we are talking about "equality in the main, unchanging", which belongs to a deep cultural layer or a particularly valuable sacral layer of sociocultural reality or myth. In this sense, we can say that identification is determining the conformity of something to an existing standard taken as some constant basis and having certain parameters (https://businessman.ru/new-chto-takoe-identifikaciya-opredelenie-primery.html). Although it is especially important that this standard is precisely the cultural universe, and not ideological PR.

This thesis can be justified, for example, with the model of culture of the Soviet socialist type in terms of its immanence of the cultural mentality of the 'Russian world'. The latter was able to 'get along' with this incarnation to some extent, since they were united by such common qualities as, for example, 'national mission', 'national asceticism', and, on the other hand, typical underestimation of their own national culture and sociocultural achievements. Moreover, the phenomena being compared are by no means identical, since the basis of the "Soviet socialist culture" was primarily formed by the ideological matrix.

Therefore, identification should be understood as a process of discovering and defining what a given thing (society, nation, object, person) is in sociocultural terms and what it is not.

Let us pay attention to an important fact, in our opinion: this is not about a one-time event, but about some essence considered in a socio-historical retrospective.

In sociocultural terms, a person identifies themselves with other people on the basis of their own values, emotional reactions and mentality. Thus, the personal I as an internal identity to oneself is maintained throughout life and in some cases demonstrates unity with other personalities expressed in the parameters of the space-time continuum, and in other cases difference from them. The peculiarity of the space-time continuum conceivable herewith is that its parameters ensure understanding of the intersubjective emotional-conceptual whole, and the person considers themselves to be its part. This is me and my social group, and my people. Images, norms, ideals and signs cultivated within the boundaries of this continuum, as well as the collective intuition inherent therein, are perceived as something unchanging, and most importantly, they serve a person as a support in the constant 'lawsuit' with the world and are manifested primarily in crisis situations where "belonging to the whole" allows one to survive and not lose themselves (their own identity).

Conclusion

Any external object gains its meaning for a person in the process of its evaluation and identification. Strange as it may seem, the main thing here is not determining the truth, but sociocultural demarcation, manifestations of sociocultural identity, which results in the most important quality of identification as a process immanently inherent in culture and sociocultural reality. Emotional connection with an object by the type of assimilation is the main quality of identification outlined by Sigmund Freud, who was the first after the mathematician L. Euler to suggest using the term "identification" in social and humanitarian knowledge as the cornerstone of the theory of psychoanalysis. An emotional connection with certain sociocultural patterns embodied in parents, heroes, or other objects of worship, accompanies us throughout our whole life and serves as the reason for the most important so-

cial action, which is assimilation (https://psychology.academic.ru/748). For our study, it is important that one of the easiest ways to understand another person is to become emotionally close to them. However, an individual's ability to assimilate is related to the factor of his or her self-identification (identity), in which it acquires the quality of intersubjectivity. A person ceases to be an individual only and acts as part of a whole and at the same time as a representative of this whole, being a manifestation of a particular sociocultural identity. It is this emotional 'manifestation of identity' from the standpoint of which a person most often evaluates external objects and processes to which they are sensitive due to the values they profess.

In a tolerant society, the degree of such 'manifestation' and passionarity is significantly lower. Therefore, paradoxically, tolerance does not strengthen the emotionally coloured sociocultural identity, as some researchers believe, but simply replaces it: as a result, social emotionality is replaced by passivity, and even indifference. Therefore, now, when Russia is trying to follow the example of the West in terms of, for example, ensuring the rights of people with disabilities, it is worth remembering that there is a significant difference between well-developed European legislation in this regard and the standard attitude of society towards this problem.

When the cultural 'foe' is recognized from the standpoint of one's own identity, an object or a process are analysed as a sign system: the signs and characteristics of the objects are compared, their affiliation by similarity and difference is clarified, their specific classification is carried out. Every moment of their existence, a person performs sociocultural (as well as natural biological) scanning of the surrounding world. The results of the scanning process through the nerve endings come to the brain where identification takes place, the results of which form the basis of our actions. This identification is an ongoing process for our brain. By the way, public institutions also work according to this scheme: the main task of television, for example, is the selection and evaluation of facts from every-

thing that happens in life. Television, like other media working with a mass audience, inevitably creates a semantic myth itself: selecting and simplifying information, identifying the main semantic dominants, emotional colouring of information. The simplest recognition is made on a binary basis (friend/foe; house/forest; good/evil), which has been known since ancient mythological knowledge reflected in folklore. However, even today, this universal principle of recognition and identification, which is immanent in the culture of humanity, is used practically without changes. Modern information wars have relaunched it, with a mythological scale declaring everything ideologically and politically 'different' as universal 'cultural evil'. The ease with which Russia – after a twenty-year break – has been once again declared "the enemy of progressive and tolerant humanity" proves the extreme topicality of the phenomena of identification in modern culture, its types and characteristics. Anyway, what we see today in "tolerant Western media" does not look as implementation of the principles of the UNESCO Declaration (1995), which emphasises that tolerance is a value and a social norm of civil society, which is manifested, inter alia, in the law of all individuals be different, ensuring sustainable harmony between different faiths, political, ethnic and other social groups, respect for the diversity of various world cultures, civilisations and peoples, readiness for understanding and cooperation with them (https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/tolerance).

Situational assimilation/dissimilation turning into sustainable, formation on this basis of behavioural stereotypes, uncritical thinking, psychological protection from fears and anxieties: all this works to a certain extent to dissimulate the Western personality from itself and the immanent social and cultural group, and in this sense – the destruction of true sociocultural identity, replacing it with civilisational "cultural simulacra". It can be assumed that the confrontation between "civilisational identification" and "cultural identification" can lead to the latter falling into the field of the unconscious and being actualised only in crisis situations, accompanied by strong social emo-

tions, aggressiveness, loss of control, depression, and anger typical for this state. Against this background, conscious projective identification provoked by the directed ideological influence of state or mass media policy, will fulfill a protective function for the individual: namely, protection by some kind of virtual object inside (for example, the European Union or the "American world"), thereby creating an illusion control over the situation and satisfaction with 'virtual security'.

This rather dangerous phenomenon manifests itself as an identification vector based on recognition of similarity/identity of events or people, but not in the context of sociocultural reality, but in the context of ideological labels and clichés. The ideology of society has a tremendous impact on the personality: this shows the experience of the Soviet Russia, in which even the project of replacing the cosmocentric Orthodox religiosity (the sacral core of Russian-Slavic culture) with another type of religiosity (sociocentric) (Pivovarov, 2003) was implemented. One of the sources for the success of such a replacement was the psychological protective mechanism, in which, at the unconscious level, people ascribed to themselves the qualities and social norms imposed by social ideology and its ideal carriers. Protection in this case was based on a spectrum of factors: from the need for personal survival to individual peace of mind in the presence of certain norms and standards. Until recently, many authors sought to interpret this path of new sociocultural identification as a purely Russian phenomenon (even despite the presence of a number of earlier revolutionary rearrangements in the state-cultural systems of other peoples in history). A critical look at ideological processes in the culture of European countries today shows that sociocultural identification there can be carried out in non-critical forms, giving rise to modern cultural simulacra and giving new experience to mythological semantic constructions. This makes scientific research of the problem of sociocultural identification in its various aspects more relevant than ever (Lepskii et al.,1972).

References

Berger, P. & Lukman, T. (1995). *Sotsial'noe konstruirovanie real'nosti. Traktat po sotsiologii znaniia* [*Social construction of reality. Thoughts on the sociology of knowledge*]. Moscow. Medium, 323p.

Freud, S. (1998). *Totem and taboo* [*Totem and taboo: a collection of articles*]. Moscow. AST-LTD, 448p.

Identification (2019). In *Businessman*. Available at: https://businessman.ru/new-chto-takoe-identifikaciya-opredelenie-primery.html

Identification (2019). In *Academic Dictionaries and Encyclopedias*. Available at: https://psychology.academic.ru/748

Identification, Socialisation (2006). In *Encyclopedia of Psychology* [*Concise Encyclopedia of Psychology*]. 2nd ed. Edited by Corsini, R.J., Auerbach, A.J. Moscow; Sanct-Peterburg, Piter, 1096 p.

Karpov, A.O. (2017). Dissonance Tolerance as a New Principle of the Cross-cultural Sustainability. In *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences*, (237), 723–730.

Lepskii, V.E., Lefevr, V.A. & Shchedrovitskii, P.G. (1972). *Refleksivnye protsessy i upravlenie* [*Reflective processes and management*]. Available at: http://www.reflexion.ru

Noveishii filosofskii slovar' (1998). Edited by Gritsanov, A. A. Minsk, Knizhnyi dom, 896 p.

Olivier, J., Thoenig, M. & Verdier, T. (2008). Globalization and dynamics of cultural identity. In *Journal of International Economics*, 2 (76), 356–370.

Pivovarov, D.V. (2003). *Dusha i Vera* [*Soul and Faith*]. Orenburg, OOIPKRO, 640 p.

Shengquan, Ye. & Ting Kin, Ng. (2019). Value change in response to cultural priming: The role cultural identity and the impact on subjective well-being. In *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*. (70), 89–103.

Slovar' inostrannykh slov (2006). Komlev, N. G. Moscow, EKSMO, 669 p.

Smaldino, P. (2019). Social identity and cooperation in cultural evolution. In *Behavioral Processes*, (161), 108–116.

Tolerance (2019). In *Wiktionary, the free dictionary.* Available at: https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/tolerance

Zolfaghari, B., Mollering, G., Clark, T. & Dietz, G. (2016). How do we adopt multiple cultural identities? A multidimensional operationalization of the sources of culture. In European Management Journal, (34), 102–113.

Идеологические фантомы цивилизации и культура: идентичность и толерантность

Н.Ю. Береговая, О.А. Карлова
Сибирский федеральный университет
Российская Федерация, Красноярск

Аннотация. Статья посвящена философскому аспекту определения имманентности и атрибутивности понятия «толерантность», собственно культуре как таковой. Предмет исследования актуализирован как современными процессами в глобальном мире, так и различием ключевых методологических позиций в данной проблематике, на которых держатся сегодня современная российская и западная наука. Цель настоящего исследования – уточнение философских оснований существующего противопоставления обществ с традиционными этическими культурами (Россия, Китай) и полигосударственной европейской этнической общности «нового типа». На материале анализа происходящих в России и Европе общественных процессов с использованием сравнительно-исторического метода, методов моделирования и модельной экстраполяции в области культурологии, социальной психологии и политологии в статье выявляются основные подходы к этнической и социальной идентичности, культурные и идеологические их составляющие. Подтверждена гипотеза о том, что культура требует обозначения своей границы с другой культурой, признания этой границы, различающей и подтверждающей культурную семантику. Отрицание этого факта – прием идеологического манипулирования этносоциальным сознанием общества в рамках глобализационных процессов.

Ключевые слова: социокультурные коммуникации, культурная модель общества, культурная толерантность, социокультурная идентичность, идентификация, плюралистичность культуры.

Научная специальность: 24.00.01 – теория и история культуры.

Modern Approaches to the History of Altai in the 18th – Early 20th Centuries

Denis S. Bobrov, Iurii M. Goncharov*,
Evgenia V. Demchik, Irina V. Pyanzina
and Valerii A. Skubnevsky
Altay State University
Barnaul, Russian Federation

Abstract. This article is the result of the historiographical analysis concerning the history of the Altai development, Altai being a significant region of modern Siberia and Russia. The authors present the main directions of studying the Altai history of the 18th – early 20th centuries, as well as scientific and methodological approaches used by historians in the last two decades.

The examination includes such directions of studying Altai history, practiced in the last two decades, as frontier development, history of management, socio-economic development, agrarian colonization, history of entrepreneurship, social and gender studies, etc.

The general state of historical science associated with the growth of public interest in history, review of theoretical and methodological foundations of historical research determined the development of historical Siberian studies concerning Altai in this period. Consequently, the historical study of Altai in the modern (post-Soviet) research shows the importance of modern history-oriented regional studies.

Moreover, the development of the historical studies regarding such a large and major region as Altai in the last 20 years evinces the existence of a multidimensional regional-oriented scientific school in Russian historiography.

Keywords: History; Altai; Siberia; historiography.

Research area: history.

* Corresponding author E-mail address: yuriig@yandex.ru
  ORCID: 0000-0001-6786-1321 (Bobrov); 0000-0003-3993-0953 (Goncharov); 0000-0002-6218-447X (Demtchik); 0000-0001-5421-5144 (Pyanzina); 0000-0002-6392-7714 (Skubnevsky)

Introduction

The modern stage of development of the Russian historical science is characterized by aspiration to complex comprehension of history of certain regions, especially eastern ones and their role in the development of the Russian, and then the Soviet state. Hence, ethno-political as well as economic and socio-cultural aspects of development are coming to the fore. On the one hand, this is due to the accumulation of tangible arrays of research literature and understandable desire of experts (historians) to reach a qualitatively new level of generalization. On the other hand, the creation of "general histories" of various regions opens up endless opportunities for comparison and inclusion (integration) of these cases into the matrix of the Russian historical process.

Of all Siberian outskirts Altai has, perhaps, the greatest heuristic potential for studying its historical development. This area at the junction of Siberia and Central Asia has always remained a border region since the 18th century. First, the Russian state fought for these lands against the Dzungarian khanate, then against the Qing Empire. The period of time between these two events was marked by the creation of the mountainous district which was out there up to revolutionary events of 1917-1918. In the course of the events the Altai province emerged to become an important element in the formation of the Soviet statehood in Siberia.

Theoretical framework

This article aims to highlight the actual theoretical approaches to the study of Altai history in the 18th – the first third of the 20th century developed by historians over the past two decades.

A set of goals and objectives for exploration of Altai was formed in the 17th century. The Russian expeditions to the region were sporadic and were aimed at gathering information about the possibility of vast colonization. It started already in the 18th century and went on to exert fundamental changes in the administrative, political and socio-economic image of the region.

Statement of the problem

A comprehensive study of individual regions within broad chronological boundaries has a well-established tradition in Russian historiography. The beginning was laid in the Soviet period and manifested itself in the preparation of comprehensive publications on the history of various relatively large regions. One of the first attempts to examine the history of Altai in detail was made as early as the late 1980s. The textbook *History of Altai* covering the development of the region from antiquity to 1917 was published later in the 1990s and made a breakthrough. All in all, today there are no general studies on the history of Altai of a broader perspective, which, on the one hand, would characterize most aspects of social reality, and on the other, would trace the evolution of the region in the chronological interval of the 18th – the first third of the 20th century.

Discussion

In this regard, the issue of conceptual understanding of the initial period of development processes in Altai remains debatable. In fact, the only version of penetration and consolidation of the Russian state in Altai as part of the all-Siberian process of military colonization has been dominant through the 1990s – early 21st centuries. This version sees the occupation as aggressive imperial military-political and economic expansion, accompanied by a series of military expeditions and the construction of fortified engineering facilities at strategically important points (Ogurtsov, 1990; Isupov, 2009; Puzanov, 2011). In the last decade there have been attempts to explain the early stages of the Altai development from the perspective of the frontier theory. The application of this theory shows the uncontrolled variability of the imperial field broadcast from the state centre under the influence of the need to fix regional socio-geographical and ethno-political features (Bobrov, 2011). In this context, synthesis and evolutionary conceptual interpretations are now emerging. Methods of frontier modernization allow for interpretation of the political and legal impulses emanating from the Russian state of the early imperial period as a sui generis "modernization" interacting with the

frontier environment, which was developing in the interfluve of the Ob and Irtysh rivers (Bobrov, 2017). The idea of transformation of the frontier area, which was growing in Altai, into "the region of Kolyvano-Voskresensky Mining Department" confirms the existence of several "power cores" acting as centripetal zones in the developed area (Bobrov, 2013).

Quantifiable progress in understanding the context (background) of the development processes in Altai is associated with the development of the state border. The issues of determining the state borders of Russia in the south of Western Siberia acquired a greater significance in the first half – middle of the 18th century, the period of geopolitical competition for this area with the Dzungarian khanate. Researchers agree on the absence of the border between the territories, and the need to consider the matter within the vast territory of the Ob-Irtysh or even the Irtysh-Yenisei interfluve. V.B. Borodaev and A.V. Kontev see the state border simultaneously through the prism of the systemic reconstruction of the circumstances of the time the first Russian fortifications were built in Altai and through the context of the Russian state controlling over economically important areas of southern Siberia and Central Asia (Borodaev, Kontev, 2015).

D.S. Bobrov and T.N. Soboleva, applying elements of the limnological approach, identify several options for the perception of borders in administrative discourse when the borders between the regions are not clearly defined. The official diplomatic understanding of the issue was built around the justification of Russia's sovereign rights to the entire territory between the rivers Ob and Irtysh up to lakes Teletskoye and Zaisan. Cartographic image of the border was implemented through the creation of the original map projection of the border zone, marking a conditional visual-graphic line made according to the military strategic policy objectives in the region. The local management approach is connected with the perception of the border as the actual limit of administrative jurisdiction of local management structures in the region (fortresses of the Irtysh line and Bikatunskaya fortress). Finally, the understanding of development processes among the

scientific intelligentsia determined the emergence of special historical and geographical interpretations of the state borders. The low degree of conjugation of all these constructions with each other gave birth to the phenomenon of an "open" border used by the Russian administrative bodies to improve the strategic position of the state in the south of Western Siberia and Northern Central Asia (Bobrov, Soboleva, 2015; Bobrov, 2017).

A substantial body of literature on the historical development of Altai in the 18th century is still concentrated around issues of an administrative nature. In addition to the traditional desire of researchers to present a retrospective of the region's development in the first half of the century through the history of ostrogs (forts) and fortresses (Isupov, 2010; Bobrov, 2018), there appear some experiences of exhaustive reviews of the system of General civil management (Bobrov, 2017). Its key characteristic was hybridization – while maintaining the external features typical of other regions of Russia, Altai developed administrative institutions marked by a significant distinction. Two models of building regional and local administrative units coexisted at once. The Upper Ob region was characterized by a classic system chain "Governor – Province Governor – managers of forts and villages". The Upper Irtysh fortresses were characterized by a more simplified but at the same time more militarized administrative system: "Governor – commanders of garrison offices (staff officers)" (Bobrov, 2017). Further development of the problematics of civil administration is likely to be associated with the consideration of various aspects in the interaction of civil structures with departmental ones (mining and/or military). Some studies carried out in this perspective prove hidden and sometimes even obvious competition between local civil and private, and then departmental Cabinet authorities in Altai (Bobrov, 2017).

In the last two decades, the research on the history of mining production and occurrence of Kolyvano-Voskresensky and later the Altai mining district, located between the Ob and Irtysh rivers, has been focused not only on specific historical aspects, but also on theoretical points. The idea of existence of the producing

and territorial complex as a large administrative, economic and social system, localized in a certain area and having a common vector of development, in Altai during the 18th – early 20th centuries, and also its purpose and functions became a methodological core, which was able to integrate the studies on the regional history. A.A. Perezhogin rationalised the formation of a special "military-mining system" at the Cabinet enterprises of Western Siberia, accompanied by the dominance of officers and engineers in the upper and middle echelons of the district management in the staff officer ranks (Perezhogin, 2005). The source basis of this conclusion was the personnel analysis of departmental officials (with an emphasis on mountain officers) (Vedernikov, 2005), which eventually grew into an independent direction of scientific research (Babarykin, Perezhogin, 2017).

The reconstruction of regional and local departmental institutions of management, which began at the end of the 20th century (Soboleva, Razgon, 1997) was actively continued by historians in the next decade. The development of the administrative vertical structure was exacerbated by the confrontation of collegial and personal principles followed by a gradual replacement of the former by the latter. The threads of management of production and people in the district were distributed among the chief commander/head of factories, the Office of Kolyvano-Voskresensky mining authorities, the mining police, and the military court (Perezhogin, 2005; Konteva, 2005).

V.V. Vedernikov's research works showed the role of the Cabinet non-ferrous metallurgical production as the most important factor in the development of administrative, political, social and economic spheres of Altai in the second half of the 18th – first half of the 19th centuries. It facilitated the principal transformation of the social organization existing in the region: the emergence of class groups of mining engineers, workmen and *"urochniki"* (the Altai peasants who owned land paid for with their work done there), with the final formation of the assigned peasantry. Rapid development of production technologies generated social dynamics, urbanization of mining centres in

Altai (Barnaul, Zmeinogorsk, Pavlovsk, etc.). Technological and managerial changes at Altai factories in the first half of the 19th century are currently interpreted as a reaction of the central government to the negative dynamics of the global economic situation. However, the lease period of the mining district by the Ministry of Finance is the time of the office's total loss of ability to supervise and direct the scientific-technical progress of production industry, the final victory of the safeguarding tendencies, which meant the failure of preindustrialization in Altai.

The study of the period from 1861 to 1917 is characterized by new approaches. The key questions in this chronological stage are the pace and features of the development of capitalist relations in the territory of the Cabinet lands of Western Siberia, the specifics of the socio-economic development of the region after 1861, the level of capitalist relations in agriculture, industry and other areas before 1917.

In Soviet historiography, a number of authors, for example, A.P. Borodavkin, A.T. Topchy and others especially emphasized the power of feudal remnants in Altai. For instance, in his doctoral dissertation, A.P. Borodavkin noted "the strength and abundance of serfdom remnants" in the region after the abolition of serfdom; in his opinion, in agricultural industry of the Altai mining district capitalism developed "along the Prussian path" (Borodavkin, 1972: 42-43).

While early multifaceted works on the history of Altai paid a considerable attention to the reform of 1861, with exclusion or partial consideration of subsequent reforms, later on, thanks to the works by T.N. Soboleva and her students (V.V. Vedernikov, A.A. Perezhogin, A.E. Kukharenko, M.O. Tiapkin, A.E. Karpenko, D.S. Bobrov et al.) much heed was paid to the issues of management and administrative-territorial structure, Cabinet economy in the mountainous district. T.N. Soboleva did not only analyze the reforms of 1883, 1896 and 1911, she showed the evolution of the mining district into the agricultural one and came to the conclusion that by the beginning of the second decade of the 20th century the Altai district had already been a predominantly land-forest

diversified economic complex (Soboleva, 1999: 257). Thanks to the works by T.N. Soboleva and her students, the view on the Cabinet economy in Altai in the second half of the 19th and especially in the early 20th centuries as a frozen and backward system has changed, since the processes of intensification and modernization were continuing at the time (Kukharenko, Soboleva, 2012: 97).

The works by A.A. Perezhogin investigate the militarized control system of Kolyvano-Voskresensky (Altai) mining district from 1747 to 1871, and describe the liquidation of this system in the post-reform period (Perezhogin, 2005). In co-authorship with B.V. Babarykin, A.A. Perezhogin prepared a valuable reference book "Handbook of personnel officials of Altai (1747-1917)" (Barykin, Perezhogin, 2017).

The works by V.V. Vedernikov (articles, monographs, doctoral dissertation) carry out a deep analysis of the Cabinet non – ferrous metallurgy of Siberia in the 18th – early 20th centuries. The author was able to do a thorough research on the technique and technology of enterprises, to link the history of non-ferrous metallurgy of Siberia with the world market and foreign policy at different historical stages, and to demonstrate the scale and negative impact of embezzlement on the fate of Cabinet enterprises in Altai (Vedernikov, 2012).

In the second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries Altai became one of the essential agricultural regions of Siberia, the leader in the production of grain and butter. The history of agriculture and peasantry of the region is reflected in the national historiography. In modern historiography, the Stolypin Agrarian Reform has turned out to be a very popular trend. Moreover, the Altai region has become one of the main areas of the country and has been affected by the most massive wave of immigrants. A more in-depth study of the Stolypin Agrarian Reform in Altai has come to be an urgent task. V.N. Razgon, A.A. Khramkov and K.A. Pozharskaia, the scholars of the Altai State University, achieved remarkable results in the development of this subject, which are reflected in two monographs (Razgon, Khramkov, Pozharskaia, 2010, 2013). They are based on the representative sources, including materi-

als of central and local archives, statistical materials, the 1916 and 1917 population censuses, as well as the databases of peasant farms of the Altai province of 1917 and resettlement sites of the Altai region formed during the Stolypin Agrarian Reform.

While Soviet historiography gave mainly a negative assessment of Stolypin and his Agrarian Reform, the modern works of Barnaul historians make a more objective assessment of the activities of this figure and his Reform. The authors see Stolypin resettlement as a milestone in the development of Siberia and especially the Altai region: "Mass colonization of the region by migrants from the European part of the country contributed to a wider involvement of the Siberian region in the all-Russian economic and socio-cultural processes" (Razgon, Khramkov, Pozharskaia, 2010: 228).

Whereas traditional works look on the growth of the reverse migration as a result of poor organization, delays in granting farmers land, etc., with the reverse resettlements of 1910 called a "crash" resettlement policy (History of Siberia, 1968: 305), B.N. Razgon, A.A. Khramkov and K.A. Pozharskaia approached the issue of growth of reverse migration more comprehensively. They explain it by a whole complex of reasons, including a reduction in the colonization capacity of the Altai region, crop failures of 1910-1911, industrial growth in the country, an increase in the scale of land management in the Central provinces of the country. In addition, the change of the government policy towards the intensification of the development of populated areas and improvement of the quality of the resettlement under the slogan "development is more important than settlement" contributed to the escalating reverse migration (Razgon, Khramkov, Pozharskaia, 2010: 315). The attention of researchers was drawn to the national diasporas of Altai – the German diaspora (Shaidurov, 2001) and the Polish one (Poles in Altai..., 2013). A new stage of Russian historiography began in the 1990s. The development of historical Siberian studies in this period was determined by the general state of historical science in Russia, associated with the growth of public interest in history, revision of the theoretical and methodological

foundations of historical research, changes in the conditions of funding science and the organization of scientific cooperation. Among other things, these changes were manifested in the expansion of research issues. It was during these years that the historical urban studies became one of the main directions developed by Barnaul historians.

The scientific school headed by V.A. Skubnevsky was engaged in research of a range of problems which can be conditionally grouped under the name of historical urban studies. The study of the history of Siberian cities is irrefutably the core field for Barnaul historians specializing in Siberian studies. In recent years, this very historical urbanism has been developing most intensively in the regional studies. In particular, there is a wide range of publications specifically devoted to the population of cities in the region in the second half of the 19ᵗʰ – early 20ᵗʰ centuries. These works examine the dynamics of the population size, its national and strata composition, the structure of employment, and demographic processes in the cities. The study of the economy of Siberian cities has traditionally been a well-founded field.

A significant contribution to the study of demographic processes in the Siberian cities of the second half of the 19ᵗʰ – early 20ᵗʰ centuries has been made by Yu.M. Goncharov. A merchant family was the object of research of his Candidate's thesis, while a Siberian urban family became the object of research of his Doctoral thesis. New approaches to work on these topics have been implemented for the creation and use of electronic databases on the population of Siberian cities. In his thesis and monograph (Goncharov, 1999), the author compiled a database of more than 2200 merchant families of Siberian cities, whereas his doctoral dissertation and monograph (Goncharov, 2002) represent a database of more than 6500 urban families. It is also necessary to note the works of young authors devoted to less studied topics about small towns in Western Siberia (Tiapkina, 2008) and the suburban areas of the cities of the Tomsk province in the second half of the 19ᵗʰ – early 20ᵗʰ centuries (Degtiarev, 2012).

The Publishing House of Altai State University also released two issues of collections of scientific articles "The cities of Siberia…" (in 2001, 2004), which contained articles by researchers from Barnaul, Novosibirsk, Tomsk, Biysk and other research centers.

One of the traditional areas of Siberian urban studies is the study of city municipality. This area of study shaped up in the previous period is actively developing today, which is confirmed by multiple dissertations, monographs, textbooks (Len, 2000, Litiagina, 1999). The publication of collections of documents on the history of city municipality is of great importance (see "Barnaul City Duma…", 1999).

One of the essential directions of Siberian historical urban studies is the study of urban culture. In addition to traditional issues, such as the history of education (Zhuravleva, 2005, Gordienko, 2009, Babarykin, 2015), (Stepanskaia, 2006), the historians of Barnaul have recently elicited new topics related to the image of cities, their development and improvement.

Along with merchants, other formations and social groups of the urban population of pre-revolutionary Siberia are still under study; these include officials, military, Cossacks, clergy, intellectuals, salesmen (Goncharov, Chutchev, 2004; Skoblikov, 2017).

The result of the active development of Siberian historical urbanism in recent years is the emergence of summarising works based on a comprehensive study of the region's cities (Ivonin, 2000). The monograph "The cities of Western Siberia in the second half of the 19ᵗʰ – early 20ᵗʰ centuries" (Skubnevsky, Goncharov, 2003) provides a detailed study of the social and legal status of citizens, the composition and population size of cities in the region, and demographic processes. A number of new conclusions about the changes in the economic importance of cities were obtained; there were analysed the development of urban industry and trade, the employment of citizens, as well as construction and improvement.

The publications of new archival materials, documents and other materials broadening up the information field of urban studies, thus contributing to the formation and development of new research approaches: historical-anthropological, modernization, prosopographic, gender, etc. For example, the works on "fe-

male" history, devoted to the social activities of women, women's education, the social status of women in Siberian society, as well as the works on men's history within the framework of the gender approach.

The general trend of latter-day is marked by a gradual shift from viewing the history of the daily life of urban dwellers as a minor issue, which was typical of Soviet historiography. There are also monographic works devoted to everyday life of citizens of this period. Within this framework, researchers study leisure and entertainment of citizens, festive culture, daily life of certain categories of the population, social life, value orientations and social norms (Goncharov, 2004).

Since the early 1990s the history of entrepreneurship has become a new trend in Russian historiography. Barnaul historians, primarily the historians of Altai State University and Altai State Pedagogical University have been engaged in the study of different aspects of this field, including the history of individual entrepreneurs and merchant families, enterprises, business activity in private sector industries, trade, transport, social and political activities of entrepreneurs, as well as charity, etc. The source base of research in this area has been significantly aggrandized. The authors involved registers of births, confessional paintings, clerical statements, funds of banks and city municipalities, reference books, including industrial censuses, lists of trading houses and joint-stock companies, materials of tax and factory inspection, sources of personal origin (Koshenova, 2005), photographic documents and advertising.

As far as the sources allow, biographies of not only the largest entrepreneurs (merchants of the 1st Guild, honorary citizens), but also of many merchants of the 2nd Guild and notable entrepreneurs from among the burghers and peasants were restored. These materials were included in reference publications – "Entrepreneurs of Altai" (Skubnevsky, Startsev, Goncharov, 1996). The growth of entrepreneurial activity in the social and political life was mainly associated with entrepreneurs partaking in the work of city municipality (Litiagina, 1997: 183-202).

The monograph "Merchants of Altai of the second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries" became a comprehensive study of the class of entrepreneurs of the Altai region, which shows the circumstances of entrepreneurial activity in the region, the number and the sources of formation of the entrepreneurial class, the merchant family, the main directions of entrepreneurship, socio-political activity, life and mentality (Skubnevsky, Startsev, Goncharov, 2001). The researchers also addressed the charity activities of local entrepreneurs (Startsev, 2003, Skubnevsky, 2018).

A number of authors studied certain industries and trade of Altai and Western Siberia on the whole, paying particular attention to the corresponding groups of entrepreneurs. For instance, E.V. Galskikh looked into textile market of Western Siberia in the second half of the 19th century (Galskikh, 2002), M.A. Barsukova went behind milling industry of the Urals and Western Siberia in the second half of the 19th century (Barsukova, 1996), A.M. Mariupolsky did the research on distilling and wine trade in Western Siberia during the excise system (Mariupolsky, 2000), E.A. Nosova studied grain market of Western Siberia in the second half of the 19th century (Nosova, 2007), A.V. Startsev investigated Russian trade in Mongolia (second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries) (Startsev), T.K. Shcheglova – fairs of Western Siberia and Steppe regions of the second half of the 19th century and their role in Russian-Asian trade (Shcheglova, 2001), T.I. Andreeva (Batalova) – private railway construction in Altai and Asian Russia as a whole (Batalova, 2004). I.A. Eremin analyzed the economy of the Tomsk province during the World War I (Eremin, 2009). A.V. Startsev also addressed the issues of methodology and methods of entrepreneurship research in Russia (Startsev, 2016).

In the course of work on these topics, these authors participated in many conferences and their articles were published in thematic collections of articles, including three issues of "Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship in Siberia" (in 1995, 1997, 2001). The results of the work were also summed up in the general materials, including the textbook by A.V. Startsev and Yu. M. Goncharov "En-

trepreneurship in Siberia: Historical Experience (the 17th – early 20th centuries)" (Startsev, Goncharov, 2010).

Among the new approaches in the study of this area, let us recall that various authors (T.K. Shcheglova, E.V. Galskikh, M.A. Barsukova, A.M. Mariupolsky, E.A. Nosova) concluded that economic relationships between the markets of Western Siberia and the Urals were deeper in the post-reform period than it was described in earlier studies. T.K. Shcheglova showed that a chain of fairs of Western Siberia in the post-reform period was complex and an effective form of market organization, and trade fairs and city trade complemented each other (Shcheglova).

It should be recognized that the "history of workers" has not been studied so successfully lately, but this is a characteristic of Russian historiography as a whole. The studies on the history of workers of the region include the Candidate's thesis and monographs by L.N. Tikhobaeva (Tikhobaeva, 2006), M.A. Arshakian (Arshakian, 2010), V.N. Faronov (Faronov, 2012). At the same time, Professor V.P. Zinoviev, from Tomsk (Zinoviev, 2007, 2016) continues a comprehensive and fruitful study of the history of workers in Siberia, including the territory of Altai.

The Department of Documents, Archives and Historical Informatics of Altai State University headed by Doctor of History V.N. Vladimirov has become one of the leading research centres in the field of historical informatics not only in Siberia, but also in Russia.

The research activities of this department are connected with the study of mass sources and methods of their processing. Computer technologies and databases are widely used in the processing of mass sources (Vladimirov, 2013). Different collections of articles (Source. Method. Computer, 1996; Computer and Historical Demography, 2000; Historical Professions Studies, 2004; 2008, etc.), and monographs (Vladimirov, 2006, etc.) have been published.

Conclusion

The results of recent studies allow us to draw a series of conclusions. Despite certain specifics of Altai (Cabinet lands), the economic development of the region in the second half of the 19th century and the early 20th century, in particular, embarked on a capitalist course. While in the post-reform period, Altai's lagging from other regions of Siberia and Central Russia was evident in a number of areas (private manufacturing industry, lending and credit), the economic development of the region increased significantly after the construction of the Siberian railway (in the 1890s).

Development of the history studies concerning such a large and important region as Altai in the last 20 years has shown the formation of a multidimensional regional-oriented scientific school in the national historiography.

References

Babarykin, B.V. (2015). Gornozavodskoe professional'noe obrazovanie Zapadnoi Sibiri v XVIII – nachale XX veka [Mining professional education in Western Siberia in the 18th – early 20th centuries]. In *Abstract of Thesis for Candidate of Historical Sciences.* Barnaul, 26 p.

Babarykin, B.V., Perezhogin, A.A. (2017). *Spravochnik lichnogo sostava chinovnichestva Altaia (1747–1917)* [*Handbook of the personnel of the Altai officialdom (1747–1917)*]. Barnaul, Altai State Pedagogical University, 270 p.

Skubnevsky, V.A. (ed.) (1999). *Barnaul'skaia gorodskaia duma v 1877–1996 gody* [*The Barnaul City Duma in 1877–1996*]. Barnaul, Altai Krai Administration, Archive Department, 305 p.

Barsukova, M.A. (1996). Mukomol'naia promyshlennost' Urala i Zapadnoi Sibiri vo vtoroi polovine XIX veka [Milling industry of the Urals and Western Siberia in the second half of the 19th century]. In *Abstract of Thesis for Candidate of Historical Sciences.* Barnaul, Altai State University, 26 p.

Batalova, T.N. (2004). Zheleznodorozhnoe stroitel'stvo na Altae v nachale XX veka [Railway construction in Altai at the beginning of the 20th century]. In *Istoriia Altaiskogo kraia v XVIII–XX vekax [History of the Altai Krai in the 18th – 19th centuries*], 216–225.

Bobrov, D.S. (2011). Ideia "frontira" – odin iz vzgliadov na protsess osvoeniia Altaia kak periferiinogo prostranstva [The idea of "frontier" as one of the views on the development of Altai as a peripheral space]. In *Kabinetskaia model' upravleniia hoziaistvom i ekspluatatsii prirodnykh resursov Altaia v XVIII – nachale XX veka* [*Cabinet model of economic management and exploitation of natural resources of Altai in the 18ᵗʰ – early 20ᵗʰ centuries*], 7-17.

Bobrov, D.S. (2013). K voprosu o predposylkakh stanovleniia "Regiona Kolyvano-Voskresenskogo gornogo vedomstva": obshcheteoreticheskie aspekty [On the prerequisites of creation of "The region of the Kolyvan-Voskresensky mining office": general theoretical aspects]. In *Tobol'sk nauchnyj – 2013* [*Scientific Tobolsk – 2013*], 224–227.

Bobrov, D.S. (2017). Politiko-pravovye mekhanizmy osvoeniia Rossiiskim gosudarstvom Verkhnego Ob'-Irtysh'ia (Altaia) v pervoi polovine XVIIII veka [Political and legal mechanisms of development by the Russian state of the Upper Ob-Irtysh (Altai) in the first half of the 18ᵗʰ century]. In *Thesis for Candidate of Historical Sciences.* Barnaul, 252 p.

Bobrov, D.S. (2018). O roli Biiskoj kreposti v rossiiskom kolonizatsionnom processe na Altae v pervoi polovine XVIII veka (k 300-letiiu vozvedeniia vtorogo Bikatunskogo ostroga) [On the role of the Biysk fortress in the Russian colonization process in Altai in the first half of the 18ᵗʰ century (for the 300ᵗʰ anniversary of the construction of the Second Bikatunsky ostrog (fort))]. In *Vestnik Kemerovskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta* [*Bulletin of Kemerovo State University*], 4, 13-23. DOI: 10.21603/2078-8975-2018-4-13-23

Borodavkin, A.P. (1972). *Reforma 1861 goda na Altae* [*The reform of 1861 in Altai*]. Tomsk, Publishing House of the Tomsk State University, 314 p.

Borodaev, V.B., Kontev, A.V. (2015). *Formirovanie rossiiskoi granitsy v Irtyshsko-Eniseiskom mezhdurech'e v 1620–1720 gody* [*The formation of the Russian border in the Irtysh-Yenisei interfluve in 1620–1720*]. Barnaul, the Altai State Pedagogical University, 415 p.

Vedernikov, V.V. (2005). *Gornye inzhenery na Altae v 1747–1896 gody* [*Mining engineers in Altai in 1747–1896*]. Barnaul, Grafix, 157 p.

Vedernikov, V.V. (2012). *Kabinetskaia tsvetnaia metallurgiia Sibiri v XVIII – pervoi polovine XIX veka* [*Cabinet nonferrous metallurgy of Siberia in the 18ᵗʰ – the first half of the 19ᵗʰ centuries*]. Barnaul, Publishing House of the Altai State University, 185 p.

Vladimirov, V.N., Silina, I.G., Chibisov, M.V. (2006). *Prikhody Barnaul'skogo dukhovnogo pravleniia v 1829–1864 gody (po materialam klirovykh vedomostei)* [*Parishes of Barnaul clerical government in 1829–1864 (based on the materials of cleric sheet*s)]. Barnaul, Publishing House of the Altai State University, 140 p.

Vladimirov, V.N. (2013). Kafedra dokumentovedeniia, arkhivovedeniia i istoricheskoi informatiki [Department of documentary, archival and historical informatics]. In *Istoricheskii fakul'tet Altaiskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta 1973 – 2013 gody: ocherki istorii* [*History Faculty of Altai State University in 1973-2013: historical reviews*], 99-104. Barnaul, "Azbuka".

Galskih, E.V. (2002). *Tekstil'nyi rynok Zapadnoi Sibiri vo vtoroi polovine XIX veka* [*Textile market of Western Siberia in the second half of the 19ᵗʰ century*]. Barnaul, Publishing House of the Altai State University, 178 p.

Goncharov, Yu.M. (1999). *Kupecheskaia sem'ia vtoroi poloviny XIX – nachala XX veka (po materialam komp'iuternoi bazy dannykh kupecheskikh semei Zapadnoi Sibiri)* [*A merchant family of the second half of the 19ᵗʰ – early 20ᵗʰ centuries (based on the computer database of merchant families in Western Siberia)*]. Moscow, Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of RAS, 244 p.

Goncharov, Yu.M. (2002). *Gorodskaia sem'ia Sibiri vtoroi poloviny XIX – nachala XX veka* [*An urban family in Siberia in the second half of the 19ᵗʰ – early 20ᵗʰ centuries*]. Barnaul, Publishing House of the Altai State University, 384 p.

Goncharov, Yu.M. (2004). *Ocherki istorii gorodskogo byta dorevoliutsionnoi Sibiri (seredina XIX – nachalo XX veka)* [*Historical reviews on the history of urban daily life in pre-revolutionary Siberia (mid of the 19ᵗʰ – early 20ᵗʰ centuries)*]. Novosibirsk, "Sova", 357 p.

Goncharov, Yu.M., Chutchev, V.S. (2004). *Meshchanskoe soslovie Zapadnoi Sibiri vtoroi poloviny XIX – nachala XX veka* [*The bourgeois class of Western Siberia in the second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries*]. Barnaul, Publishing House of the Altai State University, 206 p.

Gordienko, O.N. (2009). Razvitie nachal'nogo i srednego obrazovaniia na territorii Altaiskogo okruga (vtoraia polovina XIX veka – fevral' 1917 goda) [Development of primary and secondary education in the Altai region (the second half of the 19th century – February of 1917)]. In *Abstract of Thesis for Candidate of Historical Sciences.* Barnaul, 22 p.

Skubnevsky, V.A. (ed.) (2002). *Goroda Sibiri XVIII – nachala XX v. Sbornik nauchnykh statei* [*The Siberian cities in the 18th – early 20th Centuries*]. Barnaul, 168 p.

Skubnevsky, V.A., Goncharov, Yu.M. (ed.) (2004). *Goroda Sibiri XVII – nachala XX v. Vyp.2: istoriia povsednevnosti* [*The Siberian cities in the 17th – early 20th centuries*]. Barnaul, 230 p.

Degtiarev, D.S. (2012). *Prigorodnye zony gorodov Tomskoi gubernii vo vtoroi polovine XIX – nachale XX veka* [*Suburban areas of the cities of Tomsk Governorate in the second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries*]. Barnaul, Publishing House of the Altai State University, 176 p.

Startsev, A.V., Skubnevsky, V.A., Zinoviev V.P. (2005). *Delovaia elita staroi Sibiri: istoricheskie ocherki* [*The business elite of the old Siberia: historical rreviews*]. Novosibirsk, "Sova", 258 p.

Eremin, I.A. (2005). *Tomskaia guberniia kak tylovoi raion Rossii v gody Pervoi mirovoi voiny (1914–1918 gody)* [*Tomsk Governorate as a rear area of Russia during the First World War (1914–1918)*]. Barnaul, Publishing House of the Barnaul State Pedagogical University, 277 p.

Zhuravleva, N.N. (2005). Zhenskoe obrazovanie v Tomskoi gubernii vo vtoroi polovine XIX – nachale XX veka [Women's education in Tomsk Governorate in the second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries]. In *Abstract of Thesis for Candidate of Historical Sciences.* Barnaul, 24 p.

Zinoviev, V.P. (2007). *Industrial'nye kadry staroi Sibiri* [*Industrial staff of the old Siberia*]. Tomsk, Publishing House of the Tomsk State University, 258 p.

Zinoviev, V.P. (2016). *Ekonomicheskoe polozhenie gornorabochikh Sibiri v kontse XIX – nachale XX veka: istoki social'noi identichnosti* [*The economic situation of Siberian miners in the late 19th – early 20th centuries: the origins of social identity*]. Tomsk, Publishing House of the Tomsk State University, 257 p.

Ivonin, A.R. (2000). *West Siberian city of the last quarter of the 18th – 60s of the 19th century (Experience of historical and demographic research).* Barnaul, Publishing House of the Altai State University, 355 p.

Soboleva, T.N., Bobrov, D.S. (ed.) (2016). *Istoriko-geograficheskie obrazy Altaia v trudakh uchenykh, puteshestvennikov i chiinovnikov XVIII – nachala XX veka* [*Historical and geographical images of Altai in the works of scientists, travelers and officials of the 18th – early 20th centuries*]. Barnaul, "Azbuka", 440 p.

Vladimirov, V.N. (2004*). Istoricheskoe professiovedenie* [*Historical professions studies*]. Barnaul, Publishing House of the Altai State University, 208 p.

Vladimirov, V.N. (2008). *Istoricheskoe professiovedenie: istochniki, metody, tekhnologii analiza* [*Historical professions studies: sources, methods, technologies of analysis*]. Barnaul, Publishing House of the Tomsk State University, 256 p.

Klimenko, V.I. (ed.) (2004). *Istoriia promyshlennosti Novosibirska. T.1. Nachalo (1893 – 1917)* [*The history of the Novosibirsk industry. Vol. 1. The beginning (1893–1917)*]. Novosibirsk, 646 p.

Kudriavtsev, F.A. (ed.) (1968). *Istoriia Sibiri s drevneishikh vremen do nashikh dnei. T. 3* [*History of Siberia from ancient times to the present day. Vol. 3*]. Leningrad, 529 p.

Vladimirov, V.N., Tsyb, S.V. (ed.) (1996). *Istochnik. Metod. Komp'iuter* [*Source. Method. Computer*]. Barnaul, Publishing House of the Altai State University, 226 p.

Isupov, S.Yu. (2009). *Krepost' Biiskaia – est' glavnaia…* [*Biysk fortress is the main…*]. Barnaul, "Azbuka", 302 p.

Isupov, S.Yu. (2010). Rol' Biiskoi kreposti v voenno-kolonizatsionnoi politike Rossiiskoi imperii na Altae v pervoi polovine XVIII veka [The role of the Biysk fortress in the military colonization policy of the Russian Empire in Altai in the first half of the 18th century]. In *Izvestiia Altaiskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta* [*News Bulletin of the Altai State University*], 4, 91–94.

Konteva, O.E. (2005). Stanovlenie i razvitie sistemy upravleniia kabinetskim gornozavodskim vedomstvom v Zapadnoi Sibiri: 1745 – 1798 gody [Establishment and development of the management system of the Cabinet mining department in Western Siberia: 1745–1798]. In *Abstract of Thesis for Candidate of Historical Sciences.* Barnaul, 26 p.

Vladimirov, V.N. (ed.) (2000). *Komp'iuter i istoricheskaia demografiia* [*Computer and historical demography*]. Barnaul, Publishing House of the Altai State University, 210 p.

Koshenova, N.Yu. (2005). Istochniki lichnogo proiskhozhdeniia o sibirskom kupechestve vtoroi poloviny XIX – nachala XX vekov [Sources of personal origin of the Siberian merchants in the second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries]. In *Abstract of Thesis for Candidate of Historical Sciences.* Barnaul, 23 p.

Kukharenko, A.E., Soboleva, T.N. (2012). Process intensifikatsii hoziaistva i izmeneniia administrativnoi modeli upravleniia Altaiskim okrugom v nachale XX veka [The process of intensification of the economy and changes in the administrative model of management of the Altai region in the early 20th century]. In *Ekonomicheskaia istoriia Sibiri* [*Economic history of Siberia*], 96–103. Barnaul.

Lion, K.V. (2000). Podgotovka i provedenie gorodskoi reformy 1870 goda v Zapadnoi Sibiri (na materialakh Tomskoi gubernii) [The preparation and implementation of the Urban Reform of 1870 in Western Siberia (on the materials of Tomsk province)]. In *Abstract of Thesis for Candidate of Historical Sciences.* Barnaul, 22 p.

Litiagina, A.V. (1997). Gorodskie dumy kak predstavitel'nye organizatsii torgovo-promyshlennykh krugov dorevoliutsionnoi Sibiri (po materialam Tomskoi gubernii) [Urban dumas of Western Siberia in the late 19th – early 20th centuries (based on the materials of the Tomsk Governorate)]. In *Predprinimateli i predprinimatel'stvo v Sibiri* [*Entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship in Siberia*], 3, 183–202.

Mariupolsky, A.M. (2000). *Vinokurenie i vinotorgovlia Zapadnoi Sibiri v period deistviia aktsiznoi sistemy* [*Wine distilling and trade in Western Siberia during the excise system*]. Barnaul, Publishing House of the Altai State University, 158 p.

Nosova, E.A. (2007). Khlebnaia torgovlia Zapadnoi Sibiri vo vtoroi polovine XIX veka [Grain trade in Western Siberia in the second half of the 19th century]. In *Abstract of Thesis for Candidate of Historical Sciences.* Barnaul, 24 p.

Ogurtsov, A.Yu. (1990). Voenno-inzhenernaia politika Rossii na iuge Zapadnoi Sibiri v XVIII veke [Military engineering policy of Russia in the south of Western Siberia in the 18th century. In *Abstract of Thesis for Candidate of Historical Sciences.* Sverdlovsk, 24 p.

Perezhogin, A.A. (2005). *Voenizirovannaia sistema upravleniia Kolyvano-Voskresenskogo (Altaiskogo) gornogo okruga (1747–1871 gody)* [*Paramilitary management system of Kolyvano-Voskresensky (Altai) mining district (1747 – 1871)*]. Barnaul, Publishing House of the Altai State University, 262 p.

Nikulina, I.N., Pavlova (ed.) (2013). *Poliaki na Altae. Altai v Pol'she (XVIII – XXI vv.)* [*The Poles in Altai. Altai in Poland (19th – 21st centuries)*]. Barnaul, Altai House of Print, 174 p.

Skubnevsky, V.A. (ed.) (1995). *Predprinimateli i predprinimatel'stvo v Sibiri (XVIII – nachalo XX vv.)* [*Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship in Siberia (18th – early 20th centuries)*]. Barnaul, 206 p.

Skubnevsky, V.A. (ed.) (1997). *Predprinimateli i predprinimatel'stvo v Sibiri. Vyp.2 (XVIII v. – 1920-e gg.)* [*Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship in Siberia (18th century – 1920)*]. Barnaul, 221 p.

Skubnevsky, V.A. (ed.) (2001). *Predprinimateli i predprinimatel'stvo v Sibiri. Vyp. 3.* [*Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship in Siberia*]. Barnaul, 266 p.

Puzanov, V.D. (2011). *Voennaia politika Russkogo gosudarstva v Zapadnoǐ Sibiri (konets XVI – nachalo XVIII v.)* [*The military policy of the Russian state in Western Siberia (in the late 16th – early 18th centuries)*]. Surgut, Taimer, 233 p.

Razgon, V.N., Khramkov, A.A., Pozharskaia, K.A. (2010). *Stolypinskaia agrarnaia reforma i Altai* [*The Stolypin Agrarian Reform and Altai*]. Barnaul, Publishing House of the Altai State University, 276 p.

Razgon, V.N., Khramkov, A.A., Pozharskaia, K.A. (2013). *Stolypinskie migranty v Altaiskom okruge: pereselenie, zemleobespechenie, hoziaistvennaia i sotsiokul'turnaia adaptatsiia* [*Stolypin migrants in the Altai region: resettlement, land support, economic and socio-cultural adaptation*]. Barnaul, "Azbuka", 346 p.

Skoblikov, S.V. (2017). Povsednevnaia zhizn' nizhnikh voinskikh chinov Rossiiskoi armii v 60-h go-dakh XIX – nachale XX veka (po materialam Zapadnoi Sibiri) [Everyday life of the lower military ranks of the Russian army in the 1860s– early 20th centuries (based on the materials of Western Siberia)]. In *Abstract of Thesis for Candidate of Historical Sciences.* Barnaul, 26 p.

Skubnevsky, V.A. (2018). Blagotvoritel'nost' predprinimatelei Altaia vo vtoroi polovine XIX – nachale XX v. [Charity of Altai entrepreneurs in the second half of 19th – early 20th centuries]. In *Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta* [*Tomsk State University Journal*], 435, 155-160.

Skubnevsky, V.A., Startsev, A.V., Goncharov, Yu.M. (2001). *Predprinimateli Altaia 1861 – 1917 gg.* [*The entrepreneurs of Altai in 1861–1917*]. Barnaul, Demidovsky Foundation, 112 p.

Skubnevskij, V.A., Startsev, A.V., Goncharov, Yu.M. (2001). *Kupechestvo Altaya vtoroj poloviny XIX – nachala XX v.* [*The merchants of Altai of the second half of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th centuries*]. Barnaul, Publishing House of the Altai State University, 240 p.

Skubnevsky, A.V., Goncharov, Yu.M. (2014). *Goroda Zapadnoi Sibiri vo vtoroi polovine XIX – nachale XX v. Naselenie. Ekonomika. Zastroika i blagoustroistvo* [*The cities of Western Siberia in the second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries. Population. Economy. Building and improvement*]. Barnaul, IP Kolmogorov, 252 p.

Soboleva, T.N., Razgon, V.N. (1997). *Ocherki istorii kabinetskogo hoziaistva na Altae (vtoraia polovina XVIII – pervaia polovina XIX v.): upravlenie i obsluzhivanie* [*The essays on the history of Cabinet economy in Altai (the second half of the 18th – the first half of the 19th centuries): management and maintenance*]. Barnaul, Publishing House of the Altai State University, 257 p.

Soboleva, T.N. (1999). Upravlenie Altaiskogo (gornogo) okruga i Zmeinogorskogo kraia v 1861 – 1917 gg. [The management of the Altai (mining) district and the Zmeinogorsk region in 1861 – 1917]. In *Serebrianyi venets Rossii (Ocherki istorii Zmeinogorska)* [*Silver crown of Russia. Historical reviews of Zmeinogorsk*]. Barnaul, 257.

Soboleva, T.N., Bobrov, D.S. (2011). Sovremennaia rossiiskaia istoriografiia kontseptsii frontira [Modern Russian historiography of the frontier concept]. In *Izvestiia Altaiskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta* [*News Bulletin of Altai State University Journal*], 4, 189-193.

Startsev, A.V. (2003). Blagotvoritel'nost' i metsenatstvo predprinimatelei Sibiri vo vtoroi polovine XIX – nachale XX v. [Charity and patronage of the entrepreneurs in Siberia in the second half of 19th – early 20th centuries]. In *Charity in Russia: History and socio-economic studies.* Saint-Petersburg, 85-97.

Startsev, A.V. (2003). Russkaia torgovlia v Mongolii (vtoraia polovina XIX – nachalo XX v.) [Russian trade in Mongolia (the second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries)]. Barnaul, Publishing House of the Altai State University, 414 p.

Startsev, A.V. (2016). *Sibir' i sopredel'nye territorii: istoriia, istoriografiia, metodologiia* [*Siberia and adjacent territories: history, historiography, methodology*]. Barnaul, Barnaul Law Institute of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia, 445 p.

Stepanskaia, T.M. (2006). *Arkhitektura Altaia XVIII – XX vekakh* [*Architecture of Altai in the 18th – the 20th centuries*]. Barnaul, ART, 300 p.

Tikhobaeva, L.N. (2006). *Rabochie Kolyvanskoi shlifoval'noi fabriki v XIX veke* [*The Kolyvan grinding factory workers in the 19th century*]. Barnaul, Publishing House of the Altai State University,125 p.

Tiapkina, O.A. (2008). *Malye goroda Zapadnoi Sibiri vo vtoroi polovine XIX veka: sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoe issledovanie* [*Small towns in Western Siberia in the second half of the 19th century: a socio-economic study*]. Novosibirsk, "Sova", 3-7 p.

Faronov, V.N. (2012). *Rabochaia sem'ia Sibiri v kontse XIX – nachale XX v. (po materialam Tomskoi gubernii)* [*The family of workers in Siberia in the late 19th – early 20th centuries (based on the materials of the Tomsk Governorate)*]. Barnaul, "Azbuka", 200 p.

Shaidurov, V.N. (2001). Formirovanie i sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoe razvitie nemetskoi diaspory Altaia. Konets XIX – nachalo XX veka [Formation and socio-economic development of the German Diaspora of Altai. The late 19th – early 20th centuries]. In *Abstract of Thesis for Candidate of Historical Sciences.* Barnaul, 20 p.

Shcheglova, T.K. (2001). *Iarmarki yuga Zapadnoj Sibiri v XIX – nachale XX veka. Iz istorii formirovaniia i razvitiia vserossijskogo rynka* [*The fairs of the south of Western Siberia in the 19th – early 20th centuries. From the history of formation and development of the all-Russian market*]. Barnaul, Publishing House of the Altai State University, 500 p.

Shsheglova, T.K. (2002). Yarmarki Zapadnoi Sibiri i Stepnykh oblastei vtoroi poloviny XIX veka i ikh rol' v rossiisko-aziatskoi torgovle [The fairs of Western Siberia and Steppe regions of the second half of the 19th century and their role in Russian-Asian trade]. In *Abstract of Thesis for Candidate of Historical Sciences.* Tomsk, 42 p.

Современные подходы к истории Алтая XVIII – начала XX в.

Д.С. Бобров, Ю.М. Гончаров, Е.В. Демчик, И.В. Пьянзина, В.А. Скубневский

Алтайский государственный университет
Российская Федерация, Барнаул

Аннотация. Статья является результатом анализа историографического освоения истории такого значимого региона современной Сибири, как Алтай. В работе представлены основные направления изучения истории Алтая XVIII – начала XX в. как части Сибири и России, используемые в последние два десятилетия научно-методологические подходы. Рассмотрены такие направления изучения истории Алтая, практиковавшиеся в последние 20 лет, как: фронтирное освоение, история управления, социально-экономическое развитие, аграрная колонизация, история предпринимательства, социальные и гендерные исследования и др. Развитие исторического сибиреведения на Алтае в этот период определялось общими для состояния исторической науки условиями, связанными с ростом общественного интереса к истории, пересмотром теоретико-методологических основ исторического исследования. Историография исторического изучения Алтая в новейшей (постсоветской) историографии показывает значимость современных историко-ориентированных региональных исследований. Историографическое освоение истории такого крупного и значимого региона, как Алтай, в последние 20 лет показывает формирование многоаспектной регионально-ориентированной научной школы в отечественной историографии.

Ключевые слова: история, Сибирь, Алтай, историография.

Научная специальность: 07.00.00 – исторические науки.

Formation of Immigrant Neighbourhoods in Sweden: a Case-Study of Rinkeby, Stockholm

Tatiana D. Egorova[a], Nataliya S. Ivanova[b] and Evgeni A. Varshaver*[b]
[a]Ural Federal University named after the first President of Russia B.N. Yeltsin
Ekaterinburg, Russian Federation
[b]Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration
Moscow, Russian Federation

Abstract. The article describes the pattern of the formation of immigrant neighbourhoods in Sweden based on the neighbourhood of Rinkeby in Stockholm as an example. The research involves an analysis of related published studies and empirical data, which made it possible to analyse the urban history of Stockholm and synthesise the causes, premises and the timeline of Rinkeby's development, including the Million Homes Programme and the consequences of the state housing policies on the neighbourhood. The article considers the infrastructural features of the neighbourhood nowadays, including the immigrant-oriented facilities and institutions and the prevalence of non-profit municipal rental housing, as well as the demographic characteristics of its inhabitants, including the classification of the population by the time of settlement in the neighbourhood. Finally, the article explores possible reasons for Swedes to avoid settlement in Rinkeby, such as low prestige, high percentage of immigrants in the population, high crime rate etc., as well as possible causes for further attractiveness of Rinkeby for immigrants, including shorter housing queues, immigrant infrastructure and culture in the neighbourhood.

Keywords: migration, immigrant integration, immigrant settlement, immigrant neighbourhood, urban studies, Sweden, Rinkeby, "Little Mogadishu".

Research area: history, culturology.

* Corresponding author E-mail address: egorovatatianad@gmail.com, nataliya.ivanova.070@gmail.com, varshavere@gmail.com
  ORCID: 0000-0003-0192-7062 (Egorova); 0000-0002-1140-2334 (Ivanova); 0000-0002-5901-8470 (Varshaver)

Introduction

In the last decade, a lot of interest in immigrant neighbourhoods and their determinant features has emerged in Russia. The absence of sufficient studies on the topic shifted the interest from merely empirical studies of the immigrant-populated areas in Russian cities to the analysis of the correspondence between Western and Russian cases and further assessment of whether the theoretical literature findings fit the Russian cases or not. Further research stimulated a discussion on whether the formation of immigrant and ethnic neighbourhoods is possible in the Russian context at all, considering the differences in the urban structures and immigrant profiles in Russia and the Western states (Varshaver et al., 2019), as well as the increasing interest towards the possible patterns of immigrant neighbourhood formation in the countries with social policies different from those of the Western countries, but still closely connected with the overall evolution of European notions and views on other aspects of society. Among such countries, the Nordic welfare states found themselves in the focus of attention.

The Nordic welfare states are famous all over the world for providing their citizens with comfortable social environments, which, in the last decades, has led to an influx of immigrants, namely refugees and asylum-seekers, into the region. The largest of the Nordic welfare states is Sweden, the interest in immigrant neighbourhoods and settlements in which is further intensified by a range of other related factors. Three of the largest Swedish cities, Stockholm, Göteborg and Malmö, and their satellite-towns have received almost 500,000 immigrants since 2000 (Population by…, SCB Sweden, 2020). At the same time, the country has faced a severe housing shortage, which, being one of the causes of the increasing residential segregation in the larger cities and the corresponding municipalities (*kommuner*), has influenced the immigrant neighbourhood formation rate.

One of the most well-known Swedish immigrant neighbourhoods is Rinkeby in Stockholm with the immigrant percentage in its population reaching 91.2% by the end of 2018 (Residents with a foreign …, Stockholms Stad,

2018). The neighbourhood is referred by the media as *Little Mogadishu* for being one of the neighbourhoods with a high concentration of African, mainly Somali, population, and receiving a fair amount of criticism (Immigrant youths …, BBC News, 2010). Despite the interest of scholars in the neighbourhood, there have been no attempts to describe the pattern of the formation and evolution of Rinkeby as an immigrant neighbourhood in a complete and comprehensive manner. Thus, this article aims to fill the existing lacuna by focusing specifically on the history of Rinkeby and its current state in the context of Swedish immigration history and policies, including the Swedish housing system specifics, the *white flight* and *residential flight* in Stockholm, their respective causes and the effect they have on the neighbourhood.

Theoretical framework

The studies on immigrant neighbourhoods worldwide generally follow several directions, with the dominant ones having developed based on the theories proposed by the scholars representing American, namely Chicago, sociology schools (Park, 1926, Cressey, 1938), forming the foundation for current theoretical approaches towards the immigrant neighbourhoods studies. The dominant approaches focus on three aspects of immigrant neighbourhoods, specifically geographical, sociological and economical, such as spatial segregation of immigrants within global cities (Massey, 1985; Arbaci, 2007), the role of immigrant businesses in the neighbourhood formation (Liu, 2009; Li, Lyons, Brown, 2012) and processes, prompting and prompted by the prevalence of immigrant population, particularly the *white flight* and the *white avoidance* phenomena (Frey, Liaw, 1998). However, most of the research on the topic does not consider the process of neighbourhood formation itself, its causes and premises, focusing more on the consequences of their existence.

Despite the increase of interest in immigration to Sweden and immigrant communities in the country in particular in the late 1970s, there were no studies on the topic of the immigrant settlement and spatial segregation in Swedish cities until the 1990s.

Following the global trends, the research generally focuses on the analysis of already existing immigrant neighbourhoods, especially concerning the possibility of integration of the inhabitants of these neighbourhoods (Magnusson Turner & Hedman, 2014; Strömblad, Bengtsson, 2009), housing careers either of immigrants as a whole (Abramsson, Borgegård, Fransson, 2002; Vogiazides, Chihaya, 2019) or of the particular groups (Magnusson & Özüekren, 2002; Özüekren & Van Kempen, 2002; Neiderud, 1989), as well as dynamics of the housing and immigration policies in respect to spatial segregation, immigrant mobility and housing patterns (Andersson, Bråmå, Holmqvist, 2010). Some of the studies focus on the neighbourhood specifics of the immigrant settlements in particular (Lindén, Lindberg, 1991; Andersson, Bråmå, 2004), as well as the housing stock available to the immigrants of various groups (Murdie, Borgegård, 1998), generally concluding that immigrant neighbourhoods tend to emerge in more segregated, often distressed, low-income parts of the cities with low rates of population mobility, with the foreign population predominantly occupying rental housing stock.

Only a small number of studies focuses on the patterns of the immigrant neighbourhood formation; the few available studies on the topic being such by Bråmå (2006; 2008), but none of them focuses on particular cases of the neighbourhood formation, being dedicated to the overall patterns and consequences of spatial segregation of ethnic minorities in Sweden (Bråmå, 2006) and Göteborg in particular (Bråmå, 2008). Additionally, the influx of refugees since 2013, as well as the housing shortage of the 2010s, have made a substantial impact on the immigrant settlement patterns and segregation indexes, primarily in the large Swedish cities, leading to the earlier research requiring an update and therefore creating a lacuna this article is aimed to fill.

Methods

The research consists of three stages:

1. Preparatory analysis of available theoretical and empirical literature on the topic, statistical data from various sources, such as Stockholm city and national statistics, provided by the Central Statistical Bureau of Sweden (Stockholms Stad; SCB Sweden), defining the focus area for the empirical stage;

2. Case-study, consisting of a series of short, semi-structured interviews (N=145) with Stockholm citizens, including interviews with both immigrant and non-immigrant Rinkeby population, and a series of in-depth interviews with informants as well as experts, including the municipality representatives of Enskede–Årsta–Vantör district of Stockholm, representatives of non-profit housing company (Familjebostader) and Swedish social services, as well as researchers, namely professors of Stockholm university;

3. Processing of the data collected, further contextualisation of the data through additional analysis of theoretical and empirical literature on the topic, construction of the timeline of the neighbourhood formation and its current state by answering the following questions: "Why has the neighbourhood of Rinkeby formed?", "How did Rinkeby develop?", "How did the neighbourhood evolve with the changes of Swedish social policies?".

The second stage of the research, the case-study, was conducted in June 2019. During the short interview collection stage, the informants were asked to specify or estimate, on their consent, the information about their country of origin (or the country of origin of the parents for second-generation immigrants), time of migration (for immigrants), age, area of residence, duration of residence in the area, reasons for choosing the area of residence, tenure type, affordability of tenure conversion for their household. Additionally, the informants were asked to elaborate on their attitude towards Rinkeby and its population, the probability of moving out of the neighbourhood, including the affordability of the move, their personal preferences and legality of their current residence (for Rinkeby residents), or to estimate the probability of choosing Rinkeby as a place of residence, including all of the abovementioned factors (for non-Rinkeby residents).

The main goal of the in-depth expert interview stage was to deepen the understanding of history, fundamentals and current tenden-

cies of Stockholm and Rinkeby in particular, to provide further context, (dis)prove and correct the data collected from informants during short interviews.

1. Early history of Rinkeby neighbourhood: the Million Homes Programme and its aftermath

Just like some other neighbouring districts, Rinkeby is generally believed to have been included into the boundaries of Stockholm during the Million Homes Programme of 1965–1974, as the city rapidly expanded to the west and south due to the construction of the *Tunnelbana,* the Stockholm underground, making the areas more accessible for factory workers.

The main cause for the Swedish government to prompt the start of the Million Homes Programme was the housing crisis of the early 20th century. Due to the need for building a large amount of housing within a short time, the period of 1930s-1950s was characterised by the increasing interest of Swedish officials in city planning and decentralisation of the major cities (Ducas, 2001). In Stockholm in particular, this caused the implementation of predecessor projects of the Million Homes Programme, such as ABC-towns (Swedish *Arbete, Bostad och Centrum:* "work, housing and centre"), that were supposed to become self-sufficient decentralised parts of the growing city. However, the ABC-neighbourhoods generally lacked the "C-component", community and corporate centres, which resulted in heavy criticism and loss of popularity of the idea. Nevertheless, the legacy of ABC-towns made a heavy impact on planning traditions of Stockholm city, also influencing the Million Homes Programme neighbourhoods, shaping them into highly structured, standardised areas with high population density (Kihlberg, 2012).

The distinctive features of the Million Homes Programme housing include state-owned, strictly standardized accommodation under the motto "Good housing for all" (Hedman, 2008). As a result of the 1940s' baby boom, the target groups of the programme, the working and middle class Swedish families, required bigger space and better living conditions (The Million Homes Programme,

Stockholmskällan, 2019). The government proposed such solutions as establishing the minimal flat area of 30 m^2 per person, including a bathroom, a kitchen and a living area, laundry at the ground floor, how water supply, central heating and gas stoves. For every next person in the flat, additional area of 10 m^2 had to be provided (Ducas, 2001).

Primarily, the dwellings under the Programme were built in the form of large neighbourhoods, which defined their location as previously unoccupied areas or the districts requiring a complete renovation, such as slums and other low-profile neighbourhoods of the city. In the meanwhile, the construction of Tunnelbana relieved the middle-class Swedes planning to settle in those neighbourhoods from the need of personal vehicles, which stimulated the city to spread to the southwest and the northwest, as shown in Fig. 1.

One of the most remote neighbourhoods from the centre of Stockholm, Rinkeby is one of the Million Homes Programme neighbourhoods almost completely constructed during the Programme period; therefore, the major part of accommodation in the area is rental. Rinkeby is one of the classic *tunnelbanestäder*: accessible by the Tunnelbana, several bus routes and personal transport, and infrastructurally characterised by the influence of the ABC-town concept heritage, with the Tunnelbana station being its corporate centre and the focal point (Engström, 2009). However, unlike the ABC-town configuration lacking the "C-component" of the corporate centre, Rinkeby is criticized for the shortage of the "A-component" i.e. jobs in the neighbourhood.

The Programme officially finished in 1974, resulting in over 1,005,000 dwellings being built all over Sweden (During …, Boverket, 2014), including over 180,000 dwellings in Stockholm alone (The Million Homes Programme, Stockholmskällan, 2020) bearing a distinct architectural style and urban landscape shown in Fig. 2, criticized for being monotonous and overly standardised (Hedman, 2008).

As a result of the Programme, the housing shortage was eliminated, the construction of multi-dwelling housing was halted, and the target population of the neighbourhoods
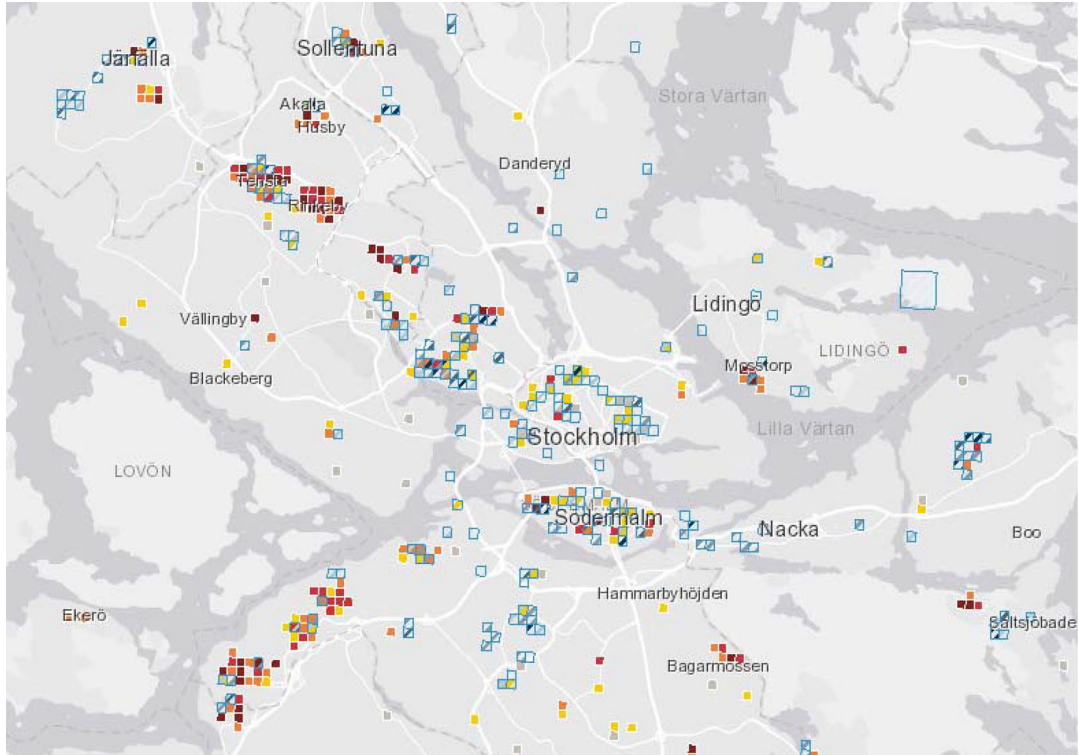
Fig. 1. The Million Homes Programme neighbourhoods in Stockholm
(The Million Homes Programme … , Boverket, 2020)

Fig. 2. The Million Homes Programme housing blocks, Stockholm, Akalla, 1998
(The Million Homes Programme, Stockholmskällan, 2020)

moved in. However, in the years following the cease of the programme, the Million Homes Programme neighbourhoods suffered a wave of *residential flight* of Swedes, who generally preferred detached housing in property to the rental in apartment blocks. This tendency was especially prominent in the larger cities, as their Swedish population had sufficient savings to afford better housing.

The *residential flight* wave persisted throughout the end of the 1970s, coinciding with the increase in unqualified labour immigration to the country, mainly workers from the Southern European countries, refugees from Chile, Vietnam and Turkey (Bevelander, 2004). As the rapid flight of Swedes from the Million Homes Programme housing left such neighbourhoods as Rinkeby partly or completely abandoned, the Swedish government got the opportunity to provide the accommodation to the immigrants and lower-income Swedish families (Hedman, 2008). Regardless of the positive impact on Swedish housing system and the economy, this decision contributed to the obvious decline of the neighbourhoods' prestige, which is generally considered to be one of the main causes of their further development into immigrant neighbourhoods. Throughout the end of the 1970s and 1980s, the Million Homes Programme neighbourhoods of Stockholm, especially Rinkeby, experienced a further transformation in the population profile and status, as more new immigrants, generally less educated and economically integrated, settled in (Bevelander, 2004).

2. Transformations in the housing policy of the 1990s–2000s and its consequences for Stockholm and Rinkeby

The period of the 1990s-2000s brought several changes to the housing policy, traditionally strongly dependent on the political balance in Sweden.

As the Moderate Party won a majority in Riksdag in the early 1990s (The election …, SCB Sweden, 1991), the housing policy was modified as follows. One of the main points of the new policy was the conversion of tenure, mainly encouraging the population to privatise the property in the major cities (Wimark, An-

dersson, & Malmberg, 2020). The reasoning for privatisation generally came from the incapability of non-profit housing companies owning the majority of the programme housing, to maintain the buildings, including not only the utilities but the general repair and overhaul of the buildings (Ducas, 2001).

The privatisation model in Sweden was based on the tenant and owner cooperatives, such as one of the most famous of them, HSB (Ducas, 2001). The privatisation process itself usually involved the transformation of tenure type of the entire building, which generally resulted in over 10,000 tenure conversions over the period of 1990–1997, and flee of the lower-income families who could not afford to purchase the property. Eventually, this led to further ethnic and economical segregation of the lower-prestige zones, such as, in the case of Stockholm, western districts of the city, where the Million Homes Programme neighbourhoods were primarily located (Rokem, Vaugham, 2019).

The second policy change occurred after the Riksdag elections in 1994, with the Social Democratic Party winning the majority of votes (The election …, SCB Sweden, 1991), consequently transforming the housing policy in juxtaposition to the one of the Moderate Party. Up until the 2000s, the Swedish government encouraged the households to stay in the property of non-profit housing companies, which significantly slowed the conversion down.

Even though the period of 1994–2000 was characterised by the overall decline of the conversion, in the 1990s Rinkeby became one of the most popular destinations for low-income families, particularly immigrants, following the pattern of ethnic succession, that can be tracked in the majority of immigrant neighbourhoods of Sweden. The 1980s was the period of the Greek and Chilean prevalence in the neighbourhood, while in the 1990s the neighbourhood population was mostly dominated by the influx of Somalis, Iranians and Eastern Europeans, following the general tendencies of immigration to the country (Foreign citizens …, SCB Sweden, 2019).

One of the distinctive features of the 2000s was the fluctuation in the housing pol-

icy aspects due to the increasing demand for new housing and several changes in the Riksdag leadership. The privatisation halt lasted throughout the first half of the decade, up until 2006 when the liberal majority of the Riksdag has retracted from the existing housing policy. As a result, by the end of the decade, the prevalence of rental housing in Stockholm was limited to the lower-income and immigrant-populated areas, such as Rinkeby, with housing cooperatives and private housing dominating over the rental housing in the capital by 70% (What is happening …, Boverket, 2011).

Generally, the period of 1990s–2000s for Rinkeby resulted in the complete transformation into a low-profile primarily immigrant-populated neighbourhood, which led to the emergence of the *white flight* phenomenon (Bråmå, 2006). In the 2010s, the phenomenon would primarily cause further decline in the percentage of Swedes and earlier period immigrants in the neighbourhood population, and eventually transform into the *white avoidance* (Hedström, 2015).

3. Rinkeby in the 2010s:
a distressed immigrant neighbourhood

One of the consequences of accepting refugees to Sweden throughout the 2000s–2010s and the halt of housing construction after the Million Homes Programme was the emergence of the housing shortage in the larger cities at the beginning of the decade, resulting in queues for rental housing in Stockholm lasting for over 10 years (Almost 580,000 …, The Local, 2017).

Any person with a residence permit could join the queue for 200 SEK (20€ per year), to have an opportunity to choose accommodation from the housing in property of non-profit companies as well as some private-owned ones (Bostads förmedlingen, 2020). The average length of the queue differed between the boroughs, districts and neighbourhoods of the cities, the longest being 30 years in Södermalm and Vasastan districts of Stockhom and the shortest being 10 years in Rinkeby (Almost 580,000 …, The Local, 2017).

One of the consequences of housing shortage was the emergence of the second-hand housing sector. There are three types of sec-

ond-hand housing to be considered: official privatised dwelling sublease through a local Housing Agency office, official rental dwelling sublease through a housing company, and unofficial sublease of a bed, room or flat without intermediaries. The first two types of second-hand housing imply the current owner coordinating the process of renting the dwelling with a correspondent authority, which results in a considerable amount of paperwork, as well as some conditions on the payments, the non-profit nature and the duration of the sublease (Accommodation …, Uppsala Universitet, 2020). The third type, however, is more common, implying a profit for the landlord and a permanent place of residence for the renter. This makes the third-type second-hand housing more popular as the first place of residence of the new coming immigrants and a source of additional profit.

In fact, there is a strong connection between the length of the queue, the percentages of the immigrant population, rental, second-hand and cooperative housing, and the prestige of the neighbourhoods. The shortest queue neighbourhoods tend to be mostly immigrant-populated, lower-income areas, with the majority of the population unable or unwilling to privatise their housing, resulting in the greater availability of rental housing, which becomes a catalyst for the formation of second-hand housing stock. For immigrants, getting a permanent place of residence is vital to apply for a full-time job and a permanent residence permit (History, Migrationsverket, 2020). This draws the immigrants to the neighbourhoods with the shortest queues, further contributing to the increasing segregation of the areas. For Rinkeby, the tendency generally proves correct, one of the features of the neighbourhood being the high level of ethnic diversity (Reardon, Dymen, 2014) despite the statistical prevalence of Asian and African immigrants (District's facts …, Stockholms Stad, 2019).

The population of Rinkeby can be roughly divided into five groups by the period of immigration to Sweden, housing specifics (see Fig. 3) and region of birth:

1. Nordic immigrants and citizens, including Swedes, as well as Norwegians and
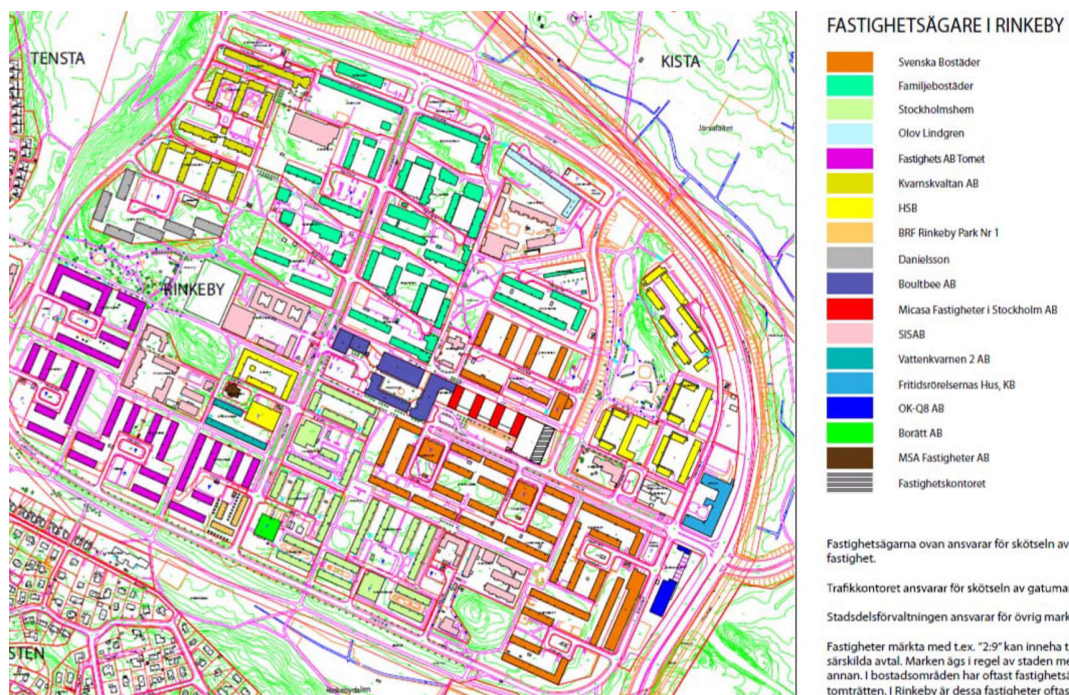
Fig. 3. Tenure and ownership of the property in Rinkeby (Urban Utveckling, 2019)

Finns. Generally, being the smallest (around 2% of the overall population of the neighbourhood by the end of 2018 (District's facts … , Stockholms Stad, 2019)), this group represents the oldest and the wealthiest cohort of the population, primarily occupying the small stock of privatised property, owned by HSB or smaller cooperatives usually consisting of one or two buildings. This part of the neighbourhood population was either born and raised in it and never left, or returned to it or settled in the relatively recent period;

2. *Immigrants of the 1950s–1960s of European origin*, specifically Italians, Greeks and Poles. Making up 13% of the Non-Nordic European population of the neighbourhood (District's facts …, Stockholms Stad, 2019), this group is still one of the oldest, more economically integrated cohorts, mainly labour immigrants, who tend to reside in HSB and other cooperative or rental housing. The second generation of this group, as well as the first group, was also born and raised in the neighbourhood, while the first generation settled or moved in recently;

3. *Immigrants of the 1970s–1980s of Eastern origin*, including Turks, Iranians and Iraqis, Kurds, Syrians, Vietnamese and Chileans. Being one of the first groups of a visible minority to settle in the neighbourhood, these immigrants usually belong to the older age cohorts, inhabiting both non-profit and private companies' rental housing stock; as for the second generation, a part of it stayed in the neighbourhood, and a part has moved out;

4. *Refugees of the late 1980s–2000s*, primarily Somalis, Balkan citizens, Ethiopians and Eritreans. This group is the largest, consisting of low-income, less-educated immigrants of the middle-to-older age cohort, mainly settled in the flats rented from the non-profit companies and second-hand housing stock. The second generation of this group tends to identify themselves as an integral part of the local youth, often seen by the authorities and media as a rebellious and criminal cohort. The more talented individuals of the second generation, however, plan on leaving the neighbourhood for higher education or have already done so;

5. Recent immigrants, mainly refugees from Syria, as well as Africans and Eastern European and Chinese labour immigrants and family members. This group is the least economically integrated, either not having Swedish citizenship or a permanent residence permit, or having just got one, struggling to find a permanent place of residence. These immigrants mostly have not spent enough time in Sweden to get rental housing through the queue system and cannot afford to buy property, often sharing flats with relatives or renting out second-hand housing.

Infrastructurally, the corporate centre of the neighbourhood, usually referred to as *Centrum*, consisting of the *Torg* (a market square) and some adjacent buildings, has inevitably attracted a lot of immigrant-oriented and immigrant-owned facilities and institutions, such as numerous ethnic cafés (e.g. Nejo's Café, Maida Restaurang, MYWAY Kiosk), Muslim clothing shops and salons (e.g. Nura Fashion, Zeki Hårsalong), a branch of Stockholm's counselling centre etc., all of which have contributed to the area becoming a popular communal zone, stretching away from the *Centrum* down *Rinkebystråket*, the central street of the neighbourhood.

Remarkably, Rinkeby does not host any official religious facilities or organisations, mainly due to the Stockholm city restrictions on the number and placement of religious institutions within the city intended to stop the formation of confessional neighbourhoods (Karlsson Minganti, 2004). Nevertheless, there are some Muslim and Buddhist organisations, independent or based in the abovementioned ethnic cafés, providing a place for everyday prayers in the neighbourhood, e.g. Islamic Culture Center.

Education-wise, Rinkeby provides only compulsory education (up to middle school). There are several primary schools (*förskola*) in the area, as well as a middle school (*grundskola*) near the Torg. Therefore, the local youth willing to continue their education at high schools (*gymnasie*), colleges (*högskola*) and universities are forced to seek the institutions closer to the city centre, which causes the high out-mobility rate of the educated

youth making an impact on the stability of the income statistics of the neighbourhood inhabitants, as the better educated and wealthier population tends to be replaced by less educated lower-income in-movers (Hedman, Van Ham, 2012; Årman, 2018). As of the end of 2018, 72.4% of Rinkeby's 16,406 inhabitants were eligible for secondary school education, and, remarkably, the percentage observed among immigrants (72.8%) happened to be higher than that of the Swedes (69.6%). However, only 36% of the neighbourhood population graduated from gymnasiums by the end of 2018 (District's facts …, Stockholms Stad, 2019).

One of the more prominent features of Rinkeby in the 2010s was the transformation of the *white flight* phenomenon into the *white avoidance*, which can be defined as the reluctance of Swedes to consider the neighbourhood as one of the accommodation options (Hedström, 2015). The transformation is related to the prevalence of the visible minority in Rinkeby and the lack of white population living in the neighbourhood. However, there is still some degree of the *white flight* present, as the second generation and recent immigrants of European origin tend to leave the neighbourhood, reasoning the decision by the propensity of local youth to illegal actions and the overall lack of sense of security within the neighbourhood, along with several other reasons, such as the inconvenience of transportation and the distance from the city centre. The neighbourhood and some of its adjacent areas have been several times assessed in the Swedish Police annual neighbourhood safety ratings as distressed, having consistently appeared in the top ten distressed districts in the last several years (Criminal impact …, Nationella operativa avdelningen, Underrättelseenheten, 2019). High criminal rates have not only led to the *white avoidance* persistence and an overall decrease of the Rinkeby's prestige but also higher rates of the population mobility, predominantly to other districts and municipalities within Stockholm county, with over 2,034 out of 2,628 out-movers in 2018 settling within the county, as the percentage of out-movers in the population of the neigh-

bourhood exceeds the city average of 12.8% by 3.2% (District's facts …, Stockholms Stad, 2019), putting the neighbourhood at the top of Stockholm's neighbourhood mobility rating.

Conclusion

Rinkeby has been constructed almost entirely under the Million Homes Programme of 1965–1974 intended to provide housing to the working and middle class of Swedes. Nevertheless, the target population did not stay in the neighbourhood due to the overall lower standard of living the Million Homes Programme architecture had implied. Thus, the wealthier population left the neighbourhood for better-quality housing in the *residential flight* wave of the 1970s.

In an attempt to provide housing for the increasing amount of immigrants in the country, the Swedish government proceeded to accommodate those in need in the empty housing, mostly concentrated in the Million Homes Programme neighbourhoods, which for Stockholm included Rinkeby and the nearby areas like Husby, Kista, Tensta, etc.

In the consequent years, more immigrants moved into the neighbourhood, as the wealthier population continued to move out to the more prestigious areas of the city. The ethnic succession in the neighbourhood followed the general Swedish pattern: Europeans, Middle Easterners, Africans and Eastern Europeans, and, lastly, Syrians. Not only each of the groups less economically integrated but also less educated and socially integrated. The decrease was not only caused by the immigrant profile change of the 1980s–1990s in comparison to the immigrants of the 1960s–1970s, but also by the change of the housing policy in the 1990s, which pushed the lower-income population to the less prestigious neighbourhoods. Thus, the Rinkeby housing stock had neither

been heavily influenced by the privatisation of the early 1990s, nor by the privatisation of the 2006–2010s due to the low income of its inhabitants. Simultaneously, as each ethnic succession stage brought more visible minority groups into the neighbourhood, the *white flight* became more prominent, further contributing to the image of Rinkeby as a low-income immigrant neighbourhood. In the later years, the prevalence of non-profit municipal rental housing in the neighbourhood shortened the housing queues, attracting more people in need of a permanent place of residence, primarily immigrants. At the same time, within the last decade, Swedes tended to avoid settling in Rinkeby, as the *white flight* trend transformed into the *white avoidance*.

Currently, Rinkeby is characterised by the prevalence of rental housing stock, low-income population, mainly the first and second generation of immigrants of the late 1980s–2000s: Africans, Middle Easterners, Eastern Europeans. The neighbourhood centre has developed an immigrant-oriented infrastructure, represented by ethnic cafés, national food and clothes shops, salons and cultural centres. In the last years, Rinkeby has topped the Swedish distressed area ratings, which made an impact on the mobility rates of the Rinkeby's population, bringing it to the top of Stockholm ratings.

All in all, Rinkeby displays the features of an immigrant neighbourhood, illustrating one of the various patterns of such neighbourhood development in Sweden. Most of the immigrant neighbourhoods in the major Swedish cities display similar features to a different extent, the patterns of their formation overlapping at the various stages. However, at this point, it is impossible to claim that there is a pattern applicable to most of the immigrant neighbourhoods in Sweden.

References

Abramsson, M., Borgegård, L.-E. & Fransson, U. (2002). Housing Careers: Immigrants in Local Swedish Housing Markets. In *Housing Studies*, 17(3), 445–464. DOI: 10.1080/02673030220134944.

Andersson, R. & Bråmå, Å. (2004). Selective migration in Swedish distressed neighbourhoods: can area-based urban policies counteract segregation processes? In *Housing Studies*, 19(4), 517–539. DOI: 10.1080/0267303042000221945.

Andersson, R., Bråmå, Å. & Holmqvist, E. (2010). Counteracting Segregation: Swedish Policies and Experiences. In *Housing Studies*, 25(2), 237–256, DOI: 10.1080/02673030903561859.

Arbaci, S. (2007). Ethnic Segregation, Housing Systems and Welfare Regimes in Europe. In *European Journal of Housing Policy*, 7(4), 401–433. DOI: 10.1080/14616710701650443.

Årman, H. (2018). Speaking "the Other"? Youths' regimentation and policing of contemporary urban vernacular. In *Language & Communication*, 58, 47–61. DOI: 10.1016/j.langcom.2017.08.005.

BBC News. (2010). Immigrant youths riot in Sweden, burning down school. Available at: https://www.bbc.com/news/10276738 (accessed: 20.03.2020).

Bevelander, P. (2004). Immigration patterns, economic integration and residential segregation: Sweden in the late 20th century. [Invandringens monster, ekonomisk integration och boendesegregation: Sverige på slutet av 1900-talet]. In *Current themes in IMER research*, (2). 34 p.

Bostads förmedlingen (2020). Available at: https://bostad.stockholm.se/english/ (accessed 27 March 2020).

Boverket (2011). What is happening in the housing market? Housing market in 2011–2012 with the results of the survey of 2011 [Vad händer på bostadsmarknaden? Bostadsmarknaden 2011–2012 med slutsatser från bostadsmarknadensenkäten 2011]. Available at: https://www.statistikdatabasen.scb.se/pxweb/en/ssd/START__BE__BE0101__BE0101F/UtlmedbR/ (accessed 26 March 2020).

Boverket (2014). During Million Homes Programme a Million Homes were built. [Under Miljonprogrammet byggdes en miljon bostäder]. Available at: https://www.boverket.se/sv/samhallsplanering/stadsutveckling/miljonprogrammet/ (accessed 25 March 2020).

Boverket (2020). The Million Homes Programme of 1965–1974. [Miljonprogram 1965–1974]. Available at: http://gis2.boverket.se/apps/js/miljonprogram/ (accessed 24 March 2020).

Bråmå, Å. (2006). "White Flight"? The Production and Reproduction of Immigrant Concentration Areas in Swedish Cities, 1990-2000. In *Urban Studies*, 43(7), 1127–1146. DOI: 10.1080/00420980500406736.

Bråmå, Å. (2008). Dynamics of ethnic residential segregation in Göteborg, Sweden, 1995–2000. In *Population, Space and Place*, 14, 101–117. DOI: 10.1002/psp.479

Cressey, P.F. (1938). Population Succession in Chicago: 1898–1930. In *American Journal of Sociology*, 44(1), 59–69.

Ducas, S. (2001). *Case Study of the City of Stockholm and the Greater Stockholm Area* [*Research Summary*]. Quebec: University of Quebec. 67 p.

Engström, A. (2009). *Stockholm's changed cityscape. The example of Nya Årstafältet* [*Stockholms förändrade stadsbild. Exemplet Nya Årstafältet* [*Research Summary*]]. Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet. 41 p.

Frey, W.H., Liaw, K.-L. (1998). Immigrant concentration and domestic migrant dispersal: Is movement to non-metropolitan areas "white flight"? In *The Professional Geographer*, 50(2), 215–232. DOI: 10.1111/0033-0124.00116.

Hedman, E. (2008). *A history of the Swedish system of non-profit municipal housing.* Stockholm: Boverket. 31 p.

Hedman, L., Van Ham, M. (2012). Understanding neighbourhood effects: Selection bias and residential mobility. In *Neighbourhood effects research: New perspectives*, 79–99. Springer, Dordrecht.

Hedström, J. (2015). *Residential mobility and ethnic segregation in Stockholm.* Stockholm: Stockholm university. 54 p.

Kihlberg, J. (2012). *Vällingby and cultural heritage. Preservation and renovation of a centre* [*Vällingby och kulturarver. Att bevara och förnya ett centrum*]. Stockholm: Kungliga Tekniska Högskolan. 139 p.

Li, Z., Lyons, M., Brown, A. (2012). China's "Chocolate City": An Ethnic Enclave in a Changing Landscape. In *African Diaspora*, 5(1), 51–72. DOI: 10.1163/187254612X649465.

Lindén, A.-L., Lindberg, G. (1991). Immigrant housing patterns in Sweden. In *Urban Housing Segregation of Minorities in Western Europe and the United States.* Durham, North Carolina, Duke University Press, 92–115.

Liu, C.Y. (2009). Ethnic Enclave Residence, Employment, and commuting of Latino workers. In *Journal of policy analysis and management*, 28(4), 600–625. DOI: 10.1002/pam.20457.

Magnusson Turner, L. & Hedman, L. (2014). Linking integration and housing career: A longitudinal analysis of immigrant groups in Sweden. In *Housing studies*, 29(2), 270–290. DOI: 10.1080/02673037.2014.851177.

Magnusson, L. & Özüekren, A. S. (2002). The housing careers of Turkish households in middle-sized Swedish municipalities. In *Housing studies*, 17(3), 465–486. DOI: 10.1080/02673030220134953.

Massey, D.S. (1985). Ethnic residential segregation: A theoretical synthesis and empirical review. In *Sociology and social research*, 69(3), 315–350.

Migrationsverket (2020). History. Available at: https://www.migrationsverket.se/English/About-the-Migration-Agency/Migration-to-Sweden/History.html (accessed: 28 March 2020).

Murdie, R.A., & Borgegard, L.-E. (1998). Immigration, spatial segregation and housing segmentation of immigrants in metropolitan Stockholm, 1960-95. In *Urban Studies*, 35(10), 1869–1888. DOI: 10.1080/0042098984196.

Nationella operativa avdelningen, Underrättelseenheten (2019). *Criminal impact in local communities: a report on development in distressed neighbourhoods.* [*Kriminell påverkan i lokalsamhället – En lägesbild för utvecklingen i utsatta områden*]. Stockholm: Svenska Polisen. 2019. 9 p.

Neiderud, J. (1989). Greek immigrant children in southern Sweden in comparison with Greek and Swedish children: I. "General living conditions". In *Scandinavian journal of social mMedicine*, 17(1), 25–31. DOI: 10.1177/140349488901700106.

Özüekren, A.S. & Van Kempen, R. (2002). Housing careers of minority ethnic groups: experiences, explanations and prospects. In *Housing studies*, 17(3), 365–379. DOI: 10.1080/02673030220134908.

Park, R.E. (1926). The urban community as a spatial pattern and a moral order. In *The urban community*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 21–31.

Reardon, M., Dymen, C. (2014). Towards inclusion: Botkyrka's approach to urban social issues. In *Nordregio News* 3/2014 (Poverty and Social Exclusion). 7–12.

Rokem, J., & Vaughan, L. (2019). Geographies of ethnic segregation in Stockholm: The role of mobility and co-presence in shaping the 'diverse' city. In *Urban Studies*, 56(12), 2426–2446. DOI: 10.1177/0042098018795561.

SCB Sweden (1991). The election to the Riksdag in 1991 [Riksdagsvalet den 15 september 1991]. In *Allmänna valen 1991*, (1). 310 p.

SCB Sweden (2019). Foreign citizens by country of citizenship, age and sex. Year 1973–2019. Available at: https://www.statistikdatabasen.scb.se/pxweb/en/ssd/START__BE__BE0101__BE0101F/UtlmedbR/ (accessed 26 March 2020).

SCB Sweden (2020). *Population by region and year* [*Folkmängd efter region och år*]. Available at: https://www.statistikdatabasen.scb.se/pxweb/sv/ssd/START__BE__BE0101__BE0101A/BefolkningNy/table/tableViewLayout1/ (accessed 23 March 2020).

Stockholms Stad (2018). *Residents with a foreign background*. 31.12.2018. Available at: https://stad.stockholm/utredningar-statistik-och-fakta/ (accessed 17 June 2019).

Stockholms Stad (2019). *District's facts, Rinkeby* [*Områdesfakta. Rinkeby statsdel*]. Stockholm: Rinkeby-Kista district council. 4 p.

Stockholmskällan (2020). *The Million Homes Programme.* [*Miljonprogrammet*]. Available at: https://stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/teman/staden-vaxer/miljonprogrammet/ (accessed 24 March 2020).

Strömblad, P., Bengtsson, B. (2009). Empowering members of ethnic organisations: tracing the political integration potential of immigrant associations in Stockholm. In *Scandinavian political studies*, 32, 296–314. DOI:10.1111/j.1467-9477.2008.00228.x.

The Local (2017). *Almost 580 000 now waiting for apartments in Stockholm*. Available at: https://www.thelocal.se/20170816/almost-580000-now-waiting-for-apartments-in-stockholm (accessed: 27 March 2020).

Uppsala Universitet (2020). *Accomodation – finding a home in Uppsala*. Available at: https://uu.se/en/about-uu/join-us/accommodation/ (accessed: 28 March 2020).

Urban Utveckling (2019). Available at: https://www.urbanutveckling.se/uppdrag (accessed: 20 October 2019).

Varshaver, E.A., Rocheva, A.L., Ivanova, N.S., Andreeva, A.S. (2019). Rasseleniie migrantov v global-nykh gorodakh i ego determinanty: Parizh, Singapur, Sidnei i Moskva v sravnenii. Chast' 1 [Migrants' settlement patterns in global cities and their determinants: Paris, Singapore, Sydney and Moscow. Part I]. In *Monitoring obschestvennogo mneniia: Ekonomicheskie i sotsial'nyie peremeny* [*Public Opinion Monitoring: Economic and Social Changes*], 6, 479–504. DOI: 10.14515/monitoring.2019.6.25.

Vogiazides, L., & Chihaya, G.K. (2019). Migrants' long-term residential trajectories in Sweden: persistent neighbourhood deprivation or spatial assimilation? In *Housing Studies*, 1–28. DOI: 10.1080/02673037.2019.1636937.

Wimark, T., Andersson, K.E. & Malmberg, B. (2020). Tenure type landscapes and housing market change: a geographical perspective on neo-liberalization in Sweden. In *Housing Studies*, 35(2), 214–237. DOI: 10.1080/02673037.2019.1595535.

Формирование районов резидентной концентрации иммигрантов в Швеции: кейс-стади района Стокгольма Ринкебю

Т.Д. Егорова[а], Н.С. Иванова[б], Е.А. Варшавер[б]

[а]*Уральский федеральный университет*
им. первого Президента России Б.Н. Ельцина
Российская Федерация, Екатеринбург
[б]*Российская академия народного хозяйства*
и государственной службы при Президенте Российской Федерации
Российская Федерация, Москва

Аннотация. В статье предпринята попытка описания паттерна складывания районов резидентной концентрации иммигрантов в Швеции на примере стокгольмского Ринкебю. В ходе исследования на основе анализа теоретической базы и сбора эмпирических данных была проанализирована урбанистическая история Стокгольма, в результате чего были синтезированы причины, предпосылки и вехи формирования Ринкебю в современном его виде, в том числе рассмотрены особенности программы «Миллион жилищ», проанализированы последствия эволюции государственной жилищной политики для района. Описаны инфраструктурные особенности района на современном этапе, включая иммигрантоориентированную инфраструктуру и преобладание съемного государственного жилья, а также демографические особенности населения района, в том числе предпринята попытка классификации населения по времени заселения в район. Наконец, выявлены причины непривлекательности района для этнических шведов на современном этапе, среди которых его низкий статус, высокий процент иммигрантов, высокие уровни преступности и другие, а также возможные предпосылки для дальнейшего заселения иммигрантов в район, в частности относительная доступность жилья, специализированная инфраструктура и более лояльная к иммигрантам культура района.

Ключевые слова: миграция, интеграция иммигрантов, расселение иммигрантов, район резидентной концентрации иммигрантов, урбанистика, Швеция, Ринкебю, «маленький Могадишо».

The Philosophical Category of the Ideal in the Models of the Future State of the Religious Extremists

Tatiana V. Izluchenko, Denis N. Gergilev
and Andrei V. Bardakov*
Siberian Federal University
Krasnoyarsk, Russian Federation

Abstract. The article analyzes the philosophical category of the ideal in the models of the future state structure, which are developed by the religious extremists in the context of modern social reality as the implementation of the ideal. The research is based on the activities of the *Hizb ut-Tahrir al-Islami* terrorist organization in Siberia. It is aimed at identifying the components of the religious extremist associations' ideology of constructing a model of an ideal state. The socio-philosophical analysis of the ideology provisions and the hermeneutical approach to the manifestations of extremism serve the basis of the research methodology. The extremist ideas in religion are deviations from the norm and can arise in any religious tradition, thus expanding the scope of interpretations of religious law and positioning the existing situation in the religious community as untrue and distorted. The future state is represented by the extremists as an ideal social structure established on the principle of justice and in accordance with sacred precepts. The conflict of such worldview ideas as "it should be so" and "it is so" as well as the "perfectionist illusion" about an ideal society imply the possibility of creating an ideal world in modern social reality. Violence is understood as a necessary means to achieve this goal if other methods are ineffective. The authors characterize the similarities between the models of an ideal society developed by the religious extremism and the utopias in terms of content and interpretation, as well as religious extremist consciousness and utopian thinking in terms of structure and orientation. The ideologies of extremist associations embrace the understanding of the principle of justice, the idea of exclusivity, the model of the ideal, and the theological foundations of social actions. The tendency of thinking to utopian ideas, the intuitive assumption of the existence of an ideal, just society, and the conflict between "the proper" and "the existing" contribute to the spread of extremist ideas. Extremism uses the properties of consciousness: religiousness and thinking in absolute categories (in a destructive aspect in order to add naturalness to its ideas) and religious ideas (in order to justify illegal activities with a sacred will). The actions of the members of the extremist associations are given the status of free personal choice regarding the fulfillment of religious prescriptions and the divine will to create a world just society.

* Corresponding author E-mail address: E-mail address: izluchenko@mail.ru, turilak@yandex.ru, kerpc@mail.ru
  ORCID: 0000-0001-5644-301X (Izluchenko); 0000-0003-4913-4803 (Gergilev); 0000-0002-4381-9652 (Bardakov)

Introduction

In the modern world, there appear contradictory socio-cultural phenomena. Global changes aimed at unifying all mankind often provoke preservation and strengthening of regional cultures, acting as a catalyst for their political, social, and spiritual activities. Glocalization processes take place. Thus, religious extremist associations that have a local origin and defend a certain population group's interests develop the ideologies based on the corresponding creeds that claim the status of universal socio-philosophical concepts of the world order. They offer a philosophical interpretation of socio-cultural and political events, an understanding of truth and justice, as well as a model of the future ideal society and, as a result, the corresponding political regime. However, due to globalization, these ideas with their regional and national bases are spreading along the geographically remote territories. For example, the idea of building an Islamic theocratic state (caliphate), developed by the middle Eastern theologian T. al-Nabhani, became popular in Siberia.

The phenomenon of religious extremism is studied by E. Sergun (2012) from a legal aspect, which emphasizes the illegal nature of social actions. In the religious studies by Ch. Winter and M. Juergensmeyer (Winter, Hasan, 2016; Juergensmeyer, 2015) the extremists are viewed as transformers of the religious tradition for their own political tasks. The cognitive approach developed by R. Khalil, L. Stankov, and L. Agnati (Khalil, Richa, 2018; Stankov, 2018; Agnati et al., 2017) emphasizes the deviations from the normal functioning of consciousness structures. Whereas the philosophical component is ignored, the issue of the ideal in religious extremism is built on the basis of the conflict of the proper and the existing and the ideas of "it should be" and "it is so". It is being developed in idealized visions of state and society, functioning under divine orders.

Our research is aimed at identifying the main components of the ideology of religious extremism leading to the construction of an ideal socio-political system. This justifies the importance of characterizing the formation of extremist ideas about the socio-political system, the philosophical analysis of the content of justice as a principle of the ideal society, and the indication of the practice of its implementation in modern social reality. One of the few organizations with a detailed model of the future structure is the *Hizb ut-Tahrir al-Islami* terrorist organization (Islamic Party of Liberation)[1]. The ideas are presented in the works of the founder T. al-Nabhani and the ideologist A. Zallum[2]. The presented research is based on the hermeneutical approach to the manifestations of the religious extremist associations and the socio-philosophical analysis of the ideology provisions.

Peculiar features of religious extremism

Religious extremism is understood as a social phenomenon, having negative consequences for social stability, perceived by the majority of the state population as a threat to positive social development, and justifying deviant behaviour by fulfilling divine prescriptions. Ex-

---

[1] Note: "Islamic Party of Liberation" ("Hizb ut-Tahrir al-Islami") is recognized as a terrorist organization and its activities are prohibited by the Decision of the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation No GKPI 03-116 dated February 14, 2003. Available at: http://nac.gov.ru/zakonodatelstvo/sudebnye-resheniya/reshenie-verhovnogo-suda-rf-ot-14-fevralya. html (accessed 20 September 2018).

[2] Note: the journal published in Russian and the translations published in Russian are recognized as extremist materials.

tremist ideas in the religious consciousness are manifested in the refusal to accept alternative options and in the orientation towards disregard for the worldview balance. They are considered to be deviations from the norm by any religious tradition, but they are not viewed as unique by any of them. There is an expansion of interpretations of religious law and positioning of the existing tradition as untrue and distorted and the model proposed by religious extremism as an ideal society, commanded as sacred (Winter, Hasan, 2016). In the course of the involvement of the religious extremist associations focus on the ideological assumptions, positioning them as traditional religious ones. All cultural communities are self-determined through rational knowledge. The values and principles of a particular religion become "universal for them and act as vectors (and even forms) for rational knowledge" (Koptseva, 2015: 63).

For their emergence and strengthening of extremist ideas, the associations use the religious consciousness and the ability to think in absolute categories, masking them with natural properties of consciousness, which ensures the achievement of high absolute goals. They dictate to the participant the necessary preferences and desires, which he/she perceives as the result of his/her personal free choice and as the fulfillment of religious precepts. Extremist ideas are the result of the work of religious consciousness, an adaptive product relative to the phenomena of social reality. Social, political, economic, routine and spiritual factors can serve as catalysts.

At the same time, extremism is not explained by mere psychological processes. First of all, it is a social phenomenon, for which the context of activities and actions performed in relation to other people is important. R. Prus claimes that behaviour has its meaning only within a certain group, in which a person is aware of himself and interprets his/her actions in relation to certain conditions. Activity in an extremist association is accompanied by an intense sense of ideological fervor, a stable set of actions by which a person expresses his/her loyalty to the system. The concept of extremism expresses the view of the official majority on noticeable differences in thinking or be-

haviour, defined as threats, insults, immorality, the views that can lead to negative consequences (Prus, 2005: 47-74).

Extremist ideas are irrational beliefs that reinforce the feelings of self-worth and intolerance of frustration. If the demands to oneself and the world are not met, then the situation is unbearable for a person. This leads to psychological outrage, amplified by the clash between subjective ideas about the world and objective reality. Failure to tolerate injustice in the world indicates that it is intolerable, provokes accusations and anger against other people, and requires correction of the existing situation. Building an ideal world serves as justification for various kinds of actions, including violence. At that the creation of a world corresponding to their desires and the establishment of social regulation are understood by the religious extremists as the norm, the fulfillment of the will of the sacred, but not a violent action destabilizing the social situation.

The extremists demonstrate their formed ideas about the world order, which they are ready to protect in all ways available to them. S. Oganesyan argues that the religious extremists are not people who have gone mad. They appear to be misguided individuals with a certain world of values and ideas about good and evil, justice and brotherhood instilled in them by their spiritual mentors (Oganesyan, 2017: 17). A. Kolnai calls the belief in the existence of a world without conflicts a "perfectionist illusion" (Kolnai, 1993). However, negative irrational beliefs lead to destructive socio-cultural and political phenomena. They do not tolerate alternative views. They limit the choice of decision-making and the development of adaptive programmes of consciousness. In this regard, such thinking can be called utopian, since it recognizes that the world should be different and focuses on human shortcomings, injustice, and inequality (Coates, 2016: 110-111).

The internal fanatical belief in the possibility of embodying absolute ideals and the existing objective reality come into conflict with such worldview ideas as "it should be so" and "it is so". Absolute ideals imply the possibility of an ideal world. It is unavoidable. Therefore, it must be created. The people who oppose it

are either ignorant and in need of re-education or acting deliberately and must be destroyed. Like utopia, the idea of an ideal society of the religious extremists is despotic towards people who do not fit into the model. It also contains hidden moments that characterize the system of punishment and the ways to achieve power (Isaak, 2015: 329-330).

The ideology of the religious extremist associations is based on the "We – They" dichotomy. According to this dichotomy, people are divided into two categories as per the compliance of their behaviour and thinking with the ideological requirements. Depending on this prerequisite, various measures of coercion and punishment apply to people. The first category consists of the so-called true ones. Moral principles are applied to them, even if they violate the requirements imposed on them by ideology. The second is constituted by the infidels, which are understood by people devoid of reason. Therefore, the relationship with them has no regulators. The fight against them is understood as a confrontation with evil, which allows the use of violent measures, up to complete destruction. At the same time, the religious extremists show ruthlessness not only to those who are considered to be the enemies of the faith but also to themselves. This leads to a destructive effect on the psyche and social bonds.

The specific ideas endowed with religious justification, the corresponding style of thinking and behaviour suggest the existence of religious extremist consciousness. The religious consciousness that accepts the extremist ideas is not aware of the significance of the real state of things. It is unable to distinguish the truth from lies and misconceptions, internally empty and devoid of having an adequate idea of its place in the society. There is a certain category of people who are susceptible to ideas of this kind and prone to illegal behaviour. The consciousness of these people has deep psychological disorders of the paranoid or narcissistic types which were formed at the early stages of development and contribute to the adoption of xenophobic and nationalistic ideas, the division of people into "their own" and "someone else's" ones (Antonyan, Yurasova, 2010: 10).

People's minds differ in the degree of mental activity. As a result, they are more receptive and emotional, radically reacting to external stimuli than others.

**The interrelation between
the concepts of justice and the ideal**

Private property as a prerequisite for economic power and social inequality as its consequence are declared to be the key sources of injustice and, consequently, evil (Karpeev, 2015: 71). To define an ideal society, functioning on the principle of justice, it is necessary to specify the constituents of injustice and the ways to deal with it. In addition, for the success of the theory it is important for it to be realistically utopian. It should hyperbolize favorable situations of social reality, take into account the actual impact of injustice and the practice of relations between people, as well as contain specific social, political, and economic proposals. The religious extremists do not only develop the theory of the structure of an ideal society, define the content of the concept of "justice" and propose appropriate legal norms, but also formulate the ways to combat violations of justice. All social institutions of an ideal society are based on a system of punishment determined by the requirement of justice (Schaub, 2014: 413-419).

There are two aspects in the definition of "the ideal". According to the first one, the ideal is an identical concept of justice that contains an ethical component. The ideal is the norm. The second aspect regards a simplifying assumption and schematization of actual developments while abstracting from certain features. The ideal is a model. At the same time, moral idealization involves modeling of what people and their relationships should be like, as well as what society should be like. Social ontology, human capabilities, social institutions, cognitive structures, and everyday life are idealized (Mills, 2005). At the same time, utopia is "a dream of an ideal life in any scale and manifestations" (Egorov, 2007: 6). Religious and mythological elements turn the objective reality into a space for the experiments and prove the right to implement ideas. According to B.F. Egorov, utopia, on the one hand, is only a dream that

will never be realized, and, on the other hand, it "offers its own project of implementation, built according to the drawings of the human mind and striving for implementation" (Sobolevskaya, 2009: 168).

In its turn, ideology is a complex of idealized theories related to various spheres of society, ways of their implementation, and philosophical justification. It includes both social situations and desired ones, a system of values and evaluations, and specific knowledge. It is based on distorted ideas, values, norms, and beliefs that express the experience of a small number of people only, but extend to the entire society. Ideology allows certain people to identify themselves with certain worldviews that cultivate the ideas of pleasure, exclusivity, and significance. For this, they adhere to the appropriate lifestyle and behaviour, perform the required actions. Social coherence is provided by a constructed reality based on a distortion of the image of the objective reality and is supported by a collective conscience.

Ideology creates ideas that have meaning, give pleasure, fullness, and harmony, supported by ideal objects and corresponding narratives, in which fantasy is intertwined with reality. Acceptance, rejection, creation, extinction, recognition, and inclusion are ideological operations that make up the ideological system of unification. Through them, the religious extremist association focuses its participants on achieving the desired result, maintaining practical arguments on the transformation of the society regarding the functional consequences (Rocha Costa, 2017). In addition, such speculative issues of a philosophical and theological nature as the attributes of Allah as well as the issues of free will are replaced by discursive practices. Specific concepts and situations are interpreted in accordance with the ideology in its most simplified form. This contributes to the required simplicity of perception of the ideological prerequisites and the awareness of their consistency and truth.

The ideology is based on the idea of its supporters' perfection, which requires the demonstration of conviction and belonging. They appear to have true knowledge, which puts them above other people and other ethical and legal norms. At the same time, their ideological opponents are demonized and positioned as less human, which makes it impossible to apply humanistic principles to them (Harrington, 2013). A. Ellis identifies variations in religiousness in any religious adherence: from absolute dogmatism to everyday religious belief, which indicates knowledge but not literal adherence to it (Ellis, 2004).

Eschatological tendencies can be distinguished in the process of constructing the model of an ideal just society. The ideologies of religious extremist associations represent the future state as a rebirth or an improved embodiment of the previously existing structure, a return to harmony that was previously achieved. In modern conditions, many unsolved questions are given the answers. At the same time, a number of contradictory points are noted. These are the following ones: 1) earlier attempts have nothing to do with this one; 2) incorrect interpretations of historic facts; 3) gradual implementation of the project; 4) a just state serves only its citizens; 5) adjustments are possible in the course of the implementation process (Epshtein, 2004: 114-115).

Ideologies articulate the set worldview frameworks and attitudes, define polarities in socio-political statements, which express the understanding of the issues of being and those of futurology. The ideas about the future are based on pointing out and exaggerating the issues of the present, which negatively affects the existing socio-political, economic, and spiritual situation (Glenn, 2012). The ontological dichotomy "We-They" expresses the provision that there is a real world, the inhabitants of which live according to divine prescriptions, and a false or wrong world with the people who feel lost. The categories of truth and justice and the existence of true being belong only to the "We" category.

At that, the truth is recognized as the knowledge transmitted by God and the knowledge reflecting the requirements for maintaining physical and mental health. Justice is the realization of this knowledge in everyday practice. It is embodied in the form of an ideal society. Social relations which are constructive for the individual and the society are implemented

on the principles of justice. They involve not only people but supernatural agents as well. Possible violations of justice do not harm the socio-political structure that embodies the ideal. Building an ideal society involves mythologizing certain historic facts and heroizing certain actors who are active participants and spiritual leaders. Both data objectivity and objective implementation difficulties are ignored. This serves as an indicator of the utopian tendencies in the ideas about an ideal society as the embodiment of previously existing "Paradise", improved in accordance with the capabilities of modern scientific and technical civilization.

Creation of an ideal society and/or state is declared to be the goal of collective activity, which may or may not be implemented within a single generation. All active actors have a status role, the fulfillment of which is their goal within the framework of collective activity. According to N. Harrington, the inability to achieve this goal can lead to psychological breakdowns and refusal to perform duties. In this regard, the associations level the situations, resulting from this, by differentiating their goals from the goals of their participants. They motivate them and allow them to feel a sense of significance and to gain recognition (Harrington, 2018).

The ideology of a religious extremist association includes the developed socio-philosophical ideas along with the ideas of divine revelation and irrational beliefs. They often contain a reference not only to the fulfillment of a certain sacred mission but to scientific and technical developments as confirmations of their ideas. Along with the theological ideas, the existing philosophical interpretations of truth, justice, and ideality are included in an integral ideological system, which claims the status of a socio-philosophical conception.

The ideal state of the Islamic extremists

The tradition of Islam allows us to interpret and systematize religious and legal norms. Pluralism in the philosophical and theological sphere is a consequence of this. These are political issues that cause too many opposing opinions. The main prescripts were formulated on the basis of ijtihad. They are not regulat-

ed in the Quran and Sunnah. Radical Islam is based on a literal interpretation of norms. Its "rather archaic requirements of pure religious law, when they are used in their pure form" (Yunusov, 2017) are untenable in the modern world. Any requirement to follow pure Islam is subject to changes in practice. The reference to belonging to the Islamic tradition is a means of justifying one's activities.

Islamic extremism asserts the supremacy of Islamic law. Secular law is rejected on the grounds of inferiority and being directed against God and his true believers. According to the ideologists of the Hizb ut-Tahrir al-Islami terrorist organization, it will be implemented only in the conditions of an Islamic theocratic state (caliphate), the unification of all Islamic lands, the universal establishment of prayer and Sharia law. Until then, true Muslims must fight against disbelief and promote the creation of a caliphate within the existing legislation of the states on the territories they operate on. M. Ahnaf identifies two probable scenarios that will lead to the polarization of society. The first one is the growing distrust of the existing government (Ahnaf, 2018). The other one is the ideological reorientation of part of the population. The transnational instrument of communication between all Muslims is the Muslim community itself (Ummah), its structure, historical and theological foundations.

At that, the future ideal state may include the territories with the Muslim population, but not historically Islamic, the territories that have never been governed by Sharia law (Siberia, for example). However, it is worth while noting that in most projects of this kind Siberia is not considered a territory, the inclusion of which is mandatory and should be taken into account. Thus, in the version of the Hizb ut-Tahrir al-Islami terrorist organization, Siberia is only a resource territory where certain activities can be carried out. These are hiding from law enforcement agencies, attracting new people and propagating their ideology.

Social reality is divided into the world of Islam, which already exists, spreads its influence and serves the basis for the future caliphate, and the world of non-believers, the representatives of which can either accept pure

Islam or be enemies and demand destruction. According to E.N. Egorov, the members of the Hizb ut-Tahrir al-Islami terrorist organization refer to the prophet's actions aimed only at protesting against the authorities and at gathering the supporters. Therefore, they do not aim to seize power in the state and force the population to accept Islam. "The party adheres to the tactic of using 'soft power' to persuade people to come to power and change the government" (Egorov, 2017: 26). "Nusra", a non-violent coup d'etat supported by the population and paramilitary groups, is declared to be the most productive method. When rejecting the existing governmental system all the privileges and freedoms that it provides are used to their maximum.

The model of the future state is based on the idealization of not only the society itself but also of its individual representatives. The personality of the prophet Muhammad is being heroized. His qualities of being both Allah's messenger and a human being are hyperbolized, endowed with power (idealized physical powers), which other Muslims are unable to show. The way of life following the example of the prophet and Sharia law will be available to all citizens.

At the same time, it contains some social, political, and economic provisions that betray the realism of the idea:

A) Interpretation of historic facts. The future caliphate should become more perfect and just than the state of the first Muslims and avoid the splits in the Ummah[3]. According to the participants of this association, humanity goes through the following stages of historical development: 1) the prophet Muhammad's prophecy; 2) the time of the prophecy; 3) the caliphate that was replaced by the monarchy; 4) the time of the monarchy; 5) the period of the despotic rule; 6) the caliphate created by this terrorist organization as the end of history.

B) Separation of people. All people residing in the territory of the caliphate are divided into categories with certain responsibilities each. The first one includes citizens with equal rights regardless of religion or nation. They are both Muslims and non-Muslims: "bookish people" and pagans. They take part in the selection of the caliph, can hold any public office, have the representation of their interests in the Parliament (Majlis), pay appropriate taxes, and get a salary based on the income of the organization and the profitability of the employee. The Muslims have been receiving military training since the age of 15 to perform their religious duty of Jihad. They have their own representative body, the Shura. The second category consists of the jihadists (mujahideen), non-citizens of the caliphate residing in its territory under the agreement. There is no such agreement with Russia, the United Kingdom, France, and the United States. The third category is represented by the people with the permission to live and work in the caliphate.

C) Administrative and territorial structure. The whole territory is divided into wilayahs (provinces) on a regional basis, the wilayahs consisting of imalats (regions). Wilayahs are free to make decisions on administrative matters. The head of state is the caliph, who is elected by all citizens from two candidates. He commands the entire army, consisting of regular and reserve units, has the right to declare war and to make peace. They also report to the Majlis for their actions and receive recommendations and expert opinions on various management issues.

D) Economy. The economic system is based on the provision that Allah is the sole owner of everything, but people have certain rights. The types of property are the state property, which is collected through taxes, the public property, which consists of the profits of the Ummah, and the private property, which is constituted of the income of an individual. However, it is prohibited to accumulate funds without using them. This area is regulated by a single Public Bank. The Treasury is collected from trophies, jizya, kharaj, zakat, and 1/5 of the found wealth. Jizya is collected from all non-Muslim males. Zakat is paid by all Muslims. Kharaj is a land tax paid by everyone.

---

[3] Note: by the decision of the Kalininsky district court of Ufa of the Republic of Bashkortostan dated July 29, 2009, the brochure "The Draft of the Constitution of the Islamic state of the Caliphate. Hizb ut-Tahrir. Approved publication" is recognized as an extremist material. Available at: http://minjust.ru/ru/extremist-materials (accessed 30 September 2018).

The presented brief review of the project for the future caliphate of the Hizb ut-Tahrir al-Islami terrorist organization shows that it is positioned as an idealized state functioning on the principles of justice and equality and meeting the needs and interests of the representatives of modern society. T. al-Nabhani expressed a realistic utopian idea, leaving room for adjustments in the implementation process and maximally coordinating it with Sharia. Mukhkhabatov claims that the ideology of Hizb ut-Tahrir al-Islami is an anti-human and anti-social theory, despite the external progressiveness of its provisions. It is against individual freedoms of ownership, speech, and conscience and against national cultural heritage. The Muslims are given the right to think and act only within the framework of Sharia, and to use only Arabic (Mukhkhabatov, 2004: 12).

However, it is worth noting that with the large number of extremist Islamic associations and versions of the future society this model of the caliphate is the most meaningful. It considers issues of different areas. This largely explains the spread of the Hizb ut-Tahrir al-Islami terrorist organization in the world since the middle of the 20th century as well as its systemic development. For example, the al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun terrorist organization (translated into English as "The Society of Muslim Brothers") has developed a method of seizing power in the state. S. Lacroix considers the mobilization of resources, which is based on the network nature of the relationships, to be a condition for the political success of this association's participants. In addition, it is claimed that "the movement has developed a broadly appealing discourse emphasizing the two fashionable values of post-Mubarak Egypt: revolution and Sharia" (Lacroix, 2016). However, its ideology lacks a realistic project of the future state structure, including the structure of political power and directions of activity. This is demonstrated by the political events in Egypt during the 2010-2013 period.

Conclusion

Summing up the above, it is worth while noting that modern globalization and glocalization processes lead to the emergence of various kinds of contradictory phenomena, which often cause negative consequences. Globalizing conditions result in spreading the glocalization ideas, aimed at strengthening regional culture and people's identity on any national and spiritual basis, to remote territories both historically and geographically. Understanding of the philosophical category of the ideal in religious extremism includes the interpretation of justice and injustice. At that all the negative phenomena of the modern world, regardless of people's belonging to a nation, race, or religion (hunger, disease, social inequality), are considered the matters of injustice. Justice is realized in pleasure, harmony, and significance of the participants of a certain religious extremist association only.

The ideal is embodied in the model of the ideal state, all components of which (including the leaders of the past and the present) are idealized. Building a given state, changing "it is so" to "it should be so" is positioned as the goal of the activity. In fact, this idea is utopian, since it neither adheres to practical reasoning nor focuses on a descriptive model. It contains specific instructions on how it should not be, but an abstract idea of how it will actually be. Religious extremist consciousness is identical to utopian thinking. It is convinced of the possibility of building an ideal state with an emphasis on human shortcomings, unfair punishment, and existing social inequality. At that, historical facts and objective conditions are either interpreted in accordance with the ideology or ignored.

References

Agnati, L., Marcoli, M., Agnati, U., Ferraro, L., Guidolin, D., Maura, G. (2017). The mis-exaptation of the prediction capability of humans and emergence of intolerant religious beliefs. In *Neurology, Psychiatry and Brain Research*, 23, 43-53.

Ahnaf, M. (2018). Hizb al-Tahrir: Its Ideology and Theory for Collective Radicalization. In *K. Steiner, A. Önnerfors, Expressions of Radicalization*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Antonyan, Yu.M., Yurasova, E.N. (2010). Ekstremistskoe i terroristicheskoe povedenie s pozitsii glubinnoi psikhologii [Extremist and terrorist behaviour from the perspective of depth psychology]. In *Scientific portal of the Russia Ministry of the Interior, 2*, 10-13.

Coates, Jo. (2016). Utopia – An obsolete concept. In *Techno-logical Forecasting and Social Change, 113*, 110-111.

Epshtein, M.N. (2014). *Religiia posle ateizma. Novye vozmozhnosti teologii* [*Religion after atheism. New features of theology*]. Moscow: AST-Press.

Egorov, B.F. (2007). *Rossiiskie utopii: Istoricheskii putevodite'* [*Russian Utopias: A Historical Guide*]. St. Petersburg, Iskusstvo.

Egorov, E.N. (2017). "Khizb ut-Takhrir" na zapade: ideologiia i spetsifika deiatel'nosti ["Hizb ut-Tahrir" in the West: Ideology and Specific Activities]. In *Islamic studies, 2*, 28-36.

Ellis, A. (2004). *The road to tolerance. The philosophy of rational emotive behavior therapy*. New-York, Prometheus Books.

Glenn, J. (2012). Science fiction: The radium age. In *Nature*, 489, 204-205.

Harrington, N. (2013). Irrational Beliefs and Socio-Political Extremism. In *Journal of Rational-Emotive & Cognitive-Behavior Therapy*, 31 (3), 167-178.

Isaak, R. (2015). Every utopia turns info dystopia. In *Tourism Management*, 51, 329-330.

Karpeev, E.P. (2015). O vozniknovenii utopii v chelovecheskom soznanii i ob utopii marksizma i religii [On the emergence of utopia in human consciousness and on the utopia of Marxism and religion]. In *Eurasian Union of Scientists, 12*, 70-73.

Khalil, R., Richa, S. (2018). On cognitive debiasing and the judgment of suicide-attackers À propos de la correction du biais cognitif et du jugement des agresseurs-suicidaires. In *L'Encéphale*. In Press.

Kolnai, A. (1993). *The utopian mind and other essays*. London, Athlone Press.

Koptseva, N.P. (2015). Otnoshenie religii i filosofii kak predposylka obnaruzheniia simvolov absoliutnoi istiny v sviashchennykh religioznykh tekstakh [The relation between philosophy and religion as a premise for discovering symbols of the absolute truth in holy religious texts]. In *Bulletin of Tomsk State University*, 392, 59-65.

Lacroix, S. (2016). *Egypt's Revolutions. Politics, Religion, and Social Movements*. New-York, Palgrave Macmillan.

Mills, Ch. (2005). "Ideal Theory" as Ideology. In *Hypatia*, 20, 165-184.

Mukhkhabatov, K.M. (2004). *Sotsial'no-politicheskie faktory obrazovaniia religiozno-politicheskoi organizactsii "Khizb ut-Takhrir" i eio reaktsionnaia sushchnost (na primere Tadzhikistana)* [*Socio-political factors in the formation of the Hizb ut-Tahrir religious-political organization and its reactionary nature (on the example of Tajikistan)*]: avtoref. na diss. … kand. polit. nauk. Dushambe.

Oganesyan, S.S. (2017). Spetsifika religioznogo ekstremizma i terrorizma, kak istoricheski obuslovlennogo sotsial'no-politicheskogo iavleniia [The specifics of religious extremism and terrorism as a historically conditioned sociopolitical phenomenon]. In *International Journal of Psychology and Pedagogy in official activities*, 4, 14-18.

Prus, R. (2005). Terrorism, tyranny, and religious extremism as collective activity: Beyond the deviant, psychological, and power mystiques. In *The American Sociologist*, 36 (1), 47-74.

Rocha Costa, A. (2017). Situated Ideological Systems: a Formal Concept, a Computational Notation, Some applications. In *Axiomathes*, 27, 15-78.

Schaub, J. (2014). The Incompleteness of Ideal Theory. In *Res Publica*, 20 (4), 413-419.

Sergun, E.P. (2012). Sootnoshenie poniatii "religioznyi fundamentalizm" i "religioznyi ekstremizm" [The Correlation of the Notions "Religious Fundamentalism" and "Religious Extremism"]. In *Legal Culture*, 2, 99-103.

Sobolevskaia, N.N. (2009). Review for the book: Egorov, B.F. Russian Utopias: A Historical Guide. St. Petersburg, Art, 2007. In *Vestnik Novosibirskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Ser. Istoriia, Filologiia*, 2, 166-169.

Stankov, L. (2018). Psychological processes common to social conservatism and terrorism. In *Personality and Individual Differences*, 120, 75-80.

Winter, Ch., Hasan, U. (2016). The Balanced Nation: Islam and the Challenges of Extremism, Fundamentatism, Islamism and Jihadism. In *Philosophia*, 44 (3), 667-688.

Yunusov, A.A., Abdurazakov, A.A. (2017). Bor'ba s religioznym ekstremizmom (obshcheteoreticheskii aspekt) [The fight against religious extremism (general theoretical aspect)]. In *Bulletin of Economic Security*, 1, 31-35.

Juergensmeyer, M. (2015). Religious Nationalism and the Secular State. *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences (Second Edition)*, 401-405.

Философская категория идеального в моделях будущего государства религиозных экстремистов

Т.В. Излученко, Д.Н. Гергилев, А.В. Бардаков

Сибирский федеральный университет
Российская Федерация, Красноярск

Аннотация. Статья посвящена анализу философской категории идеального в моделях будущего государственного устройства, которые разрабатываются религиозными экстремистами в контексте современной социальной реальности как реализация идеального. Исследование основано на изучении деятельности террористической организации «Хизб ут-Тахрир аль-Ислами» на территории Сибири. Целью работы служит выявление составляющих компонентов идеологии религиозных экстремистских объединений, конструирующих модель идеального государства. Социально-философский анализ положений идеологии и герменевтический подход к проявлениям экстремизма находятся в основе методологии исследования. Экстремистские идеи в религии являются отклонениями от нормы и могут возникнуть в любой религиозной традиции, расширяя область интерпретаций религиозного права и позиционируя существующее положение в религиозном сообществе неистинным и искаженным. Будущее государство представляется экстремистами идеальным общественным устройством, созданным на принципе справедливости и согласно священным предписаниям. Конфликт мировоззренческих позиций «должно быть так» и «так есть», наличие «перфекционалистской иллюзии» об идеальном обществе подразумевают возможность создания идеального мира в современной социальной действительности. Насилие понимается необходимым средством достижения данной цели, если другие способы малоэффективны. Авторами характеризуются сходства моделей идеального общества, разработанные религиозным экстремизмом, и утопий по содержанию и интерпретациям, а также религиозного экстремистского сознания и утопичного мышления по структуре и направленности. Понимание принципа справедливости, идеи исключительности, модели идеального и богословских основ социальных действий содержатся в идеологиях экстремистских объединений. Склонность мышления к утопичным идеям, интуитивное допущение существования идеального, справедливого общества и конфликт между «должным» и «сущим»

способствуют распространению экстремистских идей. Экстремизм использует свойства сознания: религиозность и мышление абсолютными категориями – в деструктивном аспекте для придания своим идеям естественности, а религиозные идеи – для обоснования противоправной деятельности священной волей. Действиям участников экстремистских объединений придается статус свободного личностного выбора, связанного с исполнением религиозных предписаний и Божественной воли по созданию всемирного справедливого общества.

Ключевые слова: идеальное общество, принцип справедливости, утопия, религиозный экстремизм, халифат, будущее государство, религиозные экстремистские идеи, «Хизб ут-Тахрир аль-Ислами».

Научные специальности: 07.00.00 – исторические науки, 24.00.00 – культурология.

Socio-Cultural Adaptation of Tuvan Students in Educational Environment of Tomsk

Olga M. Khomushku[a], Maria S. Kukhta[b] and Margarita Yu. Raitina*[c]

[a]Tuvan State University
Kyzyl, Republic Tuva, Russian Federation
[b]Tomsk Polytechnic University
Tomsk, Russian Federation
[c]Tomsk State University of Control Systems and Radioelectronics
Tomsk, Russian Federation

Abstract. This study is relevant owing the modern world, which is focused on a multi-ethnic educational space maintenance. The article reveals the stages of Tuvan students' adaptation in Tomsk's educational space. Using a systemic approach, different levels of sociocultural adaptation – ethnopsychological, social, linguistic and religious – are unveiled. The authors investigate the process of developing new types of cognitive and educational activities of Tuvan students in the universities of Tomsk and propose methods to create an unlimited interaction in a multi-ethnic educational environment.

Keywords: education, ethnocultural environment, multi-ethnic space, Tuvan students, system approach, ethnocultural adaptation.

Research area: history, culturology.

* Corresponding author E-mail address: hom17@mail.ru, eukuh@mail.tomsknet.ru, raitina@mail.ru
ORCID: 0000–0002–5280–4911 (Khomushku); 0000–0001–8643–785X (Kukhta); 0000–0002–2381–3202 (Raitina)

Introduction

The modern life stimulates creativity, communication and analytical skills in polyethnic academic space. Being analysed in 1960s and mostly addressed by Ph. Coombs, educational crisis revealed inability of the current educational models to meet so rapidly changing communication and social space as the result of increasing life rate and general informatization. In this manner, a search for new models and values, which supports today's social development and targets key competences, professional and personal qualities, determines an approach which enables not only acquisition of knowledge and skills, but also creative thinking needed for self-identification in culture. In our observation, such strategy is mostly demanded under global communicative diversification – to catch a balance through the means of educational space. Philosophy of education claims that just by an integrated reflection of education, one can get an insight into its real motives, which helps to form valuable personal qualities needed for a smooth ethno-social interaction in the modern world. Such interpretation, in the authors' view, which include permanent use of conventional and innovative (creative) educational tools, enables better involvement of polyethnic students' environment into university space. Thus, education guarantees the terms for social adaptation of the student, regarding their interests, abilities, challenges, values and ethnic identification.

Recently, in Tomsk, the institutions of higher education have admitted significantly large number of out-of-city students, as well as of foreign students from neighbouring countries and beyond. Most of out-of-city students, who enter Tomsk's universities, are the residents of Far Northern Regions, Krasnoyarsk Krai, the Republic of Khakassia, Buryatia, the Republic of Tuva, etc. Regarding all the factors mentioned above, adaptation of such students in cities, indeed, in Tomsk, is quite an urgent problem. The data of Ministry of Education of the Republic of Tuva say that there are more than 3000 students and young families who have moved from Tuva to Tomsk. Being ex-residents of another language and cultural environment, these students face the problem of socio-cultural adaptation. The majority of Tuvans, esp. first-year students, have strong feelings about adaptation. This process includes acculturation, i.e. a complex stage of one's co-entering new social and cultural space and "adjustment" of this environment to one's personal needs.

Materials and methods

As the problem of adaptation skills development in ethnic communities of different regions has poor coverage, this study aims comparative analysis of students' adaptive capabilities (through the example of Tuvans, who live in Tomsk and in the Republic of Tuva (Kyzyl)). The review on other researches demonstrates that adaptation of students to university is a part of social adaptation and a complex multi-level process of entering the learning process in higher education. Regarding the mechanisms of one's adaptation, S.G. Rudkova identifies such stages as autonomisation, identification and integration. Among others, O.V. Gavrilova, I.V. Koryakina, S.V. Kostenko, N.N. Kiseleva address the problems of first-year students' adaptation.

This research relies on the principles of socio-cultural approach and sociological survey. The analysis per se includes three key spheres of students' activities, i.e. learning (educational) and daily life, alongside with extra-curriculum (leisure) activities. All of them have helped to unveiled main troubles in adaptation process (Table 1).

The empiric data, used in the analysis, is the result of the original questionary. This survey has been based on 212 Tuvan students of Tomsk's institutions of higher education: Tomsk State University of Control Systems and Radioelectronics (TUSUR University), Tomsk State Pedagogical University (TSPU), Siberian State Medical University (SibMed) – the total number is 115 respondents, aged 17 – 24 years; and on 97 respondents, aged 18 – 28, at Tuva State University (TuvSU), Kyzyl.

The survey demonstrates the fact, that the students of TuvSU are more satisfied with their education, if to compare to the ones from Tomsk's universities. Regarding the answers to

Table 1. Problem areas of Tuvan students' adaptation

№	Problem areas of adaptation	Tomsk's universities, students, %	TuvSU, students, %
1	Willingness to study at university	81	95
2	Ability to communicate with other nationalities	96	75
3	Importance of mutual national environments	39	81
4	Absence from classes	68	47
5	Exams timing	67	87
6	Comfortable dorm facilities	22	93
7	Experience of public and socio-cultural activities	29	77

"Do you find your major difficult to study?", one can say that Tomsk's students face more problems in their study – 39% answered "yes", that is 17% more than at TuvSU. Besides, there is another trouble among Tomsk's students – language barrier. It is Tomsk's students who marked positive the question "Do you feel hard to understand the information in Russian?" (29%). It can be explained by the fact that new socio-cultural environment tests a Tuvan student, who cannot speak Russian, with the language barrier. The learning process at TuvSU is delivered in Tuvan as well, since many teachers are native speakers.

The level of communication between the respondents and other foreign students is significantly different: 25% of respondents from TuvSU answered "No" to the question "Is it easy for you to communicate with other nationalities?", while in Tomsk – just 4% said the same. Tomsk is a student multinational city with old traditions and customs. Not only Tuvan, but all in-coming students try to tackle problems in cross-cultural communication. In Tuva, students stay in their native environment, in familiar conditions, and there is no need for them (students) to communicate with other nationalities. Importantly, socio-cultural adaptation is a unity of social and psychological integration into other culture, and a steady acceptance of its norms, values and behaviour patterns (Bel'mesova, 2013).

Moreover, the problem of adaptation correlates with the importance of mutual national environment in educational space: "Yes, it is important to have a student of same nationality in the group" – answered 81% of TuvSU students and 39% of Tomsk's students.

The main reason for class absence in Tomsk's students – "laziness" – is marked by 35%, while for the students of TuSU this reason is their babies: almost a fourth of the respondents there are young parents, while in Tomsk only two interviewees explain their absence by this reason.

Such results are based, firstly, on the fact that TuvSU has a strong attendance control, and, secondly, – the students of Kyzyl live in their native conditions, with their parents and influence of family values. The Republic of Tuva preserves family as the most precious moral value, since even in the beginning of new millennium, the Tuvan community remains authentic and relies on traditional principles, which declare that a family means life for people (Kenin-Lopsan, 2006).

The question "Do you pass term exams in time?" is answered by 87% of TuvSU students, which is higher than in Tomsk students (67%).

Another question in this survey is "Do you like living in dorms? (If you don't live in dorm, you can skip this question)". In TuvSU, 59 respondents live in the dorm, while in Tomsk all the interviewed students live in the residence halls only. These students are not satisfied with such accommodation – 88 students out of 112 (78%); among 59 respondents of TuvSU, 55 students like living in the dorm of Kyzyl (that is 93%).

28% and 4% of students in Tomsk and Kyzyl respectively have conflicts with their neighbors. In Tomsk, there are other problems,

such as accommodation keeping, insanitary conditions, conflicts with the administrative department, etc. The list of such problems indicates rather more troubles in adaptation of Tuvan students in other city, than of the ones, who study in their mother region.

For the question "How do you spend your leisure time?" the most popular answer is "With my friends". The students of both cities, as well as all young people, mark the key role of communication with the peers and in social networks. The answer "In the library, doing my homework" sounds rather weird, since it is chosen by 31% of TuvSU students and by just 3% of Tomsk students.

77% of TuvSU students are engaged into public activities, while in Tomsk this number is just 29%. Such gap results from unwillingness or embarrassment of the students and prevailing phlegmatic or melancholic character (Tovuu, 2009).

Thus, the research can be concluded as:

– socio-cultural adaptation of Tuvan students in Tomsk: middle engagement in learning process, high need for cross-cultural communication, low level of everyday life adaptation and middle – of leisure time activities.

– socio-cultural adaptation of TuvSU students in Kyzyl: high engagement in learning process, low need for intercultural interaction, high level of everyday life adaptation and middle – of leisure time activities.

At this point, one can draw the following line: by the ways of Tuvan students' adaptation to social and cultural spheres in Kyzyl and Tomsk, the later are rather more frustrated by the socio-cultural adaptation, than the students of TuvSU.

Conclusion

The survey brings us to reveal a range of problems which emerge at particular stage of university life in different regional conditional, and the dynamic analysis of problem areas enables forming a useful system of adaptation for in-coming students. In general, according to L. Buduk-ool, Tuvan students of have low level of psychosocial adaptation, which is formed under high stress level, phlegmatic and melancholic character, introversion, low strength

and mobility of nervous processes, significant prevalence of emotive, pedantic and fearful accentuations of the character (Buduk-ool, 2011). Traditionally, socio-cultural and economic conditions of the region determine such qualities as modesty, restraint in feelings, calmness, moderation, tolerance, which are the ethnopsychological feature of the Tuvan people (Tovuu, 2009).

Thus, the adaptation features of the students from other regions are individual and have ethnopsychological characteristics; they are able to cope with different social, language and religious barriers in mastering new types of cognitive and educational activities and lie in educational, material and everyday life, extra-curricular (leisure time) spheres. Consequently, the adaptation of Tuvan students in Tomsk is a complex phenomenon that includes not just one type. The success of adaptation process ensures adequate interaction of students with sociocultural and intellectual environment of the university, formation of new personal qualities and social status, development of new social roles, new values acquisition, understanding the significance of the future profession (Krivtsova, 2011), through the introduction of creative skills mastering techniques, critical thinking and extra-professional competencies which ground the contemporary educational discourse.

If we want the student to successfully undergo the adaptation process, a comprehensive work is needed to organize social and pedagogical support and psychological assistance from the university administration, department of social (educational) work, student union, and psychological support service. The university is a mediator for the migrant students to enter a new sociocultural space (Bel'mesova, 2013). In this regard, the authors emphasize the need to implement a creative approach in educational and extra-curricular activities when adapting students from different regions, since creativity acts as a tool for uniting a multi-ethnic team and as a technology for improving the quality of educational programs. An example is when the in-coming students, including the Tuvans, take part in the university events (Festivals of Cultures, extra-classes on efficient commu-

nication, leadership, creative activity, educational work, social projects, acting skills, etc.). Thus, today, creative self-realization, communication are the ways of organizing the culture that define the mechanisms for self-identification, aimed at creating tolerance, common meanings, and barrier-free interaction in a multi-ethnic educational environment.

References

Bel'mesova, M.V. (2013). Teoreticheskie aspekty issledovaniya problem adaptatsii studentov/migrantov k sotsiokul'turnoy srede vuza [Theoretical Issues of Adaptation of Students/Migrants to Socio-Cultural Environment in University]. In *Formy i metody sotsial'noy raboty v razlichnykh sferakh zhiznedeyatel'nosti* [*Forms and Methods of Social Work in Different Activities*]. Available at: http://esstu.ru/library/free/Konf/Socrab/%D0%91%D0%B5%D0%BB%D1%8C%D0%BC%D0%B5%D1%81%D0%BE%D0%B2%D0%B0.pdf (accessed at 02.02.2020).

Buduk-ool, L.K. (2011). *Adaptatsiya studentov Respubliki Tuva k obucheniyu v vuze. Avtorefer. Dissert. Dokt. Biol.n.* [*Adaptation of Tuvan Students in University: Doctor of Science (Biology) Thesis*]. Chelyabinsk. Available at: http://www.dissercat.com/content/adaptatsiya-studentov-respubliki-Tuva-k-obucheniyu-v-vuze (accessed at: 02.02.2020).

Coombs, P.H. (1970). *Krizis obrazovaniya. Sitemniy analiz* [*The World Crisis in Education. System Analysis*]. Moscow, Progress.

Gavrilova, O.V. (2012). Formirovanie innovatsionnogo potentsiala studentov kak pedagogicheskaya problema [The Formation of Innovative Potential of Students as Educational Problem]. In Gumanitarnye issledovaniya [*Humanities*], 1 (41), 183–189.

Gershunsky, B. (1998). *Filosofiya obrazovaniya* [*Philosophy of Education*]. Moscow, Moscow Psychological and Social Institute.

Kenin-Lopsan, M.B. (2006). *Traditsionnaya kul'tura tuvintsev* [*Traditional Tuvan Culture*]. Kyzyl, Tuvinskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo.

Khomushku O.M., Kukhta M.S. (2016). Etnokonfessional'niy faktor v dukhovnom vozrozhdenii Tuvy: sotsial'no-filosofskiy analiz [Ethnoconfessional Factor in Spiritual Reconstruction of Tuva: Social and Philosophic Analysis]. In *Vestnik Kalmytskogo instituta gumanitarnykh issledovaniy RAN* [*Bulletin of Kalmyk Institute of Humanities at Russian Academy of Science*], 5 (27), 119–126.

Khomushku, O.M., Sanchay, Ch.Kh., Kukhta, M.S. (2019). Archetypical Symbols in the Modern Tuvan Culture. In *Journal of Siberian Federal University. Humanities & Social Science*, 12(7), 1132–1145. DOI: 10.17516/1997–1370–0445

Kiselev, N.N. (2013). Gumanitarnye tekhnologii v uchebno-vospitatel'nom protsesse IIGSO kak sredstvo snizheniya dezadaptatsii studentov [Humanitarian Technologies in Education. IIGSO as a Way to Overcome Dis-Adaptation of Students]. In *Sibirskiy pedagogicheskiy zhurnal* [*Pedagogical Journal of Siberia*], 1, 190–195.

Koptseva, N.P., Liia, M., Kirko, V.I. (2015). The Concept of "Communication" in Contemporary Research. In *Journal of Siberian Federal University. Humanities & Social Sciences,* (8), 1560–1568. DOI:10.17516/1997-1370-2015-8-8-1560-1568.

Koptseva, N.P., Seredkina N.N. (2013). *Konstruirovanie pozitivnoy etnicheskoy identichnosti v polikul'turnoy sisteme: monografiya* [*The Construction of Positive Ethnic Identity in Polycultural System: monograph*]. Krasnoyarsk, SibFU.

Koryakina, I.V. (2016). Problemy adaptatsii pervokursnikov k usloviyam obucheniya tekhnikuma [The Problems of First-Year Students Adaptation in College Environment]. In *Obschestvo: sotsiologiya, psikhologiya, pedagogika* [*The Society: Sociology, Psychology, Pedagogics*], 2.

Kostenko, S.V. (2007). Modeli zhizneutverzhdayushhey adaptatsii studentov v vuze [Models of Optimistic Adaptation of University Students]. In *Vysshee obrazovanie v Rossii* [*Higher Education in Russia*], 7, 90–93.

Krivtsova, I.O. (2011). Sotsiokul'turnaya adaptatsiya inostrannykh studentov k obrazovatel'noy srede rossiyskogo vuza (na primere Voronezhskoy gosudarstvennoy meditsinskoy akademii im. N.N. Burdenko)

[Socio-Cultural Adaptation of Foreign Students to Education in Russian University (through the example of Voronezh State Medical University named after N.N. Burdenko]. In *Fundamental'nye issledovaniya* [*Fundamental Studies*], 8, 284 – 288.

Kukhta, M.S., Mainy Sh.B., Khomushku, O.M. (2019). The Earthly and Sacred in the Semantics of the Tuvans' Traditional Costume. In *Journal of Siberian Federal University. Humanities & Social Science*, 12(12), 2209–2216. DOI: 10.17516/1997–1370–0502.

Raitina, M., Suslova, T., Pokrovskaya, E., Kulikova, A. (2016). Interdisciplinary Convergence in the University Educational Environment. In *LKTI 2016: Linguistic and Cultural Studies: Traditions and Innovations*, 68–74. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-67843-6_9

Rudkova, S.G. (2005). *Psikhologo-pedagogicheskoe soprovozhdenie adaptatsii studentov v vuze: dis...kand. ped. nauk* [*Psychological and Pedagogical Assistance in Adaptation of Students in University: Cand. of Science (Pedagogics) Dissertation*], Birobidzhan.

Sanchay Ch.H., Kukhta M.S. (2019). Semantika strukturnykh elementov tuvinskogo tantsa [The Semantics of Structural Elements of Tuvan Dance]. In *Novye issledovaniya Tuvy* [*New Studies of Tuva*], 1, Available at: https://nit.tuva.asia/nit/article/view/820 (accessed at 02.02.2020.). DOI: 10.25178/nit.2019.1.13

Tovuu, N.O. (2009). *Psihologicheskiy oblik tuvinskogo naroda* [*Psychological Image of Tuvans*]. Kyzyl, Izdatel'stvo TuvGU.

Vyurkina, M.S., Zhivaev, N.G. *Osobennosti adaptatsii inogorodnikh i mestnykh studentov* [*Adaptation Features of Local Students and Migrants*]. Available at: http://www.psyhodic.ru/arc.php?page=4772 (accessed at: 02.02.2020).

Whitehead, A. (1967). *Whitehead, Alfred North. The Aims of Education and Other Essays*. New York, The Free Press.

Специфика социокультурной адаптации тувинских студентов в образовательном пространстве Томска

О.М. Хомушку[а], М.С. Кухта[б], М.Ю. Раитина[в]

[а]Тувинский государственный университет
Российская Федерация, Республика Тыва, Кызыл
[б]Томский политехнический университет
Российская Федерация, Томск
[в]Томский государственный университет систем управления и радиоэлектроники
Российская Федерация, Томск

Аннотация. В статье раскрываются этапы адаптации тувинских студентов в образовательном пространстве Томска. С помощью системного метода выявляются различные уровни социокультурной адаптации: этнопсихологические, социальные, речевые, религиозные. Авторы исследуют процесс освоения новых видов познавательной и образовательной деятельности тувинских студентов в вузах Томска и предлагают методы формирования безбарьерного взаимодействия в полиэтничном образовательном пространстве.

Ключевые слова: образование, этнокультурная среда, полиэтническое пространство, тувинские студенты, системный метод, этнокультурная адаптация.

Научные специальности: 07.00.00 – исторические науки, 24.00.00 – культурология.

The Dynasty of the Yeniseysk Merchants Kobychevs: Formation, Entrepreneurship, Participation in Public Life

Evgeniya V. Komleva*
Institute of History of the Siberian Branch of the RAS
Novosibirsk, Russian Federation

Abstract. The article discusses the story of one of the most wealthy and influential merchant dynasties of Yeniseisk in the 19th century – the Kobychevs. It gives the biographical data (including previously unknown) about the representatives of different generations of this family and characterizes their economic activities, public service, lifestyle. The reconstruction of the Kobychevs' life path allows us to reveal the features inherent to the development of the Siberian merchant class in general and concerning the conditions and ways of initial accumulation of capital, the spheres of its further circulation, conflicts and interaction with the regional administration, the influence of merchants on the urban environment. The analysis of biographical information about the Kobychevs contained in periodicals and works of their contemporaries, emphasizes the important position of the merchant class in the structure of the Siberian urban society and the significant contribution of merchants to the economy, public and cultural life of the region.

Keywords: Siberian merchantry, Yeniseisk, the Kobychevs, biography, economic activities, public services, lifestyle.

Research area: history, culturology.

* Corresponding author E-mail address: feodal@history.nsc.ru
ORCID: 0000-0002-6975-3516

There are many well-known surnames among the Yeniseisk merchants of 18th – early 20th century. The Kytmanovs, Vostrotins, Balandins – representatives of different generations of these families left a deep mark in the history of Siberia. However, besides them, the Yenisei merchants included other families, who may not have brightly shown themselves, but there were no less worthy people who did a lot for the development of their hometown. The resurrection of their names and facts of biographies is relevant not only as a contribution to local history research, but also in the light of the interest in the life of the so-called "background" person existing in domestic and foreign historiography today, that is, the one who "*at least* stands out from the crowd, but at the same time, according to the objective results of their activities, or in the perception of contemporaries and / or descendants "does not reach" the scale of "history maker" and "arbiter of fate", "and attention to whom allows us to "investigate the intersection of personal and mass, group stereotypes and individual consciousness, internal motive of behavior and external factors, human and social essence of the era" (Mininkov, Korenevsky, Ivanesco, 2010: 24–25).

This article will focus on the wealthy and once influential dynasty of the Yenisei merchants Kobychevs, brief essays about which are included in the scientific and reference publications of recent years (Komleva, 2009: 96; Komleva, 2012: 317; Bykonya, Komleva, Pogrebnyak, 2012: 164– 165). A detailed reconstruction of the history of this family, which has several generations, is possible due to the occurrence of references to its members in paperwork, materials of the periodical press of the second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries, publications of the authors of the 19th century and modern researchers. One of the most important sources is the famous "Brief Chronicle" by A.I. Kytmanov, the author of which, by the way, when preparing his work, repeatedly consulted the direct descendant of the Kobychevs. This fact underlines the position of the latter among local society, the degree of their awareness and participation in the development of the city. Obviously, the Kobychevs compiled

something like a family archive: A.I. Kytmanov refers not only to oral comments (Kytmanov, 2016: 244, 284, 296–297, 299, 301, 306, 319, 383), but also to a number of documents submitted to him – "A.A. Kobychev's papers" (Kytmanov, 2016: 128, 211, 217, 223, 241). The presence of such a collection testifies not only to the literacy of the Kobychevs, but to a sufficiently high cultural and educational level, their attentive attitude to the fate of both their family and their small homeland.

The Kobychevs appeared in Siberia quite late – in the second half of the 18th century (at least, the owners of this surname do not appear among the large service population of the region at the end of the 16th – beginning of the 18th centuries[1]; they were not among the residents of the Yeniseisk of the 18th century (Bulankov and Shumov, 1999: 110–113)). According to G.F. Bykonya, "quite numerous rural townspeople Kobychevs" who lived in the 1790s in the Kazachinsky volost of the Yenisei Uyezd and engaged in tillage and "various works" could become the ancestors of the merchant dynasty (Bykonya, Komleva, Pogrebnyak, 2012: 164).

For the first time, the Kobychevs declared capital and joined the Yeniseisk merchants in the 1810s: it is known that at the end of 1815, Grigorii Prokop'evich Kobychev (died in 1817), who was a member of the 3rd guild, petitioned the Tobolsk provincial government for temporary admission to the Turukhansk merchants, in which he reported that he traded there by proxy from the Yenisei merchants of the 2nd guild (Bulankov, Shumov, 1999: 67). It was a usual beginning of the path of many Siberian merchants who subsequently became rich and famous. The fur trade, which brought good profits, allowed G.P. Kobychev to transfer a solid capital to his son Aleksandr. It is interesting that before his death, Grigorii Prokop'evich bequeathed, "so that heirs would not start contention or petition and even litigation in court" (Kytmanov, 2016: 319). In 1816, a certain Petr Kobychev was also mentioned, who served as a councillor in the Yenisei City Council. The latter circumstance with a high degree of prob-

---

[1] The file cabinet of service people from the archive of D.Ya. Rezun: Manuscript. Institute of History, SB RAS.

ability gives reason to assume that he, too, was one of the local merchants; as for his family ties with Grigorii Prokop'evich, no indications of this have been preserved (Kytmanov, 2016: 184).

The representative of the second generation of the merchant dynasty Alexander G. Kobychev (1787-1839)[2] became one of the largest Yenisei merchants of the second quarter of the 19th century. The basis of his well-being, like his father, was the purchase of fur in the Turukhansk Territory and its subsequent resale; he was connected with the Turukhansk Territory, Kyakhta, Moscow (Kytmanov, 2016: 217). In the list of merchants of Yeniseisk for 1827, it was stated that he was the only person to declare capital according to the 1st guild, and was engaged in trade "with Russian, Chinese and fur goods in bulk and at retail in Kyakhta and within the empire."[3] In general, the 1820s can be called the time of the greatest flowering of the Kobychev family business. The first Yenisei Civil Governor A.P. Stepanov, characterizing the merchants of Yeniseisk, along with Z.Kh. Tolstoy and M.F. Khoroshikh highlighted A.G. Kobychev, noting that "all other trading houses in this city fell", and the "community" of Yenisei merchants "is nothing but the ruins of a capital building, the vaults of which are supported by two or three pillars" (Stepanov, 1835: 157, 255). Subsequently, the circumstances for Aleksandr Grigor'evich were no longer so successful: in 1830 he moved to the 3rd guild, in 1831 he again declared capital according to the 1st guild (in the list of merchants for 1838 his last name was listed under the first number[4]) but before his death, in 1839, he again found himself in the lower stratum of the merchants (Kytmanov, 2016: 217).

Speaking about the methods practiced by wealthy Yenisei merchants, V.V. Bulankov writes that they considered the Turukhansk Territory to be their monopoly possession (Bulankov, Shumov, 1999: 87). A.I. Kytmanov cites

an incident that occurred in 1829 when several Yenisei merchants, including A.G. Kobychev, considering the Angara, as well as the lower Yenisei, to be their legal patrimony, jointly opposed a certain Kiren peasant Vladimirov, who allegedly "illegally traded near the Angara and oppressed the merchants." The case was resolved in favour of the innocent Vladimirov (Kytmnov, 2016: 220).

The influence A.G. Kobychev was also expressed in the fact that he repeatedly performed various public services of his choice: he served as a burgomaster in the city magistrate, since 1825 he was a candidate (i.e. assistant, deputy) of the mayor, merchant Stepan Kolmakov, and in 1828 he became the Yenisei mayor. Since S. Kolmakov often went away on business to the Turukhansk Territory, and in addition, "he was a sick person then" (Kytmanov, 2016: 211), A.G. Kobychev, in fact, had to fulfil the duties of the mayor for two consecutive three years. Service in the city government was associated with considerable financial costs: Aleksandr Grigor'evich, being the head of the city, donated to the stone barracks for the disabled team and to the extension of the second stone floor above the city council. In addition, at his own expense, he built a warm chapel to the Assumption Cemetery Church, founded in 1826 by Irkutsk bishop Michael who visited Yeniseisk and consecrated the chapel on November 23, 1827 in the name of St. Innocent of Irkutsk (Shanin, 2011: 311).

For many years, the Kobychev family archive kept certificates issued to Aleksandr Grigor'evich by the inhabitants of Yeniseisk at the end of his public services. In one of them, in a somewhat confused language (which, incidentally, is fully consistent with the original text of the manuscript[5]), it was said, "He was servicing good, which contributed to the common wealth; he was efficient, and aspired to make money in all ways. Besides, he always had in mind to build what was necessary for the city, and sometimes he built it at his own

---

[2] In the "Yenisei Merchants in Persons" it is indicated that he was born in 1790 (Bykonya, Komleva, Pogrebnyak, 2012: 164), while the inscription on the gravestone, seen by A.I. Kytmanov, allows clarifying this date and attributing it to an earlier time (Kytmanov, 2016: 243).

[3] RSIA. F. 18, op. 4, d. 336, l. 153.

[4] RSIA. F. 18, op. 4, d. 589, l. 168.

[5] Kytmanov A.I. (2016). *Kratkaia letopis' Eniseiskogo uezda i Turukhanskogo kraia Eniseiskoi gubernii. 1594–1893 god* [*Brief Chronicle of the Yenisei Uyezd and the Turukhansk Territory of the Yenisei Province. 1594–1893*]. Krasnoyarsk. KRMLL. F. 341, d. 7886/229, l. 311.

expense, being a philanthrope. In another certificate, it was said that he "particularly showed jealousy that was worthy of respect for his goodwill, at first using some part of the capital and material of the Yenisei merchant Matvey Khoroshikh at his own wish, and then sacrificing his own capital, Mr. Kobychev built the stone building's second storey above the Duma and the stone barracks for the local disabled team through volunteers, contributing to the benefit of society, with the approval of the higher authorities, and without asking the society to participate in this" (Kytmanov, 2016: 211, 217).

Being an authoritative and independent person, A.G. Kobychev several times faced with the local administration. One of the conflicts occurred in 1837, when the Yenisei city mayor demanded to stop the construction of the stone wing at A.G. Kobychev's house, which, as it turned out, was not agreed with the provincial construction commission, however, "40 workers engaged in "impermissible work" resisted and continued to work." Clashes with the authorities and mutual distrust led to the fact that before his death, Aleksandr Grigor'evich "bequeathed that his heirs would not depend on any public place or on any bosses" (Kytmanov, 2016: 241, 319).

Almost nothing is known about the personal life of A.G. Kobychev. Only references to the fact that he was married to the daughter of Archpriest Ushakov have survived. Despite her undoubtedly educated parent, she, like her sister, was illiterate, recalled by merchant I.I. Dement'ev (Kytmanov, 2016: 224). Female education in Siberia began to develop closer to the middle of the 19th century. A son Alexander and two daughters were brought up in the Kobychev family, one of whom, Natalia (born in1822), married another prominent Yenisei merchant Nikandr Fedorovich Dement'ev[6].

The 3rd generation of the merchant dynasty of the Kobychevs is represented by the only son of Aleksandr Grigor'evich – Aleksandr Aleksandrovich (1821–1856). Like many other merchant offspring of the first half of the 19th century, he received home education. At the same time, contemporaries noted that he was a developed and well-read man, composed poems

in which, in particular, described his trips to the North, and which, unfortunately, were subsequently lost. A.I. Kytmanov calls A.A. Kobychev the most interesting representative of the Yenisei merchants of the middle of the 19th century. In his "beautiful house" there were parties at which "a large diverse society" gathered: merchants, gold miners, officials, various visitors. The guests had fun, played cards, billiards, smoked tobacco "from the owner's floor-long pipes", and once "during one ball, gold miners Stepan Solovyov and Narkiz Zotov drank champagne from the white satin shoe of beautiful V." (Kytmanov, 2016: 297). The Kobychevs became one of the first residents of the city, who in the late 1840s, acquired the piano (Barkova, 1887: 179).

However, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich spent time not only in conversations and dances. Left at the age of eighteen without a father, he was forced to plunge into the family business, repeatedly travelled to Kyakhta, Nizhny Novgorod, Irbit, Moscow and, of course, to the Turukhansk Territory. Business developed successfully, and in 1842 he was the first in Yeniseisk to be awarded the title of hereditary honorary citizen (Kytmanov, 2016: 284). This right was possessed by merchants who spent twenty years in a row in the 1st guild without being brought to court during this time[7]. And although we saw that A.G. Kobychev did not always declare capital on the 1st guild, occasionally appearing even in the 3rd one, probably, in practice, small deviations from the conditions specified in the decree were possible. This further emphasizes the weight of the Kobychevs in local society and their undoubted authority in the eyes of the government.

Aleksandr Aleksandrovich is the author of a very interesting document that is a project for the development of the Yenisei North – a vast region with a low population density and difficult living conditions, which caused constant concern of the authorities. The essence of the proposals of A.A. Kobychev, put forward in 1853, is described in detail in the book of M.F. Krivoshein, who worked as a doctor for several years in the Yenisei district. The

---

6 SAKK. F. 160, op. 1, d. 257, l. 1 ob. – 2.

7 CCL LRE (1833). Collection 2. SPb. Vol. 7 (5284), 193–195.

merchant offered to give him these lands (that is, the right to trade with the local population, export "all outcomes of fishing and animal industries", develop minerals here) into a monopoly for 25 years, pledging to pay taxes and tributes for the local population in exchange, to provide residents with bread, to maintain a physician and a Cossack team at his own expense (Krivoshein, 1865: 14-17). This story is also cited in the "Eastern Review" for 1896, an anonymous correspondent of which, based on information reported by M.F. Krivoshein, like the latter, calls the merchant Kobachev the author of the project "On Promoting the Welfare of the Turukhansk Territory Residents," and writes that the latter "was a wonderful person for his time." He knew well the needs of the region, and his project almost received approval. After his death, many other merchants, encouraged by his success, also submitted projects of different types of monopoly ownership of the region, but times have changed, and they did not arouse sympathy."[8] By "some individuals" he meant the entrepreneur Lavrovsky, who also "submitted a project on taking the Turukhansk Territory for rent" (Krivoshein, 1865: 14). This plot, of course, is not ignored by A.I. Kytmanov's "Brief Chronicle" (Kytmanov, 2016: 325).

Having become independent, A.A. Kobychev, still being a very young man, already "enjoyed great respect in the local community." In 1846, he was elected the Yenisei mayor for three years – he was only 25 years old, which was a rare case for such an age to take up such a responsible position. It is important to say, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich justified the trust shown to him by fellow citizens. During the service, he set up exchange shops at his own expense and bought good furniture for the City Duma, for which he spent 2 thousand roubles in silver; during the great flood of 1848, he distributed bread to people in need, and this helped to lower prices (while "the gold miners Solovyovs travelled around the flooded city with music and singing"). Remembering and appreciating all this, the society awarded

AA Kobychev a commendation sheet "for his striving for the benefit of the public, exemplary care for increasing city incomes", and in 1852 the residents of Yeniseisk again elected him to the same post (Kytmanov, 2016: 284, 293, 319).

But without even being in the service, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich continued to engage in charity work, showing himself as a generous donor for the needs of the Orthodox Church: he built a second chapel to the Assumption Church, consecrated on August 25, 1843 in the name of the Holy Prince Alexander Nevsky (Shanin, 2011: 311); raised money for casting the largest bell in the city weighing 500 pounds for the Resurrection Church, which in 1850, "with a huge gathering of people" was raised to the bell tower. For all his deeds A.A. Kobychev was awarded a gold medal with the inscription "For zeal." The good deeds of Aleksandr Aleksandrovich made the Yeniseisk citizens deeply regret his death in 1856, and "many" people came to see him on his final journey (Kytmanov, 2016: 308, 341).

Not only the city, but also the higher authorities had every reason to distinguish Aleksandr Aleksandrovich from local society. It is no accident that the Yenisei civil governor V.K. Padalka "always stayed" in his house, as well as the Governor-General of Eastern Siberia N.N. Muravyov (Kytmanov, 2016: 297, 308) in 1850. V.K. Padalka, an honest, fair person and an energetic administrator (Berdnikov, 1995: 55–56, 60), was generally "on great friendly terms" with A.A. Kobychev (Kytmanov, 2016: 297). At the same time, it is characteristic that, like his father, A.A. Kobychev was in conflict with the city authorities. A.I. Kytmanov reports that he was in "bad relations" with the Yenisei city mayor Vakhrushev, who "even after the death of Kobychev [...] picked holes in the permission to bury him in the fence of the convent". Following Aleksandr Grigor'evich, A.A. Kobychev wanted his heirs not to depend on the authorities (Kytmanov, 2016: 319).

The last known representative of the dynasty, but, apparently, no longer among the merchants, was Aleksandr Aleksandrovich (born in 1843) – a complete namesake of his father, who, like all his ancestors-merchants,

---

[8] Turukhanskii krai [The Turukhansk Territory] (1896). In *Vostochnoe obozrenie* [*Eastern Review*], 116 (dated October, 2), 3.

left a noticeable mark in the history of Yeniseisk. He probably tried for some time to continue the family business – most likely, in 1859 he was one of the main smelters of supplies in Yeniseisk, including bread delivered from Minusinsk and Krasnoyarsk districts ("Matonin, Tokarev, Funtosov, Gryaznov Danilov, Zaitsev, Kobychev, Efimov") (Kytmanov, 2016: 368). In the lists of capital owners of 1858, 1862 and later, he was never mentioned[9]; Obviously, information about him, as a hereditary honorary citizen, was entered into the town philistine book. The departure from broad commercial activity did not prevent him from remaining one of the most prominent and authoritative members of the Yenisei society. It was he who kept the family archive and advised A.I. Kytmanov, the author of "Brief Chronicle." In the 1860-1890s, he actively supported the Public Library at the Yenisei Museum of Local Lore: in particular, he presented it books on the gold industry, as well as printed Reports and News of the Russian Geographical Society. His merits were mentioned in a note by N.V. Skornyakov, published in the "Yenisei Provincial Gazette", "... I consider it my duty to bring gratitude to the Mr A.I. Dudkinsky, A.A. Kobychev, A.S. Popov, E.L. Polyakov and S.A. Moiseev for books and magazines presented for the public library. A librarian of the Yenisei Public Library Nikita Vissarionov Skornyakov. October 29, 1864."[10] In 1909 A.A. Kobychev was mentioned as an honorary guardian of the 5th Women's Parish School in Yeniseisk (Bykonya, Komleva, Pogrebnyak, 2012: 164).

So far, no information has been found about the family of Aleksandr Aleksandrovich. Perhaps, Evgenia Kobycheva, mentioned in the diary of the famous Krasnoyarsk archpriest Vasily Kasyanov, was in some relationship with him: on April 22, 1870, he wrote that he had sent her a letter to Jerusalem (Kasyanov, 2012: 43). Pilgrimage trips to the Holy Land were not uncommon: many wealthy people went on a long journey and even publicly announced their intentions. Thus, for example, in March 1867, an ad was posted in the press stating that

"Yenisei merchant Yakov Alekseev Panfilov, intending to go with his wife Stepanida Ivanovna to Jerusalem to worship St. places, what he was happy to inform the public about."[11]

In the 19th century, there were other people with the surname Kobychev among the Yenisei merchants, whose family ties with the main line of the merchant dynasty were not precisely established. The most famous among them is Kozma Kobychev, who in 1822 was listed as the only Yenisei merchant of the 1st guild. The aforementioned words of the founder of the merchant dynasty Grigorii Prokop'evich Kobychev about the inadmissibility of conflicts between heirs give reason to believe that Kozma could well be one of them, for example, the eldest son of G.P. Kobychev. Like Alexander Grigor'evich, Kozma was engaged in Kyakhta trade[12], however, apparently, far from being so successful – his sons Grigorii Kozmich (born in 1819) and Nikolai Kozmich (born in 1820 – mid-1860s) traded various goods and in the second half of the 1830s – early 1860s continued to declare capital only on the 3rd guild: in 1835 and 1838 Grigorii did[13], and since 1845 Nicholas did, who managed to return to the merchants again from the middle class[14]. The latter owned a house, which during a severe flood in May 1848 came close to water (Kytmanov, 2016: 292), and in the 1860s in the Yenisei city court examined a number of cases in which his name appeared. In 1863, a retired provincial secretary S.I. Tetskov, a trustee of the Tyumen 1st guild merchant A.G. Glaskov, collected debt from Nikolai Kozmich "for three bills of 1385 roubles."[15]. Next year, N.K. Kobychev was in the company of merchants (the Minusinsk merchant son Averyan Matonin, the Kolyvan merchant son Fedor Sorokin and the Yenisei merchant Aleksandr Kytmanov), who demanded A.S. Kalinin-Shushlyaev to return 22 386 roubles. 67 ½ k[16]. And yet N.K. Kobychev failed to improve his financial situation: in 1867 his widow Aglaida Ivanovna Kobycheva

---

[9] SAKK. F. 160, op. 1, d. 257, l. 1 ob – 20; op. 3, d. 670, l. 1 ob – 34 ob.
[10] YPG (1864), 46. 205.

[11] YPG (March 18, 1867), 11. 184.
[12] RSIA. F. 18, op. 4, d. 163, l. 141.
[13] RSIA. F. 18, op. 4, d. 589, l. 168 ob.
[14] SAKK. F. 160, op. 1, d. 257, l. 7 ob. – 8; op. 2, d. 19, l. 8–9; op. 3, d. 670, l. 11.
[15] YPG (January 19, 1863), 3. 23.
[16] YPG (July 4, 1864), 27. 273.

had to deal with the claim of S.I. Tetskov to recover 900 roubles in silver[17].

The sources also mention: the 3rd guild merchant Dmitry Aleksandrovich Kobychev who sold small goods in 1827,[18] the 2nd guild manufactory merchant Aleksei Ivanovich Kobychev, who was a member of the account committee of the Yenisei Public Bank (born in 1855), the councillor of the local city council Mikhail Stepanovich Kobychev, a candidate (assistant, deputy) of the city judge M.D. Kobychev (Kytmanov, 2012: 292, 460, 480, 527, 577, 592), a contributor to the Public Bank Savva Kobychev, whose successor demanded payment of interest for several years[19]. In 1912, the owners of real estate Mikhail Stepanovich and Faddey Alekseevich Kobychevs who paid apartment tax were mentioned in the list of electors for the 4th State Duma of Yeniseisk[20].

The name of M.D. Kobychev was associated with a case of refusal to perform the service of choice. This was not something exceptional: the services were burdensome, they required time and effort, and sometimes private means, and often the citizens, if given any opportunity, sought to avoid them. And yet the case cited by A.I. Kytmanov is very indicative from the point of view of the methods resorted to by people who wanted to evade service. According to the author of the "Brief Chronicle", in 1884 I.A. Popov was elected as a judge to the Yenisei City Court, while N.V. Skornyakov was elected as "a candidate for the judge position", who in a written request addressed to the governor "stated that he considers the service in this old obsolete institution to be inadequate to his convictions and cannot take an oath against

conscience". Then A.M. Borodkin was chosen instead of him, "but he also refused, presenting a certificate of illness from the doctor Zhilin," then the choice turned next to Matonin, but he referred to the fact that "he had just finished his service as a church warden." Finally, it came to M.D. Kobychev, "but this choice was unsuccessful: he presented the testimony of a doctor who certified that the painful manifestations of Kobychev probably depend on the constant immoderate consumption of alcoholic beverages." In the end, A. Borodkin agreed to take the position, having learned "about the upcoming abolition of the city court" (Kytmanov, 2012: 592).

Thus, the history of the Yenisei merchants Kobychevs, traced over four generations, emphasizes the important role of merchants in the life of the Siberian city, particularly they participated in the formation and development of its economy and public life, determined the level of cultural needs, interests and value guidelines of citizens. Having managed to make up capital in the fur trade, the Kobychevs entered the upper layers of the merchants of Yeniseysk, repeatedly performed public services in the city government, donated to the needs of the Orthodox Church, to improve the city, defended their opinions, not being afraid of clashes with the authorities. The dying of the dynasty in the second half of the 19th century can probably be partly explained by the inability to adapt to the challenges of the post-reform period, when the decline in the fur trade had to be compensated for by other areas of activity. And yet, in a relatively short period of their heyday, the Kobychevs managed to contribute to the development of their small homeland, showed themselves as initiative individuals, ready to come up with bold proposals for the economic development of the inaccessible northern territories of Siberia, whose names are worthy of the memory of their descendants.

---

[17] YPG (March 11, 1867), 10. 150-151.
[18] RSIA. F. 18, op. 4, d. 336, l. 154.
[19] YPG (1885), 44 (November 2). 9; 1(886), 18 (May 3). 8; (1887), 2 (May 30). 6.
[20] YPG. 1912. Appendix to No. 100 (August 1).

References

Barkova, A.I. (1887). Vospominaniia o sibirskoi zolotopromyshlennosti [Memories of the Siberian gold mining]. In *Sibirskii sbornik* [*Siberian coll2ection*]. St. Petersburg, 168–186.

Berdnikov, L.P. (1995). *Vsia krasnoiarskaia vlast': Ocherki istorii mestnogo upravleniia i samoupravleniia (1822–1916). Fakty, sobytiia, liudi* [*All Krasnoyarsk authorities: Essays on the history of local government and self-government (1822–1916). Facts, events, people*]. Krasnoyarsk, Publishing House, 320 p.

Bulankov, V.V., Shumov, K.Yu. (1999). *Eniseisk. Ocherki po istorii razvitiia i zastroiki goroda* [*Yeniseisk. Essays on the history of the development and building of the city*]. Krasnoyarsk, Publishing House, 216 p.

Bykonya, G.F., Komleva, E.V., Pogrebnyak, A.I. (2012). *Eniseiskoe kupechestvo v litsakh (XVIII – nachalo XX v.)* [*Yenisei merchants in persons (18th – beginning of 20th century)*]. Novosibirsk, Publishing House of the SB RAS, 316 p.

Eniseiskie gubernskie vedomosti [*Yenisei Provincial Gazette*] (1863). 3; (1864), 27, 46; (1867), 10, 11; (1885), 44; (1886), 18; (1887), 22; (1912), 100.

Kasyanov Vasily Dmitrievich, archpriest (2012). *Iz dnevnikov 1870–1897 gg.: v 2 kn. Avtor-sost. A.V. Brodneva* [*From the diaries of 1870–1897: in 2 books. Compiled by A.V. Brodneva*]. Krasnoyarsk, Eastern Siberia. Book 1.770 p.

Komleva, E.V. (2009). Kobychevy [The Kobychevs]. In *Istoricheskaia entsiklopediia Sibiri* [*Historical Encyclopaedia of Siberia*], Vol. 2. Novosibirsk, 96.

Komleva, E.V. (2012). Kobychevy [The Kobychevs]. In *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar' po istorii kupechestva i kommertsii Sibiri* [*Encyclopedic Dictionary of the History of Merchants and Commerce of Siberia*], Vol. 1. Novosibirsk, GEO, 317.

Krivoshein, M.F. (1865). *Eniseiskii okrug i ego zhizn'* [*Yenisei district and its life*], Vol. 1-2. St. Petersburg, Edition of the ERGS, 650 p.

Kytmanov, A.I. (2016). *Kratkaia letopis' Eniseiskogo uezda i Turukhanskogo kraia Eniseiskoi gubernii. 1594–1893 god / vstup. st. L.P. Berdnikova* [*Brief Chronicle of the Yenisei Uyezd and the Turukhansk Territory of the Yenisei Province. 1594–1893. Entry article by L.P. Berdnikov*]. Krasnoyarsk.

Mininkov, N.A., Korenevsky, A.V., Ivanesko, A.E. (2010). Chelovek «vtorogo plana» v kontekste sovremennoi istoriografii: piat' let spustia [The "background" man in the context of modern historiography: five years later]. In *V teni velikih: obrazy i sud'by: Sbornik nauch. statei. Seriia «Chelovek vtorogo plana v istorii»* [*In the shadow of the great: images and fates: Collection of scientific articles. Series "A Background Man in History"*]. St. Petersburg, 19–28.

Stepanov, A.P. (1835). *Eniseiskaia guberniia* [*Yenisei province*], Part 1-2. St. Petersburg, Conrad Wingeber Pres, 364 p.

Turukhanskii Krai [Turukhansk Territory] (1896). In *Vostochnoe obozrenie* [*Eastern Review*], 116 (October 2). 3-4.

Shanin, V.Ya. (2011). *Eniseiskaia letopis'. Khronologicheskii perechen' vazhneishikh dat i sobytij iz istorii Prieniseiskogo kraia. 1207–1834 gg* [*Yenisei Chronicle. A chronological list of the most important dates and events from the history of the Yenisei region. 1207–1834*]. Krasnoyarsk, Trend, 448 p.

List of abbreviations

SAKK – State Archive of the Krasnoyarsk Territory;
YPG – Yenisei Provincial Gazette;
IRGS – Imperial Russian Geographical Society;
KRMLL – Krasnoyarsk Regional Museum of Local Lore;
RSHA – Russian State Historical Archive;
CC LRE – Complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire.

Династия енисейских купцов Кобычевых: становление, предпринимательство, участие в общественной жизни

Е.В. Комлева

Институт истории Сибирского отделения РАН
Российская Федерация, Новосибирск

Аннотация. В статье рассматривается история одной из наиболее состоятельных и влиятельных купеческих династий Енисейска XIX в. – Кобычевых. Приводятся биографические данные (в том числе ранее неизвестные) о представителях разных поколений этого семейства. Характеризуется их хозяйственная деятельность, общественная служба, образ жизни. Реконструкция жизненного пути Кобычевых позволяет проследить закономерности, свойственные развитию всего сибирского купечества в целом и касающиеся условий и способов накопления первоначального капитала, сфер его последующего обращения, конфликтов и взаимодействия с региональной администрацией, влияния купцов на городскую среду. Анализ биографических сведений о Кобычевых, содержащихся в периодической печати и работах их современников, подчеркивает важное положение купечества в структуре сибирского городского социума и значительный вклад купцов в развитие экономики, общественной и культурной жизни региона.

Ключевые слова: сибирское купечество, Енисейск, Кобычевы, биография, хозяйственная деятельность, общественная служба, образ жизни.

Научные специальности: 07.00.00 – исторические науки, 24.00.00 – культурология.

Study of Recreation Forms During the Period of the Great Patriotic War by the Method of Oral History

Olga L. Lushnikova[a] and Viktor K. Lushnikov*[b]

[a]*Khakass Research Institute of Language, Literature and History*
Abakan, Republic of Khakassia, Russian Federation
[b]*Katanov Khakass State University*
Abakan, Republic of Khakassia, Russian Federation

Abstract. The paper concerns the recreation forms of the population of the South of Krasnoyarsk Krai during the Great Patriotic War. The purpose of this work is to give the general idea of recreation forms at that time. There are a lot of quantitative studies devoted to recreation in wartime, however, qualitative researches are more valuable for a deeper understanding of life in that period. The method of oral history is more relevant for this purpose because it allows exploring the direct people's experience in the past. The article is based on the interview data of 26 persons (aged 78–88 years) collected in the period of 2011–2017.

The analysis allowed outlining a general view of wartime recreation in the South of Krasnoyarsk Krai. Firstly, the study revealed diverse forms of recreation. These are reading books in libraries, listening to the radio, going to the theaters and circus (both local and visiting), and mobile cinemas. Evening dancing parties to live concertina, accordion or bayan music, and in some places to the brass band can be called a special form of recreation. Secondly, this study found differences between urban and rural recreation. Rural people had fewer opportunities for recreational activities. For example, in rural areas most libraries were closed due to the lack of funding. Thirdly, interpersonal communication, which allowed people to relax, to have rest and to share their experiences and emotions with other people, played a very important role.

Keywords: forms of recreation, the Great Patriotic War, oral history, memories; cultural life.

Research area: history, sociology of culture.

* Corresponding author E-mail address: oltolt@mail.ru, viktorlushnikov@yandex.ru
 ORCID: 0000–0002–1440–1505 (Lushnikova); 0000–0002–7832–2064 (Lushnikov)

Introduction

The Great Patriotic War is one of the most significant events in the 20th century. There are many studies devoted to this issue in historical, anthropological, and cultural sciences. However, the scientific construction of the war is not enough. Rational scientific theories with logical explanation do not allow understanding the real people's life: their opinions, feelings, and experiences. For this reason, contemporary studies focus on an individual person, his/her worldview, world perception, attitudes, needs, values, interests, etc.

The popular orientation as a method of oral history allowed studying not only today's people but also experience of persons in the past. This method provides the collection of personal data about the experience of events in the war period, their assessments, opinions, and feelings. Oral history can be an additional way of study.

The study of everyday life is a very topical issue in contemporary science (Narskii, 2007), especially in the period of the Great Patriotic War. The widespread issue about the Great Patriotic War is everyday life with its diverse aspects – dwelling, food, clothing, behaviour, mentality, culture, and recreation. The scientific study of recreation forms implies the examination of activities of cultural institutions directed at satisfaction of cultural needs and interests.

The issue of recreation during the period of the Great Patriotic War attracts researchers from different scientific fields of various regions. There is a series of comparative studies about the culture of the pre-war and war periods. L.I. Batyuk pays attention to the predominance of a patriotic nature of recreation of the war period instead of international ideas of the pre-war period. Performing arts and musical arts were focused on the formation of patriotic feeling in the fight against fascism of the war period (Batyuk, 2005: 20).

Several scientists study the activities of cultural institutions. They emphasise the patriotic role of the cinema during the war period (Maksakova, 1977: 31–33). Some of them note diverse difficulties for the effective activity of clubs, theatres, and cinemas due to reduc-

tion in funding. Despite the problems, new art works were created. It was as a hope to win and a very strong motivation for the war and work achievements (Shmatov, 2003: 217). O.G. Zhukova writes about new methods in the activity of cultural institutions during the war period. Travelling exhibitions, agitation trains, ships, vans, mobile libraries, and theatres are among them (Zhukova, 2013: 21).

One of the common problems is the issue of recreation and cultural institutions activity, which were of great interest for diverse researches from the central part of the country. A.I. Nazarov compares different forms of recreation among the rural and urban youth in Tambov Oblast. In the countryside the youth's recreation was impacted by the traditional culture and peasant way of life. There were various forms of recreation for rural young people, such as the cinema, theatre, sport activities, competitions, and dances (Nazarov, 2010: 21–22).

The study of recreation during the Great Patriotic War in Siberia is also a widespread field (studies about rural lifestyle, cultural institutions, and sociocultural environment). Despite the reduction of cultural processes intensity (state cinema decreased by two-thirds, the number of spectators halved) (Shalak, 2000: 367), cultural life of Siberia (especially the performing art) developed due to evacuation (famous persons were from the central part of the country) (Ziablitseva, 2011: 133, 419–420). Young people found time to have fun; they arranged "spot parties" with singing and dancing to the balalaika and guitar (Bukin, 1991: 32–40).

The first scientific works about recreation in the South of Krasnoyarsk Krai during the period of the Great Patriotic War appeared in the 1940s. General information about cultural life in Krasnoyarsk Krai is represented in diverse collective monographs of the 2000s (Zamyshliaev, 2010: 50–60; Elizov, 2012: 17).

S.P. Ulturgashev made the significant contribution into the study of the war period of the Khakass territory, particularly into the field of everyday life (Ulturgashev, 1963; Ulturgashev, 1987). Many other scientists explore the cultural life and recreation of Khakassia (Artamono-

va, 2000; Liubimtseva, 1999; Troiakova, 2007; Tuguzhekova, 1993; Feoktistova, 2004; Lushnikov, 2014).

Thus, on the whole the issue of cultural life of different regions of the war period is sufficiently studied, despite the fact that the recreation and cultural interests of people are studied insufficiently. Besides, the present article focuses on the forms of recreations and cultural needs among the population of Khakassia and the South of Krasnoyarsk Krai during the war period.

Theoretical framework

The methodological basis of the study is "oral history". In the 1930s–1940s the given method was established by Allan Nevins in Columbia University as a unique method for the collection of memories of famous persons in American history (Perks, Thomson, 1998). The meaning of the method is in understanding of historical events by personal memories of eyewitnesses.

Oral history is a special method of data collection where a researcher and a interviewee are involved in the process of storytelling. Personal narrative can vary from a long to brief period of personal life. The unique feature of oral history is the study of personal lives from their point of view. How do they generate their own reality, produce personal experience, form life conditions, develop values, views, etc.? This method is truly relevant in interpretation cases of individual perception of significant social changes and incidents.

An evident advantage of oral history is the study of unavailable facts unrecorded in written sources. It allows expanding the opportunities of historical and sociocultural study of the past.

However, oral history is a very subjective method based on personal experience of a interviewee and its interpretation of a researcher. It causes doubts about the reliability of the collected data. Interviewees or participants of historical events often confuse dates, names, and facts. As a rule, interviewees remember very important events and circumstances for themselves or experiences which are still fresh in memory. Personal views are often connected

with the current experience of the past instead of the experience which was valuable in the past.

In addition, it is necessary to note the situational frames of an interview – expectations of participants, conditions, purpose of a meeting, and other factors. The difficulty of the given method is caused by a transcription problem from verbal into written speech. Timbre, tempo, volume of voice, intonation, and pauses – these characteristics impact the significance of storytelling. It is impossible to display it without a change of meaning.

The method of oral history also generates ethical problems. Firstly, it is a problem of responsibility for preservation and interpretation of the collected data. Secondly, it may cause moral damage. For example, some memories can be painful or too secret for interviewees.

Despite advantages and explicit disadvantages, oral history is successfully used in historical, anthropological, sociological and cultural studies, because it allows exploring individual experience within historical context. It is the result of convergence of historical, social, and cultural sciences.

Methods

The development of the method of "oral history" in Russia got widespread use during the period of the Great Patriotic War. The Commission on the Great Patriotic War's history was founded by the USSR Academy of Sciences in 1942. The heads of this Commission were G.F. Aleksandrov, Professor, Director of Agitation and Propaganda Section of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) and Mints, the Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences (Al'tman, 1991: 47–64).

The main purpose of the Commission was the collection of materials unrecorded in archives. The members of the Commission used methods of interview, transcribing storytelling, memories about the war and daily life. Participants of battles gave the most important information in the form of life stories of their commanders, political workers, and other soldiers.

After the war, the Commission was disbanded. At the present time 17422 archive

works are grouped into 13 thematic chapters. The biggest array of private documents is in such chapters as "The Partisan Movement", "History of Military Units and Divisions", "Materials of History of the Defense of Moscow". These are mainly transcripts, interview notes, stories, memories of soldiers and commanders, manuscripts, diaries, letters, essays, poems, and songs enriching the database of the Great Patriotic War. These sources are very valuable for micro-historic processes, for the detailed reconstruction of the basis of everyday life, these historical sources enable us to explore everyday life.

The similar array was collected by different scientists of diverse regions of the country, particularly of Krasnoyarsk Krai and the Republic of Khakassia (Dorogi Pobedy…, 2005; Zdravstvuite!..., 2005; Minusintsy i Velikaia Otechestvennaia voina…, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2015).

The current work is based on the data of interviews of twenty peoples aged 78–88 years old from various settlements of the South of Krasnoyarsk Krai (12 men and 14 women). By the moment of the beginning of the war 18 interviewees lived in the rural area and 8 interviewees lived in the urban area. Only four interviewees had a job, while other interviewees attended different educational institutions (pedagogical college, school).

Discussion

This study is focused on the features of recreation during the Great Patriotic War in the territory of the South of Krasnoyarsk Krai and Khakassia. The article considers the forms of recreation through the prism of cultural needs and interests met by listening to the radio, reading books, newspapers and magazines, visiting museums, cinema, theatre, concerts, etc.

Many interviewees who lived in the countryside during that period, assert that their families did not have the radio. Only prosperous families had a radio set at home. As a rule, those families received different newspapers (district, regional ("Sovetskaya Khakasiya", "Khyzyl-Aal"), territorial ("Krasnoyarsky rabochy"), and central ones ("Pionerskaya Pravda", "Pravda", "Izvestiya").

Libraries are some of the most important cultural institutions. In the opinion of the majority of the interviewees, reading rooms, located in the mid-size and large villages, were not popular among the population. The archival data can explain reasons of that situation. Most reading rooms were closed due to the absence of librarians, lack of firewood, scarcity of a book stock and the absence of lighting, since libraries were used for other purposes (DDMH. Coll. 12. Aids. 12. Fol. 9. PP. 37–38).

Some reading rooms contained approximately 40–300 books, newspapers, and magazines (NARKH. Coll. R-169. Aids. 1. Fol. 328. PP. 44–45). Urban inhabitants had more opportunities for reading. According to the memoirs of interviewee, she liked reading books of Russian classics (works of Gogol and Pushkin) in the evenings in the light of stove (*interviewee № 7*).

Official sources about the forms of recreation in this territory during the war held little information. Only the library of Minusinsk Regional Museum of Local Lore named after N.M. Martyanov keeps data about the book stock. In the period of the Great Patriotic War the library had about 60 thousand books. Nearly 7–12 thousand readers visited the library. But they could read different literature only in reading rooms (AMKM. Coll. 1. Aids. 1. Fol. 455. P. 9; Fol. 603. P. 5; Fol. 606. P. 11; Fol. 608. P. 6; P. 613. P. 12, 27).

The majority of the interviewees who lived in the rural area, do not remember mobile cinemas, visiting theatre actors or amateur artists. Mobile performances often have come to large villages (Kokova, 1991). As a rule, visiting theatre and circus performances arrived in Abakan from Krasnoyarsk. For instance, the interviewee remembers: "In summer circus arrived in Abakan from Krasnoyarsk. I read about this in newspapers. I went to the cinema once." (*interviewee № 13*).

Among visiting theatres there were the United State Dnepropetrovsk and Odessa Opera and Ballet Theatres, Krivorozhsk Ukrainian Drama Theatre of the October Revolution, the Ukrainian Theatre of Musical Comedy and Drama of Molotov Regional De-

partment of Arts, the Theatre of Musical Comedy Midgets, Circus tent, stage masters from the All-Union Bureau of Stage. They showed series of performances in Abakan, Chernogorsk, Minusinsk and other towns in the territory of the South of Krasnoyarsk Krai. Let us mention some of those performances such as "Oi, ne khody Gritsu tai vechernitsy" ("Oh, Don't Go to Gritsu in The Evenings"), "Natalka-Poltavka", "Tsyganka Aza" ("Gypsy Aza") (Krasnoyarskii rabochii, 1943), "Bestalanna" ("Untalented"), "Zaporozhets za Dunaem" ("A Zaporozhian beyond the Danube"), "Svad'ba v Malinovke" ("The Wedding in Malinovka") (Sovetskaia Khakassiia, 1941), "Roz-Mari" ("Rose Marie"), "Fialka Monmartra" ("The Violet of Montmartre"), "Krasnaia shapochka" ("Little Red Riding Hood"), etc.

Local theatres carried out effective activity as well. The Khakass National Theatre showed plays in the Khakass language based on the works by M.S. Kokov and A.M. Topanov – "Akun", "Stalnye serdtsa" ("Steel Hearts"), "Iuny geroi" ("The Young Hero"), "Krov' za krov'" ("Blood for Blood"), "Odurachennyi Khorkhlo" ("Fooled Khorkhlo") (NARKH. Coll. 169. Aids. 1. Fol. 290. PP. 107–108). Regional Drama Theatre had an extensive repertoire of Russian and foreign classics – "Bez viny vinovatye" ("Guilty Without Guilt"), "Maskarad" ("Masquerade"), "Khoziaika gostinitsy" ("The Landlady"), "Mary Tudor", "Machekha" ("Stepmom"), "Zhenit'ba Figaro" ("The Marriage of Figaro"), "Prodolzhenie sleduet" ("To Be Continued"), "Birthday", "Paren' iz nashego goroda" ("A Lad from Our Town"), "Nashestvie" ("Invasion"), etc. (Artamonova, Lushnikov, 2016). The price of a theatre ticket ranged from 8 to 13 rubles (Artamonova, 2012). It is very expensive in comparison with the price of a cinema ticket. The interviewee remembers: "A ticket to the cinema in Chernogorsk was cheap, it was 15 kopecks." (interviewee № 24).

It explains the high cinema attendance in that period. New movies were shown regularly, twice a week. "Sem'ia Oppengeim" ("The Oppenheim Family"), "Kain and Abel", "Tanker Derbent", "Timur and His Squad", "Combat Movie Collections", "A Great Life", "Anton Ivanovich Is Angry", "The Defeat of The German Forces Near Moscow", etc. were among them.

There is data about concert tours of gypsy artists, artists of the Union Tour and Concert Association, Alma-Ata Philharmonic Orchestra, Kiev singers (Elga Arens, violin Joseph Kogan, piano Simon Kogan).

A part of interviewees remember about dancing to the concertina, accordion, and bayan music (interviewee № 6, 16, 24, 26). The interviewee remembers: "We enjoyed the concertina and danced polka and krakowiak" (interviewee № 26). But few of them visited dances due to the lack of decent clothes (interviewee № 2, 7, 10).

The unique practice in the countryside was spontaneous evening meetings. They involved a concertina player, dancing and singing (interviewee № 3, 22). The interviewee says about evenings when young girls and women knitted socks for soldiers (interviewee № 11). In interviewee's memoirs a brass band was in the collective farm of village Troitskoe (interviewee № 10). It was a gift to people for their work achievements. This brass band played while sending soldiers to the front.

An important part of everyday life was interpersonal communication after non-working hours, and especially during celebrations. All interviewees remember the holidays (May 1st, November 7th, Easter, Christmas and New Year). They dyed eggs with onion peel, made toys, decorated the New Year tree, have prepared modest gifts. For some people personal communication was a single form of recreation necessary for moral recovery at that hard time.

Conclusion

Thus, the method of oral history allows clarifying particularly useful information and expanding the data of other sources in the process of studying everyday life during the Great Patriotic War. In particular, there are significant differences between official reports and information from the interviewees.

The study of recreation forms during the war period reveals its various forms. There are reading books, newspapers (mainly regional

and sometimes central) and magazines in libraries, listening to the radio, going to the theaters and circus (both local and visiting), and mobile cinemas. Evening dancing parties to live concertina, accordion or bayan music, and in some places to the brass band can be called a special form of recreation

These studies found differences between the recreation activities of urban and rural people. Obviously, urban inhabitants had more opportunities for diverse recreation because of variety of cultural life, accessibility and low ticket prices. Rural people had fewer opportunities for recreation activities. For example, in rural areas most libraries were closed due to the lack of funding. Even though visiting theatres, circus and mobile cinemas came with tours to the countryside, they mainly visited large villages or settlements. During that period evacuation also impacted the development of cultural institutions. Holidays were an important part of everyday life. Many interviewees remember some details in the process of preparation for their celebration.

Interpersonal communication, which allowed people to relax, to rest and to share their experiences and emotions with other people, plays a very important, and perhaps, key role. Thus, despite the war, people found diverse ways to relax and meet their cultural needs and interests.

It is necessary to continue collecting memories of people who lived in that war period. The number of participants and witnesses of the Great Patriotic War has reduced. We have the last chance to reveal and preserve valuable information about everyday life of those people, their experiences, views, and feelings for the future generation.

The list of interviewees (interview was conducted by V.K. Lushnikov, survey geography: Khakassia):

1. Antonovich Elizaveta Anisimovna 23.02.1926 year of birth, interview was conducted on 22.12.2016 in Abakan.

2. Burika Iakov Dem'ianovich 16.01.1929 year of birth, interview was conducted on 07.08.2012 in Troitskoe by Bograd district.

3. Cheltyshev Sergei Vladimirovich 20.03.1926 year of birth, interview was con-ducted on 22.11.2012 in Kop'evo by Ordzhoni-kidzev district.

4. Dobrov Semen Timofeevich 27.04.1929 year of birth, interview was conducted on 30.05.2012 in Novomar'iasovo by Ordzhoni-kidzev district.

5. Grishkova Kseniia Nikolaevna 31.01.1925 year of birth, interview was conducted on 22.03.2017 in Abakan.

6. Korzun Mariia Antonovna 15.08.1922 year of birth, interview was conducted on 17.10.2012 in Shira.

7. Krivonogova Zinaida Mikhailovna 08.11.1928 year of birth, interview was conducted on 05.08.2012 in Minusinsk.

8. Kuzhakov Georgii Prokop'evich 10.05.1924 year of birth, interview was conducted on 02.05.2012 in Anchul by Tashtip district.

9. Kyzlasova Klara Romanovna 31.08.1927 year of birth, interview was conducted on 22.03.2017 in Abakan.

10. Mal'tseva Vera Grigor'evna 12.10.1923 year of birth, interview was conducted on 07.08.2012 in Troitskoe by Bograd district.

11. Mazniakova Antonida Anatol'ev-na 26.03.1934 year of birth, interview was conducted on 12.08.2015 in Kalinino by Ust-Abakan district.

12. Mikheeva Valentina Aleksandrovna 14.03.1927 year of birth, interview was conducted on 21.09.2012 in Abakan.

13. Miller Nina Alekseevna 21.06.1922 year of birth, interview was conducted on 21.12.2016 in Abakan.

14. Morozov Georgii Gavrilovich 09.05.1927 year of birth, interview was conducted on 26.12. 2017 in Chernogorsk.

15. Netepenko Elena Grigor'evna 19.01.1930 year of birth, interview was conducted on 21.09.2012 in Abakan.

16. Ol'khovik Tais'ia Vasil'evna 05.03.1928 year of birth, interview was conducted on 26.11.2016 in Chernogorsk.

17. Piskunov Evgenii Il'ich 26.05.1924 year of birth, interview was conducted on 08.09.2017 in Abakan.

18. Ponomareva Zoia Vasil'evna 08.03.1932 year of birth, interview was conducted on 03.05.2011 in Tashtip by Tashtip district.

19. Putintseva Valentina Lavrent'evna 22.02.1929 year of birth, interview was conducted on 22.06.2012 in Abakan.

20. Romanova Anna Ivanovna 20.12.1926 year of birth, interview was conducted on 22.05.2012 in Chernogorsk.

21. Tepliashin Nikolai Trofimovich 21.12.1933 year of birth, interview was conducted on 11.03.2017 in Minusinsk.

22. Turtugeshev Innokentii Filippovich 05.12.1925 year of birth, interview was conducted on 02.03.2011 in Balyksa by Askiz district.

23. Shatalov Semen Ermolaevich 13.09.1930 year of birth, interview was conducted on 10.10.2017 in Abakan.

24. Shushenachev Innokentii Vasil'evich 26.02.1923 year of birth, interview was conducted on 06.12.2012 in Abakan.

25. Shevchenko Petr Ivanovich 23.09.1928 year of birth, interview was conducted on 03.09.2016 in Minusinsk.

26. Vasil'ev Prokopii Egorovich 11.09.1929 year of birth, interview was conducted on 21.09.2012 in Abakan.

References

Al'tman, M.M. (1991). *Organizatsiia sobiraniia i ispol'zovaniia dokumentov lichnogo proiskhozhdeniia o Velikoi Otechestvennoi voine: Iz opyta raboty TSGA SSSR i gosudarstvennykh arkhivov RF* [*The Organisation of Collection and Using of Personal Papers of the Great Patriotic War: From the Experience of the CSA of the USSR and The State Archives of the Russian Federation*]. Moscow, 204 p.

Arkhiv Minusinskogo regional'nogo kraevedcheskogo muzeia imeni N.M. Mart'ianova [*The Archives of the Minusinsk Regional Museum of Local Lore named after N.M. Martyanov*]. (AMKM). Collection 1. Aids 1. Folder 455. PP. 9; Folder 603. PP. 5; Folder 606. PP. 11; Folder 608. PP. 6; PP. 613. PP. 12, 27.

Artamonova, N.Ia. (2000). *Intelligentsiia Vostochnoi Sibiri: opyt formirovaniia i deiatel'nosti (konets XIX – seredina XX vv.)* [*Intellectuals of Eastern Siberia: The Experience of Formation and Activity (late 19th – mid 20th centuries)*]. Moscow, Prometei, 237 p.

Artamonova, N.Ia. (2012). Teatral'noe iskusstvo v Khakasii v gody Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny [Theatre Art in Khakassia in the Period of the Great Patriotic War]. In *Vestnik Khakasskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta* [*The Bulletin of Katanov State University of Khakassia*], 1, 42–46.

Artamonova, N.I., Lushnikov, V.K. (2016). Teatral'noe iskusstvo v povsednevnoi zhizni naseleniia Khakasii v gody Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny [Theatre Art in Everyday Life of Population of Khakassia in The Period of the Great Patriotic War]. In *Problemy sotsial'no-ekonomicheskogo razvitiya Sibiri* [*Problems of Socio-Economic Development of Siberia*], 3 (25), 75–81.

Batyuk, L.I. (2005). *Kul'tura Rossii v gody Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny* [*The Culture of Russia in the Period of the Great Patriotic War*]. Moscow, 22 p.

Bukin, S.S. (1991). *Opyt sotsial'no-bytovogo razvitiia gorodov Sibiri (vtoraia polovina 1940–1950 gg.)* [*The Experience of Socio-Household Development in Siberian Cities (The Second Half of the 1940s and 1950s)*]. Novosibirsk, Nauka, 238 p.

Dorogi Pobedy. Vospominaniia krasnoyartsev-vereranov fronta i tyla Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny 1941–1945 gg. [*Ways of the Victory. Memories of Krasnoyarsk Veterans of the Front and Rear of the Great Patriotic War of 1941–1945s*] (2005). Krasnoyarsk, Krasnoyarsk Publisher, 296 p.

Elizov, A.G. (2012). *Povsednevnaia zhizn' gorodskogo naseleniia Krasnoyarskogo kraia v seredine 1940–h – seredine 1960–h gg.* [*Everyday Life of Urban Population of Krasnoyarsk Krai in the Middle of 1940s –1960s*]. Irkutsk, 26 p.

Feoktistova, T N. (2004). *Istoriia stanovleniia i razvitiia muzeinogo dela v Khakasii v XX veke: 1928–2003* [*The History of Establishment and Development of Museums in Khakassia in the 20th century: 1928–2003*]. Abakan, 196 p.

Gosudarstvennoe kazennoe uchrezhdenie Respubliki Khakasiya "Natsional'nyi arkhiv" [*State Institution of the Republic of Khakassia "The National Archives"*]. (NARKH). Collection R-169. Aids 1. Folder 328. PP. 44–45. Collection 169. Aids 1. Folder 290. PP. 107–108.

Kokova, E.M. (1991). *Chon charii. Iz istorii Khakasskogo dramaticheskogo teatra* [*Chon Charii. From the History of the Khakass Drama Theatre*]. Abakan, Khakass Publisher, 168 p.

Kostiakova, Iu.B. (2007). *Stanovlenie i razvitie sistemy massovogo radioveshchaniia v natsional'nykh raionakh Iuzhnoi Sibiri (1928–1961)* [*The Establishment and Development of the System of Mass Radio Broadcasting in the Ethnic Regions of Southern Siberia (1928–1961)*]. Abakan, 197 p.

Krasnoyarskii rabochii [*The Krasnoyarsk Worker*], 1943, 31 of December.

Liubimtseva, O.Iu. (1999). *Kul'turno-prosvetitel'skaia rabota v Khakassii (1941–1965 gg.)* [*The Cultural and Educational Activity in the Khakassia (1945–1965s)*]. Abakan, 24 p.

Lushnikov, V.K. (2014). Kul'turnaia zhizn' naseleniia iuga Krasnoyarskogo kraia v gody Velikoi Otechesstvennoi voiny [Cultural Life of Population of the South of Krasnoyarsk Region in the Period of Great Patriotic War]. In *Mart'ianovskie kraevedcheskie chteniya (2012–2013 gg.)* [*Mart'ianov Readings (2012–2013s)*]. Minusinsk, 8, 265–269.

Maksakova, L.V. (1977). *Kul'tura Sovetskoi Rossii v gody Velikoi Otechesstvennoi voiny* [*The Culture of Soviet Russia in the Period of the Great Patriotic War*]. Moscow, Nauka, 343 p.

Minusintsy i Velikaia Otechestvennaia voina... [*Minusinsk People and the Great Patriotic War...*] (2010). Ed. L.N. Ermolaeva. Abakan, Zhurnalist, 128 p.

Minusintsy i Velikaia Otechestvennaia voina... [*Minusinsk People and the Great Patriotic War...*] (2011). Ed. L.N. Ermolaeva. Abakan, Zhurnalist, 272 p.

Minusintsy i Velikaia Otechestvennaia voina... [*Minusinsk People and the Great Patriotic War...*] (2012). Ed. L.N. Ermolaeva. Abakan, Zhurnalist, 220 p.

Minusintsy i Velikaia Otechestvennaia voina... [*Minusinsk People and the Great Patriotic War...*] (2015). Ed. L.N. Ermolaeva. Abakan, Zhurnalist, 308 p.

Narskii, I.V. (2007). Novyi fundamental'nyi trud o rossiiskoi povsednevnosti [The New Fundamental Work on Russian everyday life]. In *Otechestvennaia istoriia* [*National History*], 4, 158–164.

Nazarov, A.I. (2010). *Povsednevnnaia zhizn' molodezhi v sovetskom tylu v gody Velikoi Otechesstvennoi voiny 1941–1945 gg. (Na materialah Tambovskoi oblasti* [*Everyday Life of Youth in The Soviet Rear in the Period of Great Patriotic War 1941–1945s. On the Materials of Tambov Region*]. Tambov, 24 p.

Otdel dokumentov noveishei istorii [*Department of Documents of Modern History*]. (DDMH). Collection 12. Aids 12. Folder 9. PP. 37–38.

Orlov, I.B. (2014). *Teoriia i metodologiia istorii* [*The Theory and Methodology of History*]. Volgograd, Uchitel', 504 p.

Perks, R., Thomson, A. (1998). *The Oral History Reader.* London and New York, Routledge, 480 p.

Shalak, A.V. (2000). *Usloviia zhizni naseleniia Vostochnoi Sibiri (1940–1950 gg.)* [*Life Conditions of the Population of Eastern Siberia (1940–1950s)*]. Irkutsk, 464 p.

Shmatov, V.N. (2003). *Goroda Srednego Povolzh'ia v period Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny* [*Cities of the Middle Volga Region in the Period of the Great Patriotic War*]. Samara, 256 p.

Sovetskaia Khakassiia [*The Soviet Khakassia*], 1941, 15, 17, 29 of October; 1, 25 of November; 15, 16, 18 of December.

Troiakova, Iu.K. (2007). *Hudozhestvennaia intelligentsiia natsional'nyh raionov Yuzhnoi Sibiri: problemy formirovaniia i rosta (1945–1965 gg.)* [*Artistic Intellectuals of the Ethnic Regions of the Southern Siberia: Problems of Formation and Growth (1945–1965s)*]. Abakan, 26 p.

Tuguzhekova, V.N. (1993). *Iuzhnaia Sibir': poslevoennaia 1945–1965 gg.* [*The Southern Siberia: Post-War 1945–1965s*]. Abakan, Khakass Publisher, 194 p.

Ulturgashev, S.P. (1963). Khakassiia v gody Velikoi Otechesstvennoi voiny Sovetskogo Soiuza (iiun' 1941 goda – 1945 goda [Khakassia in the Period of Great Patriotic War (June of 1941s–1945s)]. In *Ocherki istorii Hakasii sovetckogo perioda* [*Essays of the History of Khakassia Soviet Period*], 198–229.

Ulturgashev, S.P. (1987). Khakasskaia oblastnaia partiinaia organizatsiia v period Velikoi Otechesstvennoi voiny (1941–1945) [The Khakass Regional Party Organization in the Period of Great Patriotic War 1941–1945s]. In *Ocherki istorii Khakasskoy oblastnoi organizatsii KPSS* [*Essays on the History of the Khakass Regional Organization of the CPSU*], 140–186.

Zamyshliaev, V.I. (2010). Sotsial'no-kul'turnyi potentsial Kracnoyarskogo kraya v gody Velikoi Otechesstvennoi voiny 1941–1945 gg. [Sociocultural Potential of Krasnoyarsk Region in the Period of Great Patriotic War 1941–1945s]. In *Sibirskii subetnos: kul'tura, traditsii, mental'nost': materialy VI Vserossiiskoi nauchno-prakticheskoi Internet-konferentsii na saite sib-subethnos.narod.ru / ed. N. I. Drozdov* [*Siberian Subethnos: Culture, Traditions, Mentality: Materials of the VI All-Russian Scientific and Practical Internet Conference on the Website sib-subethnos.narod.ru / ed. N. I. Drozdov*]. Krasnoyarsk, 50–60.

«Zdravstvuite!...» Frontovye pis'ma 1941-1945 gg. [*Hello!... Letters from the Front*] (2005). Abakan, Platina, 301 p.

Zhukova, O.G. (2013). *Povsednevnnaia zhizn' sovetskogo tyla v usloviiah Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny 1941–1945 gg.: istoricheskie i sotsial'no-kul'turnye aspekty* [*Everyday Life of the Soviet Rear in the Period of the Great Patriotic War 1941–1945: Historical and Socio-Cultural Aspects*]. Moscow, 24 p.

Ziablitseva, S.V. (2011). *Sotsiokul'turnyi potentsial Zapadnoi Sibiri i praktika ego realizatsii (1920–h – seredina 1950–h gg.)* [*Sociocultural Potential of Western Siberia and the Practice of its Realization (1920s – middle of 1950s)*]. Kemerovo, Publisher of KemGUKI, 472 p.

Изучение форм досуга в период Великой Отечественной войны методом устной истории

О.Л. Лушникова[а], В.К. Лушников[б]

[а]*Хакасский научно-исследовательский институт языка, литературы и истории*
Российская Федерация, Республика Хакасия, Абакан
[б]*Хакасский государственный университет им. Н.Ф. Катанова*
Российская Федерация, Республика Хакасия, Абакан

Аннотация. Статья посвящена исследованию форм досуга населения на территории юга Красноярского края в период Великой Отечественной войны. Цель данного исследования состоит в формировании общих представлений о формах досуга людей в этот сложный период. Достаточно много количественных исследований, посвященных досугу в военное время, однако для более глубокого понимания жизни людей в этот период лучше использовать качественные исследования. Для этой цели более целесообразным является метод устных историй, который позволяет исследовать непосредственный опыт людей в прошлом. Несмотря на субъективный характер, этот метод позволяет вскрыть недоступные факты, не зафиксированные в каких-либо письменных источниках. Содержание этой статьи основано на данных интервью 26 человек (в возрасте 78–88 лет), проводившихся с 2011 по 2017 годы Кроме того, в исследовании использовались данные архивных источников.

Проведенный анализ позволил обрисовать общую картину того, каким был досуг в годы войны на территории юга Красноярского края. Во-первых, исследование выявило разнообразие форм досуга. Это и чтение книг, прослушивание радио, походы в театр и цирк (как местный, так и приезжий), посещение киносеансов, в т. ч. передвижек. Особой формой досуга можно назвать вечёрки – танцы под гармошку, аккордеон, баян, а в некоторых местах и под духовой оркестр. Во-вторых, данные исследования обнаружили различия между городским и сельским досугом. У сельских жителей, как правило, было меньше возможностей для проведения досуга. К примеру, в сельской местности большая часть библиотек была закрыта

из-за отсутствия возможности их содержать. В-третьих, немаловажную роль играло межличностное общение, которое позволяло людям расслабиться, отдохнуть и поделиться своими впечатлениями и эмоциями с другими людьми.

Ключевые слова: формы досуга, Великая Отечественная война, устная история, воспоминания, культурная жизнь.

Научные специальности: 07.00.00 – исторические науки, 22.00.06 – социология культуры.

History of World and Russian Mammoth Studies

Vladimir S. Luzan[a], Alexandra A. Sitnikova[a],
Anastasia V. Kistova[a,b], Antonina I. Fil'ko[a],
Julia S. Zamaraeva[a], Ksenia V. Reznikova[a],
Maria A. Kolesnik[a], Natalia P. Koptseva[a],
Natalia N. Pimenova[a] and Natalia N. Seredkina*[a]

[a]Siberian Federal University
Krasnoyarsk, Russian Federation
[b]Krasnoyarsk Art Museum named after V.I. Surikov
Krasnoyarsk, Russian Federation

Abstract. The article is devoted to the study of the concept of the mammoth in regulatory documents and cultural practices. The analysis of both Russian and international experience allowed to generalise the existing legal provisions regarding the regulation of mammoths, as well as to determine the role of mammoths in the world and Russian culture, including the culture of the indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East. The methodological basis of the study is represented by the comparative analysis of sources and materials, historical-comparative and chronological methods, the historiographic method, as well as methods of philosophical and art history analysis. The study revealed the fact that in the field of legislation and legal regulation of extraction and sale of mammoth ivory in the world, the issue of the status of mammoths is raised only in connection with a discussion of the survival of rare species of elephants. Measures to prevent extermination of elephant population, encompassing a ban on trade, including trade of mammoth ivory, cause heated discussions and are controversial for craftsmen, antique dealers and art collectors. The issue of legal regulation in this area is particularly acute for the Russian Federation, due to the lack of a finalised legal and regulatory framework, both at the federal, regional and municipal levels. The image of the mammoth in the world and Russian culture is embodied in a number of visual practices. These are heraldry, animation, book graphics, sculpture and fine art. Sign and symbolic forms of the mammoth embody religious and mythological characteristics of the animal, demonstrating its significance in people's worldview, as well as indicating of the "living" memory of it in the modern world.

* Corresponding author E-mail address: vladimir_luzan@list.ru, decanka@mail.ru

ORCID: 0000–0002–0049–9417 (Lusan); 0000–0002–1622–2797 (Sitnikova); 0000–0002–5309–4616 (Kistova); 0000-0002-2787-423X (Fil'ko); 0000–0003–1299–6741 (Zamaraeva); 0000-0003-0889-4582 (Reznikova); 0000–0001–8194–7869 (Kolesnik); 0000–0003–3910–7991 (Koptseva); 0000–0002–0622–4465 (Pimenova); 0000–0002–9248–8810 (Seredkina)

Introduction

According to the studies by A. Smirnov (Smirnov, 2005), N.D. Kirillin (Kirillin, 2015) and other researches, most of the world reserves of the mammoth fauna are concentrated in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation, and 80% of Russian fossilised mammoth ivory extraction takes place in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia): potentially there are more than 500 thousand tons of mammoth ivory, with an estimated cost of about 100 million dollars. Consequently, the mammoth fauna and fossilised mammoth ivory are a significant research and economic resource of the Russian Federation, and indigenous peoples of the North, as well as the ones living in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) in particular, are actively involved in its collection and extraction.

Currently, there are several options for using mammoths' remains. Firstly, skeletal, cadaveric and bone remains are a basis for serious scientific research in the field of archaeology and biology, as well as valuable items for replenishing museum and private collections. Secondly, mammoth ivory is actively used for manufacturing souvenirs and material for bone carving art, which can be promisingly developed in the future.

The biggest challenge in the field of regulation of extraction and commercial use of the mammoth fauna is the fact that currently the Russian Federation does not have legislative basis in this area that would take into account the real experience of people and businesses in this sector, starting with the fact that there is no clear and fair mechanism in the legislation for getting mammoth remains from the population, finishing with the fact that the process of commercial use of mammoth remains for foreign buyers is bureaucratically complicated and, sometimes, it leads to criminalisation of activities in this area, as well as reduces an opportunity for the Russian Federation to receive economic benefits from selling mammoth ivory. Other significant issues are associated with the fact that mammoth ivory extraction is often carried out using environmentally harmful technologies, as well as the fact that unregulated commercial sales of mammoth remains lead to the risks of losing the samples that are most effectively used for research purposes.

The legislative framework in the field of work with the mammoth fauna is currently actively developing due to the growing interest of international partners in acquiring mammoth remains. The experts also see large potential for the development of bone carving art in the places of residence of the indigenous peoples of the North, where mammoth ivory is extracted. In particular, in 2018, the acting Head of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) A. Nikolaev approved the "Concept for the Development of Collection, Study, Use, Processing and Sale of Paleontological Materials of the Mammoth Fauna in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)" which is aimed at improving legislation in accordance with the real practice in this field and plan cost-effective, environmentally friendly and accessible for scientific study consumption of the mammoth fauna products.

Thus, the assertion that the mammoth fauna remains and fossilised mammoth ivory are a rare, valuable and unique economic and scientific resource of the Russian Federation, allows to define an analytical review of modern legal and cultural studies in the field of work with mammoths remains as the main theme of the present paper.

Literature review

It is possible to identify two big groups of studies devoted to the mammoth. The first group includes archaeological studies, where authors describe individual discoveries of mammoths' bones or carcasses, provide analyses' results, etc. (Seuru et al., 2017; Lozhkin et al., 2018; Djindjian, 2015; Roca, 2015; Maschenko et al., 2017). The second group of studies is focused on the potential opportunity for the mammoth revival (Browning, 2018; Piotrowska, 2018; Rohwer, Marris, 2018; McCauley et al., 2017; Okuno, 2017; Campbell, 2016). M. Piotrowska sees the issue of the probable mammoth revival in a taxonomic aspect: if a reborn creature will be a real mammoth or its adaptation to modern conditions on the basis of the closest species (Piotrowska, 2018). D. Campbell in his article argues with Beth Shapiro about the possibility of fossil animals revival and whether revived species be different from their fossilised ancestors (Campbell, 2016). H. Browning considers the issue of animals extinction in general and the possibility of reviving populations by cloning, re-introducing or breeding in captivity, while emphasising the factors that influence selection of the animals to be revived (Browning, 2018).

D.J. McCauley, M. Hardesty-Moore and others within the framework of the study of the potential revival of mammoths and other species of fossil animals, raise an issue that it is biologically possible, but whether it is environmentally feasible – how to restore the ecological function of the revived animals? They offer a number of options, such as revival of recently extinct species, or species that can be revived not individually, but as a sufficient population (McCauley et al., 2017). Y. Rohwer and E. Marris discuss ethical issues that will accompany potential revival of the mammoth, as well as scientific and economic benefits (Rohwer, Marris, 2018). E. Okuno is interested in the political and legal aspect of the extinct species revival, since there is no legal basis for the protection and regulation of extinct species, and the author is trying to create a prototype of such a basis in which revived species are considered from different points of view – as intellectual property, as genetically modified organisms, as commercial items, etc. (Okuno, 2017).

It is also necessary to mention articles devoted to the study of the mammoth, but not included in the two indicated groups. In particular, the article by N. Tomić, S.B. Marković and others is devoted to determining the potential of the recently opened public paleontological park (the first one in Serbia) in terms of tourist attractiveness (Tomić et al., 2015). N. Farah and J.R. Boyce trace the relationship between the increase or decrease in the level of elephant poaching and the amount of mammoth ivory supplies to the world market from Russia (Farah, Boyce, 2019). S.T. Hussain and H. Floss study the role of the mammoth and the cave lion in the sociocultural world of the *Aurignacians*, comparing the ways of their interaction, their place in the belief system, etc. (Hussain, Floss, 2015). L. Valls Plana, analyses the visual image of the mammoth created at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries in Catalonia, its saturation with scientific and social meanings and its connection with the concept of national identity (Plana, 2016).

Articles devoted to the study of individual northern concepts and northern legislation are also important for the present study, since their methods are useful for studying the images of the mammoth and the legislation related to it.

Research methods

Comparative analysis of sources and materials, historical-comparative and chronological methods, as well as the historiographic method form the methodological basis of the present study. Iconographic comparative analysis is the leading method in the section devoted to the image of the mammoth in the world and Russian culture, as well as in the culture of the indigenous peoples of Siberia and the North, and the methodology of philosophical and art history research that involves identifying the content of the artistic image of pieces of art by analysing forms, means and visualisation methods, is the leading method. Field study is one of the methods that was a source of data for the present study. The material was obtained as a result of a number of field expeditions carried out by the faculty of the Department of Cul-

tural Studies of the School for the Humanities of Siberian Federal University to the places of compact residence of indigenous peoples of the Krasnoyarsk Krai in the period from 2010 to 2019.

The study is based on the study of the existing research papers describing the history of the legal (statutory) regulation of mammoths in the world and in Russia, and peculiarities of the image of the mammoth in the world and Russian culture. The data from the field studies including those conducted by the faculty of the Department of Cultural Studies of the School for the Humanities of Siberian Federal University are used in the study in the process of assessing the specific features of the attitude to such a historical heritage as mammoth remains in the cultures of the indigenous peoples of the North and Siberia.

Images of the Mammoth in the World Culture

From the early 19th century to the present days in paleontological, archaeological and geological studies scientists have recorded facts of the geographical area of the mammoth, the structure of its body and lifestyle, and every time it becomes a sensational discovery about one of the most unusual types of animals (Lister, Bahn, 2017). Thus, the remains of an ancient animal found in 1883 in Catalonia became an information opportunity for the public consciousness modernisation: in 1907 a life-size reinforced concrete sculpture of the mammoth was created and installed (Fig. 1).

This city landmark became an object of public education about natural history and allowed palaeontology to go beyond the boundaries of academic discipline. In addition to that, the image of the mammoth became a part of printed images to form public opinion about the connection of the present with the distant past and the paleontological contribution to the world science to strengthen national identity of the Catalans. The rationalisation of the image of the mammoth gave Catalan palaeontology an opportunity to exclude controversial ideas

Fig. 1. The mammoth statue in the Parc de la Ciutadella, Barcelona, Spain. 1907
(The realistic mammoth statue in the Parc de la Ciutadella. Copyright: Barcelona Connect.
Copyright COME2BCN SL 2014. Company registration number B64614951
http://www.barcelonaconnect.com/el-born/)

about the extinct mammal, to contribute the raise in the level of urban mass culture, to reconstruct the scientific look of the mammoth and give it not only a cosmopolitan, but also a modern look in the natural urban landscape (Lister, Bahn, 2017). The image of the mammoth is currently preserved in cultural monuments in several cities, such as: a four-meter six-ton sculpture "Time" in the form of the imperial baby mammoth "Dima" found in 1977 in the Magadan Oblast symbolising the connection of the times for its residents (the city of Magadan, 2013); a sculptural group of seven figures of mammoths (Fig. 2), as if walking at the foot of the Samarovsky glacial remnant (2007-2009, "Archeopark" Khanty-Mansiysk), monuments to the mammoth erected at the place of its skeleton location (1841, the village of Kuleshovka, Sumy Oblast in Ukraine) or in a possible place of mammoths' habitat (2005, Salekhard). The image of the mammoth is of symbolic significance in the territorial heraldry of several settlements, next to which significant archaeological evidences were discovered: Srednekolymsk and Ust-Yansky Ulus (Yakutia), the settlement of Lugovskoy (Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug), the municipality Seedorf (Germany) and commune Prignac-et-Marcamps (Aquitaine, France). The symbolic image of the mammoth signifies strength, longevity, patience and wisdom.

On the one hand, the mammoth images in the world culture mostly correspond to the documentary and scientific image recorded in the photographs and drawings of archaeologists who carefully study the mummified mammoth remains, as well as in the discovered pieces of art of prehistoric people who saw these animals alive. B.A. Alpert (Alpert, 2010), for instance, illustrates the authentication process of an engraved image of the Pleistocene mammoth with cave paintings of the same period discovered by palaeontologist Édouard Lartet in 1864 in France, and it was concluded that the artefacts were authentic and the first painted images were skilfully accurate and unique. On the other hand, modern cross-cultural studies of cave images of the mammoth are repeatedly characterised by a totemic image, which, according to scientists, shamans asked for help during ritual ceremonies. Studying graphic images in the Mammoth Cave (the length of the studied part is 587 km, Kentucky, USA), L. Kistler (Kistler, 2015) developed the following hypothesis: petroglyphs and pictographs of the mammoth often differ from each other due to the fact that they are associated with shamanistic visions as a form of altered consciousness and represent an entopic phenomenon.

The artistic image of the mammoth occupies a central place in human self-determination, which is confirmed by a number of modern stories about the mammoth in book, cinematic and cartoon art. The cartoon image of the mammoth is vividly represented in *Ice Age* computer-*animated* comedy series (2002-2016), where it is repeatedly interpreted as 'the saviour of humankind' (the mammoth saves a human baby whose parents were killed by people). Respect for the image of the mammoth is implanted through book images. For example, the children's story *Mammoth Pie* by Jeanne Willis (2014) describes a prehistoric meeting between developing carnivorous humanity and an unknown species of a herbivorous ancient animal (Chrulew, 2011) (Fig. 3-4). The vivid visual image of a fat mammoth and hungry cavemen fed up with eating seeds and weeds, conveys the idea of their improvidence: even united and driven by a thirst for quick gain of the mammoth pie, people greatly underestimated the enemy.

As a result, it is possible to reveal an interesting fact that various interpretations of the image of the mammoth are largely associated with the phenomenon of collective identity. The visual image of a distant and unknown ancestor constructed by humankind is conveyed in a number of stable sociocultural characteristics: unification (group, social, territorial, national), the unity of opposites (mythological and real, social and natural), timelessness (the cult of a common ancestor and its actualisation in the world culture).

The history of legal (statutory) regulation of mammoths in the world

The only area with at least some regulations regarding mammoths is commerce and environmental protection. Even though the
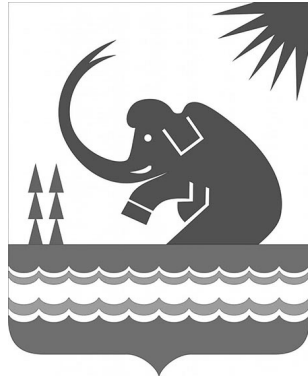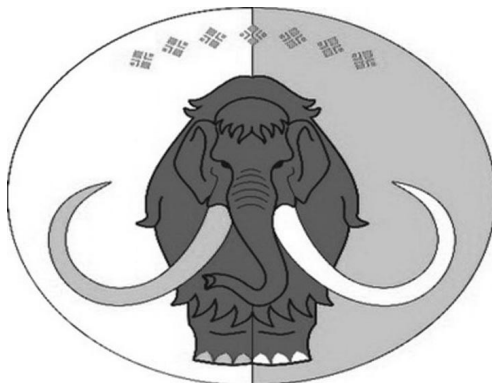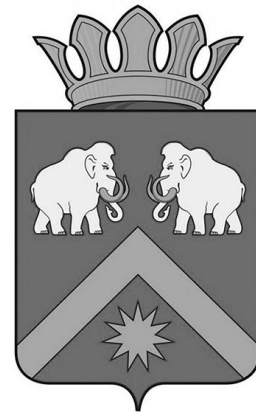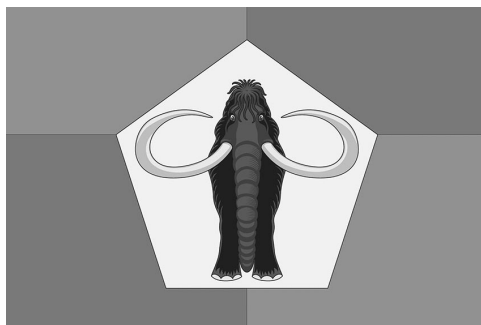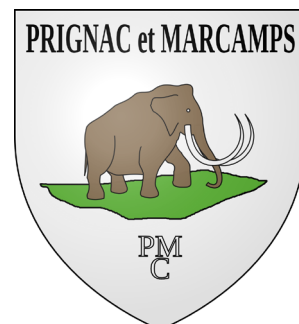
Fig. 2 Images of the mammoth on the coat of arms of towns (from the left to the right: a) the coat of arms of Srednekolymsk, Yakutia, Russia; b) the coat of arms of Seedorf, Germany; c) the coat of arms of Ust-Yansky Ulus, Yakutia, Russia; d) the coat of arms of the Abatsky district, Tyumen Oblast, Russia; e) the coat of arms of the rural settlement of Lugovskoy, Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug, Russia; f) the coat of arms of commune Prignac-et-Marcamps, Aquitaine, France)
1a: https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Герб_Среднеколымска; 1b: https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Зедорф_(Цевен); 1c: https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Герб_Усть-Янского_улуса; 1d: https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Абатский_район; 1e: https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Сельское_поселение_Луговской; Web resource Heraldic Glossary. Section "Coats of Arms and Flags. Mammoth in Heraldry"; 1f: https://f-gl.ru/геральдический-глоссарий/мамонт-в-геральдике
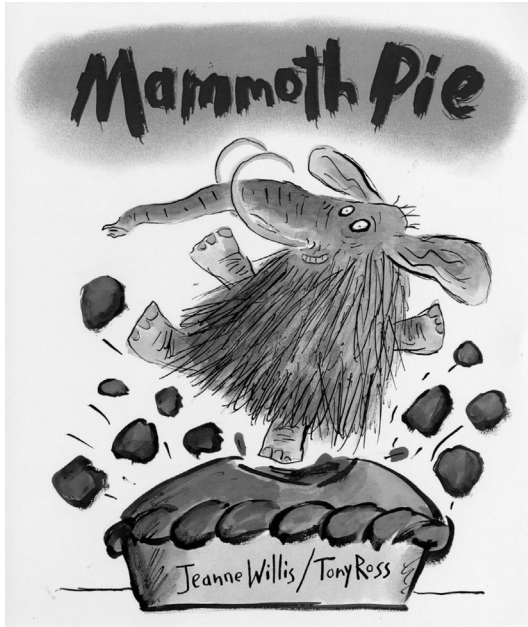
Fig. 3. Cover illustration of Jeanne Willis children's book **Mammoth Pie**. 2014
About the book on Jeanne Willis' website http://www.jeannewillis.com/index.html
http://www.jeannewillis.com/Book%20Pages/MammothPie.html

Fig. 4. **Ice Age** film frame. 2002
About the film: https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ледниковый_период_(мультфильм)
Available at: https://my-hit.org/film/2212/picture/361910/?s=9

mammoth ivory became a popular trade item in the Middle Ages, and goods made of this fossil material have been highly valued for many centuries, legal support for these processes, nevertheless, was formed only in the 20th century. It should be noted that particularly close attention to the issue of statutory regulation of extraction and sale of fossil mammoth ivory is largely connected to the problem of the disappearance of rare species of elephants, which are almost exterminated by poachers for commercial gain.

The main regulatory document that legislators can rely on to discuss the status of mammoths today is the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES). This Convention was signed on March 3, 1973 in Washington and was further amended on June 22, 1979 in Bonn and on April 30, 1983 in Gaborone. The USSR and the Russian Federation, along with another 169 countries, are parties to this Convention. In 2016, within the framework of the conference held in Johannesburg (South Africa), a special

meeting was convened, and possible changes that presumed the conservation status of mammoths, even though this species of animals is extinct, were considered. This proposal, however, caused serious criticism and the issue of assigning mammoths a protective status was rejected. In a document entitled "Identification of Elephant and Mammoth Ivory in Trade" (Identification of elephant…, 2016), prepared by Israel, it was said that the trade in mammoth ivory is indirectly related to the threat of extinction of rare species of elephants. This conclusion was based on the report, which was discussed by the CITES Standing Committee in 2014 in Geneva. This report declared the relationship between the growth of trade in mammoth ivory and goods made from it with an increased level of poaching for elephants over the past two decades. In addition, document issuers stipulate the fact that on the "black market" they can sell elephant ivory goods as the goods made of mammoth ivory and provide a number of examples of such illegal trade. According to the experts who prepared the document, the situation is also complicated by the fact that there are no effective and quick methods for distinguishing elephant ivory and mammoth ivory, since dishonest merchants often mix them. There were following comments on the document under consideration: firstly, a ban on trade in mammoth ivory can have negative consequences; secondly, difficulties in identifying the ivory origin arise only in relation

to carved goods, in addition to that, there is a detailed guide on distinguishing mammoth and elephant ivory, which experts refer to (Espinoza, Mann, 1992); thirdly, in case of mammoth ivory the regulation of trade is not within the scope of the present Convention. Nevertheless, it was recognised that it is necessary to develop standards in the field of customs control, as well as to contribute the development of expert evaluation methods.

In some countries, there are currently quite strict laws that literally prohibit the trade of not only elephant ivory, but mammoth ivory as well. For example, a number of US states have adopted or are considering such laws. In particular, these are the laws of the State of New York (Senate Bill…, 2013) and New Jersey (AN ACT…), which provide for high fines of up to $5,000 and imprisonment of up to a year for violators. The new laws introduction is criticised as well, since many well-known companies have legally used mammoth ivory as an alternative to elephant ivory for over a hundred years.

In addition, strengthening legislative measures to combat poaching targeting endangered elephant species could harm Alaskan native artists, since they use mammoth ivory is a traditional material to create pieces of decorative art. Due to the introduction of prohibition on trade in all types of ivory, many tourists refuse to purchase goods of Alaskan craftsmen. All these problems, as well as legislative measures in the state of California, and the impact of new laws on the economy of Alaska Natives, are discussed in the article by Lisa Demer "Effort to Save African Elephants Hurts Alaska Native Ivory Artists" (Demer, 2016).

The Canadian state of Yukon has certain rules regulating mammoth ivory extraction. Thus, a special Paleontological programme was introduced in 1996 (Best Management, 2014), and according to this programme, among other things, there is a regulated procedure for dealing with the discovered remains of the woolly mammoth: it is necessary to provide the discovery for expert evaluation to the Yukon Paleontology Program to determine its scientific value. If the mammoth remains are not of scientific value, then they can be issued as

property or it is possible to obtain permission to export cultural property from the country.

In general, it can be stated that normative regulation of extraction and further sale of mammoth ivory in the world is only at the development stage, and if the issue of the status of mammoths is raised, it happens only withing the framework of the discussion of the problems of survival of rare species of elephants. Radical measures to prevent extermination of the elephant population, including a ban on trade in mammoth ivory, cause heated debate and are rather controversial for craftsmen, antique dealers and art collectors.

Images of the mammoth in Russian culture

The image of the mammoth in Russian culture is mostly associated with archaeological discoveries. "The notions of the mammoth in the territory of a region could have developed based on the following sources: living nature, natural mummies preserved in permafrost layers and bone remains of the animal's skeleton" (Zaika, 2014).

The discoveries of the mammoth bones are the most common. However, completely preserved baby mammoths found in permafrost (the Yamal baby mammoth Masha, the baby mammoth Lyuba, and the baby mammoth Yuka) became the most significant for the culture. They not only supplemented the image created by the skeletons and advanced the science in understanding what these animals were like, but they also created the image of a baby that lost its relatives. It especially concerns baby mammoth Dima, or Kirgilakhsky mammoth. Found in 1977, at that time it was the only fully preserved mammoth in the world (until the discovery of the baby mammoth Lyuba in 2007). The mammoth baby discovery inspired various creative people to write short stories, poems and even make cartoons. The most famous cartoon is the 1981 Soviet hand-drawn cartoon of Studio "Ekran" "Mom for the Baby Mammoth".

Some scientists also pay attention to the manifestation of the image of the mammoth in mythological origins. A.A. Tyunyaev writes that Russian fairy tales were composed at the time when our ancestors still hunted mam-

moths, i.e. in the Palaeolithic age (Tyunyaev, 2011). He refers to Academician B.A. Rybakov (Rybakov, 2015), who notes that Russian fairy tales are often characterised by the image of the Serpent (or Chudo-Yudo), and in its description "the fairy tale often mentions trunks, and the Serpent is called "the one with the trunk". Chu-do-Yudo does not bite or claw its opponents, but "beats them into the ground" or hits with a trunk ("it hit them with its trunk"). "It is killed (in addition to the standard fairy-tale sword) with arrows, spears and hot stones, which the main character's assistants throw into its mouth … I don't think it is difficult to recognise the description of the ancient mammoth (or mammoths) in these fairy-tale characteristics of the monster driven into a trap hole or into a cave by the hunters' fire chain" (Rybakov, 2015). B.A. Rybakov notes that this image reaches us through numerous oral interpretations, that is why it could be so distorted.

As for the images, the image of the real mammoth was not widely spread in the Palaeolithic art of North Asia (Boeskorov et al., 2018). There are no traces of the genetic "memory" of the animal in later periods. During the Holocene, the main source of information about the animal was its bone remains. Their size and circumstances of their discovery led to the appearance of mythical images that combined the features of real representatives of the ichthyo- and theriofauna. Starting from the early Bronze Age, the image of polyterions was deeply enshrined in the art of the peoples of the region; and it was reflected in the image of the mammoth in the myths and shamanistic attributes of the peoples of Siberia.

As for the name of the animal, it presumably derived from the Mansi *mangt ont* (*манг онт)* ("*ground horn*"), which refers to how the meeting of the later people with the mammoth took place – discovering its remains in the ground (Vlakhov…). Mansi initially gave the name mammoth not to the animal, but only its tusks – they were known in the North and Siberia for a long time and enshrined in the folklore of many peoples. A. Vlakhov also notes that the word 'mammoth' was further developed in culture. Initially, it came into the Russian language in the form of *mamut* or *mamot (мамут* or *мамот) –* it was first mentioned at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, just during the period of active conquest of Siberia. The word in this form was borrowed in other world languages – compare English *mammoth*, German *Mammut* and even scientific Latin *mammuthus*, created by scientists on the basis of European languages. In the Russian language it was influenced by the old male name *Mamont (Mamant) (Мамонт (Мамант))*, that was given to baptised boys in the late 19th century. It appears that under the influence of this name the mammoth got -n-, which is not represented in European languages – this word obviously got there before *Mamonts* became close to *mammoths*.

The history of legal (statutory) regulation of mammoths in Russia

As previously noted, the main challenge in the field of legislative regulation of extraction and commercial use of the mammoth fauna in the Russian Federation is the fact that currently there is no legislative framework in this field, both at the federal, regional and municipal levels. The exception is the regional legislation of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), represented by a wide range of legal documents:

– The Law of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) of June 06, 2005 No. 507-III "On the Regulation of the Use and Disposal of a Special Natural Resource – Fossil Residues of the Mammoth Fauna";

– Decree No. 425-III of the State Assembly (Il Tumen) of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) of December 25, 2003 "On Approval of the Provisions on the Procedure for Issuing Licenses (Permits) for the Right to Use Subsurface in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) When Studying and Collecting Mammoth Tusks As Well As Other Remains of the Mammoth Fauna for Commercial Purposes, and Excavation of Cadaveric and Skeletal Remains of the Mammoth Fauna for Scientific Purposes";

– Decree No. 2044 of the President of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) of March 30, 2005 "On the Special Status of Natural Resources – Fossil Remains of the Mammoth Fauna and Regulation of Their Turnover in the Territory of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)";

– Order No. 1730-p of the Government of the Russian Federation of August 18, 2016 "On Approval of the Agreement between the Federal Subsoil Resources Management Agency and the Government of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) on Delegation of Certain Powers to the Government of the Republic in the Field of Subsoil Use, in Terms of Issuing Licenses for the Collection of Paleontological Collection Materials in the Republic";

– Order No. 649-РГ of the Head of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) of August 13, 2018 "On Approving the Concept for the Development of Collection, Study, Use, Processing and Sale of Paleontological Materials of Mammoth Fauna in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)".

All the aforementioned documents certainly contribute to ensuring state regulation of the collection, study, use, processing and sale of paleontological materials of the mammoth fauna in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia).

If we look at the specific gaps of the current legislation, the serious problem is that the mammoth tusks are still not specified in the Tax Code of the Russian Federation and other documents as a separate type of mineral, despite the fact that in most cases mammoth tusks are informally perceived by all territorial entities as a mineral, and not only as a paleontological material.

In general, collection of paleontological materials of mammoth fauna is regulated by the Law No. 2395-I of the Russian Federation of February 21, 1992 "On Subsurface Resources" (Articles 6, 10.1, 11, 16, 33) and the Order No. 711 of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment of the Russian Federation of November 29, 2004 "On Approval of the Procedure for Considering Applications for the Right to Use Subsoil for the Purpose of Collecting Mineralogical, Paleontological and Other Geological Collection Materials." This Order, however, does not regulate the collection of mammoth tusks for commercial purposes.

The scope of the conceptual interpretation of the mammoth fauna materials is confirmed, for instance, by their attribution to decorative and applied art and folk art crafts. A similar interpretation is given in the Decree No. 511-П of the Government of the Krasnoyarsk Krai of September 30, 2013 "On Approval of the State Programme of Krasnoyarsk Krai "Development of Culture and Tourism" and a number of other documents.

At the same time, it should be noted that prerequisites for its development have recently been identified in this area of legislation. This is mostly connected with uncontrolled illegal excavation of mammoth remains in all the territory of their presence and, especially, in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia). That is why the legislative framework of this territorial entity is more developed, as noted above.

One of the most important regulatory acts for the development of all territorial entities with deposits of mammoth remains of federal level, in addition to the aforementioned Law of the Russian Federation "On Subsurface Resources", is the Decree No. 366 of the Government of the Russian Federation of April 21, 2014 "On the Approval of the State Programme of the Russian Federation "Socio-Economic Development of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation." The document notes that "according to expert estimates, more than 80 percent of fossilised mammoth tusk resources of Russia are concentrated in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia). The estimated resources of the fossilised mammoth ivory in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), according to the experts, are 450-520 thousand tons" (Reference Legal System Consultant Plus). Moreover, as a negative factor, it should be noted that unlike other resources and strategic directions for the development of the Arctic zone of Russia this document does not disclose further prospects for the development of this resource.

Another confirmation of gaps in the Russian legislative base is the Letter No. СД-4-3/2438 of the Federal Tax Service of Russia of February 8, 2018 "On Imposing Mineral Extraction Tax on Mammoth Tusks", which addresses the issue of imposing mineral extraction tax on mammoth tusks. Due to the lack of established conceptual framework in the current legislation, the letter, for example, states that "in case of excavating mammoth tusks for the purposes not related to getting collection materials specified in Subparagraph 2 of Paragraph 2 of Article 336 of the Tax Code

of the Russian Federation, and in case of the lack of a technical document for a field development, management of such a mineral may cause difficulties in determining the reliable amount of extracted mineral for calculating the sum of mineral extraction tax." (Reference Legal System Consultant Plus) Therefore, the state budget suffers direct financial losses.

Thus, the lack of a developed regulatory framework in the field of the mammoth fauna items circulation and their illegal extraction not only contributes to significant financial losses for the state budget and acts as a factor for the development of organised crime, but also causes irreparable damage to local ecosystems, as well as a unique archaeological and paleontological heritage, since frequently the extraction of mammoth fauna items is carried out in barbaric manners without meeting the necessary requirements and following rules. Therefore, it is necessary to focus on the development of new and amending existing legislation in accordance with real practice in this area and to plan economically viable, environmentally friendly and convenient for scientific and research activities consumption of the mammoth fauna, including the adoption of a clear procedure for their sale and export.

**The mammoth and indigenous peoples
of the North, Siberia and the Far East of Russia**

In the worldview of the indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of Russia, the mammoth is one of the deeply revered animals. Therefore, the image of the mammoth in the culture of indigenous peoples is rather important. The mammoth is one of the characters of ethnic fairy tales, legends and fables. In various modifications, the mammoth is a character of the pieces of visual ethnic art, including modern one. In addition to that, the mammoth ivory is one of the main materials in bone carving art. Finally, it is necessary to note the widespread practice of preserving the remains of mammoths. The mammoth museums are established for this purpose, in particular in Yakutsk.

The most complete explanation of the role of the mammoth in the indigenous peoples' life is given by mythology. According

to the mythology of indigenous peoples, the mammoth, along with the mythical serpent Dyabdar, is the creator of the Earth. It is the mammoth who, according to the legend, expanded the initially small Earth to create more comfortable living conditions for people. With the help of its tusks, the mammoth "got" the earth from the bottom of the sea and threw the lumps into the initial territory of the Earth. After that, the earth started growing rapidly and mountainous terrain appeared. The mammoth asked the mythical serpent Dyabdar for help and requested him to flatten the uneven ground with its body. As a result, rivers were formed at the places where the mythical serpent crawled, lakes where the mammoth walked, and mountains were formed at the places where pieces of land remained untouched. According to another myth, the mammoth is one of the first inhabitants of the Earth along with Dyabdar and other animals. According to this myth, the Earth was formed as a result of the struggle of the mammoth and the snake with a mythical monster Chuliugdy, who pursued the first inhabitants of the Earth. The fight, according to the myth, ends with the fact that the mammoth and the serpent drop Chuliugdy into the abyss of the underworld, and they themselves go underground (into the lower world) (Anisimov, 1951). Here the mammoth becomes the guardian of the lower world.

There are also myths where the mammoth appears as an inhabitant of the underwater world and turns into a fish. Thus, for example, the Evenks have myths about a pike-like Oymyakon monster. There is no detailed description of the monster in the myths. It is only said that this "huge pike-like monster" lives in the depths of the vast sea. It has a tusk – kiami, sticking out up the ice and resembling the horn of a large mountain sheep. When it appears, the water runs high, and people who were at the sea at that moment become victims of this monster. In the myth "The Legend of the Oymyakon Monster", for example, an old man who fished in the sea becomes a victim. Another myth says the following: "… a strong crack of ice was suddenly heard. The lake ran high and people and reindeer teams went under ice. They all disappeared" (Kiryak, 2003).

If in the mythological picture of the Evenki world the mammoth takes the form of a pike or a burbot, and often embodies the features of an elk and a fish, ancient Yakuts called the mammoth a water bull ("Уу обупа" [Uu Obupa]). In addition to the images of the underwater world, the mammoth could be embodied in other images of terrestrial animals. In Selkups' mythology, for instance, it was embodied in the form of a bear, and in the Nenets one – in the form of a deer.

Occupying a significant place in the mythological worldview of indigenous peoples, the mammoth becomes one of the characters in the pieces of visual ethnic art.

The first figures of the mammoth found in the North, Siberia and the Far East of Russia and belonging to the Palaeolithic Period, indicate the cult of the animal that had already been developed at that time.

One of the characteristic features of the image of the mammoth in the art of indigenous peoples is the fundamental dissimilarity of the artistic image of the animal with its real look. Even in the Palaeolithic Period, when the mammoth played an important role in human economic activity, the image of the animal was interpreted extremely conditionally (Zaika, 2014) (Fig. 5).

The main feature of the first images of the mammoth is their small size (not more than 10 cm in height and width) and schematism. The only elements that emphasise the resemblance to the animal are vertical scratched strokes that imitate the long hair of the mammoth. The main emphasis is not on conveying the anatomy of the animal, but on its monumentality, in a sense, even the global nature of the image. The lack of specification gives an opportunity to characterise the first images of the mammoth as of symbolic and cult nature. In this case, the value is the form of the image which can "comprise" a specific symbolic content. According to the Evenki shamanic mythology, the mammoth is among the assistant spirits of shamans in addition
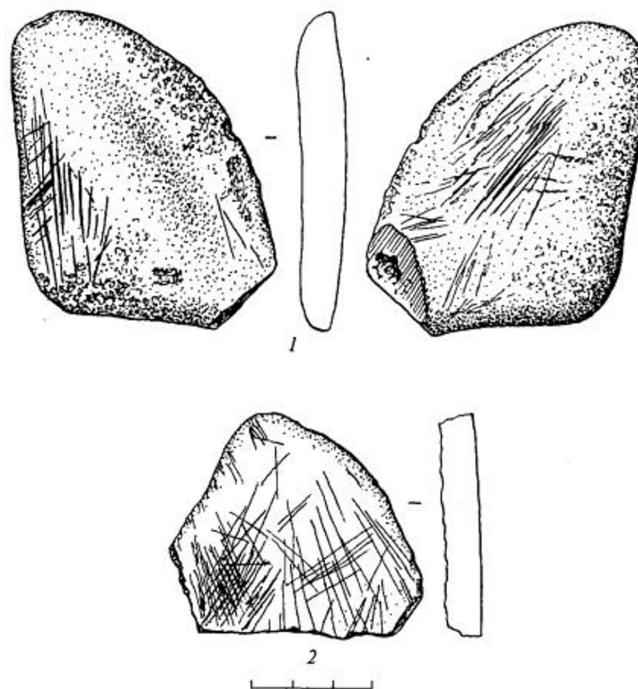
Fig. 5. Stone figures of mammoths from layer VI of the Ushki I site (Kamchatka).
The figures were found by N.N. Dikov (cit. by M.A. Kir'iak (Dikova)). In Kir'iak (Dikova), Margarita. 2003.
Ancient art of the north of the far east as a historical source (the Stone Age).
Magadan: NECSRI FEB of the RAS: 53

to such group of animals as the wild deer, the elk, the musk deer, the bear, the wolf, the wolverine, the otter and the ermine (Zaika, 2014). All these animals, without exception, were endowed with totemic features. Therefore, it is most likely that the stone figures of mammoths, which were mass-produced (Novikova, 1987), also served as a totem or a talisman, and the animal itself was thought of as a cult animal.

In the modern native art of indigenous peoples, the appeal to the theme of the mammoth is also relevant. Masters of bone carving art, for example, widely use the mammoth tusk as the main material, and the mammoth's rib is often used as well (Kiryak, 2003). In addition, the mammoth itself is one of the characters of sculptural compositions. Unlike the very first sculptural images of the animal, modern sculptural works are distinguished by more elaborate details and proximity to the real appearance of the mammoth. The sculpture "Baby Mammoth" by V.S. Kirgizov may be its representative (Fig. 6).

The image of the mammoth also penetrates into the sphere of modern national fine art. Other representatives are the paintings of Khakass artists A.L. Ulturgashev "The Shaman" (1996) and G.N. Sagalakov "At the Foot of the Sayan Mountains" (2013) (Fig. 7-8).

Silhouettes of terrestrial animals are depicted in the art space of the paintings. There is no accurate attribution of these signs. The visual signs in the art space of the painting "At the Foot of the Sayan Mountains" by G.N. Sagalakov are especially noteworthy. These are silhouettes of animal with elongated body proportions and exaggeratedly long horns and tails (Fig. 9).

According to the ideas of the indigenous peoples, there is a mythical animal that combines the features of the elk and the mammoth. By the end of its life, this animal has rather long horns (Reznikova, 2018). Therefore, these signs quite likely symbolise the ancient mythological representation of the indigenous peoples about the transformation of the mammoth' appearance. In addition, the mammoth could often be depicted in the artistic space of the painting as an oval-shaped mythical creature with three protuberant eyes that endow it with the characteristics of the all-seeing creature (Fig. 10). The appeal to the technique of planar drawing of faces en face resembling cave paintings serves as an artistic means of expressing the symbolic meaning of this image.

Thus, the analysis of the mythological worldview of the indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of Russia and

Fig. 6. Vasily Kirgizov. Baby mammoth. Mammoth tusk, tree (cit. by to L. Popova).
In A man of the Northern Lights: Vasily Kirgizov – a bone carver from Syndassko. 2007.
Dudinka: House of Taimyr Folk Art

Fig. 7. A.L. Ulturgashev. The Shaman. 1996, in A.L. Ulturgashev. Paintings Spirits Shamans Pliuk.
https://ok.ru/vsesamoemi/topic/63508257816750

Fig. 8. G.N. Sagalakov. At the Foot of the Sayan Mountains. 2013,
in At the Foot of the Sayan Mountains ~ Georgy Sagalakov | Artclub Gallerix.
https://sagalakovgeorg.in.gallerix.ru/expo/hakasiya/u-podnozhiya-sayan/

the visual forms representing the image of the mammoth gives an opportunity to talk about the significance of the image of this animal in the life and culture of indigenous peoples (Espinoza et al., 1992; Koptseva, 2014; Lozhkin et al., 2016; Luzan et al., 2019; Reznikova, 2018; The concept of developing… 2018). At the same time, in the mythological worldview of the indigenous peoples, the mammoth is endowed with multi-image characteristics,

Fig. 9

Fig. 10

Fig. 9, 10. Fragments from the painting by G.N. Sagalakov At the Foot of the Sayan Mountains. 2013, in At the Foot of the Sayan Mountains ~ Georgy Sagalakov | Artclub Gallerix, https://sagalakovgeorg.in.gallerix.ru/expo/hakasiya/u-podnozhiya-sayan/

having not only positive traits (the creator of the earth, the first inhabitant of the earth, the guardian of the underworld), but negative ones as well (the pike-like monster). Different ideas of this animal gave rise to a variety of sign and symbolic forms of its visualisation in the contemporary art of the indigenous peoples. In addition to that, two trends in the artistic representation of the image of the mammoth can be distinguished. The first tendency is connected with the more realistic image of the animal.

The second tendency is associated with deviations from the real image towards symbolic signs of expressing its religious and mythological nature. Nowadays, both trends are fully developed in the artistic culture of the indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of Russia.

Conclusion

The study has demonstrated that the image of the mammoth and the remains of this

fossil animal are of great importance, both in the world culture and economy, as well as for the Russian Federation, especially for the indigenous peoples of the North.

Various interpretations of the image of the mammoth existing in the world culture are most often associated with collective identity. The visual image of a distant and unknown animal constructed by humanity is interpreted as the image of the ancestor and is conveyed in a number of stable sociocultural characteristics: unification (group, social, territorial and national), the unity of opposites (mythological and real, social and natural), and timelessness (cult of a common ancestor and its actualisation in the world culture).

The image of the mammoth in Russian culture is mainly associated with archaeological discoveries. The discovered carcasses of baby mammoths determined the prevalence of the theme of a baby who lost its parents in designing the image of the mammoth. A peculiarity of the mythological image of the mammoth in Russia is its distortion associated with conveying its traits through the oral tradition. Russian culture has its own version of the name for this animal, which was influenced by the old male name.

In the mythological worldview of the indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of Russia, as well as in visual forms, the mammoth is endowed with multi-image characteristics: the creator of the Earth, the first inhabitant of the Earth, the guardian of the underworld and the pike-like monster. There are two tendencies in the artistic representation of the image of the mammoth in the modern artistic culture of the indigenous peoples: the more realistic image of the animal and deviations from the real image towards symbolic signs of expressing its religious and mythological nature. Both tendencies are fully developed in the artistic culture of the indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of Russia.

In the field of legislation and legal regulation of the extraction and sale of mammoth ivory in the world, the issue of the status of mammoths is raised only in connection with a discussion of the survival of rare species of elephants. Measures to prevent the extermination of the elephant population, including a ban on trade in mammoth ivory, cause heated debates and are controversial for craftsmen, antique dealers and art collectors.

The issue of legal regulation in this area is particularly acute for the Russian Federation. The practice of developing such documents exists only in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia). This situation leads to significant financial losses for the state budget, acts as a factor for the development of organised crime and causes irreparable damage to local ecosystems, as well as unique archaeological and paleontological heritage.

The development of new and amending existing legislation in accordance with real practice in this area and planning economically viable, environmentally friendly and convenient for scientific and research activities consumption of mammoth fauna is a priority for the Russian Federation.

References

Alpert, B.O. (2010). Context for the Vero Beach engraved mammoth. In *L'art Pléistocène dans le monde: Actes du Congrès IFRAO, Tarascon-sur-Ariège*, 122–123.

AN ACT concerning the import, sale, purchase, barter, or possession of ivory or rhinoceros horn and supplementing Title 23 of the Revised Statutes. Available at: http://www.njleg.state.nj.us/2014/Bills/A3500/3128_I1.HTM

Anisimov, A. (1951). Shamanskiye dukhi po vozzreniyam evenkov i totemicheskiye istoki ideologii shamanstva [Shamanistic spirits according to Evenki and the totemic sources of the ideology of shamanism]. In *Sbornik Muzeya antropologii i etnografii* [*Collection of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography*], 13, 195–196.

Best Management. Practices for Fossils at Yukon Placer Mines (2014). Available at: http://www.tc.gov.yk.ca/pdf/FossilsAndPlacerMines_BMP.pdf

Boeskorov, G., Belolyubsky, I., Shchelchkova, M. (2018). Monument of nature the berelekh mammoths "cemetery" (Yakutia, eastern Siberia, Russia). In *International Multidisciplinary Scientific GeoConference Surveying Geology and Mining Ecology Management, SGEM,* 18, 299–306.

Browning, H. (2018). Won't Somebody Please Think of the Mammoths? De-extinction and Animal Welfare. In *Journal of Agricultural and Environmental Ethics,* 31 (6), 785–803.

Campbell, D. (2016). A case for resurrecting lost species-review essay of Beth Shapiro's, "How to Clone a Mammoth: The Science of De-extinction". In *Biology and Philosophy,* 31 (5), 747–759.

Chelovek severnogo siyaniya: Vasiliy Kirgizov – kostorez iz Sindassko [*Man of the Northern Lights: Vasily Kirgizov – a bone cutter from Syndassko*] (2010). Dudinka: Taimyr House of Folk Art. Available at: http://www.tdnt.org/news.php?md=0604&year=2010&id=52

Chrulew, M. (2011). Hunting the mammoth, Pleistocene to postmodern. In *Journal for Critical Animal Studies*, 9 (1), 2.

Demer, L. (2016). *Effort to save African elephants hurts Alaska Native ivory artists. Anchorage Daily News.* Available at: https://www.adn.com/alaska-news/2016/10/30/effort-to-save-african-elephants-hurts-alaska-native-ivory-artists/

Djindjian, F. (2015). Identifying the hunter-gatherer systems behind associated mammoth bone beds and mammothbone dwellings. In *Quaternary International* 359, 47–57.

Espinoza, E.O., Mann, M.J. (1992). *Identification guide for ivory and ivory substitutes.* Available at: https://cites.org/sites/default/files/eng/resources/pub/E-Ivory-guide.pdf

Farah, N., Boyce, J.R. (2019). Elephants and mammoths: The effect of an imperfect legal substitute on illegal activity. In *Environment and Development Economics,* 24 (3), 225–251.

Hussain, S.T., Floss, H. (2015). Sharing the world with mammoths, cave lions and other beings: Linking animal-human interactions and the Aurignacian "belief world". In *Quartar* 62, 85–120.

Identification of elephant and mammoth ivory in trade. Seventeenth meeting of the Conference of the Parties Johannesburg (South Africa), 24 September – 5 October 2016. Available at: https://cites.org/sites/default/files/eng/cop/17/WorkingDocs/E-CoP17-38.pdf

Kirillin, N. (2015). Resursy mamontovoy fauny v arkticheskoy zone Rossiyskoy Federatsii [Resources of mammoth fauna in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation]. In *Ekonomika Vostoka Rossii* [*Economics of the East of Russia*], 2 (4), 41–44.

Kiryak (Dikova), M. (2003). *Drevneye iskusstvo severa Dal'nego Vostoka kak istoricheskiy istochnik: kamennyy vek* [*Ancient art of the North of the Far East as a historical source (Stone Age)*]. Magadan, NECS FEB RAS, 278 p.

Kistler, L. (2015). Prehistoric Drawings in Mammoth Cave. In *Kaleidoscope*, 6 (1), 14.

Koptseva, N. (2014). Expert analysis of the main trends of northern Siberia's Indigenous Small-numbered Peoples economic development. In *Economic Annals–XXI,* 11 (12), 93–96.

Lister, A., Bahn, P. (2007). *Mammoths: Giants of the Ice Age (revised edition).* London: Frances Lincoln.

Lozhkin, A., Anderson, P. (2018). Yeshche odin vzglyad na vozrast i proiskhozhdeniye mamonta Berelokha (severo-vostochnaya Sibir') [Another perspective on the age and origin of the Berelyokh mammoth site (northeast Siberia)]. In *Chetvertichnoye Issledovaniye (Soyedinennyye Shtaty)* [*Quaternary Research (United States)*], 89, 2, 459–477.

Lozhkin, A., Anderson, P. (2016). About the age and habitat of the Kirgilyakh mammoth (Dima), Western Beringia. In *Quaternary Science Reviews,* 145 (1), 104–116.

Luzan, V., Koptseva, N., Zabelina, E., Kurnosova, S., Trushina, I. (2019). The structure of economic attitudes of the youth — representatives of the indigen ous small-numbered peoples of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation: results of a pilot study. In *Journal of Siberian Federal University. Humanities & Social Sciences,* 12 (7), 1146–1162. https://doi.org/ 10.17516/1997–1370–0448.

Maschenko, E. N., Potapova, O.R., Vershinina, A., Shapiro, B., Streletskaya, I.D., Vasiljev, A.A., Oblogov, G., Kharlamova, A., Potapov, E., Plicht V., Johannes H., Tikhonov, A.N., Serdyuk, N., Tarasenko, K. (2017). The Zhenya Mammoth (Mammuthus primigenius (Blum.)): Taphonomy, geology, age, morphology

and ancient DNA of a 48,000 year old frozen mummy from western Taimyr, Russia. In *Quaternary International,* 445, 104–134.

McCauley, D.J., Hardesty-Moore, M., Halpern, B.S., Young, H.S. (2017). A mammoth undertaking: harnessing insight from functional ecology to shape de-extinction priority setting. In *Functional Ecology,* 31 (5), 1003–1011.

Novikova, K.A. (1987). *Evenskiye skazki, predaniya i legendy* [*Even tales, traditions and legends*]. Magadan, Maganan Book Publishing House.

Okuno, E. (2017). Frankenstein's Mammoth: Anticipating the global legal framework for de-extinction. In *Ecology Law Quarterly,* 43 (3), 581-634.

Piotrowska, M. (2018). Meet the new mammoth, same as the old? Resurrecting the Mammuthus primigenius. In *Biology and Philosophy,* 33, 1 (2), 5.

Plana, L.V. (2016). A Mammoth in the Park: Palaeontology, Press and Popular Culture in Barcelona (1870–1910). In *Centaurus,* 58, 3, 185–202.

Reznikova, K. (2018). "Deer" as the Basic Concept of the Enets Language. In *Journal of Siberian Federal University. Humanities & Social Sciences,* 4 (11), 602–614.

Roca, A.L. (2015). Evolution: The Island of Misfit Mammoths. In *Current Biology* 25 (13), R549-R551.

Rohwer, Y., Marris, E. (2018). An Analysis of Potential Ethical Justifications for Mammoth De-extinction and a Call for Empirical Research. In *Ethics, Policy and Environment*, 21, 1, 127-142.

Rybakov, B. (2015). *Yazychestvo drevnikh slavyan* [*Paganism of the ancient Slavs*]. Moscow, Science, 640 p.

Senate Bill S7040, 2013-2014 Legislative Session. Relates to a ban on the sale, purchase, trade, barter, and distribution of certain ivory articles. Available at: https://www.nysenate.gov/legislation/bills/2013/S7040

Seuru, S., Leshchinskiy, S., Auguste, P., Fedyaev, N. (2017). Sherstistyy mamont i chelovek na Krasnoyarskoy Kur'ye, Zapadno-Sibirskaya ravnina, Rossiya (rezul'taty raskopok 2014 goda) [Woolly mammoth and man at Krasnoyarskaya Kurya site, West Siberian Plain, Russia (excavation results of 2014)]. In *Byulleten' Sos'yete Geologii Frantsii* [*Bulletin de la Societe Geologique de France*], 188, 1(2).

Smirnov, A. (2005). Iskopayemaya kost' mamonta: problemy i perspektivy izucheniya i razvitiya resursnogo potentsiala v rossiyskoy Arktike [Fossil mammoth bone: problems and prospects for the study and development of resource potential in the Russian Arctic]. In *Vestnik Rossiyskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta im. A.I. Gertsen* [*Bulletin of the Russian State Pedagogical University A.I. Herzen*], 5 (13), 255–265.

The concept of developing the collection, study, use, processing and sale of paleontological materials of mammoth fauna in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) dated August 13, 2018 No. 649-RG. It is approved by the order of the acting head of the Republic A. Nikolaev. Available at: http://docs.cntd.ru/document/550166534

Tomić, N., Marković, S.B., Korać, M., Mrđić, N., Hose, T.A., Vasiljević, D.A., Jovičić, M., Gavrilov, M.B. (2015). Exposing mammoths: From loess research discovery to public palaeontological park. In *Quaternary International,* 372, 142-150.

Tyunyaev, A. (2011). *Drevneyshaya Rus': Svarog i svarozh'i vnuki* [*The most ancient Russia. Sevarog and welded grandchildren*]. Moscow, Belye Alvy, 384 p.

Vlakhov, A. *Mammoth*. Available at: https://arzamas.academy/micro/borrowing/3

Zaika, A. (2014). Obraz mamonta v iskusstve drevnikh i traditsionnykh kul'tur Severnoy Azii [The image of a mammoth in the art of ancient and traditional cultures of North Asia]. In *Vestnik Omskogo universiteta. Seriya «Istoricheskiye nauki»* [*Bulletin of the Omsk University. Series "Historical Sciences"*], 2 (2), 95–103.

История мирового и русского мамонтоведения

В.С. Лузан[а], А.А. Ситникова[а], А.В. Кистова[а,б],
А.И. Филько[а], Ю.С. Замараева[а], К.В. Резникова[а],
М.А. Колесник[а], Н.П. Копцева[а], Н.Н. Пименова[а],
Н.Н. Середкина[а]

[а]*Сибирский федеральный университет*
Российская Федерация, Красноярск
[б]*Красноярский художественный музей имени В.И. Сурикова*
Российская Федерация, Красноярск

Аннотация. Статья посвящена истории исследований концепта мамонта в нормативно-правовых документах и культурных практиках. Анализ как российского, так и зарубежного опыта позволил обобщить имеющиеся правовые положения относительно регулирования мамонта, а также определить роль мамонта в мировой и российской культуре, в том числе в культуре коренных народов Севера, Сибири и Дальнего Востока. Методологическим основанием данного исследования выступили сравнительно-сопоставительный анализ источников и материалов, историко-сравнительный и хронологический методы, историографический метод, методология философско-искусствоведческого анализа. Исследование показало, что в сфере законодательства и правового регулирования добычи и реализации мамонтовой кости в мире вопрос о статусе мамонтов затрагивается только в связи с обсуждением проблем выживания редких видов слонов. Меры по предотвращению истребления популяции слонов, включающие запрет на торговлю, в том числе и мамонтовой костью, вызывают бурные дискуссии и являются неоднозначными для ремесленников, торговцев антиквариатом и коллекционеров предметов искусства. Для Российской Федерации вопрос правового регулирования в данной сфере стоит особенно остро в связи с отсутствием окончательно сформированной нормативной правовой базы как на федеральном, так и региональном и муниципальном уровнях. Образ мамонта в мировой и российской культуре воплощен в ряде визуальных практик. Это и геральдика, и мультипликация, и книжная графика, и скульптура, и изобразительное искусство. Знаково-символические формы мамонта воплощают религиозно-мифологические характеристики животного, демонстрирующие его значимость в мировоззрении людей, а также свидетельствующие о «живой» памяти о нем в современном мире.

Ключевые слова: мамонт, концепт, история изучения, культурные практики, нормативные документы.

Научные специальности: 07.00.00 – исторические науки, 24.00.00 – культурология.

Business Career of Russian Banking Organizations' Employees: Priorities and Opportunities

Nikita Z. Sotnikov, Svetlana I. Sotnikova
and Elena M. Mikhailova*
Novosibirsk State University of Economics and Management
Novosibirsk, Russian Federation

Abstract. Such traditional methods of labour efficiency maximization as rationalization, automation of business processes, and head hunting, do not often yield better competitiveness of human resources in the context of modern "transparent" world market development and high uncertainty and dynamism of Russian socioeconomic environment. It is necessary to create proper conditions for the employees to continuously and consciously work towards long-term superiority over competing employees and to increase their professional competences in order to be competitive in the labour market. The objective of this research is to identify the organizational and economic patterns of business career created by differences in the competitive position of banking organizations. The study encompassed the analysis of business careers of the employees of fifteen federal and regional banks quoted in the Russian market during the past six years. The results of the research prove that the type and intensity of business career determine the mechanisms for localization and establishment of the competitive advantages of both the employee and the bank in the market situation. The business career studies made it possible to identify the presence of a socioeconomic conflict between professional and organizational (intra- and inter-organizational) career. The business career conflict solutions generate strategic alternatives for the integrating the professional and organizational types of career, in order to maintain and increase the competitiveness of human resources of the banking organization.

Keywords: banking organization, staff competitiveness, business career.

Research area: economics.

* Corresponding author E-mail address: n.z.sotnikov@edu.nsuem.ru, s.i.sotnikova@nsuem.ru, e.m.mihajlova@nsuem.ru
ORCID: 0000–0002–6406–8683 (Sotnikov); 0000–0003–1723–9387 (Sotnikova); 0000–0002–4597–754X (Mikhailova)

Introduction

For many years, business career has been in the focus of studies carried out by Soviet, Russian and foreign researchers. The interest to the process, its scale, intensity and factors is not a coincidence: it clearly manifests many important and regular processes of social mobility of the work force, and reflects the dynamism of the labour market.

In scholarly literature, business career is presented as a complex, open and holistic system, illustrating the highest degree of unity of three interrelated substances.

First, business career becomes a factor in achieving personal success and outperforming other competing employees who are pursuing identical goals (Sotnikov, 2015; Hassell, 2017; Masie, 2017; etc.). The result of personal success and outperforming the competitors in the social life stream is maintenance and improvement of the working life quality, achieved by the employee. It is associated "with an increase of wages, the level of official rights and duties, the degree of autonomy and responsibility" (Miliaeva, 2016).

Secondly, business career appears as a function of social mobility (Eriomina & Toderash, 2016; Sillaste, 2004; Hall & Mirvis, 1995; Savickas, 1992).

Social mobility manifests itself as "a systemic phenomenon that reflects the objective side of an individual's socialization process (the content and directions of socioeconomic, educational, cultural policies, as well as functions, principles, objectives in the management of society, legislative, regulatory, organizational, behavioural and other conditions of social being) and subjective (the complex of basic personal qualities that also determine the content and direction of social mobility)" (Shpektorenko, 2013).

Thirdly, business career is presented as an activity of positioning an employee in the hierarchical stratified labour division system (Beliatskiy, 2010; London & Moon, 1987; Noe et al., 1990; Bersin, 2015; Schein, 1986; Sotnikova, 2018, etc.). To our best knowledge, positioning of an employee in the labour market can be personal-professional, representing the localization (fixation) and consolidation of a certain status (position) and role of the employee in the professional field of activity, with regard to his/her knowledge, skills and attitudes. It can also be status-official, finding the social and material achievements in specific non-organizational and intra-organizational realities, perceived as an objective status set and clearly defined positions, roles, states of financial well-being, etc.

Thus, the modern business career concept is associated with awareness of the fact that freedom of career generates competition, creating obstacles for everyone on the way to achieving personal success and outstripping competitor employees, working towards the same goals. The elevation of one's professional life quality is the result of achieving personal success and surpassing competitors in social life. Business career becomes a priority (leading) factor in the competitiveness of human resources in the labour market.

Problem Statement

The re-industrialization vector in Russian economy is associated with a shift of the banking sector development paradigm. Such changes imply improving quality of banking assets against the intention to expand the banking business through aggressive marketing technologies, product concept against customer-oriented ideology. The most important economic challenge in creation of competitive commercial bank personnel is caused by fundamental transformation of values, worldview and ideological settings all over the world. It is impossible to improve the quality of assets, to reduce the share of dubious operations in troubled banks in a short term, to prevent a full-scale crisis of confidence against the background of the unstable economic situation without professionally trained and loyal staff.

In this context, business career represents a process of competitive positioning of an employee in the labour division market system. It contributes to the preservation or improvement of the working life quality due to labour mobility in the changing conditions of intra-organizational and non-organizational realities.

In essence, business career (Fig. 1):
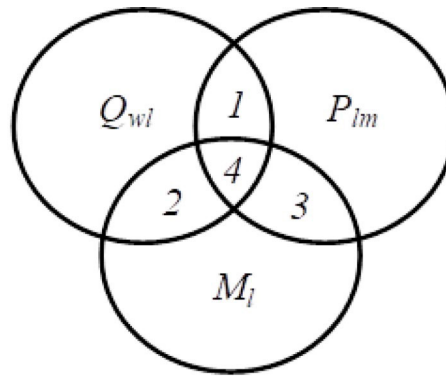
Fig. 1. Modern triad system of business career: Qwl – quality of working life,
Ml – labour mobility, Plm – labour market positioning

a) models the system of principles for achieving the desired quality of working life in the context of labour mobility;

b) specifies the conditions and forms of labour mobility, which allows to support or improve one's competitive position in the labour market;

c) determines the parameters of competitive positioning in the labour market that contribute to the improvement of the quality of working life.

Constant changes in legislation, unstable market conditions, severe competition, rapidly developing preferences of employers expand the range of business career strategies that combine different options for employee relocation, depending on the ratio of the three substances of business career. The simplified stereometric business career model (Fig. 1) clearly demonstrates the variability of strategies, including increasing (in sectors 1, 2, 3, 4) and preserving (in sectors Qwl, Ml, Plm) the competitiveness of the employee.

Sector 1 is the combination of such two business career substances as quality of working life and labour market positioning. This business career dyad determines the strategy of a contender for market leadership. Such situation is typical for employees, seeking to improve the quality of their working life through reinforcement of their competitive position in the labour market, based on the actual conditions of socioeconomic development of the households, organizations, regions, etc.

Sector 2 is the combination of quality of working life and labour mobility substances. This dyad defines the professional niche strategy. It characterizes the career of those employees, who manage to improve the quality of their working life in a particular segment of the labour market through the development and usage of their professional skills, awareness of the importance of their professional competence and confidence in it, high motivation in achieving results in one way or another.

Sector 3 is the intersection of labour mobility and labour market positioning substances. This business career dyad determines the strategy of a market follower. The career of the employees, who form this segment, is characterized by the necessity for creative involvement in management and production, in searching for development potential, not only by increasing qualification requirements, but also through discipline. For these employees, the priority belongs to functional flexibility, focus on expansion and enrichment of the job, reinforcement of creative aspects.

Sector 4 is a combination of all three substances of the business career triad, namely, quality of working life, labour mobility, labour market positioning. This segment unites the careers of those employees, who harmoniously and totally achieve the personal-professional and status-official positioning in the labour market, thereby ensuring business success. This segment is distinguished with competitive leadership strategy.

Qwl Sector is the quality of working life sector. This substance means avoiding direct competition strategy. This is a strategy of focusing one's career on maintaining the achieved quality of working life, certain pliability to the stricter requirements of the employer in order to preserve the job and all existing and future benefits associated with it.

Ml Sector is the labour mobility segment. It implies implementation of rotation strategy of a specialist being a professional in his or her field, but easy enough to being training for another job within his or her organization. The career of such employees is focused on diversification of knowledge, skills, abilities, enabling them to adapt to the changes in working technique and technology, as well as culture of behaviour. These employees are flexible in reacting to production and market changes or demand fluctuations.

Plm Sector is the labour market positioning segment. It features a peripheral professional strategy. It is normally implemented by the employees who have the proper professional, but not organization-specific skills. It unites the careers of those employees, who aim to preserve the sovereignty of their social status and role, a certain autonomy and independence in the professional life.

Thus, career is a dialectical system. Emergence, formation and resolution of inherent contradictions between the three substances (quality of working life, labour mobility and labour market positioning), which allow the employee to have sustainable competitive advantages in the labour market, create the driving force and resource for business career development.

In this context, there is a growing need for understanding the general nature and underlying causes of the business career commencement, development and destruction processes, with due regard to the competitive position of a banking organization and its strategy transforming capacity. Theoretical and methodical comprehension of a business career model as a metamodel of bank personnel competitiveness will make it possible to understand the parameters, conditions and characteristics of a business career strategy capable of forming

a strategic potential for the banking labour market.

Research Questions

Despite a significant contribution currently made to the development of certain aspects of the investigated problem and, particularly, the sociopsychological ones, there is a shortage of conceptual studies of business career as a socioeconomic mechanism for the banking personnel competitiveness development. In this context, the present article covers the following questions:

– In what types of business career and to what extent can they achieve a higher level of banking personnel competition in the labour market in the changing environment?

– What are the possible strategic alternatives for maintaining a competitive position in the labour market, given the development strategy of the banking organization?

Purpose of the Study

The objective of the research is to develop an organizational and economic foundation for banking personnel career as a mechanism for improving competitive positions in the labour market: (a) to identify the determinants of business career, allowing to achieve a higher level of competition in the labour market in the changing conditions; (b) to analyse various strategic alternatives of business career by building two-dimensional matrixes, estimating the prospects of a particular method of bank personnel positioning in the labour market. The organizational and economic regularities revealed in the business career studies and conditioned by the differences in the competitive position of banking organizations, allow us to identify and forecast the favourable opportunities and threats that may arise on the way to gaining competitive advantages in the labour market.

Research methods
Hypothesis development
Correlation between business career
and employee competitiveness

A business career predefines one's individual conscious way of forming a competitive po-

sition in the labour market in order to achieve the desired quality of working life. In its turn, competitiveness as such is the basis of a career, in which new positions in the labour division are developed. Therefore, it determines the opportunities and conditions for the development and satisfaction of the physical, spiritual and social needs of an employee.

H1: Business career is an employee competitive development mechanism based on the principle of changing one's competitive position in the labour market in order to cater their need for a better quality of working life.

Duality of business career

Duality of business career is a philosophical comprehension of the harmony between two types of the argumentation of competitive positioning in the labour market: subjectively irrational and objectively rational. On one hand, the dual approach to business career analysis allows considering it as a subjectively irrational career activity, associated with identification and satisfaction of the employee's needs for competitiveness and wellbeing throughout their working life. On the other hand, such approach describes business career as limited and objectively defined by the existing rules and status-role prescriptions, existing in the stratified labour division system of the market, i.e. considered as an objectively rational career activity.

H2: The dynamics of objectively rational activity and the dynamics of subjectively irrational activity obey to the different laws. Therefore, they do not coincide in time and change trends. As a result, there occurs an economic and organizational conflict between professional and organizational careers, including the conflict between intra-organizational and inter-organizational careers.

Targeted business career

Career is always targeted. The goal of a career should be considered from two perspectives, two subjects: the employer and the employee. The basis for a common career target is the establishment of proper conditions for the coordination of individual and organizational goals.

H3: Business career depends on the way an employee is positioned in the labour market, but not so much on the organizational needs of the labour force. This way, it is determined by the employee's intrinsic need for improving the quality of work life, desire for self-expression in the outside world and among other competing employees, who are pursuing the same goals.

Data collection procedure

The statistical data of all-Russian statistical reporting, analytical reviews, and primary personnel documents of commercial banks, banking sector regulations, press information, the Internet data, along with the results of the author's survey of bank employees served as the information and empirical base for the research.

Fifteen federal and regional Russian banks were observed.

The study consisted of several levels.

The first level implied specification of the indicators to be used to assess objectively rational career activity. Thus, on this level, the career system was studied as a holistic complex of resources used to achieve a higher level in the competition of bank personnel in the labour market (Fig. 2). The main method of the research was statistical data analysis. The study was conducted by quota multistage sampling (basic characteristics: location of the organization, corporate strategy, bank personnel headcount).

It is noted that over the years 2010–2018, increase in the career activity of bank employees was observed as national economy stabilized after the 2008 recession. At the same time, the dynamics of activity strongly depends on the development strategy of the banking organization: entrepreneurial strategy provides the greatest opportunities for a business, cyclical strategy and profitability strategy provide the least potential, while dynamic strategy of growth and liquidation strategy offer moderate opportunities (Fig. 2).

The second level of the research was based on the first level. On the second level, the subjectively irrational career activity was specified, as personal expectations of the employee,
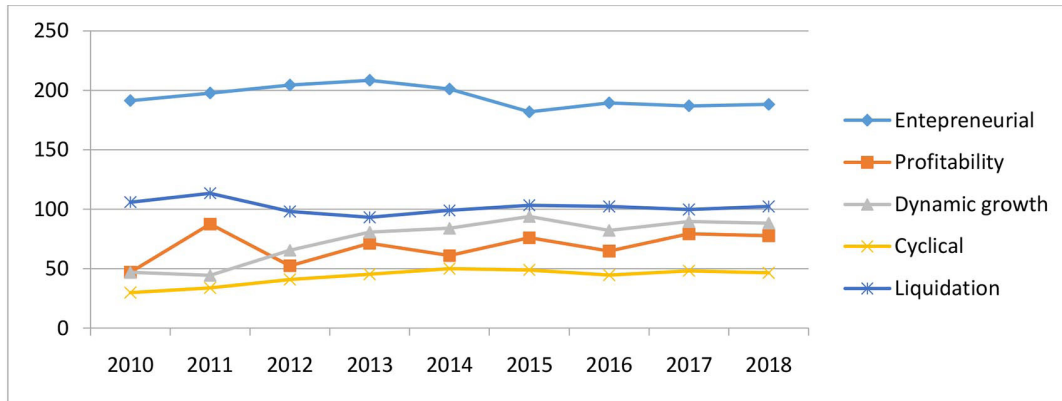
Fig. 2. Business career intensity depending on the strategy of the banking organization over the period 2010–2018, %

Table 1. Distribution of answers to the question "What does the term of 'business career' mean to you?"

Business career is …	Answers (%)
achieving decent and increasing material wellbeing for myself and my loved ones	67.8
having comfortable working conditions (working in a clean healthy environment, having a personal office, personal car, etc.)	40.5
development of good personal relations with managers, colleagues, subordinates	44.7
respect and prominence in the organization	53.4
professional competence development	57.8
achieving success and prominent position in society and in the professional world	68.3
achieving superiority over other people	70.1
non-standard, creative, innovation work	45.4
employee development, that does not conflict with his/her lifestyle	43.2
activity of unleashing one's labour potential	55.6
recognition of professional achievements	52.1
guarantee of a constant job, stable position	44.6

regarding material well-being, self-affirmation, self-esteem, public recognition, economic independence, success, power, etc. These expectations were associated with self-assessment not only in the context of needs and motivation of the employee, but also in the socioeconomic, organizational conditions of self-positioning in life and work.

The questionnaire survey was the main research method used on this level (Table 1). The study was conducted by quota multistage sampling (basic features: corporate strategy, functional responsibilities of the employee and work experience of the employee at the banking organization).

During the research, it was noticed that for most bank employees, career is a process of official professional positioning in the reality of their organization: achieving superiority over other people (70.1%), a way to success and a prominent position in society and in the professional world (68.3%), recognition of professional achievements (52.1%).

It is also rather typical for bank employees to perceive career as a personal-professional positioning in the environment of their

Table 2. Differences in understanding the meaning of business career among employees
of banking organizations with different development strategies
(based on the survey results), in per cent of the total number of respondents

Type of strategy	Business career is		
	a job-official positioning	a personal-professional positioning	a way to cater one's material needs
Entrepreneurial	18	61	21
Profitability	28	25	47
Dynamic growth	67	22	11
Cyclical	24	54	22
Liquidation	25	23	52

organization: professional competence development (57.8%), which does not conflict with the lifestyle (43.2%) in order to carry out their professional tasks in a non-standard, creative, innovative way (45.4%), unleash their labour potential (55.6%) and increase their value and reputation in the organization (53.4%).

Career is often regarded as a way to cater material needs, such as material well-being (67.8%), better working conditions (40.5%), good personal relations in the team (44.7%), guarantees of a permanent job and stable position (44.6%).

It is not difficult to notice that business career is associated with achieving some personal success in the form of more or less clearly defined positions, statuses, roles, perceived as a result of maintaining or improving the quality of working life by getting a sense of superiority over other employees. At the same time, there are differences in understanding the meaning of business career among employees, depending on the corporate strategy (Table 2).

Thus, in banks practicing the dynamic growth strategy, employees normally consider career in the context of job-official positioning (67%). For these employees, career appears as a series of promotions from one job (position) to another, development of their influence, power, authority, status in the company. Career growth, functional expansion in the organization is harmonized and accelerated by means of training in the use of new technologies, requalification and career orientation.

Career means mastering a variety of skills and competences that complement and develop a professional for the employees of the banks, implementing the entrepreneurial (61%) and cyclical (54%) strategies. For them, their career path is directly related to personal-professional positioning. Often, such employees are "focused" on the training aspect of career and make the typical mistake, considering training as a target, not as a tool for improving their intra-organizational positioning and advancement of their competitiveness.

Employees in banks with the profitability (47%) and liquidation strategies (52%) often perceive their careers as a way to protect their own status and income, associated with their activity in the organization. These employees are quite loyal to the organization. Their main problem is the threat of the so-called "career plateau" or "career downshifting" the situation when employees professionally "outgrow" their official positions.

Findings
Economic expediency of the business career of employees

Business career is the highest criterion of qualification assessment and self-motivation to achieve sustainable (organizational or personal) competitive superiority over other employees with the least career investment: $TC \rightarrow$ min. Career investment is a long-term investment of capital into the positioning of an employee in order to preserve or overcome (elevate) the achieved quality of working life.

Economic expediency of an employee's career is determined by comparing the values of marginal income MR and marginal invest-
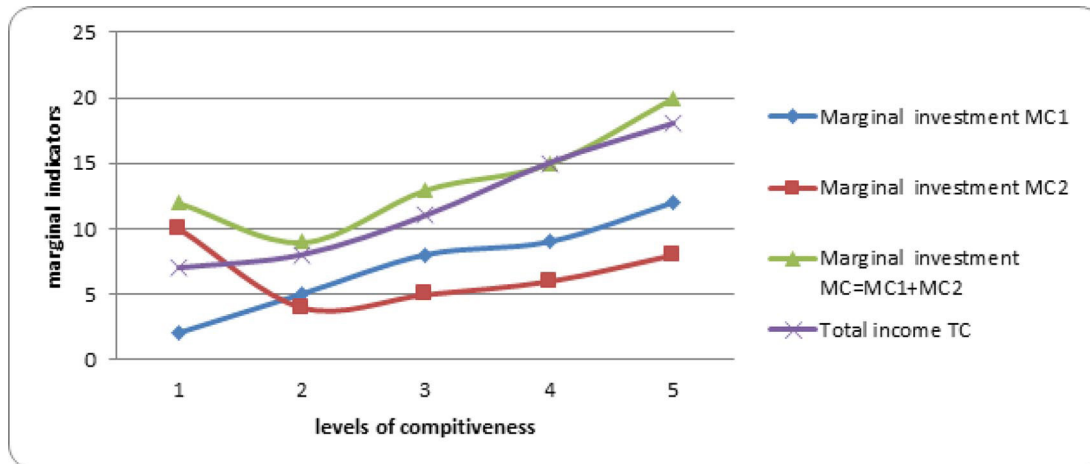
Fig. 3. Dynamics of marginal income and marginal investment in a career, depending
on the level of employee competitiveness
(using the example of a bank with entrepreneurial strategy), thousand RUR

ment MC, associated with the dynamics of the quality of working life, determined by the competitiveness of the employee (including investment in personal MC1 and corporate MC2 types of competitiveness) (Fig. 3).

As can be seen from Fig. 3, employees seek to acquire a certain share of the domestic labour market and secure it for themselves in the situation $MR \prec MC$. The employee is focused on reimbursement of costs, associated with the achievement of a career position in the labour market as any owner of economic resources.

The employee seeks to get a target profit from his/her positioning in the situation $MR \succ MC$. But in this case, the employee enjoys personally significant benefits from better competitive advantages, yielding the growth of their total income and improvement in the quality of working life. At the same time, an additional increase in one's competitiveness reduces the growth rate of their marginal income according to the law of diminishing returns.

The employee gets his/her income from the career in accordance with his/her competitiveness, when $MR=MC$. This is when the formula "from each according to his ability, to each according to labour" finds its real meaning.

The employee considers investing in a professional career as a way to improve his/her status-official positioning in the labour market, when $MC_1=MC_2$.

The employee is focused more on positioning his/her influence, power, authority, status in the professional environment in a specific inter-organizational and intra-organizational reality, when $MC_2 \succ MC_1$.

***Economic-organizational compromise
between professional and organizational,
inter-organizational
and intra-organizational careers***

During the research carried out in banking organizations, business career was found to be perceived as a way to achieve competitiveness in the labour market. Among the mechanisms involved in this process, there is, first of all, the professional career mechanism, which creates conditions for professional development and implies continuous reproduction of competitive advantages throughout the working life of each employee. The second mechanism deployed is intra-organizational career, associated with the professional and official positioning of the competitive advantages of the employee in a stratified labour division system, with due regard to the inter-organizational and intra-organizational realities. Thirdly, the inter-organizational career mechanism is used, focused on

the transition of an employee from one organization (branch) to another in order to change the professional or official position, and the level of competitiveness of the organization itself or its territorial location.

At the same time, the processes of formation, development and destruction of professional and organizational (intra-organizational and inter-organizational) careers are regulated by different laws, namely, internal unity and interpenetration. The mismatch between their timing and change trends generates an economic and organizational conflict between them (Table 3), which contributes to changes in the competitive position of employees and banking organizations in the labour market. In the perfect scenario, this conflict shall be resolved in order to protect the intellectual capital of a banking organization from stagnation in business activities, and to identify new development opportunities.

The dynamic growth strategy is applied to achieve the dialectic coordination of opportunities for professional and intra-organizational career. The employee gets a unique opportunity to unleash his/her potential and to enrich his/her experience and thereby to speed up their further promotion. The employer organization minimizes their risks by hiring responsible and successful people, respecting the corporate culture, to get predictable results from the career of such employees

In the context of the cyclical corporate development strategy, it is professional career that is in the focus of attention. Such strategy allows the employer to improve the skills of the loyal employees, to diversify their competencies by accumulating and using their new competitive advantages, to maximize their contribution to the organizational development of the bank and to adapt to the changing environment with the lowest economic and social costs due to the multi-functionality of manpower at hand. In turn, there is a real opportunity for employees to improve their competitive position in the labour market, to expand their prospects for promotion and to increase incomes from employment, mastering the new market segment of employers.

Compromise between inter-organizational and intra-organizational careers in entrepreneurial and liquidation strategies for the development of banking organizations, as well as profitability strategy, is possible when sustainable competitive advantage in the labour market is being achieved by stimulating employees with a frequent rotation from one organization or one level of the company to another, retaining their official position.

In the organizations practicing the cyclical development strategy, the compromise is being achieved to guarantee further operation of the employer in business management, to ensure their safety by means of filling the key positions with loyal and proven people, who know the specifics of business and organization, and encouraging them to professional self-development.

Table 3. Business career strategy depending on its intensity: "strategy – career" matrix, coefficient

Type of strategy	Intensity of business career $s = (s^{out}; s^{in}; s^p)$				
	dominant $(1<s^p<s^o)$	high $(s^p<s^o\leq1)$	natural $(s^o=s^p)$	favourable $(s^o<s^p\leq1)$	favourable $(1< s^o<s^p)$
Entrepreneurial					(1,99; 0,04; 2,62)
Dynamic growth					(0,2; 0,69; 1,21)
Profitability			(0,58; 0,23; 0,83)		
Liquidation	(1,02; 0,34; 0,68)				
Cyclical				(0,43; 0,42; 1,0)	

Note: s – intensity of business career; $s^o = (s^{out} + s^{in})$ – intensity of corporate career; s^{out} – intensity of inter-organizational career; s^{in} – intensity of intra-organizational career; s^p – intensity of professional career.

☐ Natural business career.

▨ Intensive business career.

☐ Extensive business career.

With the dynamic growth strategy, the subjects of the domestic banking labour market form a competitive space, which naturally brings business career to the state of self-development and self-regulation, contributing, according to the competition laws, to the fullest satisfaction of the diverse interests of the economic actors in improving their working life quality.

Thus, business career operates like a dialectical system. Its driving force and source of development are the processes of emergence, formation and resolution of the intrinsic conflict between professional and organizational, inter-organizational and intra-organizational careers.

Social expediency of the business career of employees

The indicator of the career's social expediency is success. It is subjective assessment of the conditions and results of the achieved personally significant benefits from self-positioning in the organizational labour division system.

Career success is a relative concept. It reflects individual assessment of work success (determined by the dynamics of personally significant achievements in the career comparative to different time periods of working life) and social success (determined comparative to the achievements of other employees, seeking the same career goals). In fact, it is functionally

dependent on the effectiveness and career satisfaction (Table 4).

Commonly, employees understand assessment of career satisfaction as a degree of satisfaction of their needs. For that purpose, they realize to what extent the conditions provided by a particular position in the organization allow them to improve the quality of their working life by satisfying their needs for recognition, development, self-fulfilment, dominance over other employees, power, material well-being, and independence.

In this context, career efficiency is its economic value, determined by comparing personally significant benefits from the career to the cost of achieving them, i.e. comparing the need for a career with the capacity of getting it. The employees normally assess career efficiency through the prism of the personally significant needs for development, recognition, perfection, providing the opportunity to improve the quality of life, and the market opportunities to meet such needs. This assessment sets the employees' career preferences based on the principle of "easy/difficult", "achievable/unachievable", "acceptable/unacceptable", etc.

A career is recognized as successful if it enables the employee to achieve a competitive position in the labour market, and if this position is achieved in the most rational way, namely, at minimal socioeconomic costs.

Thus, business career depends rather on the way an employee is positioned in the la-

Table 4. Classification of business career models depending on success $S_{ck} = f(S_c, E_c)$, coefficient

Career satisfaction (S_c)	Career effectiveness (E_c)	
	low	high
high	Banks with Profitability (52; 33) and Cyclical (58; 34) strategies Segment D Humanistic model	Banks with Dynamic growth strategy (54; 61) Segment A Marketing model
low	Banks with Entrepreneurial strategy (35; 30) Segment C Adaptive career model	Banks with Liquidation strategy (41; 53) Segment B Technocratic career model

Note: S_{ck} – career success; S_c – career satisfaction; E_c – career effectiveness.

bour market, due to his/her intrinsic need for better quality of working life, the desire for self-expression in the surrounding world and overcoming other employees seeking the same goals, than the right to work guaranteed by the state.

Conclusion

Business career is a dialectic system, driven by the processes of emergence, development and resolution of the intrinsic contradictions (conflicts) between professional and organizational (intra-organizational and inter-organizational) careers. These contradictions are resolved with the purpose of maintaining or improving the competitive position of the bank in the labour market. In this context, four strategic alternatives should be distinguished, depending on the organizational development strategy of the bank: A – marketing, B – technocratic, C – adaptive, D – humanistic (Table 4).

The marketing strategic alternative business career (A) is typical for banks with a dynamic growth strategy. It focuses on the dialectical coordination of opportunities for professional and organizational careers. The employee gets a unique opportunity to unleash his/her potential and enrich his/her experience, thereby promoting their promotion. The employer organization minimizes their risks by appointing proper specialists to the vacant positions. Rationally connected with the business strategy, career is built with great regard to the objective criteria for assessing professionalism, education background, creativity and communication skills of the employee.

The technocratic strategic alternative business career (B) is typical for banks adhering to the liquidation development strategy. It looks up to the interests of the employer, stimulating the employee to work for a social and professional status for the sake of the status itself, or the process of movement in the organizational system of division of labour for the sake of the process itself. The goal is presented either as a certain position within the company or an activity to be carried out by the one occupying the position. Such focus creates a fierce competition for more favourable conditions of

professional activity. In this model, career is made not only by the professional experience and activity of the employee, but also through protectionism.

The adaptive strategic alternative business career (C) is typical for banks practicing the entrepreneurial strategy. It allows the banks to react to the processes occurring in the outer world, finding a compromise between the personal-professional and the status-official positioning of the employees to meet the consumer demand for labour. It implies creation of the conditions for employees to master related professions, including the duties performed by the colleagues superior or inferior in the corporate hierarchy, and, consequently, allows for mechanical movement of employees from one workplace to another inside and outside the organization, depending on the changing workload requirements.

The humanistic strategic alternative business career (D) is popular in the banks, deploying the profitability or cyclical strategies. The humanistic focus is expressed in the consideration of the social and professional environment in terms of benefits, especially for employees, which is manifested in meeting their personal needs (including healthcare and financial stability) through self-improvement, training in new technologies, requalification, new experience in professional trainings and geographic mobility, change of social circle, lifestyle in general. The interests of individual employees prevail over the interests of the organization.

Based on the above, business career, which in the modern conditions acquires a new socio-economic meaning, appears to be a mechanism for interaction between the professional and organizational (intra-organizational and inter-organizational) careers, contributing to the improvement of one's competitive position in the labour market for catering their needs for better working life. The knowledge of strategic alternatives of business career can be used to make a comprehensive impact on the competitive advantages of employees, to identify specific functions and regulatory capabilities of each type of positioning to improve the employees' competitive positions, to find the connections

between other professional phenomena and processes, to monitor the dynamics of the relations between the quality of working life and competitiveness of each individual employee, the personnel of the organization and entire economically active population in general.

References

Beliatskiy, N.P. (2010). Metodicheskoe obespechenie kar'ernoy politiki predpriiatiia [Methodological Support for Corporate Career Policy]. In *Menedzhment v Rossii i za rubezhom* [*Management in Russia and Abroad*]*,* 3, 108-114.

Bersin, J. (2015) *Why People Management is Replacing Talent Management.* Available at: http://josh-bersin.com (accessed 23.11.2018).

Eriomina, I.Y., Toderash, V.A. (2016). Upravlenie kar'eroi v Rossii i za rubezhom [Career Management in Russia and Abroad]. In. *Problemy ekonomiki i upravleniia neftegazovym kompleksom* [*Problems of Economy and Management of Oil and Gas Complex*], 2, 12-15.

Hassell, B. (2017). At Vi, Business is All About Living and Learning. In *Chief Learning Officer,* 16(5), 32-33, Available at: https://issuu.com/chief-learning-officer/docs/co0617_issuu (accessed 20.11.2018).

Hall, D.T., Mirvis, P.H. (1995). The New Career Contract Developing the Whole Person at Midlife and Beyond». In *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*, 35, 64–75.

London, M., Moon, E.M. (1987). *Career Management and Survival in the Workplace.* Jossey-Bass, San Francisco, CA.

Masie, E. (2017). The Future of Learning Careers. Shrinking Learning Departments Reflect a Changing Role for Learning. In *Chief Learning Officer,* 16 (7), 10, Available at: http://www.clomedia.com/2017/08/17/future-learning-careers (accessed 26.11.2018).

Miliaeva, L.G. (2016). Diagnostika razvitiia professional'noy kar'ery personala v usloviiakh realizatsii kompetentnostnogo podkhoda [Diagnostics of Professional Career Development in the Context of Competence-Based Approach]. In *Upravlenie chelovecheskim potentsialom* [*Human Potential Management*]*,* 1*,* 52-58.

Savickas, M.L. (1992). New Directions in Career Assessment, D.H. Montross & C.J. Shinkman (Eds.). In *Career Development: Theory and practice*, 336–355. Charles C. Thomas, Springfield, IL.

Noe, R.A., Noe, A.W., Bachuber, J.A. (1990) An Investigation of the Correlates of Career Motivation. In *Journal of Vocational Behaviour,* 3 (37), 340-356.

Schein, E. (1986). A Critical Look at Current Career Development Theory and Research. In D.T. Hall and Association (Eds.). *Career development in organization*. Jossey-Bass, San-Francisco, CA.

Shpektorenko, I.V. (2013). Sotsial'nye lifty v strukture sotsial'noy mobil'nosti individa [Social Lifts in the Structure of Social Mobility of the Individual]. In *Upravlencheskoe konsul'tirovanie* [*Management consulting*]*,* 6 (54), 93-103.

Sillaste, G.G. (2004). Gendernaia asimmetriia kak faktor kar'ernogo rosta zhenshchin [Gender Asymmetry as a Factor of Women's Career Growth]. In *Vysshee obrazovanie v Rossii* [*Higher education in Russia*]*,* 3, 122-133.

Sotnikov, N.Z. (2015). Delovaia kar'era kak metamodel' upravleniia konkurentosposobnost'iu naemnogo personala [Business Career as Hired Personnel Competiveness Management Metamodel]. In *Vestnik NGUEU* [*Vestnik NSUEM*], 1, 190-200.

Sotnikova, S.I. (2018). Novyy kontur otsenki konkurentosposobnosti nauchno-pedagogicheskikh rabotnikov: nezavisimaia otsenka kvalifikatsii [New Contour of Assessment of the Research and Teaching Personnel Competitiveness: Independent Qualification Assessment]. In *Universitetskoe upravlenie: praktika i analiz* [*University Management: Practice and Analysis*], 22(3), 113-126.

Деловая карьера в российских банковских организациях: приоритеты и возможности

Н.З. Сотников, С.И. Сотникова,
Е.М. Михайлова

Новосибирский государственный университет
экономики и управления
Российская Федерация, Новосибирск

Аннотация. В условиях высокой неопределенности и динамичности российской окружающей социально-экономической среды, становления «прозрачного» мирового рынка такие традиционные методы повышения эффективности труда, как рационализация и автоматизация бизнес-процессов, поиск талантов, зачастую не приводят к повышению конкурентоспособности человеческих ресурсов. Для того чтобы быть конкурентным, необходимо создание условий для постоянного стремления работника к осознанному формированию долгосрочного превосходства над работниками-конкурентами, преумножения конкурентных компетенций каждого посредством деловой карьеры. В этом контексте возрастает необходимость познания общего характера и глубинных причин процессов организации, развития и разрушения деловой карьеры, возможности трансформации ее стратегий с учетом конкурентной позиции банковской организации. Цель исследования состоит в выявлении организационно-экономических закономерностей деловой карьеры, обусловленных различиями в конкурентной позиции банковских организаций: (а) выявить детерминанты деловой карьеры, позволяющие достичь более высокого уровня в конкуренции на рынке труда в изменяющихся условиях; (б) проанализировать возможные стратегические альтернативы деловой карьеры путем построения двухмерных матриц, позволяющих оценить перспективы того или иного способа позиционирования банковского персонала на рынке труда. По содержанию происходит анализ деловой карьеры персонала 15 федеральных и региональных банков, котирующихся на российском рынке в течение шести лет. Результаты показывают, что вид и интенсивность деловой карьеры определяют механизмы локализации и утверждения конкурентного превосходства как работника, так и банковской организации в рыночной ситуации. Познание деловой карьеры позволило выявить наличие социально-экономического конфликта между профессиональной карьерой и организационной (внутри- и межорганизационной). Способы разрешения конфликта деловой карьеры формируют стратегические альтернативы взаимодействия профессионального и организационного видов карьеры, направленные на поддержание и повышение конкурентоспособности человеческих ресурсов банковской организации.

Ключевые слова: коммерческий банк, конкурентоспособность персонала, деловая карьера.

Научная специальность: 08.00.00 – экономические науки.

Woman's Status in the Kalmyk and Buryat Buddhist Tradition: History and the Current State

Mergen S. Ulanov, Valeriy N. Badmaev and Andrey V. Radionov*

Kalmyk State University named after B.B. Gorodovikov
Elista, Russian Federation

Abstract. The article deals with the problem of the woman' status in the history of Buddhism of the Mongol-speaking peoples of Russia, such as the Kalmyks and the Buryats. Special attention is paid to the female clergy issue in the religious history of these indigenous groups. The authors note that with the spread of Buddhism, women in Buryatia and Kalmykia acquired a higher social and religious status, which is enshrined in legal documents. At the same time, in the traditional Kalmyk and Buryat society a woman was generally excluded from active social life and could not make a career in the religious sphere.

In the 20th century, the position of Kalmyk and Buryat women in the society underwent significant societal changes. The Soviet state sought to involve the women of Kalmykia and Buryatia into building a new society, actively fighting against the Buddhist religion and conducting the nation-wide atheistic propaganda. All these contributed to the significant decrease in the religiosity of the population in these regions, including its female part.

Today, the position of women in the religious life of Kalmykia and Buryatia is characterized as ambivalent. On one hand, in traditional Buddhist organizations women can only occupy the positions of worshipers, secular employees, or perform certain religious duties during rites. On the other hand, the women's role in the laity is more significant. They take an active part in the life of Buddhist communities and organizations, study Buddhist philosophy and medicine. Buddhist activists in modern Buddhist communities in these regions of Russia make a great contribution to the revival of Buddhism. Even though the majority of the Buddhist clergy is made up by men, these are women who constitute the majority of lay practitioners both in Kalmykia and Buryatia.

Keywords: Buddhism, women, gender, Kalmyks, Buryats, female monasticism, Mongolian peoples.

* Corresponding author E-mail address: ulanov1974@mail.ru, badmav07@yandex.ru
   ORCID: 0000–0002–6749–7424 (Ulanov); 0000–0003–1066–8314 (Badmaev)

Research area: history, culturology.

Introduction

Buddhism is known to be the oldest of the world religions. It takes its origin in the countries of Central, South, Southeast, and East Asia. In the 20th century, this religion began to spread actively around Europe and America. Besides, Buddhism gained ground in some areas of Russia, particularly among the Kalmyks and Buryats. In those regions of the world where Buddhism became the dominant religion, Buddhist values have a great significance, since religion is an essential element of the traditional culture and in many respects guides the spiritual development of countries and nations. The human, his or her place in the world and the society, the relationship between people are important objects of contemplation and understanding in Buddhist philosophy. In this regard, the attitude to women is of particular importance. Buddhism has its own opinion about women equalizing their rights with those of men in matters of religious salvation. Adopted by a new country, it often brought changes to previous ideas about women, raised the social and religious status of women, immediately stimulating the progressive development of the society.

In the modern era, Buddhism is beginning to gain wider popularity in the world community due to its tolerant attitude to other religious traditions, the absence of claims to exclusiveness, and openness to the interfaith dialogue. This process coincided with the uprising of the international women's movement struggling for rights when women began to play a crucial role in the political, economic, social and religious life of the society.

Touching upon the extent of research of this topic, it is necessary to point out that on one hand, gender issues have been beyond the focus of Buddhology for a long time, and on the other hand, regardless of its popularity in the West, feminist theology has hardly ever addressed the issue of women in Buddhist culture. This situation is partially explained by the fact that feminist theology mainly developed in Europe and North America where Buddhism has been poorly represented until recently. Besides, the tolerance of the Buddhist tradition, which extends to the gender issue, forced many representatives of religious feminism to refrain from criticism, and consequently, special research in this area.

Currently, there is a relatively small amount of research devoted to this issue. The problem of the place of women in the Buddhist culture of the Mongolian peoples of Russia, namely the Kalmyks and Buryats, is regrettably understudied. The present work is dedicated to this problem.

**Women in the history
of Kalmyk Buddhism**

The early history of Kalmyk Buddhism is closely connected with the history of Buddhism development among the Oirats, the ancestors of the Kalmyks, who learned Buddhism from the Tibetan Red Hats in the era of the Mongolian empire. However, the spread of Buddhism began only in the 16th-17th centuries after the introduction of the Gelug school (order), which became dominant among all Mongolian peoples. Among the famous Oirat enlighteners and Buddhism disseminators, there were Neiji-Toin and Zaya Pandita. Their biographies may trace quite a few references to female Buddhists. The biography of Neiji-Toin mentions that he preached about the ways and rules for taking tantric vows "to many vanities, *noyons*, pious representatives of imperial origin, princesses

and noble women …" (Biography of Neiji-Toin, 1984: 89). Besides, he actively transferred monastic and lay vows, starting with the vows of the *ubashi*, *ubasansa*, *bandy*, *getzula*, and *gelong* (Biography of Neiji-Toin, 1984: 89).

Neiji-Toin also ordained his son Erdem-un Dalai along with his wife. It happened when the preacher was in the territory of Manchuria in Mukden with his son, his wife and children arriving from Dzungaria. However, the lama did not wish to see his relatives for several days, saying that as a monk he could not have a son, a daughter-in-law and grandchildren. However, the local noblemen were very insistent and persuasive, so he agreed to meet only provided that his family got ordained. As a result, Erdam-un Dalai became a gelong monk, whereas his wife became his shabbantsa (Biography of Neiji-Toin, 1984: 75). The biography of another Oirat enlightener, Zaya Pandita, says that he often took the vows of *gelong, getzula, bandi, ubashi* and *ubasansa* (Radnadadra, 2003: 182). In the biography of Zaya Pandita it is mentioned that he sometimes even gave initiation into the female monastic rank of *getzulma*, which required taking 36 vows, which is an extremely rare custom among the Mongolian peoples. One *ubasansa* brought Zaya Pandita a yurt decorated with silver, twenty camels and ten horses along with many other things. After that, she was ordained to the monastic rank of *getzulma* and given the name of Badma (Radnadadra, 2003: 186).

Thus, at the dawn of Buddhism among the Oirats, there were women who took the spiritual vows of *ubasansa* and *shabagansa*. *Ubasansa* (Tib. *geninma*) was a lay woman who due to high religiosity or other life circumstances took five vows: not to kill, not to lie, not to steal, not to commit wrong sexual acts, not to take alcohol (and other intoxicants). Moreover, those who took this vow were supposed to fast on the 8th, 15th, and 30th days of each month. Unlike other lay women, *ubasansas* wore a red sling over their left shoulder (Golstunsky, 1880: 108).

Shabagansa (Tib. *rabjungma*) was a Buddhist nun who held the vows of the lowest rank in monasticism, which roughly corresponded to the rank of *bandi* (Tib. *rabjung*). *Shabagansa* was already considered a novice nun (Ula-

nov, Tyumidova, 2018: 177). She had to hold 8 vows: not to kill, not to lie, not to steal, to observe celibacy, not to take alcohol (and other intoxicants), to change her outfit for a monastic robe, to change the name for a monastic one, to change the mind (abandon narrow-minded cares and aspirations).

The Mongol-Oirat laws of 1640 (*Iki Tsaadzhin Bichik* or *Ikh tsaaz*) the legal system of the Oirats and Kalmyks rested upon for a long time, defended the rights of the Buddhist clergy, including its female part. *Shabagansas* and *Ubasansas* were mentioned here as follows: "For insulting *bandi* or *shabagansa* a fine of five coins is given. And the one who beats them is punishable by nine coins. For insulting *ubashi* or *ubasansa* a mulct of a horse is to be paid." (Ikh tsaaz…, 1981: 17).

It should be noted that Buddhism made a significant impact on *Iki Tsaadzhin Bichik*. These laws lack the brutality of the *Great Yasa* of the Mongols (Ulanov, Badmaev, Matsakova, 2016: 1071). The Buddhist humanism influence on the Mongol-Oirat laws of 1640 can be seen in the article concerning the punishment of women for adultery. For example, a woman accused of disloyalty to her husband was punished only with a relatively small fine in favour of the head of the *ulus*, "If a married woman converges with an outsider by mutual consent and mutual love, then the woman is to pay four and the man five heads (of cattle)" (Ikh tsaaz …, 1981: 24). Meanwhile, in *Yasa,* those accused of adultery were subject to the death penalty.

The spiritual vows of an *ubasansa* were often taken by the noble Oirat women. It is known that Yum Agaskhatun, the wife of Erdeni Baatur-khuntaidzhia, the ruler of Dzungaria, took the *ubasansa* vows after her husband's death and strictly adhered to them till the end of her life. Another no less famous person of the past was Gungzhu-khatun, the mother of Khoshut Tsetsen-Khan, famous for her piety and severity in spiritual precepts. She made numerous pilgrimages to Tibet. Saikhanzhu-khatun, the mother of Khoshut Ablai-taishi, became renowned for her religiousness. The famous monastery complex Ablayin-kit located near the modern city of Ust-Kamenogorsk, was built by Ablai at his mother's request. Yechzhi

Tsagan, the wife of *taisha* Toin from Derbety, the mother of the famous Derbet *taisha* Malai Batyr, also became famous for her piety and strictness in holding her vows. In the summer of 1662, returning from Tibet, she welcomed Zaya-Pandita who was on his way to meet with the Dalai Lama with great respect and hospitality (Alekseeva, 2009: 5-6).

As for female monasticism in the 18th and 19th centuries, there is very little evidence left. And although V.N. Tatishchev mentions Kalmyk women's monasteries in the comments to the Legislation of 1640, which he provided for the Russian Academy of Sciences, "…they have women's monasteries along with men's (though the former are rare)" (Kurapov, 2007: 75). These data are questionable and not supported by any other sources.

Probably, the institute of female monasticism mentioned in *Ikh tsaaz*, gradually fell into decay among the Kalmyks. The Addendum to the Mongol-Oirat Charter of 1640, complied during the rule of the Khan Donduk-Dashi, makes no mentioning of *shabagansa*. It only lists the men's spiritual titles, "A person who saw [*getsul*] drinking wine, has [the right] to take a three-year-old ram [from him]. If a baindi is caught committing an offence, a three-year ram may be taken from him" (Golstunsky, 1880: 61).

In various versions of the Zinzilin decrees, no *shabagansa* are mentioned either, "Whoever insults a *gelong* with a curse is to be fined once with nine [blows]; whoever dares to hit him with a hand, is punished three times with nine whip blows each. Anyone who offends Bandinar Shabinari is penalized with 5 heads (of cattle)" (Leontovich, 1880: 17). At the same time, *ubasansa* laywomen are mentioned there, "Whoever offends *Uubushu*, *Ubushansa* with a curse is fined with one horse" (Leontovich, 1880: 17).

In his "Travel notes in the Kalmyk steppes of the Astrakhan Gubernia", P. Smirnov wrote about the functioning of the Kalmyk *ubasansa* noting that "women can perform the rite of worshipping while walking in close files under the leadership of the *ubasansa* if they happen to be around" (Smirnov, 1999: 48). Further on, P. Smirnov adds, "*Ubushi* can be men and women, of whom the latter are called *ubasansa*. They take a vow not to kill animals, to pray three times a day, either by shaking a *kyurda*, or by counting beads on the rosary (*erke*), uttering *om-ma-ni-padme hum*, not to drink vodka (*arika*), not to smoke tobacco, to stay loyal to the family ties. As a reward from *gelongs*, both receive *orkimdzha,* a long band that passes over the right shoulder and is tied under the left muscle " (Smirnov, 1999: 52).

In the works of pre-revolutionary authors devoted to the history and culture of the Kalmyks, there is virtually nothing written about the *shabagansa*-nun institution. An eminent researcher, I. Zhitetsky writes only about the existence of *ubusansa* laywomen (Zhitetsky, 2011: 55). The exception is the work by I.V. Bentkovsky "A Kalmyk woman of the Bolshederbetovsky ulus in physiological, religious and social relations", which states that "a Kalmyk woman, a poor widow of advanced age, may, if she wishes, devote herself to serving in the Khurul, and in that case, her duty lies in the performance of works characteristic of a woman and some services to the clergy" (Bentkovsky, 2011: 468). However, the scholar does not mention the term *shabagansa* nor does he write of any personal encounters with nuns, only referring to the Mongol-Oirat Charter of 1640.

The popularity of Buddhism among the Kalmyks contributed to the improving position of women. Pre-revolutionary kalmykologist I.V. Bentkovsky highly appreciated the respect for the woman in the Kalmyk Buddhism, "It is most remarkable that Buddhism does not only allow the presence of a woman in religious service, but also allows her to touch ceremonial vessels and religious objects on the whole and, as such, makes her a part of the religious activities. A woman may, for example, put *burkhans* (deity figures) around her dwelling, light incense and candles in front of them, make a sacrifice and so on. If a woman (mother or wife of the owner) is distinguished by a virtuous life, charity towards the clergy, mercy towards the people and diligence in faith, during solemn worship the clergy praises her with the ultimate part of prayers..." (Bentkovsky, 2011: 467-468).

Women in the history of the Buryat Buddhism

Just like in Kalmykia, in Buryatia women's monasteries historically did not exist. At the same time, it cannot be argued that Buryat female monasticism was impossible. Doubtlessly, women's monasticism did exist among the Buryats. However, just like in Mongolia, it was only found in its most elementary form of taking vows of *shabagansa*, which was usually done at a mature age, when women had more time for prayers and other spiritual practices. After the tonsure, the life of older women did not undergo any dramatic changes. They continued living with their families, playing their traditional social roles, at the same time keeping their spiritual vows. "The Religious Rules of the Mongol-Buryat Clergy of Transbaikalia" of 1831 notes that "elderly women of 50 years or older who out of piety wish to join *chabagansa*, are to be initiated with the knowledge that a married woman should have the consent of her husband; however, they do not have to be listed in *datsans*" (Tsyrempilov, 2013: 266).

Shabagan vows were not compulsory for all older women, but this practice was quite popular, as it was believed that their observance contributed to a favourable rebirth and improved the karma. Besides the basic eight vows, a *shabagansa* woman, had to pray daily, fast for long periods, attend *datsans,* participate in prayers in the houses of laymen etc. (Dondokova, 2008: 208).

Another form of female religiosity among the Buryats was the *ubasansa* institution. Besides keeping the five basic vows, *ubasansas* were supposed to fast on the 8th, 15th and 30th lunar days. Unlike *shabagansa*, *ubasansa* did go through tonsure (had their hair cut) nor did they observe celibacy. The girls who took the vows of *ubasansas* were allowed to marry and have children. These vows could be made by girls aged 5 or older. However, at a young age, doing so was extremely rare. It was more common for the wives of lamas after marriage (Dondokova, 2008: 58).

The adoption of the *ubasansa* and *shabagansa* vows, as a rule, found support among the Buryat clergy, since this increased the number of believers among the laity and facilitated the popularization of Buddhism among Bury-

at families (Dondokova, 2008). The works by many pre-revolutionary travellers and scholars who visited Buryatia testify to the great number of women who kept spiritual vows in Transbaikalia. Having visited Transbaikalia in the 1830s, V. Parshin, for example, noted that many Buryat women and even girls wear the red ribbon *orhimzho* over their shoulders, which, embodying moral purity and adherence to the Buddha's teachings, testified the fact of making their Buddhist vows (Parshin, 1844: 48-49). Osokin who visited Transbaikalia at the end of the 19th century and remarked that Buryat women often take the vows of *shabagansas* upon themselves. According to the researcher, after becoming nuns, they did not only wear a red ribbon over their shoulder, but also had their heads clean-shaven. "From now on, many of them do not eat meat or drink wine, nor do they take part in any family celebrations attending solely *datsan* and '*ombons*'. A conversation with lamas constitutes their favourite pastime" (Osokin, 1898: 12).

In contrast to the Mongolian religious tradition, in the Buryat Buddhism, the institute of *khubilgans* (reincarnations of deities and high lamas) was not widely spread. However, the Buryat lamas often recognized Russian monarchs as the *khubilgans* of the popular goddess White Tara (Bur. Sagaan Dara Ekhe). Empress Elizabeth became the first monarch to be recognized as an incarnation of this goddess, following her 1741 decree that granted official recognition to Buddhism as a traditional religion and established a Buddhist clergy institute in Transbaikalia. In the subsequent period, Catherine the Great, Alexander III and Nicholas II were also considered the incarnations of White Tara. The last emperor was even lauded in the Buryat *magitals* (songs of praise), in which he is likened to "God, the incarnation of the virtues of White Dara-ekhe" (Trepavlov, 2017: 230). However, since this recognition was more a sign of respect and a political gesture rather than a religious matter, it did not receive a wide resonance across the Buddhist world.

The first and only female *khubilgan* in the Buryat community appeared only in the early 20th century. Her recognition as an incarnation of White Tara was associated with the activi-

ties of Lama Agvan Dorzhiev, a famous Buryat reformer and leader of the Buddhist renovation movement in Russia. The person recognized as an incarnation of Sagaan Dara Ekhe in 1918 was a Buryat girl Aksinya Bainova from a poor family of Tarkhanuta ulus of the Ekhirit-Bulagatsky aimag. She was recognized as a *khubilgan* by a group of local and Transbaikal lamas presided by A. Dorzhiev. In 1923, in honour of the first woman *khubilgan*, Western Buryats even built Murinsky *datsan*, where two of the most honourable thrones were meant for the incarnations of Sagaan Dara Ekhe and A. Dorzhiev. The resonance of this event in the local community created a number of legends. As a result, the population of local uluses and aimags began to flock to Tarkhanuty to worship the incarnation of Sagaan Dara Ekhe who was considered to be the saviour of the folk. All this contributed to the spread of Buddhism among the Irkutsk Buryats, the majority of whom preached shamanism. Later, the *khubilgan* girl was transferred to Atsagat datsan, but constantly visited her native ulus to hold prayer ceremonies, practice healing and speak to believers (Dondokova, 2011: 137-139).

In general, the spread of Buddhism among the Mongolian peoples of Russia contributed to the improvement of attitude to the local women. Tolerance, humanism, and high moral standards characteristic of the Buddhist culture, contributed to the growth of the social and legal status of women.

**Women and Buddhism in Russia
in the Soviet period**

In the 20th century, the position of the Kalmyk and Buryat women in society was significantly changed. The Soviet state sought to attract the women of Kalmykia and Buryatia into building a new society, fighting against the Buddhist religion and conducting atheistic propaganda. All these contributed to the slump in the religiosity in these regions, including its female population. However, according to the classified data of the National Census conducted in 1937 among the Kalmyks and Buryats, even after two decades of the Soviet rule, the number of believers was quite large. Out of 218,597 Buryats and 127,336 Kalmyks, 82,139

people claimed to be believers. Among the adult population (16 years and older), approximately 60% of the Buryats and Kalmyks recognized themselves as believers, with 56.7% of which being women and 43.3% being men (Maksimov, 2011: 284). Considering that the fear of reprisals made many people conceal their actual convictions, the actual percentage of religiosity of the female population could be much higher.

In the second half of the 20th century, Buddhism in Russia was, despite all the restrictions, a significant factor in the formation of the Kalmyk and Buryat peoples' identity. However, in different regions, the situation was different. In the area populated by the Buryats, it is possible to talk about the restoration, albeit in a rather limited form, of Buddhist temples and institutions. As an example, Ivolginsky Datsan was opened in Buryatia in the middle of the 20th century, while Aginsky Datsan resumed its activities in the Chita Oblast. A large proportion of the parish was made up by middle-aged and elderly women. During the Soviet period, in the rural areas the institution of *shabagansas* (nuns in the world) continued to exist. There, elderly *shabagansas* often helped lamas during religious ceremonies.

In Kalmykia, the situation was more complicated, since the war, deportation, and 13 years of exile severely undermined the Kalmyk Buddhism. After the restoration of the autonomy of the Republic of Kalmykia, there was no revival of Buddhist temples. The efforts of the Kalmyk believers to officially register at least one Buddhist community were toughly rejected by the authorities (Ochirova, 2004: 10). In such conditions, the activity of women's communities, popularly known as "matsgta *emgdyud*" (literally "grandmothers practising the *matsg* ritual"), became more vibrant. According to E.P. Bakaeva, the practice of the *matsgta* community was a stage of transition from the monastery-temple level to the popular form of Buddhism. The exact date of establishment of the *matsg* communities among the laity is unknown. However, the memoirs of the informants claim that at the beginning of the 20th century some worship services were held in the houses of believers during the fasting days.

Consequently, it can be assumed that the *matsg* tradition among the lay Buddhists of Kalmykia took shape no later than the beginning of the 20th century (Bakaeva, 2011: 120).

The *matsg* tradition was upheld by elderly lay women who observed the *Mahayana* vows of one day (Tib. "*sojong*", Kalm. "*matsg*"). The practice consisted of taking Buddhist vows and reading communal prayers on special days of the *matsg* associated with the 8th, 15th, and 30th lunar days, as well as on the days of major Buddhist holidays (Tib. "*duchen*", Kalm. "*dutsng*"). The prayer ceremonies were held in the homes of women. Usually, all the major prayers days were scheduled for several months in advance. Believers knew exactly and beforehand where and when the next *matsg* ritual was to take place.

By the end of the 1980s, there were several *matsgta emgdyud* communities in Elista. However, with the restoration of the Buddhist temples and the appearance of *khuruls* in Kalmykia, the community activities began to decline. By the late 1990s there was only one *matsgta* congregation in Elista with about twenty permanent members; a similar community was also in the town of Gorodovikovsk (Bakaeva, 2011: 121).

Women in the Buddhist communities
of Kalmykia and Buryatia
in the post-Soviet period

The social and political changes that shook Russia after the start of the Perestroika process resulted in radical modifications in the religious situation in the society. The process of religious revival did not bypass the Buddhist regions. In the post-Soviet period, the women of Kalmykia and Buryatia were actively involved in this religious revival process. A manifestation of this process was the emergence of a community of Buddhist women activists. This religious community is special for its social heterogeneity. Its core is represented by women distinguished not only by strong faith and commitment to Buddhism, but also by their serious interest in Buddhist philosophy and meditation, which was not typical of religious women of the Soviet and post-Soviet periods. At the same time, the majority of Buddhist women activists do not have extensive knowledge of Buddhism and are only partially involved in the activities of Buddhist communities. Meanwhile, the share of women among the representatives of the Buddhist clergy is very small (Badmatsyrenov, 2017: 26).

In the post-Soviet Buryatia, the first and only female Buddhist *datsan* appeared in Russia. The name of the temple can be translated from the Tibetan language as "Prosperous and noble monastery". Zungon Darzhaling Datsan was built with the blessing of His Holiness Dalai Lama XIV, who at a meeting with the Buddhist public in 1992 in Buryatia proposed to erect a female temple there. According to the spiritual leader of Buddhists, the female *datsan* would promote peace and harmony in the Buryat land (Dorzhieva, 2018).

Zungon Darzhaling Datsan is located in one of the districts of Ulan-Ude. One of the important tasks of the Buddhist Women's Center is to offer assistance to women who come not only from the regions of Buryatia, but also from different areas of Russia. It should be noted that the parish consists of both men and women. The service and individual reception are held by women, which differs this *datsan* from other Buddhist temples in Russia. Today, three women of the clergy bear the *genenma* status, i.e. they observe the five vows of the laity. In the *datsan*, they wear a traditional Mongolian Lama robe significantly different from the Tibetan one.

For a long time, the head of the *datsan* has been Zorigma Budaeva. Holding a degree in speech therapy and pathology, before she worked as an associate professor at the Institute for Advanced Studies before being ordained as a female lama. The just like other representatives of the women clergy, the head of the *dastan* lives outside its premises. All the women have ordinary families and children. This is the main difference from the more widespread Buddhist monasteries in the East. "We are the same as the priests and priestesses of the majority of the *datsans* of Buryatia, we organize prayer ceremonies, meet with parishioners, but live in ordinary families and have children," says Z. Budaeva (Shevtsova, 2004).

At the same time, as researchers observe, the female *datsan* has encountered numerous

obstacles. The independent position of these women does not find support and approval from either the Buddhist establishment or the general Buddhist public. They are probably wary of the desire of women to work outside the Buddhist religion. Nonetheless, Z. Budaeva and her surrounding work hard to create conditions for the Buddhist practices of women. Thanks primarily to their perseverance, these women have eventually gained access to basic Buddhist education, rituals, and spiritual teachings (Buddhism in Mongolian History, 2015: 269).

Today, the female *datsan* has expanded its influence. Lama women organize lectures on Buddhist philosophy for everyone. The priest of the Zungon Darzhaling quite successfully establishes international contacts and participates in the international women's Buddhist movement.

Z. Budaeva has presented at several conferences organized by the Sakyadita movement and regularly introduces the international Buddhist community to the problems of female Buddhists from Buryatia (Buddhism in Mongolia History, 2015: 269-270). Sakyadhita (Skt. "The daughters of the Buddha") is the International Organization of Women Buddhists, committed to changing the position of women in Buddhist society. Sakyadhita appeared as a result of the First International Conference of Buddhist Women held in the Indian city of Bodhagaya in 1987. Sakyadhita strives to unite female Buddhists from various countries and traditions, to support them and to promote their work for the benefit of the humankind. The activity of Sakyadhita is also aimed at achieving real equality in Buddhism and equal opportunities for obtaining Buddhist education, regardless of gender (Fenn and Koppedrayer, 2008).

Buryat women today are actively learning the secrets of traditional Tibetan medicine. Today, in the Transbaikal Territory, at the premises of the Buddhist Academy of the Aginsky *datsan*, "a lot of women are majoring in Tibetan medicine. In 1999-2012, 36 women graduated from the academy, which accounts for half the graduates in this major. Female specialists in Tibetan medicine practice in different regions

of Russia and other countries" (Badmatsyrenov, Badmatsyrenova, 2015: 63).

In modern Buryatia, there is a nun who succeeds in fully immersing herself in monasticism along with active research and social activities. This is Doctor of Philosophy, Professor I.S. Urbanaeva, known in the Buddhist world as *gezulma* nun Tenzin Chodron. In 1996, with the blessing of the authoritative Buddhist teacher Geshe Dzhampa Tinley, she established a Buddhist centre in Ulan-Ude, better known as Green Tara. The centre is actively developing. In 2003, she was initiated as a *getzulma* by His Holiness the Dalai Lama XIV in Dharamsala (India). Today, I.S. Urbanaeva combines fruitful academic work with active Buddhist practice, translating texts from Tibetan into Russian (Chetyrova, 2018: 225-226). Tenzin Chodron actively expands international contacts, cooperating with Russian and foreign colleagues, Tibetologists and Buddhologists. As the Chief Researcher at the Institute of Mongolian Studies, Buddhology and Tibetology of the Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Tenzin Chodron has organized a number of scientific events including conferences and round tables with such eminent representatives of the international and domestic Buddhology as professor Robert Thurman, former head of the Central Tibetan Administration Professor Samdong Rinpoche, Rector of Sarnath University Geshe Ngawang Samten and others. (Chetyrova, 2018: 226).

An important feature of the modern religious situation in Buryatia is that the tradition of *shabagansa* nuns is still retained here. The nuns in the world are mainly mature aged women. They often take part in out-of-temple prayer services and ceremonies together with male lamas. During the services, the nuns have the right to sit next to the lamas. However, researchers note that the number of elderly Buryat women who have taken monastic and *shabagansa* vows is noticeably reducing, which may lead to the disappearance of this unique tradition. This situation is "associated with the loss of traditional everyday life, with the corresponding stereotypes of age-related behaviour, with the intensification of secular life, with modern temptations, and a responsible attitude

to vows" (Zhambalova, 2011: 89-90). It is no coincidence that in one of his interviews the head of the Buddhist traditional *sangha* of Russia, Khambo-Lama D. Ayusheev stated that he planned to support the practice that encourages Buryat "women once they have raised their children and grandchildren to take vows" (cit. from Badmatsyrenov, 2015: 62).

In the post-Soviet Kalmykia, the institute of convents and temples in Kalmykia has not yet shaped itself. However, in recent years, social networks have given rise to informal organizations of women. Thus, the goals of the VK community 'The unions of women Buddhists in the Republic of Kalmykia' include expanding the opportunities for the spiritual development of women; providing access to Buddhist education and common cultural heritage of modern civilization with a focus on the development of the internal growth of a woman as an individual, mother, homemaker, custodian of the traditions and culture of her people (Unions of Women Buddhists). Importantly, women constitute the overwhelming majority among the worshipers of Buddhist temples and members of lay communities, numerous on the territory of Kalmykia.

Conclusion

With the spread of Buddhism, women in Buryatia and Kalmykia have acquired a higher social and religious status, which was enshrined in legal documents. However, in the traditional Kalmyk and Buryat society, the woman was usually excluded from social activities and could not make a career in the religious sphere. Historically, there were no women's monasteries in Buryatia and Kalmykia, making it difficult for women to get religious education. In the meanwhile, the Buryat female monasticism was present in the form of the *shabagansa* institution (nuns in the world). In the Soviet period, the tradition of taking *shabagansa* vows was preserved, and in many villages, older women assisted lamas in performing rites and rituals, especially those related to the life cycle. In Kalmykia, women mostly took vows of *ubasansas* (lay women).

Currently, the position of women in the religious life of Kalmykia and Buryatia is ambivalent. On the one hand, in traditional Buddhist church organizations, women can only appear as church-goers and staff (cooks, accountants, secretaries, etc.), as well as perform basic religious activities during certain rituals. On the other hand, within laity associations, their role becomes more significant. Women take an active part in the activities of Buddhist communities and organizations, study Buddhist philosophy and medicine, carry out religious services, and contribute to the transfer of Buddhist knowledge to the younger generation of the Russian national republics. Such activities in modern Buddhist communities contribute to the revival of Buddhism in these regions of Russia. Women of Russia interact with the international Sakyadhita organization, uniting women from more than 50 countries of the world. An important event in the history of Russian Buddhism was the appearance of the first female Buddhist *datsan* in the territory of Buryatia. In general, even though men constitute the bulk of the Buddhist clergy, those are women who make up the majority of lay parishioners and actively practice lay faith in Kalmykia and Buryatia.

References

Alekseeva, P.E. (2009). *Printsessa Nirdzhidma i kniga pesen torgutov Kitayia* [*Princess Nirgidma and the book of songs Torgut China*]. Elista: Dzhangar, 2009.

Badmatsyrenov, T.B. (2017). Sotsial'naia struktura buddiyskogo soobshchestva: komponenty i ikh vzaimodeystviia [Social structure of the Buddhist community: components and their interaction]. In *Ojkumena,* 2, 18-28.

Badmatsyrenov, T.B., Badmatsyrenova, E.L. (2015). Zhenshchiny v buddiyskikh soobshchestvakh Buryiatii: istoriko-sotsiologicheskii analiz [Women in the Buddhist communities of Buryatia: a historical and sociological analysis]. In *Vestnik Buryatskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta* [*Buryat State University Newsletter*], 6A, 60–65.

Bakaeva, E.P. (2011). K ehtnicheskim kharakteristikam kalmytskogo buddizma: obriad «matsg» [To the ethnic characteristics of Kalmyk Buddhism: the rite of «matsg»]. In: *Nauchnaya mysl' Kavkaza* [*Scientific notes of the Caucasus*], 1 (2), 120–123.

Bentkovsky, I.V. (2011). *Zhenshchina kalmychka Bol'shederbetovskogo ulusa v fiziologicheskom, religioznom i sotsial'nom otnosheniyakh* [Kalmyk woman of the Bolshederbetovsky ulus in the physiological, religious and social relations]. In *Opal'nye: Russkie pisateli otkryvaiut Kavkaz. Antologiia v 3 t.* [*The Exiled: Russian writers discover the Caucasus. Antologyy in 3 volumes*]. Stavropol: Stavropol State University Press, 2, 450-468.

Biografiia Nejdzhi-Toina [Biography of Neiji-Toin] (1984). *Purbueva C.P. Biografiia «Biografiia Nejdzhi-toina» istochnik po istorii buddizma v Mongolii.* Novosibirsk: Nauka: Siberian branch, pp.49-90.

Buddhism in Mongolian History, Culture, and Society (2015). Oxford: University Press.

Tsyrempilov, N.V. (2013). *Buddizm i imperiia. Buriatskaia obshchina v Rossii (XVIII – nach. XX v.)* [*Buddhism and Empire. Buryat community in Russia (18th – early 20th century)*]. Ulan-Ude: IMBT of the Siberian Branch of the RAS.

Chetyrova, L.B. (2018). Osobennosti transliatsii buddizma v mezhdunarodnom zhenskom buddiyskom dvizhenii [Features of Buddhism transmission in the international women's Buddhist movement]. In *Problemy transliatsii i filosofskoy interpretatsii buddizma (na materiale tibetskoy i kitayskoy traditsiy).* Ulan-Ude: BNC of the Siberian Branch of the RAS, 202-231.

Dondokova, L.Y. (2011). O zhenskom hubilgane buddiyskoy bogini Sagaan Dara-Ekhe u buriat (po rukopisi G. Khaakova «Istoriia Ehkhirit-Bulagatskoy Hubilganki») [On the female Kubilgan of the Buddhist goddess Sagaan Dara-ehe u Buryat (according to the manuscript of G. Khaakov «The History of the Ekhirit-Bulagatskaya Kubilganka»)]. In *Pamyat' mira: istoriko-dokumental'noe nasledie buddizma: Materialy mezhdunarodnoy nauchno-prakticheskoy konferentsii* [*Heritage of the world: historical and documentary heritage of Buddhism. Proceedings of the international scientific and practical conference*]. Moscow: Russian State Humanitarian University, 136-140.

Dondokova, L.Y. (2008). *Status zhenshchiny v traditsionnom obshchestve buriat (vtoraia polovina XIX – nachalo XX v.)* [*Women's status in the traditional Buryat society (second half of the 19th – beginning of the 20th century)*]. Ulan-Ude: Buryat State Agrarian Academy.

Dorzhieva, E. (2018). *Tol'ko zhenshchina mozhet poniat' zhenshchinu* [*Only a woman can understand a woman*], available at: https://www.infpol.ru/179442-tolko-zhenshchina-mozhet-ponyat-zhenshchinu/

Fenn, M.L. and Koppedrayer, K. (2008). Sakyadhita: A Transnational Gathering Place for Buddhist Women. In *Journal of Global Buddhism,* 9, 45–79.

Golstunsky, K.F. (1880). *Mongolo-oyratskie zakony 1640 g., dopolnitel'nye ukazy Galdan Hun-tajdzhiyia i zakony, sostavlennye dlia volzhskikh kalmykov pri kalmytskom khane Donduk-Dashi* [*Mongol-Oirat laws of 1640, additional indexes of Galdan Khun-tyi and laws integral to the Volga Kalmyks under the Kalmyk Khan Donduk-Dashi*]. St.Petersburg: Emperor's Science Academy Press, 1880.

Ih Caaz («Velikoe ulozhenie»). Pamiatnik mongol'skogo feodal'nogo prava XVII v. [*Ih Caaz («The Great Code»). Monument to the Mongolian feudal law of the 17th century*] (1981). Moscow: Chief Editorial of the Oriental Literature.

Kurapov, A.A. (2007). *Buddizm i vlast' v Kalmytskom khanstve XVII–XVIII vv.* [*Buddhism and power in the Kalmyk Khanate of the 17th – 18th centuries*]. Elista: NPP «Dzhangar».

Leontovich, F.I. (1880). *K istorii prava russkikh inorodtsev. Kalmytskoe pravo.Vol.1. Ulozhenie 1822 goda.* [*To the history of the rights of Russian foreigners. Kalmyk law. Vol.1. The Code of 1822*]. Odessa: Tip. G. Ul'rikha.

Maksimov, K.N. (2011). Istoricheskie istochniki po izucheniiu repressivnoy politiki sovetskogo gosudarstva protiv buddiyskogo dukhovenstva v 1920 – nachale 1930 gg. [Historical sources on the study of the repressive policy of the Soviet state against the Buddhist clergy in 1920 – early 1930.]. In *Heritage of the world: Historical and documentary heritage of Buddhism.* Moscow: Russian State Humanitarian University, 274–284.

Ob'edineniia zhenshchin buddistok v Respublike Kalmykiia [*Unions of women Buddhists in the Republic of Kalmykia*]. available at: http://vk.com/club54608153

Osokin, G.M. (1898). *Materialy k ehtnografii Zapadnogo Zabaykal'ia* [*Materials for the ethnography of Western Transbaikalia*]. Moscow: Tip. A.I. Mamontova & Co.

Ochirova, N.G. (2004). Buddiyskoe dukhovenstvo i razvitie kalmytskoy kul'tury [Buddhist clergy and the development of Kalmyk culture]. In *Buddiyskoe dukhovenstvo i kul'tura Kalmytskogo naroda*. Elista: APP «Dzhangar», 5-13.

Parshin, V. (1844). *Poezdka v Zabaykal'skiy kray.* Part I, II [*Trip to the Trans-Baikal Territory. Part I, II*]. Moscow: N. Stepanov Pubishing House.

Radnabadra (2003). Biografiya Zaya Pandity [Biography of Zaya Pandita]. In *Lunnyy svet: kalmytskie istoriko-literaturnye pamiatniki* [*Moonlight: the Kalmyk historical and literary heritage*]. Elista: Kalmyk Book Publishing House.

Shevtsova, E. (2004). Zhenshchiny-lamy spasut mir i soglasie [Lama women will save peace and harmony]. In *Nomer odin v Ulan-Ude,* no.43, available at: http://baikal-info.ru/number1/2004/43/003002.html

Smirnov, P. (1999). *Putevye zametki po Kalmytskim stepiam Astrahanskoy gubernii* [*Travel notes on the Kalmyk steppes of the Astrakhan province*]. Elista: Kalmyk Book Publishing House.

Trepavlov, V. (2017). Russkiy tsar' v nekhristianskikh kul'takh Rossiyskoy imperii [The Russian Tsar in non-Christian cults of the Russian Empire]. In *Gosudarstvo, Religiia, Tserkov' v Rossii i za rubezhom* [*State, religion, church in Russia and abroad*], 2, 222–240.

Ulanov, M.S., Badmaev, V.N., Matsakova, N.P. (2016). Buddizm i pravovaia traditsiia v Mongolii [Buddhism and legal tradition in Mongolia]. In *Bylye gody* [*Years of the Past*], 4, 1068-1076, available at: http://bg.sutr.ru/journals_n/1480335814.pdf

Ulanov, M.S., Tyumidova, M.E. (2018). Polozhenie zhenshchiny v traditsionnoy kul'ture kalmytskogo etnosa [The position of women in the traditional culture of the Kalmyk ethnos]. In *Vestnik Kalmytskogo universiteta* [*Kalmyk University Newsletter*], 39(3), 172-179.

Zhambalova, S.G. (2011). O narodnom buddizme v sovremennoy Buriatii [About folk Buddhism in modern Buryatia]. In *Gumanitarnyy vector* [*Humanitarian vector*], 2(26), 87–93.

Zhitetsky, I.A. (2011). *Ocherki byta astrahanskikh kalmykov. Etnograficheskie nabliudeniia 1884-1886 gg.* [*Essays on the life of the Astrakhan Kalmyks. Ethnographic observations 1884-1886*]. Moscow: Kniga po Trebovaniyu.

Статус женщины в буддийской традиции калмыков и бурят: история и современное состояние

М.С. Уланов, В.Н. Бадмаев, А.В. Радионов

Калмыцкий государственный университет имени Б.Б. Городовикова
Российская Федерация, Элиста

Аннотация. В статье рассматривается проблема статуса женщины в истории буддизма у монголоязычных народов России: калмыков и бурят. Особое внимание уделено вопросу женского духовенства в религиозной истории данных народов. Авторы отмечают, что с распространением буддизма женщины в Бурятии и Калмыкии приобрели более высокий социальный и религиозный статус, который закреплялся в юридических документах. При этом женщина в традиционном калмыцком и бурятском обществе в целом исключалась из активной общественной деятельности и не могла сделать карьеру в религиозной сфере.

В XX веке положение калмыцких и бурятских женщин в социуме претерпело значительные изменения. Советское государство стремилось привлечь женщин Калмыкии и Бурятии к построению нового общества, активно борясь с буддийской религией и проводя атеистическую пропаганду. Все это способствовало тому, что религиозность населения в данных регионах, в том числе и его женской части, значительно снизилась.

Сегодня положение женщин в религиозной жизни Калмыкии и Бурятии двойственно. С одной стороны, в традиционных буддийских церковных организациях женщины могут занимать лишь позиции прихожанок, светских сотрудников, а также осуществлять вспомогательные культовые действия при проведении некоторых обрядов. С другой стороны, в объединениях мирян их роль более значима. Женщины принимают самое активное участие в деятельности буддийских общин и организаций, изучают буддийскую философию и медицину. Деятельность буддийских активисток в современных буддийских сообществах данных регионов России способствует возрождению здесь буддизма. Несмотря на то что мужчины составляют основную массу буддийского духовенства, большинство активно практикующих верующих-мирян в Калмыкии и Бурятии составляют именно женщины.

Ключевые слова: буддизм, женщины, гендер, калмыки, буряты, женское монашество, монгольские народы.

Научные специальности: 07.00.00 – исторические науки, 24.00.00 – культурология.

Prerequisites of the Development of Applied Sciences in Russia in the 17th – 18th Centuries. The First Attempts to Train Mechanics and Engineers in the 18th Century

Margarita M. Voronina[a], Alexander V. Soldatov[b] and Petr V. Velikorussov*[c]

[a]Emperor Alexander I St. Petersburg State Transport University
Saint-Petersburg, Russian Federation
[b]Saint-Petersburg State Marine Technical University
Saint-Petersburg, Russian Federation
[c]Irkutsk National Research Technical University
Irkutsk, Russian Federation

Abstract. The article describes the directions of the development of applied mechanics in Russia in the 17th – 18th centuries and focuses on the first attempts to train specialists in these areas. These are the construction of roads, bridges, fortification and hydraulic engineering constructions, practical ballistics. Water and land means of communications are being improved, the industries that served the army and the fleet are developing, and the first attempts are being made to educate mechanics and technicians. Educational institutions are being opened, in which elements of mechanics are beginning to be taught. However, mechanics occupies an auxiliary position in relation to technology.

Keywords: construction and applied mechanics, training, 18th century, Saint-Petersburg Academy of Science.

Research area: history.

* Corresponding author E-mail address: voronina.pgups@gmail.com, soldatov2012@yandex.ru, p.velikorussov@gmail.com
  ORCID: 0000-0001-6701-5387 (Voronina); 0000-0001-5548-1735 (Soldatov)

Russia of the 14th-17th centuries is of undoubted interest for historians of science and technology. It was a time when Russia, cut off from Europe, at the same time under the influence of the Tatar-Mongol invasion, is trying to create its own architectural and technical traditions. For about two centuries Russia was under Horde domination, with a constant threat from the south and the west. However, even the liberation from oppression and the growth of national self-consciousness did not allow the full development of Russian culture and technology, which would have seemed natural since the second half of the 16th century. The fact is that the 17th century cannot be called calm for Russia. The time of troubles, internal and external wars – the Bolotnikov uprising, the Razin uprising, the movement of the Old Believers, almost continuous wars with Poland – all these made the development of Russia difficult.

Practical mechanics was developed in several directions in the country. These are construction mechanics of buildings, roads, bridges and fortifications, practical hydraulics – building ships, dams, the strength of cast products – primarily bells and cannons, practical ballistics, machine mechanics – mainly the construction of water and windmills, watchmaking. The construction art was the most common and studied field of practical mechanics. Of course, the construction mechanics itself was not developed in the 17th century yet, but still, Russian architects and builders achieved some success in this direction. A certain style of Russian architecture was developed. Apparently, this was due to the fact that the builders did not very willingly change the design and structure of their erections, since the strength and size of the buildings were associated, first of all, with their geometric dimensions. But besides the new construction and restoration work was carried out. Fortresses were restored and built – walls and towers, then temples. This is not limited to the list of work done. For example, estimates for the repair of buildings of the Nizhny Novgorod Kremlin indicate that the laying of the main walls suffered from water, therefore, the foundation needed to be replaced. Perhaps this later led to the development of new types of foundations.

During the 17th century, new fortresses were built in Russia, and old ones were repaired. For example, new fortresses were built in Mozhaisk and Vyazma on the outskirts of Moscow, the fortifications of the Solovetsky Monastery were improved, new fortress walls were built in the Ipatiev Monastery in Kostroma, in Kirillo-Belozersky, etc. The constructive elements of buildings – arches and vaults – have received significant development. For example, during the construction of the Moscow Church of the Intercession in Rubtsov (1619-1626), a peculiar construction of the arches was used. With the same height of the interior and a much smaller thickness of the walls, the cross-vault in the Rubtsov church covers twice the area compared to the old cathedral of the Donskoy Monastery" (Bessonov, 1956: 175). In general, the overlap of large spans in the 17th century was not so rare. For example, the White Chamber of the Rostov Kremlin (1672), which is a single pillar hall of about 300 square meters, premises in the Trinity-Sergius Monastery. Thus, the construction mechanics of the 17th century not only prepared the ground for the development of this science in the subsequent time but also naturally affected the state of the road and hydraulic engineering construction.

Since ancient times, there were land and waterways in Russia. The formation of Moscow Rus' laid the foundation for the creation of the first network of land roads – unpaved roads. They began at the outposts of Moscow and went towards the major cities – to Smolensk, Kharkov, Vologda, Nizhny Novgorod, and others. On these paths, wooden or stone artificial structures were built. The waterways or the so-called "winter roads" were often used. Roads between navigable rivers were called "tracks" or "drags" (These words are still preserved in place names, for example, Vyshniy Volochek station). Communication through permanent waterways was carried out using floating bridges or ferries. And in Russia, floating bridges have been used since ancient times. It is known, for example, that already in 1115, under Vladimir Monomakh, a floating bridge was built across the Dnieper in Kiev, similar bridges were later built across the Volga (1380) and through the Volkhov (Nikolai, 1898: 2). In

general, Velikiy Novgorod received an important state significance precisely because of its favorable location on the navigable river Volkhov, not far from the watershed between the basins of the Baltic, Black and Caspian seas. In the conditions of ice drift and freeze-up floating bridges were, undoubtedly, simple, cheap, and convenient. However, permanent bridges and even lifting bridges were built. "The first indication regarding the use of lifting bridges refers to 1229" (Nikolai, 1898: 4).

Bridge construction as the most important branch of the art of building began to develop relatively quickly from the second half of the 17th century. Already in 1687, the Bolshoy Kamenny Bridge over the Moskva River was built in Moscow. It was an arched bridge of 140 meters long, 24 meters wide, leaning on powerful bulls and foundations. It received its name, unlike the small stone bridges that existed across the Neglinnaya River at those times, across the ditch at the Kremlin. The name of this bridge is still preserved. This direction of practical mechanics in the field of road and bridge engineering was further developed rapidly in connection with the transfer of the capital to St. Petersburg. The words of L.F. Nikolai, the bridge builder in the 19th century in Russia, about the construction work in Russia are worthwhile noting: "... the abundance of forests led to the ubiquity of wooden buildings, which gradually achieved a high degree of perfection, despite of the fact that they only used an ax while working. The saw was introduced only at the time of Peter the First. That was due to the administration's measures due to the representation of Leblond (French engineer, invited by Peter I on Lefort's recommendation), who pointed out at the useless waste of material when cutting logs with an ax" (Nikolai, 1898: 2). He also notes that the first time the word "engineer" is mentioned by Alexey Mikhailovich. This title was intended for foreigners only, whereas the Russian builders were called "city masters" (Nikolai, 1898: 10).

Here is another example of building a road. In 1702, Peter I arrived in Arkhangelsk, where, on his initiative, two combat frigates were built. From here, at the head of the five battalions of the Guard, he set out on the march along the road, which was later called the "sovereign". This road (170 km long and 6.5 meters wide) was built at an extraordinary speed by guards soldiers and officers. Frigates were moved along it, which then went to Lake Ladoga for the siege of the Swedish fortress Noteburg (Oreshek), founded by Novgorodians in 1323. The fortress was taken by the storm and renamed Shlisselburg (Petrokrepost). Thus, this White Sea-Povenets road contributed to the solution of the most important issue – Russia's exit to the Baltic Sea. Here, in the delta of the Neva River, the city of Petersburg was founded.

An interesting direction of Russian mechanics is casting bells. They were made in Moscow, Pskov, Nizhny Novgorod and other cities of the country. Their weight was different. For example, 13 tons on the Assumption Belfry of the Moscow Kremlin (1652), 32 tons – on the Belfry of the Rostov Kremlin (1688). In 1654, by the order of Alexey Mikhailovich, the New Assumption Bell was cast, its weight being 128 tons. It was raised to the belfry in 1678 and rang until 1701 when it was damaged by the fire. Yet, regarding the bells, it was necessary to solve very important problems of mechanics, the problem being the development of the bell profile, which ensured the strength and purity of the tone, the construction of the mold, the casting process, the development of the mounting structure on the belfry, the lifting of the bell, and the bell suspension. The strength of the bell body was also achieved by the absence of shells and stresses in the metal during the cooling of the bell.

Similar questions were also raised in the course of the production of guns. At the Moscow cannon yard in the 17th century guns of various calibers were cast, weighing from 2-3 to several hundred pounds. Gunmakers had found original technical solutions. For example, in 1615, a screw gun was created for the first time there. Screw threading was also used for handguns.

We must not forget about the energy of the 17th century either. This is, first of all, the power of water, wind, animals, and man. The technique of building water mills was changing. Now they served not only for the production

of flour but also for driving various machines and mechanisms. The construction of motion transmission was gradually becoming more complex, branching gears appeared, for example, for iron mills, as well as gears. Of course, there is no need to talk about any curves yet, the quality of the gear wheel depended on the skills of a particular master. It is interesting that precisely at the same time clock mechanisms appeared in Russia. Already at the end of the 16th century, the tower clock stood on the three towers of the Moscow Kremlin and the palace premises. In the 17th century, they were already in several cities and monasteries, the masters began to make pocket watches (Pipunyrov, Cherniagin, 1977: 21, 34, 37). Thus, it can be said that the Russian masters were familiar with the technique of building machines. The installation of the mills themselves proper and the associated hydraulic engineering works required knowledge of practical mechanics.

Metallurgical production was one of the most important areas of using water energy. In the 17th century, only 9 factories operated in the Tula-Kashira region. Then the plants were built in the Moscow region, in the Olonets region, Voronezh, and the Urals. At these plants, iron was mined from local ore, processed, and sometimes weapons were made there as well. The technological scheme of these plants was essentially the same. The river was blocked by a dam and, thus, the obtained difference in levels was used to supply water to the top-wheel. The energy received from one or several wheels was used to propel the working equipment of the manufactory. The construction of dams was quite a complicated matter and at that time there was even a special profession of "dam masters".

Waterways were still the most accessible means of communication in the country. The main artery of the country was the Volga, and the main seaport was Arkhangelsk. It was both the only Russian export-import port and a major center of the fishing industry. Shipbuilding also developed here. The design of the ships at that time was a spatial wooden truss on which a wooden planked trim was fastened outside. In the 17th century, vessels for the transportation of goods appeared on the Volga, some of which can also be considered passenger vessels. This was the Frederick ship built in 1636 in Nizhny Novgorod, with an overall length of over 40 meters and a draft of about 2 meters. The ship was adapted for sailing and rowing, it had 3 masts and 24 oars. On the Oka River, in 1667, the ship "Eagle" was built, which had a length of 24.5 m, a width of 6.5 m, a draft of 1.5 meters and was armed with 22 cannons (Shershov, 1952: 265).

The ships, which were built in Arkhangelsk, went mainly under sail. The construction of such vessels required a great deal of knowledge in mechanics – the vessels had to have good streamlining, speed, and good submission to management. Steering was carried out with the help of an unequal arm with a fulcrum on the stern. The steering wheel turned 60-70 degrees. Gradually, its design was improved, a second control lever was added (later it was transformed into a wheel), and the steering angle decreased to 25-30 degrees. The control of sails on large ships was carried out with the help of blocks and tackles. Regarding many dissimilar structures related to mechanical engineering, the rules of simple machines were applied; the strength of the structures was taken into account, based on the geometric dimensions. In all this, the builders were helped by the experience (both inherited and their own).

In general, in Russia, although they were familiar with some achievements in various fields of science in other countries, the attitude towards them was rather negative. Science hardly fits into the life of the country in the 17th century. The situation began to change due to Peter I, as well as to the foundation of St. Petersburg and the transfer of the capital from Moscow to St. Petersburg in 1712. First of all, the development of railways, large industrial enterprises, the creation of the Russian Navy, the emergence of new types of transport are connected with these events. At that time, large ships, built at the Olonets shipyard on the Svir River, could not get to St. Petersburg due to the presence of rapids on the Neva River. Therefore, already in 1704, they began to build the Admiralty Shipyard. (It subsequently became the largest enterprise in the shipbuilding industry of Russia). At the same time, the Admiralty

was intended not only for the construction of ships. It also performed the defense functions, as it was built as a fortress on the left bank of the Neva. Along with the Admiralty cannon, foundry yards, powder factories, tar, rope, sailing, and other workshops were built. In 1715, over 10,000 people already worked at the enterprises of the Admiralty. In 1706, the first 18-gun ship was launched, and in 1712, the first linear 54-gun ship, the Poltava, named after the 1709 victory, was built by Peter I and the Russian engineer Sklyaev. Until 1715, almost a third of all ships built in Russia in the first quarter of the 18th century was built at St. Petersburg shipyards (Shershov, 1952: 265).

Simultaneously with the Peter and Paul Fortress and the Admiralty, Peter I began to build a fortress on the island of Kotlin in the Gulf of Finland – Kronstadt. It was in 1704 when a fort was already built there and an artillery battery was installed to protect the fairway leading to St. Petersburg. A few years later Kronstadt turned into a well-equipped port with a harbor and ship repair shops. The arrangement of the grand canal-dock – "Petrovsky" – became widely known. It was introduced into service in 1752 and was an engineering structure, which had no equal in Europe. The system of hydraulic facilities made it possible to free the dock from water in 24 hours. The water flowed into an artificial pool, and from there it was pumped out first with wind-driven pumps, and then with a steam engine.

Yet, not only shipbuilding was developed in St. Petersburg. Peter I paid great attention to the improvement of artillery affairs. In 1712, the Foundry Business and Cannon Yard was built on the bank of the Neva. It was headed by the Arsenal famous figure of the time – Yakov Vilimovich Bruce (James Daniel Bruce). Under his leadership, the first copper cannons with a barrel channel were cast. Then the Arsenal began to cast the so-called "deaf" guns, that is, without the receiver channel, which was then drilled. Thus, the foundations of internal and external ballistics were laid. Skillful workers were needed for work. Peter I also paid much attention to this. It is interesting to note that even at the time of the Second World War the gunners were the most educated part of the army.

Powder factories were built in St. Petersburg, and they worked not only on horse-thrust but also used water engines. Thus, in 1720, Yakov Batishchev, a specialist of the Tula Arms Plant, became the head of the Okhta plants. Under his leadership, a powder production system was set up at the factories, driven by water wheels. During these years, St. Petersburg became the second center for the production of gunpowder in the country after Moscow.

The transfer of the capital to Petersburg meant that Russia was turning into a maritime state and Petersburg itself – into a military and commercial port. The population of the city was also constantly increasing and by 1725 it was over 40 thousand people. Naturally, there was an urgent need to create improved means of communication for the new capital with the whole country. First of all, waterway communications were developed as the cheapest. So, almost simultaneously with the foundation of the city, the construction of a connecting canal between the Tvertsa and the Tsna rivers of the Volga and the Ladoga basins was begun. The works were completed in 1798, and later the canal became known as the Vyshnevolotsk water system. With its discovery, a direct waterway was established between the Neva and the Volga rivers, that is, the connection between the northern capital and the whole country. In 1719, the Vyshnevolotsk system was redesigned. This was done by the prominent Russian hydraulic engineer Mikhail Serdyukov, Kalmyk by his origin. He built reservoirs for artificial feeding of the system and, thus, provided water for the navigable depths on the Tvertsa, Tsna, and Msta rivers.

Strong winds and storms on Lake Ladoga, during which many ships were sunk, were a major obstacle to shipping. Therefore, in 1719, between the mouth of the Volkhov and the source of the Neva, the construction was begun on a canal bypassing Lake Ladoga. The construction of the canal with a length of over 110 kilometers was completed in 1731. The water horizon in the canal was higher than the water horizon in the Volkhov and the Neva. Therefore, at the ends of it in Shlisselburg and in New Ladoga the locks were built. The construction of a canal of this size was the largest

engineering structure of the time. Thus, the first canal in England, not counting the canals built during the time of Roman rule, was built in 1761. In North America, it is only in the 1980s when two small canals were built around the rapids on the Potomac River (Gershelman, 1892: 35, 46).

In addition to waterways, Peter I also took steps to develop land communications between cities. So, by his orders, they began to lay a route between Petersburg and Moscow, the route being a direct direction. Peter I attributed the speed of movement to the category of the economic and strategic. Therefore, despite of the merchants' objections to the construction of a road leading to rich Novgorod, Peter, nevertheless, preferred the direct option. However, the construction of the tract (road) went slowly, and after Peter's death it was stopped altogether. The construction was resumed only in 1733 when the Office of the perspective road was formed and the provision "On the construction of the road and bridges from Moscow to St. Petersburg" was developed. According to the document, the road had to be built "with extreme joy while looking for the treasury so that it would break even, and in the passage, it had to be more capable and timely and stand firm in the future" (Full set of laws, 1739). Naturally, this principle is important and fair for any time and any country. The construction of the tract was completed in 1746. Its length was 778 km, since the road was still built with a call to Novgorod. Since that time, regular communication between the capitals began. Later, in 1755, the Office of the perspective road was transformed into the Office of the State Road Structure, which in 1786 became known as the Commission on Roads in the State, and at the end of the century – the Expedition of the Construction of Roads in the State. These bodies were engaged in the construction of tracts coming from Moscow to the inner cities of the country. In the second half of the 18th century, stone bridges and pipes were built for the first time on a massive scale (that is, according to standard designs), especially at St. Petersburg-Moscow tract.

An interesting and original fact is the solution to the problems of moving large loads. So,

in 1769, in St. Petersburg, a special railroad was built to move the "stone of thunder" for the pedestal of the monument to Peter the Great. This stone with a weight of about 100 thousand pounds was found on the Karelian Isthmus, 9 km from the Gulf of Finland. The transportation of the stone over the land to the bay was carried out on a special platform, moved with the aid of winches on portable rails, which were laid on a specially arranged road. The platform with the stone moved on the balls-rollers nested in the gutters of the rails. The speed of movement averaged 400 m per day. The monolith was relatively quickly delivered to the shore of the Gulf of Finland, and from there it was transported to its destination on raft ships. In honor of this, a medal was stamped with the inscription "Daring like" (Kabanov, 1955: 30). Besides, in 1788, in Petrozavodsk, the head of the Aleksandrovsky cannon factory, Anikita Sergeevich Yartsev (1737-1819), built a 173-meter-long railroad to move the guns from one shop to another. Its track was a solid cast-iron rail grille with a width of 800 mm. It is believed that this road marked the beginning of the development of industrial transport in Russia (Voronin, Voronina, 1994: 60).

The tremendous changes in the country at the beginning of the 18th century naturally required a large number of skilled artisans, engineers, and workers. There was an acute task of forming the technical and administrative intelligentsia, and Peter I took on this task. Training is placed at the service of political, military, and economic goals. Various schools are starting to open in Russia: first in Moscow and St. Petersburg, then in other cities. So, in 1699, the Moscow Pushkar school was established. Peter's decree on this issue says: "to teach verbal and written literacy, tsifir (arithmetic) and other science". However, first of all, mathematical knowledge was necessary. The task was to prepare a large number of people with the knowledge of elementary mathematics and statics. In 1701, there was a decree on the establishment of the "Moscow School of Mathematics and Navigation, that is, Navigationally Cunning Art of Teaching" to train specialists in maritime and shipbuilding business. For teaching at school, Peter invited foreign math-

ematicians: Prof. Farvarson, Stefan Gwyn, and Richard Grace. At the same school L.F. Magnitsky, the author of the first Russian printed scientific and technical book "Arithmetic, in other words, is a numeral science" (Magnitsky, 1703: 3261) published in 1703, worked. From this school young people were released into all kinds of services – military and civilian. The program included arithmetic, geometry, trigonometry, and practical applications of them to geodesy and navigation.

During these years, numerous new schools were opened. "Small admiralty schools" in St. Petersburg, Revel, Kazan, and other cities, schools for training in shipyards in Voronezh, later in Arkhangelsk, engineering school in Moscow (1711) were established. In 1714, by Peter's decree, the so-called "digital" schools were opened in a number of cities, the students of the navigation school teaching there. "... in all the provinces of the nobility and the order of orders, children and children of ages from 10 to 15 years, learn tsifir and some of geometry". Since the above-mentioned children were very reluctant to do so, the decree clarified that without written certificates of graduation from these schools "the students were not allowed to marry" (Decree No. 2778 of February 28, 1714).

Gradually, it was Petersburg, as the capital of Russia, that became the scientific center of the country. In 1715, the Maritime Academy or, as it was then called, the "Academy of the Marine Guard" was established. Farvarson and Gwyn were moved from Moscow to teach here. The journal of the College of Farvarson says: "... due to then, the first mathematics education in Russia was introduced, and almost all of the Russian subjects, from the highest to the lowest, were trained in navigation sciences in Naval sciences" (Journal of the College, 1737). Farvarson distributed time to study subjects: arithmetic – 1 year, geometry – 8 months, flat trigonometry – 3 months, spherical trigonometry – 3 months, geodesy – 4 months, navigation – 9 months, astronomy – 4 months, geography mathematical – 1 month, artillery – 1 year, fortification – 1 year, painting and training on rapids – 1 year. Although the course seems to be complete according to the list of sciences,

only short rules which were necessary for practical application were studied, and there was no connection between the subjects.

Somewhat later, an engineering school was opened in Petersburg (1719) as well as an artillery school (1722). In 1724, by the decree of Peter the Great, the Academy of Sciences was founded. Moreover, according to Peter's plan, the Academy was to become a half-technical educational institution. Arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, geography, navigation, mechanics, optics, architecture, physics, chemistry, etc. were taught here. J. German, D. Bernoulli, H. Goldbach (in mathematics), Nikolai Bernoulli (on mechanics), and others were invited for lecturing at the Academy. The establishment of the Academy immediately brought Russia to one of the leading places in the world science. In 1727, Leonard Euler came to St. Petersburg. He was the person who played a particularly large role in promoting the Petersburg Academy as one of the main centers of scientific research. Euler devoted a number of his works to the science of machines. He wrote that the theory should be such that with its help "among all the machines used to perform a certain work, one could find the best one that would do this work in the shortest possible time or with the minimum expenditure of real forces, or, otherwise, will be able to ensure the best result" (Bogoliubov, 1976: 77-78).

Nevertheless, in the course of the 18th century, the Academy of Sciences remained an isolated scientific island in the life of the country. For the time being, Muscovite Russia needed not general ideas, but practical knowledge. That is why in the time of Peter the Great, and, then, Catherine the Second, so many different schools were opened, many talented people were sent abroad to study, as mastering the techniques of Western countries was still easier than the corresponding science. At the same time, foreign specialists were invited to teach in the field of technical sciences. For the following years Moscow University (1755), which initiated the development of natural sciences in the center of the country, Land (1731), Marine (1752), Artillery and Engineering Corps (1758) were formed in Russia.

M.V. Lomonosov also wrote about the need for serious study of the mechanics in them. For an artilleryman, to use the machines in the manufacture of guns it is needed to calculate their parts, to account for friction, etc., for an engineer – to construct machines, large bridges, sluice gates, during the construction of ceilings on powder cellars and barracks, which must withstand the hit of artillery shells. It is curious to read that one should "as much as possible explain to him [the student] the property of that curved line that a bomb in the air can describe, show him the effect of the air resistance on the solid body moving in it, from which some differences in the flying bomb occur and can occur, and, finally, show him the ways, how to throw a bomb from a mortar, and how the blow can be applied to the vaults or what kind of structure can be calculated and determined" (Bogoliubov, 1985: 230).

In 1800, the Land Corps was renamed the First Cadet Corps, and the Artillery and Engineering Corps – the Second Cadet Corps. These were secondary schools. They provided the course of mechanics, which included the elements of the theory of machines. A bit later, in 1773, the Mining Engineers Corps was formed along with the Mining School, which played an important role in the development of mining engineering. There were also the first organizations and schools for training specialists in the matter of the actual means of communication. In 1782, the Hydraulic Corps was created. It was intended "to compose plans, to produce and manage works ... such as locks, canals, marinas, and the like" (PSZ, 1782). In the cadet engineering corps, they began to train hydraulics specialists. The first hydro-technical schools for training the masters were opened, and in 1798, the Ship Architecture School was established in St. Petersburg.

However, it should be noted that in the 18th century there was a gap between "academic" mechanics and mechanics taught in schools. The classes were practical, that is, knowledge in the field of mechanics was presented as a collection of ready-made recipes for various situations. The theory has not been developed yet. Although L. Euler, D. Bernoulli and others worked at the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences on the development of the ideas of mechanics, this mechanics could hardly find a consumer inside the country. There were almost no mechanics-creators yet, and applied mechanics achieved the most important results. For example, Russia came out on top in the world in the production of iron; mining, canals, and roads were built. Gradually mechanics terminology was developed. The work of mechanics practitioners, such as I. Polzunov, A. Knartov, I. Pulibin made a significant contribution to the development of mechanics in Russia (for example, the model of an arched bridge across the Neva River). Their experience survived them themselves and often served as a model for further research. The problem of educating mechanics-engineers in Russia was solved within the walls of a high school of the 19th century.

References

Bessonov, S.V. (1956). *Istoriia russkoi arkhitektury* [*History of Russian architecture*]. Moscow, Gosstroiizdat 614 p.

Bogoliubov, A.N. (1976). *Teoriia mekhanizmov I mashin v istoricheskom razvitii ee idei* [*Theory of mechanisms and machines in the historical development of its ideas*]. Moscow, Science, 77-78.

Bogoliubov, A.N. (1985). *Lomonosov M.V. I stanovlenie otechestvennoi mekhaniki. Issledovaniia po istorii fiziki i mekhaniki* [*Lomonosov M.V. and the formation of domestic mechanics. Studies in the history of physics and mechanics*]. Moscow, Science.

Ukaz № 2778 ot 28 fevralia 1714 g. Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii. Sankt-Peterburg. Tom 5 (1713-1719). Pechatano v tipografii II otdeleniia Sobstvennoi Ego Imperatorskogo Velichestva Kantseliarii. 1830 g. [Decree No. 2778 of February 28, 1714. Complete collection of the laws of the Russian Empire. St. Petersburg. Volume 5 (1713-1719). Printed in the printing house of the II section of His Own Imperial Majesty's Office. 1830].

Polnyi svod zakonov [*Full set of laws*] (1739). St. Petersburg. Vol. 9, No. 6372.

Gershelman, E.F. (1892). Istoricheskii ocherk vnutrennikh vodianukh soobshchenii [Historical sketch of the internal waterway]. St. Petersburg. Iu.N. Erlich's printing house. In *Journal of the College*, 1737, March, No. 8.

Kabanov, V.A. (1955). Pervaia sharovaia doroga na metallicheskikh rel'sakh [The first ball road on metal rails]. In *Tekhnika zheleznykh dorog* [*Technique of railways*], 3.

Magnitsky, L.F. (1703). *Arifmetika, sirech nauka chislitel'naia* [*Arithmetic, that is, the science of numerals*]. Moscow, Printing house.

Nikolai, L.F. (1898). *Kratkie istoricheskie dannye o razvitii mostovogo dela v Rossii* [*Brief historical data on the development of the bridge business in Russia*]. St. Petersburg. 1898 Type. Iu. N. Ehrlich.

Pipunyrov, V.N., Cherniagin, B.M. (1977). *Razvitie khronometrii v Rossii* [*The development of chronometry in Russia*]. Moscow, Science.

PSZ, 1782, reestrovyi nomer 15563, "Ob uchrezhdenii gidravlicheskogo korpusa". [*PSZ*, 1782, registry number 15563, "On the establishment of a hydraulic body"].

Shershov, A.P. (1952). *K istorii voennogo korablestroeniia* [*To the history of military shipbuilding*]. Moscow, Voenmorizdat VMM USSR.

Voronin, M.I., Voronina, M.M. (1994). *Frantz Anton Gerstner* [*Franz Anton Gerstner*]. St. Petersburg, Science.

Предпосылки развития прикладных наук в России XVII – XVIII веков. Первые попытки подготовки механиков и инженеров в XVIII веке

М.М. Воронина[а], А.В. Солдатов[б], П.В. Великоруссов[в]

*[а]Петербургский государственный университет путей сообщения
Российская Федерация, Санкт-Петербург
[б]Санкт-Петербургский государственный
морской технический университет
Российская Федерация, Санкт-Петербург
[в]Иркутский национальный исследовательский технический университет
Российская Федерация, Иркутск*

Аннотация. В статье рассказывается о направлениях развития прикладной механики в России в XVII – XVIII веках и о первых попытках подготовки специалистов в этих областях. Это строительство дорог, мостов, фортификационных и гидротехнических сооружений, практическая баллистика. Улучшаются водные и сухопутные пути сообщения, развиваются отрасли промышленности, которые обслуживали армию и флот, делаются первые попытки воспитания механиков и техников. Открываются учебные заведения, в которых начинают преподавать элементы механики, однако механика занимает подсобное положение относительно техники.

Ключевые слова: строительная и прикладная механика, обучение, XVIII век, Санкт-Петербургская академия наук.

Научная специальность: 07.00.00 – исторические науки.

History of Complex Identity Research

Yulia S. Zamaraeva and Natalia P. Koptseva*

Siberian Federal University
Krasnoyarsk, Russian Federation

Abstract. The article reveals conceptual problems of the formation of the concept of "complex identity" in modern humanities based on the analysis of foreign and Russian studies. In scientific history, the conceptual definition of the notion emerged in the last third of the 20th century in sociology and social psychology, however, since the beginning of the 21st century it received further development due to the interdisciplinary research, which allowed scientists to identify complex forms of identity in a dynamically developing world. At the beginning of the 21st century, the interest in identity as a cultural problem increased and it became necessary to study it in the context of modern culture and intercultural relations. Culturological problems allow us to combine existing ideas into a conceptual definition of the concept of "complex identity" and to prioritize research in accordance with modern socio-cultural relations.

Keywords: theory of social identity, complex identity, nature of the complexity of social identity.

Research area: theory and history of culture.

* Corresponding author E-mail address: rybka08@bk.ru, decanka@mail.ru
   ORCID: 0000-0003-1299-6741 (Zamaraeva); 0000-0003-3910-7991(Koptseva)

Introduction

The concept of "social identity" began to develop in foreign science in the 1970's in connection with the study of intra-group relations, group processes and inter-group relations associated with the persecution of various ethnic and social groups (Hornsey, 2008). Muzafer Sherif and Carolyn Wood Sherif, who conducted a field study titled "Robber's Cave" in the Sherif camp in 1954, became one of the first researchers in the study of intergroup hostility. The experiment was based on the formation of intergroup relations between two in-groups of adolescents, the competitive phase with an exacerbation of intergroup hostility and the integration stage with the attainment of intergroup cooperation. As a result of the study, scientists recorded a number of features: 1) individual differences are not a significant factor for the occurrence of intergroup conflict; 2) a hostile and aggressive attitude, negative behaviour towards an external group (out-group) arises as a result of a competition for resources that only one group can obtain; 3) the integration inter-relation arises only with the support of positive intergroup relations, in the presence of higher goals that contribute to a united, joint action. Thanks to the Sherifs' experiment, the concept of "social group" is fixed in social psychology in the field of interpersonal processes and begins to develop in two theories: D.T. Campbell's *realistic group conflict theory* («Realistic conflict theory» (Campbell, 1965)), which studies the phenomenon of intergroup hostility, and the *social identity theory* of intergroup behaviour («Social identity theory» (Tajfel, 1974) developed by Polish social psychologist Henri Tajfel and his student, the British social psychologist, John Charles Turner, and the *self-categorization theory* («Self-categorization theory» (Turner et al., 1987) subsequently developed by John Turner and his colleagues as concomitant to the social identity theory. The last two theories together are known as the social identity approach.

During the 1970's, checking the results of the Sherif's field experiment, H. Tajfel and J. Turner conduct their own experimental studies of intergroup relations and conclude that through intergroup interaction, another level

of self-esteem is activated as a set of representations of oneself and others as members of a particular group, including emotional and the estimated consequences of this group membership. The idea of one's group (in-group), but not an external group (out-group), is dictated by the individual's desire for a positive and safe self-esteem. At the same time, the reality of one's group arises at the border of a positive comparison with the characteristics of the external group.

The social identity theory is applied to the study of collective intra-group identities (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Tajfel, 1982). The basis for theoretical research is a hypothesis that individuals determine their personal identity in relation to social groups, and social identity "works" to protect and support self-identification. Due to social identity, individuals have a collective, impersonal identification that is based on the realization of their belonging to the group (Turner et., 1987). Henry Tajfel confirmed his idea that the social world is recognized by an individual as divided into different groups. An individual has intrinsic motivation and a tendency to classify himself into one or several ingroups, creating part of his identity on the basis of belonging to this group and establishing boundaries with other groups. In society, an individual classifies (organizes) the social environment into various social groups and categorizes himself within certain groups (by status, age, gender, profession, faith, education, etc.) in order to better determine his position in society. The more similarities (identifications) an individual discovers with a particular category, the more value the group has for him.

The social identity theory has become an explanatory paradigm in the study of social behaviour in terms of intergroup racial and ethnic discrimination, a hostile attitude between groups of unequal status. Developing the theory of social identity, Henry Tajfel and J. Turner gradually redefined the opinion of sociologists towards understanding of intergroup relations as a process that is controlled by "social-structural variables": intergroup behaviour is largely determined by people's subjective ideas of where they are in the hierarchy of sta-

tus, power, and their ideas of the permeability, stability and legitimacy of this hierarchy. However, scientists understood the impossibility of studying intergroup relations or a high-level intergroup conflict through the analysis of a minimal group, and recognized that there was a gap between a theoretical and methodological approach to the study of social identity.

In the 1990's, in the framework of the cognitive paradigm of social psychology and cross-cultural psychology, scientists have developed a construct of complex social identity to understand the processes of social categorization and to answer the question "how does an individual interact with representatives of other groups"? The construct allows us to analyse the structure of a person's multiple social identity, a combination of this multiplicity in the content of social categories of a person. Social identity can be identified on the basis of an analysis of the subjective ideas of the individual about the interconnection of his group identities and reflects the degree of perceived similarity between them (intersection). The degree of complexity of social identity increases the more dissimilar various categories are recognized by a person. And vice versa, the more similar the in-groups are recognized by a person, the simpler social identity he possesses. The complexity of social identity depends on social perception (on categorization), on the awareness and acceptance of differences between groups (in-groups and out-groups). For example, Philip Tetlock, through his research in the field of social psychology, discovers levels of integrative complexity that require laborious cognitive strategies and resources (Tetlock, 1983, 1986). Tetlock studies a model of pluralism of values that are often controversial, which provokes people to think in integrally complex ways. Thus, the scientist makes a description of the cognitive structure as a process in order to test the basic hypotheses about a complex identity model.

Research methods

The basis of the study is the method of review analysis, which allows us to trace the reasons for the emergence and the line of general scientific development of the concept of "complex identity" in the 20th–21st centuries. This method is aimed at a theoretical analysis of the concept and analysis of the problems of complex identity in the interdisciplinary field of the humanities. The result of the application of the method will be the identification of the spectrum of existing approaches and concepts in foreign and Russian studies of the 20th–early 21st centuries, and the formation of conceptual provisions on complex identity as a socio-cultural phenomenon.

Discussion on the nature of the complexity of social identity in modern humanities

The concept of "complex identity" was further developed in the theories of categorization and self-categorization that arose in the 20th-21st centuries. These theories revealed the specifics of social identity as self-categorization of a more complex (inclusive) level.

The main contribution to the development of the theory was made by J. Turner (Turner et al., 1994; Turner, Onorato, 1998; Turner, 1999), S.A. Haslam (Haslam et al., 1996; Haslam, 1997, 2001), and others. The scientists focused on the analysis of the functioning of categorization processes in social perception and interaction between groups. Based on the basic theoretical principles of cognitive psychology, J. Turner and his colleagues determined that the theory of self-categorization can allow us to see the qualification of "I" at different levels of abstraction (Turner, Oakes, 1986). People can qualify themselves as a single "I" (personal identity) or as a more complex "we" (social identity). Social identity occurs when "I" is cognitively grouped as identical and interchangeable with other incentives in this category. In intergroup phenomena, it is precisely this type of self-categorization that lies at the core. The complexity of social identity is determined by increasing the level of abstraction: the average level of abstraction corresponds to the social "I", where the perceiving self is classified as "we" compared to a noticeable outgroup (them); the highest level of abstraction is presented by us, people, where animals or other non-humans are a significant outgroup. A change in self-categorization arises with the

expansion of the comparative context and at a higher level of abstraction. In other words, the function of the comparative context plays a role both in personal identification (when an individual identifies himself when comparing with another person) and in the case of social identification with expanding the comparative context, when, for example, a group of women distinguish their own in-group from the external group of men. Thus, the main social categories form the basis of the social world enriched with meaning. The resulting increase in social content allows a perceiver to interact with others with greater confidence and ease.

Scientists conceptually analyse social identification for psychological mechanisms and processes, their consequences, motivation for categorization, change of social identity during the life of an individual, and begin to develop the concept of "social identity" as multiple, having various forms of identity and, in many ways, forming personal and, at the same time, collective identity (Rothbart, John, 1985, Deaux, 1996; Macrae et al., 1995). As an example, it is possible to cite the study of scientists Miles Hewstone, Mir Rabiul Islam, and Charles M. Judd who presented six models of cross-categorization and intergroup relations (Hewstone et al., 1993). In two experiments, a hypothesis of the existence of intergroup discrimination in social categorization was tested. It was concluded that the following dependent primary variables have additive effects among groups of Hindus and Muslims: "religion" (in interaction with the categories "country" and "language") and "nationality". Regarding SIT, scientists note that the results of their research indicate that positive identity can be achieved in terms of ordering into a hierarchy through the intragroup favouritism or group retreat. Social identity is an additive model in which, at the intersection of categories, social categorization does not perform the functions of systematizing and simplifying the social environment, but becomes a complex social identity. The analysis of the models made it possible to determine the difficulties of studying situations of cross-categorization, especially when the experiment takes place outside of laboratory conditions.

In the late 1980's and early 1990's, there was a realization that the study of social identity could not be fully based on a minimal group paradigm. In the 1990's, researchers have created new ways to manipulate the same variables using real social categories. The result of this process is that the original Tajfel and Turner's hypotheses about social and structural variables have been generalized, clarified and expanded. Thus, the concepts of "general identity" (Prentice et al., 1994), "disidentification" (Dukerich et al., 1998; Elsbach, 1999; Ashforth et al., 2001), "multiple categorization" (Stangor et al., 1992), "cross categorization" (Urban, Miller, 1998; Crisp et al., 1999) have been developed and introduced; the levels of collective identity and self-presentation (Brewer, Gardner, 1996), individual and group levels (Brown, 2000, 2004; Brewer, 2010) have been studied. The analysis of forms of social identity is a subject of a collective work by Brian Lickel, David L. Hamilton, Amy Lewis, Steven J. Sherman, Grazyna Wieczorkowska, A. Neville Uhles (Lickel et al., 2000), which presents a classification of social groups and shows how forms of social identity can vary in a degree of value in connection with the level of satisfaction of the individual's needs. Scientists especially note that ethnic identity stands apart in categorization, as representatives of ethnic minorities highly value their participation in an ethnic group.

We also should note a special contribution to the development of the concept of "complex identity" made by sociology professor Richard Jenkins, who published the book titled "Social Identity" in 1996. In this book, the scientist expressed the need to combine theoretical and empirical research works for the future development of sociology: "in the future of sociology, which I try to imagine, we need to reconsider the concepts of "society," "social structure," "social groups" that were adopted without reflection... "finally, the last area that awaits theoretical work: we need to get used to the unpredictability and probabilistic aspects of human life. Both in theory and in essence, we are searching for patterns: this is the foundation of a scientific enterprise (and the basic principle of human cognition). But in

the human world, perhaps, there is more room for probabilistic events than we think, even more than in the natural world. The problem here is that we are expected (by others and ourselves) to discover patterns, preferably with some predictive power" (Jenkins, 2014). In his theory, R. Jenkins reveals the definition of the complexity of identification as a dual process: external categorization and internal self-identification. The author writes that identity and identification are undoubtedly interconnected, have a meaning in everyday life, affect everyday situations and real human experience. As a starting point for defining the concept of "identity," Jenkins writes that "it is a human ability, rooted in the language, to know 'who is who' and, therefore, 'what is what.' Identification arises only in the process of relations between individuals or groups, when the result is an identity (emergent), individual or collective. Internally, an emergent can be categorized into a hierarchy or scale of preference, ambivalence, hostility, competition, partnership and cooperation, and so on. From this perspective, identification and behavioural motives may seem related. However, the classification models of 'I' and 'others' are multidimensional, they can hardly be internally consistent and be easily compared with each other. The hierarchies of collective identification can be combined with hierarchies of individual identification, which means that full interaction can be given meaning. Taken together, these provisions indicate that categorical imperatives are unlikely to be sufficient guidance and that the ability to distinguish others in a subtle and clear way is a daily necessity. Later, in his speech when receiving the title of Honorary Professor of the University (Jenkins, 2015), R. Jenkins speaks of an urgent need for empirical studies, in which the objective intersections of sociology with many disciplines (social psychology, cultural studies, social anthropology, social politics, social history) will help to participate "in observing the ups and downs of everyday life, in the detailed documentation of behavioural patterns of average radius of coverage, in identifying and interpreting emerging trends in the institutionalization processes and their outcomes" (Jenkins, 2015: 19).

Research results

In the early 2000's, an interdisciplinary approach has been developed to study complex social identities, which synthesizes developments based on social identity and self-categorization theories (Brown, 2000; Haslam et al., 2010). Social and psychosocial factors influence the way an individual integrates many social identities: with a weak intersection of in-groups, great psychological stress arises because the individual is aware of the difference in his groups (Barreto, Gardner, 2003). However, minimal intersection reveals a high degree of complexity of social identity, showing not only that people are able to manage their multi-layered and multi-level identity, but also reflecting their experience and perception of sociocultural factors occurring in their daily lives (Ferguson, 2006). Studies on the intersection of the categories of multiple groups (Crisp et al., 2001) revealed changes in traditional stereotypes (for example, the impossibility of including female groups in professional areas) and recorded the emergence of new hybrid identities that could affect perception and individual well-being (Cross et al., 2003; Crisp et al., 2006).

In 2002, scientists Sonia Roccas and Marilynn Brewer, using a structurally functional approach, proposed a concept of the complexity of social identity, which disclosed the phenomenon of the subjective representation of an individual about the interconnections of his multiple group identities, each of which has a certain degree of coincidence (Roccas, Brewer, 2002). The scientific hypothesis suggests that the level of complexity of social identity increases when combined from similar and intersecting to non-similar and non-intersecting identifications. The complexity of social identity is formed when an individual consciously differentiates and integrates multiple group identities, recognizing their difference in functional roles. The choice of simple (intra-group) or complex (inter-group) social identity depends on personal value priorities and tolerance for members of an external group or groups. Not long before the concept emerged, Marilynn Brewer (1996) suggested that different levels of identity represent different perspectives for the

interpretation of social reality, and the theory of collective identity becomes a comprehensive theory for understanding variability both within and between people. One of the key needs of a person is the need for identity – to define oneself in contact with others. The phenomenon of social identity manifests itself in most people in the simultaneous belonging of an individual to several social groups. At the turn of the 20th-21st centuries, society has globalized and allowed individuals to cross geographic, cultural, and social boundaries, to express themselves through wide and variable membership in various groups and social categories (Crisp, 2001).

S. Roccas and M. Brewer investigate two problems at once: the nature of relations between the numerous intragroup identities of a particular person, and the influence of multiple social identities on intergroup relations as a whole. For an individual, understanding the structure of identity is very important, since ideas about their groups affect not only self-esteem, but also the nature of the relations between them. Scientists dwell in detail on the processes by which group membership can contribute to the complexity of social identity.

A complex social identity is formed from multidisciplinary participation in target groups characterized in the human mind by interpersonal relationships and personal interactions between group members. The authors propose four alternative structures for multiple intra-group representations. Two conditional identities of two social categories are taken as a basis and the forms structurally formed from the inclusion or exclusion of other people as members of a subjective group are shown.

The first structure is called the "*intersection*" of several group memberships: when an individual constructs a single idea of his "social self" at the intersection of several group memberships. This is a single unique construction of social identity with stable characteristics, built on several foundations of group identifications. The binding factors in the structure are the minimum of differences, the absence of conflict, stereotypy, unambiguity, simplicity and unity, a clear understanding of the boundaries of the in-group and unmixing with other

groups. The model of intersection of the intragroup representation arises in the process of joining and similarity, in which the joining of two group identities constitutes the in-group of the perceiver.

The second structure is referred to as "*dominance*," when one social identity is priority over other functional roles of the individual, but on the basis of which this individual identifies himself with the primary (main) group. When an individual classifies himself and others as one large group, the intragroup category can be identified with the prototype of the group (a representative, a pattern). Other alternative social identities are embedded in the group's primary identification ("as sources of intragroup variation"), but do not apply to those outside the group (Roccas, Brewer, 2002: 90). The individual conceptualizes his primary social identities and groups on a professional basis, and identifications in other categories are subordinated to the primary category as variative behaviour. This structure is more complex than the first one, since it has fragmentation of social identities within one dominant (primary) one.

The third structure operates with *separate* social identities, where one is a source for the social "I" and the others exist relatively separately, and are activated in different contexts and situations. For example, in the office team work, only professional identity is important, while the rest (gender, ethnic, religious, cultural) are not involved for group identity. However, in a different context, for example, in a family circle, cultural and religious identity is activated. Thus, multiple identities are as if divided and differentiated, exist isolated from each other and are actualized (switched) under certain conditions. The "separate" structure operates according to an additive evaluation scheme for other people depending on their membership in several groups.

The last, fourth structure is referred to as "*merging*," in which the integration of all multiple groups within one category of social identity occurs. The authors of the concept note that the complexity of this structure is that "identification within a group extends to those who share any important social category of

membership – social identity – the sum of one united group identification." All identifications are relevant and interact with each other on an equal basis as a combination of social identities. Inside the structure, various components and characteristics are integrated, in order to create a complex form of united identity within the group. The result is a variety of social identities, in which a single categorical separation between people disappears (for example, to evaluate them from the point of view of a particular categorical identity). The authors note that the more numerous an individual's social identity is, the more difficult it becomes to define his in-group: in any dimension, there is no clear distinctions between in-groups and out-groups due to their equivalent assessment.

The concept of S. Roccas and M. Brewer shows that the difficulty of differentiating multiple social identities within one group forms a more positive self-determination in an individual than in a person who supports only one membership in a group. Four structures have different ways to resolve inconsistencies between incompatible beliefs or attitudes. In the "intersection" structure, a cognitive form of differentiation functions: when selected beliefs are combined to create a crossed identity and are separated from other categorical contradictions. In the "dominance", identities are combined to strengthen the dominant one. In the "separate" structure, identities are cut off from each other, like sector isolation in cognitive structures. In the "merging" structure, multiple identities are not differentiated, but strive to become an integral, a guiding principle of which is combination of incompatible knowledge. Typically, an individual supporting a single, united presentation of his many social identities may resort to intersection, dominance or separation during periods of stress or uncertainty. Thus, the subjective presentation of multiple identities can reflect both individual differences and situational factors. Some people may be predisposed to the high complexity of social identity. For such people, the integrative difficulty in thinking about multiple intragroup identities can become automatic, requiring relatively little conscious efforts or cognitive resources. However, it can be expected that in most cases, the complexity of social identity varies depending on the person's current motivation to think of their several intra-group identities and use cognitive resources to combine these identities in a complex way. Thus, in the theory of the complexity of social identity, S. Roccas and M. Brewer argue that multiple group identities differ in the degree of coincidence between groups, and this depends on subjective perceptions. A large degree of non-overlapping groups (high SIC) is associated with more favourable intergroup relations, however this form is dependent on many social and psychological factors that limit its development (high need for closure, desire to maintain the status quo, high stress or cognitive pressure, life in a monocultural or a stratified society). However, a high degree of SIC shows the ability of people to identify (have more opportunities to derive their own benefits, satisfy their needs) from different groups in different ways than people with a simple form of identity (low SIC), which limits the nature of identification with different groups and reveals more invariant models of identification. Another aspect in understanding the nature of multiple identities is the ability to combine multiple aspects of personality, to direct one's own actions and attention in connection with a change in context. Today, in the field of science, the theoretical approach of Roccas and Brewer offers great opportunities for understanding the psychology of intersectional identities.

The concept of the complexity of social identity proposed by Roccas and Brewer continues to play an influential role in subsequent studies of complex identity. Complex forms are analysed for the occurrence of intergroup threats (Brewer, Pierce, 2005; Schmid et al., 2009), or vice versa, are interpreted as a source of sustainability and well-being (Douglas, 2012; Jones et al., 2012), which contributes to the formation of a multifaceted and unique self-esteem, greater accessibility to social support and well-being (Jetten et al., 2015). Recognition of complex forms of identity provides the basis for reducing intergroup differentiation and / or discrimination. The combination of the multiple and higher categories (for example, when revealing a common human identity) reduces

dehumanization and increases the sense of connection with other people, helps to build favourable intergroup relations. A positive intergroup attitude and equity assessment are becoming important factors in supporting social policy in a multicultural world. The perception of a complex identity provides an additional opportunity to be included in a broad social identity, minimizing negative stereotypes, and thereby allowing others to recognize the multifaceted social identities of building less biased relationships and more positive social interactions. The positive influence of multiple identities occurs in the process of switching between different social identities in accordance with the current context, needs and goals. From a larger number of identities, the chances are that one of these identities will be evaluated in a given social context. This process can be called "adaptive identity." Since multiple identities represent greater opportunities for flexible self-determination, they provide individuals with more opportunities to achieve optimal distinctness (balancing between the need to assimilate and differ from others). The ability to switch their identities allows individuals to emphasize their most adaptive identity, while minimizing the disadvantageous or less relevant identities, and thereby prevent stereotypical threats against themselves. Complex identity allows one to be flexible with respect to others, and therefore it seems promising to develop skills related to repeated recognition of identity and self-determination in adults and children, which they can maintain throughout their lives. The ability to recognize and evaluate their multiple identities at an early stage in the development of children will determine the prospects for their development. It is especially necessary to develop this skill in modern times – the time of immigration processes, mixed and multicultural identities. The positive resources of multiple identities built at the intersection of other identities open up in an adequate perception of other people, positive intergroup relations, and the universality of human experience.

In the last decade, the phenomenon of complex identity has been studied as a factor in improving emotional well-being (Binning et al., 2009; Jetten et al., 2010), mental and phys-ical stability (Jones, Jetten, 2011), improving the quality of life and survival (Haslam et al., 2008), as one of the conditions of stress and social adaptation (Iyer et al., 2009). The relevance of the study of the phenomenon of complex identity for scientists is in the fact that multiple identity as identification with several social groups makes people stronger in their social world and provides them with multiple connections with other people as similar to each other (Haslam et al., 2008; Jetten et al., 2012). In this regard, multiple social ties are of particular importance and form social support, thereby providing resources for self-development, choice of values, attitudes, and behaviour (e.g., Jetten et al., 2015; Chang et al., 2016; Steffens et al., 2016). The more complex the identity, the higher the level of individual well-being: multiple identities contribute to individual well-being through perceived expression of identity and social support, as well as compatibility of identity and social integration (Sønderlund et al., 2017).

The discussion about the nature of the complexity of social identity in modern Russian research works unfolded at the turn of the 20th-21st centuries, when questions about the specifics of the formation of new social identities in the process of ongoing socio-economic changes began to be raised in Russian science (Tronevskaia, 2015). Russian sociologist V.A. Iadov (Iadov, 1995) was one of the first to develop the concept of "human self-identification" as a process of realizing individual social identity in a social-group space: a conscious sense of belonging to various social communities provides a social and socio-psychological function both in the assessment of the group and in self-esteem. The scientist especially emphasizes the need for an interdisciplinary study of the phenomenon of identity at the border of the sciences of psychology and sociology, since the study of the psychological process of identification and the social mechanism of self-determination of an individual in diverse societies allows one to obtain and interpret data in a single socio-psychological approach. A focus on an interdisciplinary approach allowed Russian scientists studying the deep processes of social identity to conceptually expand

the phenomenon of complex identity with the concept of "organizational identification" (Lipatov, Lovakov, 2010; Uspenskaia, 2017; Nesmeianova, 2017, Nesmeianova, Lipatov; 2017; Nesmeianova, 2018). Types of organizational identification are described by O.N. Burmistrova (Burmistrova, 2009), who pays attention to concepts that have not yet been developed in social psychology, such as "organizational disidentification," "neutral identification" and "dual identification." The problem of the complexity of social identity, defined by S. Roccas and M. Brewer, is used by Russian social psychologists in O.E. Khukhlaev and M.A. Khait in a primary empirical study (Khukhlaev, Khait, 2012). In 2014, Maria Khait published the results of a cross-cultural study of the *interconnection between the complexity of social identity* (based on an analysis of the attitude to the situation of uncertainty in Russia and Italy). The author confirms her hypothesis that the studied interconnection between the attitude to uncertainty and the level of complexity of social identity is a cultural universal. The interrelation between the levels of group, micro-group and interpersonal identity was identified by A.V. Sidorenkov and V.A. Dorofeev (Sidorenkov, Dorofeev, 2016). The authors conclude that the levels of identity form a certain hierarchy (group, subgroup, individual), they are interconnected (complete and linear, weak or incomplete), and have different degrees of severity. In this connection, the authors proposed two more additional levels: personal and organizational identity, in order to understand the connection between the five levels of identity.

Conclusion

The concept of "complex identity" is complex and inextricably linked with the determination of the nature of the forms of individual and social identity. In the last third of the 20th century, the concept of "social identity" emerged in connection with the historically necessary analysis of intergroup relations and

was unchanged until the beginning of the 21st century in the field of social sciences. The theoretical developments of G. Tajfel, J. Turner, R. Jackinson, S. Haslam became the basis for the subsequent interdisciplinary study of the phenomenon of identity and its complex nature that changes in the real world. At the beginning of the 21st century, in connection with the manifestation of the dynamics of globalization processes that accelerated the interaction of the social world, scientists focused more on studying the process of intergroup relations as a long-term one, consisting of contacts and the results of interaction between different social groups. The concept of S. Roccas and M. Brewer made it possible to reveal the concept of "complex identity" as a phenomenon having the structure and forms of identification intersections, thereby providing a powerful methodological tool for studying the specifics of identity forms and the process of constructing identity in an individual and group sense, on interpersonal and intergroup levels where a huge layer of interaction aspects is revealed.

The formation of the concept of "complex identity" in modern humanities has been rapid and diverse. However, it is one of the most scientifically discussed topics at the conceptual, methodological and applied levels. The phenomenon of complex identity has a wide subject field that is far from unification and from the emergence of a unified socio-psychological theory of identity (Côté, Levine, 2014). One cannot disagree with this statement, since it is possible to discover the nature of the phenomenon only in the realities of the relationship between a person and society, and therefore the development of the theory of identity in the spirit of classical discipline is impossible. The multiplicity of approaches to the interpretation of identity, developing only into a complex invariant of interdisciplinary study, should be transformed into conceptual and methodological specifics of the most complex forms of the phenomenon of identity.

References

Ashforth, B.E., Mael, F. (1989). Social identity theory and the organization. In *Academy of management review*, 14 (1), 20-39.

Ashforth, B.E., Johnson, S.A., Hogg, M., & Terry, D. (2001). *Which hat to wear. Social identity processes in organizational contexts,* 32-48.

Barreto, M., Ellemers, N. (2003). The effects of being categorised: The interplay between internal and external social identities. In *European review of social psychology*, 14 (1), 139-170.

Binning, K.R. et al. (2009). The interpretation of multiracial status and its relation to social engagement and psychological well-being. In *Journal of Social Issues*, 65 (1), 35-49.

Brewer, M.B., Gardner, W. (1996). Who is this "we"? Levels of collective identity and self-representation. In *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 71, 83-93.

Brewer, M.B., Pierce, K.P. (2005). Social identity complexity and outgroup tolerance. In *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 31 (3), 428-437.

Brewer, M.B. (2010). *Social identity complexity and acceptance of diversity.*

Brown, R. (2000). Social identity theory: Past achievements, current problems and future challenges. In *European journal of social psychology*, 30 (6), 745-778.

Brown, B.A. (2004). Discursive identity: Assimilation into the culture of science and its implications for minority students. In *Journal of Research in Science Teaching: The Official Journal of the National Association for Research in Science Teaching,* 41(8), 810-834.

Burmistrova, O.N. (2009). Vidy organizatsionnoi identifikatsii [Types of organizational identification]. In *Uchenyye zapiski Rossiiskogo gosudarstvennogo sotsial'nogo universiteta* [*Scientific notes of the Russian State Social University*], 11, 252-255.

Campbell, D.T. (1965). Ethnocentric and other altruistic motives. In *Nebraska symposium on motivation*, 13, 283-311.

Chang, M.X.L. et al. (2016). The more (social group memberships), the merrier: Is this the case for Asians? In *Frontiers in psychology*, 7, 1001.

Côté, J.E., Levine, C.G. (2014). *Identity, formation, agency, and culture: A social psychological synthesis.* Psychology Press, 268 p.

Crisp, R.J., Hewstone, M. (1999). Differential evaluation of crossed category groups: Patterns, processes, and reducing intergroup bias. In *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 2 (4), 307-333.

Crisp, R.J., Hewstone, M., Rubin, M. (2001). Does multiple categorization reduce intergroup bias? In *Personality and social psychology bulletin*, 27 (1), 76-89.

Crisp, R.J., Hewstone, M. (2007). Multiple social categorization. In *Advances in experimental social psychology*, 39, 163-254.

Crisp, R.J., Stone, C.H., & Hall, N.R. (2006). Recategorization and subgroup identification: Predicting and preventing threats from common ingroups. In *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin,* 32(2), 230-243.

Cross, S.E., Gore, J.S., Morris, M.L. (2003). The relational-interdependent self-construal, self-concept consistency, and well-being. In *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 85 (5), 933.

Deaux, K. (1996). *Social identification.*

Douglas, J.M. (2012). "Social linkage, self-concept, and well-being after severetraumatic brain injury". In T*he Social Cure: Identity, Health and Well-Being*, eds J. Jetten, C. Haslam, and S.A. Haslam (New York, NY: Psychology Press), 237–254.

Dukerich, J.M., Roderick, K., Judi, L.P. (1998). The dark side of organizational identification. In *Identity in organizations: Building theory through conversations,* Sage, 245–256.

Elsbach, K.D. (1999). *An expanded model of organizational identification.*

Ferguson, A. (2006). Intersections of identity: Navigating the complexities. *Forum on public policy: A journal of the Oxford Round Table.* Available at: https://www.questia.com/library/journal/1G1-244026564/intersections-of-identity-navigating-the-complexities

Haslam, A., Oakes, P., Turner, J., McGarty, C. (1996). Sorrentino, Richard; Higgins, Edward, eds. Social identity, self-categorization, and the perceived homogeneity of ingroups and outgroups: The interaction between social motivation and cognition. In *Handbook of Motivation and Cognition: The Interpersonal Context, Handbook of Motivation and Cognition,* 3, 182–222.

Haslam, S.A. Spears, R., Oakes, P.J., Ellemers, N., et al. (1997). Stereotyping and social influence: Foundations of stereotype consensus. In *The Social Psychology of Stereotyping and Group Life*, 119–143.

Haslam, A.S. (2001). *Psychology in Organizations.* London, SAGE Publications

Haslam, C., Holme, A., Haslam, S.A., Iyer, A., Jetten, J., Williams, W.H. (2008). Maintaining group memberships: Social identity continuity predicts well-being after stroke. In *Neuropsychological rehabilitation*, 18 (5-6), 671-691.

Haslam, S.A., Ellemers, N., Reicher, S.D., Reynolds, K.J. Schmitt, M.T. (2010). The social identity perspective today: The impact of its defining ideas. In *Rediscovering social identity: Key readings* (341-356).

Haslam, C., Jetten, J., Alexander, S.H. (2012). *The social cure: Identity, health and well-being.* Psychology press, 237–254.

Haslam, S.A., Oakes, P.J., Turner, J.C., McGarty, C. (1995). Social categorization and group homogeneity: Changes in the perceived applicability of stereotype content as a function of comparative context and trait favourableness. In *British Journal of Social Psychology, 34* (2), 139-160.

Haslam, S.A., Oakes, P.J., Reynolds, K.J., & Turner, J.C. (1999). Social identity salience and the emergence of stereotype consensus. In *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 25(7), 809-818.

Haslam, S.A. (2004). *Psychology in organizations.* Sage, 336 p.

Haslam, S.A., Reicher, S.D., Platow, M.J. (2010). *The new psychology of leadership: Identity, influence and power.* Psychology Press, 296 p.

Hewstone, M., Islam, M.R., Judd, C.M. (1993). Models of crossed categorization and intergroup relations. In *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 64 (5), 779.

Hornsey, M.J. (2008). Social identity theory and self-categorization theory: A historical review. In *Social and personality psychology compass*, 2 (1), 204-222.

Iadov, V.A. (1995). Sotsial'nye i sotsial'no-psikhologicheskie mekhanizmy formirovaniia sotsial'noy identichnosti lichnosti [Social and socio-psychological mechanisms of the formation of social identity of a person]. In *Mir Rossii* [*World of Russia*], 3 (4), 158-181.

Iyer, A., Jetten, J., Tsivrikos, D., Postmes, T., Haslam, S. A. (2009). The more (and the more compatible) the merrier: Multiple group memberships and identity compatibility as predictors of adjustment after life transitions. In *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 48 (4), 707-733.

Jenkins, R. (2015). Chto zhdet sotsiologiiu: vymiranie, zastoi ili evoliutsiia? [What awaits sociology: extinction, stagnation or evolution?]. In *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniia* [*Sociological studies*], 3, 11-21.

Jenkins, R. (2014). *Social identity.* Routledge, 264 p.

Jetten, J., Haslam, C., Pugliese, C., Tonks, J., Haslam, S.A. (2010). Declining autobiographical memory and the loss of identity: Effects on well-being. In *Journal of clinical and experimental neuropsychology*, 32 (4), 408-416.

Jetten, J., Branscombe, N.R., Haslam, S.A., Haslam, C., Cruwys, T., Jones, J.M., Thai, A. (2015). Having a lot of a good thing: Multiple important group memberships as a source of self-esteem. In *PloS one*, 10 (5), 1-29.

Jetten, J., Branscombe, N.R., Haslam, S.A., Haslam, C., Cruwys, T., Jones, J.M., et al. (2015). *Having a lot of a good thing: multiple important group memberships as a source of self-esteem.* PLoS ONE 10:e0124609. DOI: 10.1371/ journal.pone.0124609

Jones, J.M., Jetten, J., Haslam, S.A., Williams, W.H. (2012). Deciding to disclose: The importance of maintaining social relationships for well-being after acquired brain injury. In *The social cure: Identity, health and well-being*, 255-271.

Jones, J.M., Jetten, J. (2011). Recovering from strain and enduring pain: Multiple group memberships promote resilience in the face of physical challenges. In *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 2 (3), 239-244.

Khukhlaev, O.E., Khait, M.A. (2012). Slozhnost' sotsial'noi identichnosti: kontseptsiia S. Rokkas i M. Briuer [The complexity of social identity: the concept of S. Roccas and M. Brewer]. In *Sotsial'naia psikhologiia i obshchestvo* [*Social Psychology and Society*], 3, 16-26.

Lickel, B., Hamilton, D.L., Wieczorkowska, G., Lewis, A., Sherman, S.J., Uhles, A.N. (2000). Varieties of groups and the perception of group entitativity. In *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 78, 223-246.

Lipatov, S.A., Lovakov, A.V. (2010). Sovremennye issledovaniia organizatsionnoi identifikatsii v zarubezhnoi psikhologii [Modern studies of organizational identification in foreign psychology]. In *Natsional'nyi psikhologicheskii zhurnal* [*National Psychological Journal*], 1 (3), 70-75.

Macrae C.N., Bodenhausen, G.V., Milne, A.B. (1995). The dissection of selection in person perception: inhibitory processes in social stereotyping. In *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 69 (3), 397-407.

Nesmeianova, R.K. (2017). Sub"ektivnoe predstavlenie o korporativnoi kul'ture i organizatsionnaia identifikatsiia: osobennosti vzaimosviazi [Subjective idea of corporate culture and organizational identification: features of the relationship]. In *Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta, Seriia 14. Psikhologiia* [*Moscow University Herald, Series 14. Psychology*], 2017, 1, 88-104.

Nesmeianova, R.K., Lipatov, S.A. (2018). Aktual'nyye tendentsii issledovaniia organizatsionnoi identifikatsii v zarubezhnoi psikhologii [Actual trends in the study of organizational identification in foreign psychology]. In *Chelovecheskii kapital* [*Human capital*], 1, 60-72.

Nesmeianova, R.K., Lipatov, S.A. (2017). Vzaimosviaz' vospriiatiia i privlekatel'nosti korporativnoi kul'tury s organizatsionnoi identifikatsiei sotrudnikov [Interrelation of perception and attractiveness of corporate culture with organizational identification of employees]. In *Organizatsionnaia psikhologiia* [*Organizational Psychology*], 7 (3), 67-84.

Onorato, R.S., Turner J.C. (2004). Fluidity in the self-concept: the shift from personal to social identity. In *European journal of social psychology*, 34 (3), 257-278.

Prentice, D.A., Miller, D.T., Lightdale, J.R. (1994). Asymmetries in attachments to groups and to their members: Distinguishing between common-identity and common-bond groups. In *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *20* (5), 484-493.

Reynolds, K.J., Turner, J.C. (2006). Individuality and the prejudiced personality. In *European review of social psychology*, 17 (1), 233-270.

Roccas, S., Brewer, M.B. (2002). Social identity complexity. In *Personality and social psychology review*, 6 (2), 88-106.

Rothbart, M., John, O.P. (1985). Social categorization and behavioural episodes: A cognitive analysis of the effects of intergroup contact. In *Journal of Social Issues*, 41 (3), 81-104.

Schmid, K., Hewstone, M., Tausch, N., Cairns, E., Hughes, J. (2009). Antecedents and consequences of social identity complexity: Intergroup contact, distinctiveness threat, and outgroup attitudes. In *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 35(8), 1085-1098.

Sidorenkov, A.V., Dorofeev, V.A. (2016). Sootnoshenie gruppovoi, mikrogruppovoi i mezhlichnostnoi identichnosti rabotnikov v proizvodstvennykh gruppakh [Correlation of group, micro-group and interpersonal identities of workers in production groups]. In *Sotsial'naia psikhologiia i obshchestvo* [*Social Psychology and Society*], 7 (3), 60-75.

Sønderlund, A.L., Morton, T.A., Ryan, M.K. (2017). Multiple group membership and well-being: Is there always strength in numbers? In *Frontiers in psychology*, 8, 1038.

Stangor, C., Lynch, L., Duan, C., Glass, B. (1992). Categorization of individuals on the basis of multiple social features. In *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 62, 207-218.

Steffens, N.K., Jetten, J., Haslam, C., Cruwys, T., & Haslam, S.A. (2016). Multiple social identities enhance health post-retirement because they are a basis for giving social support. In *Frontiers in psychology*, 7, 1519.

Tajfel, H. (1974). Social identity and intergroup behaviour. In *Information (International Social Science Council)*, 13(2), 65-93.

Tajfel, H.E. (1978). *Differentiation between social groups: Studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations*. Academic Press.

Tajfel, H. (1982). *Social identity and intergroup relations. Cambridge and Paris*. 546 p.

Tajfel, H., Turner, J.C., Austin, W.G., & Worchel, S. (1979). *An integrative theory of intergroup conflict.* Organizational identity: A reader, 56, 65.

Tetlock, P.E. (1986). A value pluralism model of ideological reasoning. In *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* 50, 819-827.

Tetlock, P.E. (1983). Accountability and complexity of thought. In *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 45, 74-83.

Tronevskaia, M.A. (2015). Transformatsiia sotsial'noi identichnosti v usloviiakh krizisa postmodernistskogo obshchestva i kul'tury [The transformation of social identity in a crisis of postmodern society and culture]. In *Teoriia i praktika obshchestvennogo razvitiia* [*Theory and practice of social development*], 3, 34-37.

Turner, J.C., Tajfel, H. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behaviour. In *Psychology of intergroup relations*, 5, 7-24.

Turner, J.C., Hogg, M.A., Oakes, P.J., Reicher, S.D. & Wetherell, M.S. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Turner, J.C., Oakes, P.J., Haslam, S.A., McGarty, C. (1994). Self and collective: Cognition and social context. In *Personality and social psychology bulletin*, 20 (5), 454-463.

Turner, J.C. (1999). Some current issues in research on social identity and self-categorization theories. In *Social identity: Context, commitment, content*, 3 (1), 6-34.

Turner, J.C., Hogg, M.A., Oakes, P.J., Reicher, S.D., Wetherell, M.S. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory.* Oxford, England: Basil Blackwell, 399-417.

Turner, J.C., Oakes, P.J. (1986). The significance of the social identity concept for social psychology with reference to individualism, interactionism and social influence. In *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 25 (3), 237-252.

Turner, J.C., Onorato, R.S. (1998). Social identity, personality, and the self-concept: A self-categorization perspective. In *The Psychology of the Social Self* (1).

Urban, L.M., Miller, N. (1998). A theoretical analysis of crossed categorization effects: A meta-analysis. In *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74 (4), 894.

Uspenskaia, O.A. (2017). Urovni formirovaniia organizatsionnoi identichnosti sotrudnikov [Levels of Formation of Organizational Identity of Employees]. In *Novaia nauka: Opyt, traditsii, innovatsii* [*New Science: Experience, Traditions, Innovations*], 3 (4), 81-85.

История исследований сложной идентичности

Ю.С. Замараева, Н.П. Копцева

Сибирский федеральный университет
Российская Федерация, Красноярск

Аннотация. В статье раскрыта концептуальная проблематика формирования понятия «сложная идентичность» в современных гуманитарных науках на материале анализа зарубежных и отечественных исследований. В научной истории концептуальное определение понятия состоялось в последней трети XX столетия в социологии и социальной психологии, однако с начала XXI века свое прикладное развитие получило благодаря междисциплинарным исследованиям, позволившим ученым выявлять сложные формы идентичности в условиях динамично развивающегося мира. В начале XXI века возрос интерес к идентичности как культурной проблеме и обнаружилась необходимость ее изучения в контексте современной культуры и межкультурных отношений. Культурологическая проблематика позволяет соединить существующие представления в концептуальное определение понятия «сложная идентичность» и выстроить приоритеты исследования в соответствии с современными социально-культурными отношениями.

Ключевые слова: теория социальной идентичности, сложная идентичность, природа сложности социальной идентичности.

Научная специальность: 24.00.01 – теория и история культуры.