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FORMATION OF ETHNIC VALUES OF PERSONALITY IN THE CONTEXT OF ETHNIC EDUCATION

© *Marina V. Makhrinova, Igor P. Makeenko, Olga V. Kashirina*

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Ethnic upbringing is a purposeful interaction of generations, as a result of which ethnic self-consciousness is formed that is adequate to treat oneself as a subject of an ethnic group, a sense of pride in their ethnic group, a positive attitude to the language, history, culture of their ethnic group, as well as a sense of respect and tolerance for representatives of others ethnic groups. The essence of ethnic education is the preservation, formation and development of the ethnic identity of the individual, his culture, self-identity, language based on the continuity of generations, taking into account the changing conditions. As a content and means of ethnic education, the development of ethnosocial roles is considered, the formation of which is the mastery of this role in accordance with age. To preserve their identity, integrity, independence, individual freedom, you first need to understand your ethnic upbringing. This is the first step and at the same time the main thread of life, it is not discrete, it is continuous, it starts from the moment of conception of a child and continues throughout life. However, at the same time, ethnic education is a deeply specific upbringing, it must penetrate the whole spirit of the family, the general educational institution, especially the initial link, and then, really, on the basis of the native, the education of a multicultural personality should be carried out. The ultimate goal of ethnic education is the upbringing of an ethnocultural personality, identifying himself with his own ethnos, which perceives the world through the prism of its national-specific features.

Key words: individual, personality, education, socialization, public relations, cultural and historical experience, culture of ethnos, ethnic culture, ethnocultural values, ethnocultural education.

[М.В. Махринова, И.П. Макеенко, О.В. Каширина Формирование этнических ценностей личности в контексте этнического воспитания]

Этническое воспитание – это целенаправленное взаимодействие поколений, в результате которого формируется этническое самосознание, адекватное отношению к себе как к субъекту этноса, чувство гордости за свой этнос, положительное отношение к языку, истории, культуре своего этноса, а также чувство уважения и толерантности к представителям других этносов. Сущность этнического воспитания заключается в сохранении, формировании и развитии этнической самобытности личности, ее культуры, самосознания, языка на основе преемственности поколений с учетом изменившихся условий. Как содержание и средство этнического воспитания рассматривается освоение этносоциальных ролей, показателем сформированности которых является овладение этой ролью в соответствии с возрастом. Чтобы сохранить свою самобытность, целостность, независимость, свободу личности, сначала надо понять свое этническое воспитание. Это первая ступень и в то же время основная нить жизни, оно не дискретно, оно непрерывно, оно начинается с момента зачатия ребенка и продолжается в течение всей жизни. Но в то же время этническое воспитание – глубоко специфическое воспитание, им должны быть проникнуты весь дух семьи, общеобразовательное учреждение, особенно начальное звено, а дальше, действительно, на основе родного должно осуществляться воспитание поликультурной личности. Конечной целью этнического воспитания является воспитание этнокультурной личности, идентифицирующей себя со своим этносом, который воспринимает мир сквозь призму своих национально-специфических особенностей.

Ключевые слова: индивид, личность, воспитание, социализация, общественные отношения, культурно-исторический опыт, культура этноса, этническая культура, этнокультурные ценности, этнокультурное образование.

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The process of ethnic education is the organic, permanent development of a representative of an ethnic group throughout a lifetime. The result of ethnic education is the assimilation of ethnic values, the use of ethnosocial roles, ethnic norms embedded in the traditions of one or another ethnic group.

The value approach is very important. Thanks to such features of education as continuity, variability and inertness, it is possible to transfer the basic values in education from one generation to another, taking into account the changed socio-political, socio-economic conditions. An essential feature of culture is the presence in it of traditional, historically developed by the people and selected ideas – values. Each culture differs from the other in an exclusive set of values that determine the specific behavior of its representatives.

The idea of value is formed due to the coverage of a wide range of phenomena of the spiritual and material world, which are the foundation for the individual and are an indispensable condition for the formation of personality. A person accepts the values of one or another group as attitudes that determine his behavior, and does not choose as separate value orientations. An individual cannot influence the value itself; however, it implements them, makes attempts to follow these value principles.

As M.S. Kagan notes, recognition of the priority of truth in the system of values, scientific awareness of the experience of mankind, and specifically the correlation of the world of scientific rationality and the axiological world, creates the opportunity to revive harmonious relations based on the principle of complementarity.

G.P. Vyzhletsov in his writings notes that the functioning and manifestation of values in society is determined by the relationships arising between the subject and the object. On the one hand, various objects, their properties of a phenomenon, can be a value, and on the other hand, judgments related to the assessment of specific objects, phenomena and society as a whole. The mediating links connecting society and the individual are the system of values and the way of life of a person. They act as key mechanisms for the inclusion of man in global social relations. In order for a person to realize the importance of value, he/she must have a guide in some groups of values. At the stage of awareness by a specific individual of the value of social reality, a special type of relationship in society is formed - a value relationship. The orientation method in the system of values acts as an internal psychological mechanism that forms various preferences of a person according to the nature of purposefulness, which determines the specificity of its value relations.

According to M. Rokich, value is treated as a transcendental recipe, positive or negative, not associated with a specific situation or with a specific object, expressing a person's beliefs about patterns of behavior or primary goals. Values are part of the worldviews of various ethnic groups, and act as a way of reaction of these groups to certain situations. In dif-

ferent societies, values differ from each other, due to the fact that they act as a product of socialization in a particular culture. In his study, M. Rokich identifies the main characteristics of values. Thus, he noted that values stand out as stable facts of consciousness, and there are values that act as group beliefs or as individual beliefs. To support self-esteem and self-respect, values are declared as the main means of human consciousness and self-awareness. They define "... the quality of a person and the ability of social subjects to deliberately interact with the environment" [6, p. 282-284], "the complex interaction of various types of social communication" [1, p. 5-10].

L.S. Vygotsky established that the process of socialization and the formation of personality is accomplished thanks to the development by the individual of the value system of a certain cultural and historical community, cultural and historical experience, but without the influence of some a priori reality. These norms are fixed in the traditions of ethnocultural community or religious culture. They can act as a model, which is the quintessence of the value system adopted in this society. Acquaintance with culture is due to the development of images, as social experience is transmitted and fixed in the form of formed cultural objects.

The core of culture consists of universal human goals and values, as well as historically established ways of their perception and achievement. But, speaking as a universal phenomenon, culture is perceived, mastered and reproduced by each person individually, conditioning its formation as a person.

Heredity predetermines the genetic reproduction of generations, and the ontogenesis of spiritual life of both man and society is based on the ongoing process of transmission from generation to generation of experience and knowledge materialized through spiritual values. Without a deep understanding of the ethnos culture, it is impossible to understand its spiritual and moral values. A person acts in the coordinates of national and universal values. The cultural heritage reflects the values of various civilizations; it acts as an integral part and an indispensable condition for the development of society, both its socio-economic component and the spiritual component.

The process of adaptation to the value system contributes to the formation and formation of a personal (ethnic) value system. Even the ideal values of humanity must undergo a process of rebirth in empirical experience, for their appropriate appropriation in the future, in order to get a personal semantic coloring. In all historical epochs, man, in particular, and all people in general, act as carriers of historical values.

The value cannot be forced to accept or take away, it cannot be purchased or sold for money, it cannot be presented or received as a gift as a present. It is impossible to simply become familiar with the value, to join; value must be created by yourself, or rather to create it in yourself and each time to revive again in any value situation, going through various difficulties.

A person oriented to a system of universal values through ethnoculture can be regarded as a phenomenon combining various facets of a person's value assimilation of reality, the subject's metamorphosis in action and in the process of the formation of this person's culture.

The study of differences in cultural values, which was conducted by G. Hofstede, notes the disclosure of the nature of cultural differences, which is the result of differences in the judiciousness of people. Cultural differences are revealed in the essential manifestations of culture, these are symbols, heroes, traditions, and, in particular, values. The system of symbols acts as a superficial manifestation of culture, and the system of values already acts as a thorough, fundamental expression of culture.

Each ethnic culture includes a combination of values of all areas of material and spiritual life. Orientation of an individual to a system of universal values through ethnic culture can be interpreted as a phenomenon that integrates the main facets of the value development of reality by an individual, his socialization through practical activities and the formation of his culture.

Ethnic culture is a means of educating and improving the individual, mastering the values of the surrounding social and natural world. This is a key condition for the formation of harmonious relations with the surrounding reality, as well as with oneself through the appropriation of social and historical experience. Experience, in turn, is recorded in the form of historically established elements of culture, embodied in value orientations selected by the ethnic group and mastered in activities. These values, passing through the individual vital activity of the personality, are part of the psychological structure of the personality in the form of personal values. They are designated as a source of motivation for individual behavior and the relationship of the individual to the surrounding reality. Values of a personal nature, this is the part that connects the culture of society and the spiritual world of a person, connects social and individual being.

The most important essential value of a person is recognized as its social significance as a fundamental universal human value and invariant. On the basis of the ethnocultural system of values functioning in society, a specific set of signs of understanding reality, one's place in this world is formed.

The personality – the subject of ethnic culture – is not only its consumer, but also the bearer and creator of cultural values, determines in its development the qualitative characteristics of the reproduction of ethnic experience. Personality is the result of the distribution of ethnocultural values: language, traditions, methods of activity and thinking - and forms itself in the process of activity as an ethno-cultural-historical being. Ethnicity or individual individuals, mechanically borrowing other spiritual values, types of thinking, lose their ability to create within their native and other cultures.

The complex and controversial process of the formation and development of culture is inseparable from taking into account the laws of phylogenesis and ontogenesis. In the past, each newborn forced a certain structure of values that did not change for centuries, regulating the orientations of many generations.

Ethnic identity of a person consists, first of all, in a unique combination of elements common to all ethnic groups, in a combination of a system of relations and values. Therefore, with the change of ideas, currents, they evolve: some disappear, others appear, some rise, others fall; a new ideological system predetermines a new hierarchy of values. Some values express the hopes and aspirations of an ethnic group: freedom, equality, happiness, homeland, family, work; people live with other values: pessimism, honor, tolerance, politeness, respect for others. On the basis of the ethnocultural system of values functioning in society, a specific set of signs of understanding reality, one's place in this world is formed in a person.

Ethnic culture and education are two components of the process of formation and development of the individual through the assimilation of the cultural value system. Ethnic culture is analyzed from the perspective of the process and the result of transformational activity; it is both the goal and the content of education. The system of values based on ideals is transformed for the goals and objectives of the education system and acts as a key link in the analysis of the phenomena of pedagogy. They are reflected in the educational process and provide an opportunity to consider its nature and essence. Values of ethnocultural nature allow us to see its directional vector. Each historical stage in the development of society encourages the educational system to seek a new system of values that will concentrate around the humanistically oriented ideal of education.

As a general principle in the field of education, a continuous process of transmission from generation to generation of spiritual values, ethnocultural traditions and features that reflect various aspects of life support, which are a manifestation of ethnocultural memory, form new ethnos value orientations, is approved.

The system of ethnocultural education turns human values into concrete recognizable ethno-cultural heritage. Categories, knowledge of a general ethnic character play the role of permanent value and, as a result, become the heritage of every person. Such a process al-

lows for the development of a sense of self-confidence and abilities in the educated, revives ethnic self-awareness, develops self-awareness, and develops responsibility for the preservation and development of ethnic traditions and the desire to maintain a healthy lifestyle.

Ethnic culture contributes to the self-identification of a person with a particular ethnic group; it contributes to the emergence of a desire to work for the good of their ethnic group. It helps the formation and development of the pedagogical way of thinking of an ethnic group. All of the above allows us to note that the orientation of the educational system towards ethnic culture is an integrative phenomenon, on which the processes of deepening, expanding and accepting at the personal level a system of universal human values.

The nature of the emergence of the value system lies in the sphere of formation and satisfaction of human needs i.e. the driving force, source and causes of its activity. Value is the subject of human needs – things or ideas. A need is initially designated as a prerequisite, however, when human activity begins, it also begins to transform. The prerequisite for achieving results is the premise. This need is focused on the future; it is the need that creates the standards of life for the future. A need urges a person to overcome the environment of his being, creating new forms of life. The main purpose of the exaltation of needs is to enable the individual to realize the importance of a particular value and to make the right choice in a certain situation through awareness and acceptance of universal and national values. The environment is an effective means of satisfying human needs. Ethnic culture does not contain superfluous and useless, it is an instrumental mechanism thanks to which a person better copes with extraordinary difficulties in the process of satisfying his needs, and difficulties, in turn, are due to the human environment. The formation and satisfaction of needs is the driving force, source, process of resolving contradictions and the reason for the activity of a person, thanks to which his personality structures are formed and changed. The main purpose of the selection of a particular need and its elevation is a person's awareness of the importance of value and experiencing it in a situation of choosing a value reference point through an ascent to universal values and ethnocultural values.

The reproduction of ethnoculture is an entry into the world of universal values through the development of personalism in the bosom of native culture, the satisfaction of the needs of ethnocultural expression and self-realization. The development of the personality does not occur under the influence of any influences, but mainly those that express the needs of the person, are addressed to his personality, and are based on his own attitude to reality.

The subjects of educational systems starts to understand the need to more actively saturate the educational process with ethnocultural components by means of developing and educating the person, mastering the values of the surrounding ethno-social environment, the conditions for harmonizing relations with the outside world and oneself through the appropriation of socio-historical experience, fixed in historical form prevailing cultural objects embodied in ethno-selected spiritual and moral ideas-values and mastered in activities that promote dialogue of cultures in the context of the development of modern culture [7].

Orientation to certain values makes up value orientations (the result of people's free choice) that characterize the orientation of the person, expressed in the awareness and experience of the values and needs of society, which motivate real behavior and program the future. A qualitative leap becomes possible not when new ideas arise, but when new value orientations mature. The value orientations of the personality in its general structure play the role of a strategic line of behavior, the function of an integrator of various forms of human activity, out of many social roles, attitudes, value orientations of a person, only a few enter the personality structure, which, as the highest value, is based on a real presence in the human mind [8]. Value orientation is the material on the basis of which one or another ethnic culture crystallizes.

The system of value orientations changes depending on the historical period of the development of society, which naturally changes in historical time [3, pp. 45-49], is closely con-

nected with historical memory [10, pp. 41-47]. Ethnicity can take any value orientation depending on historical fate, cultural tradition and external environment. Therefore, every individual person can theoretically accept any values, although in practice their choice is largely determined by the nature of his upbringing and education, as well as his life experience. This choice is not genetically determined for humans. Both for an individual person and for an ethnos, the role of the external environment in the choice of value orientation is huge.

For the normal functioning of society, a reproducible and constantly updated system of value orientations is needed. The value orientation sets the goal (rebirth of the people, the ideal image of a perfect personality), includes an arsenal of means of action (which should, is allowed), gives an idea of good and evil, the image of the world (including cosmological, sociological, cultural and anthropological components), research ideas about history and politics passed down from generation to generation, about which events are the most significant, factors, the most significant, situations and the most typical.

The formation of value orientations reflects the process of the formation of the personality, and the value orientation itself represents a set of socially significant values in their individual and personal manifestation. The value orientations of ethnoculture provide a systematic, integrity-forming personality. The system of value orientations of the individual for a long time developed under the influence of religion, which took the role of social morality, the decisive factor, and the most important component of ethnocultural identity. The formation of value orientations is based on the activity aspect of needs.

Culture as a system of subjective meanings and value orientations and at the same time as a spiritual potential determines the vector and boundaries of the behavior of subjects in society, provides a positive attitude to cultural differences [2]. "Culture is understood as the inner essence of human ideas ..." [9, pp. 3-9]. Value orientation is the material on the basis of which this or that ethnic culture crystallizes. Values, value orientations are mobile in relation to society, history, and the individual person. The choice of a value orientation by an ethnos is made by the bearers of the personality type of consciousness associated with "public consciousness ... general cultural norms and values" [6, pp. 6-12].

For the normal functioning of an ethnic group, a reproducible and constantly updated system of value orientations that correct the educational system is needed, which at this stage set the goal - the revival of peoples, in accordance with which the educational system should be adjusted. The problems of the revival of spirituality, the development of a humanistic worldview and value orientations of the individual, their inclusion in ethnocultural experience are becoming urgent, they require updating the content of education, substantiating new worldview ideas, concepts, categories of their personal perception by students and providing real opportunities for a humanistic worldview of a person focused on historical and ethnocultural values of the people, to affirm the ideals of humanism in the consciousness and behavior of students.

Ethnocultural sources contain the program-oriented goals in the field of education that prevail in this community in a given historical period, which give the ethnos a real opportunity to determine current ethnocultural value priorities. It is important to analyze historical texts, which are the quintessence of the value system, texts that are not translated but written by the hand of the bearer of this ethnic culture, reflecting the value dominants that form the ideology of the development of the ethnic group. The value orientation is also given to its own ideal image, and it partly includes the arsenal of means of action (what should and what is allowed). She also sets a meaningful idea of good and evil, gives some schematic image of the world (including cosmological, sociological, cultural and anthropological components). Ideology defines an algorithm of action, and therefore people consider themselves capable of this action. The popular notions of history and politics are investigated. There is a special political folklore, that is, ideas passed down from generation to generation about which events

in history and politics are most significant, which factors are most significant, and which situations are most typical.

P.F. Kapterev related features of the pedagogical process, due to national values, attributed language, religion, life. He regarded the acquisition of his native language as an introduction to national spiritual values and, at the same time, to universal human knowledge, forming scientific views on the world around him, called for the development in children of a sense of belonging to all of humanity. Pedagogical activity is first carried out on the basis of the national ideal, and then is transformed into activity to achieve the universal ideal. In upbringing, it is necessary to appeal not to one people, but to many, to consider their ideals and to fill up the shortcomings of their national ideal with valuable foreign properties; folk should be combined with a foreign, with a national and universal.

Education is impossible without appeal to the individual. Personality as a cultural phenomenon has always been included in the prestigious goals of education or has been declared as such. Nevertheless, usually a person was a means, not a goal of education. The child's personal potential has been activated to achieve an external goal. Education focused on personality development is a special type of education that is more complex in terms of organizational and structural characteristics and psychological mechanisms. Its goal is to develop in a child the ability to be a person: choose life's meanings and principles, make decisions, be responsible for his words and actions, be independent, internally free, proactive and creative, to control himself. The fulfillment of these special kinds of actions on the internal self-organization of the individual consists in the purpose of the personality, its function. These functions essentially constitute the moral core of the personality, the potential of its civic development, socialization, one way or another determine the socio-cultural development of society [4, pp. 123-128].

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PROBLEMS OF PRESERVATION AND TRANSMISSION OF DOMESTIC TRADITIONAL CULTURE: PHILOSOPHICAL ANALYSIS

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In a traditional society, culture performed many complex functions; the leading one was the reproduction of a traditional collectivist personality. The whole society in the process of its existence reproduced this very culture: in labor, holiday, and everyday life. A significant role in this process was played by the ability to read, translate symbolic, symbolic information into senses. That is, performing a ceremony, singing songs, placing a certain pattern or embroidery, the representative of a traditional society should always have a clear idea: why exactly this action is necessary at the moment, which sign is male and which is female. With the violation of the integrity of the traditional society, a change in lifestyle, the traditional division of responsibilities, the whole cultural landscape is changing. The meanings that were invested in rituals and objects are lost, transformed sometimes even by the next generation of cultural bearers. It, like a mirror, reflects all the modernization processes that society has experienced. The root, structural parts of the culture are also preserved in it. In this regard, the question arises, which part of the culture preserves broadcast and presents to the young generation? This dispute has repeatedly arisen among professionals and there is no unambiguous answer to it. This is connected with historical difficulties, with those severe shocks that Russian society suffered.

Key words: cultural politics, values, popular culture, ethnic culture, syncretism, traditionalism, traditional society.

[М.В. Смагина, Л.А. Тронина Проблемы сохранения и трансляции отечественной традиционной культуры: философский анализ]

В традиционном обществе культура выполняла множество сложных функций, ведущей из которых было воспроизводство традиционной коллективистской личности. Все общество в процессе своего существования воспроизводило эту самую культуру: в труде, празднике, повседневной жизни. Значительную роль в этом процессе играло умение чтения, перевода символической, знаковой информации в смыслы. То есть, производя обряд, распевая песни, помещая определенный рисунок или вышивку, представитель традиционного общества всегда должен четко представлять: почему именно это действие необходимо в данный момент, какой знак мужской, а какой женский. С нарушением целостности традиционного общества, изменением образа жизни, традиционного разделения обязанностей меняется весь культурный ландшафт. Смыслы, которые вкладывались в обряды, предметы, теряются, трансформируются, подчас даже следующим поколением носителей культуры. В ней как в зеркале отражаются все модернизационные процессы, которые испытывало общество. В нем же сохраняются и корневые, структурные части культуры. В связи с этим возникает вопрос, какую часть культуры сохранять, транслировать и презентовать молодому поколению? Этот спор неоднократно возникал в среде профессионалов, и однозначного ответа на него нет. Связано это, не в последнюю очередь, с историческими сложностями, с теми сильнейшими потрясениями, которые перенесло российское общество.

Ключевые слова: культурная политика, ценности, народная культура, этническая культура, синкретизм, традиционализм, традиционное общество.

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It is important to emphasize the controversial role played by Soviet power in the history of Russian traditional culture. On the one hand, we owe it for the preservation of a large number of folk crafts, which almost died during all trials in the early twentieth century. This is logical, since the state of workers and peasants was obligated to support the culture of the peasants and workers. It meant that in general the entire artistic culture of the new society was supposed to function, be preserved and develop precisely as a folk: firstly, being folk in its origins and foundations; secondly, in its focus on serving the people of the country building communism; thirdly, in terms of accessibility to the masses, prevalence, and mass popularity. All this determined the attention of the Soviet government to the preservation and use of folk art culture. As well as attitude to the new in the state and development of folk art.

On the other hand, one of the priority areas of the Bolshevik policy was the fight against religion, which was one of the foundations of the spiritual culture of the people. Moreover, here it was not so significant what kind of people: a Russian or a foreigner who professed Islam or Buddhism, since all religions, their worshipers and ministers were equally subjected to persecution.

At the same time, it was repeatedly emphasized that one of the most important tasks of Soviet society was its modernization, the creation of a new society, and the destruction of traditional foundations. It was traditional nationality that was the basis of the former system, its ideological core, which also included Orthodoxy and autocracy. In this regard, all traditional ritual was ruthlessly destroyed and supplanted by new forms, which means special cultural forms associated with the symbolic overcoming of critical situations in human life i.e. birth, initiation, marriage, epidemics, crop failure, death. Since these rituals are an integral part of being and reflect the experience of individual and collective experience of specific events.

All this contradicted Soviet cultural policy, which can be described as state activity aimed at transforming the sphere of culture and art in a socialist spirit. The main principle was the eradication of those values that were associated with the former tsarist regime and prevented the building of a bright future, since archaism blew from them.

Therefore, the following areas can be distinguished in the cultural policy of the USSR: the active propaganda of socialist ideals, the elimination of illiteracy, the fight against religious vestiges and superstition, the formation of a model of Soviet art that is distinguished by ideology and innovation, the creation of a new everyday life. Moreover, such transformative activity was carried out in stages, and depended on the attitude of the party organs to the traditional customs and rites of the peoples of the USSR in a particular period. If until the 1930s of the 20th century, severe restrictions and persecution of all ethnic elements of culture, the supplanting of them by internationalist ideas, can be noted, then in the post-war period the authorities are striving to adapt ethnic elements of culture to the needs of the state.

In addition to religious foundations that form religious consciousness, noting "the influence of Orthodoxy on the formation and design of Russian culture" [11, pp. 39-44], many customs associated with family life and traditional roles were recognized archaic. Women involved in socialist construction were torn away from their traditional abode, escaped from the comprehensive control of husbands or fathers, and were able to independently determine and secure their future. A woman working outside the home has become the norm for the vast majority of families, even in such a traditional corner as the

Caucasus, where special activities were held in the Soviet years, such as “a coat for every goryanka (a mountain girl)”. It was organized to provide women with warm outerwear, which made it possible to participate in cooperation, to receive education, breaking away from the traditional way of life, in which a man maintained all connections with the outside world. A policy of prohibition of domestic violence and the elimination of physical punishment for all its members was also purposefully pursued.

In Central Asia and the Caucasus, they fought with a burqa, in Kalmykia and among the highlanders of the Caucasus, with a camisole, a special corset that was worn on girls during puberty and was not removed before marriage. Its task is to promote the formation of a slim figure and prevent the development of the chest and mammary glands. As hygienists proved, this custom harmed the young body, often caused the rapid development of tuberculosis. Thus, we see that Soviet power not only influenced relations within the family, destroying the traditional family, but also influenced the traditional costume, excluding from it those elements that were recognized archaic.

The value of folk art was determined by its usefulness in building socialism, a new society. Party and state leaders proceeded from the fact that although folklore expresses the ideology and artistic tastes of the working people, it is nevertheless necessary to distinguish between the advanced, the progressive and the backward, the patriarchal. According to V.I. Lenin, knowledge of folk art is useful for understanding folk psychology. In addition, this is creativity itself, which he noted in the article “The Development of Worker Choirs in Germany”, for the promotion of socialism. In any case, the study, preservation and use of folk culture, its achievements in Soviet times became practically urgent. This affected the fate of folk art and performance in post-revolutionary Russia.

On the one hand, the attention of the Soviet government to folk art culture contributed to the preservation of its rich heritage, the extension of the vitality of folk traditions in art. On the other hand, this same attention was expressed in political, ideological, organizational pressure on the entire sphere of folk culture. Under such pressure, the actual nationality was gradually supplanted, being replaced by its ersatz, imitations, at best, by semi-official forms of existence specially organized by the state.

With the advent of Soviet power, the work of theoretical understanding of folklore was continued, acquiring a new revolutionary spirit and scale. On the developed theoretical basis, practical research was organized, and in the Soviet state they began work on the collection of specific monuments of the spiritual and material parts of traditional culture. Collection and studies were carried out within the framework of the country's integrated system, which included central and regional levels. Folklore expeditions were organized, whose activities were coordinated by experienced specialists from the Academy of Sciences and the Houses of Folk Art. The Institute of Russian Literature of the USSR Academy of Sciences played one of the leading roles in this matter. Teachers and students of historical and philological faculties were involved in the work.

The research space was constantly expanding. So, if in the North-West of Russia in the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries, the folklore of the Russian North was actively collected, then from the 60s. The twentieth century began to attract more attention from other regions. In Veliky Novgorod, at the Department of Russian Literature of the Pedagogical Institute (later Novgorod State University), since 1958, local folklore has been systematically collected, the work that has begun continues to the present.

In many Russian regions, recordings of folklore texts and melodies, descriptions of dance structures, and the collection of works of folk art were made. New opportunities were opened with the use of new technology: voice recorders, tape recorders, photos, movie cameras and video cameras. The hard and meticulous work of collectors made it possible to concentrate in the archives of various levels the true wealth of the folk culture, demonstrating not only all its diversity and wealth, but also the development processes

and dynamics. All this created the basis for serious scientific analysis, preparation of publications.

At the same time, folk art culture was preserved not only as archival and museum values, but also in its effectiveness, which was ensured by the creation of a system of special organizations and institutions in post-revolutionary Russia. A network of clubs (rural and urban), houses and palaces of culture, including houses of folk art, which became the basis for folk ensembles, folk instrument orchestras, choral and dance groups, studios and folk art clubs, was deployed throughout the country. Similar forms of work were organized not only at district houses of culture, but also unfolded at large agricultural and industrial enterprises, in army formations, higher educational institutions, and secondary specialized educational institutions.

Festivals and competitions of folk art were constantly held in the country. In clubs, houses and palaces of culture, however, folk art gradually became more and more tangibly represented in the system of so-called amateur performances, derived from amateurism striving for professionalism.

Domestic scholars of folklore drew attention to the fact that coexist, complementing each other, types of leisure art activities that go back to the traditions of folk (folklore) creativity and follow the system, the organizational and creative principles of professional art. For example, in the framework of the creative work of a higher educational institution, two choirs could function successfully at once: folk and academic, differing both in the manner of performance and in their repertoire and style. Moreover, professionalism, or at least the desire for it, will be equally characteristic of both teams.

As a result, folklorism supplanted genuine folklore. Folk culture, which lost its living connection with life, also lost its other systemic attributes. Living conditions changed: the presence of a scene and a spectator, as an outside observer, significantly transformed the performing style. The training was based on musical notation, singing skills were no longer directly transferred from one performer to another. The professional growth of individual performers and groups was accompanied by the loss of living tribal signs of folklore.

As a result of the development of this tendency, literary processing of texts of folk tales, academic processing of texts and parts of songs were performed, the average versions of the dance were reproduced, brought to the highest level of performing skills, but devoid of regional features, local traditions. They created masterly samples of Russian dance or horovod (round dance), the most exquisite drawing, song and dance ensembles of the Soviet Army, "Birch", embodying a certain average, generalized image of Russian folk song and dance art, which in their interpretation no longer had any regional features. Folk choirs are the brainchild of a new time, it does not need fields and huts, and its element is a stage, screen, and holiday. This is not life. This is not folklore. This is folklorism.

Unfortunately, an impersonal tradition was not only characterized by an increase in professionalism, but was also accompanied by the proliferation of clichés, which were not only reproduced in concert activity, but also penetrated into everyday life, crowding out genuine samples in their natural environment. Similar processes were noted all over the world, where the folk tradition was transformed in cities under the influence of industrialization processes, but in the Soviet reality, the factor of ideological pressure was also added. What is preserved exists in the secondary tradition and is filled with new meanings, changing meaningfully. The semantic, substantial change in the folk art culture in post-revolutionary Russia was significant. It was caused in some ways by the new realities of life, in something by political and ideological pressure.

It is important to mention that the noted trend associated with the displacement of traditional culture from everyday life, the loss of crafts, various types and monuments of folklore, has a worldwide sound. Programs and conventions developed by international organizations such as UNESCO are devoted to the fight against this problem, impoverishing

the world cultural heritage. At the federal level, similar programs were created in our country aimed at preserving and maintaining the popular culture. In the Stavropol Territory, a local program to support and preserve folk culture has been developed and is operating.

The All-Russian project "Cultural normative of a schoolchild", whose Stavropol region has become a pilot region, has a role to play in this direction. To a certain extent, it resembles the TRP system, however, it transfers the principle of activity to the field of culture, including folklore. It provides closer interaction between regional ministries of culture and education and creates the conditions for mass acquaintance with folk culture, especially at the school level. The recommendations emphasize such important principles of the organization of work within its framework as a systematic, interactive, as well as an activity-based approach that defines "... the quality of a person and the ability of social subjects to purposefully interact with the environment" [10, pp. 282-284], "the complex interaction of various types of social communication" [2, pp. 5-10].

The dual role in preserving traditional folk culture is played by tourism, which has been actively developed in the last decade. On the one hand, it often stimulates the mass import of Chinese consumer goods, which the local craft cannot withstand, applied art, which always requires a lot of time, is associated with complex, lengthy technological operations. Often, in competition with it, traditional ornaments are simplified, craftsmen, in pursuit of commercial benefits, modernize materials, replacing local natural ones with imported ones, with synthetic ones. On the other hand, it is impossible not to note the beneficial effect of ethnographic tourism on the attention of local communities to folk culture. Thanks to the spread of this type of tourism, large ethnic festivals are possible, and folk traditions are being addressed.

Researchers have identified some of the most promising and relevant areas in the preservation of popular culture. First of all, this is the actualization of the problem in the media, including social networks, where you can present the work of teams in new formats, the problems of conservation, and find new points of interaction between interested participants. Another process that is gaining popularity is the ethnopedagogization of education, accompanied by the creation of a special environment, ethnocultural space. Another promising direction, fundamental for the preservation of folk culture, is interaction with the family, information and educational work carried out by various agents and designed to return the folk culture to the fold from the system of basic and additional education in the environment of its natural existence - to the family. At the same time, acquaintance with it must be carried out as with a complex phenomenon, not to tear off the dance artificially from singing or other folklore samples. This syncretism is a generic sign of this type of culture.

Thus, the task of modern teachers is not to empirically, but scientifically and creatively convey the true foundations of traditional culture and convey them in a true, not distorted form to their students and pupils, endowing them with a national character. The national character can be recognized by studying the national education system [3, pp. 28-34]. It is necessary to organize a system of upbringing and education based on a scientific study of the forms, methods, directions and mechanisms of personality development [9, pp. 15-18]. Dialogue and the interaction of cultures provide "... fostering a positive attitude towards cultural differences" [4, pp. 7-10].

At the present stage of social development, approaches to the problem of preserving and reviving traditional culture in the scientific community are ambiguous. Professor A.S. Karmin, for example, speaks out in favor of preserving the tradition, considering it not viable, which has gone irretrievably into the past. Trying to revive the forgotten customs of bygone days and the signs of antiquity is deep i.e. it means not to call for a rise, but for the decline of the country's cultural level. The ethnic culture of the past is increasingly moving to museums. It must be known and studied, but live in a modern culture. "Culture is under-

stood as the inner essence of human ideas ..." [14, pp. 3-9]. "Culture is an essential characteristic of the social sphere of society; it is inseparable from human social activity" [5, pp. 74-78].

As against this view, Professor A. M. Mehnetsov presented his assessment. "The data of modern science indicate that folk traditions, traditions of the material and spiritual life of the people, keeping on the basis of continuity the most important principles and sides of their historical experience, developing over many centuries, have a natural and flawless adaptation mechanism in the changing objective conditions of their existence. The traditions of folk culture, harmonizing the properties of conservatism and constant renewal in their laws, are built into a historically multilayered and, at the same time, integral system in which past experience, if necessary, can be claimed and recreated" [7, p. 45].

Both positions have their supporters and deep, serious reasoning. It is necessary to approach this issue with great responsibility, reviving the cultural-creating, social, moral, spiritual principles of traditional culture and preserving in the museums and scientific journals the customs and traditions that, as Professor A.S. Carmine says, you need to know and study, but not return, thereby discarding the development of culture and civilization far back into the darkness of the pagan centuries.

A similar question is even more acute and difficult in such a complex, multinational region as the North Caucasus, where it is impossible to put emphasis exclusively on Russian folk culture, where there were their own rich Slavic, mountainous, nomadic traditions that have different religious, economic and linguistic backgrounds closely intertwined, and continuing to maintain their identity. At the same time, the problems that confronted Russian culture in the Soviet years were no less acute for other national traditions. The situation is aggravated by the active re-Islamization, which requires an even more balanced, accurate and competent approach when referring to traditional culture [16].

As a result, it can be noted that folk culture underwent significant transformations during the 20th century. It ceased to exist in its original, natural state, since under the conditions of industrialization its natural environment of reproduction, the traditional society, was lost. On the one hand, the Soviet government, showing attention to culture, tried to fix and support it, carried out a great ethnographic work, made significant efforts to save the traditional crafts [13, p. 81], one way or another determining the socio-cultural development of society [6, pp. 123-128]. On the other hand, struggling with religion and the remnants of traditionalism, whole layers were destroyed in folk culture, ritualism and the semantics of images were transformed. Organizing the activities of folklore creative groups at institutions, houses of culture, set a higher standard of artistic professionalism. Culture began to lose its regional characteristics, identity, generic traits, degenerating into folklorism, characterized by a kind of averaged, generalized image. Knowledge and understanding of folk culture in such conditions has become scarce, especially after the 1990s. The twentieth century, when, in principle, the state could not allocate funds to support culture. All this created the prerequisites for the formation of two opposing approaches to the issue of functioning and broadcasting of folk culture.

Some researchers believe that it is futile to revive it, it should be studied and knowledge of it among a narrow circle of specialists: folklorists, museum workers, ethnographers. Another part of the researchers argues that transmitting a new culture to new generations, albeit in a modified form, is extremely important. It is necessary to reproduce it very carefully, reverently and carefully, and a great role is played by professionals who, in the form of holidays, festivals, would acquaint new generations with the great national heritage that contributes to the realization of historical continuity. Historical continuity as the highest value "... is based on a real presence ... in the human mind" [14, pp. 31-34], is closely connected with historical memory [15, pp. 41-47]. This ensures the interaction of basic and additional education, guaranteeing the proper level and quality of the resulting

cultural product, which contributes to the "dialogue of cultures in the context of the development of modern civilization" [12, pp. 145-160], which defines modern sociality [1, pp. 168-177].

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THE ROLE OF THE RELIGIOUS COMPONENT IN THE HISTORY OF THE FORMATION OF CRIMEAN KARAIM ETHNOCULTURE

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The article provides historiographic information that allows us to consider various approaches to the problem of the emergence of Crimean Karaites, to reveal the main ethnoculturological and religious features of this now small people due to a combination of factors such as the specificity of the territory of their stay, neighborhood with various peoples, many of which are very close to each other in terms of the features of religion, language and individual traditions. The main content of the article is devoted to the study of religion (Karaism), religious worship, confession of faith, traditions of Crimean Karaites as an integral part of their ethnoculture. In addition, the conducted historical and cultural analysis allows us to refer to the question of the multinational nature of Crimea, currently the Republic of Crimea, a territorial subject of the Russian Federation, where many indigenous and non-indigenous peoples lived and live, distinguished by their ethnicity, culture and religion. Their coexistence could not but leave its mark in the process of forming the ethnoculture of Crimean Karaites, their identity. It is noted that modern conditions are associated with the strengthening of the processes of "ethnic revival" and, at the same time, with the activation of assimilation processes that erode ethnoculturological boundaries.

Key words: ethnoculture, religion, identity, Crimean Karaites, Karaism, the Republic of Crimea, assimilation, traditions.

[И.К. Жолобова Роль религиозного компонента в истории формирования этнокультуры крымских караимов]

В статье приводятся историографические сведения, позволяющие рассмотреть различные подходы к проблеме возникновения крымских караимов, раскрыть основные этнокультурологические и религиозные черты этого, ныне малочисленного народа, обусловленные совокупностью таких факторов, как специфика территории их пребывания, соседство с различными народами, многие из которых между собой очень близки в том, что касается особенностей вероисповедания, языка и отдельных традиций. Основное содержание статьи посвящено изучению религии (караимизма), религиозного культа, вероисповедания, традиций крымских караимов как неотъемлемой части их этнокультуры. Кроме того, проведенный историко-культурологический анализ позволяет коснуться вопроса о многонациональности Крыма, в настоящее время – Республики Крым – субъекта Российской Федерации, на территории которого проживало и проживает немало коренных и пришлым народов, отличающихся своей этнической принадлежностью, культурой и вероисповеданием. Их сосуществование не могло не оставить свой след в процессе формирования этнокультуры крымских караимов, их идентичности. Отмечается, что современные условия связаны с усилением процессов «этнического возрождения» и, одновременно, с активизацией процессов ассимиляции, размывающих этнокультурологические границы.

Ключевые слова: этнокультура, религия, идентичность, крымские караимы, караимизм, Республика Крым, ассимиляция, традиции.

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Religion as a phenomenon of spiritual order has always been and continues to be one of the most important aspects of human existence. The ongoing processes of globalization associated with various crisis phenomena lead to the fact that there is "an increase in religious consciousness due to the deep contradictions between aspiration of the person to the ideal forms of social existence and his capabilities, which determines the highest value in the

conversion to religion, consisting in the development of the creative potential of the individual and individuality, contributing to the avoidance of reality with problems of a daily nature into the field of transcendental (religious) things" [4]. Modern sociocultural realities indicate that religion, religious views, have undergone certain transformations, but have not lost their influence on human life. Under the influence of religion as a component of ethnoculture and religious worldview, a religious identity is formed, which, in turn, leads "to the actualization of the processes of self-identification, changes in value orientations and personal characteristics" [4] of the individual.

No less urgent is the problem of the so-called "activation of ethnic revival processes," the search for ethnic and cultural roots, the self-identification of small peoples [10], which, according to Sh.I. Berdiev, "among individuals and entire peoples manifests itself in various forms: from attempts to resuscitate ancient customs and rites, folklorization of professional culture, the search for a "mysterious folk soul" to the desire to create or restore national statehood " [2, p. 3]. To a large extent, processes of assimilation connected with the problem of ethnic and religious self-identification, which are destructive for ethnocultural identity, also contribute to such aspirations.

According to Yu.M. Plyusnin, "even in the case of leveling the most important political factor, modern socio-cultural and accompanying socio-population (demographic) factors have a significant assimilation effect. In some cases, they have acquired critical acuity and distinct manifestation" [9, p. 210]. Taking place sociocultural transformations are reflected in people's worldviews and values [6]. At the same time, the religious identity of the individual is of particular interest, which relying on the work of M.V. Vereshchagina and A.S. Soboleva, we understand as: "identifying oneself to a certain faith on the basis of an individual's awareness of his or her membership in a particular religious group, which, on the one hand, is realized through the willingness of the individual to accept and share values, ideas, norms, rules, beliefs and attitudes of this religion, and on the other hand, is determined by the desire to be a part of a certain religious community, which arises under the influence of the existential need of a person to organize and determine the world and himself in this world in order to gain the meaning of life and subjective integrity" [4].

It is the simultaneous accounting of cultural, historical, religious and ethnic components that allows us to approach the study of issues related to the contact and intersectionality of religion (faith, religious consciousness, religious identity, world view of the believer, features of worship) with the phenomenon of ethnoculture. These topical scientific problems, considered on the example of individual people, are of great interest, and they are the subject of numerous specialized and interdisciplinary studies.

Within the framework of this article, it is proposed, in particular, to consider the influence of religion, in all its manifestations, on the process of forming the ethnoculture of Crimean Karaites, developed in historical retrospect.

Crimean Karaites for many centuries, passing through various historical events, took into account their own culture, different features and features of the arriving and then disappearing peoples, forming their ethnos with its culture, religion and mentality, in other words, its unique ethnoculture.

It should be noted that ethnic culture traditionally refers to a combination of traditional values, relationships and behavioral features enshrined in the material, spiritual and social life of an ethnic group that has developed in the past and which has been developing in historical sociodynamics. Since the process of formation of ethnoculture is inextricably connected with the ethnogenesis of the people, that's why that it is appropriate to begin our analysis with it.

A special difficulty in studying this topic, first of all, is due to the fact that, as V.S. Kropotov noted, until a certain time, the actual possibility of conducting ethnographic studies among Crimean Karaites excluded official representation in the person of the clergy, as well

as isolation and patriarchy, as an image of the life style of the people. Therefore, the issues of the ethnic culture of the Karaites of Crimea began to be explored in Russia quite late: works on the essence of the ethnic and cultural foundations of the Crimean Karaite people began to appear only from the middle of the 19th century. Nevertheless, it must be said that the bibliography at the moment is quite extensive and even though with a certain "delay," but such prominent researchers were engaged in issues of the history of the cultural heritage of Karaites, ethnogenesis, language and religion at that time (in Crimea and beyond) as the head of the Soviet anthropological school, academicians V.P. Alekseev, V. Gordlevsky, academicians V. Grigoriev, T. Kovalsky, V. Radlov and others.

In the 21st century, close attention to the problems of the modern existence of national spirituality and culture caused another wave of works devoted to the Crimean Karaite history and religious tradition. This kind of interest in Karaism is due to the fact that faith and religion played such a significant role in the fate of the Karaites that the entire history of the existence of this unique people is connected with it inextricably. At the same time, the "postmodern influence on the "sciences of spirit" was marked by the fact that researchers moved away from global theoretical constructions in the style of classical rationality, and moved to a different perusal and interpretation of existing phenomena" [3, p. 78; 5].

This study is interdisciplinary and relies on anthropological, cultural and historiographic data contained mainly in the works of V.P. Alekseev, A.A. Babadzhan, S.I. Berdiev, P. Kalleta, V.S. Kropotov, N.V. Kropotova and others.

The analysis of scientific works indicates the existence of two main versions of the origin of the Karaites: Semitic (Jewish) and Khazar (Turkic). According to Semitic theory, the Karaites come from an ethnolinguistic or ethno-confessional group of Jews who professed pre-Rabbinic Judaism. The Khazar theory indicates that the Karaites are descendants of the Khazars, the Turkic nomadic people of the 7th-10th centuries, who adopted Judaism and among the areas of settlement of which there was Crimea. The relationship of the Karaite religion with Judaism speaks in favor of the first theory. Whereas, the proximity of the language, folklore, traditions and a number of other signs of this ethnos to the Turkic peoples speaks in favor of the second theory.

Academician Alekseev V. P., speaking about the origin of Crimean Karaites back in 1972, noted that it was anthropology that made it possible to answer the question of who their ancestors were: "The Karaites are associated with the Khazars with direct and proximate genetic continuity, they come from the Khazars, and not from the ancient Jews, with whom ethnically have nothing in common" [7].

A certain clarity in resolving this discussion was also made by the work of Kropotov V. S., who emphasized the inextricable connection between the ethnogenesis of Crimean Karaites, the formation of their ethnoculture and religious factor. So, in his opinion, "an autochthonous regional nation develops in Crimea at the turn of the 8th-9th centuries (the beginning of ethnogenesis). The formation of the ethnos occurs as a result of ethnogenetic mixing on the basis of the merger of Turkic nomadic tribal formations and local ethnic groups in the interfluvium of the Alma and the Kachi. In the early stages of ethnogenesis (the 9th-10th centuries), the practice of religious teachings adopted in the Khazar Khaganate (most likely mosaism (the teachings of Moses, Jewish Religion)) was formal and did not affect the deep foundations of the worldview, which was based on ancient Turkic Tengrianism" [7]. Academician A.N. Samoilovich, the author of an article on the folk literature of Crimean Tatars and Karaites, also pointed to the Khazar component in the cultural and religious heritage of the Karaites as an echo of cultural and not linguistic relations in the era of the Khazar Kingdom. According to researchers, the new religion distinguished the Crimean-Karaite ethnic community among other ethnic formations of the Crimean region already at that time.

Karaism is a monotheistic, syncretic religion with its own dogmas, spiritual hierarchy, traditions. According to a number of religious scholars, in early Christian times Karaism as a

doctrine fell into Crimea, and in the 8th century spread among the Khazars. "The final approval of the religious doctrine of Karaism occurred in the 11th-12th centuries during the period of mass emigration to the Crimea" [2, p. 9]. Simultaneously with the statement of the new faith, according to V.S. Kropotov, "the formation of the religious class... Karaite clergy" [7] as the most difficult process of the transition of the ancient Turkic priestly class to the positions of the new faith should have taken place."

The religious and worldview doctrine which is now recognized the national religion for the Karaites is based on the Old Testament. "People of Scripture" recognize only the Torah and do not pay sacral attention to the Talmud or other religious texts. Peter Kaleta in his monograph published in Prague in 2015, "The Mysterious Ethnos from the Crimea. The fate of representatives of the Karaite emigration in interwar Czechoslovakia" characterizes Karaism as one of the most important components of the Karaite identity. He pays great attention to the specifics of the Karaite religion and its differences from Talmudic Judaism. As the author emphasizes that the main thing for the Karaites is the Old Testament, while adherents of Talmudic Judaism, along with the Old Testament, also recognize the "oral tradition codified in the Talmud." At the same time, the Karaite religion allows believers to use any books for their self-development, including the prophetic and theological books of any religion. However, it does not undo the fact that the Torah text contains absolute truth and cannot be changed or supplemented. The main principle of the creed of Anan ben David states: "'Do not rely on me, but carefully study the Holy Scripture yourself," that is, each Karaim must study the Law himself, fulfill it and be fully responsible for his interpretation of the Law and its implementation" [1, p. 144].

Two key dogmas of Karaism are the principle of unity and justice of God. It is also necessary to indicate such principles of creed as: The world is created by God in time from Nothing; God is the creator, being the root cause of all things is not created by anyone; God is absolutely united, asomalous and comparable to nothing. "The Karaites firmly believe in retribution and retribution for good and evil deeds, in the resurrection of the dead and in eternal life (that is, if a person, in the continuation of his earthly life, prepared himself with good deeds, then when parting with this world, passes into another world, spiritual in its content, in which he will live forever)" [2, p. 15].

The Khazar component in the cultural and religious heritage of the Karaites is manifested, in particular, in the fact that for Crimean Karaites, despite the statement of Karaism, the God of heaven, a single deity, Tengri (Tanry, Teiri, Tengiri) acts as an element of spiritual culture. The appeal to this archaic name of God is characteristic of many Turkic peoples and dates back to the oldest Turkic tradition.

Other elements of the mythology of the Turkic peoples, preserved in the culture of Crimean Karaites, are archaic beliefs and superstitions associated with the cult of sacred trees. "According to the beliefs conveyed by word of mouth from elders to the younger generation, during the times of distress, drought, or difficult life situations, the head of the family could turn near the ancestral tree, in fulfillment of his desire. By showing respect for such a tree, according to the beliefs of his ancestors, thus, the man showed his respect for the most supreme Deity"[8, p. 75]. In addition, Turkic roots can be traced in the motives of religious songs, names of holidays, months.

Until recently "the Karaites observed customs associated with the cult of ancestors dating back to shamanism. Echoes of shamanism can be traced in other customs and rites, for example, in the burial one" [7].

In a later period, the spiritual culture of Crimean Karaites was subjected to other influences. Thus, "Crimean Karaites are characterized by the use of many religious and cult terms in relation to the attributes of deity, faith, shrine, etc. from the ancient Arabic language, which are sacred among Muslims" [8, p. 72].

This makes it possible to recognize the need for a synthetic approach in determining the factors that had a decisive influence on the process of forming the ethnic group of Crimean Karaites and their culture. Since the presence, within the religious component of ethnoculture of signs of the intersection of so many cultures, indicates the paramount importance among them of the Turkic component, the incorporation of elements of archaic religious beliefs, and the preservation of "identification codes characteristic of the Jewish ethnosocium" [2, p. 10].

Throughout the long history of the Karaites, it was religion that was the ideological support during the crisis periods of national history. Adherence to tradition, confessional isolation, the Karaite religion itself have played a special role in preserving ethnic identity and self-consciousness, "national identity, since the Karaite religion contributed to the preservation of a conservative lifestyle (accordingly, the characteristic features of ethnoculture were preserved) and hindered the development of assimilation processes. The highest authority of outstanding representatives of the people in the person of clergy and spiritual mentors was based primarily on their ability to defend national interests" [7].

The turning point for Karaite traditionalism with the inherent conservatism of the social structure, patriarchal way of life, the duration of preservation of moral norms, customs and traditions formed in antiquity, as well as the presence of elements of relict beliefs in ethnoculture is the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. The ongoing socio-economic transformations could not but touch the culture of the Karaites. The elements of ethnoculture inherent in the ethno-confessional community, with the revival of the characteristic features and characteristics of the people formed during the periods of its ancient history, go back to that time. "It is impossible to give an objective assessment to the origins and orientation of the changes that significantly changed the Crimean-Karaite environment, regardless of the socio-political situation in Russia: strengthening the actions of factors guiding the empire along the Western development path (primarily in economics, politics, ideology) and breaking up traditionally national things (decomposition of the peasant community and estates, crisis phenomena in the spiritual and moral, cultural sphere)" [7].

Modern trends related to the ongoing processes of globalization, assimilation, development of a tolerant attitude to other cultures, religion, and "blurring the boundaries of identity," like wars and repressions that took place in the past, which reduced the number and dismembered the once united people of the Karaites, certainly affected the ethnic culture of Crimean Karaites and its religious component, led to a certain spiritual "extinction."

Sociological studies conducted among the Crimean-Karaite population [9] indicate that some people have lost faith, do not follow the religious path of their ancestors. However, all that is said does not cancel the fact that despite all the tests, which endured by this ancient, small, dispersed, but persistent and original people, Crimean Karaites have not lost their identity, carried it through the centuries, remembered their national history and have preserved Karaism as their national religion and aspire to the revival of their ethnoculture, for which religion was and remains the binding thread, and the stronghold is the spiritual connection with the native land of Crimea.

Thus, various approaches to establishing the origins of the emergence and the modern way of identifying Crimean Karaites, the peculiarities of their way of life, historical and cultural environment in their relationship with Karaism and the role that the religion of this people played in their fate, becoming an integrating factor, a support for this people, were considered. Characterizing in general the influence of the religious factor on the formation of the ethnoculture of Crimean Karaites, it should be noted that the spiritual foundations of the Karaite people, rooted in deep antiquity, contain "echoes" of various historical eras and elements of many cultures, including Turkic and Jewish. We can say with confidence that the Crimean-Karaite ethnoculture, formed in the conditions of interpenetration and mutual influence of many cultures, continues to maintain its inherent distinctive features.

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ETHNO-CULTURAL COMPONENT OF BILINGUALISM IN THE CHECHEN REPUBLIC UNDER CONDITIONS OF REAL MONOETHNICITY

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Most sociolinguistic works devoted to the problem draw attention to the fact that the main factors affecting the language situation are the social conditions of language functioning. They determine both the level of development of the language and the prospects for its preservation and development. In this regard, the following points can be noted about the linguistic situation prevailing in the Chechen Republic, the level and quality of the Chechen-Russian bilingualism in the past and present. The Chechen language in the past, like many other Caucasian languages, was used verbally and existed in the form of living dialects. Religious, philosophical, fiction, scientific and educational literature was published in the Chechen language later. Works of oral folklore, annals, chronicles were recorded, clerical work, training, private correspondence, etc. were conducted. The research results show a clear dependence of the level of the Russian language proficiency on education, age and socio-demographic affiliation. Recently, for example, there has been a clear age tendency among Chechens to switch to Russian as a language of communication, which is precisely connected with the migration process, more precisely, with relocation to other Russian cities due to the war. It can be concluded that the third generation of Chechens who migrated to the Russian cities will be active bilinguals with a predominant knowledge of the Russian language: for example, if the first generation of migrants understands and speaks Chechen, then the second usually only understands, but does not speak (or speaks poorly), and accordingly their children, the third generation will neither understand nor speak Chechen, because people do not speak Chechen with them. The Russian language as a means of interethnic communication is an objective phenomenon. But it should not be accompanied by the displacement of native languages from the sphere of use by the narrowing of their functions and the inhibition of their structural development due to destructive national-language policies. A reasonable, appropriate combination of bilingualism components is needed.

Key words: the Chechen language, native language, the Russian language, bilingualism, comparative description, sociolinguistics.

[Р.С. Ильясова Этнокультурная составляющая билингвизма в Чеченской республике в условиях реальной моноэтничности]

В большинстве социолингвистических работ, посвященных рассматриваемой проблеме, обращено внимание на то, что основными факторами, влияющими на языковую ситуацию, являются социальные условия функционирования языка. Они определяют и уровень развития языка, и перспективы его сохранения и развития. В этом плане о сложившейся в Чеченской Республике языковой ситуации, уровне и качестве чеченско-русского двуязычия в прошлом и настоящем можно отметить следующие моменты. Чеченский язык в прошлом, как и многие другие кавказские языки, использовался в устной форме и существовал в виде живых наречий и говоров. Позднее на нем издавалась религиозная, философская, художественная, научная и учебная литература. Записывались произведения устного народного творчества, летописи, хроники, велось делопроизводство, обучение, частная переписка и др. Результаты исследований показывают четкую зависимость уровня владения русским языком от образования, возраста и социально-демографической принадлежности. В последнее время, например, среди чеченцев наблюдается явная возрастная тенденция к переходу на русский язык общения, которая совершенно точно связана с процессом миграции, точнее, с переездом в другие российские города в связи с войной. Можно заключить, что третье поколение мигрировавших в российские города чеченцев будет активными билингвами с преимущественным владением русским языком: так, если первое поколение мигрантов понимает и говорит по-чеченски, то второе – обычно только понимает, но не говорит (или плохо уже говорит), и соответственно их дети, третье поколение, поскольку с ними по-чеченски не разговаривают, уже не будут ни понимать, ни говорить по-чеченски. Русский язык как средство межнационального общения – объективное явление. Но оно не должно сопровождаться вытеснением родных языков из сферы употребления сужением их функций и торможением их структурного развития вследствие деструктивной национально-языковой политики. Необходимо разумное, целесообразное сочетание компонентов билингвизма.

Ключевые слова: чеченский язык, родной язык, русский язык, билингвизм, сравнительно-сопоставительное описание, социолингвистика.

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At the present stage of development of social linguistics works of Avrorin V.A., Alpatov V.M., Baskakov A.N., Beloded I.K., Belousov V.N., Bertagaev T.A., Bliagoz Z.U., Desheriev Yu.D., Dzhunusov M.S., Zhuravleva V.K., Isaev M.I., Krysin L.P., Kriuchkova T.B., Mikhailov M.M., Mikhilchenko V.Yu., Nikolskogo L.B., Protchenko I.F., Solntsev V.M., Tumanian E.G., Filin F.P., Khanazarov K.Kh., Shveitser A.D., Yudakin A.P., Iartseva V.N. and others are devoted to the problem of bilingualism and multilingualism as well as of diglossia.

The relevance of sociolinguistic studies of problems of national-language policy, language situation and bilingualism, is also determined by the fact that these problems have a direct connection with the problem of national relations, which is very relevant in the modern Russian Federation and in the whole post-Soviet space.

The particular relevance of the problems of the functioning of national languages, the language of inter-ethnic communication in a multinational State and the development of national-Russian bilingualism as a consequence of inter-ethnic and inter-linguistic processes is obvious and proved by practice (especially in modern times), along with clear shortcomings in addressing these issues, their coverage and justification during the Soviet period.

The social and linguistic analysis of development of the Chechen-Russian bilingualism which is closely coordinated by life to the main stages of implementation of national and language policy has to open and reveal many sides and features of bilingualism as a social and linguistic problem and to help to realize, comprehend and make possible attempts of overcoming consequences of those tragic events which were developed in the territory of the Chechen Republic within the last decade of the 20th century.

According to Khalidov A.I., "The main result of the post-Soviet period of the Chechen history in the sphere of national-language policy is a significant weakening of the influence of the Chechen literary language on the Chechen population: first, as a result of the reduction of many written spheres of its functioning in the press, in the publishing activity, in education, on television, as a result of the prevalence of simple and dialect language; secondly, as a result of migration of most of the Chechen population outside the Republic. The last factor, migration, has increased the influence of the Russian language greatly (most of the migrated population is in the "Russian-speaking" environment) and has encouraged the further development of bilingualism among this part of the Chechen people, which with long-term dispersed, non-compact residence in different parts of Russia outside the Republic can lead to the transition of migrants to the second language, Russian, and already leads to the transition of migrants in the "near abroad" from Chechen-Russian to "Russian-Chechen" bilingualism. Some of the settlers learn the state language in another relevant country (Ukrainian, Georgian, German, French, etc.), and this is inevitable, as communication with the indigenous population, occupation of some professional activity is impossible without it. As a result of the migration of a large part of the Chechen population outside the Republic, the social base of the Chechen literary language has been reduced" [6, p. 439].

Currently, the language situation in the Chechen Republic is slightly different than it was twenty or more years ago. On the one hand, the problem of "reverse" bilingualism is not so acute, on the other hand, the factor of the language environment, the presence in the

republics of a large part of the Russian population, which had a certain influence on the activity of the rest of the population in the use of their native language, is slightly reduced. For example, in the Chechen Republic, the share of the Russian population has been decreased, tens of times, due to known events, the share of Russians in the neighboring Republic of Ingushetia is insignificant, and the structure of the population in other republics of the North Caucasus has changed significantly. In the changed environment, different approaches and principles are needed in the formulation and implementation of language policy and specific programs in the field of language life, designed both for the short-term future and for the long-term future. In particular, it is necessary to compensate for the decline of the factor of the language environment and to take measures to ensure that there will not be a sharp decrease in the level of knowledge of the Russian language in our republics.

The Chechen language, as is known, develops in close contact with the Russian language, and these ties have been continuing for hundreds of years and they have passed different periods.

"At the present time, we see such a close interaction between Chechen and Russian vocabulary in the nominative-functional sphere that it is not possible to at least approximately delimit assimilated Russian-language borrowing and Russian words fixed in the dictionary fund of the Chechen language, which are only occasionally used in the speech of the Chechen people and which are therefore outside the vocabulary-semantic system of the Chechen language. As is known, most Chechen people now speak both languages and are psychologically unable to assess Russian-language sneaking into the Chechen speech as something unusual, carrying national color and stylistically marked. In lexicology and stylistics, the term exoticism (referring to Russian words in Chechen texts) loses its meaning as a tool for the scientific description of language processes, as there is a blur of boundaries between lexical systems" [5, p. 396].

Sufficient attention has been paid to the comparative study of Chechen and Russian languages, to the theory and practice of teaching Russian in Chechen-speaking audiences. Until recently, priority was given to sociolinguistic aspects of the study of bilingualism, and the authors of the relevant works noted, first, the increasing role of Russian in the lives of modern Chechen people; secondly, that bilingualism is becoming a mass phenomenon in Chechnya; thirdly, the progressive influence of bilingualism on the Chechen language.

Maintaining our attitude towards the Russian language as the State language of the Russian Federation, the language of inter-ethnic communication, by means of which the entire population of the Russian Federation has access to full education, to all sources of all information, we should not forget that "the language within the ethnic boundaries of its speakers is not only and not so much a means of communication as the memory and history of the people, their culture and experience of cognitive activity, their worldview and psychology, their generation-to-generation baggage of knowledge about nature and space, about diseases and methods of their treatment, about education and preparation for life of new generations of people in the interests of preservation and multiplication of ethnos and its identity.

The preservation of any language, no matter how many people speak it, is necessary, because "any language is an expression of the uniqueness of each community, of a certain way in which they perceive and describe reality. Consequently, every language must be given all the necessary conditions to develop and fulfil its functions in all manifestations. Each language community has the right to create conditions and attract a variety of domestic means to guarantee the use of language in all social spheres."

The importance of issues of preservation and development of Russian and of all languages of the peoples of the Russian Federation, their importance for harmonization of inter-ethnic relations, ensuring civil unity, strengthening of state sovereignty and integrity of Russia was once again stated at the joint meeting of the Council on Inter-Ethnic Relations

and the Council on the Russian Language on May 19, 2015. The decisions taken at this meeting should give a new impetus to complex, systematic work on preservation, study and support of languages of the peoples of Russia, giving hope for further development of multilingual educational and information space and allowing to coordinate efforts of state bodies, scientists-linguists and the whole society in this sphere.

The works of Ovhadov M.R. and Khalidov A.I. are devoted to the problems of the Chechen-Russian bilingualism [2], [3], [4], [6].

The Chechen language in the past, like many other Caucasian languages, was used verbally and existed in the form of living dialects. Religious, philosophical, fiction, scientific and educational literature was published in the Chechen language later. Works of oral folklore, annals, chronicles were recorded, clerical work, training, private correspondence, etc. were conducted.

Experts note that languages have equal legal rights but are not equal in functional terms. It is common knowledge that the sphere of functioning of the Russian language, which is more multi-functional, serving almost all areas of public life, increases every day. Accordingly, the degree of proficiency in Russian has been increasing. And the number of people who speak their native language has been decreasing.

Good knowledge of the Russian language usually does not lead to any change in the perception of the native language. National identity is a more sustainable national element than a national language.

The research results show a clear dependence of the level of the Russian language proficiency on education, age and socio-demographic affiliation. Recently, for example, there has been a clear age tendency among Chechens to switch to Russian as a language of communication, which is precisely connected with the migration process, more precisely, with relocation to other Russian cities due to the war. It can be concluded that the third generation of Chechens who migrated to the Russian cities will be active bilinguals with a predominant knowledge of the Russian language: for example, if the first generation of migrants understands and speaks Chechen, then the second usually only understands, but does not speak (or speaks poorly), and accordingly their children, the third generation will neither understand nor speak Chechen, because people do not speak Chechen with them.

The view of the positive influence of bilingualism on the ability to learn languages is based on the natural assumption that it is easier for a bilingual individual to learn the third language because he has more experience of learning languages in general than monolingual individuals. Beyond socio-psychological factors, this assumption itself is quite convincing. In general, it is more significant, probably, not the fact that the child had to master two languages from the earliest age, but the conditions under which this bilingualism arose and was realized [1].

Since early bilingualism occurs where there is a contact between two or more cultures, it is the complexity of the social environment as a whole that primarily affects the formation of the individual living in these conditions. Bilingualism is therefore not essential as such, but as one of the components of cultural complexity and at the same time the most explicit reflection of it. Bilingualism is observable, while the isolation of other factors from the totality of what forms the social environment is incomparably more complex [7, p. 65].

The study of bilingualism makes it possible to identify the applied aspects of the use of its results: the implementation of reasonable communication and language policy, taking into account the world information processes, the social organization of society at different levels of leadership and management, as well as the degree of learning of norms and values as the most important guidelines of human social activity.

The relevance of the study of bilingualism is also due to its general sociological lack of study. Modern bilingual processes have been developing very dynamically, and the study of

bilingualism has not been sufficiently developed yet. There is practically no holistic social theory of this phenomenon.

As a highly complex, controversial process, bilingualism has attracted the attention of professionals in many countries around the world. However, there is currently no common understanding of the full range of issues covered by this problem.

The particular relevance of the problems of the functioning of national languages, the language of inter-ethnic communication in a multinational State and the development of national-Russian bilingualism as a consequence of inter-ethnic and inter-linguistic processes is obvious and proved by practice (especially in modern times), along with clear shortcomings in addressing these issues, their coverage and justification during the Soviet period.

The common place of all sociolinguistic works devoted to the problem under consideration is the indication that the main factors affecting the language situation are the social conditions of the functioning of the language. They determine both the level of development of the language and the prospects for its preservation and development.

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SOCIAL ASSISTANCE IN THE HISTORY OF THE BLACK SEA PEOPLES

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The article considers the influence of ancient Greek charity on the social assistance of the Black Sea region peoples. Social work became a profession only at the beginning of the last century, but its roots go back to antiquity, when forms of social assistance began to develop among various peoples. It was then that a social assistance mechanism developed, which boiled down to the fact that the family, community and other traditional structures protected everyone. This mechanism of social assistance was characteristic of Tauris, Scythians, Sarmatians and other Black Sea peoples. The same relations were characteristic for Ancient Greece as well as for other states of the Middle East region until the era of antiquity, the beginning of which dates back to the second third of the 1st millennium BC. These relations were marked by the dominance of community ties and the inherited Basileus power as well as the underdevelopment of private property. However, in the 8th century BC in Ancient Greece, structural transformations began, private property relations, the dominance of private commodity production, the exploitation of slaves, the absence of strong centralized power and the policy of self-government came to the fore. With the transformation of the state into an instrument of domination of private owners, social assistance was of a class nature, which manifested itself in the fact that slaves were actually deprived of it. On the other hand, charity, which manifested itself in the organization of public meals, the distribution of money to the needy, the construction of churches and baths through private donations, and other events, became an integral element of the antiquity's public life. According to the authors, we can talk about two channels of influence of ancient Greek charity on the social assistance of the Black Sea peoples. The first of these channels called direct is associated with the creation of Greek colonies along the Black Sea coast. The second channel can be called indirect, since it was mediated by the culture of Ancient Rome. At the beginning of the 1st millennium in ancient Roman society, a contradiction arose between the need for social assistance and the limited possibilities for its implementation, which was removed by Christianity. According to Christianity, mercy follows from love, which coincides with the essence of God and charity is a practical expression of mercy. Therefore, the spread of Christianity that began in the Black Sea countries in the 4th century contributed to the development of charitable activities in them.

Key words: social work, social assistance, family, community, hospitality, beggars, petition, charity, philanthropy.

[Е.П. Агапов, Л.П. Пендюрина Социальная помощь в истории народов Причерноморья]

Рассматривается влияние древнегреческой благотворительности на социальную помощь народов Причерноморья. Социальная работа стала профессией только в начале прошлого столетия, однако её корни уходят во времена древности. Именно тогда сложился механизм социальной помощи, который сводился к тому, что каждый человек находится под защитой семьи, общины и других традиционных структур. Этот механизм социальной помощи был характерен для тавров, скифов, сарматов и других причерноморских народов. До эпохи античности, начало которой относится ко второй трети первого тысячелетия до н. э., для Древней Греции были характерны те же отношения, что и для других государств ближневосточного региона. Эти отношения характеризовались господством общинных связей и передававшейся по наследству властью базилиевсов, а также неразвитостью частной собственности. Однако в VIII в. до н. э. в Древней Греции начались структурные преобразования, которые привели к выходу на первый план частнособственнических отношений, господству частного товарного производства, эксплуатации рабов, отсутствию сильной централизованной власти и полному самоуправлению. С превращением государства в инструмент господства частных собственников социальная помощь приобрела классовый характер, который проявлялся в том, что рабы были фактически лишены её. С другой стороны, неотъемлемым элементом общественной жизни античности стала благотворительность, которая проявлялась в организации общественных трапез, раздаче денег нуждающимся, строительстве храмов и бань за счёт частных пожертвований, а также других мероприятиях. По мнению авторов, можно говорить о двух каналах влияния древнегреческой благотворительности на социальную помощь народов Причер-

номорья. Первый из этих каналов, называемый ими прямым, связан с созданием греческих колоний по всему побережью Чёрного моря. Второй канал может быть назван косвенным, поскольку он был опосредован культурой Древнего Рима. В начале первого тысячелетия в древнеримском обществе возникло противоречие между потребностью в социальной помощи и ограниченными возможностями её реализации, которое было снято в христианстве. Согласно христианству, милосердие вытекает из любви, совпадающей с сущностью Бога, а практическим выражением милосердия оказывается благотворительность. Поэтому распространение христианства, начавшееся в странах Причерноморья в IV в., способствовало развитию в них благотворительной деятельности.

Ключевые слова: социальная работа, социальная помощь, семья, община, гостеприимство, нищие, просительство, благотворительность, филантропия.

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An integral element of modern culture is social work, which is understood as professional assistance to people who find themselves in difficult situations. It acquired the status of a profession only at the beginning of the last century, however, its roots go back to antiquity, when various peoples appeared and began to develop forms of social assistance that formed the basis of their existence. It was then that this mechanism developed, which boiled down to the fact that each person was protected by traditional structures, which included primarily the family and the community. This mechanism of social assistance was characteristic of the Thracians, Tauris, Cimmerians, Scythians, Sarmatians, and other Black Sea peoples. However, the ancient Greeks appeared in the Black Sea region in the middle of the 8th century BC and they were far exceed that of other peoples there not only in economic and political, but also in social development. The forms of social assistance they created influenced other nations becoming the property of world culture. Therefore, we can assume that in antiquity the social assistance of the peoples of the Black Sea region experienced Greek influence. But how strong was this influence and which nations experienced it to a greater extent, and which to a lesser one?

The authors are aware that due to the complexity of the subject, which is several thousand years distant from us, it is rather difficult to give detailed answers to the questions they formulated. Therefore, they see their task in focusing on these issues, which are practically not discussed in the literature of the history of culture, as well as outlining the most common ways of their possible solution. To achieve their goals, they use the method of analysis of documents, as well as methods of deduction and analogy.

Ancient Greek tribes appeared in the south of the Balkan Peninsula, as well as the adjoining islands of the Aegean Sea at the end of the 2nd millennium BC. Coming from Eastern Europe, they created their own culture, based on the achievements of the peoples assimilated by them. In the 8–6 centuries BC in ancient Greece, there was a polis system that determined its development until the era of Alexander the Great, which put an end to independent city-states. However, before the era of antiquity, the beginning of which is attributed to the second third of the 1st millennium BC, Ancient Greece had approximately the same relations as other states of the Middle East region. They were characterized by the dominance of community ties and the inherited power of the Basileus, as well as the underdevelopment of private property relations, a poetic description of which we find in Homer [4, 16].

The traditional institutions of social assistance at the time of Homer were the family and the community, which included phratries and phyles. The phyle consisted of several phratries, which in turn represented an alliance of several clans. However, there were other institutions that were a specific manifestation of social assistance during the time of Homer. These include the institution of hospitality, the institution of beggars and the institution of petition [8, p. 33].

Hospitality is a social phenomenon whose foundations began to emerge in a primitive society. In the conditions of inter-tribal conflicts, when members of different tribes shared hunting and collective lands, it was necessary in order to ensure mutual security. Many ancient peoples were characterized by providing any guest with shelter and food, caring for him, fulfilling all his requests, as well as revenge for damage to his person and property [5, p. 148]. In the works of Charles Letourneau, Ferdinand Tönnies and other sociologists who studied the life of primitive and traditional societies, there were references to hospitality. They can be also found in the works of travelers describing the rituals and life of primitive peoples. American anthropologist George Murdock attributed hospitality to cultural universals that are inherent in all cultures, regardless of their geographical, historical and social differences [6, p. 128]. Since foreigners were disenfranchised in antiquity, hospitality served as a form of protection for their identity and property. The ancient Greeks believed that the guest was under the protection of Zeus and other gods. Hospitality was known in the days of Homer, and under the policy of democracy, the institution of proxeny was formed, which had the significance of a kind of diplomatic representation. The ancient Greeks were in great demand as a proxenos (gr. Guest friend), which was performed by a citizen of the polis, representing the interests of another policy in his homeland [8, p. 464].

The institution of beggars in Ancient Greece had both an economic and a legitimate basis. Feeding system of community beggars was based on the redistribution in their favor of agricultural products created by different layers of the polis. Participation in the holidays, as well as in individual and collective sacrifices, allowed the community beggars not only to survive, but also to be able to live in dignity. Poverty brought a person to the lowest level of society, making him defenseless. It caused the contempt of the world around them devoid of sympathy. At the same time, poverty was not considered a hallmark of moral inferiority, and traits of corruption and depravity were often associated with wealth.

The institution of petition, originating in a tribal society, has an ancient tradition. It was known to all the peoples of the world, and among the ancient Greeks it was called hikesia. Petition is possible only when there is an institution that has material resources and is able to satisfy the needs of the petitioners. Therefore T. Zieliński, who is considered one of the leading experts in the field of ancient culture, considered petition and hospitality two sister institutions, united by the common patronage of Zeus [9, p. 36].

As the institutions of social assistance mentioned above are universal, it we can assume that in the days of Homer they existed not only among the ancient Greeks, but also among other peoples of the Black Sea region. However, structural transformations began in the 8th century in Ancient Greece, which had a huge impact on the subsequent development of culture. The development of trade relations and Mediterranean navigation, coupled with favorable geographical conditions, played a role in the archaic revolution, which led to the transformation of the pre-antique structure into the ancient one. This transformation was reduced primarily to the fact that private property relations came to the fore, along with the dominance of private commodity production, the exploitation of slaves, the absence of a strong centralized power and polis self-government. After the reforms carried out by Solon, it was completed in the 6th century BC [4, p. 16-17].

Antiquity made human freedom the highest value, the basis of which was private property. At the same time, bringing of private property to the forefront destroyed the traditional mechanism of social assistance, which was guarded by the state. With the transformation of

the state into an instrument of domination by private owners, social assistance acquired a class nature, which manifested itself in the fact that slaves were actually deprived of it. On the other hand, charity, which was designated by the word "philanthropy", became an integral element of public life from antiquity.

The word "philanthropy" in the ancient Greek language appeared due to the outstanding tragedian Aeschylus who lived in 6–5 centuries BC. In the tragedy "Prometheus Chained," he used that word to indicate the love for people that Prometheus demonstrated. Prometheus taught people to use fire, as well as engage in arts and crafts contrary to the prohibition of Zeus. He in response sentenced the Titan to eternal torment, and the most skillful blacksmith Hephaestus criticized his friend for his excessive love for people [2, p. 80].

The word "philanthropy" initially meant divine help to people then later any help to people. In other words, it has become regarded as a synonym for charity. For over a century of existence as a profession, social work has developed a categorical apparatus that includes concepts that came into it from other areas of knowledge, as well as its specific concepts. The central position in the categorical apparatus of social work is occupied by the concept of charity, which means gratuitous help to those in need, the motives of which can be both religious and secular. At present, it is no longer identified with the concept of philanthropy, but its roots go back to antiquity, when the Greeks began to speak not about community help for those in need, but about humanity.

Ancient Greek charity, which was organized by one of the members of the city council, existed in various forms. It included the organization of public meals in which all citizens of the polis could take part, the distribution of money to the needy, the construction of churches and baths at the expense of private donations, as well as other events. At the same time, charity among the ancient Greeks did not extend to slaves, whom they considered not people, but the same tools as animals. In addition, some traditions prevailing in ancient Greece were far from humanity. So, many polises specifically contained cripples and idiots, as well as those sentenced to death, so that in the case of a famine or epidemic of the plague, they could be sacrificed to the gods [3, p. 25]. However, even with the limited nature of charity, as well as the existence of inhuman traditions, the merits of the ancient Greeks in the development of social assistance cannot be downplayed. The word "philanthropy" entered many languages, and the forms of social assistance that arose in antiquity became the property of world culture.

We believe that we can talk about two channels of the influence of ancient Greek charity on the social assistance of the Black Sea peoples. The first of these canals, which can be called direct, is associated with the creation of Greek colonies along the Black Sea coast. Despite the fact that the colonization process, which began in the 8th century, took place spontaneously, it was completed in two centuries. Its causes were both economic and political in nature. The economic causes of Greek colonization included overpopulation, low agricultural productivity, as well as an increase in the landed estates of the nobility due to small farmers. As for political reasons, they were associated with the intensification of the internal political struggle, which often led to the forcible eviction of representatives of the defeated parties from the polises.

As a result of Greek colonization (called the second, or great Greek colonization in contrast to the first, which took place in the 13th century BC, when the Greeks settled the islands of the Aegean Sea and the western coast of Asia Minor), settlements appeared on territories that currently relate to Russia, Ukraine, Moldova, Romania, Bulgaria, Turkey and Georgia. In the Black Sea region, the Greeks lived in close surroundings of the Scythians, Sarmatians, Meots and other local peoples. The result of their proximity to these peoples was the mutual influence of cultures, within which the leading role belonged to Greek culture [7, p. 82].

The second channel of influence of ancient Greek charity on the social assistance of the peoples of the Black Sea region can be called indirect, since it was mediated by the culture of

ancient Rome. Charity had pronounced Greek features in Ancient Rome, although it was limited only to them. Following the Greek patterns, the ancient Romans developed such forms as the organization of public meals, the distribution of money to the needy, as well as the construction of temples and bathhouses through private donations. At the same time, patronage, which is an aid to people of creative professions, was a phenomenon of Roman culture, which in ancient Greece had not yet developed [1, p. 87].

Social assistance had a class nature in antiquity and was aimed at supporting those who were considered a full member of society. However, at the beginning of the 1st millennium, marked by a sharp aggravation of the problems of ancient Roman society, a contradiction arose between the need for social assistance and the limited possibilities for its implementation. This contradiction was removed in Christianity, which offered its understanding of charity. According to this understanding, charity is the result of love that coincides with God in Christianity, and charity is a practical expression of benevolence. Therefore, the spread of Christianity, which began in 4th century in Georgia, and then continued in other countries of the Black Sea region, contributed to the development of charitable activities in them.

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DYNAMICS OF INTER-REGIONAL POPULATION MIGRATION IN THE SOUTH OF RUSSIA

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In December 2019, an epidemic of a new acutely infectious disease broke out in the Chinese city of Wuhan, which in two to three months turned into a pandemic of the coronavirus infection COVID-19. The epidemiological, economic, environmental, humanitarian and political crisis has begun on the planet. The world has never come across a similar situation. This is much more serious than what humanity has experienced in last epidemics, when they spread from one continent to another for decades. In early summer 2020, more than 6.5 million people were found to have coronavirus in the world, according to Johns Hopkins University. The article gives a general assessment of the enormous losses of the world economy and the economies of individual States that arose as a result of quarantine during the coronavirus pandemic of 2020, it is shown that, compared with previous crises, this one will be more destructive for the labor market and the exit from it will be longer. The coronavirus epidemic has become a powerful challenge for the Russian labor market. It is concluded that the deterioration of the situation in the Russian economy due to the coronavirus pandemic will lead to increased interregional migration in the coming years, which will negatively affect the parameters of the demographic situation and the quality of the labor market in most of the North Caucasian regions of Russia, and the predicted persistence of high unemployment is associated with high threats to socio-political instability and the growth of social conflict. The author formulated a number of proposals on mitigation of economic consequences of the epidemic and controlling the outflow of working-age population from the regions of the North Caucasus.

Key words: Covid-19 coronavirus pandemic, unemployment rate in Russia, population migration from the regions of the North Caucasus, mitigation of economic consequences of the epidemic.

[А.В. Джюев Динамика межрегиональной трудовой миграции населения на Юге России]

В декабре 2019 года в китайском городе Ухань вспыхнула эпидемия новой остро заразной болезни, которая за два-три месяца переросла в пандемию коронавирусной инфекции COVID-19. На планете начался эпидемиологический, экономический, экологический, гуманитарный и политический кризис. Никогда прежде мир не сталкивался с подобной ситуацией. Это гораздо серьезнее того, что человечество пережило в прошлые эпидемии, когда они из одного континента на другой распространялись десятилетиями. В начале лета 2020 года коронавирус в мире обнаружен более чем у 6,5 млн человек, свидетельствуют данные университета Джонса Хопкинса. Россия находится на третьем месте по общему числу выявленных случаев заболеваемости, а отдельные регионы Северного Кавказа попали в топ самых зараженных. Всего в мире умерло около 400 000 больных COVID-19. В статье дана общая оценка колоссальных потерь мировой экономики и экономик отдельных государств, возникших вследствие карантина в период пандемии коронавируса 2020 года, показано, что по сравнению с прежними кризисами этот окажется более разрушительным для рынка труда, а выход из него будет более продолжительным. Эпидемия коронавируса стала мощнейшим вызовом и для российского рынка труда. Сделаны выводы о том, что ухудшение ситуации в российской экономике из-за пандемии коронавируса приведет в ближайшие годы к усилению межрегиональной миграции, что негативно скажется на параметрах демографической ситуации и качестве рынка труда большинства Северо-Кавказских регионов России, а прогнозируемое сохранение высокой безработицы таит в себе высокие угрозы общественно-политической нестабильности и роста социальной конфликтности. Автором сформулирован ряд предложений по сглаживанию экономических последствий эпидемии и сдерживанию оттока трудоспособного населения из регионов Северного Кавказа.

Ключевые слова: пандемия коронавируса Covid-19, уровень безработицы в России, миграция населения из регионов Северного Кавказа, сглаживание экономических последствий эпидемии.

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The modern world economy has entered a systemic crisis associated with the introduction of national quarantine measures in almost all countries of the world, caused by the unprecedented rapid spread of a new health-threatening coronavirus Covid-19.

The world has not known yet the same rate of spread of the disease, which has grown into a pandemic in two to three months since the beginning of 2000. And also, for the first time in the history of mankind, there was an almost simultaneous suspension of production in virtually all sectors of the economy, and the business activity of companies, even global ones, began to fall. The world gross domestic product (GDP) began to decline rapidly. "Every month of total quarantine and social distancing reduces the annual growth in wealth of any country by about 2%." This information is given by the experts from the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in their last May report, worsening their March forecast by four times: then they considered that maintaining quarantine, self-isolation and social distancing of people will reduce the GDP of countries by an average of half a percent [4]. The world GDP, according to the World Bank (WB) reports, amounted to US \$ 85.8 trillion in 2019. It is easy to calculate the projected losses today at 2%, they will amount to 1.716 trillion US dollars. This is about half of Germany's GDP, the largest EU national economy (\$3.997 trillion) and more than Canada's GDP of \$1.71 trillion, Russia's GDP of \$1.66 trillion, the GDP of South Korea which is \$1.62 trillion. And this is more than the total GDP of 2019 of such large countries as, for example, Mexico and Spain combined [16].

For five consecutive months all national economies have been slowing down, the streets of metropolises were empty, hotels, restaurants and many shops were closed, tens of millions of people were left without work and lost their livelihoods. It is noteworthy that residents of 200 States, both the largest and the smallest, suffered from the crisis. So, the US economy with GDP of 20.5 trillion US dollars, according to estimates by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), will decrease by 5.9%, Italy's GDP by 9.1%; the French economy will shrink by 7.2%; Germany's economy will shrink by 7% [11]. The pan-European GDP, according to IMF experts, will decrease by 7.5% in 2020. And the Central Bank of the European Union admits that the fall in GDP at the end of the year will reach 12% in 19 out of 26 eurozone countries, because according to Eurostat, the EU economy has already decreased by 3.5% in the first three months of 2020 [2]. In the IMF report it is noted that the European Union will experience such a decline for the first time in its existence, and China for the first time in almost half a century. In their projection of the development of the global economy after the pandemic, IMF economists consider that if business activity resumes in the second half of 2020, next year's economic activity will not cover the losses associated with the Covid-19 coronavirus epidemic, despite the fact that the world is going to spend at least another 10 trillion dollars to combat the crisis [6]. And the UN leadership considers that the economies of developing countries, which include Russia, India, Mexico and several other States in the world, will suffer from the introduction of stringent quarantine measures even stronger than developed economies. The UN calls on rich countries to help developing States in the framework of special support programs and general crisis measures, estimated by the UN at 2.5 trillion dollars [5]. And it is difficult to disagree with these arguments, since the world has an unprecedented outflow of capital from the markets of developing countries,

four times higher than the similar reaction during the financial crises of 1998-1999, 2008-2009, and 2014-2015. The size of capital outflows from emerging markets amounted to almost \$100 billion in March alone [6].

The crisis we are experiencing, according to many world experts, will be the deepest since the Great Depression of the 1930s. It could throw away the world economy to the back of the last century and nullify all economic development efforts for two decades.

The history of human development shows that crises caused by epidemics often lead to interstate, interracial and interethnic disunity, which leads to socio-political instability, an increase in nationalism and protectionism, and most importantly, the rapid impoverishment of the vast masses of workers. That is why interracial unrest began in the United States, and in the richest country in the world, more than 20 million people applied for unemployment benefits in May alone. During the quarantine, in the world's most attractive country for labor migration, exactly as many jobs disappeared in just one month as were created over the past decade [7].

The number of unemployed citizens also rose sharply in Russia, as evidenced by data on the unemployment rate. In January-March 2020, the unemployment rate in Russia was unchanged, at 4.7% [3], 4.6% [8] and 4.7% [12], respectively. However, in April, the number of unemployed in Russia increased by more than from 800 thousand people to 4.3 million people or 5.8% [8]. According to the Confederation of Labor of Russia, unemployment in Russia had reached 8 million people by summer, and according to the founder of the leading Internet service Superjob A. Zakharov, the real number in the country is about 10 million people [12].

In the regions of Russia, where employment is mainly associated with small businesses temporarily closed due to quarantine, in our opinion, we can expect a wave of official bankruptcy and mass layoffs, a sharp drop in living standards, an aggravation of socio-political instability and an increase in social conflict against the background of an epidemic, the prospects for a complete exit from which are still unpredictable. These conclusions are based, first of all, on the history of the plague riot in Sevastopol 190 years ago. Then there was a popular uprising, which was provoked by quarantine measures against the spread of the cholera epidemic, which the authorities initially mistook for a plague. The riot was the first in a chain of cholera protests that swept through many regions of Russia of the 19th century. The inhabitants of Sevastopol, driven to despair, formed armed groups of volunteers who were preparing for an armed rebuff of the cordon of the city. From the hostilities that could blow up the situation in the city and in the navy, the city was restrained by the fact that the cordon soldiers and many officers sympathized with the inhabitants, and the volunteer units themselves were formed under the leadership of the retired military.

According to IMF forecasts, coinciding with the official forecasts of the Russian Government, Russia's GDP will decrease by 5.5% in 2020, and in 2021 it will increase by about 2%. A slowdown in economic activity will inevitably lead to an increase in unemployment, the level of which, according to the forecast of the Ministry of Economic Development will fall to 5.4% in 2021, to 4.9% in 2022, and will return to the level of the beginning of 2020 only in 2023.

However, a number of Russian experts predict that real unemployment in Russia by the fall of 2020 could grow to 20 million people [12]. Such a fall in the labor market due to the economic downturn can only strengthen interregional labor migration, which, even before the epidemiological crisis, as shown in our studies, had led to a deterioration of the demographic situation in the North Caucasus regions of Russia with a high level of chronic unemployment [13-15].

So, according to official data of Rosstat (Table 1), the total population of the North Caucasian Federal District (NCFD) during 01.01.2018-01.01.2019 increased by 43,267 people: from 9,845,114 to 9,866,748 people or by 0.4%.

Table 1. Dynamics of the permanent population of Russia and the regions of the South of Russia as of January 1, 2018-2019

Table 1.2	As of January 1, 2019			As of January 1, 2018		
	The entire population	including:		The entire population	including:	
		urban	rural		urban	rural
Russian Federation	146 780 720	109 453 533	37 327 187	146 830 576	109 390 216	37 440 360
Southern Federal District	16 454 550	10 316 730	6 137 820	16 448 201	10 300 616	6 147 585
North Caucasian Federal District	9 866 748	4 947 172	4 919 576	9 845 114	4 920 139	4 924 975
The Republic of Dagestan	3 086 126	1 396 715	1 689 411	3 075 006	1 390 196	1 684 810
The Republic of Ingushetia	497 393	275 891	221 502	492 718	272 920	219 798
The Kabardino-Balkarian Republic	866 219	451 002	415 217	866 023	451 170	414 853
The Karachay-Cherkess Republic	465 563	199 465	266 098	465 934	199 344	266 590
The Republic of North Ossetia-Alania	699 253	449 873	249 380	700 509	450 369	250 140
The Chechen Republic	1 456 951	534 883	922 068	1 446 966	518 031	928 935
Stavropol Territory	2 795 243	1 639 343	1 155 900	2 797 958	1 638 109	1 159 849

The source: [10]

As the data of Table 2 show, the highest indicators of negative migration of the population were observed in the Republic of Dagestan, the population of which in 2018 increased by 22,241 people, despite the fact that more than 11 thousand people left their republic. Negative migration is observed in all regions except Ingushetia, but in three regions of the North Caucasus Federal District it is threatening the demographic situation. Thus, in the Republic of North Ossetia-Alania there was the second largest negative migration growth after Dagestan of 4,512 people, which could not cover the natural population growth of 2,000 people. The number of Karachay-Cherkessia decreased by 742 people as a result of the migration outflow of the population of 1559 people. And the population of Stavropol Territory decreased by 543, despite the fact that in the region there was both a natural decline of 1,400 people and a negative migration of 4,031 people. Only in the Republic of Ingushetia there is a demographically favorable situation: the total population growth of 9,350 people is ensured by a natural increase of 6,500 people and migration of the population to the region, estimated by Rosstat, of 2,850 people.

Table 2. Change in the permanent population of Russia and the regions of the South of Russia by components as of January 1, 2018-2019

Table 1.3 <i>The entire population</i>	Population as of January 1 2018	Changes during 2018 (+,-)			Population as of January 1 2019
		total growth	including:		
			natural increase	migration growth	
Russian Federation	146880432	-99712	-224566	124854	146780720
Southern Federal District	16441852	12698	-37047	49745	16454550

North Caucasian Federal District	9823481	43267	68453	-25186	9866748
The Republic of Dagestan	3063885	22241	33249	-11008	3086126
The Republic of Ingushetia	488043	9350	6500	2850	497393
The Kabardino-Balkarian Republic	865828	391	3759	-3368	866219
The Karachay-Cherkess Republic	466305	-742	817	-1559	465563
The Republic of North Ossetia-Alania	701765	-2512	2000	-4512	699253
The Chechen Republic	1436981	19970	23528	-3558	1456951
Stavropol Territory	2800674	-5431	-1400	-4031	2795243

The source: [10]

Alarming conclusions stem from the analysis of the dynamics of the urban and rural population of the North Caucasus Federal District. As shown in Table 3, the urban population of the district increased in 2018 by 1.1% (from 4 920 139 people up to 4 947 172 people), and the rural decreased by 0.8% (from 4 924 975 people up to 4 919 576 people). On average, in the Russian Federation, with a decrease in the total population by 0.1%, the urban population increased by 0.1%, and the rural population decreased by 0.6%. In the neighboring Southern Federal District, the population increased by 0.1%, while the urban population increased by 0.3%, or 32 299 people, and the rural population decreased by 0.3%, or 19 531 people. In the neighboring North Caucasus Federal District, with a total population growth of 0.4%, the urban population increased by 54 066 people, and the rural population decreased by 10 799 people. That is, the comparative growth of the urban population of the North Caucasus Federal District, which is less than 1.6 times compared to the Southern Federal District, amounted to 1.6 times per year.

Table 3. Growth in the city and rural population of Russia and the regions of the South of Russia in 2018

Table 1.6	Population growth; person			Population growth; %		
	The entire population	including:		The entire population	urban	rural
		urban	rural			
Russian Federation	-99 712	126 634	-226 346	-0,1	0,1	-0,6
Southern Federal District	12 698	32 229	-19 531	0,1	0,3	-0,3
North Caucasian Federal District	43 267	54 066	-10 799	0,4	1,1	-0,8
The Republic of Dagestan	22 241	13 039	9 202	0,7	0,9	0,7
The Republic of Ingushetia	9 350	5 942	3 408	1,9	2,2	-22,0
The Kabardino-Balkarian Republic	391	-336	727	0,0	-0,1	0,2
The Karachay-	-	242	-984	-0,2	0,1	0,0

Cherkess Republic	742					
The Republic of North Ossetia-Alania	-2 512	-992	-1 520	-0,4	-0,2	-0,3
The Chechen Republic	19 970	33 704	-13 734	1,4	6,7	1,4
Stavropol Territory	-5 431	2 467	-7 898	-0,2	0,2	-0,3

The source: Population size and migration of the Russian Federation in 2018 (statistical bulletin). Moscow, Rosstat, 2019.

Comparing the migration growth (decline) rates of the population in Russia, the Southern Federal District and the North Caucasus Federal District, as well as its regions, it can be concluded that the migration outflow indicators in the North Caucasus Federal District as a whole are 2.6, which is almost three times higher than the Russian average. The highest rate of migration decline, as shown in Table 4, was observed in the Republic of North Ossetia-Alania. It amounted to 6.4. Here, the highest migration decline rate of the rural population was also observed (8.1), despite the fact that on average in Russia it amounted to 1.9., and in the rural population of the Southern Federal District, zero growth was recorded. Following North Ossetia, Dagestan stands in the ranking of negative migration per 1000 people: the total migration growth rate here was 3.6, and the migration decline rate of the rural population was 6.9 in 2018.

Table 4. Migration growth rates of the population of Russia and the regions of the South of Russia in 2018

Table 1.10	Migration growth rates per 1,000 people		
	the entire population	including:	
		urban	rural
Russian Federation	0,9	1,8	-1,9
Southern Federal District	3,0	4,8	0,0
North Caucasian Federal District	-2,6	-0,3	-4,8
The Republic of Dagestan	-3,6	0,4	-6,9
The Republic of Ingushetia	5,8	10,4	0,1
The Kabardino-Balkarian Republic	-3,9	-4,6	-3,1
The Karachay-Cherkess Republic	-3,3	-1,3	-4,9
The Republic of North Ossetia-Alania	-6,4	-5,5	-8,1
The Chechen Republic	-2,5	-3,8	-1,7
Stavropol Territory	-1,4	1,1	-5,0

Источник: [11]

Considering the total migration growth of the population in terms of age, it should be noted that migration is economic in nature, since from the total migration outflow of the population of the North Caucasus Federal District to 25 thousand people almost 17.5 thousand people are people of working age.

The highest indicators of negative migration among the regions of the North Caucasus Federal District were recorded in the Republic of Dagestan, only 7.2 thousand people left the region, the Stavropol Territory is in the second place, about 3.7 thousand people of working

age left this territory. The third place is taken by North Ossetia, from which more than 3 thousand people of working age migrated.

The Federal Center understands that in the conditions of quarantine and self-isolation of consumers, the risks of not just temporary shutdown, but bankruptcy were experienced by all service enterprises, most of which belong to small business; and that it is a small business that provides employment to an overwhelming number of regions of Russia. It is also clear that without the development of infrastructure and regional economic support programs, unemployment is likely to rise sharply in many regions, and that only programmatic measures for supporting business can contribute to increasing demand for labor and smoothing migration outflows, but the sharp drop in tax revenues to the Federal Budget and regional budgets is likely to welcome the need to tighten control over cost increases.

Table 5. Total migration growth of the population of Russia and the regions of the South of Russia in 2018

Table 2.11	Total population migration growth			
	in total	including those under the age		
		under working-age	working-age	over working-age
Russian Federation	124 854	21 921	91 446	11 487
Southern Federal District	49 745	7 869	31 312	10 564
North Caucasian Federal District	-25 186	-5 912	-17 441	-1 833
The Republic of Dagestan	-11 008	-3 375	-7 254	-379
The Republic of Ingushetia	2 850	232	2 021	597
The Kabardino-Balkarian Republic	-3 368	-477	-2 393	-498
The Karachay-Cherkess Republic	-1 559	-429	-823	-307
The Republic of North Ossetia-Alania	-4 512	-758	-3 037	-717
The Chechen Republic	-3 558	-1 074	-2 265	-219
Stavropol Territory	-4 031	-31	-3 690	-310

Источник: [11]

According to the study of the ACRA rating agency, Russian regions are likely to solve the problem of budget deficits by reducing costs or borrowings [9]. However, these measures will actually leave small businesses without targeted support, the latter provide up to half of employment in most regions of the North Caucasus Federal District. According to the latest stats, the total number of employees in Russia is about 72 million people. Among them 32 million people are employed in large and medium-sized enterprises, and about 40 million people, or 55.55%, are employed in small enterprises [10]. However, it is in this segment that the prospects for direct assistance from the State are uncertain and ghostly, and that is why it is possible to predict an increase in interregional migration of working-age population from the small business sector.

Obviously, due to the crisis, income from personal income tax will significantly decrease, which, again, in many North Caucasus regions provides up to 50% of income, as well as from other regional taxes and payments for which deferrals or privileges are provided (income tax, property tax, rent and a number of others). And in this situation, it is better to increase direct assistance in the form of grants, subsidizing the interest rate of leasing and developing programs to support youth, family, innovative and Internet business for both

existing and newly created small businesses. Otherwise, the current outflow of population to large cities, even without job security, will increase sharply in the coming years, and all the problems mentioned above will worsen. Such support is quite possible due to the reduction of non-priority costs and the concentration of costs on supporting regional business.

To increase employment in the territorial subjects of the North Caucasus Federal District of the Russian Federation, a number of proposals have been formulated: an increase in self-employment, which is possible, for example, within the framework of federal programs and the state program "Development of the North Caucasus Federal District," especially federal targeted programs aimed at the socio-economic development of each territorial subject of the North Caucasus Federal District until 2025; active development of programs of support of small business in the service industry where for the beginning of 2019 more than a half of the working population of the North Caucasus is really occupied within the subprograms of the state program "Development of the North Caucasian Federal District" directed to implementation of investment projects of North Caucasus federal district, development of a tourist and recreational cluster in the North Caucasian Federal District, the accelerated development of year-round tourist and recreational complexes of North Caucasus federal district, a medical cluster in Caucasian Mineral Waters area; organization and implementation of interregional employment programs for young and mobile people of the North Caucasus Federal District regions to the regions of Russia where there is a lack of workspaces.

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SAVING THE ETHNOCULTURAL HERITAGE OF THE PEOPLES OF THE NORTH CAUCASUS AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO ASOCIAL MANIFESTATIONS

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The cultural traditions of the peoples of the North Caucasus are distinguished by their diversity, the mosaic appearance that has developed during their centuries-old creative activities. Regional ethnic and sociocultural reality forms the basis of a certain type of civilization, called Caucasus, which is rich in its material and spiritual heritage. The Caucasus civilization is local, colorful, diverse, unique, which is determined by its material and spiritual achievements, values which were left by the ancestors for younger generations, and the latter, contributing their share, give the legacy of the past a modern character. Caucasus civilization is connected with Eastern, Western civilizational types, Slavic-Russian world, that gives ethnocultural heritage a unique, special character. For many contemporaries, the ethno-cultural diversity of the peoples of the Caucasus, including the North Caucasus, is unclear, not because it is archaic, but because it is diverse, syncretic, and has experienced many developments from different cultures and civilizations. The preservation of the ethnic and cultural heritage of the peoples of the Caucasus and its understanding are now an extremely important problem in scientific and cultural terms.

Key words: ethnocultural heritage, traditions, Russia, North Caucasus, Dagestan, Chechnya, diversity, cultural artifacts, asocial processes.

[В.Х. Акаев, З.Э. Абдулаева Сбережение этнокультурного наследия народов Северного Кавказа как альтернатива асоциальным проявлениям]

Культурные традиции народов Северного Кавказа отличаются своим многообразием, мозаичным обликом, который сложился в ходе их многовековой созидательной деятельности. Региональная этническая и социокультурная реальность составляет основу определенного типа цивилизации, именуемой кавказской, которая богата своим материальным и духовным наследием. Кавказская цивилизация локальна, колоритна, разнообразна, уникальна, что определяется её материальными и духовными достижениями, ценностями, оставившими предками подрастающим поколениям, а последние, внося свою лепту, придают наследию прошлого современный характер. Кавказская цивилизация связана с восточными, западными цивилизационными типами, славянско-русским миром, что придает этнокультурному наследию уникальный, особенный характер. Для многих современников этнокультурное многообразие народов Кавказа, в том числе и Северного Кавказа, непонятно не потому, что оно архаично, а потому что разнообразно, синкретично, испытало много веяний, исходивших от разных культур и цивилизаций. Сохранение этнического, культурного наследия народов Кавказа, его осмысление ныне исключительно важная в научном, культурологическом отношении проблема.

Ключевые слова: этнокультурное наследие, традиции, Россия, Северный Кавказ, Дагестан, Чечня, многообразие, культурные артефакты, асоциальные процессы.

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The study of the ethnocultural heritage of peoples as well as its preservation is an important problem in theoretical and practical terms, requiring special attention of scientists, practitioners who periodically solve its main tasks. They are diverse, often opposite. Some authors implement them, others are pessimistic, others seek to replace them with borrowed innovations. This naturally harms peoples and their cultures, and this position has always been unacceptable and condemned. It is known that in ancient Greece people's lives were based on respect for the traditions of their ancestors, great importance was attached to understanding and honoring them. The laws of Athens prohibited borrowing someone else's things and introducing innovations that allegedly worsening the lives of Greeks, changing their worldview. Thus, the charge brought against Socrates consisted of two points: "Socrates does not honor the gods of those gods whom the Athenian people consider such, and introduces new gods; he also depraves young people" [12, pp. 73-74]. In this way, ancient history has recorded the fact that the slander of the violation of spiritual and cultural traditions, brought against Socrates, "the wisest of the Greeks," was a strong basis for making the most unjust decision, death penalty.

Through the traditions in society there was a management of ethnophors, the representatives of an ethnic group, social groups, forming certain behavioral attitudes, worldview values. They set development vectors, they often serve as a brake of modernization, preventing "other gods" from dominating. The cultural heritage of ethnos is the basis for its existence, and it is conservative, maintaining historically established ties and relations between people, it is also susceptible to modern innovations, adjusting the perspective of social development of ethnos. It is based on local cultural values, achievements of regional civilizations and their adaptations to modern times. In the context of modern globalization, the study of the heritage of the past, the basic values of ethnic culture, is significantly updated, that makes it possible to identify its new meaning intentions.

The understanding of the cultural heritage of peoples has always been significant for Russian humanitaristics, in particular for Caucasian studies. The study of antiquity of peoples of the Caucasus determines its place and influence on modern culture, as well as its reverse outflow. It is still relevant.

Features of ethno-cultural diversity in Russia. The wealth of Russia is not only its enormous natural resources, but also numerous peoples, nations with their individual and special ethnic values such as history, languages, beliefs, customs, traditions, various kinds of produced cultural results, significant architectural monuments, magnificent literature and art. But these sociocultural achievements in Russia are united within the framework of common history and the State, a common constitution, on the basis of the existence of the inter-ethnic and state Russian language, joint economic and sociocultural activities of peoples. We consider that saving all this wealth is a basic part of the strategy of national and cultural development of Russia. Considerable work is being done in the country to preserve, to study and to develop the ethnocultural heritage. State policy in this direction contributes to the cementation of inter-ethnic, intercultural and interfaith relations. It also involves active countering various threats posed by external challenges, asocial, extremist and terrorist manifestations aimed at destabilizing ideological, political, spiritual, and cultural sustainability in the country, in the North Caucasus.

The sociocultural development of the world according to the Western model is focused on simplification, unification of diversity, erasing the lines not only between national States, but

also between ethnos and traditions within society. At the same time, it is very important to proceed from the fact that local civilizations are not only closed up, and in this form, they cannot exist for a long time, but this is also a natural course of history. They are often open, open to the world, susceptible to external cultural trends. In this regard, the thought of the British historian and culturologist Arnold Toynbee is noteworthy, arguing that "local civilizations are milestones of time, and not islands of closed history" [18, 11 p.]. Thus, cultural diversity is emphasized, the dynamics which depends on the time, practical and intellectual activities of a person, ethnic group, society, State.

The culture of the peoples of the North Caucasus, their customs, traditions, myths, material and spiritual artifacts, civilizational achievements have special and common development trends. And this is manifested in the construction of fortresses, temples, sanctuaries, churches, mosques, in the creation of a kind of writing. For example, the Caucasians created Albanian, ancient Armenian, ancient Georgian scripts, wrote works that contain information on the history, geography, ethnogenesis of numerous peoples of the Caucasus. With the adoption of Islam by the peoples of the region, on the basis of their cultural traditions, a specific Arab-Muslim culture was formed, enriched with their cultures, which gives it a syncretic character. Identifying the relationship between general and special in this cultural syncretism is an important research task. The cultural heritage of the peoples of the North Caucasus is diverse, has its own isolated, local features, coupled with local color, developed on the basis of the landscape, manifestations of ethnic customs, traditions, building structures, culture of agriculture, historical, cultural and mental factors, various communications. At the same time, the ethnocultural heritage is conservative, which is an important indicator characterizing the socio-cultural state of the community, tribe, ethnos as a whole. It is an integral part of the existence of an ethnic group, a nation, it is broadcast from generation to generation through memory, hearing, language, writing and building structures.

In this regard, it seems, the statement of V.V. Putin is appropriate: "Russia has emerged and developed for centuries as a multinational State. In the State there was a process of mutual conformation, mutual penetration, mixing of peoples on family, friendly and official levels. Hundreds of ethnic groups live on their land together and next to the Russians. The development of huge territories that filled the entire history of Russia was a joint affair of many peoples." [17] The development of the peoples of Russia, preservation and development of their cultural heritage, seem to us to be a common matter, without which it will not be able to preserve itself as a sovereign State.

The rich cultural heritage of the peoples of the North Caucasus is recorded in architectural monuments created in ancient times, the Middle Ages, new and modern times. In the east of the North Caucasus, Derbent with its "Naryn-Kala" fortress is among the most important cultural and civilizational monuments. In Chechnya and Ingushetia, this is a tower complex, or rather, what remained of it during natural destruction, the consequences of the deportations of the Chechens and the Ingush of 1944, military operations in the 90s and early 2000s. However, the preserved part of the monuments is under the State protection, they are being reconstructed, and the State allocates considerable resources for this.

The ethnic culture of the peoples of the North Caucasus is rich in achievements in the field of folklore, myths, legends, national literature, philosophical vision of the world, preserved Arabic-graphic manuscripts, modern scientific, cultural achievements of the peoples of the region. And this requires careful treatment, identification of new artifacts and thorough study. During the study, it is important to consider the relationship of national culture, the influence of religious culture on it, its ties with Russian and European forms of culture [4, 19 p.]. Yu.A. Zhdanov emphasized the need to integrate the brain powers of the South of Russia in achieving stabilization and sustainable development of the region. Despite the fact that in the North

Caucasus the results of stabilization are obvious, the fundamental task set by the scientist is designed for many decades. We consider that in order to solve it, it is important to mobilize the efforts of universities and research institutes in coordinating their activities at the federal level. The brain powers of the South Caucasus, scientific centers established during the years of Soviet power and having achieved significant results in scientific research studying the development of cultures of the peoples of the Caucasus and Russia, could also play a positive role in this matter. Researchers of the cultural heritage of the peoples of the North Caucasus have done a lot to describe historical processes in the region, analyze ethnocultural, religious, social ideas, identify the features of their worldview and world perception [6, p. 38].

Russian specialist in Caucasian studies S.A. Harutyunov, notes: "At first there was diversity. Grasses of primitive, primeval cultures, which had not turned into powerful trees of civilizations yet, bloomed with their modest field flowers, bore their small berries. Then some of them began to grow into shrubs and trees. These trees began to bloom with large, lush flowers that continued to bear fruit, which we still partially continue to taste today" [9, 49 p.]. In this colorful naturalistic picture portrayed by S.A. Harutyunov, we would like to add several scales of colors: modest wildflowers, shrubs that bear small sweet-sour fruits are still preserved, which is clearly visible when a person secludes himself in various places of the Caucasian landscape, falls into deep gorges, onto high mountains, small glades.

The taste of these fruits contains the odors of antiquity, primeval natural harmony and the person returns to his origins. How important it is today that Caucasians save both nature and the cultural origins that unite them. Yu.A. Zhdanov wrote about this and dreamt of unforgettable memory. His heritage conservation program was to achieve the synthesis of Eastern, Caucasian and Western cultures.

About the regional traditions of studying ethnocultural heritage. The ethnocultural heritage of the peoples of the North Caucasus, both in its material and spiritual manifestations, is diverse, heterogeneous and syncretic. For the eastern part of the North Caucasus, Derbent is of great importance as a unique heritage complex with a rare and integral cluster of historical and architectural monuments of antiquity. The complex monument "Ancient Derbent" is included in the list of UNESCO World Heritage Sites [14, p. 8]. Its preservation is the patriotic duty of citizens, the State and society. Dagestan researchers pay considerable attention to the study of Arabic-graphic, Persian, Turkic texts as cultural values. Centers of scientific, cultural activity, handwritten departments are organized, books reflecting religious, philosophical, scientific heritage of peoples are published. Significant results have been achieved. We would like to name some of them, the following texts are published: "Dagestan Historical Works," "Book of Memoirs" of Abdurakhman from Gazikumukh, "Arabic Manuscript Book in Dagestan," "Letters of Shamil," "Monuments of Turkic-language business correspondence in Dagestan XVIII century" [20] and others.

M.A. Abdullaev has been studying rich ethnocultural, religious and philosophical heritage of the people of Dagestan for many years. His feather possesses numerous researches in which historical and cultural features of penetration of Sufism to the Caucasus, its impact on the culture of the people of Dagestan, Chechnya and Ingushetia are revealed. The role of Sufi sheikhs in the confirmation of Islam comes to light, religious and philosophical views of people of Dagestan during folding of medieval Arab-Muslim culture are revealed [1]. M.I. Bilalov considers features of national cultures, including the people of the North Caucasus from the positions of informative culture, pluralistic approach, plurality and unity of cultures [10].

In the Chechen Republic and the Republic of Ingushetia construction, cultural artifacts are tower complexes, ancient weapon, manuscripts, carpets, many of which were destroyed during deportation and also during the recent military conflicts. Their remained part is under the protection of the State which allocates resources for their protection, preservation and re-

construction. During deportation of the Chechens and the Ingush and also during military operations in Chechnya history and architecture monuments, archives, museums with their valuable exhibits some of which emerge in the black markets in Moscow, Europe were destroyed and other cultural values are forever lost.

In the Academy of Sciences of the Chechen Republic, activities are carried out to reprint multi-volume Chechen folklore in Chechen and Russian languages. In Russian "The Nart saga of the Peoples of the Caucasus" was published, which is the selected works of the professor Uzdiyut Bashirovna Dalgat [13], who had been working for many years at the Institute of World Literature of the USSR Academy of Sciences. She is the daughter of B.K. Dalgat, who studied primeval religion, ancestral life and customary law of the Chechens and the Ingush at the end of the 19th century. This scientific heritage, as well as the research of W.B. Dalgat, still retains its scientific value and requires a new understanding, the identification of new cultural meanings.

An integral part of the spiritual heritage of the Chechens, the Ingush, the Ossetians, the Kabardians and the Adygheis is the Nart saga "Illy", heroic songs of the Chechens. Addressing them, their study, the identification of a new meaning in them, taking into account the modern context, allows to expand and deepen the understanding of the cultural heritage of a particular ethnic group. The ideological, cultural, patriotic potential present in this cultural heritage can be successfully used for the educational purposes of younger generations.

Recently, universities and research centers in the Chechen Republic and Georgia concluded cooperation agreements in the field of education, science, exchange of students and scientists. The Center for Nakh Studies organized at the Chechen State Pedagogical University and its first steps are related to the holding of an international conference on the study of folklore, culture of the peoples of the Caucasus with the participation of scientists from Russia, the North Caucasus, as well as Georgia. Within the framework of the reached agreements Chechen scientists have recently visited Georgia to collect ethnographic, folklore material reflecting Nakh-Georgian cultural relations. We believe that the results of this expedition will be verbalized.

The study of the cultural heritage of peoples involves the description, identification of valuable artifacts that require protection by society and the State. In the regions this is done by museums, research institutes, universities where scientific research is conducted, their results are published, and personnel are being prepared.

The researches carried out under our scientific guidance in the Chechen Republic involve the analysis of the cultural heritage of the peoples of the North Caucasus, the study of peculiarities of ethnic culture and its development in modern conditions, the improvement of inter-ethnic and interfaith relations in the region. In 2014 the unique work "Folk Culture" of Ya. V. Chesnov was published, in which the author based on methods of philosophical and anthropological approach, hermeneutic analysis explores the cultural heritage of the peoples of the Caucasus. In the collected ethnographic material describing the dwelling, language, mythology, magic of the Adygheis, the Balkars, the Georgians, the Ingush, the Russians and the Chechens, he seeks to find what unites them, makes them intelligent, highly cultured peoples. And here one cannot but agree that Ya. V. Chesnov analyzes the personality ("konakh" from Chechen), as an ideal hero in the ethnic culture of the Chechens, many Caucasian ethnic groups, which forms the basis of the ancestral body of the ethnic group [19, p. 353].

Countering asocial manifestations. The resource of cultural traditions and religions is such that it can be used to counter asocial manifestations, in particular, to counter radicalist and extremist tendencies. For these purposes it is important to use the content of sacred texts, traditional spiritual and cultural values, archival materials, folklore publications, Arabic-graphic works of local authors, skillfully interpreting them. Such a cultural heritage, for example, for the

Chechens is a multi-volume folklore publication [5], Arabic-graphic texts that record the statements and teachings of Sufi teachers. Despite the fact that modernity transforms the character, spiritual and cultural values of the ethnic group, knowledge of folk folklore, its comprehension, intellectual resuscitation taking into account modernity, which contributes to understanding the heritage of people, it gives it cultural flexibility.

In Dagestan to counter manifestations of religious extremism, for example, of Wahhabis, the religious works of Saifullah-kadi Bashlyarov, Kasan Kakhibsky, Said-Afandi of Chirkei, which are popular among representatives of Sufi Islam traditional for the region, can be widely used. The spiritual, moral and humanistic values set forth in the works of these authors are reflected in the studies of M. A. Abdullaev [2], V. H. Akaev [5].

In Chechnya and Ingushetia, one of the religious texts reflecting the teachings of Sheikh Kunta-Haji Kishiev is the Arabic-graphic treatise "Tarjamat Makalati... Kunta-sheikh" ("Speeches and statements of Kunta-Haji"). Based on this text, the book "Sheikh Kunta-Haji: Life and Teaching" was published [7]. Based on the identified archival documents, on the ethnographic Arabic-graphic text, on the oral folk tradition, the life and activities of this wonderful Chechen Sufi-mystic are described, while the ascetic, moral-humanistic, peacemaking teachings were formed by him during the brutal Caucasian war [8, pp. 39-53].

The spiritual heritage of the peoples of the North Caucasus in its content does not have provisions that are radicalist, extremist in nature. It is devoid of fanaticism, largely focused on peace and harmony between believers, religions. These points in modern crisis conditions are fundamentally important to be used in spreading ethnocultural, religious traditions for peace-keeping purposes, especially against the ideology and practice of religious extremists belonging to the so-called Wahhabis.

The teachings of Kunta Haji were of particular importance in countering Islamic movements such as Salafism, Wahhabism, which had devastating effects on the historical and cultural traditions of the Chechens. Their goal was to displace the Sufi cultural heritage, radicalize Islam by giving it a political character, directed against ethnocultural traditions adapted to the all-Russian reality and achieve through provocations destabilization of the situation in the region. The ethnocultural heritage of the Chechens contains a powerful moral, humanistic, patriotic potential, which, if skillfully used, can be mobilized to counter manifestations of religious and political extremism, to ensure the spiritual security of society and the State.

The spiritual and cultural heritage of the peoples of the North Caucasus contains ideological, political, moral and humanistic potential, which can be used to counter the manifestations of modern religious and political extremism.

This leads to the conclusion that the study of ethnocultural heritage requires a new impetus, since globalization imposes a modern (more precisely American) way of life, socio-cultural unification, as an alternative to the development of mankind. Meanwhile, it ignores or even destroys the cultural heritage of the country, peoples, which leads to the dissolution of local-ethnic, spiritual-cultural forms of identity. And this situation is realized through the implementation of economic pillaging, political and cultural pressure of the powerful. What the United States has done in Afghanistan, the Middle East, North Africa, accusing these countries of extremism and even terrorism, is a fact that incites us to the expressed thought.

Individual States in order to counter global forces are forced to develop a system of political, military, cultural protection against American expansion. Countries such as Cuba, Venezuela, North Korea, Iran, Syria and their peoples have been forced to defend their national interests, ethno-cultural heritage for many years. Meanwhile, the regimes existing in those countries are being embraced in totalitarianism, terrorism and the threat of modern civilization by the United States. Russia and its peoples directly faced a threat to their sovereignty, cultural heritage. In the so-called "hurricane 90s" cultural values and the country's natural wealth were

plundered on a gigantic scale. That is why Russia and its vanguard force are forced to mobilize their political and intellectual resources to counter the country's transformation into a colonial appendage of Western transnational companies, to preserve the richest cultural heritage of its peoples. There is no alternative.

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THE CURRENT STATUS OF ETHNO-CONFESSIONAL AND NATIONAL-STATE IDENTITY OF DAGESTANIS

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The article examines the hierarchy of social group identities types (all-Russian, regional, ethnic and religious) based on the results of monitoring the ethno-contact situation in the Republic of Dagestan, in the southernmost region of the Russian Federation. It explains the inconsistency of the sociological study results of on the prevalence of all-Russian identity in the collective consciousness of Dagestanis and at the same time their sense of social affinity with ethnic and religious groups. The author draws attention to the inadmissibility of contrasting ethnic and religious identities with national (civilian) identities and considers the thesis about the direct relationship between the growth of ethno-confessional identity and a decrease in the level of national identification invalid. Since representatives of traditional faith in the region do not support the anti-state views of extremist religious movements. The author believes that if ethno-confessional identity prevails over national identity, it should rather be about omissions in the politics of identity. The study reveals the internal and external reasons for the high level of ethno-confessional identity of the population of the republic. In general, the article notes the tendency of cognitive prevalence of national (state) identity among Dagestanis and the dominance in their minds of a favorable attitude towards multiple identification

Key words: national identity, ethnic identity, religious identity, culture, Republic of Dagestan.

[Ю.Д. Джабраилов Этноконфессиональная и национально-государственная идентичность дагестанцев: современное состояние]

На основе результатов мониторинга этноконтактной ситуации в Республике Дагестан, в самом южном регионе Российской Федерации, рассматривается иерархия типов социально-групповых идентичностей (общероссийской, региональной, этнической и религиозной). Разъясняется противоречивость результатов социологического исследования о превалировании общероссийской идентичности в массовом сознании дагестанцев и в тоже время их ощущение социальной близости с этническими и религиозными группами. Автор обращает внимание на недопустимость противопоставления этнической и религиозной идентичности национальной (гражданской) идентичности и считает несостоятельным тезис о прямой взаимосвязи роста этноконфессиональной идентичности с понижением уровня национальной идентификации. Поскольку представители традиционного вероисповедания в регионе не поддерживают антигосударственные воззрения экстремистских религиозных течений. Считаем, что в случае превалирования этноконфессиональной идентичности над национальной идентичностью, речь скорее должна идти об упущениях в политике идентичности. В исследовании раскрываются внутренние и внешние причины высокого уровня этноконфессиональной идентичности населения республики. В целом в статье отмечается тенденция когнитивного превалирования национальной (государственной) идентичности у дагестанцев и доминирование в их сознании благоприятного отношения к множественной идентификации.

Ключевые слова: национальная идентичность, этническая идентичность, религиозная идентичность, культура, Республика Дагестан.

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For modern states civic identity is especially significant and valuable among types of social identities. It provides a consolidation of the society based on the priority of law, rights, historical and cultural community, through the formation of a sense of belonging to the state and civic nation. Does this mean that the process of formation of regional, ethnic, religious affiliation (i.e. other macroidentities) should be perceived as a threat to state integrity?

Unfortunately, at times, examples of oppositions of ethnic, religious and civic identity can be seen not only in the network. In fairly authoritative sociological studies on the questions "Who do you feel is primarily a citizen of a country or a representative of a particular religion or ethnic group". Strengthening the religious direction of socialization (religious identity) is considered in direct correlation with a decrease in state-national identity [2, p. 10]. Thus, the dominance of religious and ethnic identity is seen as an obstacle to building personal involvement in civil society and the Russian nation.

An analysis of the structure of the identification space of North Caucasian ethnic groups allows us to disagree with statements emphasizing the competing nature of ethnic and national identities, or the opposition of local characteristics of an all-Russian identity [3; 5].

The disunity of almost all the traditional faiths of the world into different directions and trends, sometimes adhering to directly opposite views on many issues, including the issue of the right to reside in a secular state and its attitude to it, also does not give grounds for unambiguous conclusions. A simple equal sign between religious identity and a particular model of the relationship of an individual with surrounding people, societies and a civil nation would be too much simplification. Accordingly, it is not entirely correct to consider religious identity in contrast with national-political self-identification. Perhaps, it makes sense to emphasize the understanding of religion on the part of individual radical movements, but not as an embodiment of the religious positions themselves.

As a rule, representatives of radical religious sects and movements are usually engaged in manipulating the consciousness of youth. They use plurality in the self-identification of Dagestanis to undermine the socio-political situation in the republic [10].

The Republic of Dagestan is the largest Muslim region in the Russian Federation. Ethnic Muslims make up 94% of its population [6].

Due to ethno-cultural diversity, low indicators of socio-economic security and the specifics of political life, Dagestan is a special region of the Russian Federation. The aggravation of social problems here is a fertile ground for the manipulation of public consciousness and the opposition of certain types of identity.

The main part of the traditional Muslim clergy sees its mission in religious enlightenment, strengthening unity and brotherhood on the basis of common values, and a call for intercultural tolerance. In contrast, representatives of radical movements believe that the construction of a "state of justice" is possible only through forceful methods, through terror and violence. As a rule, Muslim leaders who do not support their methods and ideology take the first wave of violence. Building political goals, justified by religious texts taken out of context, the radicals themselves became tools in the hands of global political actors. Thus, radical movements have split among not only Muslims, but also imposed Islamophobia on society, which is one of the most acute problems in a multiconfessional and multinational country.

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In our opinion, the statement made at the meeting of the Council under Russia's President on Interethnic Relations that the problems of a low level of perception of civic identity is connected with the poorly developed model of multilevel identity in the country, according to which each type of social identity (family, religious, ethnic, civil, etc.) act as integral and harmoniously complementing the components in the formation of a full-fledged personality of a citizen of Russia. In fact, they do not contradict each other and do not replace others, but are designed to satisfy the needs of understanding oneself and the world around us, family ties, ethnic culture, ties with a small homeland and spiritual moral standards, their civil rights and the possibility of self-realization.

Therefore, it is important to convey to young people that not a single kind of identity from the whole set of their multi-level identity is superfluous or main or replacing another. They are all parallel on the level of social relations, not contradicting each other, but rather reinforcing the personality [4].

The annual monitoring carried out by the Regional Center for Ethnopolitical Studies (the survey is conducted in at least twenty city and district municipalities), the ethno-contact situation in the municipalities of the Republic of Dagestan shows some inconsistency in the hierarchy of types of social group identities in the mass consciousness of Dagestanis.

So, according to the survey which provided a question: "Whom can you say about: "We are ..." (several answers could be chosen), the concept of "Russian identity" unconditionally leads the public mind of Dagestanis (69.3% of the total number of respondents) The second place among respondents is their association with "people of the same faith" (23.3%), then with "fellow countrymen" (20.2%). Ethnicity as a collective self-identification was noted by only 9% of respondents, next only (in addition to the three leading aspects of identity) to such communities as: "people of the same outlook on life" (17.5%), "residents of my city, village" (15.8%); "people strictly observing the laws" (15%) [1, p. 61].

At the same time, the distribution of answers to the question: "How close do you feel with Dagestanis, with representatives of your people, with Russians, with people of your faith?" (several answers could be chosen) shows that the item "social proximity with Russians" is in a closed position. Together, "very close" and "close" with Dagestanis are gaining a total of 59.4% (42.3% and 17.1% respectively), with people of my faith - 44.2% (29.9% and 14.3%), with representatives of their people - 41% (29.8 % and 11.2%) and with Russians - 33.6% (18.6% and 15%).

Thus, in the hierarchy of types of social identity in the mass consciousness of Dagestanis, on the one hand, the all-Russian identity clearly prevails, and on the other hand, the identification of a sense of community with social groups indicates the dominance of regional and religious identity.

It must be clarified that citizenship as a status is a dual phenomenon. On the one hand, an individual is a citizen to the extent that he obtains rights and responsibilities in the state, on the other hand, a citizen to the extent that he identifies with the community of individuals as a whole. Moreover, here there may be an interesting situation. Civil status in the state and in the membership of a community of individuals can carry a different semantic load [7, p. 46].

So, the study of the attitude of respondents to a particular group reveals that the majority of respondents prefers to perceive themselves, first of all, as Russian citizens, but the results of measuring social proximity with a particular social group show that state-civic identity is far from the first place. In this regard, Dagestanis feel, first of all, a close connection with social groups according to ethno-confessional parameters. The results of the study about "some degree" of respondents' perception of themselves as part of modern Russian society speak, rather, of the result of their disappointment in certain aspects of identity politics.

Therefore, there is a problem of manifestation of state-civil identification and patriotic feelings only in a declarative and protective manner, and not at the level of deep involvement and responsibility for the development of Russian society and the country as a whole.

Thus, in order to strengthen civic identity, it is necessary to concentrate attention not only on the development of common values, but also on ensuring in real life equal opportunities for an individual regardless of his ethnocultural characteristics. However, unfortunately, in the mass consciousness of people the constitutional provision on the equal rights of all Russian peoples is not perceived as a norm. According to the results of a sociological study conducted by the Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, no more than half of the population shares the opinion that in the state people of all nationalities should have equal rights, and in the national republics, it is shared by 80 to 90% of the population, including Russians. This imbalance presents an obvious risk that the state and society have to overcome [8, p. 20].

Thus, the problems of strengthening civic identity are mostly associated, as a rule, with the quality of ensuring social justice and stability in the country, the dominance in the practice of social communication of the cult of law, the rights, honor and dignity of people regardless of nationality and religion.

The compatibility of civic self-identification with ethno-confessional self-consciousness is widely represented and manifests itself in multiple identities. So, to the question: *"What do you feel like more: more likely a person of your nationality or more likely a Russian?"* 49.8% of respondents answered: "equally to both." To the question: *"What do you feel like to a greater extent: more likely a Dagestan or more likely a person of your nationality?"* 46.7% of respondents answered "equally to both." Moreover, choosing between the Russian (civil) and Dagestan (regional) identities, 43% of respondents answered "to both, equally"; 39.8% are more likely a Dagestan and 17.1% are more likely a Russian.

In this regard, the conclusion that increased religious and ethnic self-consciousness impedes individuals in participating in civil society is not entirely logical. On the contrary, the fragmentation of Russian society at the level of social interaction in terms of socio-status, territorial and ethnocultural parameters contributes to an ever-greater identification of the individual with those social groups with which he feels the community of his roots.

Consequently, if indicators of civic identity do not dominate the mass consciousness of the country's population, it should rather be about omissions in national (state) policy. The effectiveness of the nation-building process largely depends on whether they will be perceived in Russian society as their (close) elements of ethno-confessional cultures of the peoples of Russia, as full-fledged components of the all-Russian cultural code.

The high level of ethno-confessional consciousness of the Dagestanis is explained, in our opinion, by internal and external causes. If we talk about internal, then ethnic values and norms are historically sustained methods of social integration. As for religion, for many centuries it has been an important part of the ethnic culture and psychology of Dagestanis, and its significance is caused by the need to communicate with God as a condition for the existence and socialization of believers.

The external reasons for the increase in religiosity in the region are, in our opinion, related to new trends coming from the West, according to which a new social reality is being created. They clearly show a tendency to reformat the understanding of the institution of the family, the issue of social solidarity and moral principles that has developed throughout the history of the formation of human civilization.

Muslim communities are more sensitive to these modern trends of social transformations and attempts to impose on society as a whole the low-level values of "mass culture". Under these conditions, religious self-awareness as the most conservative form of identification becomes dominant among other social identities.

Thus, the high level of religious self-identification is partly explained by the desire to get out of the state of social helplessness, through the awareness of one's belonging to a particular religion. Religious values, norms and rules of behavior for many centuries have proved their effectiveness in ensuring stability and value orientation in a dynamic world. The pattern of development of any culture is the continuity in the transfer and preservation of its values, since humanity needs to reproduce itself and self-regulate [9, pp. 195-198].

In addition, the post-Soviet transformation of the socio-political system radically changed the legal basis of state-confessional relations, updated the appeal and study of the rich religious heritage in the region. That is a question the opposition of some types of identity is the cause of a large number of conflicts in Russian society. Maintaining equal rights for all forms of identities is an important condition for achieving the integrity of the entire system of ethno-national and civil relations in a single country. A state where many faiths and ethnic groups coexist should be a regulator of the process of taking their interests into account without any distortions. The unity of the Russian nation is achieved not by imposing the priority of some social identities over others, but by implementing the legislative rights of citizens to multiple identification. A model of multilevel identity, where family, ethnic, religious, civil and other types of identities are integral and harmoniously complementing the formation of a full-fledged personality of a citizen of Russia.

In general, the results of a study of the hierarchy of types of social identity among residents of the republic show a variety of combinations of civil, ethnic, regional (Dagestan), religious self-awareness with cognitive prevalence of state-civic identity and high emotional significance for the Dagestanis of their communal, regional, ethnic and religious identity.

Currently, the consistent strengthening of Russian national self-consciousness is hindered by the lack of a state policy for the transition from ethnic particularism to national-civic universalism.

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THE ROLE OF MUSLIM CLERGY IN COUNTERING RADICAL IDEOLOGY IN THE NORTH CAUCASUS

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Over the past twenty years, state and municipal authorities, civil society institutions in the North Caucasus have gained great positive experience in countering religious extremism and terrorism. The Muslim clergy had a great influence on the socio-political processes in the republics of the North Caucasus. The leadership of the Spiritual Directorates of Muslims of Russia, the traditional Muslim clergy, and ordinary believers have been fighting against the spread of a radical religious ideology that distorts the basis of Islam for more than two decades. Back in the early 90-s, the Islamic newspapers "Assalam", "Nur-ul-Islam", "Islamic Herald" and the Spiritual Board of Muslims began to explain to the population the whole danger of the ideology of Wahhabism (the extreme form of Salafism, which is commonly called in the republics of the North Caucasus). "Wahhabis" in scientific and journalistic literature are considered to be followers of the religious-political current in Sunni Islam, which arose in the middle of the 18th century based on the teachings of Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab. Many modern followers of Wahhabism prefer to call themselves Salafiyun, i.e. "walking the path of righteous ancestors" (al-salaf al-salih) – the first generations of Muslims. The article sets the task of analyzing the effectiveness of ideological counteraction to religious extremism and terrorism in the North Caucasus, determining the role of representatives of the Muslim clergy in countering radical religious ideology. The main theological contradictions between the trends in Islam are analyzed. It is shown that representatives of the Muslim clergy play a significant role in the ideological opposition to religious extremism in the North Caucasus.

Key words: North Caucasus, Islam, religious and political extremism, religious extremism, Wahhabism, youth.

[М.А. Магомедова Роль мусульманского духовенства в противодействии радикальной идеологии на Северном Кавказе]

За последние двадцать лет государственные и муниципальные органы власти, институты гражданского общества на Северном Кавказе накопили большой положительный опыт по противодействию религиозному экстремизму и терроризму. Большое влияние на общественно-политические процессы в республиках Северного Кавказа оказало мусульманское духовенство. Руководство Духовных управлений мусульман России, традиционное мусульманское духовенство, рядовые верующие вот уже более двух десятилетий ведут борьбу против распространения радикальной религиозной идеологии, искажающей основу ислама. Еще в начале 90-х гг. исламские газеты «Ассалам», «Нур-ул-Ислам», «Исламский вестник» и Духовное управление мусульман (ДУМ) начали разъяснять населению всю опасность идеологии ваххабизма (крайняя форма салафизма, которую так принято называть в республиках Северного Кавказа). «Ваххабитами» в научной и публицистической литературе принято считать последователей религиозно-политического течения в суннитском исламе, возникшего в середине XVIII в. на основе учения Мухаммада ибн Абд аль-Ваххаба. Многие современные последователи ваххабизма предпочитают называть себя салафийун, т.е. «идущими по пути праведных предков» (ас-салаф ас-салих) – первых поколений мусульман. В статье поставлены задачи анализа эффективности идеологического противодействия религиозному экстремизму и терроризму на Северном Кавказе; определения роли представителей мусульманского духовенства в противодействии радикальной религиозной идеологии. Проанализированы основные теологические противоречия между течениями в исламе. Показано, что значительную роль в идеологическом противодействии религиозному экстремизму на Северном Кавказе играют представители мусульманского духовенства.

Ключевые слова: Северный Кавказ, ислам, религиозно-политический экстремизм, религиозный экстремизм, ваххабизм, молодежь.

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Over the past few decades, we can observe a revival of religion in the whole country. These are objective processes. People got the opportunity to freely receive any religious education. As an example, teaching children, youth, and part of the adult population about Islam is widespread, in the Republic of Dagestan. Now the main task of the authorities, the muftiat and society is to ensure that these processes do not acquire a radical character, but carry ideas of peace, spirituality, love, mercy and forgiveness, mutual respect, as well as respect for parents and representatives of other faiths.

The method of in-depth interviews and questionnaires of experts were used to identify assessments of the effectiveness of ideological counteraction to religious extremism and terrorism in the region and to determine the role of the Muslim clergy in countering radical religious ideology. The experts were professionals who are involved in the problems of ideological counteraction to extremism and terrorism.

Russia is the leader in the number of Islamic universities in the post-Soviet space. According to the Ministry of Justice, in April 2018, 78 Muslim educational institutions were registered, 25 of which are considered higher, and 53 are secondary schools (madrassas). Most of them are in the North Caucasus [6].

The greatest influence of religion on various spheres of public life can be noted in such subjects of the North Caucasus as the Republic of Dagestan, the Chechen Republic and Ingushetia.

As at August 1, 2019, 2671 functioning religious buildings in Dagestan are: Islamic – 2631 (6 are universities, which teach 917 people, and 15 *madrassas* (955 people), *jumah* mosques (1273), mosques (899), prayer houses (437), Islamic Youth Union (1)), Christian – 33 (of them Orthodox – 23, Protestant – 8, Armenian Apostolic Church – 1, Old Believers – 1), Jewish – 5 [9].

The structure of religious education in Dagestan includes *maktabs* (mosque-based elementary schools), *madrassas* (secondary vocational education) and Islamic universities and institutes (higher level).

According to the Minister of National Policy and Religious Affairs of the Republic of Dagestan, the total number of Dagestanis who have received Islamic education abroad from 1990 to the present is more than 1250 people [7].

The religious media of the North Caucasus republics are represented by the press of various faiths. Internet resources of a religious and educational nature are actively developing. Considerable attention is paid to Islamic issues on television and radio channels, which broadcast religious programs in Russian and native languages.

Religion began to occupy a significant place in the life of the community of the Chechen Republic, especially during its revival after the military-political conflict and anti-terrorist operations. 1060 large and small mosques operate in the republic today. The Russian Islamic University Kunta-haji Kishiev, Islamic Institute named after Akhmat-Haji Kadyrov, 20 *madrassas* and 4 of their branches, 6 schools of *hafiz* (reciters of the Quran by heart) form religious educational resource [10].

The process of organizational change, the development of social projects of the future from the perspective of Islam began after the collapse of the USSR in the 90-s. During the process, that separate both opposing currents of tariffication and Wahhabism began to take shape. During this process, separate and opposing flows *Tariqah* and *Wahhabism* started to form. Wahhabism was introduced to the North Caucasus in the late 80-s – early 90-s of the 20 century by some graduates of foreign Islamic educational institutions and missionaries from the Arabic-speaking countries. A certain part of the representatives of Salafism with the help of religious slogans tried to justify the need for a violent change in the constitutional system, the creation of a Sharia state.

Tariqah refers to the socio-political activity of religious figures associated with Sufi brotherhoods, the so-called *Tariqas*. Sufi ideology and practice penetrated, for example, in Dagestan back in the 10-11 centuries [5].

For several reasons, several decades after the death of Muhammad, several large religious and political groups formed in Islam, which, in turn, split into many schools and communities [8, p. 22]. The followers of the earliest religious and political group in the history of Islam, formed during the struggle for power, were the *Kharijites*.

Disputes over the succession of supreme power after the death of Muhammad gave rise to the first differences among Muslims. A brief summary of subsequent events in the early Islamic community until the reign of Ali and the beginning of the Kharijit movement serves as a preface to the description of the teachings and discrepancies among Muslims [8, p. 128].

The followers of the region's traditional Islam do not accept not only Wahhabi ideology and practice of religious rites, but also their lifestyle, behavioral and cultural attitudes, denial of respect for elders, rejection of Caucasian customs and traditions. Because of this, the conflict between "North Caucasian Wahhabism" and Sufism has not only a dogmatic, ideological character, but also a sociocultural orientation, which is manifested in the mutual rejection of the lifestyle, behavioral attitudes, cultural values inherent in them [3, p. 154].

The main reasons that led to hostility, Wahhabis believe that many Muslims were in delusion, lived in sin and were far from the direct path. The second reason is that they consider that the enemies of Islam began to make false accusations and spread vile slander against sheikh Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab and his supporters. The third reason was the political tensions and wars that broke out between the followers of the call on the one hand and the Turks and emirs of the provinces on the other. The fourth reason was the accumulation of hostile literature.

Modern followers of Wahhabism believe that Muslims have lost their way because they overly venerate the Prophet Muhammad; prohibit collective *dhikr* (commemoration of Allah); deny the *madhhabs* (religious schools in Islam); deny Sufism, ridiculing the teachings of one of the revered Sufis of Imam al-Ghazali; deny the worship of graves or other "sacred" monuments (*ziyarat*). All of the above, in their opinion, leads Muslims to *shirk* (polytheism).

Also in these Islamic ideological movements, concepts such as *jihad* and *shahid* are considered in different ways. In Muslim religious and political culture, the term "*shahid*" refers to a Muslim who sacrificed himself for his faith and accepted martyrdom. However, Islamic orthodoxy categorically denies the identity between "*shahid*" and suicide bombers.

Today, there are certain tricks that allow a person who has expressed a willingness to die a martyr's death to bring into a state from which there is no way back. He is told that he was created and lives to serve God. Life is only a means of serving God. *Jihad* (Holy War) is unconditional service to God, and death as a result of *Jihad* is the climax of such service. For Muslims, there is no goal higher than life in the name of Allah and death for him [4, p. 166]. On this occasion, one of the experts during the interview noted:

"There is a certain postulation of extremist ideas through the refraction of the Koran. There is no retrospective analysis, but there is a parallel translation of these verses to the

present. Translation of the Koran without knowledge, analytical philosophy. Moreover, who is eventually charged with this virus, it is already difficult for him to get out of this state. It is difficult because they introduce them there through the factor of sacredness, sacralization of God. ”

According to the expert, true knowledge that is sufficiently adapted is adequate in the situation in which we live is concentrated in the muftiate.

Islamic extremism holds and develops on a carefully developed ideological basis, the power of extremism lies in the mobilizing power of slogans.

In the official List of organizations and individuals for which there is information about their involvement in extremist activities or terrorism, Dagestanis are ahead of other Muslim regions by a wide margin. If we take data for 2013-2016, 32.6% of the natives of Dagestan, 8.7% of the Chechen Republic, 5.4% of Kabardino-Balkaria, 1.4% of Ingushetia, this indicator was the lowest in Tatarstan – 1.1%. In the updated list, which was published in the "Ros-siyskaya Gazeta" in early 2019, Dagestanis already 38.3% [2].

During the confrontation between representatives of traditional Islam and Salafis in Dagestan, dozens of religious figures from both sides were killed. Representatives of the traditional Muslim clergy in their sermons emphasized that the preachers of radical religious ideology, under the guise of reasoning about the welfare of the people, pursue goals that diverge from the true tenets of Islam, and kindle a bonfire of ethnic hatred. Nevertheless, some scholars argue that the official Muslim clergy in the North Caucasus did not pay due attention to the issue of theoretical and ideological opposition to terrorism under the guise of Islam in its most acute form for a long time. At the same time, they claim that more than 50 ministers of the Muslim cult died at the hands of terrorists [4, p. 175]. In our opinion, despite all the danger, religious figures from the very beginning of the spread of radical religious ideology in Dagestan realized what it would turn out for people and society and took effective measures, criticized the authorities for their loyal attitude towards the Salafists.

Islam has everything in order to provide society with a non-conflict system of values that will ensure the intensive development of society. It was the time of the Golden Age of the *Caliphate*, when Muslims, with all their practice, with their whole way of life, set the tone for the development of human civilization. It was the Muslims who gave the development of astronomy, medicine, and mathematics.

In the course of the expert survey, which was mentioned above, the respondents were asked an open question: "What role do you think representatives of the clergy of the republic play in the ideological opposition to religious and political extremism?" and it was proposed to evaluate in points on a scale from 0 to 10.

As a result of the study, high assessments of the activities of representatives of the clergy of the North Caucasian republics in ideological opposition to religious and political extremism were obtained. The average score was above 8 points.

According to most experts, Islamic religious figures play a major role in society in the matter of ideological opposition to destructive ideology. They fill the niche that was created after the collapse of the USSR in ideological terms.

An analysis of expert interviews reveals several key points of view. Some experts say that religious leaders of traditional Islam have done a tremendous amount of work in the direction of ideological opposition. The spiritual leader of the Muslims of Dagestan, Said-Afandi Chirkey, in this regard played the biggest role. Below are some expert comments.

- Representatives of the clergy perform explanatory work; are at the forefront of opposition, influence through sermons, speeches in the media, participation in various events at the place of residence; religious lectures are held on the formation of the spiritual and legal culture of young people, introducing into the student environment the practice of norms of tolerant behavior; constantly offer new forms of cooperation and interaction.

- In many cases and in certain issues, the opinion and position of authoritative theologians is key for most citizens, since the ideas of extremism are mainly presented on religious grounds.

Other experts claim that official Islam in the North Caucasus, represented mainly by the Spiritual Directorates of Muslims, also contributed to the spread of religious extremism. The Spiritual Administration of Muslims of Dagestan failed to unite all Islamic communities of Dagestan in a national context. This disunity resulted in a confrontation known in religious circles with mutual accusations. It is one of the factors weakening the opposition to religious terrorism in the republic: in the system of religious communities of Dagestan there is no single organizing, coordinating, legitimate center. The reason for this is the ambitions of Muslim leaders [1].

In particular, the following expert comments can be cited:

- Representatives of the clergy are preoccupied with their own problems of confessional exclusiveness.

- Our intra-confessional society is split. There are Muslims who support the official clergy; there are those who categorically do not accept them. This problem is formed by both subjective and objective reasons.

- The official Islamic clergy have a dual role. For example, somewhere there is a Salafi mosque, somewhere there are structures that do not want to work with traditional Islam, the Muftiate, and they crush them. There were big problems in the Kizlyar district, in the Khasavyurt district of Dagestan. The so-called traditionalists closed these mosques through the Ministry of Internal Affairs. In this regard, they play a negative role. The Muftiyats have little cooperation with religious figures close to the Salafis, they cannot find a common language. In this regard, the muftiate plays a negative role. In terms of the fact that they united the diverse mass under traditional Islam, they play a very large role in the unification of Dagestan society.

In the 90-s, in some republics of the North Caucasus, religious organizations merged with the state. The state delegated to public organizations part of its state functions. Expert opinion on religious publications. In addition, it turns out that the public organization began to issue an opinion on the books that were published by other public organizations. This is the prerogative and duty of the state as a judge, arbitrator over them. Therefore, a kind of split occurred due to the resources provided by the state.

In any case, if we talk about the positive role of the clergy, then their contribution is very high. Several dozen people died only because they called for good. However, it is important that they should not go too far. Because if they begin to play too independent role working too closely with the state, too actively defending the interests of their Tariqi group, they push others away from this process.

- Now official Islam (Sufism) is being politicized.

- I consider it insufficient, there are not enough competent alims who can convey the main canons of Islam to young people.

According to experts, among the dominant reasons for involving young people in extremist ideology is the lack of an alternative ideology. To the question "How do you assess the effectiveness of ideological opposition to religious extremism in your region?", the average rating score on a ten-point scale was about 7 points.

The expert opinion was divided as follows.

1. There is no core ideological opposition.

In our opinion, this can be justified by the fact that the Constitution of the Russian Federation provides for the pluralism of ideologies.

The fragile minds of the ideologists of religious extremism are mainly influenced by religious identity, arguing that Muslims should not live in a non-Muslim state and serve it. In this regard, one can note the omissions of representatives of the Muslim clergy in working with

youth. It is advisable to conduct explanatory work with young people that they are obliged to comply with the laws of that state, which does not prevent them from fulfilling all the requirements of their religion.

2. Work on ideological counteraction to religious and political extremism is conducted inefficiently. All activities in this area are focused not on advancing and prevention, but on eliminating the consequences. There is a quote from one of the experts.

"On the one hand, large-scale work is being carried out on ideological prevention. Nobody can compare with Chechnya with the number of events and people involved. Therefore, every Chechen schoolchild or student knows exactly how the state and government relate to this ideology, and what punishment he / she expects in case of participation."

However, these efforts are mostly extremely formal, non-creative, frankly boring. Religious figures during such events usually praise the authorities, which discredits them in the eyes of young people. Young people do not perceive the opinion of the Chechen clergy as independent and objective. Often, lectures on prevention have a rather aggressive and threatening tone. Given the ambiguous attitude of the population towards power, such a massive attack can be counterproductive, it, on the contrary, touts this ideology. For some young people (especially those who have loved ones who died), direct and rather aggressive counter-propaganda promotes the heroization of ultra-radical groups."

Many experts noted that ideological opposition should be based on Islam, on highly educated Muslim religious leaders. For young people are introduced into radical Islam precisely through the misinterpreted verses of the Quran.

M. Chernov, an expert on interethnic relations and inter-religious dialogue, the head of the Middle East-North Caucasus project, said that the most effective method of combating the ideology of extremism and terrorism is real and sincere Islam, and stressed that in Dagestan the muftiate has achieved impressive success in this paths [11].

The main part of ideological prevention should be explanatory, enlightening and educational work. A significant problem of involving young people in radical ideology is religious ignorance.

We need targeted work with people who are infected with radical religious ideas and are on the wrong track. Analyzing the reasons for the spread of the ideology of religious and political extremism in the republics of the North Caucasus, it can be argued that if social injustice is not eliminated, if conditions for the realization of youth are not created, and if the enormous gap between rich and poor people is not eliminated, a social explosion can occur. For those colour revolutions (the "orange revolution" in Ukraine, the "rose revolution" in Georgia, etc.) relied on disgruntled youth through social networks. Moreover, according to the interviewed responding teachers, the majority of young people who go to educational institutions show low results in terms of preparedness. Preachers of radical Islam manipulate these social problems, present them in terms of injustice and urge young people to take radical measures.

The subjects of the North Caucasus are developing their own programs to counter extremist and terrorist ideology.

Opposition to the ideology of religious extremism should include a set of organizational, socio-political, information and propaganda measures to prevent the spread in society of beliefs, ideas, moods, and motives, attitudes aimed at fundamentally changing the existing social and political institutions of the state.

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THE AZOV-BLACK SEA REGION AS A CROSSING OF CULTURES: FACTORS, STAGES, OUTCOMES OF PROCESSES OF CULTURAL INTERINFLUENCE

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The issue of cultural interaction is highlighted, the relevance of which has increased significantly in the context of the world's growing confrontation between globalization and counter-globalization. The urgency of this problem is evident in Russia as in the multinational State. One of the regions where such interaction took place most actively is the Azov-Black Sea region. The article examines the dynamics of cultural interinfluence processes in the region. The retrospective analysis has been carried out, which makes it possible to conclude that historically the Azov-Black Sea region has been a crossing of civilizations, where the migratory flows of Western and Eastern civilizations have been directed and where representatives of these civilizations have come into contact with each other. Periodization of intercultural contacts in the region, including a number of qualitatively different stages is supposed. It has been proved that within the boundaries of various stages the cultural influence of various peoples and civilizations has prevailed: the Greeks and the Romans, the Turkic-speaking nomads, the Turks, the Cossack communities, the Russian Empire. While in the era of antiquity the leading role in intercultural interaction was played by the Greeks and then by the Romans, who had a stimulating and guiding effect on the Iranian-speaking nomads of the Scythians and the Sarmatians, in the Middle Ages the situation changed seriously, which was connected with the collapse of the Graeco-Roman colonies due to the arrival of a new wave of nomads, this time Turkic-speaking, in the region. It is noted that the brightest example of active inter-ethnic and intercultural contacts in the Azov-Black Sea region and, at the same time, the extreme importance of these contacts in giving vitality to certain communities and state entities, is the Cossacks, which arose as a result of interaction of a number of different ethnocultural communities. The valid conclusions are the following, first, the leading trends in the Azov-Black Sea region were active inter-ethnic (intercultural) contacts, which resulted not only in the mutual enrichment of cultures and lifestyles of their participants, but also in the formation of new communities, such as the Cossacks; second, these contacts have acted and continue to act as a means of cementing and stimulating the development of multi-ethnic State entities, including Russia.

Key words: the Azov-Black Sea region, the Cossacks, intercultural communications, the Northern Black Sea region, ethnocultural dynamics.

[Н.В. Шишова, В.А. Бондарев, Р.Г. Тиکیدжян Азово-Черноморье как перекресток культур: факторы, этапы, результаты процессов культурного взаимовлияния]

Освещается проблема культурного взаимовлияния, актуальность которой заметно возросла в условиях наблюдающегося в мире обострения противоборства между процессами глобализации и контрглобализации. Острота данной проблемы весьма ощутима в России как многонациональном государстве. Одним из регионов, где подобное взаимодействие проходило наиболее активно, выступает Азово-Черноморье. В статье рассматривается динамика процессов культурного взаимовлияния в данном регионе. Проведен ретроспективный анализ, который позволяет заключить, что Азово-Черноморье исторически выступало перекрестком цивилизаций, куда направлялись миграционные потоки Западной и Восточной цивилизаций и где представители данных цивилизаций вступали в контакты друг с другом. Предложена периодизация межкультурных контактов в регионе, включающая в себя ряд качественно различных этапов. Доказано, что в границах различных этапов превалировало культурное влияние различных народов и цивилизаций: греков и римлян, тюркоязычных кочевников, турок, казачьих сообществ, Российской империи. Если в эпоху античности ведущую роль в межкультурном взаимодействии играли греки, а затем римляне, оказывавшие стимулирующее и направляющее воздействие на ираноязычных кочевников скифов и сарматов, то в Средние века ситуация серьезно изменилась, что было связано с крахом греко-римских колоний вследствие прихода в регион новой волны номадов, на сей раз тюркоязычных. Отмечается, что ярчайшим примером активных межэтнических и межкультурных контактов в Азово-Черноморье и, одновременно, чрезвычайной

важности этих контактов в плане придания жизнеспособности тем или иным сообществам и государственным образованиям, выступает казачество, возникшее как результат взаимодействия целого ряда различных этнокультурных общностей. Обоснованы выводы, что, во-первых, ведущей тенденцией применительно к Азово-Черноморскому региону являлись активные межэтнические (межкультурные) контакты, результатом которых являлось не только взаимообогащение культур и образа жизни их участников, но и формирование новых общностей, таких, как казачество. Во-вторых, эти контакты выступали и продолжают выступать в качестве средства, цементирующего основы и стимулирующих развитие полиэтнических государственных образований, к числу которых относится и Россия.

Ключевые слова: Азово-Черноморье, казачество, межкультурные коммуникации, Северное Причерноморье, этнокультурная динамика.

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One of the most characteristic phenomena of the modern era is the growing confrontation between globalization, recently victorious around the world, and growing counter-globalist processes, the growth of national identity, struggle for preservation of national identity, cultural traditions, etc. The question of principles and norms of coexistence of different peoples and cultures becomes vital for Russia as a multi-ethnic State. The policy of multiculturalism, which for some time seemed to be the most correct and generally accepted answer to this question, has now been criticized. Admittedly, this criticism is well founded, because, as the experience of a number of European countries shows, this policy has considerable conflictogenic potential because of the actual encouragement of the cultural autarky of certain ethnic groups, which thus oppose the ethnic group dominant in a particular State. The target for critical arrows is also the well-known "melting pot" theory for offering mixing (fusion) of different cultures, which thus lose their unique appearance, their self and dissolve in the qualitatively new, unique ethnocultural community, originating from this mixing.

In theory, a kind of "the golden mean" seems to be active intercultural communication, interpenetration and mutual enrichment of cultures coexisting in a certain territory, in which the danger of autarky as a source of intercultural conflicts is eliminated and, at the same time, the fundamental right of peoples to preserve their traditions, customs and way of life is not violated. Although in the practical plane such theoretical constructions can hardly be implemented in pure form, history presents us with many examples of coexistence and mutual enrichment of various ethno-cultural communities, which took place even in the conditions of a frontier. Moreover, there are a number of regions in the world where, due to the specific conditions, cultural exchange took place and takes place most actively. Such regions include the Azov-Black Sea region. For this reason, in this publication we have attempted to highlight the factors, stages and outcomes of cultural exchange processes that have unfolded in our region over centuries and millennia. It is supposed that the results of scientific analysis of these processes with good reason can be considered as one of the

conditions for successful prevention of such acute and dangerous problems of modern times as inter-ethnic discord, chauvinism, fascism.

The fact that the Azov-Black Sea region has become a crossing of cultures and civilizations since deep antiquity is primarily due to the natural and geographical conditions of the region. The Northern Black Sea region and Pryazovia were a part of the steppe corridor, along which numerous hordes of nomads, whether the Iranian-speaking Scythians and Sarmatians, the Turkic-speaking Pechenegs and Polovtsians, the Mongol-Tatars, and others, came here repeatedly from the Asian steppes. At the same time, the presence of Bosphorus and Dardanelles straits between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean Sea led to the active development of the rich Black Sea coast by the developed States of the Mediterranean. Such was Greek colonization when ships with Greek emigrants reached the Northern Black Sea and founded colonies here. Thus, it is possible to distinguish two main directions of migration to the Azov-Black Sea region: Eastern (nomads from Asia) and Western or South-Western (seafarers, inhabitants of Mediterranean States, the Greeks, the Romans, the Byzantine Empire). The exception to this rule was the "unprecedented movement" [14, p. 81] of the German tribes of the Goths which moved here from the north-west, from the coast of Vistula, i.e. from the territory of modern Poland (where, in turn, came from Scandinavia) to the Northern Black Sea in the 3rd century AD. The pronounced polarity of migrations in the Azov-Black Sea region, when representatives of completely different civilizations met in the region, generated unique results of intercultural communications.

The review of migrations to the Azov-Black Sea region makes it possible to develop their periodization, which is based on the account of ethnocultural communities that dominated in the region during a certain period of time. Of course, this periodization, like any other, can be further developed and supplemented. Nevertheless, in our opinion, it adequately reflects the ethnocultural dynamics within the borders of the Azov-Black Sea region. In our view, the suggested periodization should include the following main stages:

1) From ancient times to the 8th century BC – the stage of existence in the region of pit, catacomb, blockhouse cultures;

2) From the 8th century BC to the 4th century AD – "Greek" and "Scythian and Sarmatian" stage of the region's history, during which the paramount importance in its ethnocultural, socio-economic, political development belonged to Greek colonies, Scythian and Sarmatian tribes. In addition, in the beginning of AD, the Roman Empire also played an important role in the region, and since the 3rd century AD, as already indicated, the Goths who came from the north-west;

3) From the 4th to the 16th centuries – the period of the Middle Ages, the beginning of which in our region, seems to us, was the invasion of the Huns, who dealt a fatal blow to the Graeco-Roman cities as a center of ancient culture. It is necessary to mention the Byzantine Empire, the Khazars, the Pechenegs, the Polovtsians, the Mongol-Tatars and, finally, the Turks among ethnic groups and States which dominated in this period. Some role in the development of the region was played by the Italians, who created a number of trading colonies here (so to speak, the "second coming of Italy" in the Azov-Black Sea region, if the first is to be understood as Roman expansion);

4) From the 16th to the 17th centuries – the stage of formation and activity in the region of independent self-governing Cossack communities, which represented an excellent model of ethnic and cultural openness;

5) The 18th century (our time) – this stage is characterized by the entry of the Azov-Black Sea region into the Russian State, in connection with which, ethnocultural processes have largely become manageable, and intercultural interpenetration has intensified and accelerated due to both indirect and targeted influence of the state apparatus.

Of course, within the narrow framework of the publication, it is not possible to detail the trends and peculiarities of the processes of cultural interaction and interinfluence within all the stages we have identified. In this regard, let us limit ourselves to a brief overview of only a few of them, which most clearly show that the Azov-Black Sea region was a region of active ethno-cultural contacts. We consider that in the forefront there is a stage of Greek colonization of the northern coast of the Black Sea and domination of the Scythians and then the Sarmatians in the Black Sea steppes.

Since the 8th century, in the Northern Black Sea region the Scythians asserted their power, which are rightly characterized by researchers as "a new stage and a higher stage in the history of human development" [7, p. 33] in the region. The Scythians conquered the local tribes and "literally like a flurry hurricane flew" through the neighboring territories "up to Syria and Egypt" [14, p. 195]. In addition to military campaigns and invasions, the Scythians maintained peaceful contacts with neighboring States and tribes. In particular, archaeological excavations of burials of the 8th-7th centuries BC show "close ties of the population of the North-West Caucasus with the world of Iranian nomads of South Russian steppes, the Cimmerians, the Scythians, the Sarmatians" [3, p. 31].

Somewhat later, from the 6th century BC. the city-states of mainland Greece and Asia Minor, attracted by the natural wealth of the Northern Black Sea region and the prospects of profitable trade to the local population, started a large-scale colonization of the region. The Greek city of Millet in Asia Minor played a leading role in colonization. During colonization in the Northern Black Sea region "flowering Greek colonies" appeared [1, p. 5], among them there was Olbia on the right bank of the Dnieper-Bug estuary, Tanais at the mouth of Don, colonies in Crimea and on the Taman Peninsula (Chersonese, Panticapaeum, Feodosiya, Phanagoria, etc.). The Greeks numbered up to 200 settlements founded by them on the North Coast of the Black Sea [7, p. 50].

Figuratively speaking, in cultural and domestic terms the colonies were exact copies of the mother country transferred to the territory of barbarians. Thus, Olbia's excavations demonstrate that it was built as a usual Greek city-state. The city was surrounded by monumental walls and towers folded from "perfectly made stone bricks (quadra)". There was agora, temples of Greek gods, houses with a central courtyard and rooms located around it characteristic for the Hellenic world [8, pp. 90-91].

The Greek colonies traded with the barbaric tribes that surrounded them and, most notably, with the Scythians as the region's dominant tribal association. At the same time, there was an active cultural exchange between the Greeks and the Scythians. The Greeks perceived certain components of the Scythian culture. In particular, they borrowed words from the Scythian language, as a result of which a mixed Graeco-Scythian dialect arose in the colonies of the Northern Black Sea region. However, the cultural impact of the colonists on the barbaric world surrounding them was incomparably stronger, which, of course, was not an accident. Speaking about interaction of two societies, as a rule, the society with a higher level of development will have a more significant or even decisive impact on the other. This was also the case with the Scythians, who fell under the serious influence of the Greeks.

Greek influence is clearly expressed in the material culture of the Scythians. Digging up graves of Scythian nobility (famous Scythian mounds) in the Azov-Black Sea region, archeologists find expensive weapons and armor, precious vessels, made by the Greeks, as well as jewelry, "a significant part of which come from jewelry workshops of Greek cities" [1, p. 3]. It is significant that these things often depict scenes from Greek myths. Thus, during excavations of Scythian burials the gorytus (case for bow and arrows) with a gold lining decorated with scenes from the life of the mythical hero Achilles was found near Elizavetinskaia village on the Don [6, p. 10]. It is necessary to think that the natural consequence of placing scenes from Greek myths on things intended for the Scythians was

not only familiarity of the latter with mythology, religion and, in general, with the culture of the Greeks, but also formation of positive attitude to this culture and, as a result, readiness to perceive it.

It is obvious that Greek influence on the Scythians was not limited only to the sphere of material culture, but went on, affecting and changing the way of life of nomads to some extent. Herodotus claimed that "the Scythians, as well as other people, also persistently avoid foreign customs..., especially Hellenic", citing as an example the sad fate of the Scythians Anacharsis and Scyles killed by tribespeople for commission of the Greek ceremonies and wearing the Greek clothes [4, pp. 41-44]. It is quite possible that in the early stages of Graeco-Scythian contacts it happened. But the longer the Scythians were in contact with the Greek colonies of the Azov-Black Sea region, the more significant changes took place in their lives under the influence of a more developed civilization. Ultimately, the existence in the Azov-Black Sea region of "ancient cities and later, states such as the Bosphoran Kingdom, contributed to the acceleration of the process of disintegration of maternity relations among local farmers and nomads..." [9, p. 44]. The late Scythians of the 4th-2nd centuries BC had been already significantly different from the Scythians of the 5th century BC described by Herodotus, as they built cities, minted their own coins, etc. In other words, "the late Scythians, especially those drawn into the sphere of economic and political influence of the colonies of the Graeco-Roman slave-owning world, had already entered the stage of social development that was consistent with the division of society into classes and the emergence of the State" [7, p. 47]. Of course, one of the factors of demoralization of tribal relations and formation of the Class State among the Scythians should be considered the modernizing effect of Greek colonies on nomads.

In the 1st century BC, a new major player, Rome, appears in the Northern Black Sea region. In 45 AD units of the Roman army first appeared in Crimea, in 65 the Kingdom of Pontus became the Roman province, a State formation on the southern shore of the Black Sea. The Bosphoran Kingdom on the shores of the Cimmerian Bosphorus (the present-day Strait of Kerch) with the capital Panticapaeum became dependent on the Romans [10, 8, p. 11]. Under the Romans, the Black Sea region was in the range of ancient culture as previously under the Greeks.

Nevertheless, the era of antiquity was steadily leaning towards its sunset, and in the 4th century AD the Azov-Black Sea region was subjected to the invasion of the Huns, that arose as a result of mixing of tribal confederation of nomadic peoples, the Xiongnu, living in the steppes north of China with "pro-Turkish, Ugric and Sarmatian tribes" [3, p. 46].

After the collapse of the fragile Hun power in the 5th century, the steppes of the Azov-Black Sea region became an arena of migration and confrontation between various nomadic tribes. In the 7th century, the Khazar Kaganat, a State formation created by the Turkic-speaking Khazar nomads that dominated not only the tribes of the Caucasus (particularly the Alans), but also a number of East Slavic tribal associations, emerged in the region. Hazar power extended to Crimea, and here they were adjacent to the possessions of such a rich and powerful State as the Byzantine Empire. After all, Chersonesus was founded as a Greek colony in the 5th century BC and became a part of the Byzantine Empire a thousand years after its emergence, belonged to its rulers.

Within the borders of the Khazar Kaganat, taking into account the diverse ethnic composition of the State, cultural exchange between the tribes that inhabited it seemed inevitable. In addition, Khazaria was influenced by the Byzantine Empire, which considered the Kaganat to be its ally in the Black Sea region. As is known, at the request of the Khazars, the Byzantine Emperor Theophilos told his masters to build the fortress Sarkel on the bank of the Don, which was built in the 30s of the 10th century. Judging by the materials of archaeological excavations carried out, before the waters of Tsimlyansk Reservoir closed

over the ruins of Sarkel, the walls of the fortress were built from the typical for the Byzantine architecture burnt plinthiform brick. The fortress was a quadrangle, in one of its corners the square tower-donjon rose [11, p. 23].

When in 965 the Kiev Prince Sviatoslav Igorevich destroyed the Khazar Kaganat, Sarkel turned into White Veja, the Slavic settlement ("White Tower", translation into Russian from the Turkic name of the fortress). At the same time, some part of the local population was a Turkic element, among which there were probably the surviving Khazars. At least, it is believed that after the campaigns of Svatoslav "the remains of the autochthonous Khazar population became a part of the ancient Russian ethnic group on the rights of the subgroup, which was called the Brodnici" [9, p. 66]. In this case, here is another example of deep cultural and ethnic contacts in the Azov-Black Sea region, this time with the participation of Eastern Slavs.

In the 10th-13th centuries in the steppes of the Azov-Black Sea region the Pechenegs were interspersed with the Polovtsians, the Mongol-Tatars successively. Created by the Mongolian Khans, the Golden Horde became another multi-ethnic State in our region, within the borders of which there was a cultural exchange between various tribes and peoples. The impact of the Tatars on the Russian lands subordinate to the Golden Horde is undeniable, as evidenced by the numerous Turkisms in the Russian language, the orientalization of offensive and protective weapons of Russian warriors, the traditions of eastern despotism accepted by the Muscovite state, etc.

The event that deserves to be mentioned separately is the emergence of Italian colonies in the Black Sea region, within the boundaries of the Golden Horde. The expansion of the Italians (especially Venice and Genoa) to our region had taken place since the middle of the 13th century and was caused by several factors, among which one of the most significant was the weakening of the Byzantine Empire. At the end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th centuries, at least 39 Italian colonies were established on the east coast of the Azov sea and the Black sea, ruled by consuls or baili, with their own administrative structures and garrisons. The most significant of these were Matrega (Taman Peninsula), Mapa (Anapa), Copa (Slavyansk-on-Kuban), etc., founded by the Genoese. The Venetians founded the colony of Tana, the northernmost Italian colony in the region, located on the left bank of the Don on the site of modern Azov [14, p. 109].

The Italian colonies, the largest of which minted their own coin, had a serious impact on the economic development of our region. However, their condition was negatively affected by the general instability in the disintegrating Golden Horde, which was engulfed in strife. Tamerlane struck the Italian colonies during his campaign against the Golden Horde in 1395. The colonies ceased to exist because of the conquest of the Azov-Black Sea region by the Turks in the 1470s [14, p. 109]. At the same time, Turkish fortresses had already emerged on the site of certain colonies, indicating their strategic advantage. In particular, Italian Tana had become Turkish Azak, which today is known as Azov.

In the 16th century Cossack communities appeared on the Don, which became a sign of the return to the Azov-Black Sea region of the Slavonic element (for the first time after the 10th-11th centuries, when the Russian settlements were White Veja on the Don and Tmutarakan on the Taman peninsula). According to the researchers, the Cossacks "recognized themselves as a part of the Russian people, and the places of their settlements were considered a part of Russia" [12, p. 8]. However, the Cossack communities were open to anyone wishing to join, regardless of ethnicity. For a long time... "the Cossacks were quite indifferent to the nationality and class origin of those whom they accepted into their ranks," so that "the Nogai Tatar next to the former Ryazan man, the impoverished son of boyar under the leadership of the kholop" was "a common combination even for the 17 century." [12, p. 8]. On this occasion, the former copyist of Ambassadorial Prikaz, Grigory Kotoshikhin, wrote with

knowledge of the case about the Cossacks: "They are people from Moscow and from other cities, and the newly crossed Tatars, and the Zaporozhye Cossacks, and the Polacks, and the Poles..." [5, p. 159].

Due to their openness, the Cossacks had become a unique mixture of various ethnic groups and cultures. The appearance of the Cossacks, their sub-dialect, suit, weapons complex, all this clearly demonstrated that the Cossacks were formed on the basis of the Russian element, but under the strongest influence of the Tatars, the Turks, peoples of the North Caucasus, etc. In other words, the Cossacks acted as one of the most striking examples of the successful ethnocultural interpenetration so characteristic for the Azov-Black Sea region.

From the end of the 17th century, the Russian state began to explore Pryazovia and the Black Sea region, achieving impressive results by the end of the 18th century, when Turkish influence in the region was reduced to zero, the Crimean Khanate ceased to exist, and in the previously desert territories Novorossiia appeared and began to be actively settled.

In the development of the Northern Black Sea region during the imperial period, foreigners, both in Russian service and who arrived in the newly annexed territories of Russia as settlers, played a very important role. Thus, one of the builders of Taganrog, founded in 1698, was the Italian engineer-captain Matthew Simont, whose work was greatly appreciated by Peter I. When, after the brilliant victory in the second Russo-Turkish War of 1787-1791, the Russian Empire established full control over the Northern Black Sea region and was concerned about the consolidation of the annexed territories, José de Ribas became the founder and builder of such an important port city as Odessa. He was a Spanish military officer from Naples, in Russian service, who "tried to adopt [and embody in Odessa] all the best that he remembered in the harbors of Naples, Livorno and Genoa" [13, p. 174].

Over the next centuries, foreigners continued to contribute to the development of the economy and culture of the Azov-Black Sea region. In particular, the Greeks and the Italians played a role in the development of Taganrog, which was a notable percentage among local merchants (according to 1872, among 1087 Taganrog merchants there were 481 Greeks [2, p. 60]). Merchants not only developed the trade and economy of the city, their mansions adorned Taganrog and now they are monuments of architecture. Architect Francesco Carlo Boffo, the Italian in origin, built the famous Stone Staircase and two-storied classical gymnasium building in Taganrog. Active interaction and interpenetration of cultural traditions of different peoples and ethnic groups was carried out in the Azov-Black Sea region during the Soviet era. These processes continue today.

Thus, the study of ethno-cultural dynamics in the Azov-Black Sea region over centuries and thousands of years clearly demonstrates that the region, first, has historically acted as a crossroads of civilizations and, second, has been characterized by active intercultural interaction. The polarity of the migrations to the region, when representatives of the East and the West met in the Azov-Black Sea region, gave a significant identity to the intercultural contacts and their results. In the era of antiquity, the leading role in the process of cultural interaction in the Northern Black Sea region belonged to the Greeks and (to a lesser extent) the Romans as members of the developed Mediterranean civilizations, who stimulated the steppe nomads and accelerated their socio-economic and socio-political development. In the Middle Ages, when Greco-Roman cities in the region gradually fell into a decline or were destroyed altogether, the cultural balance in the Azov-Black Sea region changed in favor of nomads who were no longer represented by the Iranian-speaking and Turkic-speaking tribes. Still, despite the consistent dominance of the Huns, the Khazars, the Pechenegs, the Polovtsians and the Mongol-Tatars in the steppes of Pryazovia and the Black Sea region, Western influence had been still persisted, being represented by the Byzantine Empire and the Italian trade settlements. As a result, cultural interaction and interpenetration were

maintained, although the degree of such contacts significantly decreased, compared to antiquity.

The unique outcome of ethnocultural contacts in the Azov-Black Sea region is the Cossacks, formed by the merger of representatives of various peoples and tribes of the region. The historical path taken by the Cossacks clearly proves that the commonalities that emerged during the intercultural exchange have a huge margin of strength.

It must be admitted that the interaction of the tribes and peoples of the Azov-Black Sea region with each other and, in particular, with the newly-arrived ethnic groups, had often been far from peaceful. This circumstance seems inevitable. The process of cultural interaction cannot be painless, it is aggravated and complicated by inter-ethnic clashes and conflicts. Nevertheless, the leading trend in the Azov-Black Sea region was the constant interaction of peoples and cultures, which mutually enriched their cultures and stimulated socio-economic and socio-political development. The analysis of the ethnocultural processes in the region suggests that intercultural communication is a condition for development, while autarky is fraught not only with the weakening of closed communities, but also with the variety of conflicts between these communities and their neighbors, which perceive isolation as a sign of weakness and hostility. We are convinced that only the existence of intercultural exchange that excludes autarky and xenophobia is one of the most important conditions for the development and prosperity of Russia as a multinational State.

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GENDER IN PROSE AS ONE OF THE ASPECTS OF THE ADYGHE ETHNIC CONSCIOUSNESS (FIRST HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY)

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We consider the image of a woman and its reflection in literature using examples of the work of Adyghe authors of the first half of the 20th century (H. Teuchezha, J. Tlyusten, A. Evtykh). The author turns to regional North Caucasian scientific works affecting gender issues, argues the idea of the peculiarity of this line among the Adyghe with their ethnic consciousness. It is concluded that there is little coverage of the image of a woman in literary criticism, especially in an ethnic (Adyghe) context. The traditionality of the Adyghe ethnic group is analyzed in detail; the problem of discrimination in relation to the Adyghe woman in the family; the characterological series of the female image both in society and in the family, and in works: hard work, needlework, etc., as well as the ability to survive in a difficult situation. Based on a number of traits of a female character both in the ethnic group and in the works there is the assertion that it is permissible to consider the Adyghe woman's right to positively influence conflict situations in society as evidence of the absence of any discrimination that could directly and fruitfully influence the development of centuries of ethnic consciousness..

Key words: gender, woman as an image, Adyghe, prose, ethnic group, first half of the 20th century.

[Ф.Н. Хуако Гендер в прозе как один из аспектов адыгского этносознания (первая половина XX в.)]

Рассматривается образ женщины и его отображение в литературе на примерах творчества адыгских авторов первой половины XX века (Х. Теучежа, Ю. Тлюстена, А. Евтыха). Автор обращается к региональным северокавказским научным трудам, затрагивающим гендерную тематику, аргументируется идея о своеобразии этой линии у адыгов с их этническим сознанием. Делается вывод о малом освещении образа женщины в литературоведении, тем более, – в этническом (адыгском) контексте. Подробно анализируется традиционность адыгского этноса; проблема дискриминации применительно к адыгской женщине в семье; характерологический ряд женского образа как в обществе и в семье, так и в произведениях: трудолюбие, рукоделие и т.д., а также умение выстоять в трудной ситуации. Выводом по ряду черт женского характера как в этносе, так и в рассматриваемых произведениях является утверждение о том, что именно право адыгской женщины позитивно влиять на конфликтные ситуации в социуме допустимо рассматривать как доказательство отсутствия какой-либо дискриминации, которое напрямую и плодотворно могло воздействовать на выработку векового этнического сознания.

Ключевые слова: гендер, женщина как образ, адыг, проза, этнос, первая половина XX в.

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Gender issues today very organically occupy a significant place in the research. Parallels can be drawn here with Russian critical thought. In particular, the pre-revolutionary literary Russian theorist A. Grigoriev in his classic edition Literary Criticism (Moscow, 1967) often and productively mentions the female image as an object of reproduction on the pages of contemporary writers. For example, in the analysis of "Grief from Wit" by A. Griboedov, Sofia, Anfisa Nilovna and others, as well as in the works of N. Dobrolyubov, A. Pushkin, L. Tolstoy and other pre-revolutionary creators, are praised, condemned or opposed. There was a place to be with a critic, and an attempt to classify female characters. According to A. Grigoriev,

analyzing the image of Sophia next to Chatsky (A. S. Griboedov, "Woe from Wit"), women can be classified into two types of literary texts: 1) endowed with energy, sharply beautiful and attached to a higher ideal ; 2) deprived of giftedness, slavishly following their beloved [3, p. 506]. Such a distinction allows the theoretician to very thoroughly carry out a comparative analysis of the images of Sophia and Desdemona on their life path, next to the men accompanying them.

In the theory of Russian literature of the Soviet era (for example, in the manuals of L.I. Timofeev or G.L. Abramovich and others), there are practically no paragraphs that distinguish a woman as an independent artistic character. In the considered classic seven-volume edition of M.M. Bakhtin's literary criticism also shows a virtually complete lack of appeal to this subject. Only once, there was a condemning note when censured by one of the foreign authors (F. Rabelais in his satirical novel of the 16th century "Gargantua and Pantagruel") in his expressive grotesque reproduction, when the mouth of the storyteller Panurg describes how to build walls around Paris using parts female body. A noticeably more frequent interest in women as a worthy and entertaining image is among foreign literary theorists. In particular, in the works of A. Kompanion such a heroine is periodically analyzed in the course of consideration of the problems of author's intention or retrospective reproductions, in conditional disputes with opponents and with their own plot-analytical assessments. Therefore, we will turn to the work of this French theoretician more than once in our work.

Gender interest today can be described not only as a world trend, but also find reflection in the North Caucasian scientific works. In this case, it can be said that it is presented in the North Caucasian literature even more peculiarly, since this territory has its own cultural identity of the ethnos. Throughout history, the Adyghe saint code of honour "adyghe habze" bears one of its covenants that is successfully expressed in the Adyghe proverb: "For the sake of well-being, women bring great difficulties" [2, p. 132]. A certain perception of a woman was recognized as a significant component of the Adyghe ethnic consciousness. If even a female shadow engaged in her own affairs is indicated in the field of vision of a male group, representatives of the stronger sex get distracted, pay attention to her and begin to identify the causes of her likely anxiety. However, the interest expressed by modern scholars expressed above is noticeable mainly in sociological (for example, A.A. Bezrukov) or historical (for example, M.A. Tekuev) writings on the place and status of women in the Adyghe historical society. Also, as applied to literary criticism, research on gender issues is possible in works devoted to the so-called "female prose" or "female poetry" (that is, works written by female writers or poets). Nevertheless, the topic of interest to us is a woman as an image on a page of a literary text (and with reference to Adyghe authors of the middle of the last century) which is practically not covered in today's science. Therefore, in the current article we chose to cover gender issues in the North Caucasian (in particular, Adyghe) ethnic identity with examples from the texts of the last century.

Since our preferred humanitarian topic is at the junction of literary, sociological and historical sciences, the methods in this case are traditional interdisciplinary moves. In particular, analysis, synthesis, comparison, comparison and the possibility of results. At the same time, as applied directly to ethnic issues, we use the methodology proposed in modern science as "ethnomethodology", i.e. the so-called "study of knowledge of common sense" [7, p. 23]. This helps us, based on the identification of a number of real components of the Adyghe woman's life as an active carrier of the Adyghe ethnic consciousness, to trace the reproduction of this component in Soviet prose of the first half of the 20th century (on the examples of texts by Y. Tlyusten, A. Evtykh and H. Teuchez).

Adyghe society today has a rich civilizational experience of self-presentation to humankind as a mandatory traditional construct. In a mobile and constantly transforming world space, the optimal and really conditional naming of a number of features traditionally inherent in a particular ethnic group will provide the likelihood of the same optimal definition of step-

by-step security instructions. The tradition in society in this case is based on the field of chronological custom, including; moreover, the gender pattern is woven from the relationships existing in society. There is also such a component as living in an appropriate environment, more often physical, the so-called practice of being, information about which is chronically available in ethnographic materials. But here, too, the traditionality of culture, acting and continues to represent such roles (as A.A. Bezrukova says), such as: "a) translation of experience; b) the type of social memory; c) a way of socializing a person" [2, p. 131].

In the ethnosphere analyzed here, traditionalism is actually fixed and continues to function. Characterological features inherent in such a society were very tangibly and continuously preserved in the Caucasian space. In fact, Adyghe relatively recently, only with the advent of planetary globalization began to try to go beyond the boundaries of traditionality, in fact, national being was kept intact for a long time. At the same time, it is obvious that the grandiose part when fulfilling long-term traditional roles by an ethnos is related specifically to a woman.

There is also a problem of gender discrimination in this field. In accordance with the cited from A.A. Hofstede's armless theory, "differences in sexual roles depend on the degree of masculinity or femininity of a particular culture" [2, p. 131]. At the same time, one can call the statement that "the kindred community and its female fastening principle are turned into the past and inside of collective life, and the male production initiative is turned into the future and outside" [7, p. 26]. Gender differentiation by sexes, sometimes giving rise to an uneven division of public missions, was also possible in the Adyghe traditional society. There is an extraordinary significance of the female presence in family rituals, in the role of a woman to save the flame in a home oven.

In general, the literature of both pre-revolutionary and Soviet times often traced the tendency to confer upon women a certain discriminated function. This could not remain out of sight of the artistic authors of that period. At the same time, no writer is capable of evading into another locality, holding off, igniting something that is not related to social problems, to chronicles of events. As a literary critic of the beginning of the last century B.M. Eichenbaum, "Not being a writer or journalist, he also vigilantly follows every movement of public and literary life and reacts to everything. It seems that he does not allow the thought that something important passed without his participation or intervention" [12, p. 79]. Further: "When the question of female emancipation is raised, he writes the novel "Family happiness" [12, p. 80]. Similarly, the heroes of later, already Adyghe authors could not remain indifferent to images of their compatriots (not always positive). A storyteller at Y. Tlyusten describes well such a conditional, a little scary image ("Girl's Dawns"), watching the girls about to "frolic": "If to frolic, when you are still a maid. When she gets married it is as if she cuts off the past, as if she is taken prisoner" [9, p. 22]. Although we note here that, the potential bride herself had the right to select the groom from a number of suitors who were passing before her eyes. But, indeed, a certain, relatively speaking, family endurance noted in the citation of the writer (strict behavior of the daughter-in-law, her fear of touching her mother-in-law, lack of the right to make contact with her mother-in-law, etc.) had and still has a place in the Adyghe family.

Another thesis of an elderly woman in the same work of Y. Tlyusten: "A woman was born to obey her husband, to be faithful to him as a slave and mother of children" [9, p. 27]. However, there was a confrontation of such a position. The young teacher argues with her, insisting that the woman pushing her learn to read herself in order to become an invincible debater. In serious, often scientific thought, the socio-legal status of Caucasian women is also presented as a kind of discriminatory, most infringed, than that of neighboring peoples. However, such an approach is not sufficiently substantiated, since, on ritual-folklore material, the predominance and obvious dominance of the fairer sex can be seen in the installation and in the assembly of social-family correlation. Moreover, this is a kind of counterbalance to the stronger sex in building wider (already at the collective level) structures that fulfill certain, "relatively speaking, production goals (war, work, hunting, etc.)" [7, p. 26]. As R.A. Hanahu

says about this, "The head of the family is always a husband. A wife submits to her husband, but is not, as is sometimes considered to be his "slave." In particular, the Adyghe have always considered it a shame if a man uses physical violence against a woman. A woman was not "enslaved", but as if "separated" from him within the framework of such a "separate existence" she enjoyed certain freedom and privileges"[10, p. 35]. As noted by A.A. Bezrukova, emphasizing the almost complete absence of women in the people's Councils of Elders, which is justified, as applied to ethnic heroine, in the national epic of Narta, by the presence of Setenai at such fateful meetings: "she (Setenai) surpasses the Khase (Council) elders with her wisdom and saves them from the death sentence of her husband. No matter how Orzamage and Sausyryko are well armed, without the advice of Setenai they are powerless"[2, p. 133].

Along with this, there were social trends of presenting a mountain woman in the field of society, where there were signs of her powerful influence. Here we can mention the importance of a mountain woman in the process of instilling knowledge, abilities and skills between generations, building her experience of a loyal and adequate young ethnic representative. It is noticeable that the power of influence mentioned above included by no means bare rights to membership in political or economic processes. There was an explicit respect for the "weaker sex" in society in affectionate and complimentary appeals (such as "girl", "dear", "daughter" or "our mother", "our princess", "our mistress", etc.), which is constantly, repeatedly and variously manifested in the pages of the texts of H. Teuchez, A. Evtykh and Y. Tlyusten that we study in this work, reproducing the existing relationships in the Adyghe society with an illustration of them through such appeals. Consequently, the family status of the Adyghe woman was mistakenly recognized as discriminatory, since she was honored in a dignified manner, and she owned real protective tools that made it possible to patronize the injured representatives of the stronger sex, sometimes standing on the verge of death.

Among the protective mechanisms that we cite here, there is the strongest and most frequent image of the nanny in fiction (both in Russian classical literature and in Adyghe one). Such a gender concept as a nanny can be considered traditionally frequent in the literary texts, since they took part in the upbringing and formation of most of the domestic pre-revolutionary authors. For example, in Russian classical prose, the image of the nanny by F. M. Dostoevsky is particularly impressive; his most affectionate childhood impressions are generated by these two main women in his life – mother and "nanny". The Russian author is sure that directly thanks to the nanny he was able to plunge into the literature, since such a storyteller gathered daily the whole family in anticipation of the next incendiary story. Such animated and inextinguishable memories often emerge and are active in the famous novels of F. Dostoevsky. First of all, one of the Adyghe writers who carefully looked at the woman working at home, caring for the child, was Khabib Teuchezh (for example, the story "The Nanny" from the collection "The Secret of the Woman", 1974). Despite the fact that a single series of various portrait sketches of other characters harmoniously distinct and maximally juicy is lined up in the reader's field of vision, the writer remains constant in his appeal to the female image. Continuing the presentation in the form of a first person, on behalf of a certain young student, the narrator proceeds to reflection. He begins by not succeeding in erasing from memory his grandmother. The nanny helped the educated to acquire personal foundations, independent thinking, was there at any moment, but especially, gave him the most-needed maternal love for him. Moreover, this line lasts to the last lines.

If we try to generalize, the role of women in family education, in the development of gender-based behavioral patterns, in the transfer of life experience between generations, and in influencing the formation of an individual complex of traits is undeniable. Carrying a mandatory pedagogical connotation, expressively affecting the educational effectiveness of the text, the image of a woman is diverse and multilateral. So, for example, the same Kh.I. Teuchezha in the 70-s of the 20th century. According to the plot, a couple of young people

(the storyteller and his fellow student) who came to the city to study are looking for a rental house. In this way, they meet a Russian woman living among the Adyghe. In difficult times, she saved the owner of this house on the military field, in gratitude she remained to live with this family. Now she is a true nanny for their babies, a support in the household and really a member of the family. So, for example, the real nanny in the memoirs of F.M. Dostoevsky, who was recognized as a family member in his house: by her status, she was offered a salary, but she firmly refused it. The heroine, embodied by Maria Ivanovna, is a person who is both complex and mobile. Such a two-sidedness is reproduced wide open by an unusual means. The characters meeting her (and the reader with them) are conducting a persistent, gradual perception of the components of her character. Such may be wide, strange, new and sometimes sudden sides of her nature. The following appear to be similar: both moments of her bold participation in the war, and her courage, and elementary kind attitude to all living things, and personal impartiality, and much more like that.

This presentation is perceived as mandatory under socialist realism. This is the pompous reproduction of high duty and purity of service. However, there is also a rare sincere personality. In such a text, the elderly heroine, bright in her own, almost wild, simplicity, makes us wonder at the depths that are given to the service of people. A brave female character is outlined here. She could not stand the dishonor committed by her German soldier. This was enough to commit suicide. The narrator only draws what he saw from the outside, downplaying the cruelty and atrocities of those times. The writer reliably conveys what happened in mountain villages during the war years.

Moreover, in addition to the gender tendency emphasized in the portrait in the previous paragraph, this inclination is also inherent in the ethical opposition obligatory in literature (good against evil). The problem of observing ethical standards of the behavior expected by society is also traced in the story. The narrative is a picture containing the psychology of an apostate forgetting about the spiritual norm. It should be emphasized that when covering such issues, Kh.I. Teuchezh does not always go directly. This happens through the sensations and reflexes of the heroine. There are her reflections on treason, her rejection of betrayal like any other anti-national catastrophe, breaking dogmas borrowed from her ancestors. The writer focuses on this. Thus, the focus here is on the spiritual and moral dominant, then mandatory elevation of heroism.

However, the same Kh.I. Teuchezh was able to reproduce (which was his purpose) the tragedy, catastrophic severity of the war period. It contained a surge of anger formed in the female heart. It was the contemptuous attitude of the heroine to the traitor, the grim contrast of the obligatory spaces located in the neighborhood – good and evil. Moreover, gender difficulties are manifested heterogeneous: men and women are not identical at all at the paralinguistic and speech levels of emotional tendencies (including negative), which are facilitated by certain facts. Moreover, in the global landscape, the concepts of “woman” and “man” are pivotal in various civilizations, in fact, harmonious constant phenomena of all kinds of cultures. Kh. I. Teuchez mainly attributes the constant to characters representing the military, which builds signs according to ethical signs, which was necessary in Soviet times as part of the nationwide “defense of the Soviet system”.

Women could go beyond their gender roles. Perhaps because of this, one of the most characteristic and vivid phenomena of the 1960-80-s, and partly the 1990-s, was the development of the lyric novel genre in Russian literature. It most adequately corresponds to gender phenomena in literature (including Adyghe). Gender separation is successfully combined with the lyricism of this period. Against the background of increasing author's interest in the expression of characters, the dialectics of souls, the moral bases of the heroes' behavior, and possible internal conflicts are more extensively written out. Lyric works containing properties of the following genres are published: memoirs, prose poems, diary entries, travel notes, etc. One of the most adequate examples of this genre on a gender theme is the story of the Ka-

bardian author A. Kushhaunov, "Southerner and Northerner" and "Flood", where the central characters of the plot are couples of lovers, in the description of which the storyteller's attention more often goes from a young man to a girl, to recreate her fragile, sometimes unrestrained, but sensitive and sincere inner world.

According to O.A. Dygova, when considering the prose of the second half of the last century, women's issues since the formation of written literature have been among the most involved and urgent. Both North Caucasian and Adyghe authors have written works on gender issues. "In our opinion, the most successful in the genre of the story is Ad. Shogentsukova "Spring Sofiyat" and P. Misakova "Pears are in bloom." The writers created complex, psychologically reliable female images, embodying the best aspirations of the "weak" but such a strong sex of Kabardian society "[2, p. nineteen]. This issue in conjunction with the analysis of the works takes place to be in the specified work, and therefore we will not carry out detailing now.

As for the means of expressiveness in portraying women, for example, M.M. Bakhtin quotes Panurgh from the book of F. Rabelais: "I see," he says, "that women are cheaper than stones in this city: walls should be built from female parts, and they should be placed in full architectural symmetry: put large ones in the front rows; further by lifting two slopes medium ones and, finally, small ones. Then, like a big tower in Bourges run through with the hardened swords inhabiting the monastic codpieces. What a devil will destroy such walls!" [1, p. 287]. Somewhat unconventional, but understandable for the French writer, the symbolic imagery of the grotesque. That is why indignation of M.M. Bakhtin frightens a little. As far as the modern French theoretician A. Companion is concerned, associations related to women, epithets and metaphors, personifications and comparisons are mentioned, structured and proved very actively and often. Therefore, for example, he manages to review and evaluate such a metaphorical form of deriving a female image as a "cat". Speaking about the opinion of the French philologist of the first half of the last century M. Riffater, he reproaches the opponent for the useless use of a "more dogmatic and more expensive wording", when "each poem explicates its own metaphors, so that the poetic passage cannot be metaphorical if it does not reveal to us explicit signs of metaphor"[6, p. 88]. A. Kompanion argues the thesis of futility as follows: "The result is the same: "Whatever the role of cats in the personal erotic imagery of the poet, it is not so important that because of this he instinctively writes "cat", wanting to say "woman" as we noticed, when he does this, he feels obligated to provide the reader with an explication "(Riffaterre, p. 359)" [6, p. 88]. By the way, a similar, "cat-like" metaphorical format was known and was already actively used by the critic of the 1930-s of the 20th century A. Grigoriev. He describes such a heroine, endowed with "cat-like" flexibility, as the embodiment of "graceful beauty, which never yields to completely gravitating over another, albeit beloved person" [3, p. 506], as one of the subspecies points in our classification of women, cited by us above.

Adyghe writers of the late 60s are no less active in addressing gender issues. The classics of that time A. Evtikh could not ignore it. His short story "The Story of a Woman" complies with the laws of the topic. The plot of the work is direct and elementary, and, according to the rules of lyricism, even simple. A woman is obliged to behave with dignity and not defiantly, she must be externally well-groomed in order to calm and make happy her fellow tribesmen. The central character of the plot is again gender. It is a young Adyghe heroine, brought up in a poor house of the mountain farmer, where, as is traditionally in the Adyghe society, girls up to maturity and boys till the age of 6 were brought up by women. The circle of activity of the child was built in this case, depending on the vital role and plans for the future. However, there was an elementary household routine. For example, housing care, not considered separately in scientific sources, or, for example, cooking. Inherent in women activities are reproduced by writers according to folklore (family songs) or personal, family experience. So, in particular, at Y. Tlyusten ("Girl's Dawns"), already at the beginning, a rider who ap-

peared to be exhausted and frozen on the way suddenly finds himself in a family unknown to him, caring for and warming him. And it is imperative that in such a family a cheese and hot cakes are served to the guest for breakfast, from which the narrator concludes that the hostesses got up earlier than he did.

In addition, we mention such an aspect of activities as female inclination towards needlework, because. According to A.A. Bezrukova, quoting S. Siyukhov (Krasnodar, 1922), "in conditions of subsistence farming, the Adyghe, when choosing a bride, paid special attention to "the knowledge of needlework" [2, p. 131]. Or, for example, the middle of the 20th century, Georgian novelist K. Gamsakhurdia, in his famous work "David the Builder", embroidery almost constantly accompanies the bride of King David and is one of her main activities as a positive personality indicator. Similarly, another example, in Y. Tlyusten ("Girl's Dawns"), the needlework complex of skills that invariably and often accompanies his heroines is constantly praised. One of them sews beautiful, hand-made hats for all interested mountain men; the other is a craftswoman in mats. However, the famous and successfully presenting Adyghe to this day, gold embroidery was the creative product of the aristocratic class of society. It may be too bright for the modern world, but these sweet and soul-taking, soothing mats, in our opinion, are no less professional.

Women took part in such important institutions of traditional Adyghe society as fosterage, hospitality and other life stages. So, the heroine of A. Evtykh, facing difficulties, does not resolve them personally, but agrees with everything that fate gives her. Suddenly, the moment expected by her and the reader comes up, drawn by the writer with the help of metaphorical expression: "She remembers the day when, like the sun, happiness came to her" [3, p. 5]. Love for work did not go unnoticed, and the girl earned a good reputation. A. Evtykh refused idealization and decided to show the negative side of society, which is rare for those times. We see a noble woman who finds herself in a difficult situation, and who cannot express her feelings and emotions. A member of the Adyghe society was not entitled to demonstrate their emotions, since in a large ethnic family such behaviors set and limited the boundaries within the couple, prohibiting any access to it from the outside. Similarly, the main character of A. Evtykh does not want to advertise her family difficulties, protects the family and covers her deceiving companion.

Just like spouses avoided fights and arguments, there was also ban on feelings towards children. This: "on the one hand, strictly limited the public and deliberate manifestation of feelings, and on the other, it did not allow physical punishment of children and discussion of their behavior with outsiders" [7, p. 27]. We can see that happen in the "Girl Dawns" by Y. Tlyusten. For example, the eldest woman in the family wove a beautiful mat, and the happy granddaughter at the same moment turned out to be next to her grandmother in order to express her joy. Here is how the author outlines the reaction of a strict woman in this case: "The old mistress liked the girl's praise, but she didn't give out her feelings, she said she was dissatisfied: "Go, go, do your business, you said too much already" [9, p. 25].

In general, as we note in our monograph in relation to the main character of A. Evtykh, "The strength of the spirit of the main character, her determination, combined with emotional softness and humanity are a harmonious fusion of precisely these qualities, their objective reflection in the story – this is what we call the character's artistic wholeness" [11, p. 81]. Nevertheless, the main factor here is not only the individuality of her partner, but also the new model of her own family. The main character tries her best to make everything in her house perfect and suit her companion's taste. Usually, even in childhood, the Adyghe tried to accustom girls to hard work, while explaining how to care for elders. Girls got used to work earlier than boys did, as they were sent with questions, parcels or tasks to neighbors, for water, etc. This is illustrated in his episode by Y.I. Tlyusten ("Girl Dawns"). Fifteen-year-old sisters set off, as usual, for water; but, when one of the young men decided to help them with buckets, they were very surprised. "They had not seen before that the Adyghe man carried water. Af-

ter all, everyone knows that this is a women's work! " [9, p. 23]. In this work, we also observe the power of a woman in resolving conflict situations. For example, a woman with one wave of her handkerchief could stop a fight. Moreover, this particular factor as a component of the gender aspect in fiction can be considered a direct incentive in the process of forming ethnic consciousness for centuries.

Summing up, we can say that for all the current relevance and little study of the female image and gender component in prose, the available material can be considered sufficient and therefore the further prospect of research is well justified.

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"THE SILK ROUTE" AS A TOURIST RESOURCE

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The North Caucasus is one of the most beautiful and mysterious corners of the planet Earth. Amazing nature, majestic mountain peaks and ancient monuments attract numerous tourists. One of the important tasks of social and economic development of Russia is the creation of large-scale modern tourist zones or, as it is now said, destinations in the North Caucasus. The famous Silk Route, which played a unique role in the social, economic and cultural development of the regions of Eurasian space, was here centuries ago. The Silk Route (SR) is a grandiose trade route which connected the East and the West. It has caused the emergence of unique cities, historical monuments, customs and even states. In fact, it was a system of caravan roads leading from China to the countries in the Middle East and Europe. The Silk Route trails are resources for developing modern tourist routes. According to the World Tourism Organization (WTO) the Silk Route is the longest modern tourist route in the world. It covers Europe, Asia and Africa and links three oceans: Pacific, Indian and Atlantic. The Silk Route also passed through the southern territories of the Russian Federation and now Russia has become one of the active participants of the International Tourism Project "The Silk Route." In order to implement the international tourism project on this subject, it is necessary to develop new tourist routes based on the resources of the entities of the North Caucasus Federal District.

Key words: The Silk Route, culture, tourism, tourist route, tourist resources.

[Е.В. Дашкова, Е.Б. Ивушкина «Великий шёлковый путь» как туристский ресурс]

Северный Кавказ – один из самых красивых и загадочных уголков планеты Земля. Изумительная природа, величественные горные вершины и древние памятники – всё это привлекает многочисленных туристов. Одной из важных задач социально-экономического развития России является создание на Северном Кавказе масштабных современных туристских зон, или, как теперь говорят, дестинаций. Много веков назад здесь пролегал знаменитый Великий шёлковый путь, который играл уникальную роль в социально-экономическом и культурном развитии регионов евразийского пространства. Великий шёлковый путь (ВШП) – грандиозный торговый маршрут, соединивший Восток и Запад и ставший причиной возникновения уникальных городов, исторических памятников, обычаев и даже государств. По сути, это была система караванных дорог, ведущих из Китая в страны Ближнего Востока и Европы. Тропы Великого шёлкового пути являются ресурсами для разработки современных туристских маршрутов. По данным Всемирной туристской организации (ЮНВТО), это самый протяжённый современный туристский маршрут в мире. Он охватывает Европу, Азию и Африку и связывает три океана: Тихий, Индийский и Атлантический. Великий шёлковый путь проходил и по южным территориям Российской Федерации и теперь Россия стала одним из активных участников Международного туристского проекта «Великий шёлковый путь». Для реализации международного туристского проекта по этой тематике, необходимо разработать новые туристские маршруты на основе ресурсов субъектов Северного-Кавказского федерального округа.

Ключевые слова: Великий Шёлковый путь, культура, туризм, туристский маршрут, туристские ресурсы.

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The Silk Route covered significant areas from China to Europe. This territory has preserved a unique cultural heritage, which can become the basis of cultural tourism. At the present stage, the Silk Route is a resource for the development of a cross-border tourist route. According to the World Tourism Organization (WTO) it is the longest tourist route in the world. It covers Asia, North Africa, Southern Europe and links three oceans: Pacific, Indian and Atlantic. "The route passes through the territory of countries with an area of 55.4 million km² or 43% of the land area of the globe, the population is 4.7 billion people (66.9% of the total population of the planet), the total GDP is 27.4 trillion dollars (53.6%) [3]."

The Silk Route project will be implemented by two international organizations UNESCO and WTO which have special powers. UNESCO will operate under the slogan "The Silk Route – the Path of Dialogue, Diversity and Development." In 1988-1997 comprehensive international studies "The Silk Route is Towards Dialogue" were carried out under the auspices of UNESCO.

In the first quarter of the 21st century, with the development of digitalization of the communication process, the online platform "The Silk Route" was created. "The promotion of cultural diversity and the assistance of intercultural dialogue are the most effective ways of building bridges between peoples, which contributes to peace, and it is for this purpose UNESCO launched a new online platform "The Silk Route" in accordance with the proclamation of the International Decade for the Rapprochement of Cultures (2013-2022) [4].

The online platform "The Silk Route" provides information on the traditions of peoples participating in the project of revival of the Silk Route, assists in understanding the importance of such an issue as the rapprochement of cultures in countries traditionally located in the territories where the Silk Route passed in ancient times. There are more than 40 modern countries on the territory of the Silk Route (Figure 1).

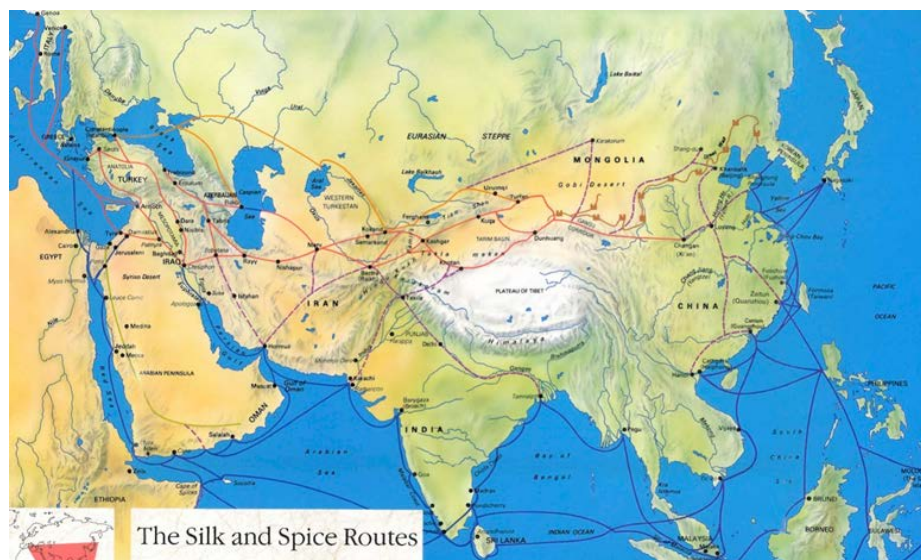


Figure 1. The Silk Route

An interactive map of the Silk Route has been developed on the online platform. It identifies centers where scientific conferences and festivals are held, World Cultural and Natural Heritage sites, tangible and intangible cultural heritage sites, centers of useful arts, etc.

The Russian Federation is represented by only four cultural and historical sites on the interactive map. These are the Golden Mountains of Altai, Uvs Lake Basin, the natural park "Volga-Akhtubinsky floodplain" (Volgograd region) and the collection of maps of the Russian Empire of the 18th century (Moscow). This does not correspond to the entire cultural and historical heritage of Russia, which is connected with the Silk Route. Based on this situation, the attention to the participation in the implementation of the international project "The Silk Route" has increased in Russia. The Activity Plan of the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation included paragraph 5.9: "...To form interregional historical and cultural tourist routes by involving in the tourist circulation monuments of history, culture, archaeology – "The Silk Route..." [2, p. 12].

In 2015 the Russian Federation took an active part in the Seventh International Meeting of the World Tourism Organization (WTO) of the United Nations on tourism on the Silk Route. Russia, together with China, Kazakhstan, Oman, Azerbaijan and other participating countries, has entered the international program for the development of the Silk Route, the main goal of which is to ensure the sustainable development of tourism in the territory of the countries where the Silk Route passed. Sustainable development of tourism is possible only with the use of the potential of cultural tourism in the territory on the principles of preservation of the cultural, historical, natural and intangible heritage of the peoples of these countries.

The Russian Federation, like other UNESCO member States on the Silk Route, joined the Committee of the International Network "The Silk Route." "The adopted joint declaration stressed the importance of the Silk Route in solving the problems of rapprochement of different peoples, strengthening of intercultural dialogue and mutual understanding [5]."

The theme of the Silk Route is complex, multifaceted. Let's focus on some aspects of it.

Geopolitical aspects. The trails of the Silk Route "were an arterial road on which religious teachings, works of art, science, languages and technical achievements were exchanged. A lot of elements of civilization came with commercial goods which traders carried from country to country." [6, p. 208]

The new project of the Silk Route is more often presented under the slogan "One belt is one way!". It covers more than 3 billion people. Industrial outputs can reach 21 trillion dollars within its borders. One of the main tools for promoting this project is "The Silk Route Development Fund", established in 2014, for which China has allocated \$40 billion. However, the project of revival of the Silk Route is geopolitical because it is aimed at mutually beneficial international cooperation and formation of a balanced and comprehensive model of development of modern society. Implementation of the project of the new Silk Route will provide impetus to the development of tourism. The inflow of foreign investments in the tourism industry will increase, innovative processes in reducing various barriers will intensify, etc.

Geographical aspects. In terms of geography, the features of the project "The Silk Route – the Path of Dialogue, Diversity and Development" are revealed through the diversity and concentration of cultural and historical objects (although this feature is characterized by uneven coverage of very large territories). Ways of the Silk Route are laid down in areas where tourist resources of natural and man-made origin are concentrated. Cultural tourism resources are concentrated in countries such as the People's Republic of China, the Republics of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, the Russian Federation and others. Therefore, the rich potential of the

various resources found on the overland and sea trails of the Silk Route seems to be a strong aspect of the project "The Silk Route – the Path of Dialogue, Diversity and Development."

Economic aspects. The trails of the Silk Route pass through the territory of countries with huge socio-economic potential for tourism development. In the East there are two of the five BRIC countries with the world's largest economies in terms of GDP parity: China is on the 1st place in the world, India is on the 3rd.

Russia as a participant of the project "The Silk Route – the Path of Dialogue, Diversity and Development" has unique cultural and historical resources. Participation in this international project contributes to the solution of the tasks set out in the Strategy for the Development of Tourism in the Russian Federation for the period up to 2035:

- " – Usage of an integrated approach to tourism development that takes into account economic, social, cultural, environmental and other aspects of tourism development;
- Ensuring intercultural communication and international cooperation in tourism development;
- Ensuring the necessary diversity through the formation of a tourist product, taking into account ethnic, religious and other characteristics of the population" [7, p. 13].

The tourism industry has now become a world-wide industry. It is on the 3rd place among the largest export sectors of the economy in terms of income, behind only the oil and automotive industries. Therefore, the economic dimension is given considerable attention.

The North Caucasus is one of the most beautiful corners of the planet Earth. Majestic pristine nature, mountain climate, interesting cultural and historical heritage, all this attracts numerous tourists. The history of the North Caucasus intersects with the Silk Route. Therefore, the phenomenon of the Silk Route can contribute to the sustainable development of tourism in the republics of the North Caucasus. Let us consider in more detail the resource component of the project "The Silk Route – the Path of Dialogue, Diversity and Development" in the territory of the current Chechen Republic.

The Silk Route is known in the world history from the 5th century BC. From the 2nd century BC until the end of the 17th century it was one of the most famous and the longest trade routes. The main historical significance of the Silk Route lies primarily in the fact that the trails of the Silk Route contributed to the cultural exchange among various peoples of the world. They also contributed to the destruction of the isolation of the Vainakh peoples who inhabited the territories of modern Chechnya and Ingushetia. The Silk Route started with the territory of China and, crossing vast territories, went to Europe by two branches. First-direction trails exited China through India, Afghanistan, further down the south side of the Khazar Sea (now, the Caspian Sea), crossed Iran, Byzantium, and reached Southern Europe. The second direction trails passed through Central Asia, on the northern shore of the Khazar Sea, then turned south and on the coasts of Terek of Kuban went to Crimea and Europe.

At different historical periods traffic on these branches was different in intensity. For example, after the Islamic Caliphate had seized Iran with Transcaucasia and after the Caliphate's years-long wars with Byzantium, the southern trails of the Silk Route merged with the northern trails and passed through the entire North Caucasus. This occurred during the heyday of the Khazar Kaganate (7th-10th centuries).

And although the name "The Silk Route" appeared only in the 19th century, one of the main civilizational achievements of this trade route was the spread not only of silk, but also of silkworm. Along the main trails of the Silk Route new centers for the production and sale of silk appears. The example of such centers is Central Asia (Sogdia), Iran and Byzantium. In the North Caucasus, including Chechnya, artifacts related to silk production are being found to this

day. The names of settlements, such as the village of Shelkovskaya, also speak of the spread of this craft until the 19th century. "Analysis of silk fabrics found in North Caucasus graves (in archaeological excavations) gives an idea of the ratio of importing countries in this international trade: about 50% of Sogdian-made silk tissues, 25% Byzantine, 20% Chinese and 5% Persian. According to the information we received, Central Asian silk fabrics dominated both among merchants and among buyers. The North Caucasus, including Chechnya, in the 6th-14th centuries were connected to the outside world by four or five northern branches of the Silk Route. The first was from Iran to Coastal Dagestan, then to Chechnya and further to Byzantium, Rus and Europe. The second was from Iran to Georgia, then to the Darial Gorge, to Chechnya and further. The third was from Byzantium to the Black Sea coast, then to Chechnya and further. The fourth was from Central Asia to lower Volga, then to Terek (Chechnya) and further [8]."

Since Chechnya occupied a strategic position in the North Caucasus, there was another trail along the Argun Gorge to Georgia, Iran and Byzantium. During excavations elements of various goods from distant countries are found in these territories, and Vainakh merchants were known in many countries. Going on the trails of the Silk Route through the territory of modern Chechnya contributed to the economic development of Vainakh society: the development of trading relations, the high level of craft production led to the emergence of large medieval settlements. Due to the weakening of the Khazar State in the 10th century, the Alan State is formed within the borders of Chechnya, Ingushetia, North Ossetia, Kabardino-Balkaria, Karachay-Cherkessia and Pyatigoria. The high level of cultural development of the Nakh people in the early Middle Ages is evidenced by the fact that more than 150 only large settlements and towns of the early Middle Ages were discovered here. "Numerous representatives of Caucasian scientists argue that the Chechen people (Nakh people, Nakhchmatian people) are the indigenous, aboriginal population of the North Caucasus, who had very close trade and cultural ties with West Asia and Transcaucasia" [1, p. 111].

The largest Nakhian settlements and towns are Alhan-Kalinsky, Shelkov and Gudermes. These settlements were densely populated, and the economic activities of the population were diverse: cattle farming, pottery, fishing and others.

In the 13th century the Mongolian nomads did not spare Nakh towns and the record mentions the one-and-a-half-month siege of the city of Magas (1238). This difficult period is the persistent struggle of Nakh people against Mongolo-Tatar invaders.

In the 14th century of the 13th century Alania broke up into separate feudal ownerships. At the same time, the State of Simsir, located in the territory of present-day Chechnya and Ingushetia, is mentioned. In 1395 this State was destroyed by the new conqueror Timur, with whom the ruler of Simsir Gayurhan fought. Nevertheless, in written sources and testimonies of travelers, it is noted that contrary to the military events khans of the Golden Horde encouraged international transit trade, including the caravan trade of silk, herds of horses and other goods, as the trade generated great income to the Golden Horde treasury.

Therefore, it can be considered that at that time the Silk Route continued to play an important role in the economic and cultural life of the region.

In the second half of the 16th century, the peoples of the North Caucasus established friendly ties with Moscow Rus and the Cossacks began to settle on the coast of Terek. In the 17th-18th centuries Russia attempted to revive silkworm and silk production on the left bank of the river Terek. To this end, silky worms were brought here from Iran and specialists were invited from Armenia and Georgia. These events are connected with the appearance of the names of the villages Shelkovskaya and Shelkozavodskaya in the current Shelkovsky district on

the territory of Chechnya. This occupation generated income for the Cossacks and this activity was carried out by the Chechen people living on the right bank of the river Terek. Peter the Great was very interested in the revival of silk production and repeatedly wrote about it to the commander of the fortress Terki and to the Astrakhan voivode. The Chechen people, who lived in the fortresses of Terki and Kizlyar, were intermediaries in the delivery of raw silk and silk material from Chechnya to Astrakhan. Thus, Chechnya has the historical right to participate in the project "The Silk Route – the Path of Dialogue, Diversity and Development," as it passed through the territory of Chechnya by several branches and had been playing an important role in the life of Chechen society for many centuries.

At the present stage, the leadership of the Chechen Republic is betting on the development of tourism. One type of tourism that has a powerful resource base is cultural tourism. In order to attract tourists to the Chechen Republic, such tourist objects as open-air museums, architectural and ethnographic museums stylized as medieval Chechen settlements are being created. The complex called "Shira-Yurt" is located in the Shalinsky district, near the village of Germenchuk. In the mountainous area, in the area of the villages of Shata and Borza there is construction of the ethnic park "Dailam." On the territory of the ethnic park there will be a prototype of the Chechen aul with a fortress wall, towers, a forge, a bakery and other elements of traditional mountain rural life. A unique complex "Shira bena yurt" has been created in Kolay-Yurt district, where techniques of historical reconstruction are actively used during animation programs for tourists. This can contribute to the development of new tourist routes within the framework of the project "The Silk Route – the Path of Dialogue, Diversity and Development."

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