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**Russian woman in the rural Yakutia in the second half of the XX century<sup>1</sup>**

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**Abstract**

Russian women of Yakutia in the rural areas of the second half of the XX century were a social group with a difficult complex structure. The separate interest is Russian women who came to work on a governmental contract. In daily life, they had to overcome the social and cultural challenges, including gender. Successful socialization of Russian women in the villages of Yakutia promoted general political factors, as well as regional ethno-cultural traditions.

**Keywords:** *social history, gender, Russian daily life, North, Yakutia.*

In such a large country as Russia, there is undeniable considerable variability of women, depending on the regional conditions. In the Russian provinces in the past only the twentieth century were different, including the contradictory social processes that influence the formation of gender. In the region of the North, Siberia and the Far East specific local conditions in the field of gender and manifested by districts. In this light, are very interesting gender characteristics of the Russian population of Yakutia, constructed and demographic and ethno-cultural characteristics of the region. There is a considerable range of scientific literature on the history of the Russian population of the region. Particularly rich in pre-revolutionary historiography, shining names SP Krasheninnikov, FP Wrangel AF Middendorf, AP Schapova, WI Jochelson, F. J. Kohn, II Maynova. The processes of formation of Russian old population of Yakutia, its business activities, inter-ethnic relations in the work covered by FG Safronova, GP Basharina, VN Ivanov, and other researchers, ethnocultural characteristics of the Russian living in the non-environment, pay attention to . Romanov, T. Petrova. Soviet period of Russian Yakutia not become a separate subject of study, some aspects of the subject, in particular ethno-cultural and demographic, seen in the works of DH Bragina, VB Ignatiev. Christianity - another area of Russian history of Yakutia. Development of Orthodoxy in the region, the history of Orthodoxy missionaries studied EE Shishigina, AP Nikolaev, IE Yurganov also touched on this theme in the works of H. Oglezneva, SI Boyakovoy, ND Vasilyeva , OD Yakimova, etc. But in the "Russian" historiography Yakutia special papers devoted-ber of wom-

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en who do not. So far only a few steps are taken on the reconstruction of place and role of Russian women in the social space of the region.

For nearly four centuries of Russian ethnicity, women accounted for an organic part of the population, were integrated into all social structures, made its own contribution to the regional community, social stability, moral and spiritual cohesion and the cultural tolerance. Status and place of Russian women in the complex social networks of the multi-ethnic and multi-confessional region changed in the course of historical time, adapting to the changing socio-economic and cultural conditions. And paradoxically, not only privacy, gender behavior, but also the issues of employment, professional fulfillment, social activities of women of Russian nationality had not been the subject of a separate scientific attention.

The study of the existing literature and gender review of the regional sources confirm the absence of the specific studies on the sources and intended use. Note that on the materials of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) has not been studied in the general evolution of the gender for a long period, was not enlightened gender behavior of women of the certain ethnic groups. In addition to the local history and biographical publications in the scientific literature so far outlined only a few touches to the portrait of a different nationality yakutyanok adjustment period and the crisis of the late twentieth century. [3] Phenomenon of Russian woman living in inoethnic environment, which provides a broad palette of the research challenges, especially if the surrounding society is different from its "parent" ethnic race, cultural norms and stereotypes.

In the article, we will focus on a specific period of time: an attempt to study the case of "a Russian woman in the village of Yakutia" in the chronological framework of 1970-1980's. The article claimed data from published sources and literature, in particular, shed light on the subject of inter-ethnic marriages. Used field data's collected with the support of the years 2001-2011 for the RHF in small villages in Central Yakutia, the representatives of the Yakut and Slavic ethnic groups. The analysis focused dictated materials and angle of illumination: a Russian woman in the mirror of the rural oral history.

During the period, the Yakuts numerically dominated in the village, remaining essentially "rural people." In 1970, 80.5% of their total population lived in the rural areas, in 1979 - 76.9%, in 1989 - 74.3% [4, p. 17]. In the rural areas also lived mostly indigenous minorities of the North, which was due to the nature of the traditional occupations of the indigenous people and the migration of less mobility. The countryside and today continues to be a sphere of the life of indigenous ethnic groups, the whole group of the regions in the modern Yakutia almost is one nationality. In the traditional industries are mainly employed residing in the area by indigenous people.

In 1970, the resident population of Yakutia was only 664,123 people, by 1989, the population had grown to 1,094,065 people, which is exactly in this period is given to the retained northern republic from the first time in its history, crossed the population of one million copies. Russian in 1970 were 47.0% of the total population, the Yakuts - 43.0% share of the Russian population grew steadily: According to the 1979 census, the proportion of the total number of Russian Yakuts was 50.4% by the end of the 80s remained at the level of 50.3% [6, p. 8, 4, p. 9]. But in the rural areas of Yakutia lived relatively little Russian - in 1970 in the village of Russian was 39.6 thousand, in 1979 - 58.3 thousand people, and in 1989 - 53.9 thousand people. About 54 thousand people in the rural Russian million republic - it's a small group. Women in rural Russian was always less than men: according to official statistics in 1970, there were 18,647 against 20,973 men, 27,172 men against 31,162 in 1979 and 25,085 against 28,873 men in 1989 of du [4, p. 17].

It is clear, that the numerical predominance of men due to the nature of work and quality of life in the rural areas: women's choice of jobs in the Yakut village remains narrow today. In the 1970-1980-ies a Russian woman in the Yakut village could claim a place in the field of the agricultural production, education, health, culture and commerce. If she were newcomers and had appropriate education and profession, it could offer a place milkmaids, calf, field crop at a local farm. Given that existed in 1970-1980's of the working conditions, we can talk about the low attractiveness of the village for working-age Russian woman.

In the small rural settlements Russian women came through the following channels: first, on the public distribution specialists in the field of education, health and culture, and secondly, as family members of such specialists, often in tandem with her husband, a teacher, health worker or employee of the technical services. In the oral history of the small villages of Yakutia is almost always present figure of Russian women - paramedic, midwife, teacher, librarian, or it is present as a spouse Russian man - "the radio operator's wife Victoria", "wife meteorologist Wasi" and the like. Another way for a Russian woman in the Yakut village - a marriage with a local man. This option is found in the various oral histories of the 70's and 80's of last century. It was more about the marriages of young professionals, but we have fixed and marriages of people in middle and old age, which are often repeated for one or both spouses. Informants often present such stories as romantic, emphasizing originality, some adventurous this choice [8, 10].

It can be said that by the middle of the last century in the Yakut villages existed the positive social image of Russian women. It was formed by Russian women - representatives of old residents and newcomers from other regions who worked in the fields of education, health and culture so enthusiastically at the selfless, that for many years have identified almost iconic status in

the minds of the rural inhabitants of Yakutia. [5] In the second half of the twentieth century in the Yakut villages still living and working, albeit in small numbers of Russian evacuated or deported during the war, including women with higher education, with a fine education, which also affects the positive image of Russian women. Thus, the status of Russian women with social prestige in the profession covers the period of a teacher or health worker, was quite high. With respect to these women in the memoirs and interviews of people living in small villages of Yakutia is extremely rare negative or critical assessment of their personalities and everyday behavior. Perhaps this stereotype regional breakdowns of the respect for Russian women - teachers, medical and obstetric staff. Since the beginning of the last century they were a small but popular and the vast majority of very professional social group.

In addition, the materials on the oral history of Yakutia 1970-1980-ies have highlighted the complex, sometimes contradictory image of the popular Russian women, often with negative assessments of their social behavior. In particular, often points to the unfortunate short stay of Russian women in the Yakut village, such as a teacher or a doctor. Staff turnover was high young professionals: a complete lack of the improvement in the Yakut villages, regular transport links between the small settlements, combined with harsh climatic conditions made it difficult to adapt to the foreign language community. This included not only young women, but also men. But somehow, in the oral histories of the most critical (accusingly - LV) just remember leaving women teachers, doctors. May interrupt their activities most painfully affected the agricultural society.

One mechanism for "fixing" the young professionals – is the Russian women in the villages was a marriage with a local man. If the colonial period of marriages of local men with Russian women were rare, primarily because of their small number, in the second half of the twentieth century the number of Russian women – (starozhilok) or different generations of the migrants have been enough. The situation for them in the marriage market was favorable: a region with abundant raw Slavic grooms working age, this is one thing, and secondly, a Russian wife was quoted as men of other nationalities, including local residents. Russian women had a large selection of the marriage partners. Interestingly, under such favorable conditions, Russian women are married and with indigenous peoples of Yakutia: Yakuts, Evens, Evenki, Chukchi. Fertile ground for the inclusion of Russian women in the local marriage market maintained a culture of Soviet internationalism and regional traditions of tolerance for ethnic marriages. Due to its small size and representatives Yakuts Northern minorities traditionally tolerant of mixed marriages between persons of different nationality and religion. During the Soviet period in the daily life of the Yakuts submission

on the admissibility of marriage with Russian strengthened: it Yakut-Slavic (with Russian and Ukrainian) marriages were the largest group of mixed marriages.

For Russian women, who arrived from the unknown edge as a young professional or a family member of the migrants, they marry local men, especially with a strong social status, means the solution to many domestic, physical and financial problems. Many informants believe that the children of mixed marriages with Russian even in ordinary external data, the mother and father look bright, impressive, and often have a talented in the arts, sciences and sports. In Yakut villages, many children traditionally respectful and availability of healthy children, as one of the causes of the marriage with a Russian woman.

Analysis of the oral stories detects the pragmatic aspects of such a marriage: in the villages of Yakutia Russian wife for a man-Yakutia, with education and profession, could be often served as a kind of the "social elevator". He migrated to a larger settlement in the industrial town or city, sometimes outside the country. In other words, is opening its new professional and career horizons. For the members of the party, Komsomol and trade union activists are Russian wife could also become a "pass" up - in Soviet society a man looked the embodiment of the idea of the true internationalist, in the multiethnic republic very welcome.

In the oral stories of the Yakut village lights the fact of the prestige of the Russian brides for the rural local suitors. We emphasize that, among its benefits our informants noted the ability of the Russian women to build upward mobility of her husband, "a man mold of what happened," to encourage and support its ambitions professional career. Around the marriages indigenous men with Russian women there is a whole layer of the myths, legends and prejudices. We informants occasionally voice an opinion about the "special fragility" marriages with Russian women, but statistics at village level, ulus or regions do not confirm this view. Perhaps it is more indicative of heightened attention to such marriages, rigid fixation of any negatives.

Russian woman in the village of Yakutia of the period 1970-1980-s caused special interest as a representative of a different culture. This is evidenced by the colorful memories preserved by the plot threads. In everyday low Yakut village for her closely watched, monitored the behavior, speech, manners, appearance. They often served as a kind of standard, a role model. In particular, one of the informants admitted: "I was dreaming, that's out of school and going to dress up as a Russian teacher Vera - walk in gipyurnoy white blouse. I will be a well-dressed as Russian women in the movies and in magazines ". [7] Often report industry, economic efficiency, skilled skills of Russian women, especially in the home, gardening, cooking of European dishes.

But next to the positive characteristics of the intelligent Russian women in the oral history of the small villages of Yakutia is prevalent and negative evaluation, addressed to women of Russian nationality. In this case, they belong to the late Soviet period and to the women of the "Russian appearance", who worked in the fields of the trade and transport services, as geological exploration expeditions, etc. The analysis of these estimates shows that the informants reproducible negative perception is mainly due to gender behavior Russian women, in which the indigenous people highlights: a) displays low overall culture of behavior and communication b) non-compliance of the appearance and the social behavior of the Russian women have traditionally taken then, gender norms, including ethnic.

You must specify that rural Yakuts the time of the "Russian" is often numbered among all the women of European appearance, or simply Russian, with whom contact in the areas of the transport and trade services, of the staff of the geological expeditions, etc. The illuminated period of the migrants, primarily engaged in these areas, dominated by those with a low educational level, coming from labor surplus areas in search of the northern earnings. Representatives of these groups according to the type of psychology of social behavior in Soviet times were defined as temporary workers.

Of course, Yakutia in 1970-1980-ies was an oasis, preserved in its original form gender of the ethnic traditions. In the sphere of everyday gender behavior at that time inevitably absorbed components and general Soviet, and ethnicity. The analysis of the collected material exhibits rather high safety of the traditional gender norms in Yakuts, which can be seen, in particular, the reconstruction of everyday behavior of both men and women. It is noteworthy that in the Yakut villages 1970-1980-s men demonstrated accentuated masculinity characteristic of the traditional societies, such as indifference to pain and weakness, to his appearance, rude manners. How to remember the informants, the men tried to look and act "just like men: simple, with no frills" [8, 9].

With relations to women, including the Russian residents of the villages, were presented as the conservative gender requirements. Field data confirm the existence of the elements of the traditional gender in everyday low Yakut villages. In particular, the elements of women's behavior in the home and in the society, 1970-1980-s regulated fairly traditional notions of what "can" and "can not" a girl and a woman. In particular, in the rural society was not accepted by the girls and women to demonstrate their sexual attractiveness, physical forms. In small villages, was a rare use of the cosmetics, clothes, opening the neck and arms, short skirts. Just dress like Russian women, believed in remote rural areas, based apparently on their own experience and the visual images of Russian contemporaries from magazines, TV shows, etc. Note that the majority of the rural public

opinion permitted the Russian woman to dress and look different than female Yakut, precisely because of their Russian origin.

Less tolerant, critically evaluated the Yakut village of their behavior at home and in the public places. Older women in the villages of Yakutia 1970-1980-ies did not take different manifestations of female Russian emotion, ethnic norms of behavior, such as a funeral. Were typical of the following argument about Russian women: "Russian woman gave birth in the district hospital, screamed, swore so ... Is that the way to celebrate the birth of the new man? ", " Loud cry, cry in public only Russian women. It is wrong to openly show their grief ... "and so on [8, 9, 10].

In this case, the Yakut villages welcome any of the respect for the culture, customs and language of the Russian women. Especially prized kind to old people, neighbors and children - this communication occurs gradually the universal markers "technique" a stranger, who arrived in the village, a Russian woman. "Once there nurse Russian, Valentina. Very good man, a good as aiyy (white spirit of the Yakut beliefs) selfless, considerate. We have almost all the time with her children were named Valentine or Valentinus. Then moved to another area of Yakutia, in the wake of the children had grown up ... "- this recollection is typical of the Yakut village [7, 8]. With great respect to the oral history of the Yakut village mentioned visiting Russian women, quickly mastered the Yakut language. The practice of forced use of the Yakut language in the region is not historically, but Russian old-timers or migrants, long-term residents in the villages, the Yakut language owned. According to the census in 1989 in a rural area Alexeyev (now Tattinsky ulus) of 373 residents saw 363 Russian native languages is Russian, but fluent Russian Yakut 59 people and 7 Ukrainians. In Churapcha area of 277 Russian 45 people fluent in the Yakut, a Verkhnevilyuisk - from 615 people Yakut knew 103 Russian in Suntar - from 1286 to the Russian Yakut spoke fluent 132 [4, p. 38, 41, 52, 55]. In industrial areas, the proportion owning Yakut language Russian was scanty, and it was mostly natives of the country.

Analysis of the oral stories of the Yakut village shows that the agricultural society of the considered period, Russian women are perceived more than "their own". General system of education, common moral values in the society, many common life strategies have created a basis for the mutual understanding and co-existence in the rural societies of Yakutia people of different nationalities. Successful adaptation of the Russian women have contributed to the objective and subjective factors: Soviet culture, upbringing and education, supported by the principles of the humanistic dormitory were supported by the Yakut traditions of the ethno-cultural tolerance.

The history of the contacts of the Russians with Yakut, with Russian culture has almost four centuries. Because of its scarcity of Russian women in small villages long perceived as alien fancy.

But about the middle of the last century Russian woman Yakutia completed a certain stage in their regional identity: the once mythical creature (unknown, strange, frightening because women) of the colonial period, it was the way to the recognition as a friend, familiar, "their" members of rural society. Russian woman has firmly taken its ethnic and cultural niche in the countryside every day responding to the challenges of the reality: remaining "foreign" or becoming "his" in the Yakut settlements.

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