

KALMYKS IN WESTERN SIBERIA (1944-1956): SOCIALIZATION IN THE SPECIAL SETTLEMENT

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Abstract: The article studies the impact of the special settlement regime on the socialization of representatives of a particular ethnic group through the example of the Kalmyk population. The study is based on a wide range of sources identified in the federal (the State Archive of the Russian Federation (SARF), the Russian State Archive of Economics (RSAE)) and regional (the Historical Archive of the Omsk Region (HAOR), the State Archive of the Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous District (SAKMAD), the State Archive of Social and Political History of the Tyumen Region (SASPHTR)) archives, published and unpublished (manuscripts) memories of former special settlers, and field data – interviews of eyewitnesses collected during expeditions (2009-2011) in the areas of the former special settlement. The authors show that the socialization of the Kalmyks took place under the influence of the special settlement regime and was accompanied by two mutually reinforcing processes: de-socialization and re-socialization. Forced resettlement and being in the conditions of the special settlement regime turned de-socialization into a process of complete rejection of the old values and standards, the destruction of the traditional Kalmyk family in adapting to the new conditions. Re-socialization included the development of survival strategies, including changes in gender roles in the family, learning new types of activities (fishing, working in the logging, etc.), the standards of a special regime, rules of conduct in the non-ethnic environment and building relations with the government under a special regime. Forced socialization resulted in the failure in values, feelings and self-identification, a feeling of inferiority and stigmatization of ethnicity.

Keywords: Deportation, repression, socialization, Kalmyk special settlers, special settlement, ethnicity.

HISTORIOGRAPHY, RESEARCH METHODS AND SOURCES

Since the beginning of the 1990s, the priority in the development of issues related to the deportation of “punished peoples” is given to historians. Bugay (Bugay, 1991; Bugay, 1995), Zemskov (Zemskov, 1990; Zemskov, 1991; Zemskov, 2005), Ubushaev (Ubushaev, 1991) formed in their studies the fundamental basis of scientific understanding of the forced resettlement of the Kalmyk people. Ethnographers and anthropologists have started its comprehension relatively recently. Currently, the most significant studies on this issue are the works of Tishkov (Tishkov, 1997a) and Guchinova (Guchinova, 2007). Referring to the ethnography of everyday life of Chechen and Ingush peoples in exile, Tishkov focuses on survival strategies of the deported and touches upon the issue of ethnic consolidation in the special settlement (Tishkov, 2003). A monograph of Guchinova is the first attempt to conduct the anthropological study of the deportation of the Kalmyks, a deportation trauma of the people. The author tries to comprehend the

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instrumentalist assimilation of the trauma by the Kalmyk ethnic group, as well as to evaluate the mechanisms and ways of preserving the integrity and cultural identity of the group in extreme conditions of the special settlement (Guchinova, 2005).

RESEARCH METHODS AND SOURCES

In the study of the indicated problems, we applied a constructivist approach to understanding of an ethnic group and ethnicity contained in the works of Tishkov (Tishkov, 1997b). Interviewing and surveys of informants were conducted by using a questionnaire drawn up on the basis of “Guidelines for the Biographical Interview” found in the study of Thompson (Thompson, 2000). When working with oral sources, we used reconstructive cross analysis that allowed to compare the data from narrative sources with the data obtained from other types of sources.

At the same time, despite the emergence of a significant amount of works, affecting various aspects of socialization in the conditions of repression, research of this kind is characterized by insufficient attention to the problem of the correlation of the regime status of a special settler prescribed by repressive bodies to representatives of ethnic groups, and features of personal socialization in the new ethno-cultural conditions. In this article, we will try to fill this gap by showing an impact of status characteristics on the personal becoming and formation – socialization through the example of the Kalmyks deported to the territory of Omsk and Tyumen Regions.

Socialization is a dual-purpose process. On the one hand, it involves the acquisition by an individual of a specific system of knowledge, values, standards, social experience by joining the social environment, the system of social relations and, as a result, an impact of society and its structures on this individual. On the other hand, the process of socialization involves active reproduction of the system of social relations through the active involvement of a person in social life by performing the activities (Kolochko, 2004).

The solution of the mentioned research tasks required the use of a broad range of sources. The source base of the study included the documents identified in the federal (SARF, RSAE) and regional (HAOR, SAKMAD, SASPHTR) archives, published and unpublished (manuscripts) memories of the former special settlers. The field data collected during expeditions (2009-2011) in the areas of Khanty-Mansiysk (Berezovsky, Kondinsky, Surgutsky Districts) and Yamalo-Nenets (Shuryshkarsky District) made a valuable contribution. The memories of both the repressed Kalmyks (Muchiryaev S.G., Zueva T.A.) and people who had experience of communication and interaction with them during their stay in special settlements were recorded during these expeditions (Pachganova L.E., Sokolova A.M., Khozyainova A.F., et. al.).

DEPORTATION OF THE KALMYKS AND THE SPECIAL SETTLEMENT REGIME

The Kalmyks were subjected to the total deportation due to false accusations of total collaboration with the German occupiers. In the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR “On the Liquidation of the Kalmyk Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and the Formation of the Astrakhan Region in the RSFSR” adopted on December 27, 1943, it was announced that “many Kalmyks” betrayed the Motherland, joined gangs, provided the Germans with the cattle, opposed the Soviet authorities (Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, 1993). The next day, the Council of People’s Commissars of the USSR adopted the Resolution “On Eviction of the Kalmyks to the Altai and Krasnoyarsk Territories, Omsk and Novosibirsk Regions” (Resolution of the Council of People’s Commissars of the USSR, 1993). On the basis of these acts, the People’s Commissariat for Internal Affairs (PCIA) conducted the operation “Uluses” (Ubushaev *et. al.*, 2007).

Already on January 2, 1944, Beria drew out a report addressed to Stalin I.V. and Molotov V.M. on the results of chekist-army operation “Uluses”, which stated that from 28 to 31 of December 1943 93,139 Kalmyks in 46 echelons were sent to Siberia (A Report of Beria to the Attention of Stalin and Molotov, 1992). A significant part of this “special contingent” was sent to the Omsk Region: on January 18, 1944 the number of newly settled Kalmyks amounted to 27,158 people (Report of the Commissioner of the NKVD of the USSR Lieutenant Colonel of State Security Shchekin and Deputy Chief of UNKVD of the Omsk Region Lieutenant Colonel Shevarov on the Admission and Resettlement of the Special Settlers, the Kalmyks in the Omsk Region, 1993). On March 20, the next 89 Kalmyks from Astrakhan arrived (Bugay, 1995).

The deportation turned Kalmyks from the titular nation of the Autonomous Republic that ranked second in the hierarchy of Soviet nationalities, into the ethno-dispersive “national minority” – non-indigenous population of the territories and regions of settlement, which did not have its own territory (Denninghaus, 2011). Midlarsky, considering the problem of the loss of the territory from the point of view of an anthropologist-constructivist, pointed out that the nation (as an imaginary community), losing its territorial status, appeared out of the “imaginary castle” (the territory of the Republic), which provided protection for its inhabitants (Midlarsky, 2009). In turn, we should note that the Bolsheviks were always primordialists and considered nations as a historical reality, and, therefore, their territories were seen as a real refuge for ethnic groups. Therefore, punishment in a form of the deprivation of sovereignty was more than real.

The process of socialization of the deported Kalmyks took place under special conditions due to the fact that they appeared in the Siberian special settlement system established by Order of the PCIA No. 001766 dated November 22, 1943

“On the Organization of Commandant’s Offices in Special Settlements of the People’s Commissariat for Internal Affairs (PCIA) of the Altai and Krasnoyarsk Territories, Novosibirsk and Omsk Regions”. Its main objectives were as follows: “strengthening of the agent-operative work” among the special settlers, as well as “accounting and monitoring of the employment” (Belkovets, 2003). On February 7, 1944, Beria signed an Activation Order on the Regulation on District and Township Commandant’s Offices of the PCIA, which stipulated the rights and responsibilities of special settlers. Thus, the Regulation stipulated that they “exercised all civil rights, except for certain restrictions contained in particular decisions of public authorities” (Belkovets, 2003). This formulation was preserved in the Resolution adopted by the Council of People’s Commissars of the USSR on January 8, 1945 “On the Legal Status of Special Settlers,” where the first responsibility of the special settlers was to work in good faith and, at the same time, the freedom of movement was limited (Resolution of the Council of People’s Commissars of the USSR No. 35, 1993).

At the beginning of 1944, the Omsk Region (which included the Tyumen Region till August 14, 1944) accepted 27,088 Kalmyks (the Historical Archive of the Omsk Region, Case No. 131). The deportees were settled in 590 settlements (the State Archive of the Russian Federation, Case No. 161), where they were used for agricultural work in the collective and state farms and, to a much lesser extent, in the local and other industries (the State Archive of the Russian Federation, Case No. 161).

All deportees were automatically granted the status of “special settlers of a contingent “Kalmyks””. Already in the first quarter of 1944, specifically for “servicing” of a new “special contingent” category in the Omsk Region, 19 new district and village commandant’s offices were established (the State Archive of the Russian Federation, Case No. 161). Note that the supervision of each special settler was carried out not only by the commandant. Each commandant’s office was divided into 5-10 yards; their heads (from among the special settlers) conducted public oversight. There were groups of designated persons in the industrial and commercial organizations, who supervised the deportees “by virtue of their official position” (e.g. foresters). It should be noted that there was a secret agent network among the Kalmyks and “support groups” consisting of local residents (the State Archive of the Russian Federation, Case No. 464). Nasunova-Sengleeva described the special settlement regime briefly, but aptly: “I think that it was a “free prison”, where people lived and worked under the supervision” (Nasunova-Sengleeva, 2003).

SOCIALIZATION AREAS

The process of socialization includes three areas in which the personal formation is mainly carried out: activities, communication, and self-awareness (Kolocho *et. al.*, 2004). During the activities, throughout the process of socialization, a person deepens and expands his/her potential as a subject of activity, mastering its new

types. Kalmyks were deprived of the opportunity to select a type of activity. And, as practice showed, this had a direct impact on the success of personal economic (production) socialization. Kalmyks were stock farmers for more than 90% (Ubushaev *et. al.*, 2007); therefore, the economic socialization went on faster on state-owned livestock farms. Work performance of special settlers in the state-farm sector by the middle of March 1944 ranged from 75% to 100% (the State Archive of the Russian Federation, Case No. 177).

More than 9 thousand of the Kalmyks resettled in accordance with the Resolution as of April 30, 1944 to work in the fishing industry in Tobolsk, Khanty-Mansiysk and Yamalo-Nenets Regions appeared in a very tragic situation. Most of the deportees were women and children who, in the vast majority, did not have the necessary qualification or economic experience. By October 1945, the proportion of women and children in the Tyumen Region amounted to 81% (A Report of the Chief of the NKVD in the Tyumen Region Shevarov to the Chief of OSP NKVD of the USSR Kuznetsov on the Status of the Special Settlers, the Kalmyks in the Tyumen Region, 1993), while only 48.2% of the deportees in the Tyumen Region have been recognized as capable of working (the State Archive of the Russian Federation, Case No. 164). In the industry of the Omsk Region, the percentage of labor force was 55.7% of the total number of the deportees (the State Archive of the Russian Federation, Case No. 164). Kalmyk women and teenagers (the labor of 14-16 year-old teenagers was officially used) had to develop new kinds of work only in practice (the State Archive of the Khanty-Mansiysk District, Case No. 328). It resulted in the slow socialization in the sphere of activities. For example, work performance in the fishing enterprises of the north by the end of 1945 was inferior to performance of the local population by more than a third (the State Archive of Social and Political History of the Tyumen Region, Case No. 229).

Restrictions on the use of many means of social mobility available for “legitimate” population were a factor limiting the ability of the Kalmyk special settlers to the labor socialization. Bogaev, one of the deported Kalmyks, recalls the following on the appointment of his fellow villager as a chief accountant of the fishermen’s cooperative association in the post-war years: “Certainly, the appointment of the settler to such a high post was mentioned by the others. There were those who wrote complaints and the appropriate inspections began” (Bogaev, 2009). Upon Order No. 52 dated March 5, 1953, the Chief of the Khanty-Mansiysk state fishermen’s group demanded to replace all special settlers with civilians, starting with fishery foremen, coastal post inspectors in the collective farms and, if possible, sorters and stackers in the fish-processing workshops (the State Archive of the Khanty-Mansiysk District, Case No. 388).

Inspections conducted in accordance with the Resolution of the Presidium of the CPSU Central Committee “On Measures to Strengthen the Mass-Political Work Among the Special Settlers” as of June 29, 1955 in the period of 1955-1956

by the Omsk and Tyumen Regional Committees of the CPSU have shown that the appointment of the Kalmyks to responsible posts (secretaries of primary Komsomol, trade union and party organizations) was an exceptional phenomenon and showed the existence of discrimination (the State Archive of Social and Political History of the Tyumen Region, Case No. 104; the Historic Archive of the Omsk Region, Case No. 7084). As a result, even with the necessary skills and abilities, they could not fully implement their potential. And the reason was the status of a special settler.

ETHICAL BEHAVIOR AND LABOR SOCIALIZATION

The key issue for the adaptation of any ethnic group in the conditions of a special settlement was ethical behavior worked out by its representatives towards the authorities. In contacts with public authorities, the Kalmyks developed one of the most conformist behavior strategies. Upon the results of the analysis of narratives of the informants who had experienced the deportation, Chetyrova came to the conclusion that the Kalmyks used the Marxist concept of labor in order to atone for their imaginary guilt to the Motherland by making an honest living (Chetyrova, 2011).

The materials of “punitive” statistics also show the lack of significant resistance to the repressive system. This group of “special contingent” was not characterized by such form of active protest as an escape. In the third quarter of 1947 in the Soviet Union 4,494 deportees, including 55 Kalmyks, escaped (6 people escaped from the territory of the Tyumen Region, in the Omsk Region there were no escapes at all) (the State Archive of the Russian Federation, Case No. 366). By November 1, 1948, on the territory of the Omsk Region in the special settlement there were 10,356 Kalmyks, while from the time of settlement only 13 people escaped. For comparison, over the same period among the contingent of “OUN members” in the region 520 people escaped. As a result, at the time of verification 14,924 special settlers of this category were registered. “Letters to the authorities” became the most common kind of protest. Such appeals were both individual (The Letter of U.D. Kekeev to M.I. Kalinin, the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, 1993) and collective ones (the State Archive of the Khanty-Mansiysk District, Case No. 259).

At the same time, this was about so-called “bagpipes” (collective refusal to work). Even in their complaints, the Kalmyks justified the need for assistance to the public interests, as they thought they were punished by their own power, which “wrongly” resettled a whole nation.

It is rather simple to explain such a significant difference in behavioral patterns in two groups of “special contingent” with a general special settlement status. The fact is that the Kalmyks were the people, which was organically inscribed in the pyramid of Soviet nationalities: the Soviet government granted them the statehood

in the form of an autonomous republic (the Kalmyk ASSR). Therefore, many Kalmyks (especially party, government workers and security officers) were deeply integrated into government institutions and did not think of active resistance to the system. On the contrary, special settlers “OUN members” were the population of the Western Ukraine (mostly family members of participants of organizations of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN)), included in the Soviet Union just before the war. Then they were under occupation and had experience of armed resistance to the Soviet regime.

SOCIALIZATION IN THE SPHERE OF COMMUNICATION

In the sphere of communication, the socialization involves the expansion and multiplication of contacts, personal links with other people. The arrived Kalmyks appeared in a completely different ethno-cultural environment. Establishing contacts with the local population was primarily complicated by the fact that among the Siberians there was a myth of the cannibals. A Kalmyk special settler Boris Pakhomkin, who lived in the village Syropyatka of the Kormilovsky District, noted that before the arrival “it was given out that Kalmyks – “cannibals” are deported to the district” (Pakhomkin, 2004). Similar rumors were spread at the Kolomzino station (Badminova, 2003). This rumor was spread not only among the “legitimate” population, but also among the exiles: “population here included former Russian kulaks. At first, they treated us with caution. They heard that we are cannibals, and they did not let their children outside for a long time and we were not allowed close to their homes” (Dyugeeva, 2003). This myth was spread everywhere, including in the Far North. Khozyainova A.F., an ethnic Komi, who worked in reindeer herding in the Yar-Sale District and then in the Shuryshkarsky District, recalled that in the early postwar years “everyone said, “We heard that some evil people arrived, they eat people” (Interview with A.F. Khozyainova, 2010). Soon, however, the Siberians “realized that we [Kalmyks – A.I.] are worthy of sympathy and aid” (Dyugeeva, 2003).

The ubiquity of “cannibalistic rumors” let Guchinova put forward the assumption that these rumors were “consciously or unconsciously” used by special services that carried out the deportation of the Kalmyks to exclude them not only from the “legal environment”, but also from the human community as a whole (Guchinova, 2005).

The lack of knowledge of the Russian language by many Kalmyks was a long-term obstacle. Muchiryaev S.G., who was deported from the village Leman of the Lemanskiy District of the Kalmyk ASSR, noted that “nobody spoke Russian... those Kalmyks [living on the border with the Stavropol territory – A.I.] – they somehow knew the Russian language, and those who lived in the middle of the territory, did not speak Russian ...” (Interview with S.G. Muchiryaev, 2011).

An issue of “linguistic consequences” of deportation in contemporary historiography is still controversial. Richardson argues that Stalin’s efforts to eliminate minority languages, in particular the Kalmyk language, have not been successful, as 90% of the Kalmyks continued to speak their native language after returning home (Richardson, 2002). Green, on the contrary, supposes that “the deportation of the population was a further and major blow to the Kalmyk language, and the scattering of speakers across Siberia and Central Asia was an aggravating factor”. As a result of this practice, according to Grin, by 1985 only 27.3% of urban and 45.8% of rural Kalmyks were competent enough in speaking the Kalmyk language (Grin, 2001).

Upon results of our survey and the data of historical and anthropological research, the generation of Kalmyk children, whose first language was Russian, were grown up in the conditions of the deportation. The Kalmyk language replaced by the Russian language in functional terms, gradually faded into insignificance in the social life of the people and then in other spheres of their life. The Russian language became the language of survival, a condition for the establishment of normal relations with the local population (Guchinova, 1993). Upon the Government Decree as of June 20, 1944, the education of Kalmyks was to be conducted without special preferences – in the Russian language (Schadt, 2004). Badmakhalgayev, who was deported in the state farm near Omsk, “went to school only after his family settled down in a new place and learned spoken Russian...” (Badmakhalgayev, 2003).

This led to the fact that, upon results of the population census in 1959, among the Kalmyks, who lived in the Kalmyk ASSR, one in ten called another native language, not the Kalmyk language (Ubushaev *et. al.*, 2004). Some of those Kalmyks who remained in Siberia after the abolition of the special settlement regime did not speak their national language (25% in the Omsk Region and 31% in the Tyumen Region (Table 1).

TABLE 1: NUMBER OF THE KALMYKS IN THE OMSK AND TYUMEN REGIONS WITH THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE NATIVE LANGUAGE (ACCORDING TO THE 1959 ALL-UNION CENSUS)

<i>Regions and national districts</i>	<i>Total:</i>	<i>Including being proficient in native language of their nationality</i>	<i>Native language of not their nationality</i>	
			<i>Including Russian</i>	<i>Other languages</i>
All Kalmyk nationality (both genders)				
Omsk	1367	1024	339	4
Tyumen	1340	921	414	5
Including Khanty-Mansiysk	195	100	92	3
Including Yamalo-Nenets	28	16	12	–

<i>Regions and national districts</i>	<i>Total:</i>	<i>Including being proficient in native language of their nationality</i>	<i>Native language of not their nationality</i>	
			<i>Including Russian</i>	<i>Other languages</i>
Urban and rural population (male)				
Omsk	720	530	189	1
Tyumen	714	464	247	3
Including Khanty-Mansiysk	116	54	60	2
Including Yamalo-Nenets	17	8	9	–
Urban and rural population (female)				
Omsk	647	494	150	3
Tyumen	626	457	167	2
Including Khanty-Mansiysk	79	46	32	1
Including Yamalo-Nenets	11	8	3	–
Urban population (male)				
Omsk	189	116	73	–
Tyumen	399	293	106	–
Including Khanty-Mansiysk	27	12	15	–
Including Yamalo-Nenets	6	4	2	–
Urban population (female)				
Omsk	133	68	65	–
Tyumen	372	302	70	–
Including Khanty-Mansiysk	21	13	8	–
Including Yamalo-Nenets	7	5	2	–
Rural population (male)				
Omsk	531	414	116	1
Tyumen	315	171	141	3
Including Khanty-Mansiysk	89	42	45	2
Including Yamalo-Nenets	11	4	7	–
Rural population (female)				
Omsk	514	426	85	3
Tyumen	254	155	97	2
Including Khanty-Mansiysk	58	33	24	1
Including Yamalo-Nenets	11	4	7	–

Compiled by: Russian State Archive of Economics. Fund 1562; Russian State Archive of Economics. Case 1566v (pp. 53-73).

THE TRANSFORMATION OF GENDER ROLES AND CHANGING OF FORAGING STRATEGIES

A change in gender roles in the Kalmyk family became an important consequence of the deportation. By the beginning of the war, a patriarchal model dominated and an older man was a head of the family. In the special settlement, the traditional sphere of responsibility of a Kalmyk woman has expanded. A Kalmyk woman had to take responsibility for all family members, be a head of the family and provide for it, exercising a function that was traditionally exercised by a man. A government-imposed “gender contract” turned a Kalmyk woman into a working mother. She was required both “women’s natural destiny” and “socially useful” labor (Guchinova, 2007). For example, Dyugeeva, at the time of family reunion with her husband in 1946, in the woods “... acquired skills of timber harvesting, could cooper, fish, salt fish” and simultaneously raised two nephews who lost their parents (Dyugeeva, 2003).

In exile, the Kalmyks used defense mechanisms, which manifested in changing of the period of the deportation of former foraging strategies inherent in the Kalmyk culture: the diet included plant foods, especially potatoes. “We exchange all new things for foodstuffs and potatoes, milk and other products... We harvested, dried and combed wheat spikes... twisted and grinded wheat for cereals and flour, cooked porridge and flat cakes” (Perveev, n.d.).

ETHNIC CONSOLIDATION

Alleviating the problem of physical survival, which was particularly relevant in the first years of deportation, special settlers began to recover family ties broken up by deportation, as thousands of families had been separated as a result of forced resettlement. People began to search for relatives, tried to contact with them by correspondence, sought permission from the Commandant’s Office to move from one special settlement to another (Amninov, 2003).

The settlement dispersion forced people to establish suprageneric ties. It was especially important for young people in the age of marriage, as the deportation actually deprived young Kalmyks of the right to choose a marriage strategy. The special settlement system with its strict regulation of all movements made marriage a way to change at least relocation to more acceptable options. There were times when the groom personally came and took the bride in a neighboring region, where he was registered (Amninov, 2003), or his parents chose a future bride from the North and upon her arrival a young couple, who hardly knew each other, legalized their relations (Guchinova, 2007). This was contrary to the Kalmyks’ traditions and their vision of marriage, but in the conditions of the special settlement it was considered acceptable.

ETHNIC CONSCIOUSNESS (ETHNICITY) IN THE SPECIAL SETTLEMENT

The third sphere of socialization – the development of self-consciousness, the formation of personal “I-image” – is also implemented throughout a person’s life through his/her activities and communication in different social groups and with different personalities. Transformation processes of the ethnic consciousness, which occurred in the years of deportation, divided the generation who experienced the deportation into two groups. The first group consisted of people deported in adulthood, with established views on the world order, who had a certain ethnic identity and political convictions. The second group consisted of those who were taken to Siberia in young age.

In those settlements where there were representatives of the older generation, language, traditions and customs were held up to the extent that was permitted by external circumstances. “The fact that there were a lot of us in the settlement was of great importance. We tried to hold up our traditions. Certainly, as far as possible. In the days of Kalmyk holidays, even if sometimes it was almost factitious, we visited each other and celebrated. At one time some people even made the Kalmyk milk vodka, for example, my grandmother Erenjen Parskanovna and her friend, the mother of Tsagada Unkurov. They knew their job and had enough milk, since Siberian cows produced much milk. Therefore, they could make a popular drink not only for its own needs, but it also remained for guests. By the way, Tsagada held a high post in the Tyumen regional trade department. I think I’m not mistaken assuming that his colleagues had the opportunity to taste our Kalmyk araka” (Amninov, 2003).

Some families preserved utensils of material and spiritual culture: prayer oil lamps and idols of Buddha. Few managed to preserve the handwritten works of Buddhist literature. “In the second village there lived “a religious grandmother”, as we called her. She was Kalmyk ... and lived in Kondinsk. There was a big hospital. And, accordingly, there were more Kalmyk patients... She used to come to hospital and pray [at the bedside – A.I.], touch the patient’s forehead with her rosary. Doctors did not prohibit it at all. She was like a queen, going from ward to ward ... she not only treated the sick people, but also morally supported them ... she had everything: rosary, a prayer book and the Buddha... And she was the only one of all of the six settlements [in the Kondinsk special settlement – A.I.]. Because there were only young deported women...” (Interview with S.G. Muchiryaev, 2011).

Ideas about the future, under the influence of the older generation and structured under the new conditions of forms of the ethnic identity, were linked with the return to the traditional habitat, the Motherland, to past relationships: “Our fathers were impenetrable, their generation was zombified. Back to the Motherland, to the Motherland, to the Motherland. For them the Motherland meant everything” – said

O. Mandzhiev (Guchinova, 2005). In that situation, the ethnic identity could not be eradicated, it was always present, even in the latent form.

The second group was represented by those who were brought up in the deportation period and who did not have the actual information about the life in the integral Kalmyk society, generally consists of ethnic outcasts. The formation of the “I-image” in this group was influenced by the realities of the social realm. Basically, it was made up of local attitudes to the Kalmyks. They were out of the sphere of the ethnic identity, remaining there just nominally. The state of marginality became the basis of their multidirectional orientation. This multidirectionality is characterized by uncertainty, internal tension, misunderstandings and open opposition to the mental factors inherent to the representatives of their ethnic group (Bicheev, 2005). Memories of Bogaev are an illustrative example: “... we, boys and girls, were ashamed of calling ourselves the Kalmyks and did not mind when from Badma, Sanji, Kermen we turned out to be called Boris, Sergey, Klara. We hesitated to speak our native language, much less to sing and dance. Frankly speaking, then we thought that everything Kalmyk is worse than the Russian, Belarusian, etc. Being very young children, we were convinced, or rather inclined to believe that, as representatives of a small nation, we had small, tiny, limited abilities, potential in everything. As I now understand, it was the result of that deliberate policy” (Bogaev, 2009). The commandant’s regime was the reason for that: “When I started to deal with the commandant’s office, I realized that I was a special settler and had limited rights. I was ashamed of my origin and nationality” (Getselova, 1999).

CONCLUSION

The Kalmyks were forced to abandon the most distinguishing markers of ethnicity: the native language, personal names, demonstrative religious commitment and national holidays. In the special settlements, an invariant of the Kalmyk life-cycle rituals were formed, where many sub-ethnic elements were not represented and many rituals were observed symbolically (Guchinova, 2007). Therefore, the representatives of other nations, who were in contact with the Kalmyks, associated their nation traditions with the Kalmyk tea (djomba) (Interview with L.E. Pachganova, 2011), which became the basis of nutrition in the crisis situation. In the minds of the Ob North inhabitants (in both special settlers and “legitimate” population), the Kalmyks, as a separate ethnic group, were associated with the notion of “the Kalmyk barrack”. This was especially peculiar to the fishing-industry areas where many Kalmyks had to live in barrack-type buildings before returning home (Interview with A.M. Sokolova, 2009).

The intensification of the process of the ethnic consolidation, which took place during the development of strategies and tactics of survival in extreme conditions, was one of the few positive results of staying in the special settlement.

The commonality of experience and status of special settlers brought the Kalmyks together. It has led to the fact that the common Kalmyk ethnic identity began to dominate over local identity forms. Before returning to Kalmykia, Borlikov, who spent his childhood in orphanages of the Khanty-Mansiysk District, “thought that all Kalmyks were brothers”. Back in the homeland, “it turned out to be untrue – people were divided...” (Borlikov, 2003). In Siberia, it was enough to know that you are Kalmyk.

In the inter-ethnic cooperation in the deportation conditions not ethnicity, but the status of a person, his/her belonging to the special settlement society was a decisive factor: “Forty Kalmyk families, ten German families and only one Russian family lived here [at the farm household of the Special Trade Department of the MIA of the Tyumen Region – A.I.]. Thus, all settlers were equal in rights – they were special settlers. And everybody lived in friendship” (Aminov, 2003).

The deportation and special settlement regime caused deep trauma to each special settler. Not by chance, in the minds of ethnic Kalmyks the years spent in special settlements are associated with genocide, an attempt to destroy the people, and many other personal traumas have been turned out to be one collective deportation trauma, manifestations of which are apparent in the writings of modern Kalmyk students (Batyreva, 2005).

The forced nature of the socialization lowered an adaptive capacity of a person to a different ethno-cultural and natural-economic environment, resulting in a major loss of population in that period. According to the official data, only during the first three months of stay in the settlement in the Omsk Region, 1,133 Kalmyks died (the State Archive of the Russian Federation, Case No. 161). The total loss of the Kalmyk people in the years of deportation amounted to 41% of the total population (Maksimov *et. al.*, 2005, p. 137). High mortality and low birth rate in the settlement (the death rate exceeded the birth rate (from the time of resettlement until October 1, 1948) 6.1 times (Zemskov, 1991)), in combination with the settlement dispersion posed a threat to the very existence of the ethnic group.

By early 1956, there were 6,163 Kalmyks in the special settlement in the Omsk Region and 6,153 Kalmyks in the Tyumen Region (the State Archive of the Russian Federation, Case No. 932). On March 17, 1956, the Decree “On Lifting the Restrictions on the Legal Status of the Kalmyks and Their Families in Special Settlements” was adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR (Ubushaev, 1991, p. 77). The Kalmyks were taken off the special register; however, they received the right to return to their homeland only on January 25, 1957 (the State Archive of the Russian Federation, Case No. 580). The organized departure of the Kalmyks from the settlement land, which took place in the period of 1957-1958, was a large-scale process. By the time of the census in 1959, most of the Kalmyks, wishing to leave for the homeland, left Siberia. By this time, in the study area there were 2,707

people (Table 1). As a rule, they were the Kalmyks who had no relatives left in the settlement land (Erdneeva, n.d.), or people, who married non-Kalmyks (Perveev, n.d.) and their children (Interview with T.A. Zueva, 2010).

The socialization is always accompanied by two mutually reinforcing processes: de-socialization and re-socialization. The study has shown that forced resettlement and being in the conditions of the special settlement regime turned de-socialization into a process of complete rejection of the old values and standards, the destruction of the traditional Kalmyk family in adapting to the new conditions. Re-socialization included the development of survival strategies, including changes in gender roles in the family, learning new types of activities (fishing, working in the logging, etc.), the standards of a special regime, rules of conduct in the non-ethnic environment and building relations with the government under the special regime. Forced socialization resulted in the failure in values, feelings and self-identification, a feeling of inferiority, which suggests the occurrence of the phenomenon of “a deportation trauma”.

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