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The problems of reproduction of traditional culture in Russian regions in the XX century on the example of the Kirov region

Проблемы воспроизводства традиционной культуры в российских регионах в XX в. на примере Кировской области

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Written by:

Irina Y. Trushkova⁸⁵

SPIN: 5847-5477

Elena I. Titova⁸⁶

SPIN: 8102-7129

Vera V. Sapozhnikova⁸⁷

SPIN: 3368-0736

Abstract

Combinatorics of industrial and post-industrial processes are manifested differently in different countries and regions of the world. Ethnographic / anthropological research reveals their focus, speed, territorial specificity. *The purpose of the work* is the study of life support systems, the reproduction of ethnic cultures, which is relevant today due to problems with natural resources, environmental pollution, increased stress in everyday life, a decrease in the ecology of life, immunity, etc. The methodology is based on the methods of ethnographic expeditions, ethnomonitoring in specific Russian territory (the Vyatka province in the past, the Kirov region - now). For several decades, patterns have been identified and formulas for consolidating industrial and post-industrial changes in the 20th - early 21st centuries have been presented. *Results*. There is a change in the types of settlements, from the location and size in the cultural landscape. The structure of the settlement was changing, new, industrial facilities — new socio-political institutions, complicated production — were “implanted” in them. Ethnoeconomics, along with industrial elements, continued to maintain traditional, peasant household occupations, which served as an aid in crises. Cultural inversions were also observed in the use of clothing, utensils, and the food system. The mainstay of the life support system was health conservation. It included a balance of physical

Аннотация

Комбинаторика индустриальных и пост-индустриальных процессов по-разному проявляется в разных странах и регионах мира. Этнографическое/антропологическое исследование выявляет их направленность, скорость, территориальную специфику. *Цель работы* – изучение систем жизнеобеспечения, воспроизводства этнических культур, что актуально в наши дни из-за проблем с природными ресурсами, загрязнением окружающей природы, увеличением стрессов в повседневности, снижением экологии быта, иммунитета и т.д. *Методология* строится на методиках этнографических экспедиций, этномониторинге в конкретной российской территории (Вятской губернии в прошлом, Кировской области – ныне). Так на протяжении нескольких десятилетий выявляются закономерности и представляются формулы закрепления индустриальных и пост-индустриальных изменений в XX – начале XXI вв. *Результаты*. В культурном ландшафте отмечается смена видов поселений, из расположения и размеров. Изменялась структура поселения, в них «вживлялись» новые, индустриальные объекты – новые общественно-политические учреждения, усложненные производства. Этноэкономика наряду с индустриальными элементами продолжала сохранять традиционные, крестьянские хозяйственные занятия, что служило подспорьем в кризисах, Культурные

⁸⁵ Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, Department of History and Political Sciences, Vyatka State University

⁸⁶ Candidate of Historical Sciences, Associate Professor, Department of History and Political Sciences, Vyatka State University

⁸⁷ Candidate of Medical Sciences, Assistant of the Department of Infectious Diseases, Kirov State Medical University

labor and rest, disease prevention, herbal medicine, maintaining immunity and stress prevention. The spiritual abandonment of ethnic cultures during the Soviet time has undergone a maximum of changes. Religious holidays were forbidden, part of the Orthodox and Muslim rites was reproduced secretly, ethnopedagogy was partially preserved only at home. New communication expanded in communities, names, communication style and relationships. Ethnomonitoring in such Russian regions as the Kirov region demonstrates the non-linearity of the change of the agrarian to the industrial and post-industrial era, and their parallel co-existence in crises shows cultural inversions. Such adjustments to common theories can increase efficiency in managing the economy and socio-political life of these complex territories.

Keywords: Life support system in ethnocultures, Vyatka, Russian regions, industrial and post-industrial transformations of ethnic groups.

Introduction

Introduction In the 21st century, studies of the direction of industrial and post-industrial development of various countries and regions, the identification of combinatorial features of slowdown and speed-up, specificity, as well as problem-freeness and efficiency, acquired a new social significance. A special place in the analysis of such development is occupied by anthropological / ethnological studies, which especially clearly and specifically represent the indicated dynamics, including pictures of the life of specific people, their life support systems. Studies of the dynamics of industrial and post-industrial processes in the modern period in different countries and regions, among different ethnic groups, reveal the most positive cultural technologies such as: interaction with nature, saving the human body's resources in the face of growing stress and labor overload, maintaining the ecology of the home, life, disease prevention and maintaining immunity, profane and sacred communication in ethnic, religious and other groups, the use of positive pedagogical experience of past ages, etc. On the example of

инверсии наблюдались и в использовании одежды, утвари и системе питания. Опорой системы жизнеобеспечения выступало здоровьесбережение. Оно включало баланс физического труда и отдыха, профилактику болезней, фитотерапию, поддержание иммунитета и профилактику стрессов. Духовная оставляющая этнических культур в течение советского времени претерпела максимум изменений. Религиозные праздники были запрещены, часть православных и мусульманских обрядов воспроизводилась скрытно, этнопедагогика сохранялась частично лишь дома. Расширялась новая коммуникация в сообществах, имена, стиль общения и отношений. Этномониторинг в таких российских регионах, как Кировская область демонстрирует нелинейность смены аграрной на индустриальную и постиндустриальную эпохи, а некое параллельное их сосуществование и в кризисы - культурные инверсии. Такие корректировки распространенных теорий могут увеличить эффективность в управлении экономикой и общественно-политической жизнью данных сложных территорий.

Ключевые слова: система жизнеобеспечения в этнокультурах, вятки, регионы России, индустриальные и постиндустриальные преобразования этносов.

specific territories, the patterns and formulas of such a progressive development of society are more clearly revealed.

The nature and scale of the problem is determined by the search for modern societies of positive life experience and life support of different cultural models to solve or prevent the growing life risks of our time.

The purpose of this work is to investigate the course of industrial and post-industrial processes in such specific environments as the "middle" Russian regions, one of which can be considered the modern Kirov region (area - 120,374 sq. Km), the Vyatka province in the past (area - 169 629 sq. Km). It is larger in size than in most modern countries of Western Europe.

Vyatka is a typical peasant land where representatives of various ethnic groups and faiths have lived for centuries, including Russians (Slavs), Komi, Udmurts and Mari (Finno-Ugric) and Tatars (Turks). At the

beginning of the 20th century, Latvians, Estonians, and Western Belarusians moved to Vyatka according to the Stolypin agrarian reform, later Germans and Ukrainians; Diasporas of Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Uzbeks, Tajiks and others took shape by the end of the 20th and beginning of the 21st centuries. Common religions in the region are Orthodoxy, including Old Believers, Islam, some pre-Christian and pre-Islamic beliefs, as well as atheism. Therefore, the territory selected for analysis seems quite indicative, with its combinatorics of ethno-confessional, economic and other characteristics. The chronological framework of the work is the 20th - beginning of the 21st century, the time of the most significant changes in the economy and public life.

The objectives of the article are defined as follows: to show the algorithms in the restructuring of the village economy, the influence of industrial and post-industrial life, the degree of preservation and characteristics of the reproduction of religion, family and non-family communication, maintaining human health and a clean environment, ethnopedagogy, and as a result, assess the degree of effectiveness conservation and modern use of ethnic values in the modern period.

The methodology of ethnographic expeditionary work is used, namely: observations, polls, conversations. A special place is given to “included observation” when the authors of the works themselves participated in the rites and celebrations of the population. We got acquainted with the technologies of traditional industries. The work was carried out in areas of the Kirov region, and for comparison - in other regions of Russia and some foreign countries of Europe and Asia in 1990 - 2019; An analysis of museum and archival collections, opinion polls, etc. was carried out.

The results of the study are manifested in the reconstruction of the specifics of the regional model of ethnoculture with the identification of the dynamics and patterns of interaction of traditional, industrial and post-industrial features, models of prevention and overcoming crisis situations in economic, everyday and social life, designation of resources for development after the 2020s. Such results can be used in managing culture, education, the local economy, public health, solving environmental, medical, religious, educational problems, as well as preserving the ethno-cultural heritage of the territories as a symbol and a kind of encyclopedia

for addressing regional and supra-regional ethno-confessional communities in problem situations.

Research methodology

The research methodology is based on the “included observation” method, population surveys, museum and archival surveys, in the study of micro-history / everyday history plots, which increases the degree of objectivity in the interpretation of the analyzed facts. Detailed information about the research includes the most typical materials - recordings of conversations, memoirs, photo and video archives of expeditions, museum collections and some other sources related to ethnography / anthropology of the Kirov region, the Urals, with some comparisons with other territories. A special place belongs to the works of regional writers, including the so-called “countrymen”, i.e. writing about the past and modern village life. The theoretical basis of expeditionary research is the concrete application of a civilizational approach to the history and culture of regions, in which the dynamics of ethnocultural phenomena are observed throughout the 20th - early 21st centuries. It is specific that the phenomena of the 19th century existed in socialist times.

Results

The results of the indicated studies are determined by the reconstruction of the territorial model of culture with the identification of patterns and formulas in the transition from the traditional to the industrial and then to the post-industrial stage of development. Moreover, all the features are manifested in such areas as the cultural landscape, ethnoeconomics, types of settlements and dwellings, clothes, utensils and food systems, home improvement, etc. The autochthonous population of the region, these processes are largely similar.

The cultural landscape of the Russian province on the example of the Vyatka province / Kirov region in the period under review has changed significantly. First of all, the revolutionary events of 1917 led to a redrawing of administrative borders and national entities — autonomous republics of the Udmurts, Mari, Komi, and Tatars — emerged from the region.

Ethnic and demographic indicators in the region have changed. First of all, due to the allocation in the 1920s of autonomous regions of the Tatars, Udmurts, Mari and Komi (Kirov region 2008). The population of the region decreased: from 3813000 people in 1913 to 1.297500 people in

2016 (Vyatka region at the turn of the millennium 2002, Kirov region in numbers. 2016, Brief statistical guide 2016).

At the beginning of the XX century, according to the memoirs, old-timers, walking along the road and leaving one village, the beginning of another was already visible (field materials of the authors (FMA) Kirov Region, 1990-2019). This indicates the density of the rural population in the region until 1917. After collectivization, i.e. after the 1920s and 30s, the enlargement of villages began. A significant outflow of the peasant population from the Kirov region began after obtaining passports in the 1950s. Such a picture is typical for the change of traditional demography to industrial. The decline in fertility was complemented by an increase in population mobility. However, contacts of those who left with their relatives are often recorded - through correspondence, sending children on vacation to grandparents in the village, visits to religious and other holidays, financial assistance to parents, nostalgia. Examples are the mass arrival of those who left for the city on their small homeland on Petrov Day in the Urzhumsky District, on the tenth holiday in the village of Lalsk in the Luzsky District (hereinafter, field materials of the authors (FMA Kirov Region, 1990-2019).

The main component of **ethnoeconomics** at the beginning of the 20th century was agriculture, industry compared to its neighbors was modestly developed, which was partially offset by trade. Therefore, merchants who strongly preserved tradition and relied on communal foundations were considered typical people for industrial development. The “industrial life” of the Soviet era for the village is collective farms, many sad pages in the history of Russian provinces due to dispossession of the village are associated with their organization (Sitnikov, 1990; Perminova, 2003). But in some ways, collective farms can be represented as a kind of copy of the community, although managed more from outside, not always taking into account the peasant nature of ownership and management. During the XX - first decades of the XXI century, cultural inversions were observed in the ethno-economy, namely, a return to the old rules of managing in crises. For example, the use of horses, not tractors during the Great Patriotic War, the maintenance of livestock, hunting, fishing, picking berries and mushrooms.

The theme of **settlements, dwellings, traditional clothing, utensils and food**, including their ecology, is revealed on the materials of ethnographic expeditions in a certain

way. Traditional settlements decreased in number, the wide palette of their varieties (village, village, repairs, borrowing) changed slightly, the working village and the urban type were added to the first two. The estates and dwellings in the countryside themselves were changing slowly. The traditional hut, outbuildings, street layout were reproduced during the designated period. But instead of temples, the center of the settlements became administration buildings, clubs (often in church buildings), schools, and shops. In principle, the traditional structure was reproduced. Farms for livestock, machine and tractor stations were fixed in it from industrial content. Local production was carried out to the outskirts of the settlements; at the same time, the previous environmental rules were observed - the premises of these industries were taken downstream from the village, their small scale did not upset a certain balance of nature and its consumption by society. Material for buildings was used very traditional for the forest region, wood. Construction practices, construction, the use of residential and utility rooms were also traditional. The single-row, two-row and rest-shaped manors, tested over centuries, were reproduced. Visible changes in these designs were recorded after World War II, when the residents of Vyatka traveled to other regions and countries and due to the sharply increased scope of industrial development of the Kirov region. Palisades appeared at the estates, rudimentation of the household began. Urban features appeared in the interior - additional walls in the hut, dividing the space into rooms, furniture, cabinets, a radio, a TV, a refrigerator. But they were supplemented by the tradition of “glacier”, “sausage” / cellar, “ceiling”. Instead of icons, photographs of relatives were hung above the table in the former “red corner”. The home décor was handicrafts. The common features of the dwelling in the village were cleanliness, saving the use of anything and everything, periodic repair of furniture, a house, a fence, outbuildings remained an obligatory task.

Clothing throughout the 20th and first decades of the 21st centuries, of course, changed. The influence of urban fashion manifested itself even before 1917 (Trushkova, 2005). However, in Soviet times - it became stronger and faster to penetrate into everyday life. “Cultural inversions” were also observed in clothing. In particular, the strenuous canvases and dowry of the 1910–20s were kept in chests and in the 1930–40s and later were used as working, home clothes, especially in “difficult” (crisis) times. During the war years, the canvas of the camp was used more often, and saved from poverty.

Traditional styles were reproduced as economical. Granny's sundresses were taken out of the chests and altered by daughters and granddaughters, who sometimes had nothing to go to work on the collective farm or to study at school. The layering of the costume was reproduced due to the harsh climate. Multilayer costumes were generally widespread in the north and in the center of Europe (Sirikka-Liisa Hakala, 1995, *Suknia wydaje ludzkie obyczaie*, 2015).

The long-term use of "Singer" sewing machines was specific to wealthy people until the 1917 revolution. They always come in handy in large families and other families. Sewing machines are still used in some places, but rarely, although these sewing machines are sometimes in working condition at the beginning of the XXI centuries. Almost all women in the village and the city were able to embroider, sew and darn, turn over, knit (FMA, 1990-2019).

In the dishes, industrial changes took place similarly to clothing metamorphoses. Part of the purchased dishes is pre-revolutionary. The specificity of the region is that peasant families used a lot of the so-called "Kuznetsovsky" porcelain. To this day, cups, teapots, sugar bowls and thrush with the hallmarks of the Kuznetsov brothers' porcelain factories well-known in Europe remain from grandmothers. Enamelled dishes gradually came into use, glass bottles and cast irons were preserved. The weaving of baskets, motley (backpacks woven from birch bark), tubs and barrels was reproduced. Baskets in villages still weave. Moreover, wooden utensils, salt shakers, cutting boards with ornaments in the 2000-2010s began to be used more, as regionally and ethnically labeled and "environmentally friendly".

In the XX century, there were potters, but in small quantities. Case in point: the village of Zaborye, Luzsky District, in the north of the Kirov Region. At the beginning of the XXI century, home semi-pottery production of clay pots for local consumption was observed (FMA, Kirov Region, 1990-2019). Why is such antiquity needed? The explanation is as follows: it is environmentally friendly cookware by material, the food in it is prepared better, its use is sparing ("... less cooking oil is needed ..."), etc. There are plenty of traditional recipes and under local products.

Life, daily routine is a kind of "micro-story". Using the example of a description of the life of specific people and families, the reconstructed rhythm of life, work and relaxation, physical and

spiritual loads is reconstructed. Physical activity during work in the field, in the forest, within the village and the estate was regulated by tradition. The sense of time was specific. People worked not by the clock, but by the sun in good faith; quality work was not based on time signals, but on how much time was needed. The main holidays lasted about a week; weekend work was considered a sin; people usually washed in the bath, prayed in church on such days. Fasting was perceived as a special diet, weight regulation and body cleansing. In everyday life, the cyclical nature, a combination of large and small rhythms, consistent with human physiology, was revealed, which is very advisable for human health. Maintaining cleanliness in the house was determined by the cleaning regime and the rule "do not litter". Recreation areas were divided, food consumption, work areas, largely removed from the home to the estate and even for it. Rational were the rules for maintaining light and heat in the house.

A healthy lifestyle was mandatory with peasant labor. Work and rest alternated, fasting and meat-eaters. Health-saving was the lifestyle in the house, ecological and comfortable clothes and food. The bath culture is a bright page in the history of local ethnic cultures of Russians, Udmurts, Komi, Mari and Tatars. The standards for the prevention and treatment of diseases have been passed down from generation to generation. Treatment during the 20th and first decades of the 21st centuries implied natural remedies besides the use of modern pharmaceuticals. Colds were treated with heat, vitamin teas, honey; wounds and dislocations - folk herbal medicine, ointments, infusions, herbal and fat extracts. It is known that rotted fish offal, stored in a ceramic cup and underground, helped in the healing of purulent wounds (Trushkova, 2003).

Infectious diseases were considered the most dangerous; the preliminary "frying" of dishes and products in the oven, on fire as preventive measures saved us from diseases. Girls were allowed to cook from 11-12 years old, while they began to embroider and babysit babies from 5-6 years old. When gastrointestinal infections appeared, "therapeutic fasting" was used, followed by fixing broths, vitamin drink, honey, tea, immunity-strengthening meat foods, eggs, chicken broths. Catarrh infections were regulated by a certain communication with relatives, using only a personal cup, spoon. Diseases obtained from the bites of infected insects were treated by removing them from clothes or the body, but more by prevention in the form of wearing very closed clothes for haymaking (for example), with

clearly fixed wrists, a tight headgear (scarf), bast shoes with windings. Of course, these are indirect methods, infectious diseases took their lives, and only sufficiently strong immunity could overcome them. Therefore, there was an expression: "God gave, God took" (FMA, 1990-2019).

Disease prevention and some treatment have been achieved through the use of herbal medicine. Medicinal plants were collected by certain people, in certain places and at certain times. Also, the collected material was supposed to be specially stored and prepared for use. It turns out that the medicinal plants needed to treat diseases in the region grew in this region. Ethnoecology in the Vyatka region was correlated with ethnoecology in the Slavic world (Trushkova, Ashihmina, Kondakova, 2019).

Ethnovaleology implied the maintenance of spiritual health. Folk therapy (art therapy) was seen in the occupation of needlework, embroidery and weaving due to soothing, admiring / contemplating nature. Such aesthetics brought a person's feelings back to normal, healed. "Anti-stress programs" were based on a clear distribution of roles in the team and responsibilities at home, in the village, in relatives, taking into account the time of day and year. Examples: it's time to get married - get out, time to give birth - give birth. Also, stresses were removed and singing in a round dance, on gatherings. Prayer in the temple and at home also stabilized the person (Trushkova, 2001, Titova, 2016). There was no risk due to freedom of life choice: everything in fate was predetermined. The community acted as a guarantor and advocate for life problems. She directed and helped people, acted as the guarantor of stability. Therefore, people in the community had nothing to worry about. This is the essence of stress prevention.

Spiritual life included religion, ethnopedagogy, new holidays, ceremonies, as well as the relationship between people in the village and the city.

The reproduction of **religious principles** under the rule of atheism, of course, was hidden, latent in nature. Even in the first years of Soviet power, under the brutal pressure of the state on the Old Believers, the book-manuscript tradition continued thanks to the efforts of the most persistent "zealots of the past." In the 1920s and 1940s, Old Believer writers created a number of historical works. After 1956, there was a slow restoration of destroyed traditions and the

emergence of a new wave of Old Believer writers. M. A. Basalaev (Filipovite from the village of Pilyandysh, Kirov Region) not only rewrote the Genealogy of the Filipov consent, but also created his History - the essay "On faith in the Shurminsky borders" (Kozhurin 2014).

The destruction of churches and mosques, atheistic upbringing and education in public schools in the Soviet period contributed to the destruction of most of the national Orthodoxy and Islam. However, people secretly prayed in their homes, "to themselves," went to the procession to the famous village of Velikoretskoye in the Kirov region, from the regions bordering the Urals - to Perm, where there was one not closed church (FMA Kirov Region, 1990-2019). The religious attitude to work, family, to veneration of older relatives was noted, Orthodox twelve and some other holidays were remembered and partially celebrated.

From the beginning of the 21st century, a clear rise of the Old Believers began to be observed. Even in the deepest province, and even among the bespopovtsev (who do not have churches and clergy, have only a spiritual father), for example, the village of Shurma, Urzhum district. Young people from nearby villages and cities appeared in religious communities. Those who were brought up in Old Believer families or have relatives, Old Believers, retired, move to the outback and enter the community. In the 2010s, the resumption of contacts with communities in other regions of Russia, as well as from Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Poland, Moldova, Romania, Australia, the United States, and Brazil was recorded (FMA, Estonia, 2005 - 2018).

Ethnopedagogy was reproduced only in the family and fragmentarily. It mainly concerned labor education, family behavior, motivation for choosing a life path and profession. Homework continued to be the domain of ethnopedagogical experience. The reproduction of respect for elders was promoted by some October, Pioneer and Komsomol rules. In general, traditional pedagogy has surrendered its position partially to the state system of education and upbringing of children.

New holidays and ceremonies have become one of the markers of the new, Soviet / socialist industrial life. Parades and demonstrations replaced traditional festivals and round dances. Prayers in churches and gatherings were replaced by meetings in institutions and enterprises, weddings in churches - by Komsomol, civil weddings, etc. It is significant that new names

were invented in the first years of Soviet power - Oktyabrina, Gertrude (the heroine of labor), Vladlen (Vladimir Lenin), Vilen (Vladimir Ilyich Lenin), Marlene (Marx and Lenin), etc. The new relationship was determined by the class approach and the class the perception of people in society. But the new appeal "comrade" in the Russian province was supplemented by the old ones, mainly correlated with the related "young man", "daughter", "son", "uncle", "aunt". These words were spoken with local dialect pronunciations (FMA, Kirov Region, 1990-2019). These appeals were permissible especially for children.

So, the information obtained as a result of many years of ethnographic expeditions allows us to draw conclusions about the directions, the degree of intensity of industrial and post-industrial processes in the Russian "middle" regions. Compared with studies of industrialized territories, the course of historical events in regions such as the Kirov region is partially corrected (Korchagin 2006; Trushkova 2005). The theoretical foundations of research on the progress of industrial and post-industrial processes are accumulated in practice and analyzed by data arrays from specific territories, partially correcting them. An example of Asian countries says that ethnicity coexists well and is in high demand in a post-industrial society, including through indigenization (Naysbit John and Doris, 2012; Huntington 2003). This must be taken into account in the management of the economy, politics, and culture.

Conclusions

In general, large-scale and long-term ethnomonitoring shows that industrial and some post-industrial changes in a number of regions do not completely supplant traditionality. The modern fashion of the "cottage" lifestyle is noteworthy. Is village culture coming back?! Today, tradition is perceived not as an anachronism, but as a solution to some of the problems of life support (ecology of housing, clothing, food - in material life, "anti-stress" programs, etc. - in spirituality). Folk therapy of the Vyatka region includes the rule: "own culture heals". The ethnic situation in such Russian, "middle" (in the past - indicatively peasant) regions shows the non-linearity of the change of the agrarian to the industrial and post-industrial era, and some parallel coexistence and periodic cultural inversions. Such a model of ethnoculture can find analogies in other territories and countries where a sufficiently strong ethnic

specificity persisted throughout the XX - XXI centuries.

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