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SOCIOCULTURAL SELF-ORGANIZATION AND PROFESSIONAL ETHICS OF THE ZEMSTVO INTELLIGENTSIA IN THE DONETSK REGION (1860s – 1917)

Abstract. The article is devoted to the study of the activities of local self-government bodies of Donetsk region at the turn of the 19th – 20th centuries, which acted as strategic agents of the region's comprehensive modernization. Particular attention is focused on the fact that the main instrument of these transformations was the zemstvo intelligentsia – the so-called "third element" (teachers, doctors, agronomists, statisticians), whose everyday activity directly depended not only on the level of professional training, but also on the degree of their social protection. It is emphasized that the introduction by the zemstvos of innovative mechanisms of social insurance, housing autonomy, and corporate solidarity for that time made it possible to form a stable regional elite capable of resisting the destructive influences of the radicalization and marginalization of society. It is noted that the experience of the zemstvos is useful in the conditions of the formation of today's civil society.

Keywords: zemstvos, local self-government bodies, city дума, professional ethics, "third element" of the zemstvos.

Presentation of the main material: At the turn of the 19th – 20th centuries, Donetsk region represented a unique and dynamic sociocultural landscape. The processes of rapid industrialization, the accelerated development of the mining and metallurgical complex, and a massive influx of a multiethnic labor force formed a specific environment in which traditional peasant institutions were rapidly leveled, while new forms of urban and corporate life were in the stage of emergence. In this transitive context, the county zemstvos (Bakhmut, Mariupol, and Slovianoserbsk) acted not merely as local self-government bodies, but as strategic agents of the region's comprehensive modernization.

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environmental challenges, and social tension, the issue of material provision for a specialist acquired political significance.

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The need to study the experience of the resilience of the zemstvos under the conditions of crisis regions adds particular significance to the topic. The study of how, through “family” solidarity, professional unions, and the attraction of private capital (in particular through charitable societies under the leadership of such figures as D. Kharadzhaiev), an environment for the development of education was created has practical significance for understanding the development of communities during periods of transformation.

The historiographical progress in the study of the activities of zemstvo self-government in the territory of Donetsk region is characterized by a shift in ideological paradigms – from the analysis of legal foundations to the study of the social anthropology of the “third element”.

The historiography of the imperial era was marked by active theoretical polemics regarding the nature of self-government (O. Vasylychuk, B. Veselovsky) (Veselovsky B., 1911: 301). Soviet historiography, despite its ideological engagement, significantly expanded the source base (N. Pirumova). The modern stage is marked by the “anthropologization” of history and an appeal to the regional dimension (A. Lokhmatova, O. Obmetko).

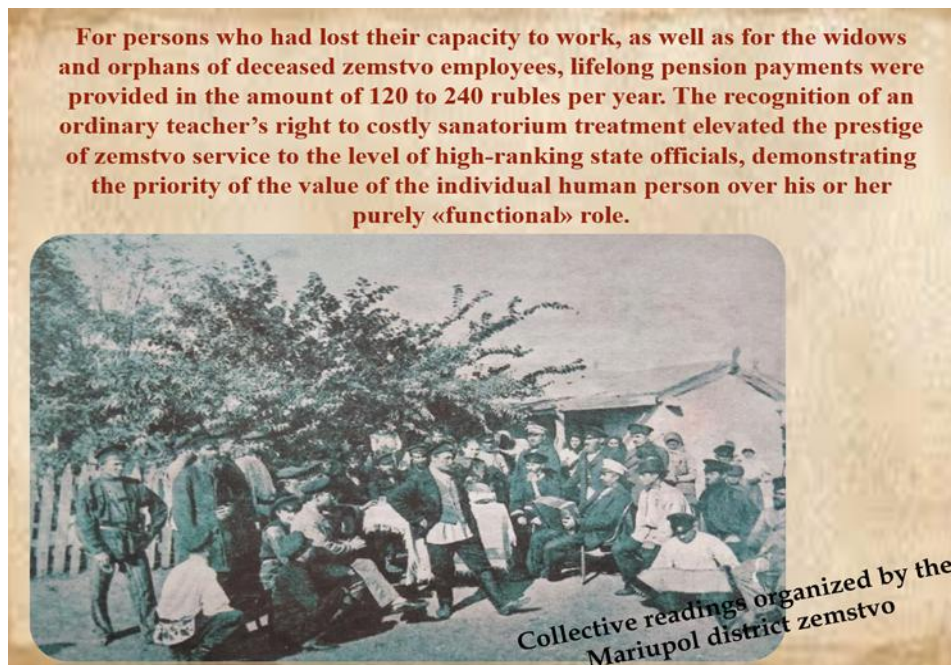
Foreign historiography (R. Manning, S. Seregny, R. Gneist) considers the zemstvos as “engines of professionalism” (Gneist R. 1896: 41).

The source base of the study consists of a representative complex of materials that makes it possible to reconstruct the main directions of social policy and the everyday domestic life of the zemstvo intelligentsia of Donetsk region. Important are the documents of public organizations and professional unions, among which the materials of the “Labor Union” of teachers of Bakhmut county (1906) and charitable institutions, in particular the Mariupol Society for Assistance to the Poor under the leadership of D. Kharadzhaiev, are of particular value, illustrating the mechanisms of interaction between the zemstvo and private capital in matters of social care. The informational potential of the study is expanded thanks to statistical and reference sources, such as the “Statistical Yearbooks of Katerynoslav Governorate”, materials of special surveys of the everyday life of the intelligentsia, as well as Memorial Books and Address Calendars, etc.

The zemstvo institutions of Donetsk region were among the first to state the fact that the effective implementation of the educational mission of the intelligentsia under the conditions of an intensively industrialized region required the creation of a stable economic foundation. The self-government bodies developed a strategic approach according to which the level of material provision of a specialist directly correlated with his qualification characteristics and the effectiveness of his activity.

An analysis of the structure of budgetary allocations confirms that the monetary maintenance of zemstvo employees in Donetsk region often exceeded the average indicators in other governorates. Such a financial policy in fact performed the function of a “territorial allowance” for work under specific conditions: the unfavorable environmental situation of the

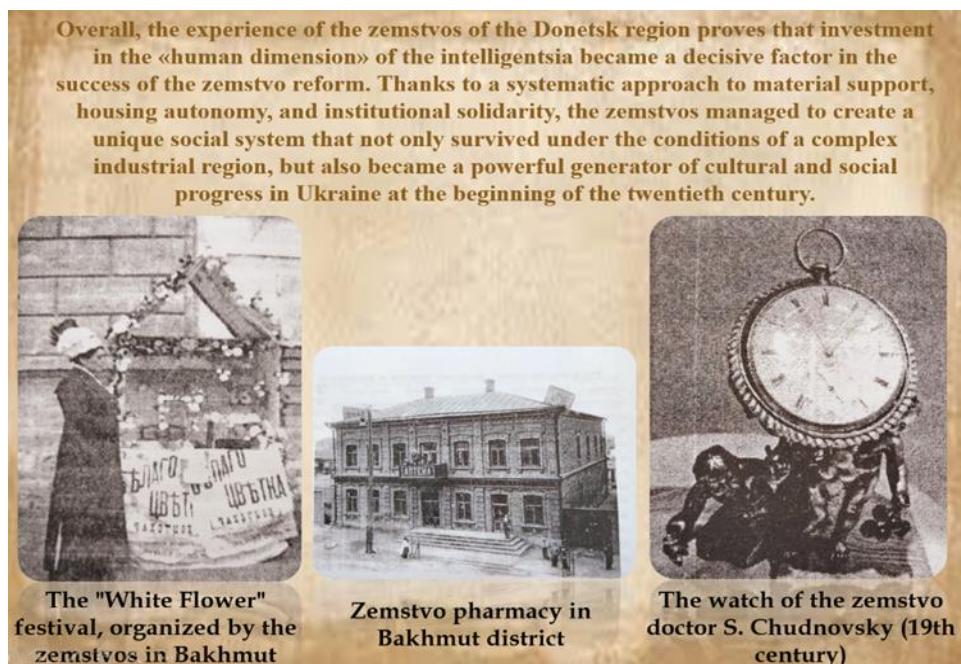
industrial region and the need for communication with the heterogeneous society of factory settlements.



While in the central governorates the annual income of a primary school teacher could amount to 240 – 300 rubles, the zemstvos of Donetsk region sought to ensure a level of remuneration within the range of 400 – 600 rubles, providing for additional allocations for housing rent or heating of premises. The high level of material incentives gave the zemstvos the opportunity to carry out careful personnel selection.

The bonus mechanisms introduced in Mariupol and Bakhmut counties did not bear the features of situational charity, but acted as an effective instrument of personnel management. In particular, in Mariupol County, the practice of substantial one-time payments was introduced. Thus, the director of the male gymnasium received an annual bonus in the amount of 1000 rubles, which in fact led to a doubling of his annual income. Assistant directors and class supervisors received payments in the amount of 300 rubles.

Despite the fact that zemstvo budgets often faced the problem of arrears (in particular in years of poor harvests), the financing of “cultural personnel” remained a priority and, in fact, protected item of expenditure. Even under conditions of administrative pressure, when the central authorities attempted to delegate to the zemstvos the costs of maintaining the police apparatus or penitentiary institutions, the zemstvo institutions of Donetsk region (in particular the Slovianoserbsk zemstvo) showed consistency in defending educational and medical budgets. According to the reports of the Mariupol Zemstvo Board, expenditures on the medical sector in the region demonstrated a rapid growth dynamic: from several thousand rubles at the initial stage of activity to hundreds of thousands of rubles at the beginning of the 20th century (*Report of the Slavyanoserbsk, 1894: 9*).



The stability of financial provision contributed to the formation among specialists of a sense of belonging to a specific “zemstvo corporation”. This in fact acted as a form of tacit contract of mutual loyalty: the zemstvo guaranteed the specialist a high standard of living, and in return received a qualified cultural educator capable of working effectively under conditions of social tension in Donetsk region.

In the second half of the 19th century, the material and everyday living conditions of the rural intelligentsia were characterized by a certain social marginality. The lack of specialized housing stock forced specialists to rent a “corner” or a room in peasant dwellings, which not only caused their direct everyday dependence on the moods of the community, but also leveled the conditions necessary for intellectual and professional activity. The zemstvo institutions of Donetsk region were among the first in the territory of the empire to articulate the thesis that without the provision of an autonomous living space, a specialist was incapable of fully performing the function of a bearer of modernization culture.

A foundational stage in the formation of a systemic housing policy was the decision of the Mariupol Zemstvo Board of October 8, 1876. In accordance with this directive, the zemstvo assumed the obligation to provide teachers of urban gymnasiums with free apartments or to pay the corresponding monetary compensation (the so-called “housing money”). Subsequently, this practice was extrapolated to the rural teaching staff and medical personnel. An analysis of the reports of the Bakhmut zemstvo shows that the project documentation for the construction of new educational institutions necessarily provided for the erection of a separate wing or an adjacent house for the teacher, which usually consisted of 2–3 rooms and a kitchen.

The indicated measures were aimed at the comprehensive “demarginalization” of the intelligentsia. The provision of free housing performed not only an economic function (the

preservation of the specialist's own funds), but also removed him from the direct everyday pressure of the peasant community. The transformation of the teacher's status from a "temporary tenant" into a representative of an official institution – the zemstvo – significantly strengthened his social positions within the county.

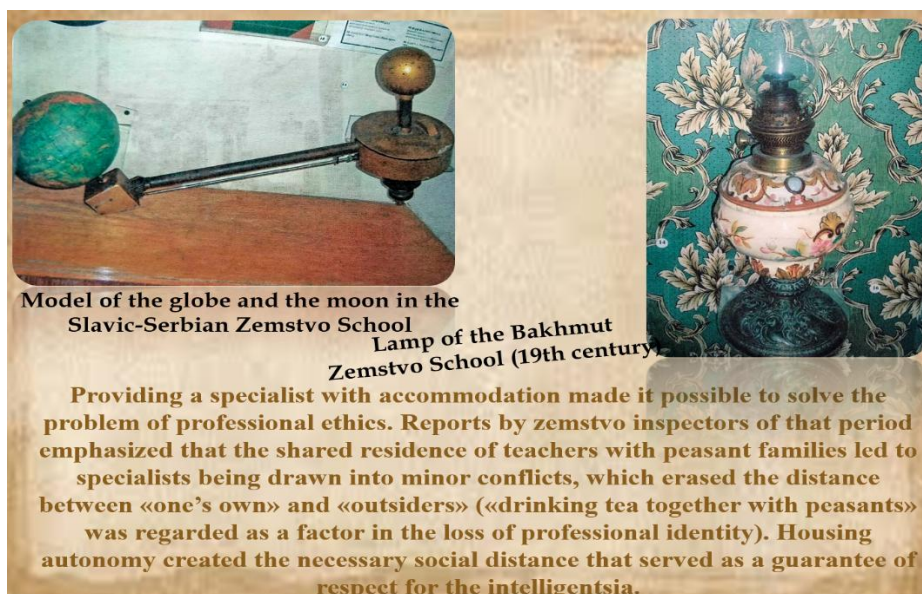
The zemstvo dwelling in Donetsk region was designed as a multifunctional space intended not only for rest, but also for intensive extracurricular and scholarly work. A typical architectural project of a zemstvo school in Bakhmut county provided for the presence of a separate entrance in the teacher's apartment. This made it possible to preserve the necessary level of privacy, while at the same time creating conditions for receiving visitors outside class hours. Similarly, special offices for consultations were allocated in the dwellings of zemstvo doctors, which in fact expanded the functional boundaries of the medical district.

Providing the specialist with a separate dwelling made it possible to solve the critical problem of professional ethics and the maintenance of social authority. In the reports of zemstvo inspectors of that period, attention was focused on the fact that the shared residence of teachers with peasant families led to the involvement of specialists in minor conflicts, which leveled the distance between "one's own" and "outsiders" ("shared tea drinking with peasants" was regarded as a factor in the loss of professional identity). Housing autonomy created the necessary social distance, which was a guarantee of respect for the intellectual.

The zemstvos of Donetsk region were aware of the long-term economic efficiency of investments in real estate compared with constant payments for rent. During the 1880s – 1890s, the Mariupol zemstvo made active capital investments in the construction of brick buildings for hospitals and schools. According to the estimates of that time, the construction of a permanent house for a doctor with the corresponding outbuildings cost the zemstvo from three to five thousand rubles. Such significant one-time expenditures were strategically justified, since they made it possible to remove the problem of personnel instability in individual districts for decades. It is worth noting that, for the implementation of these goals, the zemstvos actively attracted funds from special funds (for example, the school-construction fund named after Peter I), which emphasizes the state-building scale of resolving the housing issue.

The presence of a "state" (zemstvo) apartment was one of the most significant arguments in attracting young personnel. This created a foundation of stability and security, which was critically necessary for preserving the "cultural vanguard" in the specific conditions of the industrial region of Donetsk region. Thus, the housing policy of zemstvo self-government was part of an integral systemic approach to the recruitment and adaptation of new social elite, creating a space in which intellectual culture could not only exist, but also be actively reproduced (Lokhmatova, A., 1999: 45).

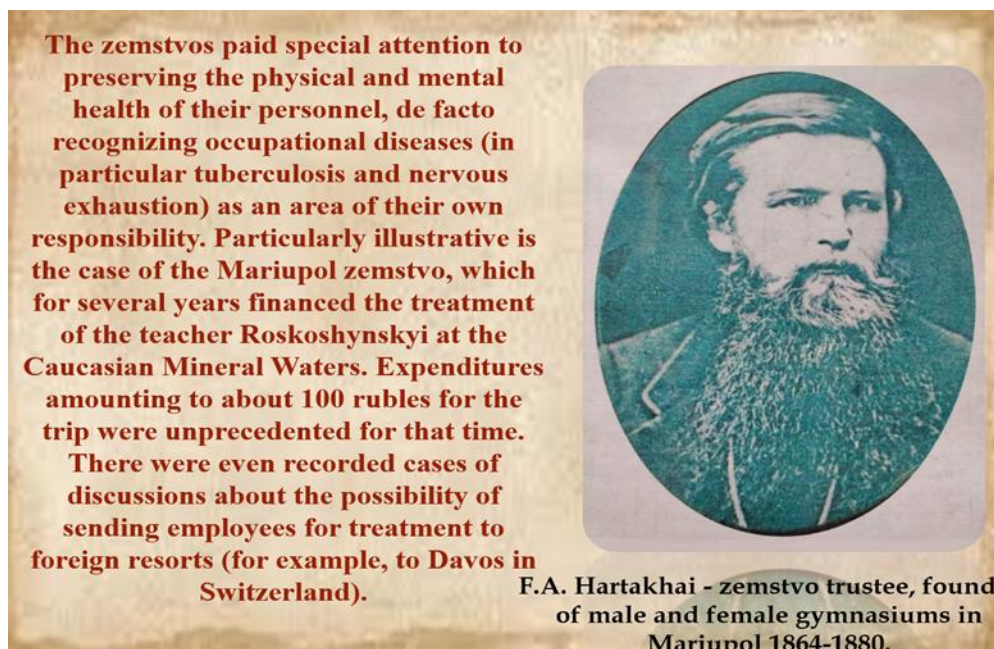
One of the priority areas of retaining specialists in the region was the provision of educational opportunities for their descendants. The system of named scholarships and educational preferences created the prerequisites for the formation of hereditary dynasties of the zemstvo intelligentsia. In Bakhmut County, the practice of awarding scholarships to the children of employees had a systemic character.



A representative example is that of the daughter of the teacher of the Nelypivka zemstvo school, O. Dotsenko, to whom the zemstvo steadily allocated 100 rubles per year for obtaining an education. Similarly, in Sloviuoserbsk County, zemstvo institutions assumed the costs of educating the children of medical and pedagogical workers in secondary educational institutions, regarding this as a form of “deferred reward” for the parents’ many years of devoted service.

Zemstvo philanthropy acted not as a formal procedure, but as a flexible mechanism for supporting the individual in critical life circumstances. The scale of charitable activity was significant: according to statistical data, in 1877 alone, 610 persons received assistance in Mariupol County, for which more than 4600 rubles were allocated. A unique feature of the system was the procedure for verifying needs: members of the zemstvo board personally made visits to the most remote corners of the counties for an objective assessment of the condition of those in needs. An important budget item was also “travel allowances” (compensation of travel expenses) and “settling-in assistance” for young specialists, which contributed to their faster adaptation in the region.

The zemstvos paid particular attention to preserving the physical and mental health of their personnel, de facto recognizing occupational diseases (in particular consumption and nervous exhaustion) as a sphere of their own responsibility. Indicative is the case of the Mariupol zemstvo, which for several years financed the treatment of the teacher Roskoshynskyi at the Caucasian Mineral Waters. Expenditures of about 100 rubles for the trip were unprecedented for that time. Cases were even recorded of discussing the possibility of sending employees for treatment to foreign resorts (for example, to Davos in Switzerland). For persons who lost their ability to work, as well as for the widows and orphans of deceased zemstvo members, lifelong pension payments in the amount of 120 to 240 rubles per year were provided. The recognition of the right of an ordinary teacher to expensive sanatorium treatment raised the prestige of zemstvo service to the level of high-ranking state officials, demonstrating the priority of the value of the specific human person over his purely “functional” purpose.



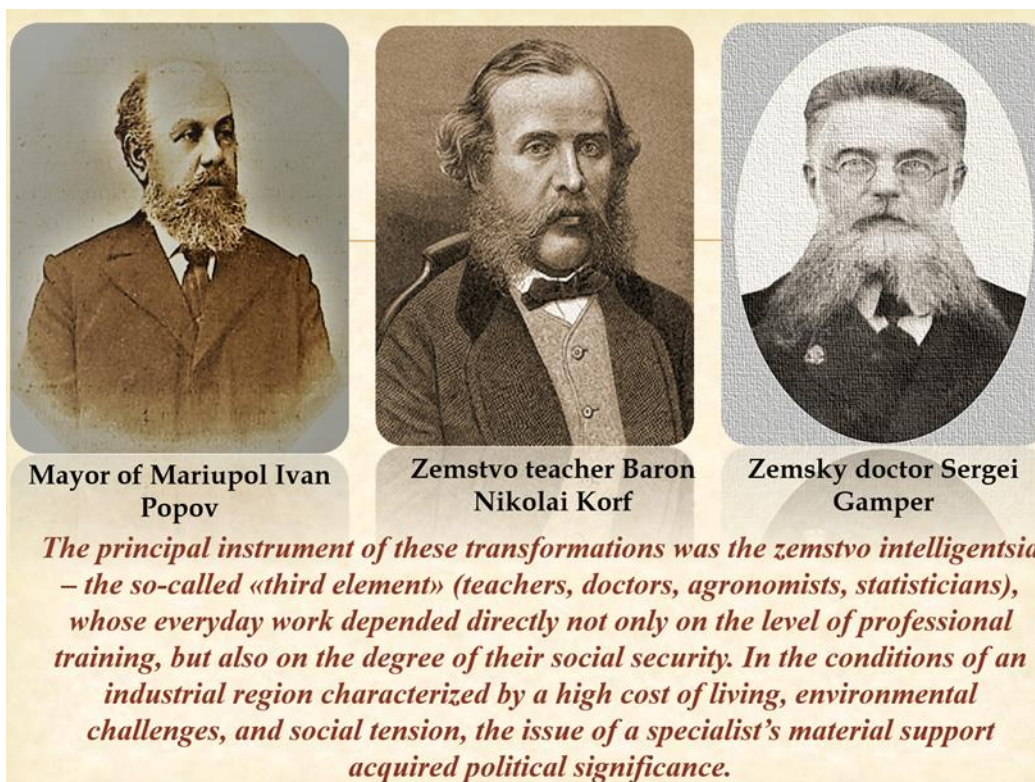
Effective social protection became the foundation for the formation of corporate ethics. The intelligentsia member in Donetsk region positioned himself not as a hired worker, but as a full-fledged member of the protected “zemstvo community”. This allowed the zemstvos to preserve personnel potential and the loyalty of specialists even during periods of revolutionary upheavals and economic destabilization. The model of “family” solidarity of the zemstvos of Donetsk region was a higher form of social management aimed at preserving "cultural capital" by protecting the people who were its creators and bearers.

The evolutionary dynamics of zemstvo activity in the territory of Donetsk region during the period under study testified to a fundamental transition from the model of one-sided paternalistic “care” on the part of county boards to the development of full-fledged institutions of professional and social self-organization of the intelligentsia.

The revolutionary events of 1905 – 1907 became a powerful catalyst for these processes, giving impetus to the legalization of professional associations. In Donetsk region, these structures had a clearly expressed cultural and educational vector. In particular, in 1906, in Bakhmut County, through the direct initiation, organizational support, and financing of the zemstvo, the “Labor Union” was created (*Saraieva, O., 2013: 54*).

Under the aegis of the “Labor Union”, literary readings, chamber music evenings, and traveling art exhibitions were organized on a systematic basis, which was extremely important for the cultural de-isolation of specialists. The Bakhmut zemstvo, for its part, provided the organization with the necessary premises and allocated targeted subsidies for the purchase of books to form the Union’s professional libraries. The emergence of such a structure marked the professional group’s entry onto the level of civil society. Zemstvo self-government consciously “shared power”, understanding that a cohesive, corporately solidary intelligentsia was a reliable

and competent partner in the implementation of complex regional reforms. Among other things, the Union's cultural events performed the critically important function of psychological relief and prevention of professional burnout for specialists who worked in the specific, and at times aggressive, conditions of factory settlements.



A true social innovation that was intensively introduced in Donetsk region was the organization of summer children's institutions. The zemstvos initiated the creation of nursery-shelters for children during the summer period – the time of peak agricultural work, when the rural population was maximally occupied. Despite initial skepticism and, in some places, open distrust on the part of the peasants (as evidenced by the reports of the boards), it was the zemstvo intelligentsia, represented by female teachers and female feldshers, that assumed the role of organizers and educators in these institutions. The Mariupol zemstvo, in its reports, emphasized the success of this experience in several volosts, where the functioning of the nurseries led to a noticeable improvement in the sanitary condition and a real reduction in child mortality rates. This project had a clearly expressed dual purpose: on the one hand – social care for children, and on the other – a space for the professional and social self-realization of women intellectuals. It was a form of active social service that removed alienation and significantly strengthened trust between the “zemstvo members” and the local peasant population.

Thus, on the eve of the events of 1917, the social policy of the zemstvos of Donetsk region turned into an integral, balanced system, in which directive “care” from above and grassroots “self-organization” formed a unique corporate spirit. The zemstvo intelligentsia in the industrial region

ceased to be a scattered group of “visiting specialists” (Belokonsky I., 1914). Thanks to professional unions, retirement mutual-aid funds, and active participation in charitable projects, it transformed into a powerful regional cultural elite. Such internal cohesion and institutional support allowed zemstvo members to effectively resist the administrative pressure of state power and to preserve loyalty to their humanistic and cultural-educational ideals even during periods of acute political instability.

The institutions of solidarity in Donetsk region became the highest form of manifestation of zemstvo activity. In practice, they proved that comprehensive support for the intelligentsia is not merely an item of expenditure, but a strategic investment in the creation of a self-regulating social system capable of reproducing culture, knowledge, and ethical standards under any extreme conditions. It was precisely thanks to this multivector solidarity that the "zemstvo project" in the region became one of the most successful examples of systemic social modernization in the history of Ukraine.

Conclusions

The conducted study makes it possible to formulate a number of generalizing conclusions regarding the specificity and effectiveness of the social policy of the county zemstvos of Donetsk region toward their intelligentsia at the turn of the 19th – 20th centuries.

It has been established that the activities of the zemstvo institutions of Bakhmut, Mariupol, and Slovianoserbsk counties went beyond the limits of purely administrative governance, transforming into an integral “cultural project”. Under the conditions of the rapid and, at times, chaotic industrialization of Donetsk region, the zemstvos acted as the main subjects in the formation of the region’s intellectual capital, regarding the social protection of teachers and doctors as a fundamental condition for the successful modernization of the entire sociocultural landscape of the region.

The analysis of the financial policy of the zemstvos of Donetsk region testified to the predominance of a pragmatic approach to remuneration. The introduction of a system of “territorial allowances”, high salaries (400 – 600 rubles per year for teachers), and regular bonus payments (in particular the experience of the Mariupol zemstvo) was a justified response to the high cost of living in the industrial region. Such “pricing of culture” made it possible not only to minimize personnel turnover, but also to carry out strict selective recruitment of specialists, transforming zemstvo service into a prestigious and socially attractive position.

The social protection of zemstvo employees had distinct features of anthropocentrism and corporate solidarity. The system of scholarships for employees’ children, payment for expensive sanatorium treatment in the Caucasus or in Europe, and pension provision for widows and orphans testify to the fact that the zemstvos assumed responsibility for the full life cycle of their employee. Such many years of real care formed a loyal “zemstvo corporation”, whose members felt themselves not temporary hired workers, but part of a protected elite capable of preserving loyalty to professional duty even during periods of socio-political turbulence.

Evolution from care to civic agency. The study confirmed that on the eve of 1917, the social system of the zemstvos in Donetsk region evolved toward professional self-organization. The zemstvos’ support for such institutions as the “Labor Union” in Bakhmut or charitable societies

under the leadership of D. Kharadzhaiev in Mariupol contributed to the involvement of industrialists' private capital in solving humanitarian problems. The creation of summer nursery-shelters and a network of professional mutual-aid funds became the highest stage of this evolution, demonstrating the ability of the intelligentsia for self-regulation and active social service.

In general, the experience of the zemstvos of Donetsk region proves that investments in the “human dimension” of the intelligentsia became a decisive factor in the success of the zemstvo reform. Thanks to a systemic approach to material provision, housing autonomy, and institutional solidarity, the zemstvos managed to create a unique social system that not only survived under the conditions of a complex industrial region, but also became a powerful generator of cultural and social progress in Ukraine at the beginning of the 20th century.

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