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Aims and Scope:

Changing Societies & Personalities is an international, peer-reviewed quarterly journal, published in English by the Ural Federal University. *CS&P* examines how rapid societal-level changes are reshaping individual-level beliefs, motivations and values – and how these individual-level changes in turn are reshaping societies. The interplay of personality traits and sociocultural factors in defining motivation, deliberation, action and reflection of individuals requires a combination of theoretical and empirical knowledge. Since an interdisciplinary approach is needed to understand the causes and consequences of the contemporary world's changing socio-political institutions, moral values, and religious beliefs, the journal welcomes theoretical and empirical contributions from a wide range of perspectives in the context of value pluralism and social heterogeneity of (post)modern society.
Topics of interest include, but are not limited to
- value implications of interactions between socio-political transformations and personal self-identity;
- changes in value orientations, materialist and post-materialist values;
- moral reasoning and behavior;
- variability and continuity in the election of styles of moral regime and/or religious identity;
- the moral bases of political preferences and their elimination;
- social exclusion and inclusion;
- post-secular religious individualism;
- tolerance and merely "tolerating": their meanings, varieties and fundamental bases;
- ideologies of gender and age as variables in political, moral, religious and social change;
- educational strategies as training for specific social competences;
- social and existential security.

The journal publishes original research articles, forum discussions, review articles and book reviews.

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EDITORIAL

Personal Transformation as a Life-Long Trajectory

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In the late 1950s, the founding fathers of humanistic psychology proposed a new set of values to understand human nature as a process, rather than a static object. One highly influential perspective—organismic valuing process (OVP) theory—was formulated by Carl Rogers, who believed in people's innate inclination toward personal growth, both physical and psychological (Rogers, 1961). Initially, personal growth implies a deeper understanding and connection with the self. Gradually, individuals learn to communicate with themselves, thereby attaining a higher degree of inner security. This process inevitably involves a great deal of comparison with others. Rogers' idea of a fully functioning person as a central term in the person-centered theory of personality was further developed by humanistic and existential theories. Their brightest representatives are Abraham Maslow with his concept of self-transcendence as the ultimate need of a person (Maslow, 1971), and Victor Frankl with his principle of responsibility toward others and life itself as the essence of human existence (Frankl, 1966).

Deep and thoughtful reflection on the process of personal transformation is one of the most relevant topics for *Changing Societies & Personalities*. Unfortunately, the contemporary reality seems to challenge the optimistic views on human nature shared by the abovementioned authors. The scholars, driven by the post-war enthusiasm, gave insufficient credence to not only the complexity of sociocultural processes, but also the reality of evil in our world. Several articles presented in the current issue of *Changing Societies & Personalities* seek to argue that personal growth can be based on false goals, and that people may not always value the freedom of choice. At the same time, some emerging research paradigms are capable of capturing "minor" ordinary events, including their seemingly insignificant peculiarities, as factors that change the order of things. Eventually, the finitude of our life should not allow us to forget that, as the authors of the current issue note "we are part of a larger universe, and that human life does not stand alone but is closely connected to nature and its environment".

The ARTICLE *Personality and Society in the Theory of Self-Organized Criticality* by Dmitry S. Zhukov is devoted to the theory of self-organized criticality (SOC), which appeared in the late 1980s and gradually became a new scientific paradigm to address a wide range of problems in various disciplines. The author challenges the widespread notion of an impenetrable barrier separating the mathematized natural sciences, on one side, and the social sciences and humanities, on the other. According to SOC, this difference does not matter anymore. Considering the heuristic capabilities of the SOC theory in social sciences and the humanities, namely the place and role of a person and a human act in society and history, especially in times of social cataclysms, Dmitry Zhukov stresses that "the SOC theory demonstrated the connection of low-level processes with global events. It also described the mechanisms by which system-wide regularities can be generated by a vast array of decentralized and uncoordinated 'minor' ordinary events". He discusses three research questions, which sounds rather fundamental: Is SOC really a ubiquitous property of social reality, or are these claims overly optimistic due to the rapid expansion of the theory? Does the SOC theory substantiate the fundamental unpredictability and inevitability of social catastrophes? What contribution can the SOC theory make to clarifying the fundamental problem of the relationships between chance and regularity and between human will and historical necessity? Answering these questions, the author concludes that "the SOC theory makes it possible to diagnose—not only after the fact, but also in advance—the transformational potential of a social system, from an online community to a social group and the whole of society".

Andrei A. Linchenko and Bella V. Gartwig in the ARTICLE *Rediscovering Identity: Autobiographical Memory and Media Discourses of Russian-Germans in Germany and Russia* states the specificity of Russian-German migration and cultural transfer among other ethnic groups: "What makes their case particularly interesting, at the same time as difficult to study, is that they represent a kind of 'double migrants'". The ancestors of this group moved to Russia during the reign of Catherine II in the 18th century. In the Soviet time, the Volga German Autonomous Republic was established in 1924, followed by the Stalinist repressions of the late 1930s, and mass deportation to Kazakhstan in 1941. Since 1988, after the collapse of the USSR, about 2.5 million migrants of German origin have moved to the Federal Republic of Germany from post-Soviet countries for permanent residence. At the same time, many Russian-Germans remained in Russia and founded themselves in a situation of rediscovering their ethnic identity in the 1990s. Thus, the authors refer to Rogers Brubaker's notion of the Russian-Germans as a transnational group with a specific "hybrid identity", whose identification varies depending on the cultural project they are involved in. The article contains a comparative analysis of the narratives of Russian-Germans in Russia and Germany about rediscovering their identity based on the autobiographical memory, personal experience, and the variety of discourses of this ethnic group. The research is based on narrative interviews with people of different ages and in different locations in Germany and Russia, using the methods of narrative psychology and biographical analysis of Fritz Schütze.

The ARTICLE *Origins of Ethno-Religious Profiling: The Jewish Question and Police Surveillance in the Russian Empire in the 19th Century* of Kseniya S. Grigor'eva presents

the results of a thematic study of the issue. The author stresses that the Russian Empire of the 19th century could be described as a "confessional" state, where religious identification served as the most important mechanism for maintaining discipline and obedience among the authorities. At the same time, relations between population groups were increasingly understood in terms of nationalities and classes; thus, the perception of Jews was also highly ambiguous. The author explores the emergence and development of anti-Jewish legislation, and the resulting surveillance practices, and argues that "they were the first and, most likely, the main target of persistent, systemic, and legally recorded social engineering, entailing a particularly 'nitpicky' brand of regulation, which birthed a myriad of surveillance techniques that affected a broad variety of activities in daily Jewish life". The article is based on an analysis of Russian Imperial laws on Jews, reviews of the 19th century legal practice, memoirs, and archival documents. Kseniya S. Grigor'eva also makes parallels with the 16th and the 18th centuries European models of surveillance of the Jewish population, and its roots in the philosophies of cameralism and mercantilism.

Svetlana N. Kostromina and Maria V. Makarova in the ARTICLE *Quasi-Development as an Illusion of Personal Growth* discuss a widely acknowledged opinion that global civilizational changes require individuals to transform their ways of interacting with the world in order to maintain personal sustainability. The authors define the current context as the "change of changes," in which "traditional processes of adapting and maintaining stability (homeostasis preservation) are becoming less relevant. Instead, pre-adaptive processes that encourage diversity, universal readiness for change, and generate new forms of life… are becoming more important in responding to these changes". They view development as active transformation of oneself and the surrounding world characterized by internal orderliness and connectedness, as well as a persistent drive to move forward despite external influences and personal limitations. Opposed to that, quasi-development is a phenomenon observed in adults where change is pursued without a clear purpose or direction. This phenomenon is also characterized by a lack of correlation between a person's life experiences and their life history. The conclusions of the article are drawn from semi-structured interviews with representatives of two distinct groups, one comprising individuals with psychological education, and the other without.

In the ARTICLE *Exploring Anchor Personality and True Meaning in Indonesian Young Adults*, Annisa Ardi Ayuningtyas and Bagus Riyono put forward an original concept of true meaning, which tries to endue it with the status of objectivity. According to the authors, the theory of true meaning includes some characteristics that limits subjectivity, motivating individuals never to give up. They argue that "the main element that allows humans to reach true meaning is the freedom to choose", which is based on human nature, and oppose their approach to previous theories of meaning, which emphasizes subjectivity, especially concerning advantages for individuals and communities. The authors believe that the implication of human nature in the true meaning theory makes it applicable to everyone. The second important term proposed by the authors in the article is Anchor Personality. The anchor, which is something that individuals rely on when dealing with problems, includes four dimensions: "materials (material objects such as money or technology), self, others (other parties, both individuals and groups),

and virtues (universal principles of life)". The subjects of study are Indonesian citizens (212 in total), males (30.66%) and females (69.34%) aged 18–34 years, obtained by non-probability sampling using a snowball sampling approach. The True Meaning Scale constructed by Bagus Riyono was used as a research instrument.

Natalya L. Antonova, Sofya B. Abramova, and Viktoria V. Polyakova in the ARTICLE *Reframing Bodies: New Coordinates of the Body Image* stresses that the question about changing attitudes to the body during the pandemic remains largely underexplored despite such attitudes were highly affected by the imposed restrictions. The authors note that contemporary social studies of the body image tend to view the body from the perspective of its correspondence to cultural norms. The authors' analysis has two main vectors, which also determines the methodology of the empirical study: the body as an aesthetic object with such qualities as sexual attractiveness; the body as a process seen in the light of its functional characteristics. The study aims to investigate the perceptions of the body and its representations shared by inhabitants of large cities in the Sverdlovsk region. Based on the data from their sociological survey, the authors analyze the perceptions of the desired body type (both male and female) and the factors that affect those perception. The sample comprised 1077 completed responses in the electronic database. The survey was conducted in 2022 and covered working-age people from 18 to 60 years old living in the Sverdlovsk region.

In the ARTICLE *Where am I Now: Symbols Used in Manggarai Funeral Rite, Indonesia,* Hieronimus Canggung Darong, Erna Mena Niman, and Stanislaus Guna stress the increasing recognition of the value of local knowledge concerning human behavior and relationships with God, others, and nature, which have a crucial role in determining how people live their daily lives. Local wisdom has different ways to express itself in symbols, which are culturally defined in accordance with the beliefs of the people to whom they belong. The authors "seek to elucidate the significance and moral lessons found in one of the indigenous traditions of the Manggarai ethnic in Indonesia, particularly the death rites", and underline that while previous studies have described the funeral rite and its cultural significance, little attention has been paid to the use of symbols, their meanings and values. They argue that "as an effort to maintain the existence and sustainability of the role and function of local culture, this study is very important to provide new perspective to the existing literature of local community in today's interconnected world". The authors study the pre-, during, and post stages of the Manggarai ethnic's burial ceremony, which has social (an attempt to maintain a sense of kinship and family unity), religious (Manggarai ethnic belief in the human soul), philosophical (the view that human life does not stop after death), and cosmological (humans as part of a larger universe) meanings. In the research, three different methods were used: observations, semi-structured interviews, and document analysis. The major informants were three spokespersons and three senior villagers who were more knowledgeable about the Manggarai culture.

The BOOK REVIEWS section includes a review by Natalia A. Chernyaeva of Christina Weis's book "Surrogacy in Russia: An Ethnography of Reproductive Labour, Stratification and Migration", 2021. The book under review, as the author notes, is the first monograph devoted to the institute of surrogacy in Russia in its complexity and breadth.

Discussions around the topics raised in the present issue will be continued in the subsequent issues of our journal. In planning to introduce new interesting themes, we welcome suggestions from our readers and prospective authors for thematic issues, debate sections, or book reviews.

For more information, please visit our journal web-site: https://changing-sp.com/

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ARTICLE

Personality and Society in the Theory of Self-Organized Criticality

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ABSTRACT

Emerged in the domain of natural science, the theory of self-organized criticality (SOC) has spread to various fields over the past decades, achieving the status of an interdisciplinary paradigm. This article aims to answer three questions: Is SOC really a ubiquitous property of social reality? Does the SOC theory really substantiate the fundamental unpredictability and inevitability of social catastrophes? What contribution can the SOC theory make to clarifying the fundamental mystery of the relationship between human will and historical necessity? I performed a meta-analysis of the latest literature and summarized the results of my own case studies. So far, there is not enough empirical data to confirm that SOC is ubiquitous, although it has been proven that SOC is characteristic of many social systems—especially those in a borderline, transitional state. The SOC theory supports the idea that in some social systems for a fairly long time (even by historical standards), human will, act, and opinion can have a fundamental impact on the development of the whole of a system.

KEYWORDS

punctuated equilibrium, self-organized criticality, pink noise, history, society, politics, social transformations

Object, Aim, and Questions

The theory of self-organized criticality (SOC) was developed in the late 1980s (Bak et al., 1988) in the domain of the natural sciences and almost immediately demonstrated its expansionist character. It originally emerged as an emphatically interdisciplinary concept, but soon it became a new scientific paradigm addressing a wide range of the most difficult, promising, and, in a sense, trendy research problems in various disciplines. Such claims are justified by the fact that the SOC theory has offered an explanation for punctuated equilibrium, a phenomenon that is very widespread in nature and society and determines the most intriguing and paradoxical properties and events (Podlazov, 2001; Zhukov, 2022).

This study considers the heuristic capabilities of the SOC theory in the social sciences and humanities (economic applications were not touched upon due to some peculiarities of SOC theory regarding economics). First of all, I sought to understand the contribution of the SOC theory to the development of ideas about the place and role of a person and a human act in society and history, especially in times of social cataclysms. Over the past two decades, a number of works have accumulated in which the SOC theory has been successfully applied to solve research problems in the social sciences and humanities. These are the publications that formed an empirical foundation for my meta-analysis.

My aim in this article is to propose answers to three questions:

1. Is SOC really a ubiquitous property of social reality as some promoters of the SOC theory have claimed, or are these claims overly optimistic due to the theory's rapid expansion?

2. Does the SOC theory really substantiate the fundamental unpredictability and inevitability of social catastrophes?

3. What contribution can the SOC theory make to clarifying the fundamental problem of the relationships between chance and regularity and between human will and historical necessity?

However, before proceeding with these questions, I explain what SOC is and review the literature on which my judgments are based.

What is SOC?

In a state of criticality, causal chains, even if they are triggered by weak local events, do not fade out too quickly and, in the end, can spread across the entire system. Self-organized critical systems can, over a relatively long time, self-adjust, or self-organize into a critical state. The assertion that such systems are, firstly, possible and, secondly, abundant in physical and social reality is perhaps the most surprising point of the SOC theory. After all, criticality is like a bifurcation point extended in time, a classic illustration of which is shown in Figure 1.

As long as the stone is on top of the hill, the choice of its trajectory can be determined by minute (even random) events. Thus, a nonlinear effect arises: the usual proportionality of causes and effects is disturbed. However, if the stone is already rolling down the slope after the bifurcation point has been passed, it takes significant effort to change its trajectory.

Figure 1

A Stone on Top of a Hill Is an Example of a System at a Bifurcation Point (B),
Where/When There Is a Choice Between Patterns Leading to Different Final States
(Attractors A_1 and A_2)
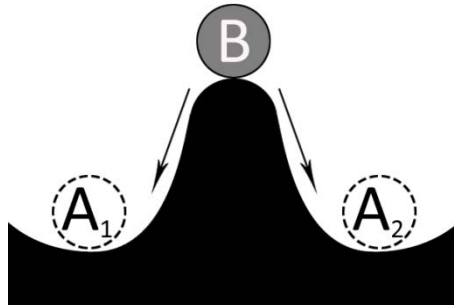
Note. Drawing by the author.

For a long time, it was believed as a matter of course that a system passes bifurcation points rather quickly. After all, if a weak, random impulse can push a system out of the bifurcation point, then it will not take long for such an impulse to appear. Real systems are constantly affected by a huge number of minor random events generated by internal and external circumstances.

Criticality, once again, is like a bifurcation point extended in time; as long as a system is in a state of criticality, it may at any moment break loose, transform, and survive a cataclysm, or "avalanche" in the terms of the SOC theory. A system in the SOC state is a stone that has managed to climb to the top of the hill by itself and somehow stays there, perhaps not in perpetuity, but still for quite a long time.

The behavior of the SOC system is strongly influenced by nonlinear effects such as the aforementioned disproportions of causes and effects. Moreover, these nonlinear effects occur within such a system in a natural manner, under the influence of quite ordinary, that is, subjectively insignificant or routine events. The mechanisms that provide such a fine self-adjustment of the system are the combination of fast relaxation and the slow growth of stress (Podlazov, 2001, pp. 16–17). The apparent stability in this case is one side of the system, while a catastrophe is the other. Such a catastrophe does not require any extraordinary, strong or new factor, whether external (e.g., a falling meteorite) or internal (e.g., the hardships of war and class struggle).

So-called avalanches sometimes occur in self-organized critical systems. Avalanches are very fast and large-scale jumps in system parameters. Representatives of various sciences focus their attention on this phenomenon:

> In subject-specific research, avalanches are usually identified with abrupt qualitative transformations and even catastrophes: strong earthquakes and large floods, mass extinctions of biological species, huge traffic jams, etc. It should be emphasized that ordinary—even routine—micro-level processes can lead to avalanches. Because such processes have not caused any catastrophic consequences for a long time in the past, observers tend to consider them

harmless and even insignificant. Therefore, an avalanche for an observer may seem unexpected, causeless, coming from nothing. Of course, for extraordinary large-scale events, historians might come up with extraordinary large-scale causes ex post facto, while contemporary observers quite often assign responsibility for an avalanche to foreign agents, supernatural forces, conspirators, secret organizations, and so on. An avalanche, however, is a legitimate immanent product of a self-organized critical system. (Zhukov, 2022, pp. 164–165)

Only systems that have the necessary properties and structure are suitable for the emergence of SOC. Such specific systems must be comprised of a vast array of components, and a distinct possibility of feedback loops is required. The system itself must be on the verge of integrity; in other words, its components should have both autonomy and the ability to establish numerous connections to behave as a whole. Such requirements for candidates for critical systems might seem unusual for representatives of some natural sciences, but not for humanities scholars. After all, most social systems, that is, systems created by people and consisting of people are exactly as described above.

The key model of the SOC theory is a sandpile, as seen in Figure 2. Yet, it must be noted that a real sandpile on the beach will most likely not demonstrate the intended behavior due to, for example, humidity. For the experimental demonstration of the theory, it is better to use a pile of polished rice in a laboratory than sand on the beach (Bak, 1996), though a sandpile has already become a trademark of the SOC theory.

Figure 2
The Sandpile Is a Central Heuristic Metaphor of the SOC Theory
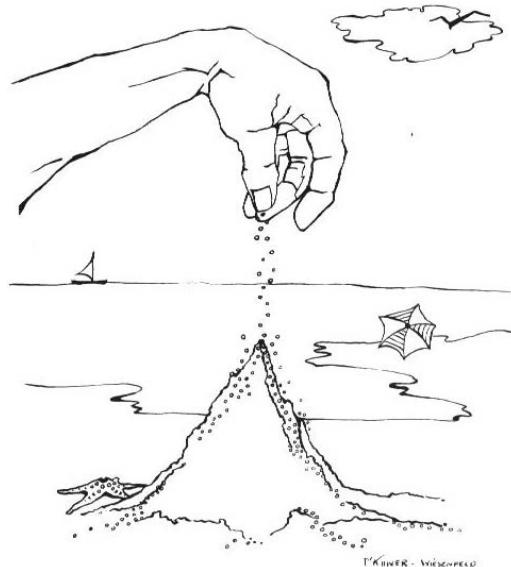
Note. Drawing by E. Wiesenfeld. Source: Bak, 1996, p. 2.

Under the conditions of the experiment, a few grains of sand are constantly added to the center of the pile. However, not all of the grains will immediately roll down to the foot of the pile, since the slope of some sections is not steep enough, i.e., not critical. A slight but regular trickle of sand grains that are poured onto the top, meaning a build-up of tension causes landslides, or relaxations, of various sizes, during which the slope of the sections of the pile becomes once again not steep enough. Landslides come in all sizes, including the smallest shifts, medium-sized events, and revolutionary avalanches that involve large sections of slopes. The size distribution of landslides—the number of grains of sand involved—is determined by a power law.

In one of my works, I tried to show the similarity between the human act and the fall of a grain of sand:

An avalanche … is triggered by a single grain of sand, which can cause a minor collapse of the slope in a local, highly-inclined, area. This collapse causes the sand to slip in adjacent areas if they also slope too much. This self-reinforcing process develops rapidly. Of course, there was nothing special about that particular grain of sand. It played a historical role only insofar as the system as a whole was in a critical state: the minimally stable areas (i.e., the areas with a large local slope) almost constituted a coupled cluster. One grain of sand—a single weak impact—was enough to make the system (slope) act (collapse) as a whole. (Zhukov, 2022, pp. 165–166).

Systems generate various signals, such as time series—for example, a record of how the main parameters change over time. Within SOC systems, many micro- and macro-events trigger causal chains that combine, weakening and strengthening one another. Such combinations form a specific signal called pink noise (1/f noise), which is an attribute of SOC. It is important that pink noise can be detected (Figure 3).

Figure 3

Specimen (A) and Spectrogram (B) of Pink Noise
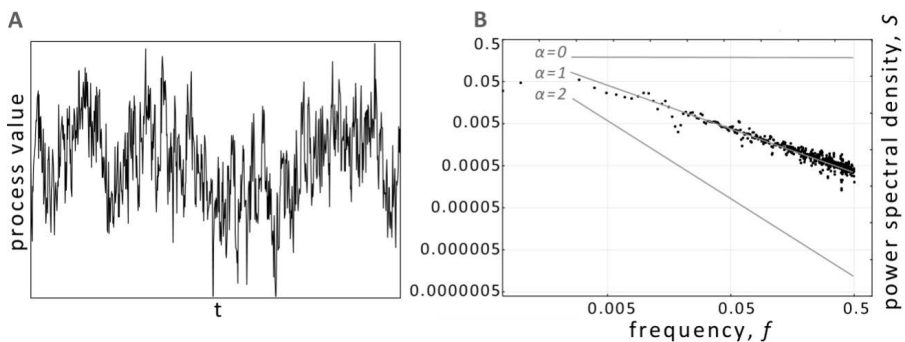
—— power trendline $S(f) \sim 1/f^\alpha$

Note. Source: Zhukov et al., 2020.

One of the founders of the SOC theory, Per Bak, wrote the following:

A phenomenon called 1/*f* (one-over-*f*) noise has been observed in systems as diverse as the flow of the river Nile, light from quasars … and highway traffic. … There are features of all sizes: rapid variations over minutes, and slow variations over years. ... The signal can be seen as a superposition of bumps of all sizes; it looks like a mountain landscape in time, rather than space. The signal can, equivalently, be seen as a superposition of periodic signals of all frequencies. This is another way of stating that there are features at all time scales. Just as Norway has fjords of all sizes, a 1/*f* signal has bumps of all durations. (Bak, 1996, pp. 21–22)

Increasingly, researchers are coming to the conclusion that punctuated equilibrium is, as a rule, pink noise. Furthermore, the explanation of this phenomenon can and should have a universal, interdisciplinary character (Podlazov, 2001, pp. 7–8).
This is how Malinetskii describes the phenomenon:

Punctuated equilibrium, which is observed in the process of biological evolution, in the functioning of social and technical systems. A typical situation is when nothing noticeable happens for a very long time, and then rapid changes radically change the shape of the system, the time of revolutions comes, which, of course, does not negate many small events that we simply do not notice. (Malinetskii, 2013, p. 39, transl. by Dmitry Zhukov [D. Zh.])

As mentioned above, the rapid expansion of the SOC theory in various disciplines was precisely due to the fact that it provided the satisfaction of an acute heuristic need to interpret punctuated equilibrium that raises a large number of intriguing and significant research questions. In previous works, I have outlined some of these questions:

"Jerks" and "jams" in the course of forced modernization in history, modern protest movements, bursts of terrorist and extremist activity, mass hysteria, and mass infatuation—these and many similar changes can proceed rather quickly and can, in many cases, be non-linear. At first glance, socio-political activity in a number of cases increases spontaneously: insignificant causes grow quickly in the information sphere to become "sufficient reasons" to overthrow political regimes. Some revolutions in recent years did not have a clearly defined preparatory stage or well-observed socio-economic prerequisites. Even institutional transformations can be multivariate and contain phase transitions, and in some circumstances, they depend on weak and even random influences. Of course, this is not a complete list of the oddities that can be viewed as manifestations of punctuated equilibrium in social systems. (Zhukov, 2022, p. 164).

The SOC theory demonstrated the connection of low-level processes with global events. It also described the mechanisms by which system-wide regularities can

be generated by a vast array of decentralized and uncoordinated "minor" ordinary events, that is, interactions between micro-communities and minuscule, fundamental elements of the system. As regards a social system, people should be considered such elements. This means that social macro-dynamics, from the point of view of the SOC theory, is brought about by the actions and behaviors of individuals.

An important advantage of the SOC theory is that it defines clear numerical criteria for identifying those systems that are in a state of SOC. At the moment, one of the works that have set a benchmark for, among other things, the methodology for identifying SOC in social processes is a study by A. Dmitriev and V. Dmitriev published in the journal *Complexity* (Dmitriev & Dmitriev, 2021).

To identify SOC, several steps are required, including examining the time series generated by a system for the presence of pink noise. There are some other criteria, such as autocorrelations in the mentioned time series and power laws (with a certain exponent) in the distribution of results or system properties.

The problem with the social sciences and humanities is quite often that the amount of data suitable for identifying SOC is limited. However, this does not make research futile, as some methods are also available for relatively small amounts of data. At the same time, it is important to understand the extent to which such an analysis can be categorical.

The common research design used in most of the works on SOC in the social sciences and humanities can be described as follows. First of all, similar data are tested for the presence of SOC indicators. This is a purely mathematical part of research, as signs of SOC are identified or not as a result of formal computational processes. For example, when looking for pink noise, it is best to subject the original time series to spectral analysis and to calculate the power law exponent in power spectral density if a power law is found there. An indicator in a certain range around 1 makes it possible to identify the series under examination as pink noise.

Then, the nature of the system, its state, and regularities in its development are interpreted by referring to the universal explanatory schemes of the SOC theory or to models that, as it is known from computational experiments, are capable of simulating SOC, for example, the sandpile model, the Bak–Sneppen model, the forest fire model, or the interface growth model (Bak, 1996; Biggs, 2005; Cederman, 2003; Podlazov, 2001; Roberts & Turcotte, 1998). Qualitative interpretation involves linking the known properties of the system with abstract notions and concepts of the SOC theory. In many cases, the discovery and recognition of the fact that at least, in some periods SOC can be inherent in the system under examination makes it possible to answer many intriguing questions related to effects that previously seemed anomalous.

Literature Review

In the late 1980s, a classic paper on the SOC theory was published (Bak et al., 1988). Bak's book, quoted many times in this article, was firstly published in 1996 and had the effect of a spark in a dry steppe (Bak, 1996). In the works of the founders of the SOC theory, the application of the new conception in the public sphere was conceived of as inevitable. However, such confidence was not immediately confirmed by case

studies in the social sciences and humanities. In the late 1990s, Roberts and Turcotte (1998) were finally able to prove the presence of SOC in social reality, namely, in the system of international relations that generates military conflicts. Roberts and Turcotte demonstrated that the new approach gives rise to proper social knowledge and leads to some very important—perhaps even strange—conclusions. Later on, power laws, that is, signs of SOC were found in some social phenomena, such as wars and internal conflicts (Biggs, 2005; Cederman, 2003). In 2001, Podlazov, a disciple of G. Malinetskii, successfully defended his doctoral dissertation in mathematics titled *Novye matematicheskie modeli, metody i kharakteristiki v teorii samoorganizovannoi kritichnostii* [New mathematical models, methods and characteristics in the theory of self-organized criticality] (Podlazov, 2001). In this dissertation, he made many elegant observations regarding the applications of the ideas of SOC to the clarification of social research problems, though that was not his main objective.

However, case studies were still quite rare. In the early 2000s, theoretical thought continued to develop, despite the fact that it did not have a solid empirical foundation. Conviction in the heuristic value of the SOC theory and its interdisciplinary potential was fueled by large-scale successes in the natural sciences, which partially compensated for the lack of evidence in the social sciences.

Among the theoretical works of the 2000s on SOC in social reality, a series of publications by Brunk (2000, 2001, 2002a, 2002b), occupies a special place. Mention should also be made of an article by Kron and Grund (2009), who, despite not having presented specific calculations, supported the idea that many sociopolitical processes, such as the arms race, are manifestations of SOC.

The situation fundamentally changed in the 2010s when the accumulation of empirical data—namely, proven effects of SOC in social reality—and their interpretations accelerated many times over. The works of Malinetskii (2013), a supporter of the interdisciplinary applications of synergetics, were of great importance for the start of this new stage of SOC expansion. The scientific community of the social sciences and humanities also heard Borodkin's call to pay attention to the heuristic potential of SOC for historical research in particular (Borodkin, 2005, 2019). One of the most extensive multidisciplinary research programs aimed at detecting and interpreting SOC in various sociopolitical, including historical processes was carried out at the Center for Fractal Modeling (Barabash & Zhukov, 2018, 2020; Zhukov et al., 2016, 2017, 2020). The studies by A. Dmitriev and V. Dmitriev (2021) were already mentioned above. Significant and spectacular results were obtained in the research by Picoli and colleagues (2014), Shimada & Koyama (2015), and Thietart (2016). One breakthrough was the publication of fundamental research by Tadić and colleagues (Tadić et al., 2017; Tadić & Melnik, 2021), who were able to demonstrate that knowledge generation by human communities can be carried out in the SOC mode. Furthermore, several works were published in the late 2010s and early 2020s (Açıkalın & Artun, 2019; Gromov & Migrina, 2017; Krafta & Bortoluzzi da Silva, 2020; Leydesdorff et al., 2018; Lu et al., 2021; Malkov et al., 2018), which indicates that this research line is gaining supporters rather than fading.

Itemizing the domains of knowledge in which SOC has been found in the presented works provides a very extensive list that includes rebellions and civil

unrest (historical and modern), protest movements and social conflicts, activity (including political) of users of social networks, wars and other international conflicts, extremism and terrorism, criminal activity, demographic processes, corporate governance and corporate evolution, electoral behavior, urban development dynamics, and even citations of scientific articles. This list, while incomplete, corresponds to the spirit of the SOC theory, which, according to one of its founders, Bak, is applicable to many subjects, from the intensity of the luminosity of stars to the activity of the human brain (Bak, 1996).

Of course, while not all of the areas listed above are entirely under the effect of SOC, it is possible to know for sure that criticality is indeed there, and this fact can greatly affect the classical explanatory schemes. Perhaps the main conclusion that this brief review of the literature should lead to is that SOC has won the right to be an important part of social reality.

Question One

Is SOC really a ubiquitous property of social reality? The founders of the SOC theory insisted that it is a widespread, but not unique, phenomenon found in everyday life. This conviction stemmed from the natural idea that physical, technical, biological, social, and any other systems are identical in their fundamentals. Laws of nature, if they are the most fundamental laws, are the same for everyone. At the same time, the scope of any theory has limitations, and, therefore, an object, before being interpreted in the spirit of the SOC theory, must be tested for the presence of criticality markers by means of well-defined, formal methods.

What is the situation like in the social sciences and humanities with the search for the limitations of the SOC theory? Brunk (2000, 2001, 2002a, 2002b) seemed to express the most optimistic view on these limitations, and his thinking was bold and inspirational. His contribution to the propagation and legalization of the SOC theory in the social sciences and humanities is obvious. This, of course, does not change the fact that some of his statements are polemical in nature. It should be noted that at the time that Brunk wrote his famous series of works, empirical data existed only in a few publications, and it was hardly possible to judge the breadth of SOC's distribution on the basis of facts. Most importantly, Brunk stated that all human societies have a tendency toward SOC, that SOC is the engine of history, and that all major social cataclysms (revolutions, crises, and so on) should be considered precisely as avalanches in line with the SOC theory.

Here is an extensive quote that shows the logic and power of Brunk's arguments:

> Our common sense tells us that the most important things should be the easiest to predict, but wars, market collapses, revolutions, cabinet dissolutions, and many other important events frequently occur without warning … What has become clear in the last decade is the reason that our standard models do not predict historical events of great consequence is that our traditional notion of causation is incorrect. In a linear world, the magnitude of a cause is always

proportional to the magnitude of its effect, and so the big events of history "must have had" big causes. In a nonlinear world, the smallest of triggers can produce large effects, and so the relationship between cause and effect is no longer what we have assumed … It is far more likely that all human interactions are generated in part by the only other sort of nonlinear dynamic yet discovered: self-organized criticality. Self-organized criticality is such a simple process that it probably is ubiquitous in human affairs, and is what produces fractal time series of historical data. (Brunk, 2002a, pp. 25–27)

This is the source of "outliers" in historical data. If the world is a SOC environment, then our assumptions about how to deal with these "outliers" have been wrong. Instead of the bulk of the data being produced by one process and the "outliers" by another, all events—both the minuscule and the historically monumental— are produced by the same process in a SOC environment. (Brunk, 2002a, p. 31)

Statistical "outliers" are now seen as the great events of history that will appear in all samples of SOC data, and self-organized criticality becomes the "engine of history" that generates its most important events. (Brunk, 2002a, p. 36)

Realizing that it is not possible to detect signs of SOC in all historical processes, Brunk argued that, in many cases, a state of criticality is not in its pure form. Instead, it is rather vague and, as he put it, weak (Brunk, 2002a).

Indeed, as emphasized above, human communities are a very favorable environment for SOC. Communities consist of people who more or less freely communicate with each other and create, among other things, feedback loops. Communities usually experience problems associated with the accumulation of contradictions that require resolution, that is, relaxation. In addition, it is worth noting that many social cataclysms do not have a marked preparatory period and, in this regard, are similar to avalanches in line with the SOC theory.

However, by and large, the available data does not confirm that SOC is integral to human society and history. SOC is not necessarily always identified, as in the case of some historical and modern time series (Barabash & Zhukov, 2018, 2020; Zhukov et al., 2017, 2020). Furthermore, an attempt to circumvent this fact by referring to the existence of "weak" and, therefore, poorly detectable SOC systems run into Occam's razor. If some systems do not manifest themselves clearly enough as SOC systems, maybe these are something other than "weak" SOC systems.

On the other hand, the available evidence is not sufficient to reject Brunk's claims. As a matter of fact, it has been well established that many historical processes, including those in the preindustrial era, fit into the SOC theory.

For example, the work of Lu et al. (2021) seems to cover the longest time span and deal with the basic dynamics of society and the state in Chinese history:

The rising and falling of empires follow the self-organized criticality rule … The more sand particles added may lead to large-scale collapse or even a series

of chain reactions, which is similar to the chaotic falling of empires. When the social problems accumulated to certain degrees, a small crisis may result in the collapse of the existing empires … The solid life cycle pattern of empires in history is persistent and stable, which, therefore, can be explained by the self-organized criticality and investigated by the sandpile modeling and simulations. (Lu et al., 2021, pp. 12–13)

Here are some examples from my works. In collaboration with fellow historians, I discovered criticality in the dynamics of peasant revolts in some governorates from the second half of the 19th century until the first Russian revolution. I assumed that in those communities that demonstrated criticality, there had been some internal potential for large-scale uprisings. This means that inside, at the micro level, these communities had a certain source of constant tension, which from time to time was relieved through separate local protests and which, eventually, could generate an avalanche, or, in other words, a major riot. I found that not all governorates demonstrated SOC. That is, some regions had not reached this state, while others, on the contrary, had passed beyond it (Zhukov et al., 2017).

Similar results were obtained for rebellious activity in Russian cities in 1917–1918 during the February and October Revolutions and in the subsequent period. The capital cities of Moscow and Petrograd generated SOC. At the same time, urban communities in many other regions exhibited chaotic behavior (Zhukov et al., 2017). In the research, performed jointly with fellow historians including myself, Kanishchev interpreted the emergence of pink noise in the demographic dynamics of peasant communities in the 20th century as a manifestation of the transition to partial regulation of demographic indicators (Zhukov et al., 2016). It is impossible not to notice how diverse the manifestations of punctuated equilibrium, pink noise, are in the dynamics of social systems.

It is fair to assume that SOC is an essential characteristic of societies that, for some reason, are in a borderline state, that is, on the verge of transformation. Moreover, since modern societies are characterized by a higher density of communication and speed of interaction, it is reasonable to expect that the effects of SOC will grow stronger as the world enters modernity and then postmodernity. In addition, many social and political processes in the modern world take place in virtual reality (Volodenkov & Fedorchenko, 2021), which, by definition, has a very strong tendency toward SOC. Indeed, SOC markers are found in abundance in modern processes, even those that seem "normal" and do not have transformational potential.

In several works, I considered the emergence of SOC in politicized online communities as a reliable indicator of their political mobilization. People in such communities are connected by numerous channels of reflexivity, and they are involved in common activities and discussions. In a state of criticality, a community can generate information avalanches, or bursts of information, that an outside observer does not expect (for example, Figure 4).

Figure 4

Information Avalanche in the VK-Communities That Supported the Political Movement Known as "Electric Yerevan"
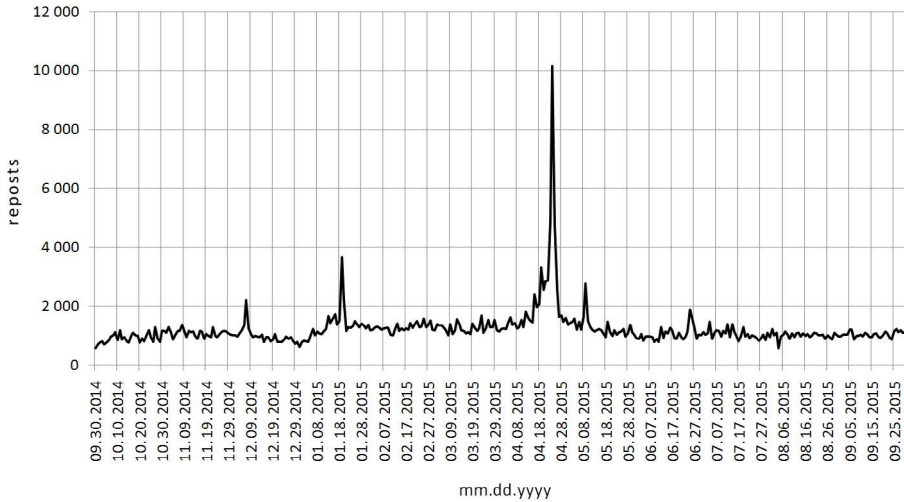
Note. Source: Zhukov et al., 2020.

  Such information avalanches not only initiate a change in virtual opinions, but also incite violence. In this vein, I explored the activity of a number of communities on VK[1] and Facebook[2] during the impeachment of Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff (Figures 5 and 6), in Armenia during the Energy Maidan and the Velvet Revolution, in Russia during the Navalny rallies in early 2021, and in Germany and France during the Yellow Vest protests (Barabash & Zhukov, 2020; Zhukov et al., 2020).

  In the cited work by A. Dmitriev and V. Dmitriev (2021), a state of SOC was also considered a sign of a highly mobilized community. In particular, the researchers studied Twitter[3] activity during the US presidential debates and revealed the periods and mechanisms of criticality formation.

  Despite the high prevalence of SOC effects on the Web, many works have shown that virtual communities, as well as real groups, organizations, institutions, and countries, are not always in a state of SOC. Thietart (2016) studied the reform activity of Danone Corporation, dividing the period under examination into several subperiods and only finding SOC in some of them. Thietart concluded that the accumulation of experience and demands for transformation probably needs to happen, after which the system should enter a state of SOC, a state in which system has a tendency toward transformations of all scales.

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  [1] VK (short for its original name VKontakte) is a Russian online social media and social networking service. https://vk.com VK™ is a trademark of VK.com Ltd.

  [2] Facebook™ is a trademark of Facebook Inc., registered in the U.S. and other countries. По решению Роскомнадзора, социальная сеть Facebook в России признана экстремистской организацией и заблокирована.

  [3] Twitter® is a trademark of Twitter Inc., registered in the U.S. and other countries. По решению Роскомнадзора, социальная сеть Twitter полностью заблокирована в России.

Figure 5

The Number of Participants in the Protests Against Dilma Rousseff and Michel Temer (According to the Police)
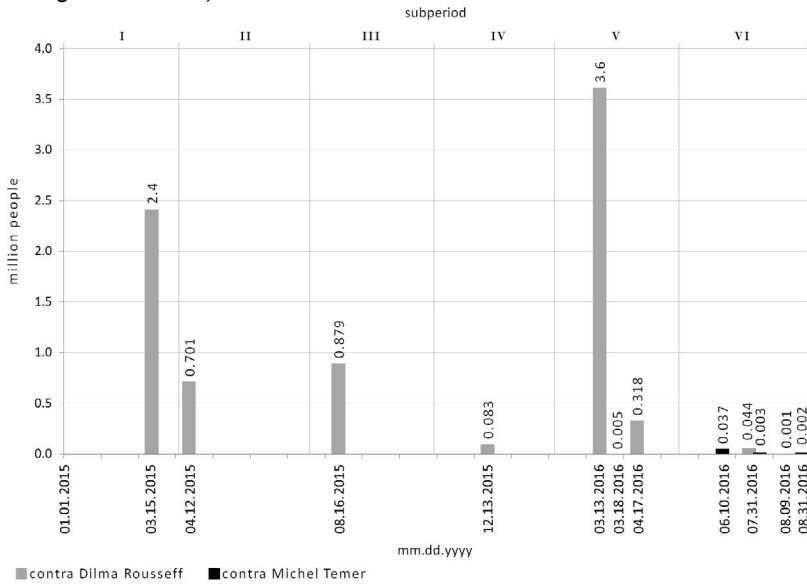
Note. Source: Zhukov et al., 2020.

Figure 6

Pink Noise in the Network During Subperiods IV (October 28, 2015 to February 4, 2016) and V (February 5, 2016 to May 14, 2016) (Brazil, Facebook[4], Communities Protesting Against Dilma Rousseff)
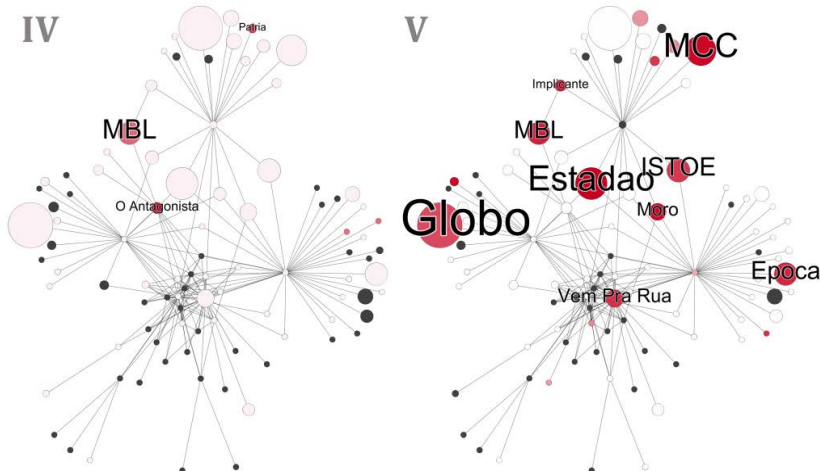
Note. Source: Zhukov et al., 2020.

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[4] Facebook™ is a trademark of Facebook Inc., registered in the U.S. and other countries. По решению Роскомнадзора, социальная сеть Facebook в России признана экстремистской организацией и заблокирована.

I also studied time series suggesting terrorist activity over the past few decades in 20 countries around the world. Pink noise was only found in some series and countries and for some time intervals (Figure 7): "'Pink' societies have inherent system potential for a significant rise in the number of terrorism events … Any reduction in law enforcement may lead to a rapid upsurge in terrorism" (Barabash & Zhukov, 2018, p. 9).

Figure 7
*α-Based Clusters From the 1970s to the 1990s (Period I) and From 2008 to 2014
(Period III)*
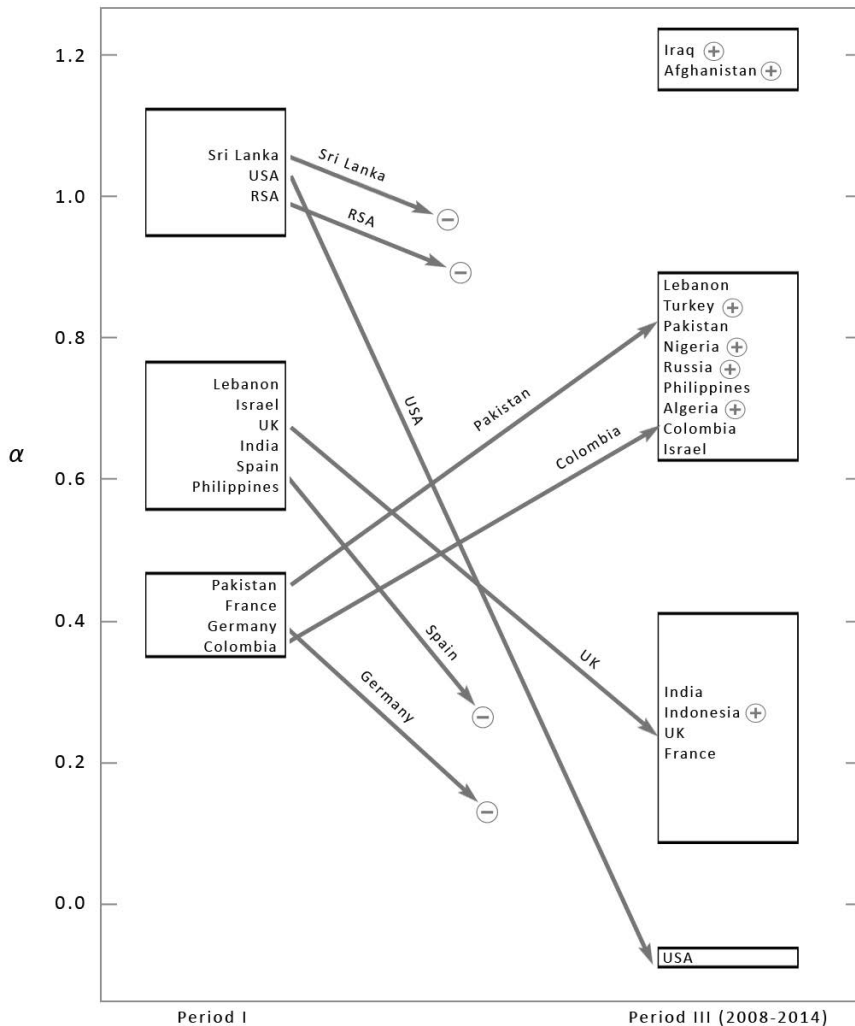
Note: α is the power law exponent. Some countries were added (+) or removed (–) following the rise or disappearance of terrorism as system-wide phenomenon or changes in statistics. Source: Barabash & Zhukov, 2018.

Brunk's hypothesis that all social cataclysms are avalanches in line with the SOC theory is especially noteworthy. Indeed, the great advantage of this theory is that it does not make the researcher search for some powerful, extraordinary factors to explain large-scale events. The theory derives both everyday incidents and global upheavals from micro-level processes and states. This is a very productive approach, but only if it is possible to identify the presence of SOC clearly. Moreover, the theory itself in no way denies the presence of some powerful, extraordinary factors in nature; rather, it only makes them optional. For example, in July 1601, in Moscow, there were frosts, and in September of the same year, it snowed. Something similar happened over the next two years. It was one of the manifestations of the Little Ice Age in Europe. The Time of Troubles coincided with the period of crop failures and, consequently, famine. Occam's razor forces one not to interpret the Russian state as a weak SOC system, but to admit that the climate factor, coupled with political and social contradictions, initiated a systemic crisis of society and the state.

However, such traditional schemes cannot explain some revolutions, uprisings, dissolutions of states, wars, and other social cataclysms that occur without a visible period of preparation. In this case, the SOC theory is certainly an excellent tool, as it forces the researcher to refocus their attention from searching for "strong" reasons to diagnosing the state of a system as a whole—that is, they must consider a system's structure and principles of functioning, the processes of stress accumulation, and "bursts" of relaxation.

In summary, Brunk's concept of history has not yet been confirmed or rejected over the past two decades. It has been found that SOC plays a key role in the behavior of communities at key moments in their history. Furthermore, SOC has shown itself to be an important, yet not a ubiquitous (judging by the current state of research) property of social reality. At the same time, it seems that there is still a chance of obtaining ample confirmation of Brunk's statements, especially in relation to modern history. Ignoring SOC in social reality leads to a more serious distortion of the truth than an overzealous search for criticality where it may not exist.

Question Two

Does the SOC theory really substantiate the fundamental unpredictability and inevitability of social catastrophes? It is quite likely that such an opinion was formed as a result of an interdisciplinary misunderstanding, that is, insufficient knowledge of the empirical side of the social sciences and humanities. However, there is a good reason for this question to appear.

The SOC theory, indeed, cannot accurately predict the date and location of avalanches. Large-scale fluctuations in time series represent a numerical sign of social cataclysms. In an avalanche, the quantitative indicators of a system always go beyond the scope of what is considered normal and, possibly, beyond the scope of viability. Therefore, an avalanche, as a rule, is associated with the destruction and qualitative transformation of the system.

Since an avalanche, like any other landslide in the sandpile model, can be initiated by a single grain of sand (i.e., a minor triggering event), it is almost impossible to predict which grain of sand will play this role. This is not only due to the incompleteness of knowledge: the universe itself, perhaps, does not know, or is dimly aware of, which particular grain of sand is destined for a historical role. The beginning of an avalanche can vary significantly due to nonlinear effects.

In a hypothetical world where SOC reigns supreme, the cause of all major (and minor) disasters would be the very state of society, and all of the apparent causes— that is, the events preceding in causal chains—would, in fact, be triggers. The problem is that the universe, both hypothetical and real, creates many triggers "out of thin air." After all, anything can be a trigger, and such an "anything" appears quite often. Any snap of the fingers can grow into a universal catastrophe because this is a very fragile world, which Bak calls "Sandpile World":

> Once the pile has reached the stationary critical state, though, the situation is entirely different. A single grain of sand might cause an avalanche involving the entire pile. A small change in the configuration might cause what would otherwise be an insignificant event to become a catastrophe … Parts of the critical system cannot be understood in isolation. The dynamics observed locally reflect the fact that it is part of an entire sandpile. … In the critical state, the sandpile is the functional unit, not the single grains of sand. No reductionist approach makes sense. The local units exist in their actual form, characterized for instance by the local slope, only because they are a part of a whole. (Bak, 1996, pp. 59–60)

However, human history, even contemporary history, only partly matches this exaggerated description. In social reality, there are islands and even, perhaps, continents of linearity and other "straightforward" regularities. SOC does not emerge always and everywhere, yet where it does emerge, it fundamentally changes the behavior and development of systems. The problem is that people cannot see with the naked eye when events cease to be "usual," and processes begin to be influenced by nonlinear effects. As Brunk writes, "this example illustrates a common problem when investigating nonlinear historical and spatial processes. They often masquerade as something that they are not until a very great deal of data can be examined" (Brunk, 2002a, p. 40).

The potential for an avalanche is inherent to an SOC system: it is hidden in plain sight from the observer. For a long time, such a potential does not produce any effect; routine events become the norm and are perceived as part of stability. But that kind of stability is an illusion. An avalanche can emerge all by itself from nothing. In other words, SOC systems can react very strongly to insignificant triggers, even though they may have disregarded similar triggers for a long time. It is vital that the causes of cataclysms (provided that they are actually avalanches) be sought not in tremendous, abstract, controlling forces, but in the state and structure of the system itself, in the nature of routine interactions, including the everyday practices, needs, and opinions of people.

However, researchers, including historians, have tended to rationalize major unexpected events after the fact, seeking and finding sound reasons, strong factors that have been previously hidden, and so on. Since people mainly encounter linear dependencies on a daily basis, they intuitively attribute them to the entire universe. However, rather than being a reflection of the properties of the universe, this is a manifestation of the principle of economy behind the observer's reasoning. Major events, outliers in time series, are often dismissed by researchers as anomalies (i.e., instrumental errors or exceptional, unnatural events caused by forces not inherent in the system itself). The traditional view of social cataclysms is that when dealing with special events, one should search for special causes. The SOC theory requires looking for trivial causes for special events if such special events took place in a critical environment.

The tools of the SOC theory are able to distinguish critical systems from noncritical ones and show exactly which system entered the avalanche-prone period and when. In particular, the appearance of pink noise in time series indicates an SOC system, where power laws prevail. Although the date and place of an avalanche or social cataclysm are unknown, the predictions of the SOC theory are of high practical importance for the social sciences and humanities. Such predictions, in essence, are no different from a body of predictions in natural science, which also have a probabilistic and variable character.

Thus, the SOC theory makes it possible to diagnose—not only after the fact, but also in advance—the transformational potential of a social system, from an online community to a social group and the whole of society. Such heuristic capabilities of the SOC theory were confirmed by case studies (Zhukov et al., 2017, 2020). However, somewhat earlier and, apparently, for the first time in the literature on the sociopolitical applications of SOC, this idea was put forward by Shimada and Koyama (2015). Using the materials of Japanese electoral statistics for several decades, Shimada and Koyama indicated that the presence of power law distributions with an exponent of about 1 in the time series reflecting political life can be an indicator of the readiness of certain social groups for a qualitative (i.e., radical) political transformation.

The latter part of Question Two concerns the inevitability of social cataclysms. Indeed, the SOC theory considers avalanches a natural manifestation of the laws of nature. This sometimes becomes a source of pessimism for researchers who see normal historical processes as exceptionally straightforward and progressive. On the other hand, many researchers view transformational leaps as necessary phenomena. So, Shimada and Koyama foresee an era of change in Japan:

> As indicated by the fallout from the Lehman collapse and the severe deflationary economic downturn in Japan, the buildup of discrepancies in the basis of Japanese society is reaching an extreme level. In order to break free from this stagnant era and open up future prospects, new strategy for social change is needed. Currently, the country is approaching a dramatic transition from the state of social change that has existed up until now (exponent $D_M = 1.27$) to a state of real criticality, the most probable for social change ($D_M = 1$). The model suggests that a decrease

of the power exponent D_M (1.27) changes the agonistic structure greatly, leading to an increase in the change output $R.$ (Shimada & Koyama, 2015, p. 348)

However, the fact that there have been dramatic social transformations of various scales occasionally called quantitative and qualitative leaps, or phase transitions, throughout history is old news. Revolutions seem inevitable for almost all scholars of the social sciences and humanities, except maybe early positivists.

Is it possible to prevent a cataclysm provided it is an avalanche in line with the SOC theory? If artificially preventing some section of the slope of the sandpile from collapsing, then this will make the slope in this section steeper. If repeating the same operation several times in different areas, the prospect of a superavalanche will arise sooner or later, since the slopes of the pile will become too steep. Manual control will help delay the onset of the catastrophe but aggravate its course.

Thus, Bak draws disappointing conclusions regarding an economy:

Our conclusion is that the large fluctuations observed in economics indicate an economy operating at the self-organized critical state, in which minor shocks can lead to avalanches of all sizes, just like earthquakes. The fluctuations are unavoidable. There is no way that one can stabilize the economy and get rid of the fluctuations through regulations of interest rates or other measures … If economics is indeed organizing itself to a critical state, it is not even in principle possible to suppress fluctuations … But maybe, as we shall argue next in a different context, the most efficient state of the economy is one with fluctuations of all sizes. (Bak, 1996, pp. 191–192)

Apart from very large systems, such as an entire society, SOC can be extinguished in a particular system by fragmentation or by the elimination of the source of activating impulses—that is, the source of tension. It is clear that it is virtually impossible to control SOC systems by conventional methods because they have low sensitivity to traditional control measures (Podlazov, 2001, p. 34).

The historical causality of social transformations does not always mean that they must take on the form of social catastrophes in the literal sense of the word. In fact, historical necessity in many cases leaves a significant amount of room for people to choose the format of transformations. It is not so much the avoidance of cataclysms that is important, but their format—that is, the ratio of cost to benefit, as well as the formation of a new system thereafter. To control, at least partially, the results of radical transformations, it is necessary to understand their nature.

Question Three

What contribution can the SOC theory make to clarifying the fundamental mystery of the relationships between chance and regularity and between human will and historical necessity? For quite a long time, there was (and, in a sense, still is) the notion that there is an impenetrable barrier separating the mathematized natural sciences on

one side and the social sciences and humanities on the other. In most cases, it is allegedly impossible to extend the theories and methods of the natural sciences to the social sciences and humanities, and vice versa. The essence of this barrier lies in the distinctive nature of the subject matter of human sciences, which is fully derived from free will, that is, the capacity of a person to act in spite of the circumstances, with no regard to scientific laws.

However, as it turned out, the objects of the natural sciences (for example, atoms) are also capable of "acting" rather arbitrarily. Thus, the half-life of uranium-235 is approximately 700 million years: over this time, about half of the atoms from the initial amount of uranium will have decayed. Still, a particular atom may decay in one second or in 10 billion years. Of course, an atom does not make a decision, but the relationship between an "action" of an atom and the general evolution of uranium-235 can be described in the same way as the relationship between human action and historical regularity.

Moreover, it became clear that the objects of the natural sciences are capable of self-organizing, sometimes in the most paradoxical manner. It is unlikely that they negotiate like people, but the principles of self-organization turned out to be universal. Finally, many systems, regardless of their nature, demonstrate purposeful behavior and persistently move toward some attractor, whereas people, inspired by dreams and ideas, pursue their goals. One unique attribute of the social sciences and humanities now lies in the fact that principles of ethics and morality can be applied to the subject of these disciplines: people. At the level of explanatory schemes, there are no differences anymore. As I discuss later, this dramatic convergence of different branches of knowledge happened not because man was "mathematized," but because, in order to explain nature, natural science and mathematics had to develop concepts that were progressively more "humanized", that is, progressively more suitable to explain not only inanimate matter, but also social phenomena.

Of course, such an evolution of the paradigms of natural science was not inspired by the desire to claim the domain of the social sciences and humanities. Since around the end of the 19th century, the evolution of the exact and natural sciences has been strongly influenced by the problem of the relationship between regularity and chance. The SOC theory has become an important, logical, and now final link in this evolution.

Manifestations of free will, such as an act, opinion, or decision, in interdisciplinary explanatory schemes can be interpreted precisely as an accident, an essentially unpredictable event. What is more, such an accident is local in time and space and low energy. Nonetheless, such accidents emerge in multitudes, always and everywhere. How does such a reality, both physical and social, function?

The starting point of my brief review of this question is Laplace's determinism, which has dominated since the 18th century and argues that the entire universe is determined at all times by chains of cause and effect (Laplace, 2007). Causes and effects are unambiguously connected: each cause gives rise to a strictly defined effect, and each effect must have a strictly defined cause. The chains are unbreakable, and there are basically no coincidences. Those phenomena that seem random are in fact determined by a regularity that has not yet been understood. All systems are

similar to clockwork mechanisms: the behavior of all elements is predetermined by the structure and rules. In such a picture of the world, the free will of a person could be present only as an exception to the rules—that is, as a reflection of the Divine. Consequently, social research, if it was focused on arbitrary human behavior, was doomed to marginalization into the nonrational sphere of art and religion.

A huge breach in this picture of the world was made by scientists' realization by the end of the 19th century that a significant part of the laws of the physical world are statistical laws. Laws of this type determine the behavior of the entire system, but they are not binding to individual elements, which may behave randomly. An example of this kind was given above: the half-life law does not in any way determine the behavior of each particular atom, but it is strictly obeyed by the entire set of atoms. The development of ideas about statistical laws was associated with the emergence of concepts of probabilistic causality.

Within the framework of such ideas, the existence of chance was recognized, but the significance of chance—and, consequently, human decisions—was reduced to a minimum: chances and people did not influence the course of events, which was determined by an objective, "extrahuman" regularity. Statistical laws were adopted by the sociologists of that time who recognized that a person is free to commit any act and have any opinion, while the overall group behavior, as well as the development of institutions, society, states, and so on is beyond the control of a particular person or even the entirety of people.

It was synergetics, which has successfully gained the status of the general scientific paradigm since the 1960s, that made fundamental adjustments to such ideas. Theoretical and empirical studies in natural science carried out within the framework of synergetics have shown that there are bifurcation points. I illustrated this concept above (Figure 1) when I mentioned a stone, the fate of which (i.e., development trajectory) can be determined by a minor, local (i.e., random) event.

Thus, it was recognized that systems, both physical and social, can experience such short-term states in which the consequent regularity (i.e., choice of an attractor) is determined by random influence. This means that a human act, even the action of a single person, can affect the whole of a social system along with the outcome of its evolution, historical regularity. Synergetics not only recognized the presence of chance and the ability of people to think and act arbitrarily, but also admitted that chance (a human act) can significantly affect the choice of regularity sometimes—that is, in the right place at the right time. However, such a choice is only possible when there are several attractors, options for further development. In addition, bifurcation points are quite fleeting, as I have already mentioned.

Finally, the SOC theory has shown that some systems can be in a state similar to a bifurcation point extended in time for quite a long time (even from a historical point of view). In SOC systems, every accident can lead to an avalanche, every human act can have historical significance. Moreover, the SOC theory postulates that events of different scales are generated by the same micro-level processes. In social systems, therefore, interests, ideals, actions, and interactions of individuals form historical regularities that include both tremendous revolutions and slight

shifts. The SOC theory not only allows for the existence of chance and its ability to determine regularity at some rare moments, but also puts chance on par with regularity and recognizes the equality of regularity and chance, which continuously influence each other. Of course, not all systems operate in the SOC mode, but—as I have tried to express in this article—in social reality, such systems are much more common than it might seem.

Conclusion

The extension of the SOC theory to the domain of the social sciences and humanities returns to the research agenda the longstanding attempts to understand, at least partially, the place of man in society and the role of the individual in history.

We used an extensive set of case studies, theoretical studies regarding SOC in the domain of the social sciences, humanities to clarify three questions that I think are important in assessing the heuristic capabilities of the SOC theory, and its relationship to the problems mentioned.

At the moment, the results published in the scientific literature indicate that SOC is present in many social processes, modern and historical, and can impart these processes' counterintuitive qualities, including disproportionate causes and effects, cascades of cataclysms of different scales, unexpected bursts of activity, "causeless" revolutions, and so on. SOC is especially important for understanding systems in a borderline state—that is, between order and chaos or in a transitionary period. However, there is not yet the necessary amount of empirical data that unequivocally testify in favor of the assertion that SOC is a ubiquitous and integral property of social reality. This is the answer to the first question about the limitations of the SOC theory.

The second question required verification of the assertion that the SOC theory allegedly substantiates the fundamental unpredictability and inevitability of social catastrophes. Although the SOC theory states that it is impossible to predict the place and time of avalanches, i.e., major transformations, in critical systems accurately, it provides a convenient tool to identify avalanche-prone systems and periods. As for the inevitability of revolutionary upheavals, the SOC theory is not alone in this view. Furthermore, the theoretical inevitability of major events does not detract from the right and ability of people to influence their format and outcomes. It should be noted that the SOC theory makes it unnecessary to have a major, extraordinary factor to explain major events.

Finally, the third question concerned the contribution of the SOC theory to ideas about the relationship between chance and regularity, human will, and historical necessity. I have tried to show that the SOC theory is the next logical step in the evolution of interdisciplinary paradigms that has been going on for more than three hundred years. The SOC theory originally created as a mathematized concept of natural sciences essentially states that in some social systems for a rather long time, even by historical standards, human will, act, and opinion can have a fundamental impact on the development of the whole of a system.

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ARTICLE

Rediscovering Identity: Autobiographical Memory and Media Discourses of Russian-Germans in Germany and Russia

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ABSTRACT

This paper compares the processes of rediscovering identity in autobiographical memory and media discourses of Russian-Germans living in Germany and in Russia. According to R. Brubaker, the Russian-Germans are viewed as a transnational group with a specific "hybrid identity", whose identification varies depending on the cultural project, which they are involved in. In Germany and Russia, the boundaries of this identification are the politics of memory of the host society and the dominant narratives regarding this group as repatriates (Germany) and as a diaspora with its own culture (Russia). Our analysis, which was based on the methodology of the critical discourse analysis by S. Jäger, revealed that such a dominant narrative in Germany is the "narrative of return". In Russia, however, there are two discursive threads: the image of Russian-Germans as a repressed group and the narrative about the outstanding role of Russian-Germans in the history of Russia. The curves of autobiographical and family narratives of the three generations of Russian-Germans in Russia and Germany were analyzed and compared according to the biographical method of F. Schütze. People aged 30–50 were the most open to the influence of collective "standardized" narratives both in Germany and in Russia. Despite the fact of living in Russia, those respondents who were preparing to repatriate to Germany actively reproduced the "return narrative" and used international mnemonic frameworks to structure

their autobiographical and family story. Our study showed that the influence of the discursive media environment on the autobiographical and family memory of Russian-Germans living in Germany and Russia depends on the respondent's individual life experience (the curve of their biography), age, and some peculiarities of their family history.

KEYWORDS
Russian-Germans, autobiographical memory, media discourse, critical discourse analysis, biographical method, return narrative, ethnic minority, hybrid identity

Introduction

In the past decade, processes of ethnicization and construction of ethnic identity have attracted much scholarly attention. Among other ethnic groups, Russian-Germans represent a specific case of migration and cultural transfer. What makes their case particularly interesting, at the same time as difficult to study, is that they represent a kind of "double migrants". The ancestors of this group moved to Russia during the reign of Catherine II and, until the collapse of the USSR, they retained their cultural memory of resettlement and German culture. Then, they moved back to Germany in the 1980s and 1990s.

Since 1988, about 2.5 million migrants of German origin have moved to the Federal Republic of Germany from post-Soviet countries for permanent residence. In total, more than 4 million migrants from the former USSR live in Germany, which is about 4% of the country's population (Dietz, 2000; Laitin, 1998; Rock & Wolff, 2002). No less interesting is the fate of those Russian-Germans who remained in Russia and found themselves in a situation of rediscovering their ethnic identity in the 1990s, when an active revival of ethnic traditions and ethnic self-consciousness began (Mamattah, 2012; Mukhina, 2007; Münz & Ohliger, 2003). In modern studies, Russian-Germans are considered as a special transnational group whose identification varies depending on the project in which the participants are involved. The boundaries of such an identity are "fuzzy" and defined situationally. The priority here is not their ethnic roots as such but rather the networks of connections (Boyd, 1989; Brown, 2005; Kurilo, 2015; Sanders, 2016, Savoskul, 2006). This thesis, substantiated by V. D. Popkov (2016), is relevant both for the studies of Russian-Germans in Germany and for the studies of Russian-Germans in Russia. After the 1990s, there have been significant differences in the processes of ethnicization among Russian-Germans in these two countries, which determines the need for

a comparative analysis of these processes. This research gap has not been filled yet since the studies of Russian-Germans in Russia and Germany mostly focus either on the German (Brown, 2005; Kurilo, 2015; Rosenthal et al., 2011; Savoskul, 2006; Zeveleva, 2014a, 2019) or on the Russian (Mamattah, 2012; Mukhina, 2007; Vedernikova & Kravchenko, 2021) contexts.

This article aims at carrying out a comparative analysis of the narratives of Russian-Germans in Russia and Germany about rediscovering of their identity. These narratives encompass the autobiographical memory of the three generations of Russian-Germans and the media discourses of this ethnic group. The following three hypotheses are tested:

– The first hypothesis is that the narratives of the autobiographical memory of Russian-Germans are strongly influenced by this group's media discourses reflecting their cultural memory;

– the second hypothesis is that there are significant differences in the media discourses of Russian-Germans in Russia and Germany associated with the differences in the status of this ethnic group;

– the third hypothesis is that Russian-Germans in Germany and Russia use the media discourses differently to construct their autobiographical memory, with these differences largely depending on the age and personal migration experience.

Theoretical Framework

The starting point for our study is the constructivist idea of Rogers Brubaker (2004) about the need to separate ethnicity from the groups themselves, which was expressed in the concept of ethnicization. He associated this concept with a sense of joint belonging, which, like an event, happens or does not happen (Brubaker, 2004, pp. 22–23).

Viacheslav Popkov advanced Brubaker's ideas further and argued that combining with any cultural practices, ethnicity becomes part of the social reality of individuals, and is perceived as something natural, primordial, self-evident by them (Popkov, 2016, p. 121). For Russian-speaking groups, the defining characteristic is not ethnicity or citizenship but the Soviet cultural practices. Therefore, we are dealing with the transnational Russian-speaking space in modern Germany. The basic criterion that is applied to identify Russian-Germans as a separate ethnic group is, therefore, the Russian language (Popkov, 2016, p. 147). The next step is to describe the Russian-speaking residents of Germany as a peculiar transnational group, whose identification varies depending on the project in which the participants are involved. From Popkov's view, the boundaries of such an identity are "fuzzy" and are defined situationally. The priority here is not ethnic roots but the networks of connections (Boyd, 1989; Pattie, 1999; Popkov, 2016).

The above-described understanding of cultural boundaries clearly correlates with contemporary research on collective identity and social memory. For example, renowned sociologist of culture, Stuart Hall (1996), notes that the term "identity" can be understood as a "temporary attachment to the subjective positions that discursive practices construct for us" (p. 6). He also wrote:

> I use "identity" to refer to the meeting point, the point of suture, between on the one hand the discourses and practices which attempt to "interpellate", speak to us or hail us into place as the social subjects of particular discourses, and on the other hand, the processes which produce subjectivities, which construct us as subjects which can be "spoken". (Hall, 1996, pp. 5–6)

In our case, these are the discourses of the cultural memory of Russian-Germans.

The mobility of this "suture" of identity in the commemorative aspect was analyzed by Jeffrey Olick (2007), who proposed a relational approach to social memory. He proposes to consider collective memory as a certain combination of various social forms, spaces, and practices: from ordinary memories to general forms of maintaining a pattern. Memory is a social activity, a process, not a static object: "The analytical goal of research on collective memory should be to understand figurations of memory—developng relations between past and present—where images, contexts, traditions, and interests come together in fluid, though not necessarily harmonious, ways ..." (p. 91). We must understand, however, that the thesis about the constructability of cultural memory also has its limitations, since the construction of images of the past cannot but rely on elements of autobiographical and family narratives, which very often persist despite the influence of social discourses (Sietz, 2004). "The past, in some respects and under certain circumstances, stubbornly resists attempts to reshape it" (Schudson, 1989, p. 107). In our article, we will try to confirm this thesis by looking at the autobiographical narratives of the Russian-Germans, which, among other things, reflect the strategies these people use to adapt their cultural memory to the current reality of life in a specific country.

Autobiographical and family memory are two closely connected concepts, nevertheless, there are some important differences between them. V. V. Nurkova (2000) defines autobiographical memory as a subjective reflection of a segment of a person's life path, which consists in fixing, preserving, interpreting, and updating autobiographically significant events and states that determine the self-identity of a person as a unique, self-identical psychological subject (p. 19). One of the significant cultural frameworks for constructing autobiographical memory is family memory, which, as A. Erll aptly puts it, "serve as a kind of switchboard between individual memory and larger frames of collective remembrance" (Erll, 2011, p. 315). C. Lenz and H. Welzer (2007) see the family as a relay between personal, autobiographical remembering on the one hand and public remembrance and official images of history on the other (p. 15). We believe that family memory is one of the environments where images and practices of historical culture are circulated. Historical culture, in its turn, is understood here as the social production of knowledge about the past and its manifestation in a community's life.

The relational approach outlined above has already been applied in the study of Russian-Germans as communities of memory in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) by Olga Zeveleva (2014a, 2019). Based on the collected biographical interviews and analysis of the discourses of the cultural memory of Russian-Germans in the FRG, she showed that

the dominant discourse of the history of Russian-Germans is formed by the system of "filters" in the German host society, and these filters, in turn, were formed from the elements of individual histories. … This understanding is reproduced as an averaged "collective history" of Russian-Germans in Germany. (Zeveleva, 2014a, p. 124, trans. by Andrei Linchenko & Bella Gartwig [A. L. & B. G.])

Comparing the official narratives shared by integration organizations and the German media, she was able to show the direct dependence of the autobiographical and family stories of Russian-Germans on these narratives:

In the case of repatriation, the host state plays a leading role even in the individual understanding of family history, as well as in the migrants' understanding of their place in society through this history. This may lead to a collective sense of the history of the group as the history of victims. (Zeveleva, 2014a, p. 125, trans. by A. L. & B. G.)

In the case of Russian-Germans as repatriates to the FRG, it is not only the narrative of suffering throughout Soviet history that comes to the fore but also the narrative of return, which creates mythological grounds for perceiving the history of an ethnic group.

In our article, we would like to confirm these findings for the specific age group of respondents and to compare the role of the German and Russian contexts in the construction of autobiographical memory by the media discourses of Russian-Germans.

Sources and Methods

In the spring of 2018, we conducted 12 narrative interviews in Bochum, Dortmund, and Siegen, with the support of the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and the Ruhr University in Bochum. Four interviews were conducted with people aged 20–30, five interviews with people aged 30–50, and three interviews with people aged 50–70. At the time of the interview, all the respondents were German citizens and had lived in Germany for at least three years. All of them were Russian-Germans. When forming our sample, we took into account the fact that Russian-speaking migrants could face different adaptation conditions in different cities. The federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia was chosen because there was a large number of Russian-speaking migrants in comparison with other lands (Ministerium für Arbeit, Integration und Soziales des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, 2013; Worbs et al., 2013), which could contribute to the formation of a special transnational Russian-speaking space.

In the winter of 2022, we conducted 12 interviews in the cities that were previously part of the Volga German Republic (Saratov and Samara) and in Lipetsk. Four interviews were conducted with people aged 20–30, four interviews with people aged 30–50, and four more interviews with people aged 50–70.

The collected interviews revealed a number of similar tendencies in narrative descriptions. This article will provide quotes from the interview, reflecting the most typical and recurring opinions.

In our study, the methods of narrative psychology and biographical analysis described in the works of Fritz Schütze were used. This methodology is well known to researchers and has been repeatedly used to study the life histories of migrants (Treichel & Schwelling, 2006; Zeveleva, 2014a). Fritz Schütze (1984) proposes to consider a biographical story recorded in the course of a narrative interview as a conceptually unified one. The interviewer does not interrupt the narrator, allowing them to build the plot of the story in a free form. Only at the end of the interview, the narrators answer a series of clarifying questions, which in the language of the theory of Schütze is referred to as the phase of narrative questions (p. 80).

According to Schütze (1983), the history of life is a sequentially ordered layering of large and small sequentially ordered procedural structures (p. 284). With the change of dominant procedural structures over time, the corresponding general interpretation of the life history of the bearer of the biography also changes. The most important goal of Schütze's methodology is to correlate the informant's life history with their subjective interpretations. This is achieved through a comparison of such procedural structures as intentional processes (life goals of the biography bearer, actions taken by them in the process of overcoming difficult life situations), institutional patterns (prescribed rules of behavior on the part of the family, educational system, professional circle) and flow curves (general identity dynamics). In Schütze's analysis, flow curves can have both positive and negative meanings. Positive meaning signifies the curves that are ascending in progression, they open up new spatial opportunities for action and development of the narrator's personality as they become able to establish new social positions. Negative meaning, on the contrary, stands for the curves that are descending in progression, thus the narrator's space of opportunities for future action and development becomes limited by "layers" of previous biographical experience.

The direction of life curves can be determined not only by looking at the characteristics of the autobiography. As Olga Zeveleva (2014b) has shown, the discourses of the host society are an important source for migrants' meaning-making around their autobiographical and family memory. In her research, she relied on a wide range of sources: the newsletter *Volk auf dem Weg* [People on the Way], posters and texts of exhibitions dedicated to the history of Russian-Germans in Berlin, websites of integration houses in Berlin and Hamburg, and the official website of the Friedland border transit camps.

In this study, we have sought to evaluate her findings by applying the methodology of critical discourse analysis developed by Siegfried Jäger (2001) for the analysis of the media discourse of Russian-Germans in Germany and Russia. Jäger's approach focuses on the origin and transformation of valid knowledge and its function in the constitution of subjects and in the shaping of society (Jäger, 2001, p. 32). Jäger defines knowledge as "all kinds of contents which make up a consciousness and/or all kinds of meanings used by respective historical persons to interpret and shape the surrounding reality" (p. 33). In defining the discourse concept, Jäger follows Jürgen Link, who sees it as an institutionally consolidated concept of speech since it determines and consolidates action and thus already exercises power (Link, 1983, p. 60). Jäger's model is well-known and has already been repeatedly applied to the

analysis of printed publications. The research procedure includes the general review of the publication and the selection of specific fragments of discourse, the study of the context (visual elements, the structure of the presentation, the topics covered), description of rhetorical techniques (the form of argumentation, symbols, tropes), the isolation of the ideological component and the general intention of the text. The resulting in-depth analysis deals with the specific discourse fragments and the discourse strand. The "discourse strand" is an analytical construct that Jäger defines as the sum of text fragments (discourse fragments) on one topic (Jäger, 2001, p. 47).

To study the German context of the discourse of Russian-Germans, we turned to the *Volk auf dem Weg* newsletter for 2015–2021[1] and *Museum für russlanddeutsche Kulturgeschichte* [the Museum of Russian-German Cultural History] in Detmold[2]. This way we were able to supplement Zeveleva's findings. For the study of the narratives produced and reproduced by Russian-Germans living in Russia, we analyzed the materials of *RusDeutsch* portal[3] and illustrated reference books dedicated to Russian-Germans (Cherkaz'ianova, 2016; Smirnova & Tishkov, 2021), the newspapers *Sibiricshe Zeitung plus* [Siberian Newspaper Plus][4], *Moskauer Deutsche Zeitung* [Moscow German Newspaper][5], and the electronic book of memory of Russian-Germans (Gedenkbuch, n.d.). The important source for us was the documentary Russkie Nemtsy [Russian-Germans] (2014) that was shown on TV channel Kultura [Culture] with the financial support of the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation (Eisner, 2014). Our task was to analyze and compare the main discursive strands that can act as meaningful patterns for the autobiographical memory narratives of Russian-Germans in Russia and Germany.

The Repatriation Narrative in Media Discourse of Russian-Germans in Germany

The main milestones in the history of Russian-Germans, reflected in their family narratives and cultural memory, could be as follows: the resettlement to Russia in the 18th century, the establishment of the Volga German Autonomous Republic in 1924, the Stalinist repressions of the late 1930s and mass deportation to Kazakhstan in 1941, repatriation to Germany in the late 20th century (Mukhina, 2007; Smirnova & Tishkov, 2021).

As Zeveleva's research showed, in all the interviews she collected in 2013–2014, the autobiographical dynamics unfolded within the framework of a specific family memory formula:

> We were invited by Catherine II to the Volga region, where we lived and worked before the persecutions under Stalin. We were deported to Siberia and Central Asia, where our ancestors worked in the labor army. After the end of the war, we were discriminated against in the USSR. Then Helmut Kohl invited us to Germany, and we left because of the nationalist sentiments of the late 1980s and 1990s. (Zeveleva, 2014a, p. 118, trans. by A. L. & B. G.)

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[1] https://lmdr.de/vadw/

[2] https://www.russlanddeutsche.de/en/

[3] https://rusdeutsch.ru/

[4] https://bibliothek.rusdeutsch.ru/periodika/gazeti/6625

[5] https://bibliothek.rusdeutsch.ru/periodika/gazeti/1058

It is important to emphasize that the standardized narrative as a "narrative of return" (narrative of repatriation) was relevant for all the generations of repatriates with different levels of education, which leads Zeveleva to the conclusion about the "standartisation of stories as a way of explaining the link between personal story-telling and state discourses" (Zeveleva, 2019, pp. 640–642). In our study, we will try to confirm this idea and further elaborate on it.

We analyzed the issues of the *Volk auf dem Weg* newsletter for 2015–2020 as well as the main exhibition of the Museum of Russian-German Cultural History in Detmold, Germany. Since the discursive space of the newsletter and the museum is organized in accordance with multiple semantic strategies, we have selected the materials directly related to the representation of the history of Russian-Germans through the stories of individual families. The newsletter *Volk auf dem Weg* has a permanent section where narratives of the family memory of Russian-Germans are published. These include the stories about childhood memories shared by their parents and the stories dealing with the main stages of their lives.

The critical discourse analysis of family histories presented in the newsletter confirmed the conclusions of Olga Zeveleva about the presence of a standardized narrative (narrative of repatriation), which acts as a frame for family memory. As an example, let us look at the discursive strands identified in the narratives of the Häussler and Bender families.

The story about the Benders was published in four issues of the newsletter in 2015 (No. 6–10). Rudolf Bender told the story of his mother, Ida Bender, as well as her family history. The analysis of the context, rhetorical devices, styles of argumentation, and ideological components allowed us to identify several discursive strands in his narrative. The first and main discursive strand is presented as a narrative of the suffering of one family, through which one can see the fate of the entire people. The story emphasizes the uniqueness of the suffering of Russian-Germans, which is incomparable with anything else in the world history (Gossen-Giesbrecht, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c, 2015d). The second discursive strand of the story is presented as the story of Ida's struggle for the rights of the Russian-Germans in the USSR and their rehabilitation. In this context, the image of the first Motherland arises, that is, the Republic of the Volga Germans, which the characters of the story seek to revive. The third discursive strand is the peculiar "fate" of Russian-Germans who return to Germany and find another Motherland. As a result, Ida Bender wrote a book about her family's history, which can be seen as an act of completion of her family's long and winding road.

The narrative of repatriation stands out in the autobiographical and family memory of Ida Häussler. The main discursive strand of her story was the resistance to Russification and the desire to preserve German culture through generations. The collective metaphor here is "life in a German cocoon" (Paulsen, 2020, p. 20, trans. by A. L. & B. G.). Her desire to write a family history as an autobiography is clearly visible in a number of sequences and can be seen as the second discursive strand. The third discursive strand is identified only after the interviewee was asked a series of questions about their family's dreams of moving to Germany (*Der Traum von Deutschland*). And here the narrative comes closest to the typical German media narrative of repatriation

as Ida points out that from her early childhood, she heard her family members talking about returning to their historical homeland, Germany (Paulsen, 2020, p. 21).

We found a similar discursive strand in the expositions of the Museum of Russian-German Cultural History. The critical discourse analysis of the main exposition entitled *Ausgepackt* [Unpacked] showed that the narrative of repatriation is an important final part of the reconstruction of the 250-year history of the Russian-Germans. The entire historical path of the ethnic group is presented as a process of emigration to Russia and their subsequent return to their homeland, with the image of an unpacked suitcase symbolizing the end of this journey. Thus, the museum fully fits into the discursive space created by the integration institutions of Russian-Germans in Germany. Based on the works of Olga Zeveleva (2014a, 2014b, 2019) and our own research, we can conclude that the main discursive strand of this space is the narrative of repatriation, centred around the idea of a "fateful return" cultivated in several generations of Russian-Germans.

The Repatriation Narrative in the Autobiographical Memory of Russian-Germans in Germany

The analysis of the autobiographical narratives of Russian-Germans living in the federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia has given us a dual picture. On the one hand, it confirmed the conclusions of Olga Zeveleva about the presence of a standardized narrative of repatriation in most interviews (in 10 out of 12 interviews). On the other hand, the analysis of the historical experience of migration in autobiographical memory as a factor in the ascending biography curve shows that the influence of the repatriation narrative significantly depends on the age of the respondents. The autobiographical narratives of people aged 18–30 have only a few elements of this discourse, since for young Russian-Germans the experience of repatriation is mostly a childhood experience. Remarkably, all the interviews contain the images of Germany as a transit country, while the greatest preference is given to the countries of the Mediterranean and, first of all, Spain. A vivid example in this case is the upward curve of Marianne's biography (18 years old), whose whole life is presented as a process of constant overcoming of institutional restrictions, where the experience of integration only strengthens her motivation for self-growth and development:

> *I have lived in Germany for seven years. I studied in Spain for a year at the university. When I came back, I realized how much people here are dissatisfied with their life, although they have everything they need. They have both financial and state security, insurance. In Spain it's not like that. There everyone will say hello to you, wish you a nice day, no matter whether you are beautiful or not. People tell you what they think. They are not afraid to tell you their thoughts. Why should you be afraid?* (Marianna, 18 years old)

The representatives of this age group consider their family past as an insignificant stage of their autobiography, demonstrating full acceptance of this narrative without

any critical reflection. For them, it is a given, since they cannot remember any other experience, except for the experience of repatriation.

In their autobiographical narratives, the people aged 30–50 were the most prone to interpreting their memory in line with the views on the Russian-Germans' past that are prevalent in the Western European discursive space. For example, they seemed more at ease talking about GULAG as a negative event and its impact than the other age groups. We found the largest number of elements of the repatriates' official narrative for the presentation of their family and autobiographical memory in the structure of the interviews of this age group. Since migration was a turning point for them, the level of openness to repatriation narratives was higher. Remarkably, they tend to view their family history and their own repatriation in line with the generalized family history in media, that is, as the story of their return to Germany. The example of an ascending biography curve is found in the narrative of Michael, for whom repatriation was not only about getting more opportunities but also about the fulfilment of an old family dream:

> *During my childhood it was always somehow emphasized that we were Germans.*
> *My relatives have been living here for 35 years. My mother's parents left a long*
> *time ago and when they came to us, they said that you would go there anyway, and*
> *somehow it was already implanted in the children's minds that we should leave*
> *as soon as possible. We only had to submit documents.* (Michael, 40 years old)

A different situation is found in the case of a biography as a descending curve. For Elena (aged 36), migration marks the before/after watershed in her life. She perceives her emigration to Germany as forced because this decision was taken by her mother, who took part in the resettlement program. The main hypertext that frames the interview and runs as its leitmotif can be summed up by the phrase "I'm still looking for myself." This hypertext is found in almost all the sequences and is mainly represented by the arguments and dense descriptions. Furthermore, we found an internal text that can be summarized as "I am a Russian in Germany" in some descriptions and, to a greater extent, in a series of arguments at the end of the first part of the interview and in some answers to our questions. Despite the fact that the narrator puts some effort into constructing a chronologically sequential narrative, the rhythm of her story is broken in the sequences dedicated to her repatriation to Germany and the difficulties of the first years of life there.

Elena's case testifies to the dominance of the cognitive figure called by F. Schütze "Verlaufskurven" (life curve). Schütze (1983) illustrates his idea of life curve by discussing an autobiographical narrative of a seriously ill person, who tells how their illness began and progressed, how their place in the social space and their identity gradually changed. Retrospectively, the narrator strings all the events they reproduce into one thread—the formation and unfolding of the experience of the patient's suffering. In such a story, there is always a key moment that is a turning point for the narrator's life and biography: the memory of the starting point of the trajectory, of how the narrator felt sick or learned about their illness. In the case of Elena, such a turning point is her repatriation to Germany, which tore her life into two parts, "before" and "after". In this regard, the interpretive efforts made by Elena to present

her personal history only partially coincide with the biographical processes. Her intentional processes are insufficient to overcome the institutional restrictions, which creates the need for a constant reassessment of all the life's main stages. Migration and repatriation to Germany is interpreted and presented as a downward process, leaving unresolved the question of the biographer's further life strategy. During the subsequent inquiries, Elena said that she was caught between the two worlds and that she no longer thought of returning to Russia for good.

As for the people over 50, the situation was contradictory. This age group bears the family memory of the Soviet period, of deportation and discrimination. Therefore, we might have expected them to be the most ardent supporters of the use of the international narrative of repatriation as a mnemonic framework. However, only in half of their narratives did we find a connection with the official discourse of Russian-Germans similar to the one conveyed by *Volk auf dem Weg*. Their autobiographical experience after the repatriation sounds like the idea of returning to the land of their ancestors, as a result of the preservation of the German language and culture, as a positive result of the torments endured by the older family members in Soviet times. In this case, therefore, the elements of family and autobiographical memory are constructed precisely on the basis of the return narrative.

The other half of the interview demonstrated the persistence of the identity of Russian-Germans as "ordinary Soviet people", even though, by being subjected to discrimination, they were constantly reminded of their German origins. For them, repatriation was largely seen as a forced measure for economic reasons, and the experience of migration did not divide their life into before and after. Their accounts of their family history do not contradict the repatriation narrative, but rather provide a different perspective on it. An interesting example of such an interpretation of the topic of repatriation can be found in the autobiographical narrative of Eugenia (69 years old). In Eugenia's biographical narrative, we found two intertwining textualities. The main hypertext, which is the leitmotif, can be indicated by the phrase "I am a Soviet person and everything has always been fine with me." This hypertext is found in all the sequences and is mainly represented by the arguments. Furthermore, there is an inner text "I am a German, what can I do about it?" Here, ethnic identification is practically inseparable from her identification as a Soviet person. Telling about various life situations from her past and how she dealt with them, Eugenia always identifies herself as a Soviet person. Importantly, she makes a point of explaining who the Russian-Germans are and emphasizes that this ethnic identity does not contradict the Soviet identity. Concluding her story, Eugenia notes that she and her family came to Germany to "be Germans".

Identity Rediscovery in the Media Discourse of the Russian-Germans Living in Russia

In Russia, Russian-Germans use collective images of memory differently because they no longer act as repatriates but as a diaspora. It is important to note that after 1991, all the restrictions on the presentation of Russian-Germans as an ethnic group were lifted, which led them to rediscover their ethnic identity. In the summer of 1991, the *Soiuz v*

podderzhku kul'tury nemtsev SSSR [The Union in Support of the Culture of the Germans from the USSR], whose goal was to restore the good name of the Soviet Germans, to conduct cultural and educational work, to support scientific research, announced some important transformations: it sought to unite the already existing German meeting centers and centers of German culture from all over Russia[6]. The first major project of the Union was the All-Union Festival of the Culture of Soviet Germans in Moscow. In September 1995, in Anapa (Krasnodar Krai, Russia), the Union initiated the creation of the *Mezhdunarodnaia assotsiatsiia issledovatelei istorii i kul'tury rossiiskikh nemtsev* [International Association of Researchers on the History and Culture of Russian-Germans] uniting experts specializing on this topic. The Association's goal was to study and preserve the historical and cultural heritage of the ethnic group. Since then, the Union has regularly held conferences on the history of Russian-Germans, published scientific and popular science books and magazines, and conducted ethnographic expeditions.

Despite the fact that many people moved to Germany in the late 1980s and early 1990s, Russia still has an established diaspora of Russian-Germans. We are talking about the institutionalization of the cultural experience of Russian-Germans in Russia. These processes are supported by a large number of organizations and cultural centers. For instance, in recent years, online portal *RusDeutsch*[7] has turned into an integrative media center for Russian-Germans, providing information about all the main social and cultural events. For a more detailed analysis we chose the following rubrics of this website: the virtual museum of Russian-Germans, the electronic book of the memory of Russian-Germans, the history of the Germans in Russia, urban stories about the Germans in Russia, and the online exhibition *"Sovetskie Nemtsy v Gody Velikoi Otechestvennoi Voiny: Tragediia i Podvig"* ["Soviet Germans during the Great Patriotic War: Tragedy and feat"]. We also analyzed the newspapers *Sibiricshe Zeitung plus* [Siberian Newspaper Plus] and *Moskauer Deutsche Zeitung* [Moscow German Newspaper] for 2015–2021. We analyzed the fragments of their publications as well as illustrations containing references to family history.

The discourse analysis of the texts from *RusDeutsch* portal and from the newspapers of Russian-Germans shows us two main discursive strands: first, of Russian-Germans as repressed people and, second, of their outstanding role in the history of Russia. Let us look at each of them in more detail.

1. Repressed people. In this discursive strand, Russian-Germans are presented as one of the repressed peoples of the USSR. They are a nation that has been persecuted. The tragic stories of Russian-Germans are among the most important pages in the international history of the victims of political repressions. The stories of lives interrupted present the Stalinist repressions as an apotheosis of meaningless suffering. In other words, here we are dealing with the collective trauma caused by the mass persecutions and deportation of the 1940s. Importantly, this collective trauma involves elements of family memory as well as elements of the global memory of Stalinism and Stalinist repressions. In the last three decades, a substantial contribution to the construction of this global memory has been made by the international organization "Memorial"[8] (in today's Russia it is recognized as a "foreign agent").

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[6] https://30.ivdk.ru/

[7] https://rusdeutsch.ru

[8] Признан иностранным агентом Министерством юстиции РФ.

The international organization "Memorial" was created in the late 1980s as an attempt to use the memorial frame of the Holocaust in relation to the victims of Stalin's political repressions and mass deportation of peoples. The discourse of Russian-Germans as "repressed people" fully fits into this pattern. Unlike the commemorative projects of "Memorial"[1], which actualize the theme of historical responsibility, the "repressed people" discourse of Russian-Germans avoids this topic and focuses entirely on the victimhood of this ethnic group. This gives the discourse an irrational dimension, pointing to the tragic fate of Russian-Germans in the era of persecutions. This topic is associated with empty spaces and silences in the narratives. Some vivid examples can be found in the online project of the book of memory of Russian-Germans (Gedenkbuch, n.d.), in the materials of the newspaper *Moskauer Deutsche Zeitung* [Moscow German Newspaper] (Larina, 2017), and in the documentary film *Russkie Nemtsy* [Russian-Germans] (2014). The film describes the history of two families, Eisner and Sieben, who survived the deportation and are still living in the Altai Territory. The history of these families appears as part of the history of the repressed people. It is significant that the questions asked to the members of the Eisner and Sieben families are exclusively related to the description of the hardships and difficulties of the war and post-war periods, their everyday grievances and problems with neighbors. The film, however, does not contain a single critical remark regarding the policies of the government and the Communist Party. It clearly illustrates the departure from the theme of historical responsibility (Eisner, 2014).

2. The outstanding role of the Russian-Germans in the history of Russia. The second discourse describes Russian-Germans as the people who have played a huge role in the technological and cultural development of Russia. This idea is conveyed through the description of the diligence and unity of the Russian-Germans living in the Volga region, Siberia, and near St. Petersburg. Significant attention is given to the big role of traditions in preserving the identity of Russian-Germans in their centuries-long history (Cherkaz'ianova, 2016; Smirnova & Tishkov, 2021).

It should be noted that this semantic line can be traced in the publications devoted to the history of Russian-Germans in Russia (Cherkaz'ianova, 2016; Smirnova & Tishkov, 2021). An important component of this discourse is the memory about Soviet Germans' participation in the Great Patriotic War of 1941–1945, which presents them as a group that suffered persecutions but remained loyal to their country (Sovetskie nemtsy, n.d.). In this regard, a good example is the story of Margarete Schulmeister that describes the history of suffering and the history of life of an ordinary Soviet person, who is helped not by the faceless state but by the good people around. In the interview for *Moskauer Deutsche Zeitung* [Moscow German Newspaper], she says:

> At 96, I don't have much time left for me today. With everything I've been through, it's a miracle I'm still alive. I've seen a lot of inhuman things. But on my way, I have always met people who were like angels to me. The village school director Livshits, teacher Kogan, principal Mozhayev, the widow in Kokchetav—so many years have passed, but I often think of them. (Künzel, 2021)

Identity Rediscovery in the Autobiographical Memory of the Russian-Germans Living in Russia

As was shown above, the autobiographical narratives of Russian-Germans in Germany reproduce the narratives of repatriation ("narrative of return") in their media discourse. However, speaking of the influence of media discourse on autobiographical memory, it is important to take into account the specifics of the host society itself as well as the tendency of the autobiographical and family memory to "resist" the discourse imposed by society. Therefore, after analyzing the discursive space constructed by Russian-Germans living in Russia, we are going to focus on the narratives of autobiographical and family memory. The analysis of biographical interviews with Russian-Germans in Russia showed the need to identify not only age groups, but also to consider their willingness/unwillingness to repatriate to Germany.

In our interviews with those Russian-Germans who are not planning to emigrate, we noticed the unequivocal dominance of the discourse about the outstanding role of Germans in the history of Russia. The narratives of suffering are least frequently observed in the interviews with people aged 18–30: for them, the German past itself is practically not articulated. In autobiographies, people of this age group demonstrate adherence to the same life values as ordinary young Russians. The family past is presented as a set of memories constituted by the stories of older relatives, but our respondents showed no desire to critically evaluate these stories. These respondents largely see their German origin as a circumstance that mattered in specific life situations:

> *My grandparents were going to leave for Germany. But they didn't succeed. They told me later that the German embassy recognized them and their children as German citizens but the Soviet government refused to give permission for their children to leave. They didn't return to this issue. But I didn't ask either.* (Elena, student, 19 years old)

As a rule, the narrative about the outstanding history of Russian-Germans in Russia mostly deals with the achievements or the cultural role of grandparents or great-grandparents. The pages of the family history are presented as inseparable from the history of the country, the events in the story unfold against this background.

Among the 30–50-year-olds, we found three narrative strategies. The first narrative strategy was to describe the autobiographical and family history, where the most important driver is not the interviewee's ethnic origin, but the family life of the respondents and their satisfaction with their life in Russia. In this case, the narrative contains only fragmentary information about the tragic pages of the family's history and it does not directly affect the ascending curves of their stories. A vivid example is Inga's autobiography, whose main hypertext can be summarized as "I do what I love in this life." As a subject of her life path, Inga makes interpretive efforts in presenting her life story in such a way as to be able to overcome the institutional limitations. The difficult family past appears here as a distant background which the narrator accepts with sadness but neither tries to analyze nor considers relevant to her present life. This

is clearly shown by the analysis of the internal text that can be summarized as "I am German, but I love Russia":

It so happened that I have never been to Germany. I really want to go there. Of course, I need to see my closest relatives. My grandfather's brother corresponded with them for a long time. But in general, I am such a patriot of Russia ... despite all our stories that make life here uncomfortable and with all my admiration for Europe, I am convinced that I will not leave. I love to come back. I know there are all sorts of citizenship programs. And it would be nice to be there. I would not be able to live there permanently because I was born here. I love Russia very much and I love Samara very much … For me, being a German is not something rational, something that can be broken into separate parts—one, two, three. For me, this is more of an emotional component. (Inga, journalist, 30 years old)

This trend is quite common among Russian-Germans: "discovering" new dimensions of their identity, our respondents did not associate it with the need to repatriate, instead pointing out the material and spiritual reasons to stay (Mamattah, 2012, p. 1927; Vedernikova & Kravchenko, 2021, p. 22).

The second narrative strategy is to keep silent about the repressions and deportation. The respondents deliberately talk about the positive pages of family history and their autobiography. In two interviews, as soon as the story touched on the issues of deportation and Stalinist repressions, the narrator immediately changed the subject:

Mother is a native citizen of Saratov region. My father's nationality is Russian, my mother is German. Naturally, grandparents from that side were also Germans. My father's parents were Russian. My grandfather was the director of the Trubechensky sugar factory, both under the capitalists and under the communists. Grandfather was married several times. My father is from his third marriage. At the age of 96, he went to the forest to get some mushrooms and never returned. On the mother's side, the story is very complicated: the repressions in 1942, 58th Article, Krasnoyarsk region, the village of Turukhansk. (Valery, retired pilot, 44 years old)

Further, the narrator abruptly changes the subject of the story and begins the story of the important role of Stalin and Beria in the career of his father, a military pilot. Thus, traumatic memories are supplanted by the "positive" history of the family, which, according to the narrator, is an inseparable part of the history of the country.

The third narrative strategy comes closest to those evaluations of the Russian-Germans' past that are given in international research literature on the crimes of the Stalinist regime. International memory images are used as a framework for self-presentation and reconstruction of autobiographical, family, and cultural memory and for reformatting the narrator's identity. We encountered the narratives of people preparing the documents for moving to Germany, which involved the reconstruction of family history in order to prove their German origin. Unlike other narrative strategies, in

this case, the experience of suffering of their family members turned out to be paramount. The mnemonic frame for them was not the memory of the repressed people but the narrative of the Holocaust. One of the narrators (Nadezda, 62 years old) has shown us a prepared video material about the history of her family and its tragic pages. During the presentation of the video, we saw that she used music and footage belonging to the memory of the Holocaust (Soviet songs about Buchenwald, footage of the prisoners in Auschwitz) as a background. It is significant that the entire personal history of the respondents is described as a continuation of family suffering, which will be ended by moving to Germany. The narrative of suffering is linked with the narrative of return. Since the main hypertext of Nadezhda's biographical story is constituted by her involvement in the relationships with her relatives in Germany and by her dreams of repatriation, we may conclude that here we are dealing with an ascending biographical curve. The "German" side of her identity becomes a kind of a mirror in which her current life is reflected (Mamattah, 2012, p. 1934). Against this background, the efforts of the narrator to reconnect with the "German" side of her identity look completely understandable. To this end, she resorts to specific material practices: changing her Russian surname to her grandmother's surname, celebrating German holidays, restoring the recipe for baking "grandmother's" buns.

In the age group over 50, we are dealing with the biographies of "ordinary Soviet people". Therefore, the tragedy of the Russian-Germans is interpreted as a personal tragedy that affected the closest relatives. However, here we find the dominant factor, which is the need to move to Germany. In the cases where the respondent demonstrated a decision to leave for the FRG, the narrative strategy of returning dominated the autobiographical memory. Interestingly, it was not so much about returning to the land of their ancestors but about reuniting with the relatives who had left earlier. Thus, the German repatriation narrative was reproduced in a form that is specific to the autobiographical story:

> *Family should be there. As we all used to live, so we must live now. My brothers are all already in Germany. And I'm waiting for the permission. It turns out to be my second homeland. But the Motherland is where the native people are.* (Anna, pensioner, 68 years old)

When the respondents do not intend to move to Germany, their autobiographical and family history elements are constructed around the two discourses at once—Russian-Germans as a repressed people and the role of the relatives in the formation and development of the country.

> *They ask me—why didn't you leave? I say, I can't answer the question openly. Mom and dad are here. They worked here, they raised the country. Because you were born here. Our language is Russian. There were various facts that kept me here. And Soviet society too … we read books on Russian-Germans, history. We talk about holidays when we meet. It is hard to keep everything together without*

a homeland. Everything seems to blur. You have to come to your historical homeland. (Erika, pensioner, 65 years old)

The use of the discursive framework of the outstanding role of Russian-Germans in the history of Russia acted as a kind of compensation for the losses and tragedies of the repressed people. This allowed us to reveal the upward curves of autobiographical stories in all the interviews of this age group.

Conclusion

The paper shows the potential of the synthesis of the biographical method and critical discourse analysis to shed light on how social discourses are adapted and transformed in the narratives of autobiographical and family memory.

The Russian-Germans living in Germany and in Russia are a peculiar transnational group whose identification varies depending on the project in which its members are involved. The boundaries of their identity are "fuzzy" and defined situationally, which, as we have shown, is connected to the differences in the processes of ethnicization of this group. For the German case, the processes of repatriation were of prime importance, while in Russia, this group has become a full-fledged diaspora over the past thirty years. Our article confirms the evidence of the previous research showing the strong influence of the host society and its discursive environment on the autobiographical and family memory narratives of Russian-Germans. We have also found, however, significant differences in the discourses themselves. In the media discourse of the Russian-Germans in Germany, the main discursive strand is the "return narrative" (repatriation narrative), which places the tragic history of Russian-Germans between the two waves of migration, from Germany to the Russian Empire and from the countries of the former USSR back to Germany. In the media discourse of the Russian-Germans in Russia, we found two main discursive strands: the former centres around the image of the repressed people without touching upon the problem of historical responsibility while the latter focuses on the outstanding role played by the Russian-Germans in the history of Russia.

Our study showed that the influence of the discursive media environment on the autobiographical and family memory of Russian-Germans living in Germany and Russia depends on the respondent's individual life experience (the curve of their biography), age, and some peculiarities of their family history. Media discourse not only constructs but also in a certain sense "brings together" the elements of an autobiographical and family story, structuring and giving them a certain semantic orientation. People aged 30–50 were the most open to the influence of collective "standardized" narratives both in Germany and in Russia. This can be explained by the high level of their mobility, the need to integrate into the host society (in the case of Germany), and to pursue an active career (in the case of Russia and Germany). It was found that despite the fact of living in Russia, those respondents who were preparing to move to Germany demonstrated acceptance and active reproduction of the "return narrative". They used international mnemonic frameworks to restructure their autobiographical and family story. The group of 18–30-year-olds in both countries used only certain elements of the media discourse of Russian-Germans, while for

those over 50, Soviet cultural practices and the perception of themselves as "ordinary Soviet people" were significant. At the same time, we found that for the older group, the German "return narrative" acquired a special significance for those respondents who intended to repatriate to Germany.

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ARTICLE

Origins of Ethno-Religious Profiling: The Jewish Question and Police Surveillance in the Russian Empire in the 19th Century

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ABSTRACT

Surveillance scholars have begun to pay increasing attention to the fact that the burden of surveillance is distributed through society unevenly, further deepening social inequality. As an alternative to the popular image of the "panopticon" (universal surveillance over everyone), the new concept of a "banopticon" (surveillance over specific "dangerous" groups) has been proposed. The idea is that this "new" type of surveillance, unlike "traditional" surveillance, targets entire "suspicious" categories of the population rather than specific individuals, and is oriented towards the future, not the past. But is this phenomenon all that new? History shows that the roots of this type of surveillance run as deep as the early modern era. This paper uses a thematic study of surveillance over Jews in the Russian Empire as the basis for an analysis of the emergence and development of one historical form for the monitoring of "dangerous" population groups, along with its causes, intellectual basis, and deployment mechanisms. The results obtained challenge the widespread notion that surveillance over specific racial, ethnic, and ethno-religious groups (racial profiling) is tied exclusively to slavery, racism, and colonialism. This study allows for an expansion of the understanding of this concept and an increase in its complexity.

KEYWORDS

ethno-religious profiling, Jewish question, Russian Empire, surveillance, social sorting

Introduction

Modern society is often described as a "surveillance society"[1]. It is widely acknow-
ledged that surveillance is an inextricable part of modern everyday life (Andrejevic,
2004; Lyon, 2009), governance (Giddens, 1990), interaction between businesses and
consumers (Andrejevic, 2011; Fuchs, 2011; Zuboff, 2019), and workplace relations
between employers and employees (Ball, 2010; Rosenblat et al., 2014). Although the
research community is currently dominated by the opinion that surveillance should not
be viewed as an unambiguously threatening phenomenon (Haggerty & Ericson, 2000;
Marx, 2015), the Orwellian and Foucauldian perspectives continue to haunt scholars
and the general public alike.

Initially, surveillance scholars mainly focused on issues related to the protection
of privacy (Clarke, 1988; Flaherty, 1986; Westin, 1966), but over the last two decades,
discussions of how the rise of surveillance practices and techniques worsens social
inequality have become increasingly active. David Lyon points out that the key to
understanding surveillance today is the idea of "categorizing persons and populations—
or 'social sorting'" (Lyon, 2002, p. 3). Didier Bigo (2007) is of a similar opinion, emphasizing
that surveillance that ostensibly aims to ensure security surpasses the simple logic of
monitoring every single person and specifically targets population categories that are
considered "suspicious". Bigo refers to this practice as the "banopticon", merging the
terms "ban" and "panopticon" as developed by Jean-Luc Nancy (as interpreted by
Giorgio Agamben) and Michel Foucault, respectively (Bigo, 2007). The concept of the
"banopticon" is closely adjacent to the concept of "new penology" created by Malcolm
Feely and Jonathan Simon (1992), who believe that modern society is undergoing a
fundamental shift from a desire to punish individuals who have already broken the law
in specific ways and correct their behavior to a desire to control a set of "dangerous"
groups that are presumed to be capable of breaking the law. The most striking illustration
of this trend is the racial profiling[2] which accompanies campaigns against drugs and
terrorism (see, e.g., Bah, 2006; Bechrouri, 2018; Khenti, 2014).

The fact that surveillance techniques target "dangerous" population categories,
as opposed to "dangerous" individuals, and are concerned with future crimes, as
opposed to past crimes, is often considered the distinctive trait of modern surveillance.
Specifically, Marx refers to the application of surveillance to entire categories of
people, and "not just to a particular person whose identity is known beforehand", as
a "striking innovation" (Marx, 2002, p. 10). At the same time, Lyon (2009) notes that
modern surveillance methods differ from traditional ones in that "they are future rather
than past oriented, and are based on simulating and modelling situations that have
yet to occur" (p. 460). But is this phenomenon particularly new? Is it truly just a few
decades old, as apparently implied by Lyon, Feely, and Simon?

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[1] This term was coined in 1985 by Gary T. Marx in "The Surveillance Society: The Threat of 1984-Style
Techniques" (Marx, 1985). It has also been used in universally recognized classics of surveillance research
by Oscar H. Gandy, Jr. (1989) and David H. Flaherty (1988).

[2] Racial profiling is usually defined as "the use by the police, with no objective and reasonable justification,
of grounds such as race, colour, language, religion, nationality or national or ethnic origin in control, surveillance
or investigation activities" (European Commission against Racism and Intolerance, 2007, p. 4).

Research into the history of surveillance targeting "dangerous" groups makes it clear that the answer to these questions is no. What is more, it reveals a clear continuity between the modern, actuarial forms of surveillance and justice and their earlier historical precedents. In the context of racial profiling, studies most often discuss racist interactions between police officers and the Black population of the American South from the late 17th to the first half of the 20th centuries (Harris, 2006; Henderson, 2016; Spruill, 2016). Another canonical example of racial profiling is the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II[3] (Gee, 2015; Kang, 2001; Ketchell, 2009).

In addition to traditionally cited "classical" precedents, the relatively well-established practice of researching the history of racial profiling is also characterized by the strong association of the surveillance of "dangerous" population categories with very specific groups (primarily Black communities). Furthermore, proposed explanatory models tend to be taken for granted, without reflection. These include, first and foremost, a search for the causes of racial profiling in slavery, racism, and colonialism. While such approaches are far from unjustified, they bear the risk of oversimplification due to underestimation of the differences between various countries or of the diversity of geopolitical and historical context. Even if all previous historical eras are set aside and the focus is on the current period, it becomes obvious that no single group, whether it is racial, ethnic, or ethno-religious, has been the sole, unchanging target of profiling. For example, racial profiling in the US mostly targeted Black Americans and Latinos until 2001, but after 9/11, the center of gravity very obviously shifted to the Muslim Arab community. In Europe, Africans and Roma have been common targets of profiling (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2010). In Russia, profiling before 2014 centered on people from the Caucasus and Central Asia, along with Roma (Iuristy za Konstitutsionnye Prava, 2006; Voronkov et al., 2009). After 2014, these groups were joined by Ukrainians (Grigor'eva, 2019), a group that is phenotypically and culturally close to the Russian majority and which previously enjoyed a relatively favorable attitude from both the ethnically Russian population and from Russian law enforcement and administrative structures.

As for discussions of slavery, racism, colonialism, and hatred of the Other, while they do indicate phenomena that undoubtedly contribute to the development of technologies aimed at the monitoring of "dangerous" groups, they have now become somewhat platitudinal, often implying nothing more than that the instigators and performers of surveillance practices (or even the corresponding societies overall) are morally depraved. As rightly noted by P. Waddington (1999), "is temptingly easy to attribute 'bad' outcomes to 'bad men'", but this kind of explanation can hardly be deemed satisfactory. The various excesses that abound in human history are not always the product of sadistic inclinations, psychopathy or moral deformity, and in fact may be motivated by qualities and aspirations that, in a different context, would deserve praise: diligence, professionalism, patriotism, or concern for society's well-being.

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[3] It is highly illustrative that Kenneth Meeks' popular book *Driving While Black: Highways, Shopping Malls, Taxicabs, Sidewalks* opens with descriptions of both of these examples (Meeks, 2000). Similarly, Michele P. Bratina's encyclopedic article on racial profiling also references both precedents (Bratina, 2014).

In this paper, I shall demonstrate that racial profiling is not a straightforward consequence of slavery[4], racism, and colonialism (although in the case of America and some other nations, it does have a very strong historical link to these practices). In the Russian (and, more broadly, Central and Eastern European) context, profiling should rather be viewed as a specific set of institutionalized control practices aimed at "bettering" the population in order to achieve maximum social welfare. The intellectual rationale behind this approach dates back to the teachings of cameralism and mercantilism.

This article presents the results of a thematic study of the surveillance of Jews in the Russian Empire in the 19th century. The first part of the study is dedicated to a description of the research methodology. The second part explores the reasoning behind special supervision of Jews, the emergence and development of anti-Jewish legislation, and the resulting surveillance practices. Finally, the third part places the Russian practice into a European context by providing a short overview of foreign approaches to controlling the Jewish population. The conclusions are listed in the final section of the paper.

Research Methodology

The first problem that always arises when looking for the roots of modern phenomena in history is the sizeable gap between current categorizations and those that existed in past eras. Retrospective studies are always fraught with the danger of anachronism, especially when comparing empires and modern nation states.

The Russian Empire of the 19th century was a highly specific government formation. It is perhaps best described by Robert Crews' concept of a "confessional" state, highlighting that religious denomination served as the most important mechanism for maintaining discipline and obedience among the Tsar's subject up to the end of the Imperial period (Crews, 2003). It was religion, not ethnicity, nationality, or much less race[5], that was used for basic social categorization. At the same time, the 19th century was a period of modernization for the Russian Empire; in the process, relations between different population groups were increasingly understood in terms of nationalities and classes (Miller, 2006, p. 9). Mikhail Dolbilov (2013) provides good insights into the tensions between religious and national identities during that period. Using the Poles as an example, he emphasizes that these identities were often

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[4] Russia is a good example for exposing the fallacy behind the notion of clear-cut causality between slavery, racism, and racial profiling outside of a specific historical and cultural context. Even though the Russian Empire abolished slavery (serfdom) just a few years before the USA, and even though Russian and American slavery had a number of common traits, which were often highlighted by contemporaries (Kurilla, 2016), in Russia, the majority of slaves were not "the Other" (in terms of religion, ethnicity, or race), but ethnically Russian peasants. For this reason, surveillance over the enslaved population in the Russian context cannot be considered a precursor of racial profiling.

[5] Dolbilov (2010) rightly points out that, despite the fact that pre-revolutionary Russia did see the emergence and development of physical anthropology, which proposed the idea of "race" among its central concepts and, in its nationalist interpretation, attempted to prove that Russians were biologically superior to others, these ideas were not particularly favored by Russian political elites and bureaucrats because they sounded "too Western" (p. 22).

mutually interchangeable ("Catholic" implied "Pole" and vice versa). If social class is added to the mix[6], the situation becomes even more complicated.

The perception of Jews was also highly ambiguous. In the 19th century Russian documents, Jewishness is described as a social class, state, rank, tribe, society, religion, and nation (Nathans, 2002). However, the basic state perception of Jews is, apparently, reflected in their legal status as *inorodtsy* [non-Russians]. When applied to Jews, this status implied both a certain ethnic ("tribal") origin and Judaism as a faith. Notably, a Jew that converted to Christianity was no longer legally recognized as a Jew or a foreigner. This fact, nevertheless, did not mean that the religious factor completely dominated over the ethnic factor. As noted by M. I. Mysh (1914), a prominent 19th century Russian lawyer, the very status of Jew was obtained exclusively via "being birthed by Jewish parents" and was not available to people of any other origins because conversion to Judaism was illegal (pp. 28–29).

Categorizations of the population of the Russian Empire in the 19th century were fluctuating, blurred, and "porous", which complicates any attempts to study early forms of racial profiling, especially considering the complexity and variation of Imperial legal regimes (Burbank, 2006, p. 402). Tsarist Russia lacked a single standard applicable to all its subjects: there were neither any universal laws, nor any fundamental rights (Slezkine, 2004). Since inequality was so inherent to the Empire, it is practically impossible to establish which groups were more unequal and which were less. What makes things especially problematic in the context of this study is that the inequality created by the distribution of surveillance activity among different target population categories is just as difficult to measure.

Jews were, quite obviously, far from the only ethno-religious group subjected to special control. Because 19th-century Russia was a type of a *Polizeistaat* (Dolbilov, 2010, p. 42), it suffered from the typical "control mania", which affected all Imperial subjects (Raeff, 1975, p. 1226). Notably, the approaches to controlling non-Russians and people of other religions were replicated and reapplied to other groups. Historians find many similarities in the Tsarist government's attempts to control and transform the lives of Catholics (Poles), Muslims (Tatars), and Judaists (Jews) (see, e.g., Crews, 2005; Dolbilov, 2010; Löwe, 2000). That said there are several important characteristics that make the study of the treatment of Jews particularly interesting. Firstly, they were the first and, most likely, the main target of persistent, systemic, and legally recorded social engineering, entailing a particularly "nitpicky" brand of regulation, which birthed a myriad of surveillance techniques that affected a broad variety of activities in daily Jewish life. Secondly, the Pale of Settlement[7] essentially made Jews into "domestic foreigners", which, together with the high degree of mobility among the Jewish population,

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[6] For a long time in Tsarist Russia, Poles were mostly associated with the Szlachta nobles (Dolbilov, 2012).

[7] The Pale of Settlement was the territory where Jews were allowed to reside on a permanent basis, encompassing the cities and shtetls (Jews could not settle in the countryside) of most of modern Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Belarus, and Ukraine. Only a few select categories of Jews were allowed to venture beyond the Pale of Settlement. These included, at various times in history: those who were in the process of getting an education; merchants of the first guild, as well as their employees; people with higher education; recruits that had completed their military service; artisans; and a number of others. Permanent residence outside of the Pale of Settlement only became possible to certain Jews starting from the late 1850s.

drew disproportionate attention from surveillance authorities. Finally, most Imperial bureaucrats were firmly convinced that Jews were a "bothersome" and "criminal" people by nature[8], which is in line with contemporary notions of "dangerous" groups.

Given the fundamental differences in the political, ideological, legal, and social systems of the Imperial and modern periods, we cannot ignore the question of whether or not it is appropriate to draw parallels between surveillance of Jews and today's racial profiling. It is quite clear that these parallels can be drawn only with significant reservations. First, present-day ethno-religious profiling, which is officially recognized as a variety of racial profiling, is closely intertwined with notions of race, while the surveillance of Jews in the Russian Empire was largely devoid of racial connotations[9]. Second, today, formal legislation forbids the profiling of racial, ethnic or ethno-religious groups, and it is usually done covertly, while "special surveillance" of Jews in Tsarist Russia was conducted in the open, being completely legal and backed up by an astoundingly complex, branching system of anti-Jewish legislation. Finally, it bears mentioning that technological capabilities for present-day ethno-religious profiling are many times greater than capabilities in the 19th century, especially in the Russian Empire, which, according to the reasonable observation of Evgeny Avrutin (2010), was "one of the least governed states in Europe" (p. 4). At the same time, the surveillance of Jews can still be viewed as a precursor of modern racial profiling, because Jews were considered to be "dangerous" and "keeping them in check" was institutionalized and backed up with bureaucratic measures aimed at preventing some perceived, hypothetical "future harm".

It is important to emphasize that in this study, the concept of ethno-religious profiling includes solely those forms of surveillance that targeted Jews as a "dangerous/harmful" population category. Our analysis does not cover surveillance of individuals motivated by specific suspicions.

The empirical basis of this research includes collections of Russian Imperial laws on Jews, as well as comments on and reviews of the corresponding 19th-century legal practice, memoirs, and archival documents. The documents were studied in the *Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii* (*GARF*), [State Archive of the Russian Federation]. Comprehensive study of the following was carried out: the earliest recovered documents on the surveillance of Jews, dating from the first four decades of the 19th century; documents containing orders and reports on monitoring correspondence between Jews; documents on the "World Jewish Kagal" case; and circulars of the Ministry of Internal Affairs on the nationwide collection of information about certain categories of Jews. This was supplemented by selective analysis of documents on the monitoring of Jewish artisans, as well as Jewish merchants and their employees, by lists of Jews living in specific territories, and by Senate proceedings relevant to Jews. This selective analysis was predominantly guided by

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[8] In this context, the situation of the Jews is comparable only to the experiences of Poles, who were deemed the Russian Empire's "main security threat" after the 1830–1831 uprising.

[9] Although Rogger insists that, in the second half of the 19th century, a "pre-modern form of racism" could already be found in Russian policy on Jews (Rogger, 1986, pp. 35–37), the point of view of Weinerman looks more justified. According to Weinerman (1994), the spread of racist ideas in the Russian Empire was limited to the narrow ultranationalist sphere, while the main efforts of the authorities were aimed at the Russification of minorities.

previously researched legislative norms on the surveillance of the Jewish population. The documentary evidence was viewed as a group case studies, making it possible assess the gap between the "ideal" image of the monitoring of Jews, as presented in legislative norms, and real-life surveillance practices.

Surveillance of Jews: Reasons, Legal Framework, Execution Praxis

With the exception of a brief period of benign indifference right after becoming subjects of the Russian Empire in the late 18th century, Jews were the target of continuous and persistent government attempts at "bettering" them for their entire existence within the imperial state. The formal justification for this was that it was all done for Imperial subjects' (Jews included) "own good", and that by being "re-educated", Jews would supposedly gain the respect of their neighbors, moral transformation, and motivation for "productive" labor, ultimately making them "worthy" of joining the family of ethnicities residing in the Empire. This obsession with "fixing" and "organizing" Jews, highly typical of any *Polizeistaat* (Vital, 1999), was not a Russian invention. The Empire had borrowed these ideas from abroad, primarily from Austria and Prussia. While some historians are inclined to cite "being different" as the reason behind the Imperial government's bias against Jews (Miller, 2006), it seems more plausible that Jews were considered a "problem" on an international scale. At least, Jews were hardly as strikingly "different" in Tsarist Russia as in the smaller, significantly more homogeneous European countries. Yuri Slezkine (2004) ironically points out that Jews were just "one of Russia's many 'alien' groups: more 'cunning' than most, perhaps, but not as 'rebellious' as the Chechens, as 'backward' as the Samoed, as 'fanatical' as the Sart, or as ubiquitous or relentlessly *rationalistici artificiales* as the Germans" (p. 115).

The perception of Jews as a "problem" that "enlightened nations" had long struggled to solve (Derzhavin, 1872, p. 261, trans. by Kseniya Grigor'eva [K. G.]) provided a framework for highlighting the "peculiar" character of the Jewish population and rationalizing the regular bouts of anti-Jewish suspicion. Even more importantly, this perception spurred continuous legislative and bureaucratic activity that purported to make Jews more "useful" and/or prevent any "damage" that they might have caused.

Historical Periods and Development of Surveillance of Jews

Studies exploring the life of Jews in the Russian Empire usually single out the particular periods or events that had the greatest impact. For instance, Alexey Miller (2006) identifies the following stages in the development of Imperial policy towards Jews in the 19th and early 20th centuries: 1800s to 1825—the attempt to develop a coherent legislative system for governing Jews without deep intrusion into their autonomy; 1825–1855—a period of strict regulation of Jewish life and destructive attempts to discipline the Jewish population using force; 1856–1881—liberalization of policy towards Jews and selective integration of Jews into Imperial society; 1881 to the end of the imperial period—the era of modern antisemitism, accompanied by pogroms and a sharp increase in discrimination against Jews. Some of the other important historical milestones mentioned include the Polish uprisings of 1830–1831 and 1863–1864, the crisis in the early 1880s, and the revolution of 1905.

However, it is difficult to fit the history of the surveillance of Jews into this timeline, or into others. The logic behind this surveillance is grounded in government suspicions and individual events that led to the intensification of government work on "fixing" the Jews. These events may sometimes seem fairly trivial in the grand scheme of history, but nonetheless, they have had a major impact on the development of surveillance practices and techniques. Another thing that sets the surveillance of Jews apart from more monumental historical processes is its continuous progress towards the accumulation of more and more surveillance practices and procedures. Regardless of a particular tsar's style of governance, and even regardless of whether or not the policy towards Jews was more strict or more liberal at a given time, the surveillance continued to increase and grow more complex. While there is no doubt that the early 1880s were a historical watershed, after which surveillance practices (but not legislative activity, which served as their institutional source) intensified rapidly, it is actually impossible to find any single period during the 19th century when the total amount of monitoring of Jews decreased, rather than increased. The consistent, progressive increase of surveillance of the Jewish population was most likely caused by the fact that its connection with the ever-changing vector of policy of the various Russian emperors was much weaker than its dependence on the growing centralization of the state, by the professionalization of bureaucratic and law enforcement structures, by the steady growth of anti-Jewish legislation, and by the accumulation and "crystallization" of prior surveillance practices and techniques.

Government Suspicions Targeting Jews and the Events That Triggered Them

The suspicion of Jews is one of the key factors that now allow us to see the logic behind the emergence of specific types of monitoring for the Jewish population. John Klier (1986), who extensively studied the formation of Russian authorities' ideas about Jews from the end of the 18th and into the first quarter of the 19th centuries, identifies three types of suspicion: fear of Jewish proselytism, which had old origins in Russia and was latently preserved in Russian policy towards Jews; suspicion of a Jewish desire to "exploit" the peasant class growing out of a complex of educational ideas borrowed from Western Europe; and, later, the suspicion of the existence of a worldwide Jewish conspiracy against the foundations of Christian civilization and power. This list must be complemented with a number of narrower, but nevertheless important in their practical consequences, suspicions: about the inclination of Jews towards smuggling; about the desire of Jews to evade military service[10]; and about Jewish collusion with internal and external enemies of the Empire (first the French, then the Poles, and finally the Germans[11]).

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[10] For more information, see the work of Y. Petrovsky-Shtern (2003).

[11] The suspicion that Jews might become agents of German influence arose in the mid-1860s. The idea originated with P. A. Bessonov, an expert on Slavic culture and Slavophile appointed in 1865 to several leading positions at the Department of Education in Vilna (Vilnius), including the post of Principal of the Rabbinical School (Dolbilov, 2010, pp. 551–559). During that period, the Tsarist government was not yet ready to acknowledge the very notion of German influence over Jews. Nonetheless, the idea would become much more widespread later on, leading to tragic consequences for the Jewish people during World War I (Lohr, 2003).

Four of the six suspicions listed (religious proselytism, the "exploitation" of the peasant class, smuggling, and evasion of military service) were reflected in a number of restrictive laws regarding Jews, which led to a large number of specific surveillance practices. The remaining two, although they did not result in the adoption of special legislation, at different times motivated the issuance of orders related to surveillance of the Jewish population and the opening and inspection of Jewish mail.

Even so, the authorities' suspicions themselves did not result in any special measures against the Jewish population. As a rule, this required a specific event or chain of events that fit into the logic of a particular suspicion and triggered it. Thus, for example, the famine that occurred in the Belarusian governorates in 1797 was initially the event that triggered suspicions of the exploitation of peasantry and was one of the reasons why the local governors and marshals of nobility decried "harmful" Jewish activities. Suspicions of possible sympathy for the French were aroused by the convocation of the Grand Sanhedrin in Paris, which was seen as an attempt to bring Jews to the side of Napoleonic France. Fears of Jewish proselytism, although rather old and playing practically no role during the reigns of Catherine II, Paul I and the entire first half of the reign of Alexander I, were reactivated due to news of the spread of the Sabbatarian heresy in Voronezh Governorate in 1818. Speculation of Jewish inclinations to avoid military service began due to attempts by representatives of Jewish communities to postpone the introduction of a law on military service "in kind". After the triggering of suspicions, the authorities began to take practical measures to prevent expected "harms" caused by Jews.

Laws on Jews as the Institutional Source of Surveillance Over the Jewish Population

Legislation was the government's main weapon in its effort to prevent "harmful" actions from Jews, taking away any ability Jews had to cause "harm". This was done via the criminalization of actions which were permitted to the rest of the population of the same social classes. Specifically, in order to prevent alleged harms to the "native" citizens of the Empire, the departure, stay and residence of Jews outside the Pale of Settlement without valid reasons and special documents were criminalized. In order to prevent smuggling, Jews were banned from living in the fifty-verst strip along the border. In order to prevent the "exploitation" of the peasantry, Jews were banned from alcohol distillation and the wine trade in rural areas, and from acquiring inhabited land. In order to prevent the "seduction" of Christians into Judaism, the hiring of Christian servants by Jews was criminalized.

The drastic criminalization of the daily practices and activities of the Jewish population led to many unforeseen consequences. These were especially severe for the Jews themselves, who were often deprived of livelihoods and shelter. However, damage was also done to Christians who had commercial ties with Jews, to certain sectors of the economy where Jews traditionally predominated, and to the treasury, which forwent a certain amount of income. As a result, new regulatory acts were adopted which provided deferrals and deviations from the initial prohibitions, which were themselves also revised after some time. Existing laws were taken into

account in the development of subsequent regulatory acts, and restrictive rules regarding Jews were constantly incorporated into new bills. Ultimately, by the early 20th century, legislation regarding Jews encompassed over one thousand various regulatory acts, the overwhelming majority of which involved some type of surveillance of Jews.

Executors of Surveillance

Surveillance of Jews was mainly assigned to the police, but police officers were not the only ones performing surveillance activities. Surveillance of the Jewish population was one of the duties of customs officials (when Jews crossed the border and transported goods) and the military (when controlling desertion from military service). Additionally, surveillance of Jews was an immediate responsibility of regional authorities: governors-general, military and civil governors, regional principals, city governors, etc. Surveillance of the Jewish population was also a responsibility of local government (city councils, magistrates, town halls, mayors), as well as the self-government bodies of social classes (marshals of nobility, trade and guild councils). At the lowest level, surveillance of Jews was assigned to street cleaners, who were obliged to immediately report any violations to the police. Sometimes, special jobs were created, whose main and only function was surveillance of Jews. For example, in 1843, five inspector jobs were created in Kiev (four at the city outposts and one at the Dnieper pier), who were tasked with checking the documents of Jews arriving in the city and issuing them temporary tickets.

Apart from the abovementioned officials, who performed on duty surveillance of the Jewish population, other departments and officials were often involved in surveillance as well. Specifically, gendarmes, postal workers, medical councils, directors of educational institutions, and employees of other state organizations participated in the surveillance of Jews from time to time. Some civilians who were not engaged in the public service, such as owners of apartments and hotels, were also often involved in the surveillance of Jews.

Passport and Other Document Checks

Document checks were one of the most widespread methods for monitoring Jews. Passports were checked most frequently. In order to facilitate surveillance, the passports of Jews were marked with special inscriptions that allowed inspectors to quickly determine whether the Jew under scrutiny had violated applicable restrictions. For example, passports issued to Jews for movement within the Pale of Settlement contained an inscription stating that they were valid only in areas designated for the permanent residence of Jews. Foremen were issued passports with notes that they should be presented for water and land shipping operations within the governorates adjacent to the Pale of Settlement. In order to prevent any forgery and abuse, the passports of merchants indicated which contract or commercial affairs they were issued for, "and so that such persons are not accompanied by more than two Jews under the guise of clerks and servants", these passports also included the names and descriptions of such Jews (Svod zakonov, 1842, p. 51), etc.

In the registration of their passports, Jews were often required to present additional documents that were not mandatory for other people of the same class or position. In particular, in order to obtain a passport, young Jewish artisans who visited the interior governorates to train with experienced craftsmen had to present certificates of their reliability and factual desire to improve their qualifications, provided by three Christian property owners.

The submission of additional documents was often required during passport checks, and the number of such documents significantly increased when some categories of Jews (merchants, artisans, people with higher education) were allowed to live outside the Pale of Settlement. All of these "privileged" categories of Jews had to present, in addition to their passports, proof of lack of criminal record, as well as documents, certifying their status and occupations. Immediate deportation to the Pale of Settlement was ordered for those who did not provide all of the necessary documents.

Since Jews were always suspected of intentions to evade military service, additional documents were required to confirm their eligibility for military service benefits.

In reality, however, the "ideal" strict oversight through the control of Jews' documents remained an unachievable fantasy of the Tsarist government. Jews were difficult to register and record, which prevented the government's grand scheme from coming to fruition. E. M. Avrutin (2010), who conducted a detailed study of the difficulties faced by the Imperial bureaucracy in its attempts to register the Jewish population, came to the conclusion that, because of the lack of qualified officials, rampant corruption, and the tendency of Jews to resist registration, the accuracy of the record of Jews remained significantly inferior to the accuracy of the record of all other categories of Imperial subjects throughout the entire 19th century[12]. This stemmed not just from simple reluctance on the part of Jews to be registered, but also from particular traits of their culture. Among other aspects, Jewish culture places little emphasis on the exact date of a person's birth, which, together with the fact that religious rites (including the circumcision ceremony) could be performed by any member of the Jewish community, not just by the Crown Rabbi, led to frequent instances of Jews' simply ignoring their duty to report new births in their community (Avrutin, 2010, p. 37). The lack of demographic records among Jews was an issue that persisted until the early 20th century, making it impossible to obtain any other documents, including passports. As a result, a great many Jews moved about with no document at all, with another person's documents, or with fake documents. Abraham Uri Kovner, a prominent Russian-Jewish writer and essayist, writes in his memoirs that this practice was common among Jews as early as the beginning of the 1860s (Kovner, 2000, p. 239).

Occupational Verification

Another form of control of Jews was the monitoring of their activities. Particular attention was paid to the surveillance of the activities of Jewish artisans, since craft occupations were the easiest to falsify in order to circumvent various restrictive rules and procedures.

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[12] Thomas Jankowski draws similar conclusions (Jankowski, 2020).

Surveillance over Jewish craftsmen was assigned to Artisan and Guild Boards, city governments, and the police.

The artisan's license was an important tool for controlling the occupations of Jewish craftsmen. It included all hirings and dismissals during the year, information about employers, and instances and duration of illness of the worker. All entries in the artisan's license had to be certified by the police. With the annual submission of the artisan's license to the Guild Board, the Board had the ability to track the activities of each Jewish artisan using these records. If someone, without being ill, had not worked for the last three months, or had worked for no more than eight months of a whole year, the Guild Board had to immediately inform the Artisan Board of this via submission of the shop ticket for consideration. After verifying the information received on the ticket, the Artisan Board excluded the guilty person from the workshop and reported this to the local duma.

In addition to the examination of artisan's license, the Artisan Board had to perform periodic inspections to ensure that Jews were actually engaged in their craft and to exclude all Jews who abandoned their craft from the workshop (O proekte izmenenii, 1853). In areas without trade councils, similar functions were performed by the police.

Unfortunately for the government, the Artisan and Guild Boards, along with the police, were profoundly corrupt, and often used the powers vested in them for collecting bribes rather than actually controlling Jews. Nathan Meir and Victoria Khiterer, who have written monographs on the lives of Jews in Imperial Kyiv, cite evidence of the widespread purchase of fake artisan licenses from the local Artisan Board in the 1860s and 1870s. For just 3 rubles, it was possible to buy a painter's license upon presentation of a bucket of paint and a brush, or a milliner's license upon presentation of a piece of fabric (Meir, 2010, p. 27). In order to collect money from Jews without any passable artisanal skills, the Board even came up with a special new "vinegar producers" category (Khiterer, 2016, p. 108).

The utterly hopeless flaws in the Imperial supervision of Jewish artisans are also revealed by the survey of governors carried out by the Ministry of Internal Affairs in 1902. According to the governors of Astrakhan, Vladimir, Irkutsk, Kaluga, Kazan, Kostroma, Kursk, Livonia, Novgorod, Orenburg, Penza, Pskov, Ryazan, St. Petersburg, Saratov, Smolensk, Tambov, Tobolsk, Ufa, and Yaroslavl, the city administrators of Kronstadt, St. Petersburg, and Sevastopol, and the Governor-General of Moscow, although supervision of Jewish artisans was conducted, it did not achieve its purpose by any means (Po voprosu ob udobstve vozlozhenia, 1902, p. 24). That said, the low quality of the supervision does not equal a lack of supervision, nor does it prove that Jews had some sort of "supernatural" ability to evade it *en masse*, as bureaucratic reports often claimed. Surveillance practices were constantly implemented by all of the appointed institutions, and whenever a significant share of Jews managed to avoid deportation to the Pale of Settlement, or any other legally prescribed punishments, this happened not because they were not being controlled, but because of the instrumentalization of this control by organs and officials of surveillance.

Location Checks

Another type of checks is the verification of the location of Jews, both in places where they were allowed and not allowed to stay. Police officers regularly inspected rented apartments and rooms in which non-resident Jews stayed, visited areas closed to the Jewish population, and audited eateries, taverns and pot-houses, which Jews were forbidden to hold. For example, in August 1812, a territorial police officer of the Volzhsky district of Moscow Governorate inspected the taverns in the territory entrusted to him. All the Jews identified during the inspections, together with their families, were deported to Moscow and put in jail, where Jews from Shklow were already detained "for being found in taverns in the Mozhaysk district" (Pis'mo na imya ministra politsii, 1813, p. 7, trans. by K. G.). Such rigor, however, was probably more the exception than the rule: there are many records that, before the 1880s, police inspections were often fictitious, and Jews under supervision were easily able to buy off law-enforcement officers.

Due to the well-known corruption of the police, inspections sometimes involved gendarmes, always happy to discover Jews in places forbidden to them. For example, Vlasov, a colonel of the gendarme corps, reported on November 6, 1831 that the "decree of the Governing Senate of June 30, 1825 regarding the 1st department on the removal of Jews from the border by 50 versts, not only has not been executed in the Grodno province to this day, but no measures are being taken to execute it" (Raport, 1831, p. 1, trans. by K. G.). According to the investigation performed by the colonel, it turned out that in Grodno "there [were] up to thirty Jews with expired passports held by the police" (Pis'mo shtab-ofitsera, 1831, p. 3, trans. by K. G.).

Yechezkel Kotik (1913/2002) and Abram Paperna (2000) humorously described the profanation of inspections in the 1840s and 1850s. According to them, local authorities usually gave the Jewish population advance notice of the inspector's arrival, and the Jews had time to take the necessary measures to eliminate any violations. Genrikh Sliozberg, looking back on his childhood and youth in the 1860–1870s, attested that during this period the principle of establishing "friendly relations" with the police was predominant. People tried to "have no business" with the police, but the police themselves did little to monitor the population (Sliozberg, 1933, Vol. 1, p. 29). Abrupt and wide-reaching change of this established status quo occurred only after the assassination of Alexander II and the subsequent Jewish pogroms, which were officially interpreted by the government as public revenge for Jewish "exploitation". From that time, control over the "correct" residence of Jews became one of the main functions of the police and local authorities, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs tirelessly reminded them about this through numerous guiding circulars.

Starting in the 1880s, police raids, i.e., nighttime inspections of hotels and apartments for Jews without the necessary documents became very common. According to Sliozberg, raids were introduced in St. Petersburg by the city administrator Pyotr Gresser, and from there they spread to other places (Sliozberg, 1933, Vol. 2, p. 193).

It should be noted that, according to the memoirs of contemporaries, police in the 1880s were already guided by phenotypic characteristics in performing raids and inspections. For example, according to Lev Klyachko, a well-known journalist, editor and publisher, "the police had strict orders and stopped not only Jews, but also all

persons suspected of being Jews" (Klyachko, 2003, trans. by K. G.). Samuil Vermel, Russian publicist and doctor, also wrote that "policemen and detectives stopped anyone who, based on their face, could be a Jew" (Vermel, 2003, trans. by K. G.).

Collection of Information

In addition to recording and registration, common to all people of the empire, additional methods of information collection were used for Jews. One of the most common practices was the preparation of various lists. Outside the Pale of Settlement, such lists, in addition to the names and surnames of Jews staying in a particular area, could contain information about family members accompanying them who did not have the independent right to reside in the territory, their arrival time, their authorizing documents, the affairs for which they came, their activities, their financial situation, and their time of departure with an indication of exact destination. As a rule, this information was taken from special books kept at police stations where information about Jews arriving and living in the jurisdictional territory was recorded. The preparation of lists was often accompanied by major inspections of the lawfulness of the presence of Jews in some or other territories. For example, the preparation of a list of Jews living in St. Petersburg in 1832 was provoked by the fact that the emperor had received information about the residence of "many Jewish families" in the capital, contrary to the imperial order (O vysylke iz S. Peterburga, 1832, p. 2, trans. by K. G.).

Until the end of the 1870s, special collection of information about Jews was mostly local, but from 1879, the Ministry of Internal Affairs began the centralized collection of information about the Jewish population of the Empire. The information was generally collected by filling in standardized registers, the forms of which were sent by the Ministry to the governorates together with circular orders.

The first order regarding the general collection of information about Jews was a circular from the Ministry of Internal Affairs of June 11, 1879, which stated the requirement to provide the ministry with information on Jewish specialists, artisans and apprentices living outside the Pale of Settlement in accordance with the law of June 28, 1865. According to Sliozberg, the implementation of this circular was accompanied by the deportation to the Pale of Settlement of those Jewish artisans who did not meet the requirements of the law of 1865 (Sliozberg, 1933, Vol. 1, p. 97).

In 1889, the ministry issued Circular No. 2982, which ordered the widespread collection of information on the ownership and lease of real estate by Jews outside cities, shtetls and posads (O vladenii i arende, 1889). The similar Circular No. 746 was issued eleven years later in connection with the preparation of draft legislation on the limitation of Jewish land ownership by the Ministry of Internal Affairs (O dostavlenii svedenii o nedvizhimykh imushchestvakh, 1900).

In 1890, the Ministry of Internal Affairs issued two circulars, No. 1318 and No. 1632, regarding the countrywide collection of data on Jews living outside the Pale of Settlement (Svedenia o evreiakh dantistakh, fel'dsherakh, farmatzevtakh, 1890; Svedenia o evreiakh kuptsakh, 1890).

Thus, from the end of the 1870s, the collection of information about the Jewish population moved to a new level and became larger-scale, more centralized and more

formalized. Simultaneous collection of information on Jews throughout all or most of the imperial territory was initiated and regulated by the Ministry of the Interior, which also stored the information collected.

Perlustration

A specific method of surveillance was the perlustration of Jewish correspondence, practiced only occasionally under the leadership of the Postal Department and the Third Section of His Majesty's Own Chancellery. During the 19th century, mass opening and inspection of Jewish mail was performed at least twice: in 1830–1831 and in 1837–1839.

The postal censorship of 1830–1831 was associated with the first Polish riot and the government's suspicions of possible Jewish sympathy for the Polish cause. Since the postal department did not have a Yiddish translator, all Jewish mail submitted to the post offices was forwarded by Duke Alexander Golitsyn, the Chief of the Postal Department, to Alexander Benckendorff, the Head of the Third Section. Benckendorff was supposed to get translations of the letters and send them, together with the originals, back to Golitsyn. In December 1830, 39 Jewish letters were processed, 112 letters in January 1831, 35 letters in February, 19 letters in March, 10 letters in April, and three more in May. Having found nothing remarkable, in May 1831 the perlustration was stopped (Vypiska iz evreiskikh pisem, 1830–1831).

The second instance of mass monitoring of Jewish mail was sparked by the fact that the emperor had been informed that "Jews [were] sending correspondence outside the postal service" in Volyn Governorate. This prompted Golitsyn to instruct the Zhytomyr and Radziwiłł post offices to strictly monitor all correspondence between Jews, copying portions of the text "in Russian and the foreign language" should they "contain anything noteworthy". Letters in Yiddish were to be sent to the St. Petersburg post office for translation. Benckendorff also took measures of his own to terminate correspondence "outside the postal service" with the help of the gendarmes and customs office employees.

The perlustration of correspondence lasted for about six months; after, yet again, nothing suspicious was found, the practice was put to an end in April 1839 (O proizvodimoi evreyami Volynskoi gubernii tainoi korrespondentsii, 1839).

Spying

Until the early 1880s, there was virtually no dedicated spying on Jews, unlike on Poles, over whom secret surveillance had been widespread in St. Petersburg ever since the first Polish uprising of 1830–1831, as well as (somewhat later) in the Western Region and in the North of Russia (Grigor'eva, 2020). Apparently, this was associated with the fact that Jews rarely fell into the areas of interest of the Third Section, where the majority of secret agents and other clandestine surveillance professionals worked.

The first instance of large-scale, focused surveillance of Jews took place in 1880. It was associated with the initiation of a proceeding "on the worldwide Jewish Kagal created for purposes hostile to the Christian population", and it reflected how the outlook of the Imperial government on its Jewish subjects had changed. This

change was associated with the work of Jacob Brafman, author of the notorious Book of Kagal, which was first published in 1869. In the book, Brafman promoted the idea that Jews were a hostile "state within the state", which quickly piqued the interest of the Russian political establishment and laid the foundation for a new image of Jews as an "underground" politicized nation that was inherently antagonistic towards the Russian government and population[13].

The investigation into the Kagal was initiated by the administration of the Third Section, based on an anonymous accusation asserting that "all Jewish capitalists entered the worldwide Kagal with a different monetary contribution" and that Jewish households had special mugs into which "Jews [were] obliged to put donations" for the needs of the Kagal, including for such activities as funding "regicidal nihilists" (O vsemirnom evreiskom kagale, 1880, pp. 1–2, trans. by K. G.).

On April 2, Pyotr Cherevin, the head of the Third Section, sent Circular No. 2725 to the heads of provincial gendarme offices with an order to conduct a secret investigation of the matter (O vsemirnom evreiskom kagale, 1880, pp. 3–4).

After receiving this circular, the heads of the provincial gendarme departments began to perform the tasks assigned. Surveillance of Jewish houses was conducted for the purpose of discovering the mugs for donations and identifying their purpose, together with surveillance of "Jewish capitalists" and of collectors of charitable contributions. The eight months of secret surveillance of the Jewish population found no confirmation that "Jewish capitalists" had joined a worldwide Jewish Kahal, no collection of money from ordinary Jews in its favor, and no material assistance to a revolutionary party, and as a result, the case was closed.

Russian Surveillance of the Jewish Population in an International Context

Surveillance of the Jewish population in Tsarist Russia largely reproduced earlier European models, and had the same goals of making Jews "less harmful" and "more useful". The idea stemmed from the philosophies of cameralism and mercantilism, which became widespread in European courts between the 16th and the 18th centuries and played a rather complicated role in Jewish history. On the one hand, Europeans' embrace of mercantilist ideas facilitated the return of Jews to European countries from which they had previously been exiled and granted them access to some important economic activities that had once been closed to them (Israel, 1998). Additionally, contrary to widespread opinion, debates on the emancipation of Jews first started with the German cameralists, not with the philosophers of the Enlightenment (Joskowicz, 2017). On the other hand, cameralism and mercantilism were exactly what substantiated the claim that Jews needed to be "bettered" in order to "correct" those of their traits that were deemed "unacceptable" while retaining their high economic potential.

As stated by Marc Raeff (1975), this kind of economic and social pragmatism, which formed an integral element of the new governance model (*Polizeistaat*), was associated not so much with the selfish aspirations of European monarchs of the early

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[13] For more details about the "Kagal mania" among the Imperial bureaucrats, see Dolbilov (2010, pp. 577–588).

modern period as with the spiritual ideals of the Middle Ages. After the Reformation and years of religious wars had diminished the authority of the Church over the course of the 16th and 17th centuries, the secular monarch came to be perceived as the sole figure capable of taking responsibility for the spiritual and material wellbeing of subjects, which, in turn, was essential for the state to achieve its full creative potential in a God-honoring way (Raeff, 1975, p. 1225). As a result, the traditional approach to secular government, built upon the passive maintenance of justice, was replaced with a new alternative which involved active intervention in the lives of the monarch's subjects in order to encourage their productive energy. Jews were a key ethno-religious group in continental Europe to be targeted by the ambitious social experiments run by governments on the grounds of this new rationalistic and mechanistic worldview. Attempts to "fix" the Jews in European countries, as in Russia, relied on a burst of legislative activity which gave rise to countless "nitpicky" bans aimed at regulating what Jewish subjects could do, limiting the growth of the Jewish population, its mobility etc. Each such ban entailed a specific set of surveillance practices designed to monitor compliance.

The fundamental role of anti-Jewish legislation and bureaucracy in the development of surveillance of Jews, as well as its impact on morale and quality of life in Jewish communities, is clearly illustrated by the experience of Great Britain. As Todd M. Endelman highlights, the British government's (largely accidental) refusal to enact specific laws dedicated to Jews defined entire future existence of Jews in the country, which was far more peaceful than in Central and Eastern Europe. In an environment that lacked targeted social engineering, British Jews integrated into the larger population earlier than other European Jewish communities, which allowed them to achieve economic success and relative prosperity (Endelman, 2002). Special surveillance of Jews did not emerge in Britain until the end of the 19th century, with the arrival of a massive wave of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe (mostly Polish and Russian Jews trying to make it to the USA). These surveillance practices were more reminiscent of today's monitoring of "undesirable" immigrants by police and were motivated by suspicions that Jews were broadly involved in organized crime (specifically prostitution). They were not formally sanctioned by any legislation (Knepper, 2007; Renshaw, 2022)[14].

Similar surveillance practices spread through other European countries, where Jews had already been emancipated, between the 1880s and World War I (Vyleta, 2005).

Conclusions

It would not be correct to say that surveillance of "dangerous groups", which targets whole population categories rather than specific individuals whose identity is known in advance, and faces the future rather than the past, is a recent phenomenon. In fact, the practice has a long history, going back to the early modern era, at least in Central and Eastern Europe. Surveillance of Jews is a highly illustrative example.

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[14] The Aliens Act of 1905 did not mention any specific categories of aliens, although in reality it disproportionately targeted foreign Jews (Renshaw, 2022).

There is little point in seeking the roots of the ethno-religious profiling of Jews in slavery, racism, and colonialism. First, Jews had personal freedom. Second, racism was not the ideological reason for discrimination against Jews during the period in question[15]. Finally, the Jewish population was by no means autochthonous. On the contrary, in fact, Jews were "eternal foreigners" yearning for a lost, semi-mythical homeland.

Nor would it be correct to say that the stifling supervision and countless restrictions that ruined the lives of many Jews over the course of centuries had been crafted with the deliberate intent of causing them harm. Quite the contrary, governments and law-makers claimed to be working hard to "improve" the Jews, to "correct" their "bad" habits and qualities, to elevate them morally, and to transform them into "useful" subjects. This, yet again, reaffirms that even the most repulsive and invasive forms of control may be motivated not only by malice, but also by rather benevolent (from their initiators' point of view) aspirations. As a follow-up to this insight, it is interesting to note that the most professional, disciplined, and incorruptible surveillance agents tended to harm the Jewish population far more than their corrupt and negligent peers. Thankfully for Russian Jews, the latter were found far more often than the former in Tsarist Russia.

The example of Russia demonstrates that the surveillance of specific population groups should be viewed as a separate research subject, with its own history, where the key milestones do not always coincide with the milestones of broader historical processes. There is an obvious, close connection between the emergence and development of this type of surveillance, on the one hand, and the emergence and development of laws and/or bylaws that nourish and legalize the surveillance, on the other hand. Once published, discriminatory norms and decrees tend to breed entire chains of follow-up norms and decrees, making surveillance procedures increasingly more sprawling and complicated.

Nonetheless, the ideal image of surveillance, as shaped by laws and bylaws, never matches what exists in practice. This study, yet again, highlights the limitations of government capabilities when it comes to establishing total surveillance not even over the population as a whole, but over individual groups within it, which has been remarked upon by researchers many times (see, e.g., Marx, 2003)[16].

Finally, the history of the profiling of Jews shows that institutionalized surveillance of certain population groups tends to cross national borders and be reproduced in neighboring countries, in countries with similar political cultures, or in countries with close geopolitical ties to those where such surveillance already exists (similar processes can be observed today in connection with Muslims and "undesirable" migrants).

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[15] While the treatment of the Marranos in Spain is sometimes considered an early form of racism, this interpretation is fairly controversial (Hering Torres, 2011). Attempts to detect racism in the actions of the governments of the German Empire and Tsarist Russia against Jews in the 19th century also run into serious obstacles and are faced with sound counterarguments (Dolbilov, 2010; Fitzpatrick, 2015; Vyleta, 2012; Weinerman, 1994).

[16] Still, it bears noting that the capabilities of modern governments far exceed the capabilities that existed in the 19th century, much less in the early modern period.

The conclusions drawn in this study add more nuance to the generally accepted notions of the emergence and development of racial profiling (which have lately been leaning more and more towards the mere reproduction of established cliches, ignoring vital differences in geographical, political, ideological, and social context). Case studies from other countries (including those outside Europe and the West) and from different eras will further contribute to the deepening of understanding of the surveillance of "dangerous" groups.

This study has a number of important limitations. First, as it pursues the goal of painting a general picture of the profiling of Jews in the Russian Empire, it does not cover a number of important differences in the surveillance modes and practices in different Imperial territories: in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kyiv, the Baltic States, Siberia, the fifty-verst frontier strip, etc. Second, not being an expert on the history of the Tsarist bureaucracy, the police, the Third Section of His Majesty's Own Chancellery, or the other Imperial institutions involved in the creation and enforcement of profiling measures targeting Jews, I was unable to conduct a qualitative study of the impact of the growing complexity, scope, centralization, and professionalism of these institutions on the surveillance of the Jewish population. This key aspect had to be set aside. Third, due to a lack of opportunity to work with archives abroad, it was impossible to carry out a fully-fledged comparative analysis of the surveillance practices in Tsarist Russia and the European countries. All of these important subjects clearly could make a notable contribution to the research of the supervision of Jews in the Russian Empire, but they shall be reserved for future studies.

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Quasi-Development as an Illusion of Personal Growth

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ABSTRACT

This article explores the concept of quasi-development from theoretical, methodological, and empirical perspectives. The study consists of two parts, examining the components and functional manifestations of quasi-development. A theoretical definition of the phenomenon of quasi-development is proposed. In Study 1, the perceptions of quasi-development in two groups of respondents were analyzed by using content analysis: one group consisted of 30 individuals without psychological education and the other of 10 individuals with a psychological background. The study revealed several features of quasi-development, including an attitude towards development where change occurs for the sake of change, an illusion of infinity of options and intensity of development induced by external influence, a desire to obtain a ready-made "recipe" instead of taking responsibility, a lack of correlation between life experience and emotional history, and a lack of a meaning regulator. In Study 2, key components of quasi-development and its connection with magical thinking were assessed by using data from 33 respondents without psychological education, but with experience of seeking psychological help and striving for self-development. The study also explored the correlations of quasi-development markers with the Revised Paranormal Belief Scale proposed by J. Tobacyk. The peculiarities of the social context of modern individuals and the ways of constructing identity were also considered. Finally, the article raises questions about the need for further research on the phenomenon of quasi-development.

KEYWORDS

personality development, self-development, quasi-development, magical thinking, sustainability, self-changes, neoliberal form of subjectivity

Introduction

The concept of quasi-development is generally viewed as a construct of ordinary consciousness, which describes the tendency to become overly fixated on psychological practices that give the illusion of personal growth within a social context. Although it is not always explicitly acknowledged, this phenomenon is present in counseling and psychotherapeutic discourse. Its inclusion into the discourse of personality psychology considerably broadens our understanding of the mechanisms and phenomenology of self-development and personality change, expanding on classical ideas (Adams et al., 2019).

Amidst the high uncertainty of ongoing social transformations, growing emotional tension and stress, individuals' subjective sense of control over events can foster confidence in the future. In many cases, people turn to various parapsychological practices, including magical thinking, as a psychological defense to reinforce their sense of control (Escolà-Gascón et al., 2020). In an unpredictable future and disrupted way of life, the challenge of personal stability and variability (Bleidorn et al., 2021) transforms into a problem of personal sustainability, which requires individuals to identify the most effective coping strategies for their life plan (Kostromina et al., 2022). Our study explores how the pursuit of personal growth, coupled with magical thinking, helps individuals create the illusion of self-change in response to the need to construct a new identity in changing times.

Personal Development and Sustainability

Today, it is widely acknowledged by researchers from different fields that there are global civilizational changes taking place that require individuals to transform their ways of interacting with the world (Rubinshtein, 1973) in order to maintain personal sustainability (Topal et al., 2021). In the current context of "change of changes," traditional processes of adapting and maintaining stability (homeostasis preservation) are becoming less relevant. Instead, pre-adaptive processes that encourage diversity, universal readiness for change, and generate new forms of life (Asmolov, 2010) are becoming more important in responding to these changes. These processes promote diversity, pre-specialization, universal readiness for change, and generate new forms of life (Asmolov et al., 2017). Self-determination processes are also becoming increasingly crucial, with a growing tendency to prioritize meaningful and variable possibilities over necessity (Leontiev, 2011).

The ongoing global social changes have led to a shift in people's behavioral goals, from external achievements to internal self-development. The traditional question of "How to get what I want" has been replaced by a more pressing one, "What do I really want?" (Suvalko, 2013). Consequently, cognitive knowledge is being replaced by a spiritual aspiration to transcend the limitations of everyday life and navigate morally challenging ethical conflicts. Researchers often view spirituality as a fundamental

principle of human self-development, which enables individuals to appeal to higher value instances in the construction of their personalities (Znakov, 2021). The ways individuals resolve existential contradictions become a measure of their individuality and subjectivity. As V. V. Znakov (2021) notes,

> at such moments of personal knowledge, when an individual experiences self-development, something more than a "down-to-earth" image or model of external events emerges. The inner meaning of these experiences becomes the psychological basis for the formation of the spiritual essence of what has become the subject of the individual's intellectual and moral reflection. (p. 136, trans. by Ekaterina Purgina [E. P.])

According to A. V. Brushlinsky (2003), spirituality represents the goals, aspirations, and meanings realized in human life. A. V. Brushlinsky stresses that spirituality is not a super-psychic phenomenon, but rather a set of different qualities of the psyche that are the most crucial attribute of an individual (p. 49). It is a deeper level of activity that represents an ontological way of mental existence. Spirituality entails establishing a correlation between personal, subjective experiences that may change over time and collective, stable perceptions, with meaning as the underlying source of this correlation (Grishina, 2019). The concept of meaning guides the activity of the subject, allowing for the differentiation of various qualities of the same events and the inclusion of these events in different systems of connections and relations. This process occurs as a continuous dynamic of variables and their meanings (Asmolov, 2015).

Activity is a defining characteristic of personality, which manifests in various forms, including super-situational, supra-role activity within an individual's context, social acts within interpersonal relationships, and "deeds" in the meta-individual plan (Petrovsky & Petrovsky, 2014, p. 71). However, expanding activity beyond its limits requires overcoming the attitudes developed in preceding conditions, and it does not happen automatically (Asmolov & Petrovsky, 1978). When individuals engage productively in societal development, even at the cost of their own well-being, society as a whole becomes qualitatively dynamic, leading to evolvement. Nonetheless, V. A. Petrovsky (2010) highlights the concept of impersonality, whereby an individual's presence or absence does not influence others' behavior, rendering them devoid of personality. Therefore, personality activity is a synthesis of personalization, supra-situational activity, and creative communication, defining an individual path.

Personality development is closely tied to determinant processes, as individuals progress steadily through each age period and solve specific psychophysiological tasks. Prominent psychologists such as L. S. Vygotsky, J. Piaget, and E. Erikson provided ample evidence for this phenomenon. As personogenesis unfolds, biological factors play a decreasing role in controlling the development of personality, while higher-value and meaning-based factors increase in importance. The formation of the spiritual sphere is accompanied by the emergence of personal meaning, which contributes to semantic and reflexive self-regulation. This level of self-determination is associated with the phenomenon of transcendence and self-transcendence, which involves the readiness and ability to move beyond the current level of development and advance to the desired personal level (Frizen, 2013).

According to F. Nietzsche (1883–1885/2005), the phenomenon of self-transcendence involves overcoming one's actual givenness and entering into the realm of the possible: "freedom from" and "freedom for". E. Fromm (1955/2013) posits that a healthy individual is a person who can provide answers to existential questions, overcome passive existence, and become a creator of their life. In the works of V. Frankl (1946/1962), self-transcendence is described as the intentionality of life itself, a focus on something outside oneself: "to become oneself" means to realize oneself without paying attention to oneself. The scope of self-transcendence and self-determination of an individual is characterized by openness to new experiences and tolerance of uncertainty. A "closed" meaning sphere is associated with adaptive functions, which prioritize clear goals and actions that align with established requirements. In contrast, an "open" meaning sphere corresponds to "non-adaptive activity" (Asmolov & Petrovsky, 1978, trans. by E. P.). The more open an individual's semantic sphere is to new experiences for the assimilation of infinite meanings, the more it is realized as individuality, self-transcends, and subsequently develops.

Personal Development and Quasi-Development

According to V. V. Znakov (2021), the presence of a special need for the unusual in the psyche of modern individuals, which he calls "the need for the transcendent". As Znakov puts it, the border between the imaginary and the real is not absolute, and the coexistence of the possible and admissible with the impossible, such as beliefs in witchcraft, UFOs, and intelligent extraterrestrial life, is consistent with physical laws (p. 228). Psychologists have found that paranormal and superstitious beliefs share a psychological foundation with the belief in extraterrestrial life (Swami et al., 2011). This "transcendental hunger" is often satisfied by an increased interest in fairy tales, myths, and fantasy (Subbotsky, 2007). Coping with fear and providing a sense of control over the uncontrollable are some of the functions of these coping strategies, especially when rational explanations are not available (Vyse, 1997). Therefore, non-rational cognitive phenomena can be meaningful and useful in the inner world of individuals.

E. V. Subbotsky (2015) puts forward a hypothesis that consciousness is the ability of a person to exist simultaneously in two distinct realities: the visible, ordinary reality and the invisible, magical reality. According to him, this dual structure of consciousness endows individuals with the abilities of reflection, creativity, and spontaneity. However, it also creates fundamental challenges for human existence, the primary one being the constant need to maintain a clear boundary between ordinary and magical realities (p. 14).

Magical thinking refers to the belief that there is a causal coherence between unrelated events, despite the absence of any plausible causal connection between them, and is explained as the result of supernatural influence (Sternberg et al., 2007). S. Freud first described magical thinking as the basis of animism, religion, and superstition, which are characteristics of primitive communities (Freud, 1913/2001). The Oxford Dictionary of Psychology defines magical thinking as the belief that "thoughts themselves can cause effects in the world, or that thoughts about something are tantamount to actions" (Colman, 2009). B. Malinowski links magical thinking with a low level of education and unwillingness to understand the essence of phenomena, as well as low self-esteem (rational thinking and success); he also describes a connection

with religiosity of uneducated people (as opposed to educated and religious) for whom magic and religion lie in the same area (Malinowski, 1922/2014). Magical thinking is natural and peculiar to preschool children, and over time, it should be lost naturally (Zhmurov, 2012). High rates of magical thinking in a personality (immersion into esoteric doctrines and reorganization of life according to them) in psychiatry are indicators of the adaptation disorder (Koroleva, 2009), magiphrenic syndrome (Zhmurov, 2012), and a symptom of schizotypal disorder (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). There is a relationship between New Age practices and beliefs and schizotypal personality traits, particularly those concerning magical ideation (Farias et al., 2005).

Not only is there a natural and evolutionarily understandable mechanism for magical thinking in individuals (Norenzayan, 2016), but there is also evidence of an increase in magical beliefs due to socio-cultural influences. Culturally specific traditions are transmitted through intergenerational communication (superstitions, for example), as well as supported by the media (astrological predictions, psychics), which convinces people of the existence of supernatural forces (Subbotsky, 2015). Thus, magical thinking appears to connect the real and the unreal, what is and what we want to believe. It is a kind of door that provides a mental transition between the real and the desired. Its strength lies in the ease of transition, providing movement toward "sacred knowledge" that reduces uncertainty and gives the possessor of this knowledge a transition to the next stage of development. However, it remains unclear whether personal development, which many people identify with the concept of personal growth, genuinely takes place in this case.

The concept of personal growth, introduced by C. Rogers, lacks a strict definition and unambiguous interpretation (Rogers, 1961/2012). Personal growth is closely related to the concept of a mature personality, characterized by dynamism, intentionality, autonomy, individuality, integrity, and constructiveness. Personal growth has a positive meaning, such as "gaining of knowledge or activity, an active position, mastering of an ideal image," but it can also be a kind of "turning away from oneself" because personal growth is substituted with the formation of necessary qualities (Bratchenko & Mironova, 1997; trans. by E. P.). Personal growth is fundamentally about freeing oneself to create a unique life path. It involves seeking to improve areas of weakness and continually evolving through new experiences and changes.

Nevertheless, a relevant question arises: To what extent can the described changes be regarded as personal development? It is easy to determine the willingness of people to change and develop through external motivation, such as the desire to adjust to the situation or accept the challenge. They largely manifest themselves in the form of actions, which, nevertheless, can be initiated by internal needs. Internal needs arise when a person has an understanding of some deficit of personal resource, for the replenishment of which they can ask for specific help (a psychologist, a coach, a trainer), and then they become a source of their own changes. This appears to be development. At what moment does the desire for development, self-evolvement, and change become an illusion of development? It is likely that the phenomenon of "quasi-development" is connected with the absence of this semantic regulator or its insufficient level. That is, in the focus, there is a desire to develop and change, but the person cannot answer the

question "Why?" Changes caused only by external circumstances cannot be qualified as development because the source should be in the developing individual, and this source is supplemented and actualized by external influence (Sergienko, 2009).

We define development as the process of an individual developing a unique intentionality through active transformation of oneself and the surrounding world. This process is characterized by internal orderliness and connectedness, as well as a persistent drive to move forward despite external influences and personal limitations. *Quasi-development,* on the other hand*, is a phenomenon observed in adults where change is pursued without a clear purpose or direction. This illusion of necessity and infinite self-development options is often determined by external factors,* such as social pressures to be successful or to constantly move forward. Individuals who engage in quasi-development often seek a "recipe" or easy solution, and avoid taking responsibility for their personal growth. This phenomenon is also characterized by a lack of correlation between a person's life experiences and their life history.

Research Design

Since the concept of quasi-development is based on commonly held beliefs and ideas, the first step in our research was to confirm its viability, i.e., its actual existence in society. In order to validate this phenomenon both theoretically and empirically, we conducted two studies on two different samples.

Study 1 compared the author's interpretation of quasi-development with the ideas about this phenomenon in two groups of respondents, followed by a content analysis of the data. To accomplish this objective, a survey was administered and data from two distinct groups were analyzed, one comprising individuals with psychological education and the other without. This division allowed us to explore quasi-development from two perspectives, that are ordinary people and professional psychologists. The primary goal of this study was to identify whether people had encountered this phenomenon, which we defined as quasi-development, and to determine its primary features.

Study 2 aimed to operationalize the phenomenological empirical referents of quasi-development and involved respondents without psychological education who had experience participating in psychological practices.

In both studies, we used the semi-structured interview method. In Study 2, we also administered the Revised Paranormal Belief Scale by J. Tobacyk (adapted for Russia by D. S. Grigoryev, 2015) alongside the semi-structured interview.

Study 1: Theoretical and Empirical Validation of the Phenomenon
of Quasi-Development
Study Sample. We conducted interviews with 40 respondents aged 34–55 (*M* = 46.3, *SD* = 9.07). The sample was divided into two groups based on their level of psychological knowledge and professional experience. *Group 1* consisted of 30 respondents aged 34–55 who had no professional knowledge of psychology, but had higher education. *Group 2* included 10 experts with psychological education and professional experience in various fields of psychology aged 38–50. Independent sampling was employed to

allow for external validation of the concept, collection of phenomenological data, identification of semantic components, and interpretation of the content.

Research Methods. The main research methods employed were semi-structured interviews and content analysis. Six open-ended questions were developed, with three questions designated for each group. These questions are presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Questions for the Two Groups of Respondents

Questions for non-psychologists (Group 1)	Questions for psychologists (Group 2)
1. To what extent do you agree or disagree that there is a concept of quasi-development?	1. Do you believe that quasi-development is a phenomenon that exists?
2. In your opinion, what are some ways in which quasi-development manifests itself in life?	2. What are some characteristics that distinguish quasi-development from personality development? How can you recognize that someone is experiencing quasi-development?
3. How do you differentiate between development and quasi-development?	3. Have you ever encountered examples of quasi-development in your professional life?

To minimize the subjective and negative nature of responses and foster constructive discussion, questions about quasi-development were formulated as an opposition to the concept of development for both layman and professional understanding. We included a reference to the respondents' idea of personal development in the questions to understand how they formulated their ideas about development or lack thereof, and how this relates to quasi-development. This approach was designed to explore the nuances of respondents' perceptions and provide a comprehensive view of the phenomenon.

We employed a phenomenological analysis (Kvale, 1996; Smith & Fieldsend, 2021), in which we grouped semantically similar responses, and counted and identified the number of responses and meaning groups.

Study Results

The results of the phenomenological validation of the "quasi-development" construct of personality are presented in Table 2, which outlines the generalized perceptions of quasi-development in the two groups of respondents.

Table 2

Results of the Comparative Analysis of Responses to the Questions About Quasi-Development in the Two Respondent Groups

Attributes of the concept	Group 1	Group 2
Acknowledging the existence of the phenomenon of quasi-development	55% of the participants expressed full confidence in the existence of quasi-development, while 33.3% assumed its existence	All participants, based on their own understanding of the concept of quasi-development, were able to confirm the existence of individuals exhibiting quasi-development whom they had encountered in their professional activities

Table 2 Continued

Attributes of the concept	Group 1	Group 2
Subjective feeling of the lack of development	10% are unable to identify any general patterns of quasi-development, as they perceive it as a purely subjective evaluation of human activity. 30% associate quasi-development with the feeling of frustration resulting from the failure to achieve desired outcomes in their pursuits	65% of respondents observe a clear contradiction between the concepts of development and quasi-development, and therefore suggest defining the characteristics of quasi-development as those that are fundamentally opposed to the attributes of human development
Inability to apply the skills learned through deliberate personal development in practical situations	7% of the participants acknowledged the practical application of acquired skills and observed changes in their personal growth journey	25% emphasize the possibility of activity and compensation that may not result in actual change
Lack of purpose and meaning	10% identified goal-setting and meaning-making factors as relevant to quasi-development	10% associate quasi-development with the pursuit of solutions to irrelevant life problems
Unwillingness to take responsibility	50% of respondents associated quasi-development with a strong interest in esoterics, spiritual practices, and sects that can lead to a loss of control over one's life	50% compare quasi-development to development, emphasizing the subjectivity and personal responsibility of individuals in finding solutions to their life tasks

The results of the phenomenological analysis of the related constructs of development and quasi-development indicate that, in both layman and professional understanding, quasi-development is perceived as: (a) a personality's desire to develop, often driven by compensation, dissatisfaction with current circumstances, or an insatiable thirst for change, fueled by a belief in the necessity of spiritual improvement; (b) the concept of unlimited possibilities and intensity of personal growth, often linked to a reluctance to take responsibility and a preference for receiving a ready-made recipe from a mentor; (c) a lack of connection between life experiences and emotional states, as well as an inability to explain the use of psychological practices for personal growth.

Based on the data obtained, we can conclude that the phenomenon of quasi-development is recognized by both professional psychologists and individuals without psychological education. Furthermore, the interpretation of quasi-development closely aligns with the one we propose, which supports the empirical validation of the quasi-development phenomenon.

Study 2. Empirical Verification of the Phenomenon of Quasi-Development

Study Sample. We conducted interviews with 33 participants, consisting of 14 men and 19 women aged 30–49 (M = 38.6, SD = 5.02). Participation was voluntary and 87% of the participants had a higher education. Of the participants, 51% reported being married or in a relationship. The primary requirement for participants was the absence of psychiatric disorders, prior experience with psychotherapy, personal growth trainings, and psychological education.

Research Methods. To investigate the level of engagement of research participants without psychological education in personal growth and self-development activities available on the market, and to understand their subjective experiences, we conducted a semi-structured interview consisting of four open-ended questions. These questions were designed to elicit the respondents' views on personal and spiritual growth, as well as their understanding of changes that occur throughout life. The questions were as follows: "Do people change over the course of their lives?", "Can these changes be considered growth or development?", "What is personal growth and how do you understand it?", and "What is spiritual growth or spirituality?" By analyzing the respondents' responses to these questions, we were able to link the theoretical markers of quasi-development to perceptions in everyday consciousness, as well as to the characteristics described by experts and empirical referents.

After completing the semi-structured interview, the respondents were asked to complete the Revised Paranormal Belief Scale, which was adapted for use in Russia by D. S. Grigoryev in 2015. This scale measures people's inclination towards irrational and pseudoscientific beliefs, which are often considered as paranormal phenomena that contradict the fundamental principles of science. We correlated high scores on this scale, which are indicative of magical thinking, with the components of personality quasi-development. On the one hand, this type of thinking allows the individual to evade responsibility for their actions and life events, but on the other hand, it also restricts their ability to take proactive measures.

Study Results. The results of the interview regarding participants' involvement in personal growth and development showed the following:

– Over 60% of the respondents expressed confidence in the possibility of human change throughout their lives, while only 15% completely denied this possibility;

– Half of the interviewees of the interviewees (50%) perceived growth and development as changes that occur in their lives, regardless of whether the changes were positive or negative;

– Approximately 40% of the participants believed that personal growth is a natural process, while 45% maintained that it requires conscious and directed effort. Of the respondents, 15% denied the existence of personal growth as a process;

– In defining the concepts of spiritual growth and spirituality, the participants were divided into three almost equal groups: 31% connected these concepts with religion, 37% associated them with psychology, and 31% gave these concepts their own meaning.

We conducted a phenomenological analysis to identify markers of quasi-development, which included "Change for the sake of change," "Lack of a meaning regulator," "Lack of personal responsibility," "Lack of connection between life experience and emotional history," and "External influence." We conducted inter-subjective testing to confirm these markers (Almaev, 2012). An independent expert was interviewed using the phenomenological approach to identify categories that aligned with the research objectives. The markers identified by the expert were then compared to those identified by the author. As a result, 86% of the markers and categories matched (see Table 3).

Table 3

List of Markers Identified in the Interview Analysis

Marker	Description	Examples from the interviews
Change for the sake of change	In their interviews, the respondents noted changes that they associate with the practices	"But I really feel that there are a lot of changes waiting ahead. I don't mean changes in my life circumstances, but changes in my personality." "I had the feeling that he wasn't talking about me, he was talking from inside of me. It was as if I were the one telling the story"
Lack of a meaning (semantic) regulator	Causality is attributed to unrelated objects and events; random events are perceived as significant, with extra meanings attached to them	"But I believe something led me there for a reason". "2013, on December 13 I'm taking my first course with Guruji. And Guruji was born on May, 13 [emphasis added]." "… there were many coincidences, which, as it turned out later, were not accidental"
Lack of personal responsibility	Personal responsibility is shifted to events, people, and objects by attributing the outcome of a situation to external forces rather than to one's own actions or decisions ("everyone in my family experienced this," unprocessed trauma, astrology, numerology, tarot, palm reading, etc.)	"How could I learn anything different if I grew up with my mother. 90% of my attitude to the world is my parents." "I had a good experience … in chiromancy, palm reading". "And the shaman works with the souls of grandfathers ... She said there was some woman behind me …" "… the magician watched me on Instagram[1] and saw a dark channel next to me"
Lack of connection between life experience and emotional history	Despite the active declaration of the goal of self-development, no specific actions are being taken to address the problem(s) at hand.	"And I realized that the work that I've done now—it's going to bring change in my life." "I realized everything, if there's the right mindset, the money can come in unknown ways"
External influence	The respondent's choice of development is influenced by authoritative figures, leading to an unfounded degree of trust in them. The person lacks fundamental knowledge within the chosen direction of development.	"I have a high degree of trust in her and I listened." "He said that I had some kind of teacher's arcana sewn into my numerology there, that I really need to teach … and that's what I'm going for." "We have our pluses and minuses, our frequencies, in each finger. We're all antennae, conductors, 6–7–8–12 Volt. I have that voltage increasing right now. Or in Hertz … however it is measured [*laughs*]"

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[1] Instagram™ is a trademark of Instagram Inc., registered in the US and other countries. По решению Роскомнадзора, социальная сеть Instagram полностью заблокирована в России как экстремистская организация.

To evaluate the psychotherapeutic activity of our respondents, we identified categories that differentiate the experience of seeking psychological help and developed a system to weigh each parameter. Table 4 presents the points (1 or 2) assigned to certain types of "psychological" activity.

The "Activities to enhance personal growth and psychological competencies" category includes motivational online marathons and art therapy, which were scored 1 point due to their low degree of immersion and casual nature of participation. Personal growth trainings and mentology, on the other hand, are considered events of higher organizational order that require involvement and intensive attendance, so they were assigned 2 points.

The "General psychological trainings" category covers a variety of specializations, such as corporate and professional trainings aimed at improving competencies and skills. We gave them a score of 1 due to their social orientation, together with coaching, metaphorical maps, and transformational games, which respondents found entertaining and satisfying their curiosity. However, specific areas such as mindfulness trainings were given a score of 2 because they involve deep immersion and require active participation.

Based on the interviews, we identified a separate category called "Quasi-psychological trends", which includes all techniques that have no scientific evidence base, are not recognized by the professional community, but are still popular. All the indicated techniques in Table 4 are assigned 2 points.

Lastly, we highlighted the "Self-help" category, which largely refers to passive acceptance of psychological information and literature on personal growth. This category includes areas related to the free time of respondents who are interested in such knowledge and were assigned 1 point.

Table 4

Data on Psychotherapeutic Activity of Respondents

General category	Activity	Frequency of occurrence
Seeking psychological help	Personal request	27
	Psychotherapy lasting for one year or more	22
	Family counseling	10
	Children counseling	13
	Consulting a clinical psychologist	3
	Group psychotherapy	8
	School psychologist	3
Activities to improve personal growth, psychological competence	Personal growth training	14
	Motivational marathons	17
	Art therapy	2
	Mentology	3
General psychological trainings	Corporate, professional	12
	Personal, specific competencies (e.g., communicative)	12
	Raising awareness	6
	Coaching	6
	Metaphorical maps	4
	Transformational game (psychological)	3

| General category	Activity	Frequency of occurrence
Quasi-psychological trends	Guruji Art of living DSN personal growth	2
	Zhong Yuan Qigong	3
	Women's energy	3
	Sat Nam Rasayan Healing	2
	NLP	3
	Quantum Psychology	3
	Osho Dynamic Meditation	2
	Human design	4
	FEID (*a system of skills for further energy-informational development of a person*)	2
	Cleansing practices	5
	Establishing financial channels	3
	Transformation Game (esoteric)	5
	Energy therapy	5
	Reiki, palm healing	3
	Cholotropic breathing	2
	Astrology, numerology	9
Self-help	Reading psychological literature	24
	Subscriptions to groups, blogs, channels	27
	Interacting with psychologist friends to resolve an implicit request	30
	Meditation, mantras	15

During the interview, the highlighted markers for all respondents totaled 238 points, with an average of 7.2 points per respondent (Mode = 2, Median = 3, σ = 11.4) indicating active involvement in psychological activities.

The responses from the semi-structured interview were analyzed to compare activity types and quasi-development markers. The results indicate an uneven distribution, with a significant number of quasi-development markers present in some interviews and none in others. While all interviews had indicators characterizing signs of quasi-development, a third of respondents had more than the average number of quasi-development markers. For the majority of respondents, the number of quasi-development markers did not exceed the average for the sample. The marker "Lack of personal responsibility" had the highest number of points at 71 (30%), followed by "Lack of a meaning regulator" with 66 points (28%). "Lack of connection between life experience and emotional history" had 36 points (15%), "Change for the sake of change" had 33 points (14%), and "External influence" had 32 points (13%) of the sample. Thus, the marker "Lack of personal responsibility" prevails in the quasi-development phenomenology, representing the number of causal connections ("everyone in my family experiences this"; "my parents did this"; "unworked past trauma") and the number of "magics" used (numerology, astrology, tarot, immersion into past lives, etc.).

Believing in the existence of various external forces that actively influence a person's life can indicate a lack of control over their life and a deficiency in critical thinking skills. Excessive self-reflection can result, and this may lead to a mismatch between the development sphere and external and internal factors of life activity. To support this claim, we will present the results obtained through the "Belief in the paranormal" technique, which are shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1

Mean Scores of Participants on J. Tobacyk's Paranormal Belief Scale
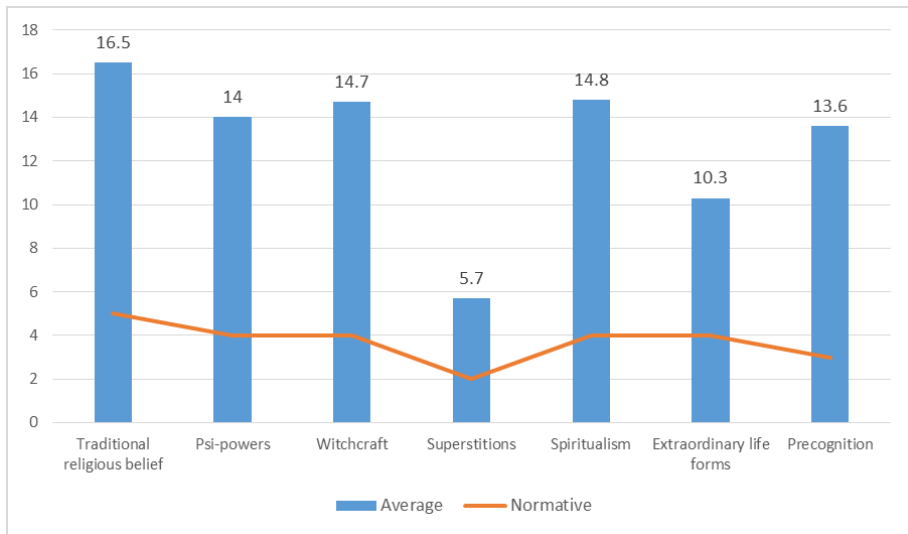
In the sample, all subscale indicators have values higher than the normative ones. For 98% of the respondents, the *Traditional religious beliefs* indicator is higher than the normative ($M = 5.26$, $SD = 1.35$), indicating that they have stable religious attitudes that they rely on in their lives. 45% of the sample demonstrated scores on the *Superstition* subscale above normative values ($M = 2.27$, $SD = 1.22$). Average scores on the *Precognition* subscale are also above normative and are presented by 75% of respondents ($M = 3.59$, $SD = 1.32$). *Witchcraft* is represented in 73% of respondents ($M = 4.72$, $SD = 1.57$). The results for the subscales *Psi-powers* ($M = 3.93$, $SD = 1.72$) and *Spiritualism* ($M = 3.99$, $SD = 1.58$) are fairly similar, with 97% and 78% of the respondents demonstrating these characteristics, respectively. *Extraordinary life forms* are less vividly represented in respondents' answers, above the normative index ($M = 3.44$, $SD = 1.40$) values are recorded in 69% of respondents.

The results of the analysis of the methodology reveal that research participants rely on various forms of magical thinking to explain different situations they encounter in life. Apart from having a stable religious faith and belief in superstitions, the respondents have a positive attitude towards the possibility of controlling other people's thoughts and affecting surrounding material objects by their cognitive

activity. They also believe in the existence of magical forms of life and the possibility of communicating with the souls of other people and transient states of mind.

Thus, the presented sample of respondents is characterized by the manifestation of components of quasi-development and magical thinking. To confirm the connection between the markers of quasi-development and magical thinking, a Pearson correlation analysis was performed using the IBM SPSS Statistics 23 application package.

Table 5

Results of Correlation Analysis

	Change for the sake of change	Lack of a meaning regulator	Lack of personal responsibility	External influences	Personal and psychotherapeutic activity
Traditional religious beliefs	–	–	–	.491**	.349*
Psi-powers	.482**	.444**	.452**	.651**	.507**
Witchcraft	.390*	.366*	.358*	.480**	.547**
Spiritualism	.450**	.364*	.400*	.529**	.484**
Precognition	.358*	–	–	.454**	.546**

Note: ** $p \leq .01$; * $p \leq .05$.

The results of the correlation analysis show significant connections between the "Belief in the paranormal" study data and quasi-developmental markers. Specifically, the *Psi-powers* subscale correlates positively with almost all the main quasi-developmental characteristics, including "Change for the sake of change" (.482), "Lack of a meaning regulator" (.444), "No personal responsibility" (.452), "External influence" (.651), as well as with the "Personal and psychotherapy activity" scores (.507). This suggests that respondents believe in the possibility of manipulating objects and people for their own purposes through personal change and are willing to attend events that will bring them closer to this goal (Grigoryev, 2015).

In our sample, 66% respondents identified themselves as adhering to traditional religions (with 9% identifying as Buddhists). Occasional participation in ritual culture and religious events influenced their experiences. As expected, indicators of personal and psychotherapeutic activity did not show a significant correlation with this subscale. However, the "External Influence" marker showed a positive correlation with the *Traditional religious belief* subscale ($p \leq .01$).

Significant positive correlations were found between the *Witchcraft* and *Precognition* subscales and the indices of "External influence" and "Personal and psychotherapeutic activity" (.547 and .546 respectively), indicating that the more a person believes in witchcraft, magic rites, and the effectiveness of predictions

such as horoscopes, the more they are susceptible to external influence and seek psychotherapeutic support. In the phenomenology of the respondents, these two aspects often do not simply overlap but mutually reinforce each other. Those who are believed to have "magical abilities" convincingly "predict" events and guide our respondents towards "working through" certain aspects of their development. The *Spiritualism* subscale also positively correlates with the above markers of quasi-development, "External influence" (.529) and "Personal and psychotherapeutic activity" (.484). This correlation reflects not only a person's belief in the possibility of interaction with the soul but also a direct influence on the reconstruction of their past experiences (e.g., in a previous life) in light of predictions and with the aim of forming the image of a desired future.

It should be noted that the marker "External influence" has the strongest connection with the scale "Belief in the paranormal", underscoring the importance of external stimuli in shaping and maintaining magical thinking. Such information, presented in appealing marketing offers, has an affordance for any person experiencing difficult life situations.

Discussion of Results: Social and Psychological Contextualization of Quasi-Development

Paradoxically, mythological thinking, esoterics, and magic are important for the self-determination of modern individuals who are equipped with high technology and scientific data. There is evidence that humans may be biologically predisposed to such beliefs (Norenzayan, 2016). Quasi-development is not only a personal psychological phenomenon marked by carelessness, susceptibility to influence, and a desire for constant change, but also a cultural practice for constructing identity (Campbell, 2000). This practice is congruent with the image of those living in "fluid modernity" (Bauman, 2000), whose existence is characterized by a process of renewing potential identities (Khoroshilov, 2022).

The mass culture and media of late modernity establish normative scenarios for personal development, which in turn give rise to the phenomenon of quasi-development. This can be seen as one of the significant psychological effects of Teo's neoliberal form of subjectivity. According to Teo (2018), neoliberalism serves as an undifferentiated spiritual-practical content that acts as a precondition for the formation of a new type of subjectivity. As a result, the neoliberal form of subjectivity becomes psychologically dominant, subordinating all other variants of personality formation that are seen as an aggregate of individual characteristics.

In a world where business and commercialization dominate interpersonal relationships, globalization, and the transformation of the self into a type of "life entrepreneur," the prevailing mode of thinking is one of rational choice. The main content of the neoliberal self is the continuous monitoring of life success in its material expression. Teo (2017) argues that psychological disciplines serve to support all tendencies of the neoliberal form of subjectivity, including self-control, rigid discipline, and the pursuit of success.

In addition, societal ideals of perfectionism, a highly competitive culture, and the increasing individualization of responsibility for failing to meet standards of personal success can make it appealing to adopt a quasi-developmental approach. However, the excessive emphasis placed on achieving success can turn a healthy desire for accomplishment into perfectionism, resulting in frustration, neuroticism, and maladaptation. Psychologists actively study perfectionism (excessive striving for perfection) as a dysfunctional personality trait (Stoeber, 2018). Garanian et al. (2018) identify several parameters in the structure of perfectionism, including "standards of performance and aspirations that are exaggerated in comparison with individual capabilities," "excessive demands placed on others and exaggerated expectations of them," "constant comparison of oneself with the most successful individuals," and "dichotomous evaluation of activity results and planning based on the 'all or nothing' principle."

When considering the existential implications of quasi-development, it is worth reflecting on Rollo May's "myth of Proteus" as a symbol of the idea of constant change and the personality type of "proteans" (Lifton, 1993) who are continually in a state of flux (May, 1991). While the search for novelty and transformation can provide an escape from anxiety, it can also lead to superficiality and a lack of depth. As May (1991) noted, "playing any role in any situation makes it impossible to hear the inner voice that comes from deep within ourselves," and avoiding this inner voice can result in profound loneliness and isolation. However, the negative consequences of the Proteus myth extend beyond personal well-being; in a world that is constantly changing, adapting to new circumstances is a necessity.

Conclusions

The convergence of dynamic aspects of an individual's life path and their endeavors to affirm their being entail the interplay between "higher" and "lower" levels of their personality. Transformational and situational changes differ from typical adaptive changes and reflect the emergence of a new subjective quality, that is authorship in relation to life. The personality becomes a factor in its own changes. The context of daily life and routine for modern individuals embodies the strategic practices that support the maintenance of identity and connection to life's path, while also reducing uncertainty and coping with life's transience (Martsinkovskaya, 2017).

In today's transitory world, maintaining and preserving stability requires specific strategies, primarily through constant change (Kostromina, 2021). However, this type of change is not merely adaptive but rather pre-adaptive, relying on personal self-processes such as self-knowledge, self-understanding, self-development, self-actualization, and self-modification. Self-change is driven by internal needs traditionally linked to self-determined behavior, such as autonomy, competence, and relatedness (Ryan & Deci, 2019). It is expressed in the individual's sense of freedom regarding external and internal forces and their conscious development, which is the semantic dominant. On the other hand, quasi-development entails an illusion of the infinity of options and the intensity of development induced by external influences, leading to change for the sake of change. Its phenomenological markers are as follows:

"Change for the sake of change", "Lack of a meaning regulator", "Lack of personal responsibility", "Lack of connection between life experience and emotional history", and "External influence". Our assumption that quasi-development is associated with a high degree of magical thinking was validated in this study. However, the findings have certain limitations, such as the lack of prior research on the topic, insufficient sample size for statistical measurements (rendering regression analysis and U-Mann-Whitney test unreliable and statistically insignificant), and potential biases in evaluating the phenomenon. Further investigation into the phenomenon of quasi-development necessitates the identification of additional factors that influence its process, immersion into the phenomenological field, and the expansion and reinforcement of the empirical base of research. Our study represents an initial exploratory stage and requires additional clarification of hypotheses and the implementation of new research designs.

Therefore, the analysis of the theoretical, methodological, and empirical aspects of the quasi-development concept presented in this article enables us not only to establish its existence but also affirm its phenomenological and empirical validity. Consequently, it is possible to advance towards a more in-depth investigation of this construct and the development of diagnostic tools that can accurately differentiate between genuine personality development and quasi-development with a high degree of reliability.

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Exploring Anchor Personality and True Meaning in Indonesian Young Adults

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ABSTRACT

Theories of meaning that emphasize only subjectivity can disadvantage individuals and societies. The theory of true meaning attempts to answer these problems by considering human nature. To attain true meaning, an interactive personality theory, such as Anchor Personality Theory, is needed. This study aims to understand the relationship between anchor personality dimensions, namely, materials, self, others, and virtues, and true meaning. This study's subjects are 212 young adults aged 18–34 from different educational and marital backgrounds. This study used a quantitative survey method with regression analysis. The instruments used are the True Meaning Scale and the Anchor Personality Inventory. Results show that virtue anchors positively correlate with true meaning, whereas materials and self-anchors correlate negatively with true meaning. In addition, anchor stability contributes to a significant increase in true meaning. Limitations and suggestions from this research are discussed.

KEYWORDS

anchor personality dimension, anchor stability, regression, true meaning, young adult

Introduction

In order for individuals to be able to adapt to and deal with life successfully, they must experience the existence of meaning, which signifies a healthy psychological state. Meaning is a mental representation of the relationship between objects, human relations, and events (MacKenzie & Baumeister, 2014). Meaning helps individuals understand experiences and human behavior and develop plans for

achieving goals (Park & George, 2013; Steger, 2012). Failure to achieve meaning, called *meaninglessness*, frustrates humans, making them incapable of doing something worthwhile or rendering something valuable (Frankl, 1946/1992). In other words, the concept of understanding life facilitates how individuals accomplish valuable experiences.

Widely researched theories of meaning in psychology refer to how an individual subjectively understands life. People construct their understanding of life to enable themselves to accept, even disadvantageous meanings. In the Meaning in Life Questionnaire (Naghiyaee et al., 2020), it can be interpreted that people can have meanings based on their experience and understanding to achieve their goals, without considering consequences of their meanings.

Another view of meaning theory is the meaning of life. Researchers have found that the meaning of life is an objective reality; it is not widely researched in psychology because it assumes that meaning cannot be viewed from a philosophical point of view and it is difficult to research what is wrong or right in psychology (Battista & Almond, 1973). The assumption of Battista and Almond (1973) about the meaning of life is based on their secular background: they assume that there is no authentic meaning of life. Nevertheless, studies from the last decade show the importance of an individual's values or belief systems in the meaning of life (Hanson & VanderWeele, 2021; MacKenzie & Baumeister, 2014; Newton & McIntosh, 2013). Thus, values or belief systems are still essential in discussing life's meaning.

Risk of Subjectivity in Meaning

Individual life meaning in previous studies shows that subjectivity alone can be detrimental to one's life if not recognized, meaning that as individuals rationalize their actions, a detrimental life may result. Arum (2018) found that extortionists interpreted their own behavior as helping the community with bureaucratic needs. Kinnier et al. (2003) detected a similar meaning: that prominent figures in certain cultures employ several meanings, including "Life is meaningless" or "Life is a joke". Furthermore, this understanding can have implications for a pessimistic attitude toward life because life is meaningless and a risk factor for psychological well-being (Cnen et al., 2020).

True Meaning

The gap between meaning theories and previous findings shows the importance of theory that can minimize merely subjectivity. Ayuningtyas (2022) puts forward the concept of true meaning, which tries to define meaning so that it is not excessively subjective. The theory of true meaning is an individual's subjective understanding of life that leads to action and includes some characteristics that limit that subjectivity. The nature of true meaning is long-term and motivates never to give up, and at the end of the journey, it involves various emotions and creates a deep impression (Ayuningtyas, 2022). In addition, the true meaning is meaning that is sound for the individual themselves and others. That is to say, true meaning prevents individuals from experiencing a state of meaninglessness, namely the failure to achieve usefulness in life that prevents them from doing something valuable (Frankl, 1946/1992).

In Riyono's (2020b) meaning theory, the main element that allows humans to reach true meaning is the freedom to choose, which humans naturally have. This freedom to choose has an essential role in controlling urges so that humans can act appropriately in life situations. If an individual fails to control this urge, the resulting meaning is false (called "false meaning"). In other words, it is a meaning that the individual considers correct (Ayuningtyas, 2022), while it is incorrect. False meaning is short-term, self-centered, illusory, triggered by hurts, and shallow (Ayuningtyas, 2022). Extortionists exemplify this false meaning in research conducted by Arum (2018).

"Meaning" in Other Theories

True meaning is a concept responsive to the subjectivity problem of previous meaning theories because it is based on human nature. The implication of human nature in the true meaning theory is that it applies to everyone. According to Razak et al. (2017), human nature means having the potential to provide advantages and to do so responsibly. In addition, the freedom of choice in acting and responding to life situations is also human nature (Frankl, 1946/1992; Riyono, 2011). Freedom to choose can also encourage individuals to choose meanings that can provide benefits.

Meaning in life emphasizes subjectivity; it is less focused on human nature, especially concerning advantages for individuals and communities. On the other hand, when the freedom to choose is not associated with a benefit, there is a risk of false meaning. Therefore, it is essential to research the concept of true meaning.

In other theories, "meaning" is discussed in the "meaning in life" theory. There are limitations to the concept of meaning as meaning in life in previous studies. These studies generally refer to "meaning" as a subjective aspect of individuals. This can be seen in the measurement tools used, for example, several items from the Meaning in Life Questionnaire, namely "I have a clear purpose in life" or "I am looking for a purpose or mission in my life" (Naghiyaee et al., 2020). These points have not provided clarity about what meaning of life the individual has or what purpose the individual intends.

This lack of clarity on the meaning of life is supported by Arum study (2018), as mentioned before. This extortion behavior is also preceded by other factors, namely pressure and opportunity from the environment so that the meaning obtained refers to a meaning that is not based on the truthfulness. Unlike the meaning that directs individuals at risk to face difficult times (Bahari, 2019; Janitra, 2021; Tiilikainen et al., 2021), this meaning which is based on a wrong understanding is at risk of harmful or unethical behavior.

Another finding about individual meaning that shows the vulnerability of individual subjectivity without regard to the boundaries of that subjectivity is from Kinnier et al. (2003). The research seeks to identify the meaning of individuals who are considered influential in certain cultures. The meaning obtained includes "Life is meaningless" or "Life is a joke" (Kinnier et al., 2003). These findings indicate that the meaning understood by individuals can be pessimistic. Furthermore, pessimism itself is a risk factor for individual psychological well-being (Cnen et al., 2020). On the other hand, optimism supports psychological well-being and adaptive coping strategies (Cnen et al., 2020; Rezaei et al., 2015). Thus, the identification of the meaning content that leads to usefulness is important to know because this has implications for the psychological health of individuals.

### *Factors Contributing to True Meaning: Anchor Personality*

Both external and internal factors contribute to true meaning. External factors include marital status, parental care, and demographic conditions such as education and occupation (Glaw et al., 2020; Shek et al., 2021; Yoon & Cho, 2011). Internal factors include age (Delle Fave et al., 2013), life satisfaction, self-esteem, level of depression, stress, emotional stability, career stability, tolerance for uncertainty, personality, and anxious character (Garrison & Lee, 2017; Jung, 2011; Thomsen et al., 2016; Yoon & Cho, 2011), as well as coping strategies, self-adjustment, self-control, and activities that are considered necessary by individuals (Iwasaki et al., 2018; Jung, 2011; Yoon & Cho, 2011).

Among other factors, personality is a vital contributor to meaning. Personality is the expression of individual differences in behavior patterns, feelings, and thoughts, so personality impacts many areas of human life (American Psychological Association, 2022). Existing personality theories are generally not interactive; for example, in the Big Five Personality (Costa & McCrae, 1988)*,* the implication is that humans are limited in how much they can improve their personal qualities. On the other hand, recent research has shown that personality can change at various ages, even though it dominates early adulthood, mainly due to changes in life situations (Ardelt, 2000; Bleidorn et al., 2021; Boyce et al., 2013; Harris et al., 2016; Roberts & Mroczek, 2008).

Riyono et al. (2012) proposed interactive personality theory, that is, Anchor Personality Theory. This assuming that individual personality can develop along with a learning process because personality results from repetitive behavior (Riyono, 2020b). The anchor is something individuals rely on to deal with problems or as a life guide, which can be divided into four dimensions (Riyono, 2011). These dimensions are materials (material objects such as money or technology), self (self), others (other parties, both individuals and groups), and virtues (universal principles of life). People with "materials" anchor heavily rely on the materials such as money, wealth, or technologies that are not stable and not always available. People with "self" anchor believe that they can do anything and feel no need for help. This anchor also can not be held by individuals because ourself is vulnerable, physically or mentally. People with "others" anchor rely heavily on other parties, despite other parties not always available. People with "virtues" materials rely on the life principles that are universal and always there.

The four anchor personality dimensions form an abstract layer that indicates the priority level. The highest priority is ideally applied to humans to achieve psychological health (Riyono, 2020b). Thus, the ideal priority is virtues, while anchors of materials, self, and others are not ideal because they are in the lower layer. In anchor theory, the highest layer is God. However, humans must go through the principle of virtue to "reach" God (Figure 1); they cannot reach Him directly. Compared to other anchors, God is the perfect support for humans because other anchors such as materials, self, and others are changing in nature. Relying on God provides an unchanging way that can help humans face their lives (Riyono, 2020a).

Figure 1
Anchor Structure
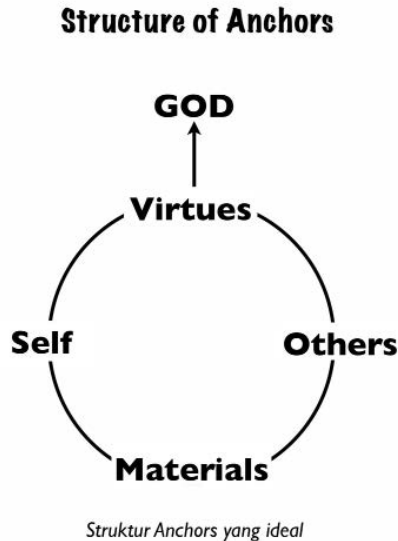
Note. Source: Riyono et al., 2012.

Each individual still has an anchor of materials, self, and others, but can still be effective even when they are not the priority (Riyono, 2020b). For example, individuals need social support but must also be aware that social support does not always exist. It is "anchor stability," a condition whereby individuals make virtues a guide for life and are therefore liberated from the influence of other anchors, that represents the priority of individual anchors. Anchor stability describes a condition where individuals rely on God in their lives. This stability is based on psychological stability, rather than referring to personality persistence.

History of Anchor Personality Theory

Anchor Personality Theory was first published around 2011 in the dissertation of Bagus Riyono. This theory is about human motivation that is still conflicting in explanations from each researchers, such as motivation theory from Skinner, Maslow, Lewin, and McClelland (Riyono et al., 2012). The anchor theory is based on the point of view that personality is the result of repeated behavioral dynamics (Riyono, 2020a). Riyono et al. (2012) suggest that the overall dynamics of human behavior based on the anchor theory are as follows:

> Humans as God's creatures are given the freedom to choose in their lives in the dynamics of the human motivational model. This human freedom is a clear and natural psychological characteristic of each individual. However, there is

another side to human nature regarding the existence of the future, which is characterized by risk, uncertainty, and hope. This invisible character in humans shows that humans are helpless creatures. Consciously or not, individuals are aware of the paradox within themselves. This paradox forms an instability in the human psyche that feeds the urge to compensate. In order to compensate for the instability of his creation, man has always sought a guide that guides his daily behavior. Happiness or suffering is determined by how individuals choose and build their hold. (pp. 242–247)

From the explanation of Riyono et al. (2012), anchor theory involves an understanding of human nature and Godhead. This understanding includes the existence and greatness of God, human nature, the nature of life, and how to obtain happiness. In addition, Riyono (2020a) suggests that in anchor theory, there is an "in search" component which refers to human freedom to act. The anchor components have also been described and refer to how individuals respond to situations (Riyono, 2020a).

Regarding individual development, it is possible to shift anchors, although they are not certain. Riyono (2020b) suggests that a child may have other anchors due to their limited abilities. Furthermore, the anchor can shift to self when the individual has reached a period of focusing on themseives (self-centered) which is generally identical in adolescence. The more mature the human intellectual level is, the stronger the tendency to dominate anchor virtues will be. Even so, it does not mean that children or youth cannot achieve virtues. This group can have anchor virtues when they have an understanding of the priorities of anchor materials, self, and others.

Individuals need to have a stable anchor so that they can adaptively face their lives. Individuals with stable anchors are those who place virtue as the mainstay in their life. This is due to the fact that virtues are long-term and more universal, compared to self, other people, and material things (van Oudenhoven et al., 2014). For example, the virtue of caring for fellow human beings is believed the same in some cultures as it is in others. Anchor stability which refers to reliance on virtues does not mean that individuals leave other anchors. Pratiwi and Riyono (2017) state that individuals with stable anchors also need material things, but these are not priorities and goals. Thus, it can be concluded that anchor personality stability is a condition when individuals make virtue values (virtues) a guide in life while still paying attention to the components of themselves, others, and material things but not as priorities and goals.

The term "stability" in Anchor Personality Theory does not refer to personality persistence over time, but refers to psychological stability. In other personality theories that are deterministic in nature, for example the Big Five Personality (Costa & McCrae, 1988) or those based on psychoanalysis, it can be said that the term "stability" refers to personality persistence. This is also a criticism of these deterministic personality theories because it seems as if humans have limits to be better. New research also show that personality can change at various ages, although it predominates in early adulthood (Harris et al., 2016; Roberts & Mroczek, 2008). On the other hand, in Anchor Personality Theory, anchor dominance can change according to an individual's understanding of the ideal priorities of the anchor dimensions. Thus, it can be

concluded that the stability perspective on Anchor Personality Theory is different from deterministic personality theory.

According to Anchor Personality Theory, four dimensions that measure anchor materials, self, others, and virtues comprise anchor personality (Riyono, 2020a). Each dimension consists of five aspects, which are explained as follows:

1. Mainstay to choose and decide that support for individuals which can be material, self, others, or virtue in the process of choosing and deciding in certain situations in their lives or around them.

2. Attribution of success that suppose the individual's perception of the source of his success, the individual can interpret their success as a function of materials, self, others, or virtues.

3. Attribution of happiness that describes the source of individual happiness, which means that individuals can feel happiness because of materials, self, others, or virtues.

4. Mainstay to hang on to hope that explains how individuals entrust something in their daily lives, which can be in the form of entrusting materials, self, others, or virtues.

5. Mainstay for interpreting phenomena that clarifies how individuals interpret an event in life or around themselves. Individuals can interpret events because they are related to materials, self, others, or virtues.

Relationship Between Anchor Personality and True Meaning
Although not explicitly, previous studies have shown that a relationship exists between virtue and meaning. According to Krause et al. (2019), individuals who apply principles of life, such as caring for others, forgiving, and helping others, experience a higher sense of meaning in life. Conversely, the behavior of helping others may not stem from anchor virtues when the individual aims to gain recognition from others (anchor others), demonstrate self-ability (anchor self), or obtain material compensation (anchor materials).

The Value in Action theory and morality studies also help to explain the relationship between anchor virtues and true meaning. One of the virtues in Value in Action (VIA) theory, namely, courage, consists of characteristics that facilitate how individuals train themselves to achieve valuable goals (Ruch et al., 2021). Furthermore, valuable purposes are part of true meaning. In the study of morality, virtue is a disposition that helps individuals maintain good life patterns and goals because virtue helps people face difficulties, dangers, temptations, and disturbances and increases self-knowledge and knowledge of good things (values) (MacIntyre, 1984). Thus, anchor virtues contribute positively to true meaning.

The study of materialism shows a link between anchor materials and true meaning. A reliance on material anchors can be described as materialism. Burroughs and Rindfleisch (2002) found that materialism is more concerned with material objects than people because objects can give people power and control over others. Duh (2015) argues that materialism risks ignoring public interest because it emphasizes personal satisfaction. There is also a negative relationship between the anchor self and true meaning because a self-centered attitude is related to the perception that one has no meaning (Khatami & Khodabakhshi-Koolaee, 2021). In the anchor of others, the relationship with true meaning forms a negative relationship because the

dominance of the anchor of others potentially makes individuals try to meet social demands (Akhtar & Firmanto, 2021).

The true meaning theory, which tries to answer the ambiguity of the theory of meaning, has not been examined much. Previous findings mainly utilized meaning in life theory without exploring how research participants experienced the meaning. On the other hand, the psychological implications of the existing concept of meaning indicate the need for a concept limiting individual subjectivity. In addition, interactive personality theory has not been widely used to achieve true meaning. Therefore, this study will empirically focus on understanding the relationship between anchor personality and true meaning.

This research was conducted in the early adult group. This group is assumed to be experiencing early maturity as individuals and has undergone a transition period, such that orientation, worldview, and self-stability have already begun to form (Arnett, 2000; Icenogle et al., 2019). In addition, the early adult group has generally already experienced significant life events. It stimulates the formation of meaning, for example, in work, forming a new family (marriage), or independent processes from parents (Winpenny et al., 2020). Forming meaning successfully during early adulthood is also essential because it becomes a protective factor for the later life development process. On the other hand, the experience of existential problems during this period also has the potential for individuals to experience periods of "bottomless darkness" (Lundvall et al., 2020).

Based on a theoretical review of the relationship between anchor dimensions and true meaning, this study has several hypotheses. Material, self, and other anchors are hypothesized to negatively predict true meaning. On the other hand, virtue anchors positively predict true meaning. Furthermore, anchor stability also has a significant positive role in true meaning.

Method

Subject

The subjects of this study were Indonesian citizens, male and female, aged 18–34 years. Early adulthood generally starts from 18–34 years (Cunningham et al., 2020; Franssen et al., 2020). Nonetheless, this study focuses on individuals who have at least entered college because those who have completed schooling, as a demographic, are an important market, among others in early adulthood (Schulenberg & Schoon, 2012).

Subjects were obtained by non-probability sampling using a snowball sampling approach (Creswell, 2012). Snowball sampling was used because it allows the acquisition of many subjects even though generalization of research results cannot be made (Creswell, 2012). Firstly, the authors shared an online poster through the social media and colleagues. Secondly, the authors ask their colleagues to share the poster to each of their colleagues or societies that met the requirements. Responses from the participants were collected in the Google[1] Spreadsheet. This research received ethical approval from the Faculty of Psychology, Universitas Gadjah Mada, with the number 6717/UN1/FPSi.1/3/SD/PT.01.04/2021 on November 12, 2021.

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[1] Google™ and the Google Logo are trademarks of Google Inc. in the U.S. and other countries.

The number of subjects for this study amounted to 212, with an age range from 18 to 34 years, with a mean age of 22.38 years. Of the total, 65 people (30.66%) were male and 147 subjects were female (69.34%). A total of 198 people (93.4%) were not married; two people were married but did not have children (0.94%), and 12 people were married and had children (5.66%). In terms of education, 104 people (49.05%) graduated from high school; four people (1.89%) graduated with a diploma; 94 people (44.34%) graduated with a bachelor's degree; and ten people (4.72%) graduated with a master's degree.

Research Instrument

True Meaning Scale. The True Meaning Scale was used to measure true meaning, as constructed by Riyono (2021a, 2021b). This scale consists of 10 items (each aspect of purpose and value has five items) with four answer choices, and one answer indicates true meaning. What I consider the most important in my life is …" (purpose aspect) and "In my opinion, the essence of Pancasila (Indonesia National principles) is …" (value aspect). The correct answer was given a score of 1, whereas the wrong answer was given a score of 0. In this study, the True Meaning Scale has reliability with a Cronbach's Alpha coefficient of 0.614. The reliability of the True Meaning Scale in the previous studies was 0.711 and 0.793, respectively, when administered to subjects aged 18–68 (Riyono, 2021a, 2021b).

Anchor Personality Inventory (API). The API scale was used to measure anchor personality (Riyono, 2020a), which consists of four dimensions that measure anchor materials, self, others, and virtues. Each dimension consists of four aspects: the reliance on choosing and deciding, the attribution of success and happiness, the reliance on hoping, and interpreting phenomena. Each dimension consists of 10 items, and the assessment is in the form of a Likert with five answer options, namely, 1 = *very not appropriate*, 2 = *not appropriate*, 3 = *quite appropriate*, 4 = *appropriate*, and 5 = *very appropriate*.

In this study, the reliability coefficient of Cronbach's Alpha was .791 for material anchors; .751 for anchors of self; .723 for other anchors; and .740 for anchor virtues. Previous research shows the reliability of each dimension in a range from .737 to .852 in the employee group (Dwatra, 2016) and the range from .836 to .919 in the education staff group (Nugrahany, 2017). The construct validity of the API was measured by confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). The CFA results show that each anchor dimension has five items that strongly represent each aspect. CFA with five items produces a model with the majority loading factor above 0.4, but there are two items with a loading factor on the self dimension of 0.368 and 0.399. The model's fit is also indicated by RMSEA .0572 (model fit if < .06) and SRMR .073 (model fit if < .08).

This study used a standardized score for anchor personality dimensions to form a composite variable for anchor stability. This calculation is a correction for the stability of the anchor composite variable formula from previous research that did not use a standardized score (Ashari, 2019; Rohma, 2019; Triatmojo, 2019). Akhtar and Firmanto (2021) mention that mathematical formulas are unsuitable for finding anchor stability because anchor stability is a complex inter-anchor psychological dynamic

in individuals. Nonetheless, Song et al. (2013) stated that standardized scores are usable in forming composite variables included in the averaging type. Using the anchor stability formula with a standardized score can also represent the dynamics of individual anchors, namely, when anchor virtues have been cleaned of the effects of anchor materials, self, and others.

Data Analysis

The analysis utilized in this research is multiple regression and simple linear regression performed with JASP software. Before testing the hypothesis, assumption tests were performed for each analysis. Multiple regression analysis was performed on true meaning as the dependent variable and on anchor dimensions as an independent variable. Furthermore, simple linear regression analysis was conducted to observe the role of anchor stability on true meaning. Anchor stability is obtained from the following formula:

$$Anchor\ Stability = ZVirtues - ZMaterials - |ZSelf - ZOthers| \qquad (1)$$

Results

Descriptive Data

Based on descriptive analysis, we can see that on average, the subjects answered incorrectly on the aspects of true meaning, thus indicating low true meaning (Table 1). The results of these anchor dimensions indicate that subjects have higher virtue anchors than materials, self, and other anchors. Overall, these results can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1
Descriptive Data

Variable		Xmin	Xmax	Total Average	Item Score Average	*SD*
True meaning	Purpose	0	5	2.41	0.48	1.13
	Value	0	5	1.73	0.35	1.22
Anchor	Materials	6	25	17.58	3.52	4.08
	Self	7	25	17.53	3.51	3.48
	Others	6	24	16.40	3.28	3.61
	Virtues	11	25	21.43	4.29	2.91

Data Categorization

The data categorization used in this study is based on a hypothetical score (Table 2). We can see that, in the true meaning variable, a majority of subjects fall under the low category. In anchor self and others, most subjects are in the medium group. On the other hand, in anchor materials and virtues, most subjects are in the high group (Table 3).

Table 2

Data Categorization

Variable	N Low (X < Mean − 1SD)	N Middle (Mean − 1SD ≤ X < Mean + 1SD)	N High (Mean + 1SD ≤ X)
True meaning	$X < 3.4$	$3.4 ≤ X < 6.7$	$6.7 ≤ X$
Materials, Self, Others, and Virtues anchors	$X < 11.7$	$11.7 ≤ X < 18.3$	$18.3 ≤ X$

Table 3

Results of Data Categorization

Variable	N Low	N Middle	N High
True meaning	100 (47.2%)	80 (37.7%)	32 (15.1%)
Materials anchors	18 (8.5%)	93 (43.9%)	101 (47.6%)
Self-anchors	13 (6.1%)	116 (54.7%)	83 (39.2%)
Others anchors	21 (9.9%)	121 (57.1%)	70 (33.0%)
Virtues anchors	1 (0.5%)	37 (17.5%)	174 (82.1%)

Assumption Test

Linearity and Homoscedasticity. The data in this study are linear, and there is no heteroscedasticity. It is viewed from the spread of the plots, showing relatively evenly distributed residual data. This linearity and homoscedasticity occur in the data on the relationship between the four dimensions of anchor and true meaning (Figure 2) and on anchor stability and true meaning (Figure 3).

Figure 2

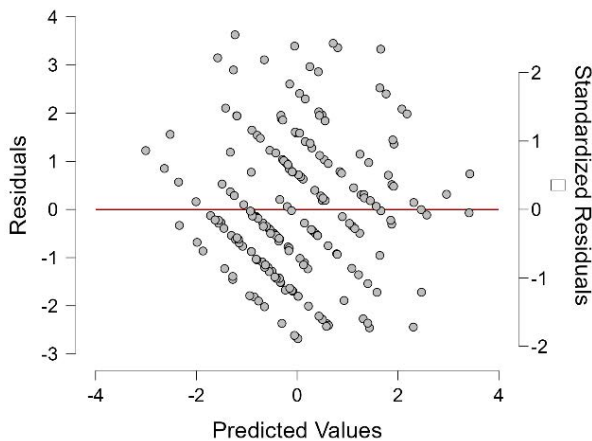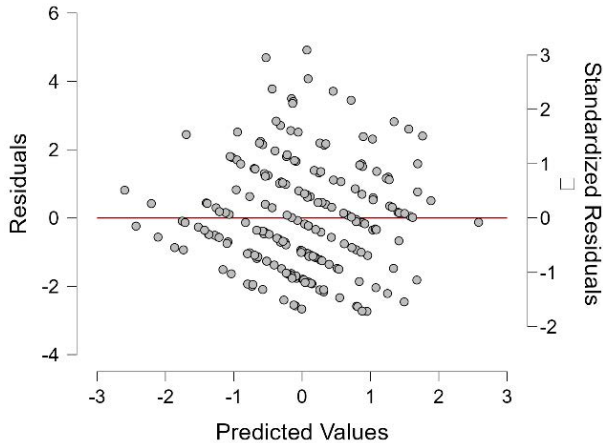*Scatterplot for Anchor Dimensions and True Meaning*

Figure 3

Scatterplot for Anchor Stability and True Meaning

Multicollinearity. There is no multicollinearity between the anchor dimensions and true meaning. This can be seen from the variance inflation factor (VIF) value of all anchor dimensions between 1 and 10 and the multicollinearity test tolerance value above 0.01 (Table 4). Although not all VIF and tolerance results are close to 1, the data of this study do not show multicollinearity because factor analysis results show that the anchor model with four dimensions shows the fit of the model.

Table 4

Results of the Multicollinearity Test

Dependent Variable: True Meaning	Tolerance	VIF
Materials Anchors	.685	1.460
Self-Anchors	.728	1.373
Others Anchors	.957	1.044
Virtues Anchors	.954	1.048

Residual normality. The residual normality test can be seen in the histogram and Normal Q–Q Plot. The standardized residual histogram from the anchor dimensions and the true meaning data, as well as the stability of the anchor and the true meaning data, indicates normality. This is indicated by a bell shape, although there is a slight positive slope (Figure 4 and Figure 6). Furthermore, based on the Q–Q Plot, the residual data on the relationship of the anchor dimensions and anchor stability to the true meaning tend to match the predicted values (Figures 5 and Figure 7). Thus, overall, this study met all the assumptions required in the regression analysis.

Figure 4

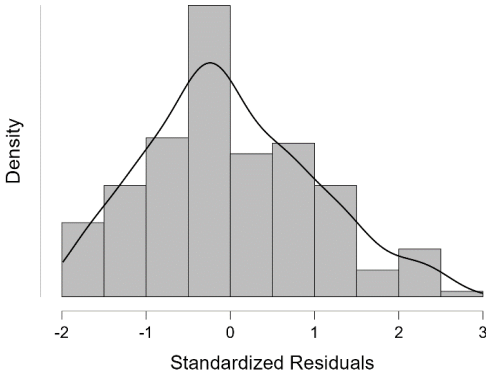*Standardized Residuals Histogram of the Anchor Dimensions and True Meaning*

Figure 5

Q–Q Plot of Standardized Residuals From the Anchor Dimensions and True Meaning
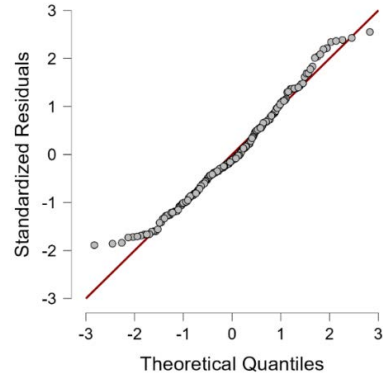
Figure 6

Standardized Residuals Histogram of the Anchor Stability and True Meaning
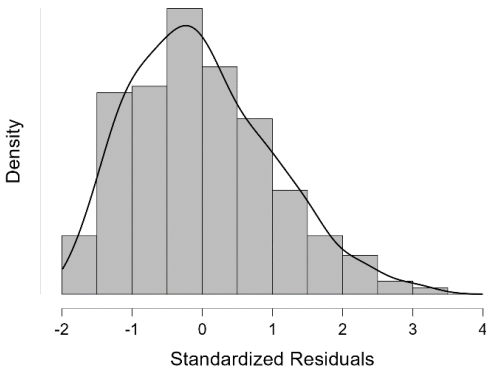
Figure 7

Q–Q Plot of Standardized Residuals From the Anchor Stability and True Meaning
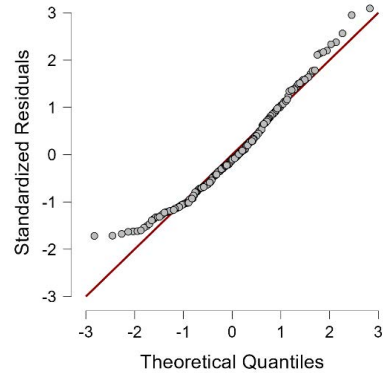
Hypothesis Testing

The relationship between the four anchor dimensions and anchor stability is shown on Table 5. Virtue anchors positively predict true meaning among the four anchor dimensions, whereas other anchors have a negative relationship, except for other anchors that have no significant relationship in this regression analysis. In addition, the anchor dimensions computed in anchor stability also have a significant positive relationship with true meaning. The correlation between anchor dimensions can be seen in Table 5.

Based on multiple regression analysis using the forward method, we can see an increase in anchor virtues and a decrease in anchor materials, and a significant increase is self-predicted in true meaning (Model 3). This model is also the best model

for predicting the increase in true meaning compared to the other models; this can be seen in the increase in $R2$ (Table 6). The simple linear regression analysis reports show an increase in anchor stability as predicting a significant increase in true meaning.

Table 5

Correlation Matrix

Variable	1	2	3	4	5
1. True Meaning					
2. Materials	− .497***				
3. Self	− .460***	.516***			
4. Others	− .094	.178**	.024		
5. Virtue	.396***	− .202**	− .125	.030	
6. Anchor Stability	.488***	− .605***	− .307***	− .022	.710***

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Table 6

Regression Analysis Results

Variables	B	SE B	β	t	R^2
Model 1					
Constant	3.905	0.483		8.093***	0.247
Material Anchors	−0.222	0.027	−0.497	−8.307***	
Model 2					
Constant	−1.227	1.516		−0.810*	0.339
Material Anchors	−0.125	0.017	−0.479	−7.151***	
Virtue Anchors	0.124	0.030	0.278	4.150***	
Model 3					
Constant	−0.406	1.489		−0.273*	
Materials Anchors	−0.079	0.022	−0.305	−3.639***	0.391
Virtues Anchors	0.128	0.029	0.287	4.413***	
Self-Anchors	−0.076	0.023	−0.272	−0.272**	
Model 4 Constant	0.559	0.146		3.821	0.251
Anchor Stability	0.529	0.075	0.501	7.096	

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$. Models 1, 2, and 3 were obtained from multiple regression, whereas Model 4 was obtained from simple linear regression.

Discussion

This study aims to determine the role of anchor personality dimensions (materials, self, others, and virtues) and the composite form of anchor dimensions, such as anchor stability, on true meaning. Results indicate that virtue anchors and anchor stability play a significant role in increasing true meaning. On the other hand, self and material anchors contribute to a significant decline in true meaning. In contrast, anchors of others do not contribute to a significant decrease in true meaning.

Contradictions are found in the data, namely, high virtues but also high materials accompanied by low true meaning. The relationship between anchor materials and true meaning is theoretically negative, while anchor virtues and true meaning ideally have a positive relationship. This contradiction can occur because the items in these anchor virtues contain universal values, so individuals are prone to social desirability. On the other hand, items in the dimensions of materials, self, and others tend to be neutral.

Item characteristics and measurement results can help to identify items with social desirability potential. Items with evaluative values, namely, good or bad according to individuals, can encourage individuals to give high ratings (Konstabel et al., 2006). Furthermore, this evaluative value is identifiable from the average rating above the median value of the scale used (Bäckström & Björklund, 2013). For example, if the scale used is Likert (1–5), then items with high social desirability tend to average above 3.

The potential for social desirability on the virtues dimension in the Anchor Personality Inventory has been anticipated by composite variables and variations within the item context. The composite variable obtained by reducing the virtues anchor score with materials, self, and other anchors produces virtues that have been "cleansed" of the three dimensions. It is necessary to clean the virtues anchor because, within the individual, there are also anchor materials, self, and others. The resulting anchor stability shows the strength or weakness of individual virtues because the resulting score goes from a negative to a positive score range. However, this composite variable in the Anchor Personality Inventory requires evaluation by conducting further research, especially regarding the suitability of the formula used with the measurement principles and theory used (McKenna & Heaney, 2020).

The subsequent anticipation is related to the variation of item context. Bäckström and Björklund (2013) suggest that a high average rating is essential to identifying critical personality dimensions. Furthermore, Bäckström and Björklund (2013) also explain that compared to using items with variations in the average rating, it is better to use context or behavior variations on the same personality dimension. Aspects in the Anchor Personality Inventory themselves take various forms in individual contexts in dealing with everyday situations. These aspects include reliance on choosing and deciding, attribution of success and happiness, reliance on hoping, and interpreting phenomena.

The low true meaning score is attributable to the characteristics of most of the subjects in this study. For example, most of them have not married yet. Social relationships such as marriage can be one way for individuals to achieve meaning because in marriage, some experiences are stressful (Frankl, 1946/1992; Park & George, 2013). In the meaning-making model, stressful situations motivate individuals to

find meaning (Park & George, 2013). However, marital status is not a certainty by which individuals achieve true meaning because true meaning can also be achieved through individuals making active efforts such as reflective thinking (Czyżowska & Gurba, 2021).

Virtues are individual characteristics that can apply values within various contexts (Kristjánsson, 2010). The thinking process is a component of virtues that contributes to true meaning. The tendency to act on virtues requires understanding the appropriate context in which to apply them in terms of time and place (Root Luna et al., 2017). This understanding can then encourage the formation of mature decisions (Kristjánsson et al., 2021). This decision is formed because of substantive moral aspirations and cognitively guided moral emotions (Kristjánsson et al., 2021). Therefore, in general, actions based on virtues can provide benefits to individuals.

Virtues can manifest in various forms, including those related to the process of personal understanding, namely, intellectual humility, which is related to acquiring knowledge, including reflective thinking, the need for knowledge, involvement in intellectual activities, curiosity, open-mindedness, and knowledge (Krumrei-Mancuso et al., 2020). This idea is supported by Al-Attas, who argues that personal knowledge is a sign that he has achieved meaning (Wan Daud, 1998). Thus, virtues' contribution to true meaning is based on how virtues encourage individuals to attempt a comprehensive understanding of their life situations.

The existence of science encourages individuals to choose and decide, to attribute success and happiness, and to hope and interpret phenomena based on knowledge so that individuals can have ideals and values that are essential to be lived and believed. The knowledge component in these virtues is essential in every other aspect of the other anchor dimensions, namely materials, self, and others. Previous research has also shown that reflection on life, especially about oneself and the future, facilitates individuals to find their purpose in life (Schippers & Ziegler, 2019). On the other hand, relying on materials, self, and others indicates that individuals do not maximize their potential to seek essential knowledge and direct their actions based on knowledge.

The role of virtues anchor on true meaning has not been found in previous research, but other findings represent it. Meaning, which leads to true meaning, was found more within the group of subjects who believe in God than it did within the group of non-believers (Duggal & Basu, 2012). The meaning found by groups who believe in God includes self-understanding and serenity, pro-social attitudes and responsibility, and higher life goals (Cranney, 2013). On the other hand, the meaning found by non-believers includes believing that events in the world are coincidences and that there is no real purpose in life. That is, reliance on God, which marks an individual's anchor virtues, encourages individuals to find true meaning.

Worldview implies a belief in God which is internalized in life (Hackney & Sanders, 2003). With worldview, individuals follow patterns in how they respond to life, which can lead to true or false meaning, depending on the individual's level of reliance on God. Reliance on God can encourage the formation of true meaning because of one's worldview. Worldview contains life's basic philosophy and principles (Ng & Tay, 2020), but the general public is unfamiliar with this concept (Gulliford et al., 2021). This shows

how the learning process is essential to individuals' gaining knowledge about life and its meaning (Wan Daud, 1998), especially those that lead to true meaning.

The relationship between material anchors and true meaning can be discerned from the representative concept of materialism. Material anchors are individuals' reliance on material objects such as money or other property in the manner they deal with life (Riyono, 2020b). Materialism is values and goals that focus on wealth, possessions, self-image, and social status (Kasser, 2016). Individuals with material anchors tend to be oriented toward materialism because of the manner they rely on the material objects they get in life. However, no studies have empirically tested the relationship between these two concepts, so further studies are needed.

As a theoretical concept related to material anchors, materialism is negatively related to meaning in the form of meaning in life (Kashdan & Breen, 2007). Parker and Ivtzan (2016) also found that individuals with high material aspirations tend to have lower eudaimonic well-being. Eudaimonic well-being describes the presence of personal and social abilities, including meaning in life, which contribute optimally to psychosocial functioning (Ryff, 2018). Thus, the results of this study indirectly support that material anchors contribute negatively to the true meaning.

The relationship between the anchor of others and true meaning differs from the role of social relations contributing to the formation of meaning. According to Frankl (1946/1992), social relationships are one factor in forming meaning in life. However, not just social relations form meaning, especially true meaning but more so the processes that occur within them. Social relations are aspects that individuals generally own, but how individuals place their social relations needs to be explored further to form meaning. Therefore, in reviewing social relations in the context of anchors, the thing that needs to be the focus is how individuals rely on other people for their lives.

In anchor of others, social relations or other parties are very reliable in dealing with life, for example, relying on happiness or success in others. This is illustrated by emotional dependence on others, characterized by excessive emotional demands, narrow, unbalanced interpersonal relationships, or excessive need for others (Petruccelli et al., 2014). Another study found that anticipated and social support were associated with more profound meaning in life (Krause, 2007). Machell et al. (2014) also found that positive everyday events in one's social environment were associated with increased meaning. However, in the results of these studies, meaning is not within the scope of the concept of true meaning, and the dynamics of social relations are not explored much, so the level of social dependence cannot be known.

In other studies, the relationship between the anchor of self and true meaning can be represented in Self-Determination Theory (SDT) components autonomy and competence (Ryan & Deci, 2017). Autonomy is the feeling that action can be done by dint of self-reliance. Competence is a feeling that one can do something, complete work, and achieve goals. Kukita et al. (2022) found that autonomy contributed to meaningfulness in a quadratic relationship. The meaning is higher at low to moderate autonomy, but at a high level, there is no increase. It also confirms the importance of placing priority on anchor dimensions. In this case, the anchor self is not suitable as the main priority to form meaning because it will cause a decrease in meaning.

The three anchor personality dimensions not contributing to the increase in true meaning can be explained in terms of their relationships. Individuals with low well-being tend to be self-centered and motivated only to fulfill their needs and pleasures (Wissing et al., 2021). On the other hand, individuals with high levels of well-being tend to focus on benefits for others and the greater good (Wissing et al., 2021). Other research shows an increase in materialism in the young generation aged 18–25 years, which is influenced by several factors, including self-centeredness and the development of a false personality to be accepted by the social environment (Masood et al., 2016). Thus, individuals who prioritize anchor materials tend to have a high level of self and other anchors but not virtues anchor.

Results of multiple regression analysis show that other anchors do not contribute significantly. However, this does not affect the use of the formation of composite anchor stability variables. Previous studies on measuring well-being have found different interpretations of composite variables when their components are separated. The well-being instrument, COMPAS-W, consists of six components; from these components, the overall well-being of individuals can be formed (Gatt et al., 2014). In this study, measurements were also made based on composite variables and well-being components, namely, composure (calm), own-worth (self-esteem), mastery, positivity (positive attitude), achievement, and satisfaction. The interpretation of anchor stability and separated anchor dimensions is also different.

This research contributes to a new understanding of the relationship between true meaning and anchor personality. However, some limitations can be used as improvements in future research. First, the distribution of subjects is not balanced. It occurs in the unbalanced proportion of gender, age, last education, and marital status. According to Frankl (1946/1992), marital status is essential in forming meaning. It can be explored further by comparing statuses were there to be a more even distribution of subjects.

Second, the instrument for measuring true meaning is relatively new and needs improvement. In this study, the reliability of the True Meaning Scale is quite good for an instrument still under development as indicated by its Cronbach's Alpha coefficient of around .6 (Ursachi et al., 2015). On the other hand, in general, a Cronbach's Alpha coefficient of .7 is considered quite applicable (Taber, 2018). Improvement of this item also makes it possible to conduct a validity test involving a group of experts.

Third, this study uses the concept of adulthood, which is still influenced by cultural bias, namely, the concept of early adulthood from Scales et al. (2016) and emerging adulthood from Arnett (2000). Early adulthood still refers to the condition of Western society, where social norms are different from those in Indonesia. For example, the culture of leaving home as an assessment of maturity or living together between women and men is not always in the form of marriage (cohabiting). Thus, further research is expected to be able to use the True Meaning Scale after going through psychometric testing and selecting subjects that represent the intended community.

Conclusion

This study shows that an increase in anchor virtues, a decrease in self, and a decrease in materials contribute to an increase in true meaning. Anchor personality in the form of anchor stability also predicts an increase in true meaning. In addition, this study's results indicate that for individuals to achieve true meaning, they can glean in depth the principles of life (virtues) from the learning process not limited to education. On the other hand, by failing to apply the principles of life, individuals risk being led to false meaning.

Implications

This research has implications for developing the concept of meaning directed at the individual's advantage. The theory of meaning, which explains true meaning, can be used by mental health practitioners to determine an individual's freedom to choose to achieve true meaning. In addition, mental health practitioners can also see the psychological stability of individuals in terms of their anchors. Furthermore, strengthening the freedom to choose and anchor virtues is accomplished by encouraging clients to be involved in the learning process, which can be conducted in various settings, formally or informally, and at any time.

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Reframing Bodies: New Coordinates of the Body Image

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ABSTRACT

The article analyzes the results of a sociological survey of urban residents' perceptions of the beauty standards and their most desired body models. The survey was conducted in three cities of a large industrial Russian region (*n* = 1,077). The body as a bio-social construct is now undergoing significant transformations in public consciousness. As our survey shows, however, beauty standards in Russia are fairly stereotypical: the ideal female body is expected to be sexual, well-groomed, and slender (we refer to this body type as an aesthetic body model or body as an object) and the male body to be physically strong, resilient, and fit (the functional body model or body as a process). Describing their desired body model, male and female respondents of different age groups often choose the functional body model, that is, they prioritize what the body can do over what it looks like. The survey shows mixed results regarding the effects of the pandemic on people's attitudes to their bodies and body care practices. Only a third of the respondents directly associate their individual bodily experience of disease with the change in their body care practices. Two-thirds of the respondents reported that during the lockdown they started taking better care of their bodies, paying more attention to personal hygiene, physical exercise, and sleep.

Introduction

In contemporary social sciences and humanities, much attention is given to human body. Body and its image are seen as a multi-dimensional construct encompassing behavioral practices, the perception of body, and emotional attitudes to body (Cash, 2004). The term "body image" refers to an individual's internal representation of their appearance (Thompson et al., 1999), body image is often viewed through the lens of satisfaction or concern with one's appearance (Jarry et al., 2019). T. F. Cash states that, when mentioning body image, we refer to our own perception, emotions, and beliefs regarding our appearance. At the same time, this evaluation is heavily influenced by the "outside view" (Cash, 1990).

Contemporary social studies of body image and corporeality bifurcate in two directions. The first area includes the analysis of socially acceptable bodies and beauty standards, including those set by the fashion industry, norms regulating grooming practices and appearance for people performing different social roles, and so on (Johnson et al., 2015; Pritchard & Cramblitt, 2014). The second area encompasses those works that investigate the methods and technologies used to expand the temporal boundaries of the body's physical functioning, for example, body rejuvenation practices or human enhancement practices (biomedical interventions involving genetic manipulations and/or implants) (Fox, 2018; Palese, 2012). A significant limitation of the studies in both groups, however, is that they view the body from the perspective of its correspondence to cultural norms, for example, whether it is acceptable for plus-size women to wear a mini skirt, for a man to wear earrings, for a Muslim woman to leave her head and hair uncovered, for older people to have a circular face lift to look younger, and so on. Although the above studies make a significant contribution to the study of body image, they rarely address the question of how well the body aligns with the internal needs and sensations of an individual's personality (such as whether the body should be aesthetically appealing, functional, or resilient).

The restrictions imposed during the COVID-19 pandemic affected not only people's daily practices (e.g., wearing a mask on a daily basis, usage of antiseptics and disinfectants) but also their perceptions of their own bodies (Merenkov, 2020). The period of self-isolation has led many people to start reflecting upon and re-interpreting the position that their corporeality holds in the social space. Social restrictions applied to the infected (e.g., the requirement to self-isolate) and the unvaccinated (e.g., the requirement to show a certificate of vaccination to attend events) made people more aware of their body and its sensory signals such as the rising body temperature or the loss of the sense of smell.

During the pandemic, being successful was mostly associated with staying healthy rather than fitting into the beauty standards. The changing external conditions (e.g., lockdown) which affected individual and collective practices contributed to the re-interpretation of the body image and to the transformations in the perceptions of the body. Some researchers believe that there was a shift from the body seen as a factor of normative control toward the body as a factor of survival and effective functioning (Nolen et al., 2022).

This study aims to investigate the perceptions of the body and its representations shared by inhabitants of large cities in Sverdlovsk region, Russia. Based on the data from our sociological survey, we analyze the perceptions of the desired body type (both male and female) and the factors that affect those perception.

Theoretical Framework

In contemporary social systems, the human body is co-created by individuals and collectivities; it is a project that embodies a variety of interpretations of its functions and purposes. A. Giddens (1992) argues that not only is the body a biological entity, a "given", but, much more importantly, it is also potentially open to reconstruction and (re)formatting, helping people pursue particular ways of life. More than before, people are now shaping and defining their bodies, constructing them in accordance with the idealized body images circulated in the public sphere (Giddens, 1990).

The cornerstone in the contemporary understanding of the body was laid by M. Mauss (1925/1990) and M. Merleau-Ponty (1945/1962), whose works are seminal in the sociological, cultural, and psychological analysis of the body and corporeality. The body given by nature is "inscribed" into a specific socio-cultural system. This idea is further developed by M. Mauss in his discussion of the techniques of the body as he argues that the techniques of the body serve as a tool through which people explore the functions and capabilities of their bodies in different societies (Mauss, 1935/1973). According to Merleau-Ponty (1945/1962), body is our vehicle for being in the world. The ideas of the connection between the body and society were further developed by B. S. Turner (1989); he argued that the body should be the axis of sociological analysis. C. Shilling (2012) developed a sociological theory of corporeal realism, aiming to overcome the reductionist interpretations of embodiment and provide a more comprehensive approach, revealing the manifold nature of the body/corporeality. Shilling focuses on the body-society relationship: the biological body is seen as a medium for the constitution of society, while society, in its turn, constructs or models bodies as biological entities.

A. M. Pivovarov (2019) proposes a classification of the sociological concepts of the body, which includes structuralist, phenomenological, and integrative body concepts. In Pivovarov's opinion, the structuralist research paradigm based on the understanding of the human bodies as being controlled by social systems is opposed to the interpretivist paradigm (bodily experience as a source of social interactions).

An integrative approach combines aspects of different approaches to show the mutual determination of social structures and bodily practices. This approach is based on the understanding that social structures influence people's ideas and perceptions of the body while the body, in its turn, also affects the functioning of social structures. To perform their social roles and functions more effectively, people can "re-assemble" their bodies in accordance with the requirements of the social environment (e.g., build muscles, do endurance exercises, etc.). Thus, the choice of the integrative approach is determined by the fact that it enables us to gain valuable insights into people's perceptions of the body and desirable body models.

Body stereotypes are deeply embedded within social systems, in other words, society cultivates normative body standards. Physical attractiveness is the ideal aggressively promoted by the fashion industry, advertising, mass media, and social media. L. Smolak and J. A. Stein (2010) found that media influence and male physical attributes endorsement are important correlates of the drive for muscularity in adolescent boys. The modern ideal of feminine beauty emphasizes a thin, slender figure (Shagar et al., 2019; Sokhan', 2014; Zhang et al., 2018). These standards, however, are almost impossible to live up to for many people for a number of biological reasons (genetic makeup, metabolism, etc.). As people are bombarded with images of celebrities that often communicate unrealistic beauty standards, their body dissatisfaction increases (Tiggemann & Polivy, 2010). There is vast research evidence supporting the negative influence that the widely circulated body standards have on people's self-esteem and mental health (Hogue & Mills, 2019; Izydorczyk & Sitnik-Warchulska, 2018; Levine & Harrison, 2009; You & Shin, 2019). Attitudes to the body are influenced by the social milieu/reference groups: significant others can have a negative impact on people's physical self-perception and body satisfaction (Tiggemann, 2012). Moreover, there is evidence (Ormsby et al., 2019) that intensive exposure to social media has a negative impact on the acceptance and evaluation of one's own body and self-esteem. In their study of the visual body images in social media, M. Tiggemann, I. Anderberg and Z. Brown have come to the conclusion that presenting a more diverse array of female bodies on social media is likely to have a positive effect on body satisfaction and appreciation (Tiggemann et al., 2020).

Even though there is a lot of research investigating the influence of social media and reference groups on people's perceptions of their bodies, the question about the changing attitudes to the body during the pandemic remains largely underexplored, although there are some recent studies on this topic (Choukas-Bradley et al., 2022; Robertson et al., 2021).The post-pandemic era is commonly described as the era of the "new normal" (Kuriukin, 2021; Novaia normal'nost', 2020), meaning that the spread of the COVID-19 infection across the globe has become a foundation for a major revision of daily life practices and has led to a significant transformation in the system of social interactions. The pandemic places new demands and pressures on the human body and, among other things, engenders new perceptions and interpretations of the body as well as new body care practices.

We found that amidst the pandemic, young people started to attach more importance to personal hygiene and stress management. They were also looking for ways to boost their immune systems, for example, by taking vitamins and supplements (Antonova & Maltseva, 2022). There are reasons to believe that new hygiene habits will persist for some time in the future (Shabunova, 2020).

Not only did the pandemic contribute to the development of a more responsible attitude to body but it also brought to the spotlight the questions of body-power relationship in line with M. Foucault's disciplined body concept. Foucault (1975/1977) argues that in any cultural context the body is in one way or another controlled and disciplined through a variety of disciplinary techniques used to arrange and regulate human bodies and it is through these techniques that docile bodies are created in society. Control and discipline

are internalized, that is, the attitudes from the social context are assimilated into the self and turn into self-control. In her review of the book *American Plastic: Boob Jobs, Credit Cards, and Our Quest for Perfection* by L. Essig, A. A. Temkina (2017) describes the motives behind people's decision to have breast surgery and explains that when feeling insecure and faced with uncertainty, individuals might resort to surgical body enhancement in an attempt to establish control over their future and increase their chances of success in life. Body care comprises practices aimed at staying healthy and attractive, at keeping the body flexible and agile for a more fulfilled and productive life. Body care has recently come to be seen as a matter of personal responsibility and self-discipline.

The above literature review has led us to identify the two main vectors of our analysis, which also determined the methodology of the empirical study: the first vector is the body as an object, that is, the main focus is made on the body as an aesthetic object with such qualities as sexual attractiveness, a well-groomed look, slenderness, flexibility/plasticity, and good muscle relief; and the second vector is the body as a process, in which case the body is seen predominantly in the light of its functional characteristics such as stamina, resilience, endurance, fitness, and strength. Following these premises, we are going to discuss the two body models: the aesthetic model (body as an object) and functional model (body as a process). The use of an integrative approach allows us to examine the relevance of body models in different domains (family, work, etc.).

Methods

The above-described theoretical framework determined the following objectives for the empirical part of this study. These include the following: to conduct an analysis of respondents' perceptions of male and female body images; to determine the desired body model (aesthetic or functional); and to assess the influence of the pandemic on people's attitudes toward their bodies. To collect data, we constructed an online survey questionnaire using Google[1] Forms. The online survey link was shared via social media platforms and online portals of three large cities in Sverdlovsk region, Russia, included in the survey (Yekaterinburg, Nizhny Tagil, and Kamensk-Uralsky). We also sent emails to educational organizations and institutions in these cities. The resultant sample comprised 1,077 completed responses in the electronic database.

The survey was conducted in 2022 and covered working-age people from 18 to 60 years old living in the Sverdlovsk region. The Sverdlovsk region is one of the typical regions of the Russian Federation as it is located at a considerable distance from the capitals (Moscow and St. Petersburg) and has a megapolis as its centre. The territorial distribution of the sample is as follows: 55.7% of participants are residents of the region's capital, Yekaterinburg; 44.3% live in two other big cities of Sverdlovsk region, Nizhny Tagil and Kamensk-Uralsky. Thus, we were able to cover those central and peripheral economic areas of the region that have the most developed health care, physical training, leisure and recreation infrastructure, considerable employment opportunities, and a high level of Internet access.

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[1] Google™ and the Google Logo are trademarks of Google Inc. in the U.S. and other countries.

The survey relied on the river sampling technique: respondents were recruited via social media, websites, and survey invitation emails. There was a set of controlled parameters, which helped us build a sample reflecting the diversity of socio-demographic groups. The age and gender distribution of our sample led us to divide it into the following four cohorts: 18–21-year-olds (young adults with potential or precarious employment, 39% of respondents); 22–30-year-olds (young working adults, 15.6%); 31–45-year-olds (medium-age working adults, 24%); and 46–60-year-olds (older working-age group, 21.4%). In the sample structure, women accounted for 69.7% and men for 30.3%, which can be explained by the fact that women generally take more interest in the topics related to body and appearance than men. Of the respondents, 61.2% are not married; 39.0% have children. The sample includes various educational, occupational, and income groups of the population, which provides us the sufficiency of including different social groups of the working population. The sample cannot be considered representative of the population of the Sverdlovsk region and Russia as a whole due to its bias toward inhabitants of large cities of workable age.

We built linear distribution tables for all questions of the questionnaire, carried out a correlation analysis of empirically significant variables and a factor analysis, and calculated mean values and indices.

Results

To investigate the respondents' ideas about the ideal female and male bodies, we requested them to select characteristics from the list comprising five functional and five aesthetic characteristics. We found that the aesthetic model prevailed in the respondents' views of the female body, while their ideas of the male body mostly corresponded to the functional model. However, many responses featured elements of both models, i.e., these were mixed body models (Table 1). The key characteristic of the ideal female body is that it should have a well-groomed look (85.2%), while for the male body, it is physical strength, which undoubtedly reflects established social stereotypes. While the female body is largely seen as a static, visually pleasing object to be admired, the male body is more often associated with the qualities related to the body's functions. Only a small proportion of our respondents described the female body in terms of physical strength (4.2%). Instead, they tended to choose the term "fitness" (26.2%). Endurance and stamina are seen as predominantly male qualities (48.6% and 53.5%, respectively). Only in 15.5% and 21.0% of the responses, respectively, these qualities were applied to the female body. Similar disparities are found in the respondents' perceptions of the ideal male body: only in 17.4% of responses such characteristics as slenderness and the harmonious body shape were used to describe the male body. For the female body, these characteristics, conversely, were mentioned by the most of respondents (66.4%). The majority of responses (69%) associated sexual attractiveness with the female body (for the male body, only 22.3%).

Table 1

Respondents' Perceptions of the Ideal Male and Female Bodies
(% of the Total Number of Responses)*

Body model	Female body	Male body
Functional (body as a process), including:	91.2	236.3
fitness	26.2	36.5
resilience	25.2	29.9
stamina	21.0	53.5
endurance	15.5	48.6
strength	4.2	67.8
Aesthetic (body as an object), including:	262.5	127.5
well-groomed body	85.2	35.1
sexual attractiveness	69.0	22.3
slender figure, harmonious body shape	66.4	17.4
flexibility, plasticity	38.3	3.7
good muscle relief, toned muscle look	3.6	49.0

Note. *The sum of the responses is greater than 100% because respondents could choose multiple answer options.

Some gender differences were identified in views on the male and female bodies: we found that women describing an ideal female body were more inclined to choose aesthetic characteristics over functional ones that is 88% in comparison with 77.8% of men. Women also often chose stamina as a quality expected of the female body (28.0% of women and 21.8% of men). Sexual attractiveness and flexibility feature slightly more often in men's responses. Women consider a muscular and resilient male body to be more attractive, while men mostly chose endurance and stamina.

It is quite obvious that the above-described models are based on traditional, stereotyped attributes of male and female physique. There are, however, two important points to be considered. On the one hand, functional and aesthetic characteristics often go together, which means that respondents mention both feminine and masculine characteristics. On the other, changes in the body perceptions may lag behind changes in other gender-related attitudes and values. Body evades reflection, which impedes the development of "physical self", in other words, it may be difficult for people to perceive the body as a whole rather than as a collection of specific parts (Tataurova, 2009), which is why they resort to traditional, stereotypical notions to solve this problem on a personal level.

Since the survey participants often mixed the qualities corresponding to the aesthetic and functional body models, we decided to build a secondary variable based on the combination of responses (Figure 1). The body perceptions of the majority of our respondents correspond to the mixed body type: for the female body, this type prevails for 56.2% of respondents; for the male body, this figure comprises 78.7%. About 41% of our respondents described the ideal female body only in aesthetic terms. The female body is viewed more stereotypically than the male one. The ideal female body is perceived by our respondents as well-groomed, sexually attractive, slender, and flexible (18.7% of respondents selected all of these qualities, while 10.8% only selected the first three). Thus, about 30% of our respondents consider the ideal female body mostly in aesthetic-stereotypical terms. While only 2.8% of respondents chose exclusively functional characteristics of the female body, for the male body, this proportion was much larger, 17.9%. The male body tends to be much less stereotyped and the descriptions given by our respondents were much more diverse: we found no similar combinations of answers (the threshold was 5% of choices).

Figure 1
Body Models in Respondents' Evaluations (% of Male and Female Subgroups)
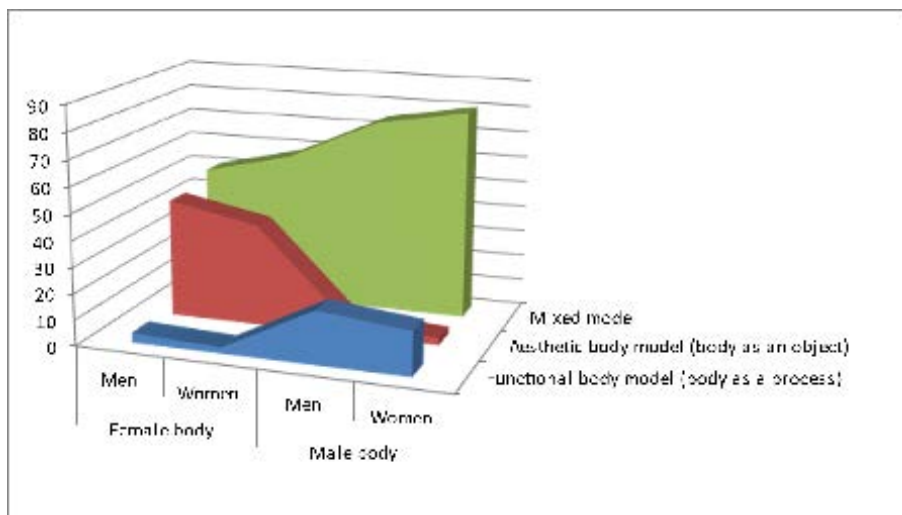
In different age groups, body type preferences may vary. For example, men in older age groups demonstrate increasing preference toward the functional model of the male body: 28% in the group of 46–60-year-olds compared to 15.7% in the group of 18–21-year-olds. Among the female respondents, this tendency is less pronounced, although still present. Regarding the female body, the majority of men aged 22–45 give preference to the aesthetic model (55%). In the youngest and oldest groups, this figure is 39%. Among older women, in comparison with younger age groups, there is some decline in this preference: 48% in the youngest group against 23.6% in the oldest one. This can be interpreted as follows: the respondents in the older age groups tend to attach more significance to the functional characteristics of the male and female body alike.

In the choice of the preferred own body type, 58.5% of respondents prioritized the functional body model and 41.5% preferred the aesthetic one. Residents of the megapolis (Yekaterinburg) mostly would like to have a functional body (62.1% compared to 54% in other cities in the survey). The functional body model also becomes more important for older age groups (65.2% in the group of 46–60-year-olds). Men also chose this body type more often than women (79.2% against 50.5%). Another aspect that is worth special mention here is the influence of the following two factors on respondents' choices of the preferred own body type: their perceptions of the body standards and their evaluation of their bodies as fitting these body standards or not (Tables 2 and 3).

Women's choices of their desired body type are somewhat different from men's choices. There were two almost equal groups of women respondents: 50.5% would like to have a body that fits into the functional body type and 49.5% prefer the aesthetic type. The latter is surprising in the light of the prevalence of aesthetic characteristics in what the respondents describe as the ideal female body. Even though their choices of the qualities for the ideal body may be influenced by the body they desire to have themselves, this connection is by no means straightforward. Among those who thought that their body corresponded to societal body standards and who adhered specifically to the functional or aesthetic body model (not the mixed model), the majority tended to choose the same model for themselves. For instance, among those respondents who chose the aesthetic female body model considering their own bodies as fitting these beauty standards, 62.5% would like to have an aesthetically pleasing body. Among those who believe that their bodies do not meet these standards, the percentage of people who desire to have an aesthetically pleasing body drops to 49.2%. For those respondents whose ideas about the beauty standards pointed to the mixed model, we found no connection between the beauty standards and the body model they would choose for themselves. When asked about their desired body type, our respondents with equal frequency chose each of the two models, with a slight prevalence of the functional body type.

Table 2

Preference of Female Respondents for Their Own Body Type

Body self-evaluation	Ideal body	Preferred own body type	
		Functional body model (body as a process)	Aesthetic body model (body as an object)
I think that my body fits the beauty standards	Functional body model (body as a process)	84.6	15.4
	Aesthetic body model (body as an object)	37.5	62.5
	Mixed model	53.0	47.0
I don't think that my body fits the beauty standards	Functional body model (body as a process)	60.0	40.0
	Aesthetic body model (body as an object)	50.8	49.2
	Mixed model	55.6	44.4

Men adhere more strongly to the functional model (79.2%), although every fifth respondent would like to have an aesthetically pleasing physique. Unlike women, men whose responses point to the mixed body model would more often choose the functional body type for themselves. It should be noted that the vast majority of those male respondents who believe that the ideal body should be aesthetically pleasing would also like to have such body themselves.

Table 3

Preference of Male Respondents for Their Own Body Type

Body self-evaluation	Ideal body	Preferred own body type	
		Functional body model (body as a process)	Aesthetic body model (body as an object)
I think that my body fits the beauty standards	Functional body model (body as a process)	95.5	4.5
	Aesthetic body model (body as an object)	42.9	57.1
	Mixed model	77.7	22.3
I don't think that my body fits the beauty standards	Functional body model (body as a process)	100.0	0.0
	Aesthetic body model (body as an object)	12.5	87.5
	Mixed model	78.6	21.4

Are there any signs of the transition from the prevalence of the aesthetic body model to the functional model in the post-pandemic world? To answer this question, we used factor analysis based on the principal component analysis. To this end, we applied the Varimax rotation procedure with Kaiser normalization (rotated component matrix). To process the "don't know" answers, we replaced the missing data with the mean of the corresponding variables (Table 4). The analysis included the responses characterizing the significance of attractive appearance (aesthetically pleasing body) and resilience/endurance of the body in different spheres of human activity. The respondents were asked to assess the significance of the given qualities on a 4-point scale: from 1 = *totally insignificant* to 4 = *highly significant.* Together these two factors explain 61% of the total dispersion of variables. As the factor analysis showed, all variables have high factor loadings (> 0.4).

Not surprisingly, the first factor, body functionality, included all the statements pointing to the significance of endurance and stamina. Daily household chores have the highest factor value and leisure activities have the lowest. The second factor, physical attractiveness or aesthetically pleasing body, includes the statements pointing to the importance of an attractive physique. Family relationships have the highest factor loading in this case.

For these two factors, we generated two new variables: the significance of the functional component in the body image and of the aesthetic component. The (factor) values of these variables fall within the interval from –3 to +3 (Table 5). The correlation

Table 4

Distribution of the Factor Loading for the Significance of the Functional and Aesthetic Body Models

Factor	Functional body model (body as a process)	Aesthetic body model (body as an object)
Significance of endurance/stamina, resilience, and strength/fitness:		
in dealing with daily household chores	.811	
in marriage (relationship with a spouse or partner)	.766	
in family relationship(s) with children/parents)	.758	
in the professional sphere	.744	
in leisure activities	.669	
Significance of attractive appearance:		
in family relationship(s) with children/parents)		.822
in dealing with daily household chores		.821
in leisure activities		.761
in the professional sphere		.658
in marriage (relationship with a spouse or partner)		.599
Proportion of variance explained	46.83	14.26

analysis of the variables with different characteristics shows that the importance of having an attractive body has a significant relationship with the socio-demographic parameters of our respondents, their attitudes to their bodies, and the impact of the pandemic. The role of the body's functionality has a much weaker correlation with the other parameters. This can be explained by the fact that the functional body model is shared by a variety of socio-demographic groups while the aesthetic body model retains its stereotypical features and is characteristic of a limited number of categories.

Table 5

Correlation of the Factors That Influence the Choice of the Functional or Aesthetic Body Model With the Socio-Demographic (Functional) and Substantive Variables

Factor	Significance of the functional body model (body as a process)	Significance of the aesthetic body model (body as an object)
Socio-demographic characteristics		
Gender	.043	.102**
Age	−.028	.132**
Financial situation	−.028	−.041

Factor	Significance of the functional body model (body as a process)	Significance of the aesthetic body model (body as an object)
Education	−.001	.117**
Occupation	.049	−.127**
Marital status	−.024	−.103**
Children	.011	−.119**
City of residence	.020	.035
Perception of own body		
Attitude towards own body (positive or negative)	.044	.0112**
Correspondence of the body to the beauty standards	−.062*	−.134**
Which male body type is considered the most attractive (functional or aesthetic)	−.068*	−.034
Which female body type is considered the most attractive (functional or aesthetic)	−.019	−.013
Preferred own body type (functional or aesthetic)	−.043	.138**
Impact of the pandemic		
The respondent had COVID-19	.025	−.044
Impact of the pandemic on the respondent's own body	.068*	.070*
Change in the attitude to the body	−.042	−.066*

Note. *The correlation is significant at $p = .05$ (2-tailed significance); **The correlation is significant at $p = .01$ (2-tailed significance).

In order to clarify the relationship between the two selected factors with other variables, we divided factor values into four equal percentile groups. The lower quartile (1) stands for the absence or minimum correlation between the factor and variable; the upper quartile (4) indicates the strongest correlation. Table 6 shows quartiles with the highest percentage for each of the values of the given variables within the selected factor: 1 corresponds to the first quartile, with no correlation between the variable and factor; 2 means a weak correlation (2nd quartile); 3 and 4, a strong or very strong correlation (3rd and 4th quartiles).

Table 6

Distribution of the Dominant Quartile of the Factor-Variable Correlation Strength

Factor	Functional body model (body as a process)	Aesthetic body model (body as an object)
Sex (Age group)		
Men (18–21)	1	2
Men (22–30)	2	1
Men (31–45)	2	2
Men (46–60)	4	1

Table 6 Continued

Factor	Functional body model (body as a process)	Aesthetic body model (body as an object)
Women (18–21)	4	1
Women (22–30)	3	4
Women (31–45)	4	4
Women (46–60)	2	3
Financial situation		
Too poor to afford food	1	3
Earns enough to buy food but not enough to buy clothes/shoes	2	1
Earns enough to buy clothes/ shoes but not enough to buy major domestic appliances	4	4
Earns enough to buy major domestic appliances but not enough to buy a new car	3	2
Earns enough to buy a new car but not enough to buy a flat or house	4	3
City		
Yekaterinburg	3	3
Nizhny Tagil	1	2
Kamensk-Uralsky	4	4
Marital status		
Married	3	4
Single	1	1

The analysis of the strength of the relationship between the factors of functionality and physical attractiveness shows that there are no distinct socio-demographic groups upholding specifically one or another body model. There are several points worthy of comment. Men tend to choose mixed body models while women, on the contrary, tend to pursue more stereotypical body standards and their self-esteem is more dependent on whether their bodies meet these normative expectations or not. The older men are, the more prone they are to choose the functional model (quartile 4 prevails). Older women, on the contrary, are the least prone to choose this model (quartile 2 prevails). It should be noted, however, that for women, there is no linear relationship between the preferred body model and age. The strongest correlation with the factor of physical attractiveness is observed in the responses of female participants aged 22–45. The peak is reached at the age of 31–45 (quartiles 3 and 4 account for 57.8%).

The youngest group demonstrated impressive results: young men were the least prone to choose the functional model, while young women, on the contrary, gave most preference to the functional model. In other words, in comparison with young men, young women in the study regions attach less significance to physical attractiveness. This can be explained by the fact that young women seek to change the dominant body expectations in favor of more functional body standards. The influence of the natural beauty trend (Iskusstvennaia krasota, 2023) may lead young women to feel more body positive.

This agrees with the international research evidence that shows that women are now becoming less self-critical when evaluating their bodies (Issledovanie GfK, 2015).

Of the respondents, 32.6% said that the pandemic affected their attitudes to their bodies. In this group of respondents, 57.2% believe that they have started to take better care of their health and have become more attentive to their bodies' signals. Others think that the pandemic has made them feel more fatalistic about life, making them aware of the impossibility to control and contain disease (14.3%). The remaining 28.5% pointed out that the change in their attitudes to their bodies did not cause any real change in their personal health practices. In comparison with the data of 2021, where 53% of Russians reported changes in their attitudes to their health (Bol'shinstvo rossiian izmenili, 2021), in our study this figure is lower, which may signify that people are now less afraid of the negative effects of the pandemic and are less prone to maintaining the pandemic-induced body practices. At the same time, there still remains a group of people retaining the attitudes to their body and health they have acquired during the pandemic.

There were 55.9% of respondents who reported that they had COVID-19. Their personal experience with the pandemic was deeper. A total of 39.9% reported that being infected with COVID-19 caused them to reconsider their attitude toward their bodies and health (among those who did not have COVID-19, the figure was lower, 21.5%). We found, however, that the fact of having had COVID-19 has a weak influence on the respondents' ideas of the female and male ideal bodies, their perception of their own bodies as fitting these standards or not, and their desired own body type. Nevertheless, we found that in comparison with the pre-pandemic period, our respondents have become more conscious of contagions, and are sticking to their newly acquired personal hygiene habits (30.4%); they are now paying more attention to physical activity and sport (28.1%); they are trying to keep regular hours, including getting enough sleep (26.7%) and maintaining a good work-life balance (21.5%). Both the functional and aesthetic body models are equally associated with body care practices. The pandemic has not led to a radical shift in the desired body model but rather to the selection of practices that ensure effective and comfortable embodiment in both models. Therefore, studying the mechanisms that maintain the stability of body models even in social upheavals such as a pandemic may represent a further research interest.

Discussion

Our research data show that for the most part, our respondents adhere to the stereotypical body perceptions. Interestingly, their ideas about the female body tend to be more stereotypical compared to ones about the male body: the female body is expected to be sexually attractive, well-groomed, and slender. There is evidence that such a model is internalized since childhood. For example, Staffieri (1967) found that overweight children have fewer friendships and have less chances of being included into collective games than children whose weight is within the normal range.

The male body is mostly viewed in functional rather than aesthetic terms, priority being given to such qualities as physical strength, endurance, and stamina.

Nevertheless, our study has detected some signs of the shifting body standards: in the evaluations of male and female respondents mixed body models dominate, i.e., while the male body may to a certain degree be aestheticized, the female body, on the contrary, may acquire some functional qualities, making it fit for performing a range of social functions and roles. There is evidence that in the last 20 years, the dominant ideal of the male body has shifted towards a more muscular look, which means more sculpted, visible muscles (Lefkowich et al., 2017; McCreary, 2002). For the female body, however, the emphasis is mostly made on an aesthetically pleasing, thin, or slender body shape (Groesz et al., 2002).

As our survey has shown, older age and more life experience are the factors that influence people's ideas of the ideal body: the value of the functional body model increases together with the respondents' age. Moreover, in describing the body type they would like to have themselves, the respondents tend to appreciate body functionality more than appearance, placing more emphasis on what their bodies can do for them, the degree to which their bodies enable them to satisfy their social needs and pursue their interests in daily life. The respondents' views regarding the connection between the body model and different spheres of life show that functional body characteristics feature mostly in such spheres as household maintenance while the body's appearance plays a more significant role in the family sphere.

We found a relationship between the preferred body type and respondents' evaluations of the impact that the pandemic had on their attitudes to their own bodies, which may be a sign of post-pandemic body reframing. The factor analysis allowed for further clarification of the relationship between the preferred body model and such characteristics as gender and age. With age, women start to give more preference to the functional over the aesthetic body model. Nevertheless, in all age groups, there is a high percentage of women whose desired body type can be classified as functional (at least 41%). Male respondents in all age groups (at least 78%) choose the functional model. The strongest correlation with this model was observed for the 22–30-year-olds. Our findings disagree with those of H. Quittkat et al. (2019), who surveyed 942 women and 385 men aged 16–88 and showed that the importance of appearance remained stable for women of all ages.

The survey data showed mixed responses regarding the effects of the pandemic on people's attitudes to their bodies and body care practices. Every third respondent pointed out a direct connection between their individual experience of the pandemic and the change in their desired body image, highlighting the body's ability to withstand external pressures, remain active and physically fit, thus enabling them to do their daily routines and perform their social functions.

Some of the respondents see the pandemic as a challenge, undermining their feeling of control over their life, health, and body. While such characteristics as weight, in particular, can be controlled (Marszał-Wiśniewska & Jarczewska-Gerc, 2016; Styk et al., 2019), individuals cannot restrain the spreading of the coronavirus infection. However, we observed that in an effort to maintain control over their health and body, even after the lockdown, many of our respondents have continued to adhere to their new body care routines, such as hand hygiene, physical exercise, and good sleep.

Slightly more than a fourth of our respondents said that the pandemic had no effect on their body care practices. The survey of Russian students conducted by N. A. Sterlyadeva and T. V. Chukanova (2022) showed that 28% of respondents tried to boost their immune system by changing their habits during the pandemic, a figure that is quite close to our results for working age adults.

A part of the COVID-19 survivors among our respondents (39.9%) report that their attitudes to their bodies have changed. We believe, however, that the whole pandemic situation has had a much stronger impact on our respondents' values and behavioral patterns than the mere fact of having been diagnosed with COVID-19. According to the Russian Public Opinion Research Center (VCIOM) (Postkovid, 2022), even those Russians who reported symptoms of post-COVID-19 syndrome did not resort to any rehabilitation therapy (80%).

Conclusion

Our study has brought to light three body models that are prevalent in modern Russian society: aesthetic (body as an object), functional (body as a process), and mixed one. The results of our survey have shown that people have ambivalent attitudes toward the body: on the one hand, there are widely spread stereotypes about the ideal male and female bodies reflecting the division into the functional and aesthetic models; on the other, the body that people desire for themselves does not always coincide with the prevalent beauty standards. Moreover, people tend to choose mixed body models or their preferences may shift toward a different body model.

Women's self-assessed body image differs significantly from that of men, who tend to opt for a more functional body model. While having a functional body is considered to be more important in dealing with daily household chores, the aesthetic body model is more often preferred in the sphere of family relationships. When women's self-assessed body image does not meet common beauty standards, they tend to be more willing to switch to the other body type, prioritizing functional characteristics over aesthetic ones. The choice of the functional model depends on the "classic" socio-demographic factors to a lesser extent than in the case of the aesthetic model. This choice can be influenced by such factors as a self-assessed body image and the situation of the pandemic. Our study has registered changes in people's attitudes toward the body after the pandemic: every third respondent reported that they have started to take better care of their bodies through practices of personal hygiene, physical exercise, and maintaining a more consistent sleep schedule.

In general, there is a noticeable shift in the way the body is perceived. Despite the persisting stereotypes about the male and female bodies circulating in society, working-age adults are now more inclined toward the functional body model, that is, the body capable of realizing its functional potential (stamina, endurance, and resilience) in a variety of daily situations. We believe that the new reality is conducive to the change in the way people evaluate and perceive their bodies, particularly in connection to the functions and roles they perform in society, to the activities and interactions they participate in, and to the body's ability to withstand external pressures.

Our study has certain limitations. We studied only urban dwellers in a large industrial Russian region. Although our research data may be similar to the data collected in other areas with the same economic and social characteristics, capital cities (Moscow and St. Petersburg), as well as rural areas, may present a somewhat different picture. We did not include any materials for the analysis of people's attitudes and behavior in this study. Thus, we did not question our respondents about the motivations behind wanting to modify their appearance under the impact of the pandemic, fashion trends, and the development of digital technologies. The study of the prevalent attitudes to the body among people with higher and lower income, as well as the typical body care practices among the elderly and the impact of ageism on these practices, make promising avenues for further research.

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[2] Instagram™ is a trademark of Instagram Inc., registered in the US and other countries. По решению Роскомнадзора, социальная сеть Instagram полностью заблокирована в России как экстремистская организация.

Where am I Now: Symbols Used in Manggarai Funeral Rite, Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

A symbol has a specific meaning and represents the user's conception, way of thinking, and interpretation. This study aimed to analyze the symbolic interactions of the Manggarai ethnic funeral rite. Data were collected through observation, interviews, and documents. The results of the analysis showed that the symbols are employed as a spiritual and social tool to aid understanding of the outside world as well as to describe and learn the transcendent secret world, such as the "truth of being". Therefore, the symbols used reflect the interpersonal relations with others, ancestors, and God, called *socio-theological* relations, and profound philosophy of existence, as they are extremely vulnerable and totally reliant on their predecessors and God.

KEYWORDS

funeral rite, interaction, Manggarai, meaning, symbol

Introduction

Local knowledge is increasingly recognized and valued in human existence. The existence in question concerns human behavior and relationships with God, others, and nature. Numerous studies of local knowledge conducted by researchers provide evidence for this. Local community beliefs that are codified as customs, rituals, and norms can sustainably govern their way of life. Local values and culture have a crucial role in determining how people live their lives (Cocks et al., 2018; Mungmachon, 2012; Tahir et al., 2020; Wenzel et al., 2020). Additionally, the local wisdom of local communities and their traditional knowledge are essential to a sustainable way of life and are able to prevent improper

relationships with the environment, God, and other people (Bauto, 2013; Darong et al., 2021) and spur life-sustaining behavior (Sen, 2018).

Other studies have demonstrated the usefulness of a community's traditional knowledge in maintaining and preserving the environment (Aruda & Krutkowski, 2017; Chennells, 2013; Dahliani et al., 2015; Eriksen, 2007). In this respect, people's awareness of the norms, laws, and prohibitions contained in traditional systems and philosophies that govern human interaction with nature is directly related to the way they behave in the natural environment management.

In line with the aforementioned findings, Antoni & Fadillah (2021), Pesurnay (2018), and Setyono & Widodo (2019) emphasized the importance of local wisdom as the cornerstone and source of community ethics in their interactions with the environment. Furthermore, the local wisdom has soft skills and ethical principles that regulate the behavior and obligations of individuals and groups in sustaining the natural environment as confirmed by Bauto (2013), Mungmachon (2012), and Tanui & Chepkuto (2015).

However, it is important to remember that there must be a way or a means to express local values. The means in question undoubtedly have something to do with language. Everything can be expressed in terms of both units and aspects through language. People may be able to understand the local message if they pay attention to the language used. Thus, *how* it is said is part of *what* is said (Boroditsky & Gaby, 2010; Darong & Menggo, 2021; Long & He, 2021; Peeters, 2015). In other words, language and culture are two interrelated concepts. Language is employed within the framework of culture. People can use language effectively when they interact with the users of the language (Brown, 2001; Byram, 1993; Couper et al., 2016; Tin, 2014). In the meantime, a crucial aspect of language is that it is culturally transferable. This characteristic makes it worthwhile to learn. Thus, the cultural context is of considerable importance in the way language is used.

Further, a symbol can be a thing, word, or action that stands for something. It is culturally defined in accordance with the beliefs of the people to whom it belongs. The symbol can be understood through knowledge of the culture of the people who use it; otherwise, it does not have any significance. Such a relationship has three aspects. The first is culture building. In this sense, culture is the use of symbols to represent both spiritual and material qualities, while the symbols themselves are the carriers of culture. The second is culture extension. In this context, the symbol is seen as a tool for engagement. The third is culture reformulation. As a community grows, its culture does indeed change to reflect new developments in life, norms, and conceptions. Language evolves as its users do, and the resulting culture is then reformulated (Dongxiang, 2018). Thus, the relationship between symbols, people, and culture is a key aspect of symbolic interactionism. Symbols play a crucial role in shaping social interactions and meanings, and are an important tool for the construction and transmission of cultural practices and beliefs. In this respect, recent studies have used symbolic interactionism to shed light on the complex and dynamic relationship between symbols, values, identity, and culture, highlighting the ongoing process of negotiation and interpretation among individuals (Cocks et al., 2018; Nguyen et al., 2020; Tengberg et al., 2012).

The aforementioned research has generally shown that each region has, in essence, its own traditional knowledge. It is upheld as a value that, in turn, develops into

a way of life that guides people's conduct. Local wisdom and nature have a vital inter-action that has helped to save and preserve social and theological relationships. Additionally, the research examined common local rituals, with values, norms, and ethics serving as the key organizing principles. As such, the construct was concerned with the thing-symbol along with its implications resulting from their cultural experiences. Despite the positive results of the studies in question, there is a need to expand the research on the local wisdom to include symbols that have particular ideologies. In other words, there has never been a study on the significance of the symbols used in the cultural practices. In order to establish such a construct in the local culture, it is advantageous to investigate a new construct that takes the symbols into account.

This study aimed to further the importance of local wisdom in efforts to preserve the local's life, based on the theory of symbolic interaction. The theory in question claims that humans are symbol-producing or symbol-making beings. The German neo-Kantian philosopher Ernst Cassirer (1944/1992) proposed the notion that humans are "animal symbolicum". Every object that a person owns has a symbolic significance. These connotations are offered, accepted, and then used as symbols; they do not just exist in themselves. In this context, a symbol is understood as a sign with a common meaning. Therefore, both as an individual and as a society, human behavior is built upon the symbolic meanings of the object.

In connection with this, the researchers seek to elucidate the significance and moral lessons found in one of the indigenous traditions of the Manggarai ethnic in Indonesia, particularly the death rites. This rite is an important cultural and religious practice that involves a series of complex rituals and ceremonies. It typically begins with close family members washing and dressing the body of the deceased. After that, the body is placed in a coffin and taken to the central area of the village, where the community gathers for the wake. The wake may last for several days, during which time friends and relatives come to pay their respects and participate in the mourning rituals, which involve singing, chanting, and the offering of food, drink, and other items to the deceased. Furthermore, on the day of burial, a procession is held and the coffin is carried to the cemetery, accompanied by mourners. The burial itself involves several ritualized acts, including placing rice and other offerings around the grave, burning incense, and sprinkling holy water. After the burial, the family of the deceased performs a series of rituals, including the offering of prayers, the distribution of food to guests, and the burning of offerings. All of these rituals employ symbols that have long been rooted in their culture.

Recent studies have explored different aspects of the Manggarai funeral rite, including its cultural and religious significance and its impact on social relations within the community. A study by Lon & Widyawati (2021a) found that funeral rituals play a crucial role in maintaining the cultural identity of the Manggarai ethnic and strengthening social ties within the community. Another recent study by Jebadu et al. (2021) examined the role of the church in the Manggarai ethnic funeral rituals, highlighting how theological aspects of Roman Catholics influence the ritual in question. Meanwhile, a study by Lon & Widyawati (2021b) explored the impact of COVID-19 on Manggarai ethnic funeral rituals, revealing how changing social and health

conditions are affecting the practice of traditional mourning rituals. To date, the studies in question investigated the relationship between the Manggarai ethnic's funeral rite and the natural environment, displaying how the practice reflects the community's deep spiritual connection to the God, land, and the natural world. In summary, the Manggarai ethnic's funeral rite is a complex and highly symbolic cultural practice that reflects the beliefs and values of the community. Recent studies have clarified various aspects of this practice, accentuating its cultural and religious significance, its impact on social relations, and its connection to the natural environment. Moreover, these studies emphasize the importance of recognizing and preserving the unique cultural heritage of the Manggarai ethnic, including their funeral traditions, for future generations.

The purpose of this study is to explore the use of symbols in the Manggarai funeral rite focusing on meanings and values. While previous studies have described the funeral rite and its cultural significance, little attention has been paid to the use of symbols, their meanings and values. By filling in this research gap, the present study aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of the Manggarai funeral rite and the cultural significance of the symbols within it. In addition, as an effort to maintain the existence and sustainability of the role and function of local culture, this study is very important to provide new perspective to the existing literature of local community in in today's interconnected world.

Local Wisdom and Symbol

Every community has its own unique local wisdom. In principle, local wisdom seeks to uphold a community's sense of cohesiveness, integrity, dignity, and identity (Koentjaraningrat, 1979/2009). Local knowledge is developed and transformed into the abilities and character of a community, which must be put into practice and upheld as a principle, norm, or value. Local wisdom is important in defining human civilization since it influences not only ritual dynamics but also ethics, norms, actions, and behavior. As a result, it functions as a spiritual guide for how to behave and act in daily life (Fraenkel et al., 2012; Richards et al., 2013). In other words, the presence of the unique wisdom of a particular community brings spirituality and intimacy together (Lon & Widyawati, 2018, 2021a; Niman, 2022b).

Local wisdom is also explicit local knowledge that has developed over time and has been passed down from predecessors. The wisdom under discussion has evolved within a local framework that changes and grows with the community, its surroundings, and the larger and more modern setting. The values ingrained in society have not been diminished by the protracted evolutionary process. Local wisdom, as a potential source of energy from society's collective knowledge system, coexists peacefully and actively in the face of ongoing global struggles that destroy and displace it. Therefore, it is important to properly retain and preserve local knowledge. In the field, there have been research studies on local wisdom (Döring & Nerlich, 2022; Gibbs, 2020; Okonski, 2021; Pesurnay, 2018; Sopa, 2018; Tahir et al., 2020; Zhirenov et al., 2016). The studies have confirmed that local wisdoms are social and communicative systems constructing a form of self-organization (autopoesis) of cultural systems. These systems are used in human interactions.

Local knowledge can be preserved by incorporating it into learning activities (Darong & Menggo, 2021; Darong et al., 2021). The learning process must be authentic, contextualized, and consider social wisdom in addition to theories and concepts (conceptual approach). They also emphasized the importance of incorporating local cultural values into the learning environment in order to develop character. Learning about and reintroducing local knowledge is an important step in establishing the foundation of one's own cultural values. It also serves as a means of fostering national identity and a means of identifying harmful foreign cultural influences. A strategic role for the development of a country's character and identity that can be played in the educational process is the promotion of the values found in the local wisdom of a particular indigenous community.

Furthermore, it is impossible to separate language, culture, and communication. When someone discusses culture, they inevitably discuss language and communication as well. In general, culture can be observed; artifacts and man-made products are all tangible examples of culture, while the human mind is the example of the intangible culture. Obviously, a tool is needed to communicate thoughts and coordinate the completion of quality work. In this regard, language is the required tool. Therefore, the language of a nation plays a crucial part in its civilization. Local knowledge becomes valuable when culture, language, and communication are all distinct and relevant to the particular group (Duranti, 1997).

Symbols can be words, actions, and objects. They are used to convey meaning in communication. The symbols in question are used in a way that reflects people culture. A symbol may have a specific meaning and reflect the user's conception, way of thinking, and interpretation. Its meaning is primarily according to the communicational goals of the speaker. Since a symbol is a language, it is unquestionably considered as a means of communication through which its meaning can be understood (Darong et al., 2022; Hashash et al., 2018; Hendro, 2020; Loza, 2022; Setiawan et al., 2021). According to this idea, culture and symbol—which is truly a language—cannot be separated. The meanings of the things, words, or actions that are employed in diverse cultural contexts reflect something and are interpreted within the cultural framework of the community to which they belong. When this is not the case, meanings change and possibly even misunderstandings happen (Green, 1996; Grice, 1975; Levinson, 1983; Yule, 1996). As a result, the meaning of symbols is influenced by the cultural background of the user.

Arguing along this line, symbolic interactionism has been used to analyze the role of symbols and meanings in the construction and transmission of cultural practices and beliefs. According to this perspective, culture is not a fixed entity but rather an ongoing process of negotiation and interpretation among individuals. A study by Niman (2022a) used symbolic interactionism to examine how natural spatial and social aspects are constructed and reproduced in the context of ethnic rituals. The author argues that ethnic rituals serve as a space for the negotiation and construction of cultural identities, where individuals use symbols and meanings to assert their cultural heritage and negotiate their relationship to the nature. The author also notes that ethnic rituals can facilitate intercultural communication and understanding, as individuals from different cultural backgrounds come together to celebrate their diversity.

Another study of Niman (2022b) used symbolic interactionism to analyze how cultural values are transmitted from parents to children. The author argues that parents use symbols and meanings to convey cultural values to their children and that the meaning of cultural values can be shaped by the social context in which they are transmitted. The author also argues that cultural values can change over time as individuals reinterpret and negotiate the meaning of symbols and practices in response to changing social and cultural contexts. The values can serve as a site of cultural resistance and negotiation. Thus, symbolic interactionism provides a valuable perspective for analyzing the role of symbols and meanings in the construction and transmission of cultural practices and beliefs. By emphasizing the ongoing process of negotiation and interpretation among individuals, symbolic interactionism highlights the dynamic and contested nature of culture, and the important role of symbols and meanings in shaping cultural identities and practices.

The Manggarai ethnic much like any other ethnic groups, has their own language. It features unique forms, norms, and linguistic components in the linguistic subfields of semantics, syntax, morphology, and phonology, among others. A study by Mangga (2020), who analyzed the Manggarai language, found that the language features unique grammatical structures, particularly in the areas of morphological constructions. In this respect, Mangga (2020) explored the morphology of the Manggarai language, identifying distinctive phonemes and morphemes that are characteristic of the language. These studies highlight the importance of recognizing the linguistic diversity and richness of the Manggarai ethnic and the need for language preservation efforts to safeguard this unique linguistic heritage. Nevertheless, the Manggarai language is fascinating to study semiotically. In this respect, Manggarai ethnic uses a wide range of symbols to convey meaning. Every word, whether spoken or written, and every concept implied by the symbols has significance. This reveals the reality that learning a language involves combining agreed-upon meaning units, smaller meaningful units, into larger portions through its socio-construction (Briones, 2016; Eggins, 1994; Halliday, 1985; Hasan, 2014). Additionally, symbols are the best way to understand the meaning of some languages. Therefore, language, particularly the Manggarai language, is essentially a set of symbols in this context.

Furthermore, the Manggarai ethnic has a distinctive culture and take on many different forms during rituals. Different symbols are used in each customary rite. These symbols are used to express their vertical and horizontal relationships (Lon & Widyawati, 2021b; Menggo et al., 2021). The former deals with their relationship with God and their ancestors. The Manggarai people, who are very reliant on God as the highest supreme creator, see their ancestors as their mediators. Horizontal relations, meanwhile, focus on how they manage their interactions with others and the natural environment. As a result, the context of living and cultural experience is extremely closely tied to the existence of a symbol for them. The Manggarai ethnic has also adapted to their surroundings by carefully analyzing the circumstances and creating their own adaptation patterns. The local knowledge that is embodied in their cultural symbols is beneficial to their way of life. This is because all forms of the Manggarai traditional knowledge are performed, taught, and passed on from one generation to the next by considering their behavioral patterns

and way of life. This is consistent with the assertions of Mungmachon (2012), Thondlana et al. (2012), and Vranić et al. (2018) that symbolic meanings, knowledge systems, and values serve as a mirror of a community's way of life.

By and large, the progress reports from the field have largely seen the local culture, along with its wisdom and ideals, in the context of an effort to protect life. In this sense, the studies are directly related to the existence of the local people and their efforts to live a sustainable life. However, studies of local culture focusing on the symbols are few and far between. The inclusion of symbols in the study of the practice of local culture helps to strengthen the locality of a particular community. Thus, this study was conducted in such a way that the researchers was able to examine the philosophy and ideology of the used symbols.

Methodology

Data for this descriptive qualitative approach were organically collected from the emic and etic perspectives of the Manggarai ethnic. In this context, the perspectives of the Manggarai ethnic in describing cultural phenomena are of interest according to emic perspective. Meanwhile, etic perspective examines the Manggarai ethnic from the perspective of outsiders, which, in this study, were the researchers.

In order to ensure the accuracy and reliability of the data, triangulation was performed (Farmer et al., 2006; Farquhar et al., 2020; Stake, 1995), meaning that three different methods were used to collect the data for this study: observations, interviews, and document analysis. The researchers actively participated as observers and provided a recorder, an anecdotal record, and an observation sheet. Semi-structured interviews were conducted using an interview guide containing 10 questions related to the main concern of the study. The major informants were three spokespersons and three senior villagers who were more knowledgeable about the Manggarai culture. Three one-on-one interviews were conducted with every respondent, each lasting approximately one hour.

Seven questions were asked during the first and second interviews, and three additional questions were asked during the last session. The interviews were conducted in the Manggarai language to reduce the participants' anxiety and enhance their capacity to comfortably comment on the required information. The interviews were digitally recorded by the researchers using a mobile phone recording app and then transcribed verbatim. Participants received transcriptions to ensure the accuracy and reliability of the data. The researchers also conducted a documentation study to learn more about the facts relevant to the study's topic. In this study, the documentation was useful in bolstering and complementing interview and observation data. The documentation in question took the form of a video document (on YouTube[1]) that helped the researchers to gather information about the symbols (Kondo Randang Channel, 2020).

The researchers processed and evaluated the data based on Mey's (1993) semiotics and pragmatics theory of wording. As outlined by Creswell & Poth (2017), this study used the data analysis spiral for the interview, in which the researchers entered with text or video materials and left with an account or a narrative. In this sense, data

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[1] YouTube™ is a trademark of Google Inc., registered in the US and other countries.

analysis involved six stages: managing and organizing the data, reading and observing emergent concepts, characterizing and grouping codes into themes, establishing and assessing interpretations, displaying and visualizing the data, and reporting the results.

The first phase of the researchers' work involved assembling all of the supporting documents, including transcripts of the interviews and other records relevant to the use of symbols, and translating all of the interviews from the Manggarai language into English. In the second phase, the researchers continued to read the transcripts and take notes on new ideas. In the third phase, the researchers used a content analysis technique according to Krippendorff (2004), which refers to the analysis of participants' narratives gathered from the interview transcriptions. To confirm the analysis, a methodological triangulation was used in fourth step to compare particular individual notes and codes. To address the issue of potential coder bias, the researchers individually coded the data and compared the results. The second researcher worked with the first researcher to reach agreement while serving as an objective reviewer of the coding. Second researcher had not participated in the period of data gathering. This action was taken to create an auditable decision trail and increase the reliability of the analysis, and was consistent with the requirements of validity and reliability in quantitative research as recommended by Nowell et al. (2017). Finally, three emerging themes were identified. In the fifth phase, relevant quotes were selected to support the participants' narratives. Examples of the participants' experiences had during the last phase, when this manuscript was created, are provided in the Findings and Discussion section below.

Findings and Discussion

Findings

This study examined the significance of the symbols used during the Manggarai ethnic's funeral ritual. The results of the interview are summarized in the table below. The researchers obtained 41 excerpts, nine codes, and three themes.

Table 1

Theme, Code, and Excerpts

Theme(s)	Code(s)	Sample of the excerpt(s)
Macro	Power	"… What I have done is to communicate and explain the wish, love, and care to our ancestor. We make offerings for the sake of eternal life" (R. D., January 9, 2023, trans. by Hieronimus Canggung Darong [H. C. D.])
		"… as a spokesperson, I have to be careful in maintaining commodity exchanges with the ancestor. Once I made mistake in offering the symbols, I could be the next victim" (F. A., January 11, 2023, trans. by H. C. D.)
	Dominance and inequality	"The symbol used is very adaptable. Although it is different from one village to another, or from one clan to another, the essence is similar. A very prestigious clan might use prestige symbols as they have been ruled for far too long by their ancestors. However, it is still a prayer" (T. G., January 15, 2023, trans. by Hieronimus Canggung Darong [H. C. D.])

Theme(s)	Code(s)	Sample of the excerpt(s)
Meso	Introduction	"We mainly use some forewords. The words are uttered by the spokesperson who leads to the core event. It is just an opening session. We never go directly to the main event. The consideration is about the social relationship, both with the ancestor and the participants attending the event" (G. G., February 11, 2023, trans. by H. C. D.)
	Content/body	"… Everyone who is joining the event should be there. Hopes, prayers, loves are united in the symbol being offered. This is a very essential moment. I am talking to them (ancestors)" (L. W., February 19, 2023, trans. by H. C. D.)
	Closing	"… After offering the symbol, I usually end with a closing statement emphasizing the hopes. In this regard, there is an expectation that the ancestors and God will accept the offerings. There are no tears falling, no life burden, no sorrow and no disaster in the family" (R. D., February 21, 2023, trans. by H. C. D.)
Micro	Semantics	"Overall, I prepared the symbols according to the discourse of the event. In this case, a symbol cannot be used in all traditional rites. This occurs in such a way that the meaning is different according to the setting and the scene. Furthermore, the codes and channels through which the symbol is employed are different as well" (T. G., February 21, 2023, trans. by H. C. D.)
	Syntax	"… In addition to meaning adaptation, I also consider the rules and principles that govern the sentence structure of my language. For example, I should structure my sentence so that meaning of symbols is elegantly offered" (F. A., February 24, 2023, trans. by H. C. D.)
	Stylistic	"… I should pay great attention to the choice and use of words, the style or manner of my utterances (diction), the power of intonation, the distribution of sentence lengths, and the use of certain language registers" (L. W., January 29, 2023, trans. by H. C. D.)
	Rhetorical	"… The art of using language to communicate effectively and persuasively is very important. In this case, I use metaphor and allegory to offer the symbols" (G. G., February 5, 2023, trans. by H. C. D.)

The data above confirm the setting and scene, participants, outcomes, acts and sequences, key instruments, norms, and genre of the Manggarai ethnic funeral ceremony discourse. Such discourse emphasizes the time and place of a speech act, the physical circumstances, as well as formality, power, and seriousness features in terms of setting and scene. Meanwhile, the participants play the roles of speakers and listeners, or more generally of addressers and addressees embracing their ethnicity, social standing, relationships, and duties. Outcomes are about how offers are accepted. Acts and sequences focus on utterances. The words of the spokesperson, as such, were in the form of rhetorical statements, persuasive and full of symbolic meanings. The key is reflected in the sincere ways of the funeral discourse. Instrumentalities refer to the type of language that was primarily used in verbal communication. This

component is strongly tied to the social norm, which in this case was the standard for how the spokesman's sentences should be constructed when presenting symbols. Ultimately, the genre of this ceremony is entirely regarded as a prayer of the family and relatives to the supreme, the almighty God, through the messengers of the ancestors. In order to confirm the interview data, the researchers conducted observations, with the results presented in Table 2.

Table 2

Funeral Ceremony Symbols

Stages	Symbols	Types	Lexical meaning	Contextual meaning	Meaning Category
Pre	*Wero, pande bo*	Action	To notify	Notifying relatives or villagers of a death	Social and religious meanings
	Haeng nai	Action	To get the soul	Deep condolences of the relatives	Social meaning
	Ela	Thing (animal)	Pig	Offering (prayer of the relatives)	Religious meaning
	Poe woja/ Latung	Action	Corps request	To give the wealth (corps) of the deceased to the family left (not to bring along with)	Social, religious, and cosmological meanings
	Manuk	Thing (animal)	Roaster	Offering for the request of wealth	Social and religious meanings
	Ancem peti	Action	To close the coffin	To say goodbye	Religious and philosophical meanings
	Tokong bakok	Action	To stay over late at night	To comfort the bereaved	Social and religious meanings
	Teru wae cor	Action	To spread the water	Departure and purification; The soul is ready for departure	Religious and cosmological meanings
	Waca lime	Action	To wash hand	To prevent the soul of deceased from following the people who bury the body	Religious and cosmological meanings
During	*Tura wakas*	Action	To put the sugar cane	To ask permission before putting the corps in a hole. Someone might be down there.	Religious and cosmological meanings
	Panggol	Thing	Cross	Religion identity	Religious meaning
	wae	Thing	Water	Purifier	Philosophical meaning
Post	*Reis gu depa lime*	Action	To greet and shake hands	To tell the family that the corps has already been buried	Social and philosophical meanings
	Ceki telu/ Lima or saung ta'a/	Action	Three or five days of grieving period	Prayer for a death memorial (see Figure 2)	Social and religious meanings

Table 2 Continued

Stages	Symbols	Types	Lexical meaning	Contextual meaning	Meaning Category
	Wentar buing lulung loce	Action	To clean the bed	A prayer for a healthy life for the bereaved; an expectation that there will be no more deaths	Religious meaning
	Kelas/ Pedeng bokong	Action	To equip	A prayer. The world of the dead is totally different from the world of the living (to start a new life for both the deceased and the family)	Social, religious, and philosophical meanings
	Kaba/Ela	Thing (animal)	Buffalo/pig	An offering	Social and religious meanings
	Teing hang	Action	To give some food	A prayer for the deceased to protect the family (see Figure 1)	Social, religious, and philosophical meanings

Figure 1

Kelas, Prayer for Start of a New Life for Both the Deceased and the Family

Note. Source: authors.

Figure 2
Ceki Telu, Prayer for a Death Memorial

Note. Source: authors.

Figure 3
Teing Hang, the Offering of a Rooster

Note. Source: authors.

Figure 4
Wada Ruha, the Offering of an Egg

Note. Source: authors.

With respect to the data (see Table 2), the pre, during, and post stages of the Manggarai ethnic's burial ceremony have social, religious, philosophical, and cosmological meanings. The action and object symbols both allude to these meanings. In this sense, the social meaning was an attempt to maintain a sense of kinship and family unity. The religious meaning, on the other hand, is strongly tied to the Manggarai ethnic belief in the human soul, which has existed in the Manggarai culture for far too long. The philosophical meaning contained in these symbols is the view that human life does not stop after death, but continues into another life in another world or realm. Symbols such as water, rice, and other offerings indicate that the journey of the soul after death requires proper and pure preparation for it to go smoothly and peacefully (see Figures 3 and 4). The cosmological values contained in these symbols are the view that humans are part of a larger universe, and that human life does not stand alone but is closely connected to nature and its environment. Symbols such as *po'e woja/latung* [to request the corps], *teru wae cor* [to spread the water], *depa lime* [to greet and shake hands] and *tura wakas* [to put the sugar cane] indicate that human life must always adapt and work together with nature and the environment to achieve progress and success.

Overall, the symbols used in the funeral ceremony of Manggarai ethnic not only have ritualistic values, but also carry deep social, religious, philosophical, and cosmological meanings and values, reflecting the worldview and beliefs related to human life and death.

Discussion

This study examines the use of symbols used in Manggarai ethnic's funeral ceremony. The ceremony is not only about the use of symbols, but also about the practice of social and individual life. This is supported by the idea that a symbol is

actually a personal, social act and knowledge of the users (Carassa & Colombetti, 2015; Dongxiang, 2018; Niman, 2022a). As a result, the use of symbols is strongly linked to the cultural setting in which they are used.

According to the results of the interviews (Table 1), the funeral ceremony employs a variety of symbols, including actions and objects. The Manggarai ethnic interact with their natural surroundings either directly or indirectly through the symbols they use. The meanings of the symbols are closely related to the cosmological perspective and interpretation of the universe. This is consistent with previous research showing that societal symbols and languages are determined by the way people think and believe (Menggo et al., 2021; Sopa, 2018; Tahir et al., 2020).

In support of this claim, the researchers discovered a number of significant aspects of the symbols. First, the symbols are used in such a way that they have the power to convey the message. They served to repair and preserve the relationship between the Manggarai people, their ancestors, and the Supreme God. This religious interpretation is defined as an effort and prayer to maintain the life management, care, love, and affection of the family and relatives towards the corpse that begins to reside in a new space. Manggarai ethnic's cosmological perspective has the potential to use symbols in expressing the feelings in question. There should be offerings (symbols) in order for life to exist. Regardless of the differences among clans, the substance is similar in terms of the goals of what is called a prayer. Therefore, a prayer to the deceased is the main focus of the Manggarai ethnic's funeral service.

Second, when expressing symbols, the spokesperson must adhere to the discourse norm, which requires an introduction, a body, and a conclusion. The greetings and honors to the participants "here (living people) and there (ancestors and God)" are addressed in the introduction. The major core of the offering symbols is referred to as the body. In this section, the prayer to God and the ancestors is offered. The conclusion, meanwhile, is a high expectation for the acceptance of the offered symbols. As of now, the introduction, body, and conclusion of the funeral discourse are comparable to those of other genres.

Third, the symbols used were articulated with a strong focus on the local meaning of a discourse, in addition to the macro and micro levels. Such local meaning can be deduced from the semantic, syntactic, stylistic, and rhetorical elements of the spokespeople's statements. The semantic element is concerned with lexical, phrasal, and sentence meaning and the principles that govern the relationship between sentences or words. Thus, the symbols used in the funeral discourse are closely related to meaning as a definition, meaning as an intention, and meaning as a reference. These meanings may also occur in other traditional Manggarai rites. However, the spokesperson of the Manggarai funeral discourse expressed the symbols in context, which in turn conveyed the meanings in question. Meanwhile, the rule governing the spokesperson's utterances in expressing symbols mostly followed the pattern of $S \rightarrow NP\ VP$. The uttered sentence (S) consists of a noun phrase (NP) and a verb phrase (VP) (syntactic element), with a great attention paid to the power of intonations (tones) and sentence length (stylistic element) as well as the use of figurative language (rhetorical aspect).

The Manggarai ethnic's funeral rite is an output of a product, which means that it is not just a discourse. It is important to consider the Manggarai social structures, systems of dominance, power, and how these factors affect the discourse in question. Thus, text, social cognition, language, and social context are all interrelated. As a result, the symbols used pay as much or more attention to language use in relation to social, political, and cultural factors than to "purely" linguistic facts.

Integral to the interview data, symbols used in the funeral discourse is a means to build the Manggarai ethnic interpersonal relationships (Table 2). The symbols hold the relationship between the family and others and their environment, ancestors, and God. In this respect, symbols (things and actions) are employed as a means of communication and have specific meanings. This is consistent with Mead's theory that symbolic interactions between people provide a pearl of meaningful local wisdom (Baker et al., 2018; Iswandono et al., 2016; Niman, 2022b; Zhirenov et al., 2016). Through symbols, symbolic interactions become the subject of how to understand other people's thoughts, and patterns of action (Loza, 2022; Tahir et al., 2020). In addition, the symbol is frequently used to describe and learn the transcendent secret world, such as the "truth of being," through implicit images to shield oneself from the blinding rays of truth, as well as a spiritual tool to help understand the outside world (Firth, 1973/2011; Cassirer, 1944/1992).

Furthermore, the symbols have a societal significance. The use of action symbols, which represent a societal concept for the Manggarai ethnic, makes this meaning very evident. The social platforms that bring people together and foster fraternity and togetherness are employed as symbols. This is consistent with the findings of previous research that each traditional ritual is a way for communities to express their interconnectedness by reading environmental cues and creating local knowledge patterns that are embodied in knowledge or ideas, customary norms, and values in the cultural rituals (Baker et al., 2018; Bauto, 2013; Borchi, 2018; Byram, 1993; Mungmachon, 2012; Suswandari, 2017).

In the Manggarai funeral discourse, the meanings indicated above (social, religious, philosophical, and cosmological meanings) are unified with distinctive principles for each. The principles serve as guidelines for how they should conduct themselves and engage with others, ancestors, environments, and God. This suggests that the funeral rites of the Manggarai ethnic uphold noble principles that are extremely precious to them. The point is supported by the studies performed by Duranti (1997), Koentjaraningrat (1979/2009), Miska et al. (2017), and Niman (2022b) who said that the concepts of things in the community's mind (mentalistic aspect) that they value serve as a guide for action and interaction both now and in the afterlife.

The stages of the funeral ceremony also represent a cosmic unity that is unbroken and holds honorable qualities for the Manggarai ethnic. The patterns and modes of communication as well as the ideals expressed in each stage suggest a symbolic exchange and a profound philosophy of existence as extremely vulnerable human beings who are totally reliant on their predecessors and on God. These principles are upheld and serve as ways of life. This is consistent with previous studies, which

showed that local wisdom has the power of values and norms that the community must uphold as a result of the symbolic interactions (Gibbs, 2020; Saharudin, 2019).

The symbols of the Manggarai ethnic's funeral ceremony are more of the hidden meaning than the concept, although the symbol mediates the artistic image and the concept of hidden meaning (Firth, 1973/2011). They have factual meanings as opposed to artistic images. Additionally, the current study discovered that symbols did not directly represent an object or phenomenon, but rather gave it a misleading impression of a similar object or phenomenon. Symbols do not directly express a thought, but use figurative language such as allegory and metaphor. Each person interprets the symbol according to their own level of understanding and chooses a meaning that best suits their capabilities, since it frequently has a metaphorical meaning.

To this day, the Manggarai ethnic's funeral ceremony still uses symbols as a way to communicate with family members, the environment, ancestors, and God. Therefore, the idea of symbols in the Manggarai culture cannot be isolated from its conceptualization, relationships with other people, and the supreme being (socio-theological relations). The position of the soul of the deceased is believed to be in another realm where the souls of the deceased continue their journey into the afterlife. Based on the meanings and values of the symbols used in the Manggarai ethnic's funeral rite, the position of the soul of the dead body is believed to be in the afterlife. The symbols used in the funeral rite are intended to guide the spirit of the deceased to the afterlife and ensure a smooth transition to the next world. For example, the use of offerings may be intended to comfort and support the soul of the deceased on its journey. Overall, the Manggarai ethnic's funeral rite is intended to honor the deceased and ensure that their spirit is able to find its way to the afterlife, where it can continue to exist in a new form.

However, there is still a belief that the spirit of the deceased remains with the family for a period of time after death. This is known as the "souling" period, and it is believed to last for up to forty days. During this time, the spirit of the deceased is believed to remain close to the family and may even visit them in dreams or visions. Although the deceased person is no longer physically present, their soul continues to exist and live with the family and other loved ones. The soul exists outside of this world, but through the prayers expressed in the symbols provided, the soul interacts psychologically with living human beings. In other words, the dead person is still living together with their family and relatives. After the period of souling, the spirit is believed to move on to the afterlife and no longer stay with the family.

More importantly, since they are based on constant mobility and are connected to any phenomenon, it is significant to note that Manggarai ethnic's symbols do not exist in their symbolic domains. Over time, the symbolic units incorporate additional symbolic elements that indicate the categories of modern Manggarai cultural and cognitive existence. Additionally, the character of the symbol in linguistic communication is shaped by communicative necessity. Manggarai ethnic's symbols are thus born out of necessity. This means that the verbal representation of the universe and the symbolization process are different from the representation of scientific reality. Following cultural developments, units that became a component of the symbolic representation of the human worldview should be viewed as a complicated phenomenon.

Conclusion

It is not enough to study the nature of language symbols solely from a linguistic perspective. When symbols are linked to the cultural context, it is possible to comprehend their nature; it is also possible to discover the essence of a symbol by studying how it interacts with that context. Individual expressions of local wisdom come to characterize and play a vital part in the cultural life of a community. As such, a culture is a form of self-expression and the creator of communal identity.

The Manggarai ethnic use symbols in their traditional funeral rites for several reasons. Symbols serve as a form of communication, representing complex ideas, values, and emotions beyond words. They reinforce cultural identity and heritage, connecting individuals to their roots and ancestors. Symbols hold sacred or ritualistic meanings, facilitating religious or spiritual practices and connecting with divine forces. In funeral rites, symbols foster Manggarai ethnic cohesion, strengthening social bonds and a shared sense of identity. They also serve as teaching tools, transmitting cultural knowledge, history, and wisdom to younger generations.

The Manggarai ethnic are keen to demonstrate their transparency, closeness, humility, respect, duty, and courtesy towards others, their ancestors, and God. Thus, the use of symbols in Manggarai ethnic's funeral ceremony reflects their anthropological, sociological, cosmological, and psychological relational principles, which are called socio-theological relations. Through the use of symbols, these relations make the dead person still alive in this world. However, it is important to note that the specific reasons for using symbols in traditional rites can vary widely across cultures, with their meaning and significance deeply embedded in cultural and historical contexts. Understanding symbols requires studying and engaging with specific cultures.

This study had several limitations. First, the focus of the study was on the funeral ceremony. Since the Manggarai ethnic is rich in symbols, further researchers need to extend the studies to other traditional discourses. Second, there were only six participants in the study. In order to have rich data, it might be more challenging to involve more participants.

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BOOK REVIEW

Christina Weis (2021). Surrogacy in Russia: An Ethnography of Reproductive Labour, Stratification and Migration. Emerald

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Despite the increased use of surrogacy as a fertility treatment method in Russia, this technology continues to generate controversies and heated public debates. Russian and international scholars examine legal, medical, and media discourses on surrogate motherhood in Russia, as well as online representations of surrogacy on the Internet forums and in social media (Nartova, 2009; Rivkin-Fish, 2013; Siegl, 2018). However, academic literature has so far analyzed surrogate motherhood in Russia in a limited scope and format, such as book chapters and articles on particular aspects of this phenomenon. The book under review is the first monograph devoted to the institute of surrogacy in Russia in its complexity and breadth. The book's author, Christina Weis, is a social and cultural anthropologist and a Lecturer at De Montfort University (Leicester, UK). She based her book on extensive ethnographic research conducted from 2011 to 2021 among surrogate mothers, commissioning parents, fertility clinics, and surrogacy agencies in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Karelia, and Minsk. The book explores "the social organization and cultural framing of commercial gestational surrogacy in Russia" (p. 3) in the context of global surrogacy practices and institutions.

The book opens with a Prologue, in which the reader meets Gabriela, a woman from Moldova who came to St. Petersburg to offer her services as a surrogate mother to a Russian couple. The author describes how she first met Gabriela in person on a cold evening in a working-class neighborhood of St. Petersburg. Having agreed to talk about her experience, Gabriela, to the author's surprise, declined her invitation to sit in a warm café, preferring walking on icy streets. As it turns out, her contract with a surrogate agency, which she resorted to after failed attempts to find client parents on her own, forbade her to talk about

her circumstances. "I don't have any rights. The parents have all the advantages, and I have none," Gabriela explains to the author. Thus begins Weis' observant and thoughtful exploration of surrogate motherhood in Russia. Weis uses Gabriela's story as a device to move along her analysis of social and cultural practices and institutions underlying commercial surrogacy in Russia. The book has five chapters, which are "Introduction: Surrogacy in Russia," "Becoming a Surrogacy Worker," "Making the Relationship Work," "Reproductive Migrations," "Disruptions and Reconfigurations", in addition to a conclusion, "At Crossroads," and four Appendixes.

Chapter 1 situates surrogacy in Russia within the larger context of surrogacy practices worldwide. After a brief survey of the legal frameworks in which the surrogacy market operates in Russia and the body of international scholarship on surrogacy, the author argues that the common tropes of transnational surrogacy, "such as the North–South exploitation and brown bodies carrying white babies," or "the framing of surrogacy as a labour of love" (p. 16) in Western countries do not capture how surrogate motherhood is seen and conceptualized in Russia and other former Soviet countries. Weis' central argument in the book is that "in Russia, surrogacy is unapologetically seen as an economic transaction, or in the words of the surrogates, a 'business arrangement'" (pp. 16–17). Indicating that gestational surrogacy mothers regard themselves as "workers," Weis introduces the terms "surrogacy worker" to refer to women undertaking the role of surrogate mothers and "surrogacy work" to designate all types of labor involved in surrogacy.

The chapter describes the author's research methodology, sampling, and specifics of recruiting informants for the study. The volume of collected data is impressive: Weis interviewed dozens of surrogate mothers, bio-parents, agency employees, and medical specialists conducting participant observation in "fertility clinics, maternity wards, gynaecological units, surrogacy agencies' premises and in surrogacy workers' homes and provided accommodation" (p. 17). The author is remarkably open about the difficulties she encountered when entering the field: the limitations imposed by the language barrier, the situational and time constraints, etc., and the way her position in the field influenced the data she acquired.

Chapter 2 describes how women enter the surrogacy market in Russia and outlines the social, economic, and educational characteristics of a typical surrogacy worker. Financial insecurity and the lack of well-paid employment constitute the key motivation for women to become a surrogate. "None of the women in my research sample would have opted for surrogacy work if their material situation had been better" (p. 30). The chapter also discusses the selection process of potential surrogates based on "various expectations and racialised imaginaries of the agencies and client parents: besides being healthy, a desirable surrogacy was expected to display docility, a certain amount of financial need and monetary rather than altruistic inclinations" (p. 53). The author explains that prospective surrogates are not recruited from the poorest social class since their lifestyle, eating, and sanitary habits have to meet the criteria of middle-class client parents.

The way Weis describes "surrogate work" falls into a broad framework of the neoliberal economy based on the exchange of various types of capital. Weis introduces

the notion of "reproductive capital" to describe the business transactions taking place in surrogacy: "By engaging in surrogacy work and providing their uterus for surrogacy gestation, they [surrogate mothers] are able to convert their reproductive capital into economic capital" (p. 30). She further explores the neoliberal strategies of managing one's self when discussing the necessity for surrogate workers to perform "emotion work," i.e., "to continuously manage one's own emotions" during the pregnancy, to justify their choice from the moral point of view and to maintain emotional detachment from the child they carry (p. 36). Weis shows that the intensive medicalization of surrogate pregnancies reinforces the emotional distance between the women and the babies they carry. Since surrogate pregnancy requires considerable medical intervention, many surrogate workers perceive their pregnancies as "entirely artificial" (p. 33).

Chapter 3 addresses the topic of the relationship between client parents and surrogacy workers. Depending on whether the parties enter into a direct agreement or choose to contact via a mediating surrogacy agency, they may meet or not meet in person during the surrogacy program. However, regardless of the arrangement, "surrogacy workers and client parents conceptualise their relationship in terms of a hierarchical 'employee–employer' relationship" (p. 57). The author acknowledges that the absolute majority of surrogate contracts do not grant surrogate workers the legal status, rights, and protection as "employees." Nevertheless, framing surrogacy in terms of temporary employment is the choice of words by surrogate mothers and reflects their sense of identity and moral understanding of their roles. A corollary to the hierarchical relationship between the client parents and the surrogate worker is that the latter considers it her duty to establish and maintain a smooth relationship that satisfies her employers. Weis calls this type of work "relational work" (p. 65), which continues until the child is born. After childbirth, any relationship between the parties ends, in contrast to surrogacy arrangements in North America and some other Western countries, where surrogacy is framed as a "gift" and "labor of love." US surrogacy workers "value a good personal relationship with their client parents during the pregnancy and expect a lasting bond thereafter" (p. 73). In Russia, surrogacy is ultimately understood "as a temporary, contractual arrangement and not as an opportunity to create life-long bonds" (p. 76).

Geographical and geopolitical stratification constitutes an essential aspect of commercial surrogacy in Russia. Chapter 4 examines "reproductive flows" from the country's peripheral regions and former Soviet Union republics to Russia's "repro-hubs," Moscow and St. Petersburg. The book analyzes two forms of reproductive mobility: commuting and migration. The former is practiced by surrogate workers living not too far from the repro-hubs and involves visits to the cities for appointments and, eventually, for delivery. Women from remote places and other countries migrate to Russia's capitals and stay there for the entire duration of the surrogacy program. Weis examines the stark disparities in financial compensation among women from St. Petersburg and Moscow, women from Russia's periphery, and women arriving from outside Russia. Racialized imaginaries play a significant role in the geographically-stratified surrogacy market: led by stereotypes, most clients in Russia avoid hiring "ethnic" women. As a result, "women from Central Asian republics, who live in Russia and want to become surrogacy workers, tend to significantly lower their financial expectations to compete with Slavic women" (p. 49).

Chapter 5 addresses the impact of the COVID-19 epidemics and the increasingly conservative political climate in the country on the practice of surrogacy in Russia, as well as the latest developments in the legislation on surrogate motherhood. The situation, in which, during the COVID lockdown, hundreds of children born to surrogates for international couples got stuck within the country's borders with the parents unable to pick them, was not uniquely Russian. In Russia, however, the COVID surrogacy crisis coincided with the shifting political and public attitudes toward surrogacy, as evidenced by the high-profile criminal case following the death, in January 2020, of an infant born to a surrogate mother for a Filipino couple. During the investigation, the authorities arrested employees of a surrogacy agency and a reproductive clinic, including three medical doctors. Drawing on the media coverage of the story, which, in my opinion, was sensationalistic rather than accurate, the author interprets this case as a "clampdown" on the current liberal surrogacy policy implemented by "conservative and homophobic politicians" (p. 111). Unfortunately, Weis overlooked the published comments by expert lawyers who, after a careful investigation into the case, concluded that the human trafficking charges filed against the surrogate agencies were not entirely unfounded and had little to do with the state homophobia.[1]

In her "Conclusion: At Crossroads", Weis analyzes the draft bill introduced by the State Duma in 2021 that limited access to surrogacy to Russian citizens only, and wonders if Russia will follow the path already taken by India and Mexico toward prohibiting foreign nationals from entering commercial surrogacy agreements. After the book's publication, in December 2022, the State Duma passed a law that restricts access to this technology for foreigners and bans the use of donor oocytes and surrogacy in one procedure, thus eliminating a legal uncertainty, which surfaced in the criminal case of 2020. Although this latest development considerably narrows the path of surrogate motherhood in Russia, the main trends of the institution of surrogacy highlighted by the author such as conceptualizing surrogacy as a business arrangement and temporary employment for surrogacy workers, geographical and geopolitical stratification of surrogacy market resulting in commuting and migrant surrogacy will most probably continue in the coming years.

Appendixes 1–4 provide the readers with glimpses of the fieldwork behind the scenes: the list of research participants, fieldnotes on the scholar's relationship with the informants, a self-reflective piece about the emotional work embedded in doing anthropology, and a sketch of an agency-provided accommodation for surrogates on the outskirts of St. Petersburg. The author's devotion to the empirical data is the book's strong suit, yet, it does her a disservice at times. Given the speed of economic and social change, the author should have relinquished some of her data from 2014–2015 and made updates. For example, the amount of compensation for surrogacy pregnancy had doubled compared to what she cites in the Note on Conversion table on the first pages. Moreover, lawyer Svitnev's 2011 expert assessment of Russia as a "reproductive paradise" for foreigners (p. 8), cited in the opening pages of the book, sounds problematic

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[1] Olga Zinovieva, a medical lawyer and a member of Russian Association of Human Reproduction, provided a detailed examination of 11 episodes of the case that took place from 2014 to 2020 (for more details, see Granina, 2020).

in 2021, when the author of the quote has been charged with human trafficking and is fleeing arrest in another country. The book cites the Russian Public Opinion Research Center (VCIOM) survey on surrogacy from 2013, but it fails to mention that the VCIOM repeated its study in 2021, and the latter showed the public's increased awareness and acceptance of surrogacy. Fortunately, such discrepancies between the realities of surrogacy circa 2015 and those in the year of the book's publication are not numerous, and they do not undermine the author's innovative and profound analysis.

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For all manuscripts non-discriminatory language is mandatory. Sexist or racist terms must not be used. The singular "they" or "their" is endorsed as a gender-neutral pronoun. Instead of using adjectives as nouns to label groups of people, descriptive phrases are preferred. Instead of broad categories, using exact age ranges that are more relevant and specific is preferable.

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Foreign words and all titles of books or plays appearing within the text should be italicized. Non-Anglophone or transliterated words should also appear with translations provided in square brackets the first time they appear (e.g., weltanschauung [world-view]).

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Placement	References are cited in the text by the author's surname, the publication date of the work cited, and a page number if necessary. Full details are given in the reference list. Place them at the appropriate point in the text. If they appear within parenthetical material, put the year within commas: (see Table 3 of National Institute of Mental Health, 2012, for more details)
Within the same parentheses	Order alphabetically and then by year for repeated authors, with in-press citations last. Separate references by different authors with a semi-colon.
Repeat mentions in the same paragraph	If name and year are in parentheses, include the year in subsequent citations.

With a quotation	This is the text, and Smith (2012) says "quoted text" (p. 1), which supports my argument. This is the text, and this is supported by "quoted text" (Smith, 2012, p. 1). This is a displayed quotation. (Smith, 2012, p. 1)
Page number	(Smith, 2012, p. 6)
One author	Smith (2012) or (Smith, 2012)
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	Smith, J. (2012b).
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Edition	Author, A. A. (2012). *Book title: And subtitle* (4th ed.). Abingdon: Routledge (place of publication is optional).
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Not in English	Doutre, É. (2014). *Mixité de genre et de métiers: Conséquences identitaires et relations de travail* [Mixture of gender and trades: Consequences for identity and working relationships]. Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science/Revue canadienne des sciences du comportement, 46, 327–336. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0036218 For transliteration of Cyrillic letters please use the links: ALA-LC Romanization Tables at the web-site of The Library of Congress http://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpso/roman.html
Online	Author, A. A. (2012). *Title of work: Subtitle* [Adobe Digital Editions version]. (*The website name*) https://www.w3.org
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Multivolume works	
Multiple volumes from a multivolume work	Levison, D., & Ember, M. (Eds.). (1996). *Encyclopedia of cultural anthropology* (Vols. 1–4). New York, NY: Henry Holt (place of publication is optional). Use Vol. for a single volume and Vols. for multiple volumes. In text, use (Levison & Ember, 1996).
A single volume from a multivolume work	Nash, M. (1993). Malay. In P. Hockings (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of world cultures* (Vol. 5, pp. 174–176). New York, NY: G.K. Hall (place of publication is optional). IIn text, use (Nash, 1993).
Journal	
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Peer-reviewed article published online ahead of the issue	Author, A. A., & Author, B. B. (2012). Title of the article. *Title of the Journal*. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/xx.xxxxxxxxxx If you can update the reference before publication, do so.
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Other article types	Editorial: Title of editorial. [Editorial]. (2012). *Title of the Journal*, 14, 1–2. Author, A. A. (2010). Title of review. [Review of the book Title of the book, by B. Book Author]. *Title of the Journal*, *22*(1), 123–231. https://doi.org/xx.xxxxxxxxxx
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Thesis	Author, A. A. (2012). *Title of thesis* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation or master's thesis). Name of the Institution, Location.
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Reports	
May or may not be peer-reviewed; may or may not be published. Format as a book reference	Author, A. A. (2012). *Title of work* (Report No. 123). Location: Publisher. Author, A. A. (2012). *Title of work* (Report No. 123). (The website name) https://www.w3.org

Working paper	Author, A. A. (2012). *Title of work* (Working Paper No. 123). Location: Publisher. Author, A. A. (2012). *Title of work* (Working Paper No. 123). (The website name) https://www.w3.org
Discussion paper	Author, A. A. (2012). *Title of work* (Discussion Paper No. 123). Location: Publisher. Author, A. A. (2012). *Title of work* (Discussion Paper No. 123). (The website name) https://www.w3.org
Personal communication	Personal communication includes letters, emails, memos, messages from discussion groups and electronic bulletin boards, personal interviews. Cite these only in the text. Include references for archived material only.
Other reference types	
Patent	Cho, S. T. (2005). U.S. Patent No. 6,980,855. Washington, DC: U.S. Patent and Trademark Office.
Map	London Mapping Co. (Cartographer). (1960). Street map. [Map]. (*The website name*) https://www.londonmapping.co.uk/maps/xxxxx
Act	*Mental Health Systems Act*, 41 U.S.C. § 9403 (1988).
Audio and visual media	Taupin, B. (1975). Someone saved my life tonight [Recorded by Elton John]. On Captain fantastic and the brown dirt cowboy [CD]. London: Big Pig Music Limited (place of publication is optional). Author, A. (Producer). (2009, December 2). *Title of podcast* [Audio podcast]. (The website name) https://www.w3.org Producer, P. P. (Producer), & Director, D. D. (Director). (Date of publication). *Title of motion picture* [Motion picture]. Country of origin: Studio or distributor. Smith, A. (Writer), & Miller, R. (Director). (1989). Title of episode [Television series episode]. In A. Green (Executive Producer), Series. New York, NY: WNET. Miller, R. (Producer). (1989). The mind [Television series]. New York, NY: WNET.
Database	Author, A. A., Author, B. B., & Author, A. A. (2002). A study of enjoyment of peas. *Title of the Journal*, *8*(3). Retrieved February 20, 2003, from the PsycARTICLES database.
Dataset	Author. (2011). *National Statistics Office monthly means and other derived variables* [Data set]. Retrieved March 6, 2011, (*The website name*) https://www.w3.org If the dataset is updated regularly, use the year of retrieval in the reference, and using the retrieval date is also recommended.
Computer program	Rightsholder, A. A. (2010). *Title of program* (Version number) [Description of form]. Location: Name of producer. Name of software (Version Number) [Computer software]. Location: Publisher. If the program can be downloaded or ordered from a website, give this information in place of the publication information.

Social media	
Facebook[1] citation (post)	News From Science. (2019, June 21). *Are you a fan of astronomy? Enjoy reading about what scientists have discovered in our solar system—and beyond?* This [Image attached] [Status update]. Facebook. https://www.facebook.com/ScienceNOW/photos/a.117532185107/10156268057260108/?type=3&theater Parenthetical citation: (News from Science, 2019) Narrative citation: News from Science (2019)
Facebook citation (page)	Community of Multiculturalism. (n.d.). *Home* [Facebook page]. Facebook. Retrieved October 14, 2020, from https://www.facebook.com/communityofmulticulturalism/ Parenthetical citation: (Community of Multiculturalism, n.d.) Narrative citation: Community of Multiculturalism (n.d.)

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2023. Том 7, № 2

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