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Received 22.02.24

Received in revised form 02.04.2024

Accepted 16.04.2024

DOI: 10.15421/272409

UDC 94(477.6):316.346.2”1851/1933”

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FEATURES OF THE FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE MASCULINE REGION: ON THE EXAMPLE OF DONBAS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19TH – FIRST THIRD OF THE 20TH CENTURY

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Abstract. The article analyzes the reasons for the formation and long-term preservation of masculinity in Donbas in the second half of the 19th – the first third of the 20th century. The research was conducted on the basis of gender methodology, which involves the analysis of the gender factor in determining the status of a person in society, and with the use of historical-genetic, historical-typological and historical-systemic methods of scientific research. The choice of this historically formed industrial region as an object of study was due to the existence of a number of differences in the definition of gender roles in comparison with the all-Ukrainian practice. In the course of the research, it was established that the decisive factor that determined the formation and long-term preservation of masculinity in Donbas was the nature of the region’s economic development. In the post-reform period, the dominant branch of the economy here was agriculture with its traditional patriarchal structure. The intensive industrial development of the region, which began at the end of the 19th century, contributed to the emergence of economic

sectors with the predominant involvement of men: coal, metallurgy. This led to the fact that men still had a dominant role in economic and socio-political life, while women's sphere of activity was exclusively domestic. This situation did not change until almost the beginning of the 1930s, when the party-state bodies, interested in involving women in production, created conditions for their liberation from the household and involvement in public work. However, all this was not able to destroy the masculinity of the region, women were not able to occupy an equal place with men in social and political life during the period under study.

Key words: gender practices, women's history, masculinity, national identity, feminism.

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ОСОБЛИВОСТІ ФОРМУВАННЯ ТА РОЗВИТКУ МАСКУЛІННОГО РЕГІОНУ: НА ПРИКЛАДІ ДОНБАСУ ДРУГОЇ ПОЛОВИНИ XIX – ПЕРШОЇ ТРЕТИНИ XX СТОЛІТЬ

Анотація. У статті аналізуються причини формування та тривалого збереження маскулінності Донбасу в другій половині XIX – першій третині XX ст. Вибір цього історично сформованого промислового регіону як об'єкта дослідження був обумовлений існуванням в означений період ряду відмінностей у визначенні гендерних ролей порівняно із загальноукраїнською практикою. Вирішальним фактором, що визначив формування та довготривале збереження маскулінності Донбасу, був характер економічного розвитку регіону. У пореформений період домінуючою галуззю тут було сільське господарство з його традиційним патріархальним укладом, який зберігся на селі до 1930-х рр. Інтенсивний промисловий розвиток регіону, що розпочався наприкінці XIX століття, теж сприяв появі тут галузей господарства з переважним залученням чоловіків: кам'яновугільної, металургійної. Через небажання місцевих селян влаштовуватись на промислові підприємства з важкими умовами праці дефіцит робочої сили поповнювався за рахунок малоземельних або безземельних селян з інших українських та російських губерній, які в більшості своїй розглядали цю роботу як тимчасову, тож родини свої сюди не перевозили. Такий самий підхід до цього був і в засновників підприємств. Жіноча половина їх родин не знаходила собі місце в цьому маскулінному краї. Лише на початку XX століття, коли навколо підприємств розбудовуються робітничі поселення, ситуація дещо змінюється. Приїхавши на нетривалий час, деякі робітники осідали тут, перевозили сюди родину, що сприяло вирівнюванню гендерної пропорції населення регіону. Проте як і раніше за чоловіками зберігалася домінуюча роль у господарському та суспільно-політичному житті, тоді як сферою діяльності жінки було винятково домашнє господарство. Причиною цього була відсутність будь-яких вікон можливостей для них, викликана зосередженням промислових підприємств на виробництві продукції важкої промисловості, на яких умови праці були непосильні для жінок. Лише з початком Першої світової війни, коли частка чоловічого населення зменшується, жінки починають займати певні позиції на виробництві, проте масового характеру це не набуло. Незмінною така ситуація залишалась майже до початку 1930-х рр., коли партійно-державними органами, зацікавленими в залученні жінок на виробництво, створюються умови для їх вивільнення від домашнього господарства. Проводило більшовицьке керівництво й цілеспрямовану політику щодо активізації ролі жінки в суспільстві, що спричинило появу в 1920-х рр. у регіоні жінвідділів та рух дружин командирів промисловості. Це дало змогу деяким жінкам віднайти свою нішу й створило фундамент для соціальної мобільності молодого покоління. Однак все це так і не змогло зруйнувати маскулінний характер регіону, жінки так і не змогли тут посісти рівноправне з чоловіками місце в суспільно-політичному житті.

Ключові слова: гендерні практики, жіноча історія, маскулінність, національна ідентичність, фемінізм.

Introduction. No one doubts that the status of a woman in society reflects the level of civility of the community and adherence to the principles of humanism, equality and democracy by its members. Since the declaration of independence, Ukraine has been on its way to achieving such a state. The current course of socio-political and socio-economic life in our country shows that men and women have the same rights and opportunities for self-realization. To achieve this, all the conditions have been created: a state policy in this area has been developed and implemented, state and public structures have been formed that are actively working to solve the gender problem. Women take an active part in state-building processes, hold leadership positions in various structures and organizations, are represented in legislative bodies at the same level as men. They have the opportunity to develop their professional career in various fields. Studying the specifics of the inclusion of women in the socio-political and socio-economic sphere in historical retrospect will allow us to assess the dynamics of the process of modernization of Ukrainian society. Within the framework of the history of Ukraine, the period of the second half of the 19th – the first third of the 20th century is indicative in this aspect. It was at this time that the first signs of the destruction of the patriarchal system and the establishment of the principle of gender equality appeared. Given the differences in the social status of women and their opportunities in different regions of Ukraine, a regional study of the issue is relevant. In particular, the study of the course of these processes in Donbas, where the traditions of gender roles differed from the Ukrainian ones and the masculine character of the region was preserved much longer than in other regions of our country, deserves special attention.

Historiography of research. Analyzing the historiography of the topic, it should be noted that a number of works played a certain role in understanding gender processes in the region of pre-Soviet (O. Kollontai [19], M. Lunts [23]) and Soviet period (N. Goncharenko [10], Z. Lyholobova [22], A. Tsukernik [28]). However, the widest historical interest in Donbas has appeared recently, due to socio-political and military events. Both domestic and foreign researchers turned to its study. Of particular interest among the latter is the research of the Japanese researcher G. Kuromiya «Freedom and Terror in Donbas» [20], which analyzes the evolution of both social and ethnic processes in the region from the beginning of settlement to the 1990s. These same questions are among the scientific interests of domestic researchers. From an overview of the topic of our research, the works of V. Molchanov [24], V. Smoliya, S. Kulchytskyi, and L. Yakubova [27] are of particular interest. The request for the gender aspect of regional development in domestic humanitarianism appeared too late, only when these problems shook the entire Western world. However, even in this short period, several works were published, the authors of which investigated the women's history of Donbas. In particular, these are the works of M. Voronina [5; 7] and L. Kushnir [21]. They rightly point out that in Donbas, gender processes developed differently from other Ukrainian regions, and among the reasons they cite the peculiarities of settlement, production specifics, but they do not reveal all aspects of the historical development of the region, which led to the formation of its masculinity, which could not be destroyed even in the 1920s x – 1930s Bolshevik policy of «gender equality».

The aim and subject of research. The aim of the article is to determine the reasons for the formation and long-term preservation of masculinity in Donbas. The subject of the research is gender practices on the territory of the historically formed industrial region – Donbas in the second half of the 19th – the first third of the 20th century.

Research source base. Reasons for the formation and long-term preservation of masculinity in Donbas in the second half of the 19th – the first third of the 20th century. Are analyzed on the basis of statistical materials and documents from the funds of the State Archives of Donetsk and Kharkiv Regions and the Russian State Historical Archive.

Main material and results. Even in the last quarter of the 19th century, the Russian Empire remained very reluctant to transform from an agrarian to an industrial society, although everything required it. Therefore, the state itself continued to preserve the priority of agrarian thinking and worldview. Donbas was a peculiar island of industry in the Russian Empire on the eve of the reforms. The Luhansk foundry, founded in 1796, and the Lysychan

coal mine, which began operating in 1795, opened the door to a new era of industry [24, p. 59–60]. Later, mines appeared in the Hrushevsky mining district and in Central Donbas, a significant incentive for which was the increase in demand for coal during the Crimean War (1853–1856), which forced the government to ease the conditions for its extraction. However, even under such conditions, only five deposits (the village of Lysychansk, in the estate of Shidlovsky in the village of Oleksandrivka, the village of Uspenka on the land of the Luhansk foundry, as well as the Katerynoslavsky and Hrushevskyi anthracite mines) were regularly mined. The rest of the mines, landlord and peasant, worked seasonally or from time to time, being an auxiliary industry [27, p. 32–33]. The main factor that slowed down the development of the coal industry was not so much the serf system, but the lack of proper infrastructure, which significantly increased the cost of fuel and made its extraction unprofitable. Under this state of affairs, the dominant branch of the economy in the first half of the 19th century, as in other regions of Ukraine, was agriculture with its traditional patriarchal structure.

The industrial development of the region becomes more intensive in the post-reform period. And the main factor here is not so much the abolition of serfdom and the formation of the labor market, but the involvement of Russia in the pan-European system of exchange and competition, which formed the demand for the products of heavy industry, as a guarantee of the competitiveness of the empire. Specialists in the history of economics believe that the Russian Empire did not need to spend money on the development of industry in Donbas, because this region at the end of the 19th century became attractive for foreign capital (in particular, English, Belgian, German and French). One by one, new enterprises were opened in Yuzivskyi (1872), Druzhkivskyi (1894), Donetsko-Yurivskyi (1896), Petrovskyi (1897), metallurgical plants and other heavy industry enterprises, new coal mines. All large metallurgical enterprises of the region were owned by foreign joint-stock companies, with the exception of Donetsk-Yurivskyi, which belonged to O. K. Alchevsky and was based exclusively on domestic capital [25, p. 94]. Foreigners also invested capital in the construction of railway tracks. Thus, the first joint-stock company in this field was founded by the French banking house Société générale de Crédit mobilier (General Mobile Credit Company) of the Pereyre brothers. He, in a relatively short period (1865–1890), managed to build a large-scale transport railway network with a length of 6350 versts, which turned the cities of Kharkiv, Kyiv, Odesa, Katerynoslav, and Kremenchuk into large transport hubs and contributed to the economic development of the region [18, p. 142–143].

The large-scale development of industry, which was a «male territory» contributed to the preservation of the masculine component in the mentality of the Donbas population for many years to come. When the company was founded, no one set the goal of building a city, because the foreigners who invested capital in the organization were not socially responsible to the subjects of the Russian Empire in terms of their lives. First of all, living conditions were created for high- and middle-ranking foreign workers (usually they were of the same nationality as the owner). For the rest of the workers, barracks were built, the living conditions in which were terrible. We will not describe them in our article, because it is well covered in the monograph of the Japanese historian H. Kuromi [20, sh. 34–35]. Working conditions were also very difficult. In addition, the entrepreneurs did not undertake any social obligations to the workers. And the state did not really want to interfere in this, using the «Manchester doctrine», which was popular in the first half of the 19th century. So workers could count only on self-help in case of an accident at work. Thus, on December 20, 1896, in a letter from the law enforcement agency to the Minister of Finance, it was stated: «...that the healing of social ills should be sought not only through the repression of social-democratic antics, but also through the positive improvement of the lives of workers,» because as a result of illness, an accident or old age, the worker «passes under the care of public care», increasing «all these «dead costs»... on state or public care» [26, sh. 1, 9, 12]. A year later, the Minister of Internal Affairs, I. L. Goremykin, stated a similar problem in a letter labeled «Confidential» to S. Yu. Witte: «Long-term experience indicates that the vast majority of owners of industrial enterprises created at that time do not accept from their own

initiative of no active measures to ensure the position of the workers employed by them» [25 26, sh. 82, 84].

Men from nearby villages were not attracted by such conditions. The peasants in this region had enough land to develop a profitable economy that needed cultivation, so there was no surplus of labor. In addition, although agricultural work was difficult, it was still seasonal, especially «male», and the level of injury in it was much lower compared to factory work. Due to the insignificant desire of local residents to fill the jobs, the number of which was constantly growing, this niche was «forced» to be occupied by persons with a different system of values and already tactics, and not strategists – persons who came here solely in order to make a profit and return home with capital. They were not stopped even by the fact that someone would die or be crippled here. But someone will definitely return with the loot. Therefore, the majority of the labor force at mines and industrial enterprises consisted of seasonal workers – landless or landless peasants from other Ukrainian and Russian provinces. Their appearance at local enterprises is explained by the dominance in the imagination of men of a kind of masculine myth: to go to distant lands, overcome all difficulties and return victorious. At the same time, he managed the actions of both black workers and enterprise owners. Some of these seekers of surplus profits transported at least partially their families, and tried to build a prestigious estate. Thus, in 1874, John Hughes built an eight-room house, where he moved his family. In fact, they lived here only until 1903, after which they returned to England forever, handing over affairs to managers.

But Konrad Ulrichovich Gamper, the founder of the Kramatorsk Metallurgical Society, although he accepted Russian citizenship in 1896 for the sake of business, received the status of a merchant of the 1st guild and bought the manor of the Taranovy-Bilozero nobles, however, he moved his family only to St. Petersburg, and in the manor until 1917 managing directors lived with their families. Russian subjects did not create «family nests» in Donbas: S. S. Polyakov and P. M. Horlov, O. K. Alchevsky, etc. Sometimes their sons continued their work, but the female half of the families did not find a place for themselves in this masculine region [1]. Ordinary workers who wanted to earn capital here and return home with it were also not stopped by difficult working and living conditions, the inflow of labor was constant. And the government gradually began to take steps to create labor legislation in the Russian Empire. As noted by M. G. Lunts, «Competition and crisis are additional forces that sometimes pushed the government to the path of factory laws, which regulated the conditions and duration of the working day... Cholera threatened – and the committee of ministers wrote the regulations of 1866 on medical care for factory workers.» [23, p. 14, 8]. Mortality and injury rates in the mining industry were so high that the government was forced to pay attention to the working conditions of workers in this industry and oblige entrepreneurs to bear responsibility for injuries they suffered on the job. It was done, however, only in 1903, and the law on compulsory insurance of workers against accidents was introduced only on June 23, 1912 [6, p. 104–119]. It is quite difficult to estimate the scale of death or maiming at work due to imperfect statistics. And how many men did not wait for their wives and/or parents to come home is also unknown.

It is clear that later life takes its own course and all villages begin to grow with infrastructure, and already at the beginning of the 20th century they differed little from other provincial settlements, although they did not become cities in the classical sense. For example, if in 1856 there were only two houses and a sheepfold in the Lyvensk farm (a settlement near the Yuza plant), then in 1886 it already had 300 houses and sheds. 64 commercial and industrial establishments were registered in the settlement: 3 bakeries and bakeries, 2 sausage shops, a flour warehouse, a slaughterhouse, 6 taverns, a beer hall, a seltzer water booth, 3 hotels and inns, a wine warehouse, 40 benches, 2 forest warehouses, a tannery and soap-making establishments, as well as a bathhouse [27, p. 42]. As Aran Zalman (1899–1970), the son of a Yuzivka shochet (ritual differencer), later the Minister of Education of Israel, wrote in his memoirs «Yuzivka in my memory, the Shining World»: «Every summer in Yuzivka, a Russian theater troupe toured... It was a source of livelihood for its residents there were intermediary services and maintenance of miners from the nearest

mines and factory workers... the day of payment of Sunday labor... was a kind of economic «tube», with the help of which the town was fed... there was a large market... the majority were women. They both sold and bought. They traded all the good that the fertile Ukrainian land brought. The shops were overflowing with the variety of goods... The police building was scary. Under its roof were a public house and a fire department... there were two movie theaters... A large summer well-kept city garden» [15, p. 23–24]. «Illustrated satellite of the Kursk-Kharkiv-Sevastopol railway» of 1902 also tells about achievements in the development of other monocities. For example, in Konstantinovka, Belgian entrepreneurs built houses for workers close to the tracks. They were stone or brick, one-story, multi-apartment, with separate entrances and a common yard where separate summer kitchens and services were located, and if desired, it was possible to grow a garden and vegetable garden. And at the Druzhkivka station, the workers of the «Donetsk Plant» independently built housing on purchased or rented land [16, p. 215–216].

A significant increase in settlements around industrial enterprises became the basis for the demographic development of Donbas. Having arrived for a short time, some workers settled here, transported their family here. In the four decades between 1858 and 1897, the population of Donbas increased from 700,767 to 1,463,109 people (51.7%) [20, p. 34–35]. And if the gender ratio was almost equal, then the status was different. If for the male population of Donbas, the majority of which was involved in the mining industry, the state showed at least some care, regulating the provision of pensions to them in case of mutilation received at work and pension provision for families in the event of a tragic accident, then the female part of this «male club» was not allowed. This was caused both by the preservation of the patriarchal system in families and by the «restriction» of industrial enterprises to the production of heavy industry products, where the working conditions were unbearable for women. There are no exact data on the employment of women in the enterprises of the region, however, based on the figures given by O. Kollontai throughout the empire, it can be assumed that their percentage was negligible in this region as well. She points out that at the beginning of the 20th century. 10,800 women or 5% of the total number of workers were employed in the mining and metallurgical industries, and 9,600 or 2% in the metal processing industries [19, p. 6]. And only the First World War with its gender consequences led to some changes. A large part of men was mobilized and women came to replace them in absolutely all spheres.

Soviet researcher M. G. Goncharenko indicates that 12,800 women were employed at the industrial enterprises of the region on the eve of the revolution of 1917 [10, p. 8–10], which against the background of the total number of employees was approximately 4.4%. At the same time, it can be assumed that all these women performed auxiliary work, and were not directly engaged in mining or foundry work. This state of affairs made it possible to neglect the issues of organizing women's professional education and other gender-oriented institutions, which, in turn, would not only serve the needs of this stratum, but also guarantee horizontal and vertical social mobility. Women had the opportunity to receive primary education, but a small number used it. Thus, in the Mariupol District in the academic year 1868–1869, only 49 girls studied in 14 schools, and in 1875 there were already 58 schools in which only 71 female students were educated [3, p. 105]. The teaching profession was opened for the professional realization of the women of the region. They could acquire the right to practice it either after graduating from diocesan schools or from the 8th (pedagogical) grade of gymnasiums. In total, in 1914, there were five 8th additional classes in the state city gymnasiums of Donbas, among which 2 – in Mariupol, 1 – in Luhansk, and 2 – in Bakhmut gymnasiums. Only on September 1, 1915, the first teacher's seminary in Donbas was opened in Mariupol, where women were also allowed to study [5, p. 30]. In pre-revolutionary times, the question of higher women's education in the region was never even raised.

Events from the beginning of the First World War to the final establishment of Soviet power radically changed the social and demographic face of Donbas many times, but with the onset of peacetime, the transformations continued. Entrepreneurs, feeling the danger during the revolution of 1917–1920, left Donbas, closing their enterprises, as a result of

which about a hundred thousand workers lost their jobs. G. Kuromiya notes that only from March to October 1918, from 215 thousand, they became 78 thousand [20, p. 155]. The Bolshevik leadership also had a lot to offer them. On May 16, 1922, the Resolution of the Soviet People's Committee of the Ukrainian SSR «On the Removal of Retrenched Workers from Donbas» appeared, which was then supplemented by two additional ones on April 5 and June 12, the appearance of which was probably due to the large number of people wishing to leave the region. The only exceptions were those that could be used in future production. It was proposed to provide them with food and to pay a two-week salary [13, sh. 27]. It is clear that under such circumstances, women's candidacies were considered last. They did not have the opportunity to show themselves in public work. Thus, in the Mariupol District in 1923 there was not a single woman among the 11 members of the district committee of the party, and only one of the 46 members of the Bureau of Industrial and City and Parish Party Associations (twenty-five-year-old E.S. Huskova, a Sister of Mercy, a Bolshevik since 1920) [11, sh. 1–5]. It should be noted that at that time there was already a mandatory component in the party vertical, such as the women's department (from the Central Committee of the CP(b)U to the village party union), and in other regions, with rare exceptions, it was women who held these paid positions, and at the same time occupied other management positions due to the lack of personnel at the time. According to the «List of responsible workers in the Mariupol district» of 1922, out of 55 people included in it, only three were women: «Genkina Polina Isakivna – head of the Women's Division of the Ukom, Maria Mykhaylivna Rakhkovich – secretary of the committee for the celebration of October celebrations, Klara Abramivna Samoilovich – head Agitpromom Ukom» [12, sh. 25]. In the executive bodies, women held exclusively auxiliary positions: registrar, typist, courier, clerk, and the most common one was a cleaner.

Gradually, the work of industrial enterprises in Donbas is beginning to recover. With the beginning of collectivization and industrialization, the hegemon class, and with it, cities begin to grow steadily. The most vivid example was Donetsk – according to the all-Union census of 1939, the population of the then Stalino was 466,300 people, while in 1923 it was 32,023, and in 1926 – 105,739. The rest of the villages also received a colossal increase in population from the mid-1920s due to labor migrants, and not a population explosion. Thus, in 1923, Horlivka had a population of 11,476 people, and in 1939, it already had 181,448 people. During the same period, the population of Makiivka grew from 15,509 to 241,807 people; Mariupol – from 28,707 to 221,529; Kadiivki (Stakhanov) – from 8,292 to 134,920; Luhansk – from 43,966 to 214,607 [8; 9; 17]. It was in these satellite cities of large industrial enterprises during their development that engineers and workers lived, who at the cost of inhuman efforts gave high production rates and received a decent salary, but lived in living conditions that were not suitable for life. The Bolshevik leadership used this fact quite actively in its ideological work. At the beginning of 1941, the activists of Horlivka proudly declared: «Behind the line of the new street, far away, there is a museum exhibit of Donbas – a dugout. Miners lived here. At 9 meters – 30 people. Bunks along the walls, bunks along the walls in the upper row. Cold, darkness, dirt, vodka and stabbing», nevertheless, the new street still «lay between shacks and poor buildings» [4, p. 45]. But in Donetsk, according to the recollections of eyewitnesses, these «exhibits» lived even in the interwar period: «In 1920-1930, there was a whole district of similar dugouts, they were called «nakhlovki» or «dog huts». The workers built them themselves. The city was much smaller then, and this district was a suburb» [15, p. 52]. In the reports on «women's work» of this period, many testimonies can be found about the terrible living conditions in these cities. Thus, during the time of the Nep, one of the main tasks of the women's departments in relation to the wives of workers was, in addition to enlightenment, explaining the need to monitor the husband's ability to work, responsibility and sobriety. And with the beginning of industrialization, they were even materially motivated to do so: at the Stalin Metallurgical Plant in September 1929, the management decided to «distribute the bonuses into 3 parts: to the strikers themselves, their wives and children who help them.» In addition, special circles were organized where the specifics of men's work in the new conditions of social

movements were explained [21, p. 152–153]. However, later the Stalinist leadership decided that «the women’s question was solved» and they were campaigned to carry out such work exclusively on a public basis.

Difficult working conditions and unsettled living conditions did not contribute to the attractiveness of such work. If before the revolution they were lured to Donbas with a «long rouble», then in the 1930s a larger ration, for which it was enough to simply register at any enterprise in heavy industry, then you and your wife, children, parents will receive as your dependents the ration is almost the same as a male or female worker employed in the light and food industry, which was quite a powerful incentive in the conditions of the card system introduced on February 14, 1929 on an all-Union scale, for basic food products, and by the end of the year extended to non-food products as well. According to the card system, employees and students received 400 grams of bread per day, workers – 600, workers engaged in heavy physical labor – 800, and their family members – 200–300 [24, p. 144]. It was quite a powerful incentive, considering that, for example, in 1932–1933, Kindrashivka of the Kupyany district in the Kharkiv region was paid 300 g of grain and 15 kopecks in money for 1 working day. If you calculate the total amount and even assume that the peasant received a labor day for every day of the year, which was not the case, then the amount received would not be enough even for his living, not to mention his dependents (children, elderly parents, etc.). So, under such circumstances, as a survival strategy, the villagers chose to move to Donbas, where there were many opportunities to get a job at an important industrial enterprise, even if they had to live in a dugout.

After all, it doesn’t matter if you have a good house or not, when you and your family members are starving. Another incentive for moving to this region was the desire to change one’s social status, which is absolutely necessary for getting an education and career growth, because it was here that one could quickly get the right to write down «worker» or «worker» in the «social status» column. A vivid example here can be the biography of Pasha Angelina, in which the fact of her work at the mine was noted. However, in the autobiography stored in the archival fund of the Stalin regional committee of the CP(b)U, there is only information that from 1921 to 1924 she worked as a laborer for the kulaks, and in 1927 she joined the TOZ [12, sh. 106–123]. That is, when she was in those mines and why did she leave a wealthy village to a place where even professionals had nothing to do, there is no clear answer, but the very fact of recording work at an industrial enterprise gives reason to believe that such a practice took place in the 1920s – in the early 1930s and was positively perceived by society. Another source of replenishment of city dwellers and filling of workplaces became organized recruitments and referrals to strategically important productions of engineering and technical personnel. And if the wives of the founders and owners of enterprises could afford not to move to Donbas in the conditions of a traditional patriarchal society, in Soviet times, the «wives of production commanders», given the image of wives created by propaganda, could not afford to stay in cities with better infrastructure and had to share all the difficulties together with men. The state, engaged in the next economic «jumps», during which it had no time to take care of those whose hands were carried out, forced them to solve the social and everyday problems of workers’ families for free, because it discovered that without a female component it is possible to build factories, but not rampant staff turnover can be prevented. Wives of industrial commanders began to work on maintaining cleanliness and order in canteens, clubs, nurseries, children’s homes, workers’ dormitories, taught literacy to workers’ wives, taught foreign languages, took an active part in the struggle for cleanliness and order at enterprises – and all this without all kinds of additional costs, without a paid apparatus and representation in party cells of all levels, unlike women’s departments. Formally, the movement of ITP wives aimed at improving life had a nationwide scale, however, the geography of the articles in the specialized magazine «Obchestvennytsia» demonstrates its spread exclusively in the masculine regions of Donbass and Dnipropetrovsk region. Kharkiv is occasionally mentioned, but this can rather be explained by the capital syndrome [7, p. 105–115].

The daily life of workers' wives was difficult. The day of an average housewife raising several children began with a trip to get water, since centralized water supply was rare. Then she went to get milk and other products of daily use, which did not have a long shelf life and were bought every day. All this happened in the morning, before the husband went to work and the older children to school. The smaller children remained under the mother's care for the rest of the day. The woman performed her daily duties, combining them with taking care of small children, since the network of kindergartens and crèches was very limited. In addition, the level of male drinking remained traditional for this region. As a result of alcohol intoxication, everyday family fights often arose. Physical violence against wives remained a common phenomenon. Thus, during the last three months of 1928, 600 complaints from women who were beaten by their husbands were registered in Makiivka. In Luhansk, physical violence against women was also a common phenomenon, but women did not dare to contact the police for fear of receiving even more severe beatings [27, p. 55]. Few women worked in industrial enterprises. One of the determining factors here was the VUCVK resolution of 1925, which established that in the presence of «... more than 200, it is necessary to organize a crèche at the rate of one bed for every 10 female workers» and the funds were not to be allocated by the factory itself. Therefore, it is not surprising that here, as well as in the Mykolaiv region, from the very beginning of the 1930s, girls actively began to realize themselves in agriculture, and in various fields: in the management of agricultural machinery, growing sugar beets and animal husbandry [2, p. 122]. In most villages, their achievements exceeded those of local men.

At the beginning of 1931, the demand of Donbas enterprises for labor force in connection with the deployment of production increased significantly: the mines lacked 67,000 workers; at metallurgical plants – 4,700. Under such circumstances, the authorities launched an agitation campaign to involve women in industry. This required her partial liberation from the household, which made the state authorities think about the creation of preschool institutions. The figures of the plan for 1931 are indicative. If it was planned to cover 10% of children in the republic, then in Donbas and Kryvorizha – 100% of children of miners' families and up to 80% of children of workers [14]. So, if in the first five-year period women accounted for 33% of the total increase in the labor force in the large industry of Donbas, then in the second this indicator was already 51% [22, p. 107]. The proportion of women in the coal industry increased significantly during the second five-year period, from 20.4% in 1933 to 26.3% in 1936. This was due to significant changes in the mechanization of labor-intensive processes in mines. Among the drivers of electric locomotives, the share of women increased from 28% in 1932 to 66% in 1936, conveyor workers – from 8% to 70%, winch workers – from 32% to 66% [28, p. 78]. And although the numbers show a significant involvement of women in the production sphere, the muscular character of the region still remains.

Conclusions. Thus, the decisive factor that determined the formation and long-term preservation of masculinity in Donbas was the nature of the economic development of the region. In the post-reform period, the dominant branch of the economy here was agriculture with its traditional patriarchal structure. The intensive industrial development of the region, which began at the end of the 19th century, contributed to the emergence of economic sectors with the predominant involvement of men: coal, metallurgy. Due to the reluctance of local peasants to work at industrial enterprises with difficult working conditions, the shortage of labor was replenished at the expense of peasants with little or no land from other Ukrainian and Russian provinces, who, for the most part, considered this work as temporary, so they did not move their families here. The founders of the enterprises had the same approach to this. The female half of their families did not find a place for themselves in this masculine region. Only at the beginning of the 20th century, when workers' settlements were built around enterprises, the situation changed somewhat. Having arrived for a short time, some workers settled here, transported their family here, which led to equalization of the gender ratio of the population of the region. However, as before, men retained a dominant role in economic and socio-political life, while the sphere of activity of women was exclusively household management. The reason for this was the lack of any windows of opportunity for

them, caused by the «focus» of industrial enterprises on the production of heavy industry products, where the working conditions were unbearable for women. Only with the beginning of the First World War, when the share of the male population decreases, they begin to occupy certain positions in production, however, it was not of a mass nature. This situation did not change until almost the beginning of the 1930s, when the party-state bodies, interested in involving women in production, created conditions for their liberation from the household. The Bolshevik leadership carried out a purposeful policy to activate the role of women in society, which led to the existence in the 1920s of women's departments and the movement of wives of industrial commanders in the region. This enabled some women to find their niche and created a foundation for the social mobility of the younger generation. However, all this was not able to destroy the masculinity of the region, women were not able to occupy an equal place with men in social and political life.

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Received 25.02.24

Received in revised form 08.03.2024

Accepted 13.03.2024