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СОЦИАЛЬНОЕ ДИСТАНЦИРОВАНИЕ И ДРУГИЕ ПОВСЕДНЕВНЫЕ ПРАКТИКИ ГОРОЖАН НА ПРИМЕРЕ ЕНИСЕЙСКОЙ ГУБЕРНИИ В 1920-Е ГОДЫ

В статье рассматриваются некоторые особенности повседневной жизни городского населения Енисейской губернии в начале 1920-х гг. Раскрыты отдельные аспекты реформирования деятельности и/или создание сети учреждений здравоохранения в губернии. Показано изменение повседневных бытовых практик горожан, оказавшихся в сфере внимания и регулирования со стороны государства, в условиях сложной санитарно-эпидемиологической обстановки. Исходной точкой анализа стали текстовые материалы ежедневной газеты «Красноярский рабочий», являвшейся органом Енисейского губернского комитета РКП (б), тираж которой в исследуемый период составлял 9000 экземпляров; нормативно-правовые акты и исторические источники. Делается вывод о том, текстовые материалы местной газеты, в условиях недостатка материалов личного происхождения, могут служить дополнительным источником информации об отдельных аспектах повседневной жизни жителей губернии и позволяют верифицировать имеющиеся в исторической литературе представления о трансформации повседневных бытовых практик горожан в контексте проблем здравоохранения. Методологическую основу исследования составили междисциплинарный подход и принципы системности, объективности и проблемно-хронологический, а также метод контент анализа в его традиционной форме, позволившие исследовать связанные с распространением инфекционных заболеваний изменения в повседневных практиках горожан Енисейской губернии в начале 1920-х гг.

Ключевые слова: повседневная жизнь, Сибирь, Енисейская губерния, городское население, бытовые практики, здравоохранение, средства массовой информации, 1920-е гг.

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PHYSICAL DISTANCING AND OTHER MEASURES: “KRASNOYARSK WORKER” ON HEALTH CHALLENGES OF NEP SIBERIANS

Using publications of a Siberian periodical *the Krasnoyarsk Worker (Krasnoyarskiy Rabochiy)*, the paper attempts to analytically reconstruct the daily practices of Siberian townspeople. Based on the notion of daily life the paper investigates government measures and “movements from below” to prevent the spread of infections and to improve health of ordinary people. Firstly, the author has examined the episodes in the history of *the Krasnoyarsk Worker* that illustrate the newspaper’s engagement in public polemics surrounding health challenges. Secondly, the author has shown how public debate sought to reframe daily practices of Siberian townspeople within accepted structures of daily life while so reconciling habitual practices and government efforts, and, thirdly placed them within the broader context of the societal challenges. To that end, the author has drawn on evidence found in *the Krasnoyarsk Worker* during the period 1920-25s, as well as memoirs and official statistics from the same period. The findings of the paper seek to contribute to a more complete understanding of the processes at work during the period from the regional perspective of Siberia and analyze the events at the grassroots level of Soviet society. A mixture of an interdisciplinary approach to the material, descriptive methods for interpreting sources and content analysis in its traditional form has been adopted.

Keywords: daily life, Siberia, Yenissei province, townspeople, daily habits, health challenges, printed mass media, 1920s.

The popular idea that historical analogues should be treated with caution is probably in need of revision, particularly given the recent health challenges. Some episodes, which have been forgotten for too many years, hold a different place of importance. The pandemic of the 21st century – coronavirus – engages the public and media to remember the work on public health of the 19th century nurse Florence Nightingale and her revolutionising practices at hospitals [40]. The Great Manchurian Plague of 1910-11 that spread through China and threatened to become a pandemic is recollected in terms of introducing different quarantine measures [42]. The 1918-20 Spanish flu pandemic is remembered terms of the extent to which it revealed that remote communities were not sheltered from its effects [39].

A popular testing technique – matching –

would probably be failed if one tries to match pieces of advice as “maintain physical distancing”, “avoid handshaking” and “wash your hands”, prescribed by a newspaper article, and the time and place they were published. In the early 1920s, the instructions like these were regularly published by a daily newspaper of a remote Siberian town. At this time, debates surrounding societal challenges naturally spilled onto the pages of periodicals. One such newspaper, the *Krasnoyarsk Worker (Krasnoyarskiy Rabochiy)*, founded by Siberian Bolsheviks in 1905, constitutes a unique source of information on developments that were taking place in NEP Siberia given the fact that to a large extent it drove these changes. However, despite a recent increase in scholarly interest towards Siberia under NEP, the place of the *Krasnoyarsk Worker* in public discourse of the early 1920s has thus far been largely

overlooked [8; 21; 36]. Though the Soviet press has been the target of criticism about its propaganda role [15; 37], given the lack of written records of personal origin like letters, dairies, memoirs, etc., publications of a Siberian periodical in its own way provide a written record of the changes transpiring in NEP Siberia being to a high degree the sole source of information on daily life of ordinary people. The purpose of this paper is to place the *Krasnoyarsk Worker* within a larger context of the printed media of the period.

The study became possible through an interdisciplinary approach to the material and descriptive methods for interpreting sources, as well as content analysis in its traditional form. The approach offered some fresh insights and a more profound understanding of the events of the period by examining the newspaper narrative on interaction of government efforts and movements “from below”. To that end, the paper drew on evidence found in *the Krasnoyarsk Worker* from the 1920s-25s, as well as memoirs and official data from the same period.

At the beginning of 1920s, Yenissei province (Yenisseiskaya Gubernia) covered an area of about 2543340 sq. km. with 1119208 inhabitants [5]. Although “Siberian society and economy under NEP were unique by Soviet standards ...” [41, p.11], the poor living and health conditions of its urban residents fitted Siberian society perfectly into Pan-Russian context [24].

In the aftermath of the events of the World War I, two Revolutions and Civil war, the young Soviet state inherited the disastrous health level of its population [19; 20]. A combination of unemployment and skyrocketing prices, lack of basic supplies and necessities, extreme poverty and outbreaks of infectious diseases constituted people’s daily life. A certain Chashchin, who was a former officer of Kolchak army in 1920, described the situation in Krasnoyarsk in his memoirs. He remembered “sick hungry people roam about the streets knocking on every door and begging for a piece of bread or an opportunity to get themselves warm” [18]. The wife of a former White officer Olga Iliana-Boratynskaia in her novel *White Way. Russian Odyssey 1919-1923* recalled a certain Krasnoyarsk woman “scared to death who let us in but all people in the house were sick with typhoid” [16]. The situation in the urban areas of the province was labelled as “total ruin” by the official local periodical [7, p.1]. During 1920-22s, the townspeople of Yenissei province were too busy just surviving [17]. Food was the prime necessity and townspeople spent larger shares – about 70% - of their income on it.

Another 20% of their earnings townspeople spent on clothing and boots that could not be ignored in Siberia, distinguished by its climatic extremes, and only 1-1.5% of what people earned they could afford spending on health related problems [24]. The desperate people rushed to rural areas thus contributing to urban population decrease, as “... immigration continued to be a feature of Siberian life under NEP...” [41, p.5]. The 1920 national census estimated 113266 townspeople against 119173 in 1917 [5].

People’s Commissariat of Public Health was founded in 1918 [12] as a part of a huge national rebuilding effort. At the local level, medical and sanitary departments became integral parts of the provincial and town councils [9]. In general, the organs of administration in the province mirrored those in Moscow. The lack of medical facilities, personnel and supplies were among the most pressing concerns of provincial healthcare system. For example, in Krasnoyarsk, the administrative center of Yenissei province with a population about 64900 residents [5], there were only five small hospitals, five medical stations, two maternity homes and two dental clinics with 64 doctors, 1 midwife and 27 nurses [28, p.3]. In the words of Bukin and Isaev “One cannot judge the level medical care by number of doctors and hospital beds per 10 thousand inhabitants” [4, p.5]. However, at the very beginning of 1920s, only 60% of the local residents had access to healthcare. Hospitals and medical stations laid in ruins; the health facilities badly needed medications, equipment and instruments, even bedclothes [25, p.2]. In addition, the number of health workers decreased significantly due to the loss of manpower and weak influx of new qualified personnel as the medical schools failed to provide the province with qualified health workers [20].

Nevertheless, by the middle of 1920s in Yenissei province, there were either reconstructed or built 60 hospitals, 78 medical stations and 23 special patient care institutions [24]. Thus, for the majority of townspeople free access to the health facilities became a new normal.

Against this economical and socio-political setting background, using the publications of a Siberian periodical, the paper aims to analytically reconstruct “how people lived” [38, p.xiv] in provincial towns with special reference to health challenges and reframing of daily practices of ordinary people during the period 1920-25 identified by V.Soskin as crucial for the national economy [17].

In January 1920, Krasnoyarsk was retaken by the Red army. The provincial newspaper *Krasnoyarsk Worker* started to report regularly in specially

launched sections and columns on the public health challenges and government efforts to provide a well-functioning free healthcare system and “movements from below”. In the years 1920 to 1921, the columns “Spread of Infectious Diseases in the Province” and “Provincial Medical and Sanitary Department Informs” were the parts of the section “Local Life”. In 1922-23, the newspaper launched “National Health Care” section. Since 1924 it turned into “At Our Hospitals”, “At Our Health Resorts” and “At Our Watering Resorts”. The newspaper had a daily circulation of 9000 copies.

To provide the townspeople with actual health data the *Krasnoyarsk Worker* cited the infectious diseases in the province (typhus, chicken pox, scarlet fever, diphtheria, cholera and venereal diseases), the number of people infected and deaths. Newspaper narrative quoted people’s daily health related problems, like long queues at chemist’s shops or high prices for medications [32, p.3]. The people complained about the poor results of capital repairs of the local hospital – the holes that the workers had left in the floor and windows resulted in terrible cold in the wards and constant flus for patients [10, p.3]. A contemporary commented on a certain employee of Krasnoyarsk Division of GPU Subbotko who had been fortunate enough to read a mistake in his prescription. If he did not have known Latin, “morphine” would have been given to Comrade Subbotko instead of “atropine” at a local Chemist’s shop. How did it happen that an employee of the Russian state security organization who lived in a Siberian provincial town turned out to be an expert of a dead language, remains a tangled question [2, p.195]. Thus, though access to healthcare was to a large extent free but it was largely influenced by the economic and human factors.

On the other hand, journalistic communication brought into spotlight some positive moments as well. The patients of Krasnoyarsk Military Hospital praised its excellent sanitary conditions [35, p.3] and thanked the healthcare workers for good care and treatment [3, p.2]. They noted that after each entertaining event at the Club for the patients the floors and benches were regularly wet cleaned [22, p.3]. The townspeople expressed their hopes that the healthcare workers would somehow be rewarded for their efforts. Therefore, the newspaper’s engagement in public polemics surrounding health challenges, on the one hand, provided the townspeople with the current information on health issues without any war rhetoric; on the other, it made both government officials and ordinary people negotiate

health challenges.

Since 1921, sanitising and improving drainage were among the most effective measures used by the medical provincial and municipal councils aimed to suppress water-borne diseases like cholera and typhoid [30, p.2]. Revolutionising practices at hospitals included constructing of isolating wards and vaccinating of population. Vaccines became habitual practice among all health workers, inmates, railway and water-transport workers and those heading to European Russia and Western Siberia. They were obliged to be anti-cholera and -typhoid vaccinated [6, p.2]. In 1922, to isolate the infected and potentially infected from ordinary hospital patients, special wards for venereal and lung patients were built [28, p.3]. Tuberculosis was another “chronic Siberian illness” and the first T.B. clinic was constructed in Krasnoyarsk already in 1924. There worked only two doctors who had to see 2315 patients monthly and the newspaper cited people often had to wait for a week to see a doctor [13, p.2]. The same year witnessed the outbreak of measles among Krasnoyarsk children. Quarantine measures there were swiftly introduced. Primary schools were temporarily closed and entertaining events were banned. The paper advocated, “Timely anti-epidemic measures of Krasnoyarsk medical institutions prevented the disease spreading to orphanages” [23, p.8].

Public health information infrastructure of the province started since January 1924 with the so-called “medical examinations of population” [27, p.3; 31, p.4; 33, p.3]. The negative results of health records could prevent people from getting a job but at the same time provide them with an opportunity to have a free rest at a Health or Watering resort. In 1924 summer, 1385 people from Yenisei province (1,013 men and 372 women) who had undergone a “preliminary medical examination” spent their vacations at the health resort on the bank of the Yenisei River. The *Krasnoyarsk Worker* reported, “According to the holidaymakers the vacations were good. Food was tasty and given out four times a day. On the banks of the Yenisei River there were built baths and solariums” [1, p.2]. The same year the watering resort at the banks of Borovoye Lake was organised to treat 300 “anemic and pulmonary patients”; at Karachi Lake resort about 600 people rested. Again, the paper reported “sound” provision of the resorts “with food and medications” [29, p.2]. Thus, the new healthcare facilities that the government established became another new normal for the local residents; the facilities were meant not only to treat people for different diseases but also to give them an opportunity to comfortably spend time

in the country.

At the same time, revolutionising hygiene practices spilled on the pages of the periodical. As regards reframing daily practices, *Krasnoyarsk Worker* conducted an extensive awareness campaign to encourage people to wash hands. In addition, the newspaper advised people how to maintain healthy homes. The idea that the home was a crucial site for disease-preventing interventions was promoted among the townspeople: “to keep your home healthy you must air and wet clean it”. There was straightforward advice on everything from how to avoid excessive smoke from kerosene lighting and stove heating to air homes after cooking, washing and drying clothes and linen. The newspaper appealed to people to clean windows to let sun light in [26, p.1] or open them even in winter to maximise light and ventilation and displace “stagnant and corrupt” air as the majority of townspeople shared their apartments not only with their pets but poultry as well [34, p.3].

To promote physical distancing among the townspeople the *Krasnoyarsk Worker* advocated that they should avoid hand shaking. A rather revealing piece of citizen journalism was published in 1924 under the title “Avoid Handshaking”. “Our daily habits –the local resident wrote, - penetrated into our flesh and blood and it’s next to impossible to change them. Everybody knows the role of handshaking in infection spreading. Everybody knows but they are still handshaking, thus collecting contagion from all around the town. Recently our young pioneers have started fighting handshaking and they are absolutely right. The old handshaking habit they want to replace with the new one... Harmful habit will be substituted for harmless one and our daily life will be free from one of the reasons of spreading of infectious diseases.” The author hoped to find support among the locals. To make the appeal working he suggested some small fines for handshaking should be imposed and the money collected should be used to support homeless children [14, p.3]. The members of sport clubs and office workers were strongly recommended by

the local authorities to avoid handshaking and maintain physical distancing while greeting each other [11, p.3]. Thus, having become an expression of the society, health challenges spilled on the pages of the local periodical and essentially reshaped both the personal and public lives of ordinary Siberians. The interaction of government measurers and movements “from below” began to take effect and by the end of 1920s, the number of urban resident of Yenissei province increased to 158766 people.

Public discourse of early 1920s Siberia shed some light on what went on in daily lives of ordinary people and their most pressing concerns. Interaction of government efforts and townspeople response promoted to a larger degree by citizen journalism stopped outbreaks of infectious diseases; free access to the health facilities and healthy daily practices of ordinary people became a new normal.

The Krasnoyarsk Worker became a platform for public discourse on health challenges and reframing daily practices of Siberian townspeople. Though intended to promote the policies of the Bolshevik Party, the daily became an impact factor for the townspeople in their daily life. Newspaper narrative and journalistic communication did not use any war rhetoric, so widely used for the recent coronavirus challenges, neither for the health related problems nor the events at the grassroots level of Siberian urban community or for the government measurers. The provincial Siberian newspaper of 1920-25s provided just facts on spread of infection diseases and government efforts like the number of medical institutions and measures (sanitising, vaccinating, medical examinations, new experiences which became available for people at health and watering resorts) to bring the number of infections down. The daily also reported the collective voice on the state medical involvement and shifts in daily habits. Awareness campaigns of a Siberian daily of 1920s still resonate today. They bring to light some 20th century weapons, which make today headlines, like measure of physical distancing or washing hands.

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