

Everyday of the Ukrainian during Khrushchev's Thaw: culturological context

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The article studied integrality and from the all sides everyday of the Ukrainian during the period of liberalization in the human and cultural dimensions. Delineated topic is in the socio-anthropological conception of historical studies that is actual school of thoughts in history. System colligation and conceptualization of everyday life was made through the study material and spiritual culture of the society, the characterization of moral values and imperatives of socium.

Key words – everyday, liberalization, everyday life, moral value imperatives, leisure, welfare, ritualism.

I. Introduction

One of the important and turning for the transformation of everyday life of the Ukrainian was a period of de-Stalinization Ukrainian or Khrushchev's "Thaw" (1953 - 1964). Controversial and disputable for the development of the Soviet state era of Khrushchev's governance era is characterized by partial democratization of Stalin's totalitarian regime and carrying out liberal reforms in all spheres of life. This is about easing of the Soviet Union's isolation from the Capitalist world, liberation of the Soviet society from autocratic regime, stopping of mass terror and repression, decreasing of hypertrophy ideological control over the population and giving greater freedoms and opportunities for citizens.

II. Main Part

Ukrainian everyday life of that period should be studied at two levels: on the material consumer level, including the material conditions of existence, everyday way of life and welfare of citizens, and on the spiritual level, which provide analysis of moral imperatives of socium, characteristic of public conscience, studying of sphere of education, language, rituals and leisure.

First, we should analyze the material and consumer culture of the people, which forms the "matrix" of everyday life and determines the living conditions and living standards of citizens. Material and consumer sphere of public life of that time has gone through significant transformation as a result of social and economic reforms of government. Attempt of new government to reorient the economy of the Soviet regime to meet the needs of people has changed for the better living standards Ukrainian people. Focusing on the development of consumer goods manufacturing, food industry agriculture makes possible to satisfy many basic and sometimes also very crying wants of the people. This means resolving of the housing problem, development of electrification, gasification, heating, water supply and sanitation of buildings, widening of services sector, growth range of social welfare facilities, expansion of production

and the range of items of goods, improvement of material welfare, human service and social protection of citizens and putting scientific and technological advancements into everyday life and production (radios, TVs, refrigerators, washing machines, etc.).

Was solved major problem - lack of housing (if the 1955 there was only 6 m² of housing per capita at an average, when sanitary standards was set as 9.1 m², along in 1965 – there was 10.9 m² of housing per capita). [1] Through acceleration of housebuilding thousands of families have changed less adapted for habitation placements and rooms in unsafe houses for new family type houses. The appearance of many thousands aesthetically poor living blocks with compact little flats, which were far from perfect, dubbed "Khrushchevki" was seen as a great blessing, and this massive housebuilding - as one of the most important events Khrushchev that was aimed at improving the welfare of citizens.

Resettlement of families in separate flats not only resolve the housing problem, says Russian researcher of Soviet everyday life Elena Zubkova, as well as making private life of the Soviet people really private, less accessible for socium and the state as compared to forced cohabitation in dormitories, shared apartments and small family apartments [2]. Personalization of everyday life facilitated individualization of the way of thinking.

Soviet everyday life improved gradually, but the living standards were still obviously insufficient, especially comparing with Western capitalist countries, economic rivals of Soviet Union. The reasons of that was preferred position of heavy and war industries, command and administration system in management and negligent from the state to the community needs and comfort requirements for their lives. In particular, despite the era of mechanical engineering and glut of auto in the world, for the average Ukrainian car has remained a dream and public service vehicle was insufficient. Therefore, widely used in a horse-drawn carting (chariots, road carts), which together with the low quality of the pavement (90% were still soil) made transport connection between settlements more complicate.

Among the various problems we should point also a low level of health services. Lack of qualified personnel and undeveloped network of medical centres forced most people omit without medical care. In particular, during 1953 in several Western regions (Rivne, Volyn, Drohobich region) institutional obstetric care in countryside reached an average of 50% of mothers due to lack of stationary maternity [3]. And this was a time when the negative influence of passed war, excessive physical load in the post-war period, a low living standards, poor sanitary culture causing spread of a large number of various diseases, especially infectious diseases, tuberculosis, pneumonia, which in most cases resulted in death.

Introducing into practice new material and technical means, electrification and mechanization of work and life was slow. Still in that time in the collective farms men continued to make the bricks by hand and temper clay using horses, women - carry heavy cans of milk, they used the grids were transferred straw and hay, and buckets to carry water.

It should pay special attention to the significant retardation of socio-cultural infrastructure in countryside when urban development had fast pace. Increased attention of government to negotiate the decline of the country has failed to bring its living standards to city standards. Collective farmers were practically excluded from scientific and technological progress and did not have a lot of advances of civilization, already familiar for city people, for example gas, central heating, canalization, labour-saving devices, consumer services (restaurants, laundries, hairdressers, tailors) etc. Quantity of cultural and education events, that could mix up leisure of peasants, was insufficient. Important features of rural homestead were petrol-lamps, skips, ovens, wells and own boreholes.

Significant deformation in the development of agriculture, arduous working conditions of peasants and low salary level predetermined a much more modest compared to urban external view and simple construction of homes, as well as a low level of needs of this people. Noteworthy is the fact that alcoholism was widespread in the countryside, probably because of spiritual degradation of village and poor living and working conditions of collective farmers.

Advantages of Cities in the material, cultural and infrastructural provision determined to a stable migration of the countryside population, especially among young and working age. As a result of urbanization processes thwart progress of the village and continue destroying tradition for Ukraine agrarian structure of the population, vanished traditions and elements of popular culture, Ukrainian language, kept by the peasants. Taken as a whole, these processes went against the traditional basis of the nation and discourage the preservation of the original Ukrainian flavour. However, on the other hand, they formed advanced industrial type society. In addition, collective farmers as the main carriers of national identity, traditions and mentality helped to spread the Ukrainian culture in cities that is softening process of Russification.

Eventually people get used to existing realities: apartments with a minimal amenities, unsatisfied utility provision of houses, improper shopping, public, medical and transportation services of people, permanent deficits of essential goods for daily use, that, in particular, determinate antagonize in form of theft, speculation and bribery. In the end it brought up simplicity, modesty and caused drabness in lifestyle and behaviour. Evidence of this is the interior of apartments, food ration, and rig of Ukrainian.

Welfare of people during de-Stalinization period also depended on the working conditions, salary level, pocket and social security. The specificity of the Soviet communist system was planned distribution of specialists in the specialty within the Soviet Union and their job security. Ambitious projects of building nuclear power plants, network of hydroelectric power station on the Dnieper, spaceports, breaking of virgin soil, water impounding of steppe regions of the republic, extension of house building, transport, construction and other industries requiring large numbers of workers and caused demand for specialists in the relevant areas. Most part of people in working age was included in the industrial relations. The nature of work of the most part of people (83.3 %) was manual, far less - intellectual.

During the period under review, working conditions show a great improvement: working week and day reduced, duration of vacation expanded, continued mechanization and electrification of producing operations and improving material and technical facilities, was applied social security work. In particular, women-collective farmers have the right to maternity leave, which was denied by Stalin. In 1960 begins passing of collective farmers which made them full citizens of the state. A major achievement of contemporary leadership recognized pension reform in 1956 that touched millions of people and has made sufficient, although a modest livelihoods. Further citizens were following actions: increased financial aid for single mothers; free medical services etc.

Compared to the previous period significantly improved material welfare of citizens. Average monthly wage in the USSR in 1960 was 67.9 rubles. [4]. This amount was enough to pay taxes (15% of salary), rent (around 10%), buy food, pay in public transportation, and for cultural entertainment. Difficulties arise when buying consumer goods, household devices, furniture and cars. In general - because of deficit of such goods and their high cost.

It was a declared equality of citizens, but we observe the differentiation of society. This certifies by the different salary level for similar work in different spheres of production. Thus, the average monthly wage of workers and employees in the agricultural sector was only 56 % of salary in industry [5]. So priority position in the state was the working class that is considered as "leading, driving force of society", and farmers was secondary. Senior officials, directors of large industrial and defense companies, directors of research institutes, academics, scientists and famous figures of culture and art belongs to the privileged social strata. Important role in the life of that time played a party affiliation. Membership in the party did not provide high salary, but could promote to a better job, gave perspective of career development, help in getting an apartment and purchasing certain type of product etc. Senior party and government officials could use "closed" shops, sanatoriums, resorts, hospitals, government villas, cars, servitorial staff. However, in general social inequality was not so great. Everyone had some essential for life.

The nature of social and political processes and material living standard determined controversial development of spiritual sphere. Totalitarianism and the rule of the official ideology predetermined limited development of most sectors of the spiritual life of people. However, processes of democratization intensified development of culture and facilitated to the rise of new trends there.

An essential feature of society during under review was the lack of adequate, and often any, education of Ukrainian with working age. A usual, most of the people had incomplete secondary and primary education, higher education was rare (according to official data, around 3% of the population had higher education) [6].

To overcome the low level of education of people state authority tried in various ways, especially active in building a network of educational facilities and involving population in education. Great importance in the fight against low educational level of population had cancellation of school payment in upper secondary schools, colleges, universities,

and expansion of distance education, evening forms of education and the establishment of schools for working and rural youth.

The characteristics of the educational process were excessive indoctrination, politicization, strict regulation of each teacher's and student's step, a strong industrial temper. Attention has focused on the youth education in the spirit of communist morality, Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism. The school was subordinated to the state interests, so it deprived opportunities for young people to recognize themselves as a part of the separate Ukrainian nation, since the content of education has not helped to popularize Ukrainian history and culture. In contrast, developed a prejudice attitude to all Ukrainian.

The processes of denationalization and reducing of the Ukrainian identity clearly manifested in speech and characterized by active purposeful Russification of all spheres of life. An important lever of this process was the system of education, from pre-school, book publishing policy, aimed onto reducing the number of Ukrainian-language literature. As well as public life, where the Russian language dominated. There was even intervention in the internal structure of the Ukrainian language. As a result many unusual to Ukrainian language words and terms, lexical and even grammatical elements of Russian origin were artificially introduced in to vocabulary and phonetics. As consequence, Ukraine - Russian dialect was common throughout for the population of the USSR.

The powerful changing course and the active recovery processes transformed the content and character of public entertainment. The meeting of many population spiritual needs and demands became possible because of national economy development. It's about expanding of the libraries network, cinemas, cultural centers and clubs, museums reconstruction, setting up of the theaters, philharmonics, publishing houses, editorials and others. At this time, the most affordable leisure forms were: reading books, visiting libraries, watching films and theater performances, participation in clubs and amateur performances, physical trainings and sports, tourism, subsistence farming.

The leisure of that time was diversified in a result of scientific and technological progress. Innovational phenomenon of a daily life became the television and tourist trips on own cars. The foreign radio stations appearance in the beginning of 1960s brought the peculiar radio revolution with the information and political character. Such as "Voice of America" which was forbidden for listening by Soviet citizens because of its ideological harmfulness. But secretly, mostly at night, the Ukrainians, adjusting their radios on this channel, obtained the information, drastically opposite to the official. [7]

The population ritualism of those times was determined, on the one hand, by the established traditions, and on the other hand – by the focused state ritual policy that covered all aspects of society. Popular holidays and rituals of those times can be grouped into two groups: the family-household complex, which included the celebration of a child birth, birthdays, wedding, family anniversaries, housewarming, funerals and other events, and public complex which consisted of state, professional - labor and industrial holidays.

Despite the government's anti-church campaign and introducing of a new communist rituals (ceremonies of registration of a marriage, newborn, civil burial ritual, rite of a passport getting, dedication to the workers and others) the rooted in the everyday culture of the society Christian rites still had their value. In the people minds they were associated not only as a purely Christian religion, but as a folk, long-established, habitual. Their traditionalism prevented fast and complete displacement of a religious and folk cult from the citizens' life. The official statistics of the state authorities fixed high religious activity of citizens, especially in the western regions of the USSR comparing with the eastern, as well as in rural areas than in urban. In general, the sacrament of baptism was carried out in rural areas almost over all newborns, and burial according to the church rite – half of the occasions. It is because of the conservative Ukrainian Village cherished ancient folk traditions in contrast to the cities, where citizens adapted faster to the new conditions of life and custom. [8]

However the authority targeted agitation and propaganda, prohibitive, punitive and ritual measures deprived the Ukrainian folk rites of traditional national features and provided a new, communist sense. Large-scale anti-church authority attack and atheistic propaganda led to a gradual people from the church and the rejection of a religious rites.

Significant differences in the forms of leisure of urban and rural population through undveloped rural socio-cultural networks, that limited the rural population access to the modern achievement and cultural attainments (television, cinema, theater). There were a traditional and universal cultural establishments such as clubs and culture houses. However, the village have retained high moral principles and the deep basis of traditional and household culture.

Morally-valuing imperatives and outlook mood of Ukrainians in 1953 -1964 were determined by a ready established behavior norms and rules of individuals and new life guidelines, drawn up under the influence of the reformation changes. A characterizing feature of a totalitarian regime was a state dominant role in the society life. The maximum subordination of the population activity has made it dependent on the state. The ensuring of the citizens existence associated with the state. That has formed the habit of waiting for a all the benefits and improving of well-being with government policy.

Insignificant role of a human-being in the Soviet Union, the lack of private property and economic freedom gave rise to political passivity, muted individuality and initiative, reduced self-independence of citizens, developed nihilism. But the obtrusion of a appropriate principles, values and opinions did not develop critical thinking, did not focus the sense of curiosity.

The official ideology persistently spread the cult of work and call of duty to the state in society. The result of such education was high public activity and extraordinary labor enthusiasm of Ukrainians. They gave a all their strength to rebuild and further development of the national economy. It was quite free, as a volunteering during their free time.

Under the influence of communist ideology was also the private sphere of family relations. The morality, chastity, high purity interpersonal relationships was promoted. Thus, the women look showed the modesty and

anti-sexuality. Among the school subjects there was no any subject that would be studied psychology and health sexuality, intimate scenes were missing in Soviet films and literature.

We can observe equality between men and women and further woman role in creating in the society. The sexual imbalance and a lack of manpower led to an active women employment in public life, the widespread of the female labor using in all sectors of the economy, even where the significant physical efforts were required (for example, work in the mines, space aviation). It had broken the tradition to have many children, which was typical for Ukrainian society of the earlier period. Also the women system values brought together to the men value orientations. So - the formation of the corresponding character - virile muscular type.

Meanwhile the Communist system had its own advantages. The diligence, altruism, enthusiasm, collectivity, internationalism, patriotism and morality were cultivated. Contemporary life was predictable and stable, gave people a sense of security and confidence in their future. The state has guaranteed habitation, employment and the salary, social and trade union protection. The main feature of Ukrainians ideological orientations was historical optimism and the fullness of hope for the "light communist future". That blocked tough reality.

The shift of thinking paradigm of Soviet citizens associated with the cessation of mass terror and weakening of inherent to Stalinism pervasive fear for own life, weakening of Soviet isolation from capitalist countries, with the processes of Western world influence. Thus, the penetration to the Soviet Ukraine of foreign music (jazz and rock and roll), literature (works of Camus, Kafka, Remarque, Saint-Exupéry, Hemingway), movies ("Roman Holiday", "Love at First Sight", "Babette Goes to War"), fashion (collections from I. L. Orana, K. Chanel and C. Dior) led to the destruction of ideological one-dimensionality and flatness, promoted the deformation of the ideological artistic tastes, led to the democratic people thinking.

Primarily the progressive part of Ukrainian intellectuals has experienced these effects, who as a contrast to the passive perception of the existing order, tastes and judgments, formal topics, stereotypes and common forms and methods of "socialist realism", initiated new, modern art and non-conformist tendencies in it. This is about the art of M. V. Ingranovskiy, Ivan Drach, L. Kostenko, D. Pavlychko, V. Symonenko, V. Stus, A. Gorska, S. Parajanov, L. Tanyuk, T. Yablonska.

Also non-typical for the Soviet everyday phenomena has appeared, such as "stylyazhnytstvo" and underground culture. That arose as a reaction of the part of the society (especially urban youth) to absolute conquest of the spiritual space by the state ideology, and expressed the people's unwillingness to choose the path of cultural development. These subcultures followed the Western standards of everyday life and included certain attributes

in clothing, behavior manner, the special vocabulary and a system of cultural and aesthetic preferences inherent to Western capitalist world. Because of the following to tastes and values inherent to a foreign culture the authority attributed this movement to the political opposition, as the power observed a direct threat to the ideological education of citizens. However "stylyazhnytstvo" cannot be considered a so open youth social protest against the state government and the official ideology. It was the simply wish to dress better and more fashionable to be similar to their foreign peers. However, the "stylyaga" behavior and appearance expressed people's desire for social self-affirmation and separation from the typical appearance and thinking stereotype crowd, and became the basis for the formation of further open social protest and dissent through dress and manners (movement "hippies").

Conclusion

So, everyday life of Ukrainians in period of Khrushchev's "thaw" was determined by a combination of traditional events and processes in life and culture with the new rules and standards of living and predetermined by the totalitarian regime and the communist ideology, also the reform changes within the partial liberalization of all spheres of society life. The tendency to update the culture and everyday life of Soviet society started, as well as modernization and transformation of the paradigm thinking, the spread of various forms of dissent and non-conformism. At the same time the introduced reformation was temporary and superficial, so did not fundamentally changed the foundations of a totalitarian system. The standards of life and thinking patterns of the previous times had the stable action. The inert and closed consciousness of Soviet society made fast and radical change in the paradigm of thinking impossible.

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