

THE “VAST PROCESS OF SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION” IN SIBERIA DURING WORLD WAR I (1914-1918)*

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Introduction

The First World War period was marked by active transformations in all spheres of Russian society. The war was accompanied by breaches in labour practices and deformation of people's mode of life. Family relationships were broken up. People's mentality, behaviour and survival strategies both at the front lines and deep inside the country were changed. The number of people in need of help increased by many times. The masses faced real disaster when the ruble collapsed during the war. By the beginning of 1917, the value of a ruble had decreased to 60 kopecks, and by the end of 1917 it was a mere 31 kopecks - less than a third of its former value. The resultant high price of all consumer goods knocked the financial circumstances of the typical citizen to below the level of minimum subsistence.¹

During World War I, the idea that social assistance for citizens in need was the responsibility of state and society appeared in Russia. Various organisations were created all over the country to help war victims. Their activity, from the viewpoint of social necessities and interests, remains insufficiently studied due to the extensive and multi-aspect character of this topic. At the same time, the existence and level of maturity of civil society institutions in the political system of pre-revolutionary Russia is a highly debatable question in historical studies. The status of modern views on the problems of civil society and the public sphere in Russia is clearly illustrated in the works of J. Bradley,² A. Lindenmeyr,³ M. Hildermayer,⁴ B. Mironov,⁵

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¹ *Istoriya Sibiri* 1968, p. 447.

² Bradley 2009.

³ Lindenmeyr 1996.

⁴ Hildermayer 2003.

⁵ Mironov 2003.

A. Tumanova⁶ and other authors. Historians suggest that it is precisely non-political societies that should be considered a model of self-organisation within the bounds of which a culture of public activity developed and national consent was achieved.

Concepts of civil society and the public sphere serve not only as analytical categories in studies of the formation of individual and group identity, or of relations between the state and the individual. They also occupy a central position in the search for the reasons behind the failure of liberal alternative of the revolution in Russia.⁷ According to L. Bulgakova, during World War I the increasing strength of oppositional public organisations, such as the All-Russia Zemsky Union and the All-Russia Urban Union of Assistance for Sick and Wounded Soldiers, represented a significant danger for the existing regime. Yet in practice there were no available substitutes for them: “Being a stronghold of liberal opposition, public organisations drew the death hour of the monarchy closer.”⁸

Obviously it is impossible to offer a multi-faceted analysis of such a complicated political, social and mental phenomenon as public organisations in a short article. So, this paper is confined to the solution of two interconnected and understudied tasks: 1. to show the influence of World War I on the development of public initiative, based on the example of Siberia; 2. to classify public organisations whose activity was connected with giving various kinds of help to war victims.

Research sources and methods

The study is based on reconsidering already-known materials and the discovery of new sources. Constitutional acts that characterise the legal status of public organisations, information and reference documents (reports, reviews, essays) and organisational documents (charters, regulations, instructions) of public organisations provided much of the source material. These materials are kept in the collections of central and regional archives of Siberia.⁹ Periodicals also occupied an important place in the list of sources (in particular, the journals *Care and Charity in Russia* and

⁶ Tumanova et al. 2011.

⁷ Russian Revolution: a conditional name for revolutionary events in Russia in 1917. These occurred mostly in the capital, Petrograd (Saint Petersburg) starting with the deposition of the Tsarist regime by the February Revolution, when a Provisional Government took power. This was deposed in its turn by the October Revolution, which announced the arrival of Soviet Russia.

⁸ Bulgakova 2008, p. 12.

⁹ Siberia: a vast geographic region in the North-East of the Russian Empire (Russia). Siberia is divided into West Siberia and East Siberia.

Labour Help, as well as the newspaper *Herald of Pri-Yenisseysky Krai*). These publications disclosed various aspects of the work of public organisations, reported the response of Siberian society to this activity, etc. The database being built for this project describes Siberian public organisations in terms of quantitative indices (such as the number of charitable institutions, levels of financing and quantitative descriptors and lists of names of their administrators) and qualitative traits (such as organisational tasks, target groups, development of selective procedures for aid recipients, means and forms of assistance and financial structure). The content and opportunities provided by the database are represented in a published article by T. Kattcina and V. Pomazan.¹⁰

A number of terms used in the present article require clarification. The terms “societies,” “associations,” “private societies” and “societies of private initiative” were all used to describe public organisations in the Russian Empire.¹¹ In 1906, “The Decree on Provisional Rules Concerning Societies and Unions”¹² stipulated certain important attributes of public organisations, namely the absence of a commercial purpose; their informal and voluntary character; and a focus on satisfying “private” interests and needs in social, scientific, cultural and other spheres. The decree also introduced registration procedures for establishing societies and the administrative order of their registration, prohibition and closure.

Another key term in this study is “war victims” (victims of military actions). This term is applied to people who were not directly involved into armed conflict (such as refugees, evicted people, families of wounded and killed soldiers, wives, widows and orphans of army officers) or to those who ceased direct involvement at some point (wounded and sick soldiers, prisoners-of-war).

Discussion

The rise in patriotism at the beginning of the World War I was significant and resulted, among other things, in an increase in the number and types of public organisation. As one commentator at the time wrote:

“The present war called into existence a vast process of public construction. It created a great number of new organisations, multiplied the forms of social assistance, enlarged and strengthened the activity of existing charitable institutions and adjusted to its own needs even those organisations [whose

¹⁰ Kattcina, Pomazan 2014.

¹¹ Russian Empire: name of the Russian state from 22 October 1721, until 1/14 September 1917.

¹² *Polnoe sobranie* 1909, collection 3, vol. XXVI, part 1, no. 27479, article 1, p. 201-204.

activities] were far from charity. There is no aspect of life, no category of people who would not have been affected by the war.... The war drew people's states of mind closer [to one another] and initiated new feelings of love and care for one's neighbour."¹³

Archival records witness that there was not "a city or a town where this or that organisation would not work."¹⁴ For the first three months after Russia entered the military conflict, in Irkutsk Province¹⁵ alone the Committee of Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Elisabeth Feodorovna on the provision of charitable support to the families of wartime conscripts (Elisavetinsky Committee) created 66 committees and volost trusteeship bodies.¹⁶ From data collected for this study, it was calculated that between August and December 1914 the number of public associations (including those that restarted their work and those newly developed to assist war victims) grew by 22% in Krasnoyarsk and 41% in Tomsk.¹⁷

Organisations aiming to satisfy wartime needs had various names. Some names reflected the particular type of support they gave or the category of the needy that they focused on, others stated the class or professional status of their founders. Examples include the "Tomsk Society for the Organisation of Lectures to Cover the Needs Resulting from Wartime;" "Biysk Society for the Assistance of Families of Wartime Conscripts during the Mobilisation of 1914;" "Achinsk District Committee on Assistance to Refugees;"¹⁸ "Barnaul Department of the Society of Assistance to Poor Families of Poles Who Participate in the War and the Needy Polish Population Who Suffered from Military Operations;" "Ladies Academic Club of Tomsk City Higher Education Institutions Aiming to Make Linen and Other Things for Sick, Wounded and Needy Soldiers;" "Biysk Club of Clerical Ladies for Assisting Wounded Soldiers and Their Families;" "Siberian Society for Helping Sick and Wounded Soldiers and

¹³ Fayngar 1915, p. 144-145.

¹⁴ SAKT, fund 132 (*The Committee of All-Russia Urban Union on the Assistance to Sick and Wounded Soldiers*), opis 1, delo 2, fail 61.

¹⁵ Irkutsk Province: administrative and territorial entity of the Russian Empire, founded on 19 October 1764, situated in East Siberia. The administrative centre is Irkutsk City.

¹⁶ SAIA, fund 120 (*The Committee of Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Elisabeth Feodorovna on the Provision of Charitable Support to the Families of Wartime Conscripts. Irkutsk Department*), opis 1, delo 3, fail 2; Elisavetinsky Committee - the Committee of Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Elisabeth Feodorovna on the provision of charitable support to the families of wartime conscripts.

¹⁷ Kattsina 2014, p. 63.

¹⁸ Achinsk District Committee on the Assistance to Refugees: charitable organisation in Siberia during World War I.

War Victims” (Sibirtet); “Irkutsk Jewish Committee for Help to Refugees;” “Irkutsk Department of Latvian Assistance Society ‘Dzimtene’ (‘Motherland’),” and others.

It should be taken into account that the tasks and aims of particular associations changed according to the needs of the population in connection with wartime requirements. Thus, the Jewish Society for the Protection of the Health of Jews in Irkutsk, due to the new situation “turned into the Jewish Committee for Help to Refugees in the middle of August.”¹⁹ This was connected with the fact that the Russian army’s step backwards in spring 1915 resulted in a great number of refugees migrating deep into Russian territory. As a witness to these events wrote:

“Crowds of refugees are walking along dirt roads, covering them in corpses. By the end of July waves of the great transmigration of Russian people reached various parts of European Russia.”²⁰

The first group of refugees were sent to Siberia in autumn 1915. Local care of the refugees was the responsibility of urban public administrations, which were allowed to organise special committees for providing them with assistance. The form of such organisations was not strictly determined. There were no regulations on how they should connect with municipal authorities, a fact which led to problematic differences in organisational and financial structures. The desire by provincial and city administrations to regulate the functioning of the Krasnoyarsk Committee on Assistance to Refugees resulted in it ceasing activities on 15 March 1916. For the same reasons, Achinsk City Committee on Assistance to Refugees closed in August 1916.

By 1 February 1917, Siberian public organisations had registered 86,664 refugees.²¹ Monthly expenses for supporting one refugee came to 12 rubles on average.²² Thus significant amounts of money were required. To meet this need, public organisations sought government credits, donations and income from arranging fundraising performances. Urgent material and psychological needs of the refugees were processed by the following sections of public organisations: 1. Station section, responsible for the meeting, registration, medical checks and disinfection of refugees; 2. Financial section; 3. Apartment section; 4. Food supply section; 5. Children (or school) section; 6. Labour section; and 7. Cloth supply section. Jewish,

¹⁹ *Protokol* 1916, p. 18.

²⁰ Shchepkin 1916, p. 1.

²¹ Kirzhits 1929, p. 263.

²² SAKT, fund 161 (*Administrative Board of a City*), opis 1, delo 246, fail 2.

Polish, Latvian and Lithuanian refugees were served by their corresponding national organisations and committees.

During the War, mass evacuations, including interned citizens of countries that were at war with Russia and separate “untrustworthy” people from amongst the inhabitants of the near-frontline zones (Poles, Jews, Latvians and Ukrainians) flowed to Siberia. Contemporaries of the time noted that the categories “refugee” and “evicted person” “were so confused and it was so complicated to separate them, and the situation of both groups was so hard ... that it would be completely pointless and unjust to try and differentiate between them.”²³

In the author’s opinion, refugees were distinguished by having made the decision to migrate voluntarily. The marginality of refugee status created problems for politicians and public figures. The law declared refugees as:

“people who have left areas troubled or already occupied by the enemy or people evicted from military zones by the order of a war or civil government, as well as immigrants from countries hostile to Russia.”²⁴

For this reason, social assistance should have been spread amongst representatives of all nationalities. Poles were considered to be voluntary Slavic refugees. They received the right to a free railway trip and meals on their way to internal provinces where they could receive care and earn.²⁵ The only exception was Hungarians and Germans.²⁶ But even German settlers evicted from areas near the frontline “due to their unreliability” held equal refugee status and could seek social support. The police department motivated the provision of such people with special credits as a necessary measure to “protect the natives from the inevitable appearance of centres of contagion in the places where aliens stay.”²⁷ State officials with families and “rich” refugees remained unregistered as they were not liable for or not in need of state care, as were evicted people under police supervision.²⁸

Evicted populations first appeared in Siberia in small groups, later in larger parties. In 1915, three parties of evicted refugees arrived in Yenisey Province²⁹ weekly. Each party consisted of 150 people. By April, 1916, more than 14,000 evicted people had come to Siberia via Kiev. They made

²³ Gal’perin 1915, p. 529.

²⁴ *Sobranie uzakoneni* 1915, p. 2424.

²⁵ Zhvanko 2012, p. 39.

²⁶ Pavlova 2003, p. 76.

²⁷ SAKT, fund 595 (*Yeniseyskoye Province Administration*), opis 13, delo 169, fail 42.

²⁸ Bakhturina 2013, p. 12.

²⁹ Yenisey Province: administrative and territorial entity of the Russian Empire, founded on 22 July 1822 during the division of Siberia into West Siberia and East Siberia. The administrative centre is Krasnoyarsk City.

the trip at their own expense, some under police escort, others by means of a pass certificate without escort. Others were transported as convicts to Tomsk, Krasnoyarsk or Irkutsk prisons, where they stayed in overcrowded cells together with criminals.³⁰ Provincial administrations deliberately lodged evicted refugees in remote areas.

Most ended up with extremely hard material living conditions and legal status, as shown by extracts their group letters:

“[W]e own no means of living. We hoped to get an allowance from the government purse, but this mercy still remains a fantasy ... [S]oon it will be two months; applications are submitted repeatedly to the District Police Officer. But we do not receive an allowance ... we face very hard times. We have no opportunity to earn money even for bare essentials ... we have to starve” (7 November 1915, Novo-Uda Settlement).³¹

At the beginning of November 1915, Jews who had been administratively evicted to Znamenskoye Settlement reported that only two of the 80 people there received an allowance (3 rubles 90 kopecks).³² In September 1915, a member of the Society of Help to Poor Jews in Yenisseysk City declared:

“[P]eople definitely die of hunger; some of them have not eaten anything for three days already ... they are all miserable and barefoot ... there are many 13-year-old children exiled to villages where one cannot get bread even for money ... there is not even somewhere to go around with hat in hand, because the farmers themselves have nothing to eat.”³³

Help for evicted populations only began developing in 1915 through the American Consulate, and aid was aimed only at the nationals of states at war with Russia. In autumn 1915, public organisations received approval to help Russian citizens inducted to Siberia. Between October 1915 and February 1916, support was given to 1,000 people through an authorised person in the American Consulate in Irkutsk and to 300 people via the Irkutsk Department of the Petrograd Polish Society for the Assistance of War Victims.³⁴ While evicted Poles and Jews received help from their corresponding National Committees, evicted Russians were deprived of any support.

³⁰ Kattsina 2013, p. 220-221.

³¹ RSMHA, fund 13273 (*Department on Refugees Settlement of All-Russia Zemsky and Urban Unions*), opis 1, delo 49, fail 7; Novo-Uda: a settlement in Irkutsk Province.

³² *Ibid.*, fail 5v.

³³ *Ibid.*, fail 8.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, fail 5.

Siberian Society for Helping Sick and Wounded Soldiers and War Victims (Sibirtet) became widely known. The idea of creating a special Siberian organisation to help the wounded was expressed at the first congress of the All-Russia Urban Union in September 1914. According to local periodicals, the idea to build up Sibirtet found favour everywhere. Already in 1914 Sibirtet had 14 departments; by October 1915 it consisted of 34 departments³⁵ and by August 1916 it had 52 departments.³⁶ According to Point 1 of its Charter, the society's tasks included: a) organising mobile (field and staging) infirmaries, medical care and meals, sanitary and other detachments in military zones; b) organising hospitals, shelters, asylums, sanatoriums and hospices; c) organising employment, material, medical and legal help for populations suffering from the war, as well as assisting the children of the suffering through education and settlement in orphanages; d) collecting and issuing certificates to facilitate contact between soldiers and their relatives.³⁷

Sibirtet was supported by many organisations. The administrations of credit partnerships, merchant guilds and city public directorates paid admission fees and donated to Sibirtet. Donations represented 74.5% of Sibirtet's finances.³⁸ The specific activity of Sibirtet departments was determined by Siberia's remoteness from the theatre of war. This is why forms of frontline support, such as collection of donations for war needs, were originally developed there. The scale of donations can be confirmed by the fact that within the shortest possible time, Sibirtet arranged and sent to the front two sanitary detachments. Each detachment consisted of approximately 152 people (2 doctors, 2 medical assistants, 5 nurses, 30 orderlies and auxiliaries), 80 horses, 20 sulkies,³⁹ 4 cars and one truck.⁴⁰

Sibirtet's organisers and activists tried to consolidate the efforts of local populations through attracting people at large to the society's work. This purpose was served by the formation of departments in uyezds, villages and settlements. However, local administrations repeatedly forbade the arrangement of propaganda meetings and collection of donations for the society.⁴¹ Another obstacle in the path of the democratisation of Sibirtet's membership was the once-off 10-ruble membership fee that full members of the society had to pay. As a temporary measure an offer was

³⁵ *Otchet* 1916, p. 54.

³⁶ Kharus' 2014, p. 96.

³⁷ *Ustav* 1915, p. 7.

³⁸ *Otchet* 1916, p. 59.

³⁹ Sulky: a light, two-wheeled carriage with one axle.

⁴⁰ Dagaev 1915, p. 471-472.

⁴¹ *Vestnik* 1916, p. 14-15.

made to either allow payment by instalments or to decrease the amount. Nevertheless, in general Sibirtet failed to create a broad network of smaller “society units” around the country.

The rise of patriotic feelings in Siberia and across the country at the beginning of the war involved women as well as men. Women’s work in the charitable unions (Ladies Committees and Ladies Clubs)⁴² was significant, although it received contradictory responses. As with other charitable civil associations, during the war the ladies committees of Yenisey Province tried to close gaps in the country’s social policies. The main direction of their work was to provide assistance to active soldiers, to the families of mobilised soldiers and to prisoners. The activity of women’s charitable organisations received approval centrally, as well as at the front. The government treated it as confirmation of the unity of the people and the army. Generally speaking, in East Siberia such societies were populated by a rather narrow circle (the staff of ladies’ committees usually included 12-25 ladies) of women from the upper and upper-middle urban strata of society.

More often associations appeared as a result of the creative activity of the common, lower strata of the population. In large cities with numerous communities and abundant facilities, membership of societies was numerically higher. Thus, of all Sibirtet’s local departments in Yenisey Province, Krasnoyarsk Department was the biggest (161 members), followed by Achinsk Department (56 members), Yeniseysk Department (46 members) and Minussinsk Department (20 members). The staff of the All-Russia Urban Union’s Irkutsk Department numbered 440 people, while the Kansk Department consisted of 22 people. The work of the Krasnoyarsk Committee on Assistance to Refugees was undertaken by 40 paid officers and 308 volunteers, including refugees themselves. Achinsk Committee had 43 members.⁴³

The numerous public organisations brought into to existence due to the necessities of war can be classified according to various features:

1. Geography (the organisation’s area of activity): All-Russia, regional, local;
2. Aim (the recipient of help or category of war victims): refugees and the evicted, wounded and crippled soldiers, families of conscripts, etc.;
3. Nationality: internal national (Jewish, Polish, Latvian, Lithuanian) or international organisations.

It should be noted that those involved at the time divided associations into public and bureaucratic. They treated voluntary associations, charitable

⁴² Societies that had relatively little public attention were called “clubs.”

⁴³ Kattsina 2014, p. 64.

committees, and trusteeship bodies of self-governing authorities and parishes as public organisations. However, they referred to the Russian Red Cross Society⁴⁴ (including its Ladies' Committees) and personalised charitable societies (such as the Committee of Grand Duchess Tatiana Nikolaevna for Temporary Support to War Victims, the Elisavetinsky Committee⁴⁵ and others) as bureaucratic organisations. While some people emphasised the “articulate organisation of bureaucratic committees,”⁴⁶ others assessed the work of personalised societies as “not reaching their goal,” resulting in “a waste of public resources.”⁴⁷ The author agrees with I. Pavlova's opinion that during the war such committees encouraged the display of private initiative and its adjustment. Thus, by the middle of 1915 the structure of Elisavetinsky Committee included 85 provincial departments and 505 district committees, joining more than four thousand organisations. And by the middle of 1916 this number had increased to six thousand.⁴⁸ District committees worked as unifying centres for smaller charitable institutions in settlements and villages. No doubt, some of them carried out very intensive and “exemplary activity” (Achinsk District Committee).⁴⁹ Other organisations were “below the mark” (Kansk District Committee).⁵⁰ Much depended on the personal traits of directors, their social background, public perception of the organisation and its financial stability.

Methods and practices applied by the associations, as well as organisation of the procedures for giving and receiving help, allowed the use of resources in a target-focused way - that is, they gave help only to those who needed it. Thus, taking into consideration the fact that urban populations were not in the habit of handling personal needs by manufacturing what they needed, but depended on the market to a greater

⁴⁴ The Russian Red Cross Society was founded on 15 May 1867 and was recognised by the International Committee of the Red Cross on 5 October 1921. During the war, it assumed the role of organising of hospitals on the front and behind, the training of medical personnel and collection of donations for wounded soldiers.

⁴⁵ Committee of Grand Duchess Tatiana Nikolaevna for Temporary Support to War Victims: a public organisation created to help refugees (September 1914-February 1917).

⁴⁶ *Vestnik* 1915a, p. 25.

⁴⁷ SARF, fund 6787 (*Ministry of State Care of Interim Government*), opis 1, delo 102, fail 1.

⁴⁸ Pavlova 2003, p. 47.

⁴⁹ Achinsk District Committee: Achinsk District Committee of Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Elisabeth Feodorovna on the provision of charitable support to the families of wartime conscripts.

⁵⁰ *Vestnik* 1915b, p. 10; Kansk District Committee: Kansk District the Committee of Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Elisabeth Feodorovna on the provision of charitable support to the families of wartime conscripts.

extent than farmers, the focus was shifted to the provision of the needy with food, fuel, accommodation, clothes and shoes, and the placement of children in educational institutions. In the country, help through providing traditional “home meals” and help during planting and harvesting prevailed. Less often, people received financial credits, or day nurseries for children were organised.⁵¹

The author agrees with O. A. Kharus’s opinion that with the exacerbation of the national crisis, ideas of consolidation and solidarity amongst the Siberian population lost their original attraction. They gave way to other values and ambitions that were connected with the social and political polarisation of society and the increasing confrontation between its various strata and groups.⁵²

Conclusions

During World War I, the level and character of people’s involvement in the work of charitable societies underwent positive quantitative and qualitative changes. During the initial period of the war, not only did the quantity of public organisations increase, but the total number of people working in the philanthropic sphere rose. This had a special significance for Siberia, with its vast territory, low population density, high ethnic and social diversity and the absence of the zemstvo that united the vanguard of European Russia. Located far from each other, Siberian cities had poorer opportunities for consolidation of public powers than the cities of European Russia.

It should also be taken into account that the region’s remoteness from the theatre of war and the low level of literacy amongst the population created poor conditions for “lively collaboration in common activity.”

Work undertaken by representatives of various social groups was determined by solidarity, moral and civil needs, and participants’ worldview in terms of how best to widen the assistance available to the victims of military operations.

The network of public organisations can be classified according to the group’s purpose (categories of war victims), financial sources and peculiarities of the geographic, economic and socio-cultural environment. More economically developed areas with favourable natural and climatic conditions could potentially generate higher levels of social assistance. In remote villages that were located far from high roads and industrial centres (more abundant in East Siberia) public organisations considerably enhanced

⁵¹ SAKT, fund 132 (*Committee of All-Russia Urban Union on the Assistance to Sick and Wounded Soldiers*), opis 1, delo 3, fail 82, 90, 104v.

⁵² Kharus’ 2014, p. 99.

the accessibility of social care and, in general, contributed to the improvement of the social climate in Siberia.

Having been formed to serve national interests in wartime, as well as the social problems and needs of individual citizens, voluntary public organisations accumulated initiative, knowledge and experience. The confluence of these phenomena helped build a meaningful collective power that could result in efficient public activity.

The “Vast Process of Social Construction” in Siberia during World War I (1914-1918)

(Abstract)

The rise of patriotism in the first years of World War I in Russia was quite significant and was revealed in an increase in the number and quality of various social institutions. Social institutions contributed to the articulation and realisation of people’s various interests, as well as to the solution of national problems. From the point of view of social needs and community interests, the work of these institutions remains understudied.

On the basis of documents held in central and regional archives - both previously published and those new to academia - this article reviews the influence of war and wartime factors on the creation of social institutions and the direction of their work. Using the example of Siberia, the processes involved in the formation of a system of social institutions to assist victims of World War I are analysed. Important traits of social institutions include the absence of commercial aims in their structure, their informal and voluntary character, and their orientation towards meeting personal needs in the social sphere.

The term “war victim” (those who have suffered in military actions) is applied to people who did not directly participate in military conflict (refugees, evicted people, families of wounded and dead soldiers, wives, widows and orphans of army officers) or to people who were forced to cease participation (wounded and sick soldiers, prisoners-of-war). The social institutions studied are classified according to their scale, aims and the national groups they served. Based on specific historic material, it is shown that the initial stage of the war saw an increase in the quantity of social institutions and the number of people who worked in the charitable sphere. This was of special significance for Siberia, which was thousands of kilometres away from the battle lines.

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The “Vast Process of Social Construction” in Siberia during World War I (1914-1918)

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- Pavlova 2003 - Irina Pavlova, *Sotsial'noe popechenie v Rossii v gody Pervoy mirovoy voyny*, Krasnoyarsk, 2003.
- Polnoe sobranie* 1909 - *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiyskoy imperii*, Saint Petersburg, 1909.
- Protokol* 1916 - *Protokol soveshchaniya po voprosam prizreniya bezhentsev 1916 - Protokol soveshchaniya po voprosam prizreniya bezhentsev, sostoyavshegosya 21-23 noyabrya 1915 g. v Irkutske*, Irkutsk, 1916.

- RSMHA - Russian State Military Historical Archive.
SATA - State Archive of Irkutsk Area.
SAKT - State Archive of Krasnoyarsk Territory.
SARF - State Archive of the Russian Federation.
Shchepkin 1916 - Mitrofan Shchepkin, *Bezъhentsy i organizatsiya pomoshchi im v svyazi s rabotami Osobogo sovesbchaniya: doklad Glavnym komitetam upolnomochennogo, predsedatelya otдела M. M. Shchepkina, mart 1916 g.*, Moscow, 1916.
Sobranie uzakoneniy 1915 - *Sobranie uzakoneniy i rasporyazheniy pravitel'stva, izdavaemoe pri Pravitel'stvennyushchem Senate*, 1915, tome 1, *Vtoroe polugodie*, no. 242, Petrograd, 1915.
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Ustav 1915 - *Ustav Sibirskogo obshchestva pomoshchi bol'nym i ranenym voenam i postradavshim ot voennykh deystviy*, Petrograd, 1915.
Vestnik 1915a - *Vestnik Prieniseyskogo kraya pomoshchi bol'nym i ranenym voenam, postradavshim ot vojny, bezъhentsam i vyselentsam i promyshlennosti po snabzheniyu armii*, Krasnoyarsk, 1915, no. 1.
Vestnik 1915b - *Vestnik Prieniseyskogo kraya pomoshchi bol'nym i ranenym voenam, postradavshim ot vojny, bezъhentsam i vyselentsam i promyshlennosti po snabzheniyu armii*, Krasnoyarsk, 1915, no. 3.
Vestnik 1916 - *Vestnik Prieniseyskogo kraya pomoshchi bol'nym i ranenym voenam, postradavshim ot vojny, bezъhentsam i vyselentsam i promyshlennosti po snabzheniyu armii*, Krasnoyarsk, 1916, no. 5-2.
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Keywords: Russia, Siberia, people in need, victims of war, refugee, voluntary social associations, human resources, civil society.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	- Acta Archaeologica. Copenhagen.
AAL	- Asien Africa Lateinamerika. Zeitschrift des Zentralen Rates für Asien-, Afrika- und Lateinamerikawissenschaften in der DDR. Berlin.
AAMT	- Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory. Orlando.
AAnt	- American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology. Washington.
ABM	- Alaska Business Monthly. Anchorage.
Acta Asiatica	- Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture. Tokyo.
AO	- Arkheologicheskoye otkrytiya (1965-2013). Moscow.
AOASH	- Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Institute of Oriental Studies. Budapest.
AP	- Arkheologiya Podmoskov'ya. Materialy nauchnogo seminar. Institute of Archaeology Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
ArchOttoman	- Archivum Ottomanicum. Wiesbaden Ottoman Archives. Wiesbaden.
Ars Judaica	- Ars Judaica. Bar-Ilan University. Ramat Gan.
Art-menedzher	- Art-menedzher. Business magazine considering culture and art as a resource for the social and economic development of society and offering various technologies and methodologies of management of this process. Moscow.
Bibliosphera	- Bibliosphera. The Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Novosibirsk.
BKF	- Baltiiskii filologicheskii kurer. Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University. Kaliningrad.
BM	- Byulleten' Moskovskogo obshchestva ispytateley prirody. Otdel biologicheskoy. Moscow Society of Naturalists. Moscow.
BMMS	- Byulleten Muzeya Marka Shagala. Marc Chagall Museum. Vitebsk.
Byiliye godyi	- Byiliye godyi. Sochi State University. Sochi.
CAn	- Current Anthropology. Chicago.
CHR	- The Canadian Historical Review. University of Toronto Press. Toronto.

CIS	- Culturologicheskie issledovania Sibiri. Omsk State University. Omsk.
Comparativ	- Comparativ. Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung. Universität Leipzig, Global and European Studies Institute. Leipzig.
CRJ	- Classical Reception Journal. The Open University (UK). Oxford.
Den'gi	- Den'gi. Publishing House "Kommersant." Moscow.
EDV	- Ekonomicheskaya zhizn Dalnego Vostoka. Geographic Society. Khabarovsk, Amur.
EHQ	- European History Quarterly. University of London. London.
EJNH	- European Journal of Natural History. The Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Ethnos	- Ethnos. Journal of Anthropology. London.
Études/Inuit/Studies	- Études/Inuit/Studies. Association Inuksiutiit Katimajüt Inc. Québec.
EZ	- Evolucijazni na Zemle. Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Femida	- Femida. Media Corporation "ZAN." Almaty.
Florilegium	- Florilegium. The journal of the Canadian Society of Medievalists. Ottawa.
Forsait	- Forsait. Higher School of Economy. Moscow.
Francia	- Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte, hg. vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris (Institut Historique Allemand). Paris.
Fundamental Research	- Fundamental Research. Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Genetics	- Genetics. Genetics Society of America. Bethesda (USA).
Genetika	- Genetika. Russian Journal of Genetics. Moscow State University. Moscow.
Geologiya i geofizika	- Geologiya i geofizika. Institute of Geology and Geophysics of the Siberian Department of the Science Academy in the USSR, Novosibirsk. Published by the Siberian department of the Science Academy in the USSR. Novosibirsk.
Gyanovashchya	- Gyanovashchya. Dnepropetrovsk State University. Dnepropetrovsk.
HN	- Hraniteli naslediya. Altay State Pedagogical Academy. Barnaul.
HZ	- Historische Zeitschrift. Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main.
Karavan	- Karavan (newspaper). Almaty.
KAS	- Der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung - Auslandsinformationen. Berlin.

KPZ	- Kazanskij pedagogicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Pedagogy and Psychology. Kazan.
IAIAND	- Istoriko-arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v g. Azove i na Nizhnem Donu v 2006 g., Don.
Istoriografiya	- Istoriografiya i istochnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki. Leningrad State University. Leningrad.
Istoriya i sovremennost'	- Istoriya i sovremennost'. Moscow.
Izvestia Ugo	- Izvestija Ugo-Zapadnogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Kursk.
IzvSamarsk	- Izvestiya Samarskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN. Samara.
JBAA	- Journal of the British Archaeological Association, British Archaeological Association. London.
Kulturnoe nasledie	- Kulturnoe nasledie. Altai State University, Altai Territory, Barnaul.
Lesnoi Zhurnal	- Lesnoi Zhurnal. Izvestiia Vysshikh Uchebnykh Zavedenii. Bulletin of Higher Educational Institution. Arkhangelsk.
LKK	- Literatura i kultura v Kitae. Moscow.
LSJ	- Life Science Journal. Acta Zhengzhou University Overseas. Zhengzhou University. New York.
JAMT	- Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory. New York.
JAR	- Journal of Archaeological Research. Journal of Archaeological Research. New York.
JISV	- Jekonomicheskie i istoricheskie issledovaniya na Severo-Vostoke SSSR. Economic and historical research in the North-East of the USSR. Magadan.
KT	- Kazakhskaya tsivilizatsiya. University Kaimar Almaty. Almaty.
Marketing	- Marketing. Centre for Marketing Research and Management. Moscow.
MBD	- Molodyye v bibliotechnom dele. Youth in Library Science. Moscow.
MEJSR	- Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research. International scientific journal published by the international digital organization for scientific information (IDOSI).
Memoirs SAA	- Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology. Society for American Archaeology. Washington DC.
MENP	- Materialy po evolycii nazemnykh pozvochnykh. Moscow.
MIA	- Materialy po istorii i archeologii SSSR. Moscow, Saint Petersburg.
MIFFK	- Materialy po istorii fauny i flory Kazahstana. Kazakhstan.

Mir bibliografii	- Mir bibliografii. Moscow.
Mir obrazovaniya	- Mir obrazovaniya - obrazovanie v mire. Scientific-Methodological Journal. Moscow Psychology and Sociology Institute. Moscow.
MNKO	- Mir Nauki, Kul'tury, Obrazovaniya. Gorno-Altaysk.
Molodezh' Tatarstana	- Molodezh' Tatarstana. Newspaper. Kazan.
MUSEUM	- MUSEUM. UNESCO.
Narodnaya shkola	- Narodnaya shkola. Saint Petersburg.
Nauchnoye obozreniye	- Nauchnoye obozreniye, series 2, Gumanitarniye nauki. Lomonosov Moscow State University. Moscow.
Nauch.-tekhn. Inform	- Nauchnaya i tekhnicheskaya informatsiya. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Naukovedeniye	- Naukovedeniye. Institute of History of Natural Sciences and Technics named after S. I. Vavilov of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Neues Leben	- Neues Leben [newspaper]. Berlin.
NIV	- Novyy istoricheskiy vestnik. Obshchestvo s ogranichennoj otvetstvennost'yu "Izdatel'stvo Ippolitova." Moscow.
NKOGK	- Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae: XXXIX nauchnaia konferentsiia. Moscow.
NNZ	- Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya. Istoriya i arkhologiya. Veliki Novgorod.
Novosti	- Russian News Agency "Novosti." Moscow.
NT	- Nauchnyi Tatarstan. Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. Kazan.
NTB	- Nauchnyye i tekhnicheskiye biblioteki. The State Public Scientific and Technical Library Russia. Moscow.
Odyssey	- Odyssey. Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Universal History. Moscow.
ONS	- Obshchestvennuyye nauki i sovremennost. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
OT	- Otechestvennyye zapiski. Saint Petersburg.
Panorama iskusstv	- Panorama iskusstv. Sovetskii khudozhnik. Moscow.
Pervye amerikancy	- Pervye amerikancy. First Americans (Almanac). Russian Society of Indianists. Saint Petersburg.
PGI	- Problemi Gumanitarnih Issledovaniy. Russian State Institute for Regional Issues in Northern Caucasus. Pyatigorsk.
Polar Record	- Polar Record. A Journal of Arctic and Antarctic Research. Scott Polar Research Institute. Cambridge (UK).
Politische Wissenschaft	- Politische Wissenschaft. Deutsche Hochschule für Politik Berlin.

Polzunovskiy vestnik	- Polzunovskiy vestnik. Altay State Technical University. Barnaul.
Pozdneplejstocenovy	- Pozdneplejstocenovy i rannegolocenovy kul'turnye svyazi Azii i Ameriki. Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy. Novosibirsk.
Prizrenie	- Prizrenie i blagotvoritel'nost' v Rossii. Izdanie Vserossijskogo sojuza uchrezhdenij, obshhestv i dejatelej po obshhestvennomu i chastnomu prizreniju. Saint Petersburg.
Problemi filosofii	- Problemi filosofii. Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Proceedings Volgograd	- Proceedings of the Volgograd State Pedagogical University. Volgograd.
PsZ	- Psikhologicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Psychology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
PT	- Perspectives on Terrorism. The Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) headquartered in Vienna, and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies (CTSS) headquartered at the University of Massachusetts' Lowell campus. Massachusetts.
RA	- Rossiiskaia Arkheologija. Moscow.
Reka vremen	- Reka vremen. Moscow.
Rivista di Bizantinistica	- Rivista di Bizantinistica. Bologna.
RossEconom	- Rossiski ekonomicheski jurnal. International Academy of Business and Management. Moscow.
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	- Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Russian government daily newspaper. Moscow.
SA	- Sovetskaja Arkheologija. Institute of Archaeology, Russia, Moscow. Moscow.
SC	- Sviyazhskie chteniya. Sviyazhsk.
Scientometrics	- Scientometrics. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.
Serdalo	- Obschenacionalnaya gaseta Respubliki Ingushetiya "Serdalo." Nazran.
SGV	- Saratovskie gubernskie vedomosti. Saratov.
Shagalovskii sbornik	- Shagalovskii sbornik. Marc Chagall Museum. Minsk.
SI	- Sociologicheskije issledovaniya. Science Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Soziale Geschichte	- Soziale Geschichte. Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts. Bremen.
Spectrum	- Spectrum. The Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies. Astana.
SS	- Sibirskaya stolitsa. Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve. Tobolsk.

SSM	- Social Sciences and Modernity. The Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences "Science." Moscow.
SV	- Sovremennaya filologiya. Ufa.
SZ	- Sociologicheskiy zhurnal. Moscow.
Tarih Dergisi	- Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi. Istanbul.
TKA	- Tolski kraevedchesky almanah. Tula.
Tradizionnaya kultura	- Tradizionnaya kultura. An academic almanac representing the perspective direction in complex study of ethnoculture: national outlook, pedagogics, life, mythology, customs, ceremonies, poetry and music. Moscow.
Trudovaya pomoshch'	- Trudovaya pomoshch'. Izdanie Popechitel'stva o trudovoj pomoshhi. Saint Petersburg.
Vestnik AAJ	- Vestnik arheologii, antropologii i jetnografii. Institute of Problems of Development of the North, Russia. Tyumen.
Vestnik Chelyabinsk	- Vestnik Chelyabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Istoriya. Publishing house of Chelyabinsk State University. Chelyabinsk.
Vestnik Chuvashskogo	- Vestnik Chuvashskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta im I. Ya. Yakovleva. I. Y. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical University. Cheboksary.
VestKrasno	- Vestnike Krasnoyarskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta imeni V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarskiy gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskij universitet im. V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarsk.
Vestnik Kazak	- Vestnik Akademii nauk Kazakhskoy SSR. Academy of Science of the Kazakh SSR. Kazakhstan.
Vestnik RAN	- Vestnik Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Vestnik Samara	- Vestnik Samarskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Samara State University. Samara.
Vestn Tomsk Gos Univ.	- Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Bulletin of Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Vestnik Semej	- Vestnik gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni Shakarima goroda Semej. Shakarim State University of Semej.
Vestnik Ufa	- Vestnik Vostochnoy ekonomiko-yuridicheskoy gumanitarnoy akademii. East Economic-Legal Humanitarian Academy. Ufa.
Vestnik VyatGGU	- Vestnik Vyatskogo gosudarstvennogo gumanitarnogo universiteta: Vyatka State University of Humanities. Kirov.

Vizantiysky vremennik	- Vizantiysky vremennik. Institute of General History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosy Istorii	- Voprosy Istorii. Russian academic journal for historical studies. The Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosi Literaturny	- Voprosi Literaturny. Writer's Union of the USSR. Moscow.
Voprosy filosofii	- Voprosy filosofii. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
VTP	- Istoricheskiye, filosofskiy, politicheskiye i yuridicheskiye nauki, kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Voprosy teorii i praktiki. Tambov.
WASJ	- World Applied Sciences Journal. International Digital Organization Scientific for Information "IDOSI Publications" UAE. Dubai.
Zapiski	- Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkhologicheskogo obshchestva. Archaeological Society. Saint Petersburg.
ZDMG	- Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Berlin Magazine of the German East Society. Berlin.