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**HUMAN FACTOR OF LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT  
OF SOUTHERN UKRAINE AT THE END OF THE XVIIIth –  
THE BEGINNING OF THE XXth CENTURIES**

**Abstract.** *The purpose of the research* – is to examine and reconstruct the specificity of a human factor in town management at the territory of the South of Ukraine in the second half of the 18th – at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. **The research methodology** is based on the principles of scientificity, historicism, verification, author objectiveness, the frontier theory, human dimension, regionalism and also on the use of general scientific (analysis, synthesis and generalization) and specific historical (historical and genetic, historical and typological, historical and systemic) methods. **The scientific novelty** consists in the fact that the formation of a new socio-cultural reality and geo-political changes resulted in involving representatives of the Western European countries into management of the Southern Ukrainian region and towns that changed the bureaucratic system of the Russian Empire. That made it possible to transform the South of Ukraine into important centers of the economic life of both the region and the country intensifying modernization processes. Such processes are strongly

related to the participation of deputies and foreign employees in the municipalities and the activities of public management in the towns of the South. This study considers bodies of self-government as a specific mode of activity of municipality deputies. Special attention is focused on characterization of their role in the practical activity of public elective institutions. **The Conclusions.** The results of the research contain the information that a deputy of a local self-government is considered not as a political construct, but as a personal and individual phenomenon reflecting different behavioral patterns of self-government deputies better and expressing their cultural values more obviously. The study also emphasizes that the towns were managed by the representatives of different socio-professional layers that enhanced the individual features of the region when compared to other regions of the country.

**Keywords:** the South of Ukraine, local self-government, deputies of public government, municipality, administrative and territorial organization.

## ЛЮДСЬКИЙ ФАКТОР ГРОМАДСЬКОГО УПРАВЛІННЯ НА ПІВДНІ УКРАЇНИ НАПРИКІНЦІ XVIII – НА ПОЧАТКУ XX ст.

**Анотація. Мета дослідження** – розкрити та реконструювати особливості людського фактору в управлінні містами на території Півдня України в другій половині XVIII – початку XX ст. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на принципи науковості, історизму, верифікації, авторської об'єктивності, теорії фронтіру, людиновимірності, регіоналізму, а також на використання загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичних (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методів. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що в результаті формування нової соціокультурної реальності та геополітичних змін до управління південноукраїнським регіоном та містами були задіяні представники західноєвропейських країн, які внесли багато змін у бюрократичну систему Російської імперії. Це дало можливість Півдню України перетворитися на важливі центри економічного життя як регіону, так і держави, що прискорило модернізаційні процеси. Такі процеси міцно пов'язані із участю в діяльності муніципалітетів працівники депутатів та найманих працівників у функціонуванні громадських управлінь в містах Півдня України. У запропонованій статті органи самоврядування аналізуються як специфічний образ діяльності і активності депутатів муніципалітетів. Основна увага приділена розкриттю їх характерів у практичній діяльності громадських виборчих установ. **Висновки.** У запропонованих результатах дослідження міститься інформація про те, що образ депутатів самоврядування розглядається не як політичний конструкт, а як особистісно-індивідуальний феномен, в якому краще розкриваються різні поведінкові моделі депутатів самоврядування і краще виражаються їх культурні цінності. Тако, відзначено, що містами управляли представники різних соціо професійних образів, що значно посилювало регіонально-індивідуальні особливості краю, у порівнянні з іншими регіонами держави.

**Ключові слова:** Південь України, міське самоврядування, депутати громадських управлінь, муніципалітет, адміністративно-територіальний устрій.

**The Problem Statement.** At the present stage of the formation of the Ukrainian state, the system of state government is being created on the principles of decentralization which demands extensive reforms. The main aim of these reforms is to turn the already existing administrative and self-administrative system into an effective factor of acceleration of the regional social and economic development. Trying to form a modern system of local self-government, the society cannot but take into account the newest world experience of the state formation and the national and historical one as well giving the possibility to study and analyze the process of the Ukrainian state formation.

Identification of the parts of the general problem which have not been solved before – in the previous studies sufficient attention was not almost paid to a human factor in the activities of a local self-government. They mainly focused on social and economic, political and organizational aspects in the life of towns. The administrative relations of the past epochs

continue to exist in new social relations as the inherited administrative culture, administrative technology, people's consciousness, subjective rights and duties, legality, legal order, etc.

**The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches.** In the research, we are talking about a human factor in the activity of the institution of municipal power in the South Ukrainian provinces/huberniias at the end of the XVIIIth – beginning of the XXth centuries – Khersonska, Katerynoslavska and Tavriiska. The analysis of the activity of the local public self-government organs remains an important precondition of creating the integral picture of the historical process in the South of Ukraine and in the whole Ukraine.

In the historiography of previous years, some parts of this issue were analyzed. S. Pryklonskyi (Priklonskiy, 1886) and Ye. Maksymov (Maksimov, 1905) contributed to the problem elaboration from democratic standpoints. They criticized deputies of a local self-government for insufficient, from their point of view, help to those in need (in the sphere of medical service, people's education, provision of housing), for absence of appropriate urban amenities, irrational expenses of local costs, etc. Nevertheless, no concrete examples of the solution of these problems could prove their critical observations.

D. Semenov's research (Semenov, 1901) was interesting because he characterized not only the issues of structure and functions of a local self-government, but their positive and negative moments; he generalized the experience of leading European countries in the issues of municipal self-government and proposed a series of practical recommendations how to improve the work of organs of a local self-government. In his research, the author mentioned the South Ukrainian towns as well.

In the works of P. Zelenyi (Zelenyi, 1890), the attempt was made to analyze the experience of the South Ukrainian local public government deputies' work before 1870, to characterize the directions of their activity, problems, practical results. The author criticized the self-government activity, pointed out its negative sides which had influence on its work.

During the Soviet period, a local self-government was not considered actual but a bourgeois organ of power not having been able to solve the problems of citizens. That's why, in the works of the Soviet researchers, the subject of the tsarist municipalities was mentioned superficially. In A. Shefer's work (Shefer, 1939), "Organs of Self-Government of the Tsarist Russia" the activity of local Dumas of the pre-Soviet period was analyzed. The book became the basis of the Soviet historiography having contributed to the creation of a negative attitude towards the deputies of local Dumas in the following researches. L. Velykhov (Velikhov, 1928) elaborated the whole municipal science from historical, state-legal, financial and technical points, having enlightened at the same time the most important economic urban problems and municipal improvement.

The interest for the activity of the South Ukrainian municipalities of the pre-Soviet period arose with the Ukraine's Independence Declaration. The traditional questions of formation, structure and competence of the municipal organs, their budget policy and practical activity in the economic and social and cultural spheres were analyzed in the works of O. Marchenko (Marchenko, 1997), T. Plaksii (Plaksii, 2001), T. Shcherba (Shcherba, 2001) and the others in the problematic and chronological vein with the emphasis upon the generally determined stages from the history of the object research (1785 – 1870, 1870 – 1892, 1892 – 1917). The urban regulations of 1870 and 1892 were analyzed in details including the elective procedures in municipalities, their structure and competence. V. Konstantynova (Konstantynova, 2010) contributed to the research of the South Ukrainian urban history of the last quarter of the XVIIIth – middle of the XIXth centuries. She examined urban problems and the role of a local self-government in Southern Ukraine as well and concluded about higher tempos of

the urban processes there than in other regions. Despite a great deal of works dedicated to a local self-government in the South of Ukraine, the researched problem of the human factor of this period was not enough analyzed. According to the researchers, municipalities were impersonal political institutions.

**The purpose of the publication** is to analyze the organs of self-government as a specific image of the South Ukrainian local Dumas deputies' activity through the prism of variety of their characters.

**The Main Material Statement.** In the second half of the XVIIIth century, in the consequence of important geopolitical changes, the central authorities of the Russian Empire incorporated the territory of the South of Ukraine. It was transformed into New Ukraine very quickly that made the government start renewing general government standards at the national level. Later, the central authorities of the Russian Empire confirmed and adopted a new system of self-government having been spread at the South Ukrainian territory as well. This system was targeted to turn local stany ("stan" is an administrative and territorial unit in the tsarist Russia) into bourgeoisie on the principles of decentralization and to lessen the costs burden of the state budget to support towns. Having taken all this into account, towns were divided into several categories (principal towns of province/huberniia, district/povit towns, unimportant towns (which did not serve as administrative centers)) where local authorities were created – public administrations called local Dumas. Representatives from six stans could be elected to them for three years; local budget formation, land property management, local taxes, state organs support, provision of urban amenities, etc., were in their competence (Mykhailenko, Cheremisin, 2020, pp. 36–45). All of its points were hardly realized because the reform of 1785 was not perfect. Newly established local Dumas were not independent and had to coordinate their decisions with administrative and central organs of power. It created inconveniences in the government of towns and made public organs of power a lower grade of state administration. After the public upheaval of 1840 – 1860, the Central Government implemented other reforms and made local Dumas independent from administrative surveillance, without stany organs of local power in the spirit of the public theory of self-government in 1870. The reform of 1892 took place already on the principles of the state theory of self-government having meant limitation of local Dumas independence in their decisions. A leading role in the activity of local Dumas during this period belonged to the deputies of public organs of power having elaborated top-priority directions of the development of every town. In historiography, organs of self-government were regarded as impersonal political formations in social and economic, demographic, political and other spheres. There is no biographical information about deputies of self-government and no significant quantity of scientific works. To our mind, it is high time pay attention to a human factor in the activity of public establishments, to examine moral and spiritual values of the officials of municipalities, to analyze their behaviour and to observe the process of self-government from the point of view of individual characteristics of its participants.

In the present aspect, a methodological concept of a human factor is used in the research as a specific image of the South Ukrainian self-government deputies' activity and value orientations. Deputies' practical activity is characterized to be their individual charge examined through the prism of variety of their characters. It brings us to regard municipalities as a personal and individual phenomenon with the purpose to reveal behavioral models of public elected deputies to understand better the system of values under the conditions of quick adaptation, modernization, urbanization of the South Ukrainian region. In the actual aspect,

the human factor helps to study the self-government activity through the prism of people's needs and relationships in the sphere of municipal administration, to pay attention to dwelling and individual conditions of existence and their production of an urban image through the prism of concrete experience (Vermenych, 2009, pp. 37–40). It helps to understand a person and his/her interests under the conditions of the accelerated development of commerce, industry better and to identify him/her in a new social and cultural situation of Southern Ukraine. It brings us up to the characteristics of unordinary individuals in substandard situations and adequate penetration into an individual's consciousness and make conclusions about the world of thoughts, intentions and world reception of concrete deputies of self-government (Yakovenko, 2007, p. 214).

Thus, organs of a local self-government involve persons with positive and negative features who determine which separate moral qualities are their strong, because deputies of self-government support not only public or state interests but personal as well.

At the moment of making efforts for joint life activity, some individuals (deputies of self-government) turn into the only social system providing an urban way of life and community of people with certain appropriate functions, conscious stereotypes of behaviour. Thus, as a result of their mutual activity, as a social system, towns get their own image, cultural aura, space configuration, social phenomena.

Such model of research can be organically present in the history of a local selfgovernment and opens many possibilities for the further research, as in every municipality there were peculiarities having led the South Ukrainian towns on the way of modernization or conservatism, the way of corruption and bribery or capitalization and commercialization. Railways, industry development, modernization of ports and engineering infrastructure, development of cultural, medical, educational spheres and formation of town image depended on deputies' decisions having determined an industrial strategy of urban development.

That's why, the possibilities to determine social mobility, system of contacts, social functions of self-government deputies, their local and individual structure, social and cultural, moral viewpoints, in public elected people's mentality, etc., are revealed. And furthermore, the human factor approach allows to conclude about the correlation between the urban life organization of individual communities with the political organization of self-government upon the condition of determining the influence of a separate deputy's personal activity upon the development of the urban vital space.

Taking into account deputies' behavioral model, self-government of the South Ukrainian towns can be divided into several types: "egocentric", "conformist", "philanthropic", "silent", "town fathers". They had different attitude to public, state and individual interests, purpose of activity, values orienting points and corresponding behavioral culture, etc.

Thus, the most widely spread type of the behavioral model in the South Ukrainian towns was egocentric. The most important indicator of such behaviour was total indifference towards state and public interests, but their biggest activity was self-enrichment and solution of own problems in various ways. For example, by means of additional taxes and duties of local population, whose gatherings passed over the municipal purse and went directly into the municipal figures' pockets. The spread phenomenon in towns of the region had to double or triple existing legal taxes. Embezzlement of public funds and inappropriate use of public money were also widely spread (The State Archive of Kherson Region, f. 14. op. 1. d. 438, pp. 2–50). Having acted like this, public deputies tried to look decent and hid their activity results at any rate; they impoverished and ruined those who tried to reveal them by

destroying small shops, etc. Among the deputies, a negative attitude towards such features of a municipal deputy's character as decency, honesty, responsibility, care about people's well-being grew ripe and became widely spread. Odesa municipal head N. Novoselskyi was always reproached of such character features.

In many towns, there were constant and serious violations. The representatives of self-government in Oleksandrivsk P. Zakharin and O. Vasylichenko were ill during several months, after that went on a 3-month business trips because of their own commercial affairs. A person refused to have the position of archivist in a public self-government. A. Miller, a merchant, was greatly surprised to have been elected to self-government; he was constantly ill and couldn't fulfill any duties and didn't even participate in the elections. Neither A. Liashenko nor P. Zakharin appointed instead of A. Miller could work because of serious illnesses either.

In Oleksandrivsk, Councilor Psovakha und Bürgermeister Zakhariev made 600 roubles a year having sold public property for own enrichment during their public activity, meanwhile ordinary deputies got 200–400 roubles a month, and heads of municipalities got 800–1000 roubles a month [Cheremisis, Mikhailenko, 2018, pp. 73–78]. Of course, this additional income was quite good to their salaries though everyone officially had sworn in their honesty and inspiration (The State Archive of Zaporizhzhia Region, f. 21. op. 1. d. 14, pp. 15–51).

There was one more behavioral type among deputies of self-government defined as “conformist”, having meant subnormal (not enough scrupulous) attitude towards their public duties. The dominating work challenge was an individual interest to do nothing. The representatives of this behavioral model were completely satisfied with the existing regime and wanted to change nothing in private, public or state life. They were entirely adapted to the existing order and felt comfortably with no necessity to change anything. They never fulfilled necessary work even with delay having regarded it useless for anyone and unpunished. The representatives of the given behavioral model could be found in district/povit or unimportant towns of Southern Ukraine: Oleksandriia, Bobrynets, Beryslav, Hryhoriopol, Novoheorhiivsk, Olviopol, Ochakiv, Oleshky, Yevpatoriia, Melitopol, Perekop, Bakhchysarai, Balaklava, Karasubazar, Nohaisk, Orikhiv, Staryi Krym, Yenikale, Verkhniodniprovsk, Bakhmut, Novomoskovsk, Pavlohrad, Slovianoserbsk, Maiaky.

The representatives of this model of behaviour were low educated. Similar facts were known in the towns of huberniia though in povit and unimportant towns it looked more seriously. For instance, in Bobrynets, citizens' cases were heard by local self-government for decades. In Ananiev and Ovidiopol, deputies of municipalities did not come to work at all. In Yelysavethrad, there was a complete disorder in the papers of self-government. That's why, Odesa mayor P. Zelenyi had an impression that the representatives of Yelysavethrad self-government weren't aware of paperwork at all. An interesting fact was known to have happened in Ochakiv; someone who dealt with paperwork was low educated and because of it, the activity of municipality was not fulfilled (Zelenyi, 1890, pp. 4–7).

The only thing that the deputies of local Dumas did was writing imaginary complaints about one another or about honest deputies. A very noticeable fact was that the described type of behaviour did not impress anybody but on the contrary had many supporters. After the reforms, this phenomenon was preserved and prospered almost in all the towns of Southern Ukraine where life and public money were spent with no aim, sense and punishment.

However, there always were people who fulfilled their duties in front of the public honestly and diligently having shown that, despite all the difficulties, a person could be a

moving factor of human relationships, modernization and, what was the most important, the carrier of the best spiritual forces.

According to the documents, deputies of self-government had different background, family status, financial situations and other characteristics and never had a mutual wish and possibility to work in favor of public that made them different from others: neither formalism nor bureaucracy but humanity in problems solution.

The notion of “town fathers” for the South Ukrainian towns was not abstract but personified in concrete individuals, for instance, in Kherson, D. Horlovskiy, N. Blazhkov, M. Bekker, in Mykolaiv – V. Dotsenko, in Oleksandrivsk – Ya. Novytskyi, in Odesa – V. Novoselskyi, in Yelysavethrad – A. Pashutin and the others. Mariupol mayor A. Chebanenko and the members of administration K. Popov and K. Avertanov were highly respected and honoured for their working capacity, activity and innovations. Among the others one could speak about A. Karamanov, having combined functions of a secretary, member and deputy of Mariupol self-government and member of fair and estimating commissions as well (The State Archive of Donetsk Region, f. 113. op. 1. d. 127, p. 2; SADR, f. 113. op. 1. d. 190. p. 20; SADR, f. 113. op. 1. d. 18, pp. 21–89).

They made themselves perfect, participated in active and social-political life, propagandized positiveness and necessity of self-government, were an example of behavior for the others and the most active at Duma sessions. Owing to their activity, a positive image of self-government was created and Southern Ukrainian towns became modern with water pipes, canalization, electrification, installation of telephones, trams, railways, cultural and educational events, medico-sanitary service, etc.

The public of the South Ukrainian towns elected the most capable, active and hardworking deputies of self-government and mayors to the State Duma at the beginning of the XXth century. In O. Konyk’s research one could read about 382 deputies in parliament having been elected from various Ukrainian huberniias, among which 15 deputies were from the South Ukrainian town self-government and made 4 % of all the deputies from the Ukrainian huberniias. Among the elected South Ukrainian representatives of town self-government there were: 9 municipal activists from Kherson huberniia, 3 municipal activists from Katerynoslavsk huberniia and 3 municipal activists from Tavriisk huberniia as well were elected to the State Duma. Having taken a social characteristic into account, it should be mentioned that 10 deputies, 3 honorable citizens, 1 bourgeois, 1 colonist were elected from noblemen. Having taken a religious characteristic into account, it should be said about 11 Orthodox people, 1 Carait, 1 Orthodox Jew, 1 Jew, and 1 Moslem. Among the deputies of the State Duma, the majority (11 people) had higher education, 3 people had secondary education and 1 person had a primary one. It should be mentioned about the most active participants (from 10 to 17) in the work of town дума, the rest people looked like inert masses with their incredible, just “heroic” efforts to sit in sessions silently. That’s why, the presence of a certain group of deputies called “silent or speechless” in the municipalities was typical of the most of South Ukrainian towns (Konyk, 2013, pp. 395–432).

For example, the deputy of Kherson municipality S. Kostyliiev spoke only twice for four years of his presence in the дума sessions: one time he spoke about the water pipe in Mykhailivska Street, the second time he spoke about a free commercial place in Admiralteiska Street which he wanted to acquire (Duma session, 1899, p. 2). S. Kostyliiev was one of the oldest activists of self-government, very energetic before 1900 and proposed many social-useful questions to have been discussed (Duma session, 1899, p. 2). Councilor I. Korbul was also too speechless during the sessions of municipality (Duma session, 1899, p. 2). Deputy N. Spozito was

constantly silent in sessions as well (Duma session, 1899, p. 2). Deputy A. Khodushyn was not very healthy to have been occupied with public affairs though he understood quite well all the peculiarities of town economy (Duma session, 1901, p. 2). Such deputies as P. Biliek, H Konyk, A Serebriakov, Tropin and the others were mostly silent at duma sessions (Duma session, 1901, pp. 1–2). Deputy P. Biliek took part in different commissions, showed independent and unusual thinking, but his positive features were not exposed in the debates in the municipality, so he remained speechless too (Duma session, 1901, p. 2).

Philanthropic representatives among town councilors were self-sufficing enough and differed from the others by their corresponding level of sacrifice for the sake of public affairs. The representatives of this kind can be characterized as super-normative and exclusively scrupulous officials of municipalities. They invested charitable events, participated in various commissions and committees. At the same time, they enjoyed their public duties. Public interest, development of own towns, modernization of urban vital space was the stimulus of their activity.

For instance, Kherson duma deputy M. Tropin did not only speak with the initiative of a free hospital for poor people but established it with his own money (Duma session, 1901, p. 2). Owing to his philanthropic activity, a great deal of poor population could have been treated free of charge that saved many lives. People appreciated such deeds greatly.

S. Chaikovskiy (Odesa magistrate official) (SAKR, f. 14. op. 1. d. 1579, pp. 1–14), B. Kartamyshev and V. Kharlamov (Odesa Bürgermeisters) (SAKR, f. 14. op. 1. d. 1654, pp. 1–7) were also famous with their philanthropic activity (SAKR, f. 14. op. 1. d. 455, pp. 1–4). They always helped (with their own money) the poorest, supported people during many epidemics. The direction of the huberniia proposed them higher positions but they refused because they wanted to be always with those who needed their help. With the first order they bought everything necessary. During a whole year, they helped to treat those having been suffering from plague, for this deed they were elected to the public committee having been helping poor people. They neither boasted with their merits nor demanded any compensation from town duma or from the state for their efforts. They helped the Orthodox church with own money and things as well. They gave expensive presents to seminarists. The highest reward for them was “appreciation and gratitude” and a gold(en) medal.

**The Conclusions.** Thus, it is possible to conclude that in the South Ukrainian towns, the only socio-professional image of a municipal official and behavioral identity was not formed.

According to the behavioral model, municipal officials can be divided into such types: egocentric, conformist, philanthropic, speechless, “town fathers”. That was exactly what made this region different from other regions where the composition of public institutions was mainly mixed; the South Ukrainian region was not completely dependent upon administrative authorities. In some regions of the Russian Empire, special positions of observers were created in municipalities to control their activity. The South Ukrainian towns did not have such positions and it gave freedom for individual activity; groups to protect town interests from self-will of administration and groups to organize town population in the cases of epidemics were formed; all this was full of town patriotism. A great interest of administrative authorities to rule this region with the help of military men and policemen gave freedom for self-government to have more initiatives in the affairs of towns. Such phenomena like bureaucratism, indifference, embezzlement of public funds or waste of budget costs were typical of the Southern Ukrainian towns, but there were many deputies who tried to work in a modernized (new) way because “a new life” opened space to modernize the activity of many deputies from municipalities. It was connected with the wish to become closer to Europe.

Town self-government became modern very quickly together with population; the officials of self-government were the first against the administrative tutelage and for autonomy, democratization of municipalities, they fought against bureaucratism and corruption as well. However, it should be noted that bribery and embezzlement of public funds were again spoken about with the beginning of “a new life” because of a big distance between this region and the center and as a result of a rapid modernization. The activity of deputies from public institutions was not always successful, many of them were imprisoned and beaten, honesty and sincerity were not always welcomed, opinion of their work was not positive but one can ascertain that regional and individual activity of the participants of the South Ukrainian self-government was considerably higher than in other regions.

The retreat from traditional relationships in the structures of power was seen in the absence of familial-protective relationships which were typical in other regions of the Empire. The beginning of “a new life” led to a rapid modernization, the self-government of Southern Ukraine got more active and there appeared hardworking representatives of the public who fought for autonomy and democratization of public structures. Foreigners in the structures of power of the Southern Ukraine spread West-European ideas and models of government that turned the New-Ukrainian region into European and formed a modernized town public to have thought in a modernized (European) way. Though familial and protective relationships were strong in different regions of the Empire and began to play a certain role and form a system at the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries, they were not very noticeable in town self-government; it was rare to see a father and son or other relatives at the same public office, though during the elections, the families of candidates into deputies were very active in advertising them.

Just in the South Ukrainian region, it was forbidden to elect the Jews to municipalities. They were allowed to have been elected to public administrations only after the reform of 1870; in other regions of the Empire, they were elected to municipalities where they hold leading positions in self-government and made a necessary majority even before the reform. Neither the South Ukrainian noblemen nor merchants had many seats in municipalities unlike in other regions, though in the South Ukrainian towns, the merchants were numerous in comparison with the other layers of the population. In a great number of public institutions of the Southern Ukraine, deputies were mainly Orthodox meanwhile in other regions there were many the Roman-Catholics, the Protestants, the Moslems, the Jews.

Thus, the representation of deputies in municipalities, social and professional images and types of behaviour were different in different regions of the Empire and depended upon regional and individual peculiarities of each region. In the South of Ukraine, the level of self-organization, entrepreneurship, opposition and typical models of behaviour was, to a great extent, higher than in other regions.

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