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Статьи, поступающие в редакцию, рецензируются. За достоверность сведений, изложенных в статьях, ответственность несут авторы. Мнение редакции может не совпадать с мнением авторов материалов. При перепечатке ссылка на журнал обязательна. Материалы публикуются в авторской редакции.

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THE IMAGE OF THE ENEMY IN THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR AMID HEIGHTENED ARMENIAN PROBLEM (1914-1923): FORMULATION OF THE PROBLEM

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ABSTRACT

The article is devoted to the study of the process of forming the image of the enemy in the USA and Great Britain societies during the exacerbation of the Armenian problem (1914-1918 pp.), and the mechanisms of its introduction based on propagandistic literature from the First World War and in the first post-war years, 1918 - 1923.

The publication is intended for scientists, teachers, doctoral students, postgraduates, undergraduates and students of higher educational institutions, as well as for a wide range of readers who are interested in the problems of international relations in general, and the issues of the history of foreign policy of the United States and Great Britain in particular.

The relevance of the topic. Almost for the first time the image of the enemy as such appeared in the mass consciousness during the Russian-French War of 1812 – at that time the expression "enemy of the Fatherland" was used in relation to Napoleon. Subsequently, this image spread in the world practice of military propaganda, acquired the features of a real phenomenon, was actively used during the world wars of the 20th century and thereafter. It exists even now.

As history shows, the Ukrainian people throughout their existence lived more in conditions of wars and permanent occupations than in peacetime. The concentrated offensive of neighbors and internal treason are the two main factors that resulted in the death of all state entities that arose on Ukrainian lands (according to the definition of the outstanding Ukrainian historian Ya. G. Dashkevich). Those forms of Ukrainian statehood that emerged on the territory of Ukraine in the first half of the 20th century were no exception. Nevertheless, the Ukrainian people, in their national, and now in the national anthem, retains the strange and romantic expression "vorozhenska" (variation from eng. "enemy") in relation to their enemies. However, the world surrounding the young state of Ukraine today is not so meek.

And it should be noted in this context that the change in the geopolitical and even geo-economic landscape surrounding the modern Ukrainian state after the collapse of the USSR and the emergence of Ukraine as an independent state requires its national and state elite to answer one of the key questions of national history: who or what is the enemy of Ukraine? Naturally, the ideological provision of the foundations of national security, among other things, is an essential feature of the current moment.

At the same time, it should be borne in mind that modern states – world leaders and, first of all, the United States and the United Kingdom, actively use

such a political and ideological phenomenon as the "image of the enemy" as an important tool for mobilizing and consolidating their societies. The practice of using the "image of the enemy" phenomenon for political purposes is also quite common among Russian political elites. And in our time it is not surprising that Ukraine, in its pro-Western policy and neglect of Russian interests, and often becoming "anti-Russia" (See also V.V. Putin "On the historical unity of Russians and Ukrainians") was repeatedly viewed by Russian politicians in this light both when covering the domestic agenda and in front of the international community. This ultimately led not only to new threats to Ukraine's security, but also to its existence as a state.

The relevance of the study is due to the fact that, first, the "image of the enemy" continues to be actively used in the practice of interstate relations, used both as an instrument of socio-political mobilization of the population of states pursuing an aggressive foreign policy, and for the formation of a negative international image of competing countries. Second, the relevance of the topic is connected with the increasing importance of mass media (hereinafter: mass media), including electronic, in the life of the world's population in the conditions of the formation of the newest world information civilization. In modern times, given the strengthening role of the state in public life, the government itself and the subordinate institutions began to have a serious impact on the content of images of the outside world. Political and ideological propaganda, actively implemented both in the media and in other forms of information retransmission, has acquired particular importance. Third, the study of the topic stated in our monograph is important for understanding such a unique phenomenon as war in all its forms, and especially the implicit, "silent" war, the war of ideologies, political systems, propaganda

organs. The key concept of any war is the concept of "image of the enemy", because it largely determines the psychological outline of events.

And finally, we cite the practice of forming the image of the enemy amid the heightened Armenian problem, which was the case during the First World War (1914-1923). Considering the problem under study in this perspective allows to demonstrate how national problems can be used in world geopolitics. This is important for the modern, still young and not strong, Ukrainian state, as well as for understanding the role and place of Russia in modern geopolitical and geo-economic transformations.

Consequently, the nature of the "image of the enemy", the means, methods and goals of the formation of this phenomenon and its use in geopolitics at different times by different states, for different purposes and, not less important, with different consequences, must be subjected to careful scientific study. Not less important is the understanding that the "Armenian issue" has not found its final solution in the world so far, and Ukraine and especially Russia have their own geopolitical interests in such a strategically important region of the world as the Caucasus. In addition, we should not forget that a large number of people of Armenian nationality live on the territory of Ukraine and on the territory of the Russian Federation. Therefore, both the Ukrainian and Russian states are forced to find a balance of interests in such very complex and counter-intuitive issues of their internal and external geopolitics.

The political elite and the media of Western countries, pursuing the goal of uniting civil society in the face of the threat of global terrorism, purposefully shape images of the enemy of democracy, global terrorism, the axis of evil, the haven of terrorists, etc. And now the active promotion of the "culture of abolition", including the one that is applied to Russia, actively continues the three-hundred-year tradition of Russophobia and the fight against everything Russian. Russophobia has acquired in the West not just a domestic nature, but has become a state policy, a mobilizing factor of the "collective West", revives the era of block confrontation of the "Iron Curtain" era. However, the "image of the enemy" as such, as a social phenomenon, is not only a legacy of the Cold War era and an achievement of the present, but has long-lasting and specific domestic political traditions with reference to the countries studied (the United States and Great Britain). It is easy to figure out the political goals and mechanisms created by the stimulators of the emergence of the "image of the enemy" in the geopolitics of these two great powers of the world. These include the efforts of the United States to create an image of the enemy on the eve of the NATO war against Serbia, as well as before the invasion to Iraq; the actions of some American politicians to form the image of hostile "they-groups", etc. Therefore, it becomes relevant for historians to study the process of forming the image of the enemy in the first turbulent decades of the 20th century in general and, above all, as it was done in the USA and Great Britain in particular, and especially in the aspect associated with the aggravation of the "Armenian problem" at that time, to

which insufficient attention is still paid in modern historical science.

However, it should be noted that the intensification of globalization processes in the modern world objectively, according to the laws of dialectics, gives rise to an equally powerful opposite process – the growth of ethno-national movements, which makes the geopolitical picture of the modern world very motley and diverse. And the first signs of this phenomenon appeared already in the first two decades of the 20th century – the time of the activation of radical national movements in Europe, including the Ukrainian national movement, the destruction of the last ancient European empires (Austro-Hungarian, Russian and Ottoman) and the subsequent formation of a number of European national states (first of all, according to "14 points" of the US President W. Wilson's Doctrine, April 1917). So, the study of the manifestations of this very significant phenomenon in the geopolitical sense of shaping the "image of the enemy" in the period under study on the material of the history of the United States and Great Britain, in particular in the aspect associated with the heightened Armenian problem, is of great scientific importance.

In this context, it should be noted that any "national issue" or "national problem" (the definition depends on the conceptual apparatus chosen by one or another researcher) includes the problem of national self-determination of a particular people, the question of which is actualized in world geopolitics at one time or another. This may be as a desire to create their own national state (it was in this plane that the Ukrainian national question arose during the First World War (1914-1918) and thereafter), or a desire to remain within the state in which the people were before, but to have their own national-cultural autonomy or other forms of national-cultural expression. It should be noted that the "Armenian problem", the aggravation of which emerged precisely at the time studied, generally belonged to the second type of national problems, while having its own specifics.

For a long time, the consolidation of peoples took place according to the "us/them" antithesis. It should be noted that in the process of any kind of interaction between states and peoples, certain ideas about other countries are formed, well-established images and stereotypes are created. This is a very complex phenomenon, as well as the mechanisms of its formation, including the subject, object, circumstances of formation, forms of interaction, etc. Naturally, the conditions of armed confrontation between states are extreme situations not only in the relations of countries and peoples, but also in their mutual perception, which also obeys certain laws. An armed enemy, bringing death and destruction, is perceived by the population in a fundamentally different way than a partner in the field of economics, culture, science, education. Stereotypes of the perception of the peoples of the peaceful period during the military confrontation inevitably transform into the image of the enemy, especially if the state purposefully influences its population by means of propaganda. Since the beginning of the 20th century, world history has been extremely saturated with wars and armed conflicts, when unprecedented development

and dissemination reached the media, as well as technologies of influence on both the consciousness and the subconscious of people. It is not by chance that the "image of the enemy" – as an ideological and psychological construct – took a significant place among the numerous phenomena of mass consciousness in the 20th century. The consciousness of American and English societies at all their levels was no exception.

In the human, historical and even philosophical aspect, the United States and Great Britain are related substances. According to the American researcher John Ryder, American society, especially in the early stages, was formed on the basis of British Puritanism, which were reflected in the idealistic works of James Madison, Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson. According to Ryder, the studies of British philosophers John Locke, Isaac Newton, John Wise and Jonathan Mayhew greatly influenced political traditions, especially foreign policy (See: American Philosophy. Introduction. – М., 2008. – p. 576, p. 31). This is both the paradox and the regularity of the development of the so-called Anglo-Saxon foreign policy tradition, which has come a long way from the opposition at the ideological level of the American colonies and its former metropolis, through the competition of the new doctrine of Woodrow Wilson and the British plan of Edward Smets to reform the Atlantic empire, which was proposed by the ideologists of American foreign policy after World War II, Henry Kissinger and Zbigniew Brzezinski (Kissinger G. Diplomacy. – М., 1997. – 848 p.; Brzezinski Z. A large chessboard. М., 2000. – 256 p.).

According to a significant cohort of researchers, it was the United States that became the force that pushed Britain after World War II, and reached the point where complete criticism and rejection of the ideas and approaches of the former colony were replaced by copying and imitation. During the First World War and in the first post-war years, especially during the settlement of the Armenian problem, the United States almost for the first time in world politics had the initiative to resolve the Armenian issue and was almost the main country where a large-scale and effective propaganda campaign was launched to form the image of the enemy-the German and the enemy-the Turk.

The object of the study is the image of the enemy in the foreign policy of the United States of America and Great Britain.

The subject of the study is the socio-psychological processes in the mass consciousness of American and British societies, characterizing numerous parameters of perception of the enemy and attitude towards him in the concrete historical conditions of the First World War (1914-1918). The subject of the study also includes the mechanisms, forms and results of perception of enemies of Great Britain and the United States in the context of the heightened "Armenian problem" (1914-1923).

The purpose of the study. The monograph attempts to reveal the process of shaping the "image of

the enemy" amid the transformation of British and American societies in the conditions of the First World War in general and aggravation of the "Armenian problem" in 1914-1923, in particular. The present work is aimed at a comprehensive study of one of the relevant issues of the social and "mental" history of the United States and Great Britain, first of all, the disclosure of the socio-cultural and psychological phenomenon of perceiving the "alien" under extreme conditions of the First World War, as well as the evolution of the "image of the enemy" in the postwar period, the emergence and transformation in historical memory in settling the Armenian problem. The latter is of particular importance for our study, first of all, because it still somehow manifests itself in the geopolitics of the most influential European states (Great Britain, France, Germany) and the United States of America. And here it is appropriate to note that a law has been adopted recently in France, according to which anyone opposing the thesis of the Armenian Genocide must pay a fine of 45 thousand euros. This country has a very significant and influential Armenian Diaspora.

It can be asserted therefore, that the "Armenian problem" as such has long gone beyond the geopolitics of the United Kingdom and the United States, and is an urgent problem not only of modern European, but even, we would say, Euro-Atlantic geospace, influencing both the Russian Federation and the young Ukrainian state.

The choice of *the period* under consideration in this monograph is due to the fact that during the First World War (1914-1918) and after it, American and British societies faced, on the one hand, radical changes in the foreign policy situation, including with reference to their allies, and on the other – with the fact that the ruling elites of the United Kingdom and the United States felt the need to consolidate the unity and manage their societies. To achieve this goal, a number of political and ideological measures were implemented, including those that contributed to the creation of a new "image of the enemy".

The study of the process of constructing the "image of the enemy" influences the understanding of the role and place of transformations that changed the social nature of a large number of American and British societies during and after the First World War. These changes brought the public opinion of the UK and the USA to the brink of collapse, affected the disintegration processes in the societies of these states, weakened their social community. At the same time, according to the T. Parsons theory (see: Parsons T. About social systems. – М.: Academicheskyy Project, 2002. – 831 p.), society, as the highest level of the social system, in order to maintain its viability, requires retaining of the integrity and internal integration of social parts. Both the societies of the USA and Great Britain in the time studied found the means of self-preservation necessary for themselves, using a variety of methods, including those related to the formation of the image of enemies and appeals to the need for a sharply aggravated "Armenian problem" during the First World War.

The problem under study is so diverse that it objectively goes beyond the limits of American and

British historical science. In addition, it should not be limited to the coverage of purely historiographical achievements. Its study is largely connected with a new interdisciplinary direction – imagology, which studies the problem of mutual perception of peoples, societies, cultures under certain historical conditions. In recent years, this scientific direction has been intensively developing, making significant progress, including in the historiographical field. The historical experience of the United States and Great Britain shows that one of significant mechanisms for shaping and maintaining the integration and social identity of society (as well as most of its social groups) is the construction of the image of the enemy. Such a mechanism for the formation of social integration aimed to unite various social groups, classes, movements, etc. through creating an image of the enemy, which basically coincided with the real enemy. It is so important, therefore, to consider in the study those socio-psychological processes that took place in the mass consciousness of society, and which characterize the numerous parameters of perceiving the enemy and the attitude towards it in the concrete historical conditions of aggravation of a particular ethnic or national problem (in our case, Armenian). Historical research of mass consciousness phenomena within the framework of an interdisciplinary approach can be called a young direction in the development of not only Ukrainian and Russian, but also the entire world historical knowledge. It seems significant to study the concrete historical content of such a phenomenon of public consciousness as the "image of the enemy" in general, on different historical material, in this case - on the material of the history of the United States and Great Britain.

In *Ukrainian historiography*, the selected topic had not been examined in detail. This gap is partially filled with works on the history of international relations, national and international security, propaganda and information wars, which, meanwhile, are dedicated mainly to the problems of the modern world; the period we are studying, unfortunately, is almost not represented in them (works of S. V. Venyansky, L. F. Gaidukov, B. M. Gonchar, T. Yu. Gorban, O. G. Ivchenko, A. Koppel, O. V. Krapivin, Yu. V. Krushinsky, I. F. Kuras, V. A. Lipkan, O. S. Parakhomchuk, V. M. Petrik, G. G. Pocheptsov, Yu. S. Skorokhod, S. S. Troyan, N. L. Yakovenko and so on).

And it was only in early 2000 that the domestic historical science started searching in the direction we had chosen. Important international scientific conferences were held ("Ukraine – the problem of identity: man, economy, society"), Lviv, September 18 – 21, 2003 under the auspices of the Kenan Institute (USA), "The Image of the other in neighboring stories: myths, stereotypes, scientific interpretations", Kiev, Institute of History of Ukraine of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, December 15 – 16, 2005). In addition to the published conference materials, among which there were interesting and valuable articles by V. A. Smolia, G. V. Kasyanov, A. P. Tolochko, L. E. Gorizontov, L. A. Zashkolnyak, S. V. Kulchitsky, N. M. Yakovenko, O. A. Udod, V. E. Golubko, M. Plaviuk, N. I. Ulyanov and others, the work by A.I. Gurzhiya, M. B. Parakhina ("Ethnological centers

of Ukraine in the 20s - early 30s of the 20th century". – Kiev, 2004) appeared which had a certain significance in the systematization of historical and ethnological knowledge, including in the historiography of the "image of the other" and the "image of the enemy".

The overwhelming majority of Ukrainian researchers are predisposed to opinion of necessity to create a Ukrainian historical school of "Inshing" (from the Ukrainian word "inshy" – another – V.V.), with the aim of developing the direction of research of the "image of the enemy". This cohort of researchers should include O. M. Lozovaya, V. A. Pavlutskaaya, A. A. Dolgoplov, L. V. Taran, M. Shevchenko, and others. We are convinced that their opinion deserves recognition and such a new science as imagology, will gain its development in Ukraine. Moreover, such a well-known Ukrainian historian-orientalist, Y. G. Dashkevich investigated the problem of Ukrainian-Armenian relations precisely within the framework of the imagological tradition ("Armenia and Ukraine" monograph – Lviv, 2001). However, as for the "Armenian problem" as such, it should be noted that it was not fundamental in Ukrainian historiography; to a large extent it is mainly about the emergence and development of Armenian settlements in Ukraine (works of V. Grigoryan). The international aspect of this problem is rarely found in the works of ancient historians and refers only to the earliest stages of the study of the emergence of the "Armenian issue".

Today, the foreign policy of Great Britain and the United States of the late 19 – early 20 century is studied by O. B. Demin. His works highlight the period of the formation of British-American Atlanticism, as well as the process of forming the foundations of the foreign policy of Great Britain and the United States in relation to the Sublime Porte. In the development of this issue, a number of dissertation studies have emerged, in particular by V. V. Ischenko (Lugansk, 2006), V. Savenkov (Lugansk, 2005), A.V. Goncharenko (Lugansk, 2004), A.V. Korneev (Kharkiv, 2005), and others. Among them there are those where authors consider the time when the "Armenian problem" escalated and found its definite solution – these are, first of all, the works by M. S. Buryan ("The crisis of British colonial policy in Egypt and Sudan in the first third of the 20th century" – Moscow, 1999, etc.), with which this author started studying the process of formation and implementation of Whitehall's policy in the Middle East in the second half of the 19th – first third of the 20th century, which, of course, influenced the US standpoint on the "Armenian problem". Important for our research material is also contained in dissertations on the problem of the Black Sea Straits, Palestine, etc. in international relations of the first quarter of the 20 century. 2005), M. V. Shiryayev (Lugansk, 2006) and other researchers.

As a result, it can be said that Ukrainian scientists have made a certain contribution to the development of the problem of forming the image of the enemy in the foreign policy of the United States and Great Britain, and continue their research. Yet, there is no special work dedicated to the history of

the formation of the "image of the enemy" in Anglo-American geopolitics during exacerbation of the Armenian problem in 1914-1923 in Russian historiography.

The modern *Russian historiography* of this problem is represented by the works of Yu. G. Barsegov, A. A. Kurtov, S. V. Lurie, A. A. Svarants, and others. The works dedicated to the problem of the "image of the enemy" allow stating that, in general, this topic is part of a broader historical-psychological and historical-sociological problem of "us/them", "friend/foe" than the Armenian question. Its various aspects are reflected in the interesting historical and psychological studies of A. S. Senyavskaya.

The Russian science may distinguish several approaches to understanding the image of the enemy in international relations. There has been a tradition of analyzing ideas about the enemy as an element of the archaic picture of the world within the dichotomy "us/them" (B.F. Porshnev, T.V. Evgenia, I.N. Ionov). Other researchers are characterized by a functional approach, in which the forms of using the image of the enemy are considered as a means of exercising political power (S. V. Chugrov, I. L. Morozov), and also explores its role in the formation of social identity (L. D. Gudkov). A number of Russian scientists paid considerable attention to the conscious nature of creating the image of the enemy (V. Avchenko, G. Grachev, I. Melnik).

The need to involve interdisciplinary historiographic analysis to study the formation of the image of the enemy in the Anglo-American society led the author of the monograph to refer to the works of such researchers as V. S. Ageev, G. M. Andreev, G. G. Diligensky, L. P. Nazaretyan, B. Shestopal, V. A. Yadov, Yu. A. Sherkovin, who are characterized by the tradition of analyzing ideas about the enemy from the point of view of its role in the process of social identification of the individual. This approach is echoed by the works of conflictologists who study the image of the enemy within the framework of the problematic of group consciousness (A. Yu. Melville, A. G. Zdravomyslov). Works on ethnology and ethnopsychology are also important for us, in which the negative attitude towards the "foe" group is studied within the framework of the problems of ethnocentrism (the works by L. M. Drobizheva, V. A. Tishkov, T. G. Stefanenko, M. A. Mnatsakanyan, V. F. Petrenko, A. V. Mitina, S. Mints, G. V. Ktsoeva and others), as well as those in which the image of the enemy is depicted through the concept of an ethnic stereotype (the works by V. F. Petrenko, V. Mitina, K. V. Berdnikov, O. G. Kravtsova, V. S. Osipova, T. G. Stefanenko, etc.).

Armenian historiography. Some aspects of the history of the formation of the image of the "enemy-Turk" in the context of the heightened Armenian problem in the studied period were reflected in the works by Armenian historians. First of all, we should name B. A. Boryan, L. L. Ghukasyan, H. G. Injikyan, K. N. Karamyan, M. E. Martirosyan, E. K. Sarkisyan, Yu. A. Petrosyan, M. Kochar, K. S. Khudaverdyan and others who worked in the times of the USSR. However, separately in the

Armenian historiography of the Soviet period are the studies of the outstanding public and scientific figure, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Armenia (1975-1985) J. Kirakosyan. His works "British intervention in Iran in 1919 - 1921" (Yerevan, 1954), "The First World War and Western Armenians" (Yerevan, 1965), "Armenia in Documents of International Diplomacy and Soviet Foreign Policy" (Yerevan, 1972), "Bourgeois Diplomacy and Armenia" (Yerevan, 19), "The Young Turks before the Judgment of History" (Yerevan, 1986) and others have become an example of Soviet historiography of the policy of the Great States towards Western Armenia, the Armenian issue and the role of Great Britain and the United States in these processes.

Representatives of modern Armenia continued the traditions of Armenian Soviet historiography. This group includes the work of G. G. Makhmuryan "The League of Nations, the Armenian Question and the Republic of Armenia" (Yerevan, 1999) and the study of the Ambassador of Armenia to the USA A. J. Kirakosyan (son of J. Kirakosyan) "British Diplomacy and the Armenian Question from 1830 to 1914, published by the Komidas Institute (Los Angeles) in 2004. An important contribution to the development of the problems we have chosen was made by the researchers of the international aspect of the Armenian problem V. G. Hovhannisyan, I. M. Muradyan, V. G. Krbekyan, V. G. Svazlyan, Kh. A. Sarkisyan and others.

So, Armenian historiography contains a number of works that help to get an idea of the state of solving the "Armenian problem" on the eve of the First World War, at the same time, none of the Armenian studies aims to recreate, in particular, the history of the foreign policy of the United States and Great Britain on the Armenian problem in 1914-1923. In addition, the Armenian historiographical school relies heavily on the achievements of foreign researchers, so it still has a certain way ahead of it to obtain its own expressive independent position.

Other foreign historiography used by us in the course of the study is represented, first of all, by the works of American, British and German scientists. The formation of the image of the enemy in relation to the Turks, understood as the initiators of the Armenian massacre of 1914 – 1918, is considered in Western historiography in different aspects.

American historiography. The works of American historians can be divided into three groups: the study of American ideology; works devoted to the study of public opinion; and works on the history of international relations of the initial period of the First World War.

The first group includes theoretical studies of methods of forming the image of the enemy by means of propaganda by W. Lippman, P. Linebarger, G. S. Jowett, V. O'Donnel, J. Ellul. The role of the media in the process of forming public opinion in the United States in general and in the process of forming the "image of the enemy" in particular, is examined in the studies of P. Hesse, J. Gerbner, J. Dower, J. Mack, M. McLuhan. In the works of K. Boulding, R. Kottam, M. Kottam, R. Herrmann on the problems of decision-making in international relations, the "image of the enemy" is considered as the most important determinant of US foreign and domestic policy. The

approach to the "image of the enemy" as a socio-political phenomenon is more typical for the studies of S. Wunsch, R. Kelly, S. Keen, B. McNair, R. Ribera. Useful for our study were the works by J. Salt "Imperialism, Evangelism and the Ottoman Armenians, 1878 - 1896" (1983), Y. Ternon "The Armenians: From Genocide to Resistance" (1983), H. Lowry "Facts underlying at the heart of Ambassador Morgenthau's messages" (1990), G. Lewy "The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey: a Genocide Discussion" (2005), P. Balakian "The burning Tigris: the Armenian genocide and America's response" (2003).), D. Bloxham "The Great Game of Genocide: Imperialism, Nationalism, and the Destruction of the Ottoman Armenians" (2007).

The Armenian studies centers of the USA, created by representatives of the Armenian Diaspora, also made a significant contribution to the development of American historiography. These centers can be divided into the following groups: Armenian Studies institutes (The Armenian Research Center at the University of Michigan-Dearborn, Komitas Museum-Institute, Zoryan Institute, Armenian National Institute), Armenian Studies Associations (National Association of Armenian Studies and Research, NAASR,), Armenian Studies Departments (Department of Armenian Studies at Columbia University in New York, Narekatsi's Department of Armenian Studies of the University of California Los Angeles, Department of Modern Armenian History of the Armenian Educational Institution of the University of California) and the Mari Manukyan program (Armenian University), Programs of the Center for Armenian Studies (Fresno. William Saroyan Armenian Studies Program, Educational Programs of Northridge University of California). P. Kaunov, R. Kloyan, M. Nshanyan, R. Hovhannisyanyan, D. Papazyan, B. Ter-Mkrtychyan, A. Sanchyan, A. Sarafyan, etc. can be named among the most influential researchers-representatives of the above-mentioned centers. It can be asserted that Armenian studies centers are important in the development of Armenian studies in the United States, but it should be borne in mind that in the Western scientific tradition, British historiography still plays a leading role in the study of problems related to the emergence and development of the "Armenian issue", its exacerbation at the studied period, and their influence on US public opinion.

British Historiography. According to the nature of the assessment of the formation of the phenomenon of the "image of the enemy" in British and American societies, British historiography can be divided into three main directions: conservative (apologetic), liberal and radical.

The founder of the apologetic trend is B. Disraeli, the Prime Minister of Great Britain in 1868, 1874 – 1880, who was among the first to publicize the attitude of official London to the "Armenian issue". He believed that in its decision it was necessary to be guided primarily by British national interests, which he saw in ensuring the economic, political and military dominance of Great Britain in the Ottoman Empire. Other representatives of the conservative trend - M. Kent, M. Anderson, S. Lowey, Lord Kinross, K. Walker and others - explained the mistakes and failures of the British

government in solving this problem in the post-war years, first of all, by external factors - the Russian threat, economic crisis, the refusal of the United States from the mandate for Armenia.

Representatives of the liberal trend (W. Gladstone, Duke of Argyll, J. Bryce, A. Toynbee, D. Lloyd George, N. Buxton, M. Jefferson, E. Blis, R. Davey, G. Lynch, E. Pierce, M. A. McCall, A. Williams, S. Gamlin, I. Godgetts and others) recognized that the "Armenian problem" occupied an important place in the policy of the British cabinets, while Whitehall had not only economic, but also military-strategic interests in the region. Their opinions coincided with the viewpoints of the British ruling circles, close to missionary and public organizations, among whose members one could see at that time H. Asquith and D. Lloyd George. In the future, the members of the cabinets headed by these venerable gentlemen gave final form to the ideas of returning the lost statehood to the Armenians.

V. Gottlieb is traditionally considered the founder of the radical trend (D. Lang, A. Nasibyan, J. Heller, S. Sonel, M. Krikoryan, etc.). His book "Studies in Secret Diplomacy: During the First World War" defined new approaches to the coverage of British politics in the region. This author was one of the first to look behind the scenes of official diplomacy and analyze the course of secret negotiations. It was the representatives of the radical trend of British historiography who adhered to the point of view that British policy in the region became hostage to uncertainty: the traditional policy of preserving the territorial integrity of the Sublime Porte (the Ottoman Empire; Osman دولت عليه عثم, Turkish - Osmanlı İmparatorluğu. The official name of the state founded at the end of the 13th century by Osman I, in Asia Minor, the capital since 1453 – Istanbul (before that – Constantinople). The state of the Ottoman sultans existed from 1299 to 1923. It was called the Ottoman Empire, the Sublime Porte) found opponents among supporters of the idea of creating a Christian Armenia on a large territory of the Muslim Porte.

It was very important for us to identify the positions of British historiography in the "Armenian issue", since both its exacerbation in the considered period, and its link with the formation of the image of the "enemy-Turk" in British foreign policy and the influences that the UK expressed on the US position regarding the image of the "enemy-Turk" as "the exterminator of Armenians" is an important part of the subject of our study.

All the mentioned British scientists, of course, were sophisticated people. Therefore, as expected from the convinced British patriots, they said almost nothing about the place and role of their Empire in the formation of the image of the enemy by the United States in connection with the aggravation of the "Armenian issue", but in their works they provided so much unique important source material and so accurately and precisely described it in mutual discussions, that we could only enjoy watching the brilliant work of representatives of the outstanding British school of source studies and draw our own conclusions.

In *German historiography* (W. Grotte, I. Lepsius, K. Roth, A. Liman von Sanders, W. Zürer, H. Kaiser, E. Feigl), the "Armenian issue" and their presence in American and British geopolitics are presented very similarly; they almost do not touch the problems of the formation of "insulting the enemy" in the foreign policy of Great Britain and the United States. This can be explained by quite objective reasons: Germany itself has made its own contribution, an outstanding one, to the formation of the image of the enemy in world geopolitics, therefore, this topic is simply inconvenient for German scientists, they are trying to circumvent it. The main attention of German scientists is mainly attracted by pragmatic problems – the transportation of Caspian oil, the strengthening of Germany's position in the Caucasus, etc. However, in the works of German scientists, even with a cursory examination of the issues of interest to us, one can find opinions that are quite significantly dissonant with the opinions of British and American researchers. And this helped us to critically comprehend the historical sources and historiography necessary for research.

An important place in the study of Middle Eastern and, in particular, Armenian issues is occupied by *Turkish historiography*, which is available to us in English-language publications. Authors such as T. Ataev, T. Akcham, Y. Beldyrichi, E. Iltek, R. Karachakaya, G. Ogyun, M. Oke, S. Sonel, K. Fahrettin, Y. Halachegli, M. Erogly, A. Syusly and others, reveal the official position of Turkey regarding the "Armenian problem" and note the peculiarities of the ethno-cultural development of the six Turkish vilayets created in Western Armenia. The history of the latter is considered as a component of the history of Turkey; most of these works do not even use the terms "Western Armenia" or "Turkish Armenia". However, these studies provide valuable source and analytical material for the study of Anglo-American policy in the region in general and the formation of the image of the enemy in British and American foreign policy in particular. An important contribution to the popularization of Turkish historiography was made by R. Karakai's research "Chronology of the Armenian problem: with a bibliography (1878-1923)" (Ankara, 2002).

Modern *Azerbaijani historiography* works within the framework of the Turkish tradition. For a long time there was a struggle between supporters and opponents of pan-Turkist theories and approaches. In Soviet times, the latter prevailed, and after the collapse of the USSR, the former occupied the leading positions in the Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences for a long time. And only recently the influence of pan-Turkism began to weaken. The changes took place not so long ago, therefore, they do not yet have access to the study of such tantalizing topics for Azerbaijan as the "Armenian issue" and everything associated with it, including in international relations. Pan-Turkists still dominate this scientific field. Among the studies of Azerbaijani scientists on the issues of interest to us, the works of B. Najafov, A. Yunusov, etc. should be mentioned.

The use of Turkish and Azerbaijani historiography allows us to critically analyze Armenian historiography and clearly define the

Turkish-Azerbaijani point of view on a particular issue.

* * *

Thus, in general, it should be stated that:

1) despite the definite presence of the topic that we are exploring in world historiography, it has not yet been studied properly;

2) there is no special work devoted to the history of the formation of the "image of the enemy" in the foreign policy of the United States and Great Britain in the context of the heightened Armenian problem in 1914-1923 in Ukrainian and Russian historiography;

3) the works of scientists from different countries, in which the problem under study has been covered to one degree or another, require, due to the greater or lesser political or patriotic engagement of a foreign scientist, serious scientific criticism, which necessitates a special historiographical and source study of the topic we have chosen.

The author of this monograph is a historian by profession, made and submitted for publication a purely historical monograph on the formation of the image of the enemy in the foreign policy of the United States and Great Britain during the aggravation of the "Armenian problem" during and after the First World War (1914-1923). But in his scientific plans for the future, the primary place is occupied by the desire to continue research on the source and historiographical analysis of this very interesting and relevant scientific problem.

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СОЦИОЛОГИЧЕСКИЕ НАУКИ

ГЕНДЕРНЫЕ РАЗЛИЧИЯ В ОЦЕНКЕ ПРОВОЗГЛАШЕНИЯ ЧЛЕНАМИ ЛГБТ-СООБЩЕСТВ СВОИХ ВЗГЛЯДОВ (ПО МАТЕРИАЛАМ ОПРОСА ЖИТЕЛЕЙ СКФО РФ)

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GENDER DIFFERENCES IN THE ASSESSMENT OF PROCESSING BY MEMBERS OF THE LGBT COMMUNITIES OF THEIR VIEWS (BY THE MATERIALS OF THE SURVEY OF RESIDENTS OF THE NCFD OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION)

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АННОТАЦИЯ

Статья посвящена анализу результатов массового и экспертного опросов о возможности принятия открытого гомосексуализма в северокавказском социуме. Приводится гендерная оценка мнения жителей Северного Кавказа о возможности демонстрации представителями ЛГБТ-сообществ своих взглядов, а также возможности легализации ими своих отношений. Абсолютное большинство опрошенных мужчин и женщин были против открытого объявления гомосексуалистами своей ориентации, их выступлений на эту тему на митингах и собраниях; против того, чтобы со студентами работали открытые сторонники легализации однополых браков, а также против хранения книг на подобную тему в библиотеках. Среди противников позиционирования гомосексуалистами своей ориентации обнаружено полное единодушие, независимо от пола и места проведения опроса. Среди сторонников открытого позиционирования обсуждаемых взглядов обнаружено гораздо больше разнообразия и в зависимости от места проведения опроса, и от пола его участников. Об этом говорит высокий коэффициент варьирования данных.

Наиболее терпимыми оказались респондентки Дагестана: тенденция к позитивным ответам у них сохранялась на протяжении всего опроса. Мужчины Карачаево-Черкесии и Северной Осетии дали наибольшее количество позитивных ответов по всем блокам исследования. Мужчины Ингушетии поддерживали отрицательную версию ответов на протяжении всего анкетирования.

ABSTRACT

The article analyses the results of mass and expert surveys on the possibility of accepting open homosexuality and same sex marriages in the North Caucasian society. The absolute majority of the respondents were against the open homosexuals, their rallies and meetings; against open supporters of the legalization of same-sex marriages working with students, as well as against the presence books on the LGBT topics in libraries. There was complete unanimity among opponents of homosexuals positioning themselves as their orientation, regardless of gender and location of the survey. Among the supporters of an open positioning of the views discussed, much more diversity was found, both depending on the location of the survey and the gender of its participants. This is evidenced by the high coefficient of variation of the data.

The women from Dagestan turned out to be the most tolerant: their tendency towards positive answers continued throughout the entire survey. Men from Karachay-Cherkessia and North Ossetia gave the largest number of positive answers in all blocks of the study. The men of Ingushetia supported the negative version of the answers throughout the entire survey.

Ключевые слова: гомосексуализм, гомофобия, однополый брак, легализация, Северный Кавказ, общественное мнение, ЛГБТ-сообщества.

Key words: homosexuality, homophobia, same-sex marriage, legalization, North Caucasus, public opinion, LGBT topics

Введение

В социуме нет однозначности в отношении явления гомосексуализм. Ряд источников свидетельствует, что к вопросам гомосексуальных отношений, однополым бракам, общество относится все терпимее [Сединина и др., 2020; Масионис, 2004: 311-315; Кон, 2001]. Другие авторы говорят об обратном [Дьяченко и др., 2013;

Медведева, Смирнова, 2016; Тарасова, Тарасова, 2012; Печерская, 2013].

Из литературных источников следует, что в среднем около половины населения планеты относятся к гомосексуалистам терпимо – или позитивно или нейтрально. Нетерпимость к лицам нетрадиционной ориентации у молодых наблюдается в меньшей степени, чем у взрослых, у образованных респондентов ниже, чем у

необразованных. И.С.Кон считал, что в долгосрочной перспективе градус гомофобии будет снижаться, не потому что это явление кому-то нравится, а потому что в нем общество перестанет видеть какую-либо угрозу [Кун, 2003: 492].

По состоянию на январь 2023 года 30 стран узаконили однополые браки и 34 страны признают ту или иную форму гражданского партнерства между людьми одного пола. По данным Международной ассоциации лесбиянок и геев (ИЛГА) однополый секс полностью легален в 108 странах из 210. В 83 странах, в основном Азии и Африки, преследуется мужская, а в 44 — также и женская гомосексуальность¹.

Согласно данным И.С. Кона [с. 24-25], Н. С. Седининой, С. А. Юговой, И. О. Ярковой [2020] от 7 и до 10% населения РФ имели одно- и многократные однополые сексуальные контакты. По данным Дж. Масиониса [с. 315], в США 4% мужчин и 2% женщин именовали себя гомосексуалистами, 1% взрослых сочли себя бисексуальными.

Прослеживаются некоторые изменения количества гомосексуалистов в зависимости от места проведения опроса. Среди мужчин, проживающих в 12 самых больших городах США, геями или бисексуалами считают себя свыше 9%; в небольших городах эта цифра снижается до 4,2%, а в сельских местностях - менее 1%. В молодежной среде в столице России таковыми себя считают до 7% опрошенных [Кон, 2003: 33].

В США в среднем процент граждан, ответивших, что гомосексуальные связи «всегда непозволительны» или «почти всегда» снизился с 76% в 1990 году до 60% в 2000 году [Масионис, 2004: 315]. Это объяснимо в первую очередь борьбой ЛГБТ-сообществ за свои права, совпавшее с распространением вич – инфекции. На территории бывшего Советского Союза это можно связать с эпохой гласности, проявившейся, в том числе, и в протестных движениях геев и лесбиянок, и в упорной работе юристов и медиков, заставивших власти признать бесполезность уголовного преследования гомосексуалов и заменить карательные меры на просвещение и лечение болезней, приобретенных через половые контакты [Степанкова, 2016: 33].

В российском обществе сохраняется тенденция к росту толерантности к гомосексуалистам, особенно в молодежной среде. В опросе 1995 года 16—19-летних молодых людей на вопрос «Как вы относитесь к гомосексуалам?» отрицательные ответы («испытываю к ним отвращение») предпочли 48,4% юношей и 21,2% девушек. Вариант «с симпатией и пониманием»

выбрали только 2,6% юношей и 9,3% девушек, нейтральное отношение («не вижу в этом ничего особенного») показали 19,2 и 32,5% опрошенных [Кон, 2003: 313]. Как видно, молодые женщины продемонстрировали больше толерантности по отношению к гомосексуалистам, чем молодые мужчины. В более поздних исследованиях других авторов выявлено, что те же 48% респондентов указали, что относятся к гомосексуалистам нейтрально, 33% - позитивно, 10% - негативно, 4% - резко негативно, а 5% их готовы были попробовать гомосексуальные отношения. 43% респондентов имеют среди своих знакомых гомосексуалистов, 57% - либо не имеют таких знакомых, либо не интересовались этим вопросом. Далее, на вопрос, «Как изменится отношение к человеку, если Вы узнаете, что он является гомосексуалистом?», 82% респондентов ответили, что их отношение не изменится, 18% ответили, что «станут относиться к таким людям с подозрением» [Сединина и др, 2020].

Другие исследования, проводимые в 2003 и 2013 гг., напротив, свидетельствуют о нарастании гомофобных настроений. Так, совместную трудовую деятельность с лицами нетрадиционной ориентации в 2003 году воспринимали настороженно 21%, а 29% - резко негативно (в целом ровно половина опрошенных). Те же данные в 2013 году составляют 31% и 35% (в целом 66% опрошенных). Каждый пятый (20%) относится к таким людям нейтрально. За 10 лет в два раза сократилось число респондентов, спокойно относящихся к лицам нетрадиционной ориентации (с 45 до 23%), также ровно в два раза увеличилось число опрошенных, которые настороженно относятся к лицам нетрадиционной ориентации (с 11 до 22%) [Дьяченко, Позднякова, 2013: 111].

О консервативности мышления людей свидетельствует следующий факт. В 1978 году, спустя пять лет после исключения Американской психиатрической ассоциацией «гомосексуализма» из DSM², было проведено голосование среди психиатров, являющихся членами данной ассоциации. 68 % из заполнивших и вернувших анкету врачей по-прежнему считали гомосексуальность расстройством [Медведев, Смирнова, 2016: 124].

По данным И.С. Кона [с.103], 30% опрошенных сохраняют строго негативное отношение к гомосексуальным семьям, 13% отмечают, что к таким семьям относятся положительно.

В апреле 2000 г. независимый исследовательский центр РОМИР провел опрос среди 1500 респондентов в 94 населенных пунктах

¹ https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%9E%D0%B4%D0%BD%D0%BE%D0%BF%D0%BE%D0%BB%D1%8B%D0%B9_%D0%B1%D1%80%D0%B0%D0%BA (дата обращения 21.04.2022).

² DSM (Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of mental disorders, — Диагностическое и

статистическое руководство по психическим расстройствам, «номенклатура» психических расстройств. Разрабатывается и публикуется Американской психиатрической ассоциацией.

РФ (160 точек опроса, 40 субъектов Федерации). Среди прочих был задан вопрос: «Насколько оправданным Вы считаете гомосексуализм?» 61,6% участников опроса ответили, что гомосексуализм никогда не оправдан. Тех, кто считает, что гомосексуализм оправдан всегда, было только 1,9%; 9,6% граждан считают в большинстве случаев гомосексуализм неоправданным. 14,6% респондентов указали, что гомосексуализм в каких-то случаях оправдан [Тарасова, Тарасова, 2012: 286].

Принятый 11 июня 2013 года Госдумой РФ «Закон о запрете пропаганды гомосексуализма среди несовершеннолетних³» имел широкий резонанс во всех слоях российского общества. В центральных городах данное событие широко обсуждалось на многих площадках массмедиа, ТВ и Интернета. В национальных республиках эта тема была или табуирована, или освещалась однобоко, в обвинительном ключе. Поэтому имело смысл провести исследование изучения общественного мнения по этой теме в республиках СКФО. Вопросы отношения кавказцев к лицам «нетрадиционной ориентации» и другие вопросы, входящие в орбиту данной тематики, могут болезненно восприниматься респондентами, поэтому мы посчитали целесообразным сформулировать косвенные вопросы. Это, по нашему мнению, позволит составить более полное представление о взглядах кавказцев на эту тему.

Цель исследования – выяснить разницу в позиции мужчин и женщин - участников опроса - по отношению к проблеме гомосексуальных отношений и возможности представителями ЛГБТ-сообществ открыто выражать свои взгляды. Респондентам было предложено принять участие в анонимном опросе, включающем в себя следующие вопросы:

«Представьте, кто-то открыто признает себя гомосексуалистом и требует узаконить брак между гомосексуалистами. По Вашему мнению:

Часть 1. Нужно ли разрешить или запретить ему высказывать эти взгляды на собраниях/митингах в Вашем городе/поселке?

Часть 2. Если такой сторонник гомосексуализма преподает в ВУЗе, нужно ли ему разрешить или запретить преподавать?

Часть 3. Представьте, книги, призывающие узаконить брак между гомосексуалистами, есть в местной библиотеке. Нужно ли разрешить или запретить библиотеке держать такие книги?

Респондентам было предложено выбрать три варианта ответа: «разрешить» (для удобства мы назвали их «разрешительные ответы»), «запретить» («запретительные ответы») и «затрудняюсь ответить»

Методика исследования. Массовый и экспертный опросы проводились в республиках СКФО РФ: Республике Северная Осетия–Алания, Чеченской Республике, Карачаево-Черкесской

Республике, Республике Ингушетия, Республике Дагестан, Кабардино-Балкарской Республике. Объем выборки составил 1200 человек (200 респондентов в каждой республике). Были опрошены также эксперты (N=50) - журналисты, ученые, чиновники, члены политических партий, работники культуры. Ответы представителей титульных национальностей республик СКФО и ответы русских и русскоязычных респондентов помещены в отдельные группы. Опрос проводился в 2022 году Центром исследования приграничных регионов Юга России ИСПИ ФНИСЦ РАН.

Количественные данные массового опроса подверглись обработке путем частотного и сопряженного анализа, а также с помощью процедур факторного и кластерного видов анализа с целью выявления устойчиво взаимосвязанных групп переменных. Предельная ошибка выборки для совокупного массива не превысила 1,4%.

Для проведения опроса в каждой республике выборка строилась как территориальная, стратифицированная по типам населенных пунктов, маршрутная, квотная по социально-демографическим и национальным признакам (пол, возраст, образование, национальный состав). Вычислен коэффициент вариации (%), позволяющий судить о неоднородности переменных - разности значений данных в зависимости от пола и места проведения опроса.

Для проведения экспертного опроса была разработана анкета (гайд), предполагающая формализованные (закрытые и полуоткрытые) и неформализованные (открытые) варианты ответов. Гайд нацелен на получение более глубокой информации. Он совпадает со структурой анкеты респондентов. Качественные данные экспертного опроса подверглись контент-анализу. Это позволило сравнить полученные в отдельных субъектах РФ (национальных республиках) данные, а также определить их распределение в каждой республике. Основной аспект этого подхода состоит в использовании принципов сравнительного анализа, согласно которому поведение людей рассматривается и объясняется через доминирующие в той или иной культуре стереотипы и правила. Методически это обеспечивается за счет комплексного использования массового опроса населения, опроса экспертов, контент-анализа местных СМИ.

Гипотеза исследования.

Мы предположили, что противников открытых высказываний взглядов представителями ЛГБТ-сообществ у респондентов СКФО будет абсолютное большинство и в количественном отношении значительно больше, чем в других регионах РФ.

Женская часть респондентов будет относиться терпимее к факту легализации гомосексуалистами своих склонностей, выступлений на эту тему на митингах и собраниях. Женщины также будут

³ <https://base.garant.ru/70403756/> (дата обращения 05.04.2023).

терпимее относиться к тому, чтобы со студентами работали открытые сторонники легализации однополых браков, а также к хранению книг на обозначенную тему в библиотеках.

В запретительных ответах будет просматриваться значительно больше единодушия во мнениях респондентов обоего пола, чем в ответах разрешительных.

Результаты исследования

Результаты массового опроса представлены в таблицах 1, 2 и 3, проценты указаны от совокупности опрошенных.

Противниками открытого выражения гомосексуализма по всем частям опроса явилось

абсолютное большинство участников. Так, в среднем 94,9% мужчин и 92,2% женщин, заявили, что лицам нетрадиционной сексуальной ориентации нужно запретить открыто высказываться о своей особенности на митингах и собраниях. Женщин, считающих, что на Северном Кавказе можно разрешить открыто высказываться на подобную тему, было в среднем на 5,2% больше, чем мужчин. И наоборот, противников демонстрирования подобных взглядов в рядах мужчин было в среднем на 4,9% больше, чем в рядах женщин. Разрешительных ответов мужчин в Кабардино-Балкарии, Ингушетии и русских и русскоязычных респондентов не было вовсе.

Таблица 1.

Представьте себе, кто-то открыто признает себя гомосексуалистом и требует узаконить брак между гомосексуалистами. Скажите, по Вашему мнению, нужно ли разрешить или запретить ему высказывать эти взгляды на собраниях/ митингах в Вашем городе/ поселке?

Ответы респондентов в зависимости от пола в %

	Национальность													
	Русские и русскоязычные		Кабардинцы, балкарцы		Карачаевцы, черкесы		Народы Дагестана		Ингуши		Осетины		Чеченцы	
	муж	жен	муж	жен	муж	жен	муж	жен	муж	жен	муж	жен	муж	жен
разрешить	0,0	5,1	0,0	3,7	11,1	4,3	3,2	14,1	0,0	5,8	2,0	7,7	1,6	7,3
запретить	97,1	94,9	95,7	91,5	88,9	95,7	96,8	84,7	100,0	94,2	95,9	92,3	90,2	92,0
затрудняюсь ответить	2,9	0,0	4,3	4,9	0,0	0,0	0,0	1,2	0,0	0,0	2,0	0,0	8,2	0,7

Среди респондентов-мужчин Чечни более всего было тех, кто затруднялся ответить на этот вопрос (8,2%), эта же цифра в женском сообществе республики была ничтожно мала.

Абсолютное большинство опрошенных мужчин (94,9%) и женщин (92,2%), были против открытого высказывания гомосексуалистами своих взглядов на митингах и собраниях. Чрезвычайно высокий коэффициент вариации разрешительных ответов (87,2%) таблицы 1 указывают на большой разброс мнений респондентов республик СКФО в зависимости от пола. И наоборот, невысокое значение коэффициента вариации запретительных ответов (4,0%) указывают на единодушие мнений респондентов обоего пола.

Сторонников открытого высказывания своих взглядов гомосексуалистами было немного: в среднем 2,6% мужчин и 6,9% женщин. Немного также было тех, кто не знал ответа на этот вопрос.

Во всех республиках женщины (максимальное их число было в Дагестане - 14,1%) давали больше разрешительных ответов, чем мужчины. Лишь в Карачаево-Черкесии сложилась другая картина: больше согласие с данным мнением выразили мужчины: 11,1% против 4,3% у женщин.

Более всего сторонников запретов обнаружено в Ингушетии: все мужчины и 94,2% женщин. Менее всего запретительных ответов зафиксировано в Дагестане (84,7% женщин) и в Карачаево-Черкесии (88,9% мужчин). В Дагестане же была максимальная разница в утвердительных (10,9%) и отрицательных (12,1%) ответах мужчин и женщин.

Абсолютное большинство респондентов-мужчин (87,2%) и женщин (88,4%) считают правильным запретить преподавать в вузе сторонникам открытого гомосексуализма.

Таблица 2.

**А если такой сторонник гомосексуализма преподает в вузе (институте или университете),
нужно ли ему разрешить или запретить преподавать?**

	Национальность													
	Русские и русскоязычные		Кабардинцы, балкарцы		Карачаевцы, черкесы		Народы Дагестана		Ингуши		Осетины		Чеченцы	
	муж	жен	муж	жен	муж	жен	муж	жен	муж	жен	муж	жен	муж	жен
Разрешить	11,4	15,2	2,1	6,1	14,3	4,3	12,8	15,3	9,1	7,5	14,3	5,1	3,3	7,3
Запретить	86,7	84,2	89,4	91,5	85,7	91,3	87,2	84,7	90,9	92,5	83,7	83,5	86,9	91,2
затрудняюсь ответить	1,9	0,6	8,5	2,4	0,0	4,3	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	2,0	11,4	9,8	1,5

Женщины Дагестана (15,3%) и русские и русскоязычные респондентки (15,2%) дали наибольшее количество разрешительных ответов. Мужчины Карачаево-Черкесии, Северной Осетии (по 14,3%) и Дагестана (12,8%) дали максимальное количество разрешительных ответов. В Карачаево-Черкесии количество разрешительных ответов мужчин (14,3%) было больше, чем женщин (4,3%) и разрыв между ними также был максимальный (10,0%). Респондентки Кабардино-Балкарии (6,1%), Дагестана (15,3%), Чечни (7,3%), а также русские и русско-язычные респондентки (15,2%), в большей мере, чем мужчины, считают возможным оставить преподавать в вузах открытых сторонников гомосексуальных отношений. В среднем таких сторонниц было на 3,6% больше, чем мужчин. И наоборот, респондентки Карачаево-Черкесии (4,3%), Ингушетии (7,5%) и Осетии (5,1%) в меньшей мере, чем мужчины считают возможным преподавание в вузах открытых сторонников однополых отношений. В среднем сторонниц этого было на 7,0% меньше, чем мужчин.

Женщины Кабардино-Балкарии (91,5%), Чечни (91%), Карачаево-Черкесии (91,3%), Ингушетии (92,5%) в большей мере, чем мужчины, считают возможным запретить преподавание в вузах открытых сторонников гомосексуальных отношений. В среднем таких противниц было на 3,4% больше, чем мужчин. И наоборот, респондентки Дагестана (84,7%), русские и

русскоязычные респондентки (84,2%) в меньшей мере, чем мужчины склонны запрещать работать в вузах открытых сторонников гомосексуализма. Противниц этого было в среднем на 2,5% меньше, чем мужчин.

Средняя разность запретительных ответов составила 2,7%, при этом в Северной Осетии она оказалась пренебрежительно мала. Высокий коэффициент вариации (48,0%) разрешительных ответов указывает на большую разницу во мнении мужчин и женщин в этой части опроса. В запретительных ответах во мнениях мужчин и женщин наблюдалось больше единодушия ($V=3,5\%$).

Более всего сторонников запретов обнаружено в Чечне (86,9% мужчин и 91,2% женщин), менее всего – в Северной Осетии (83,7% мужчин и 83,5% женщин).

В среднем 9,6% мужчин и 8,6% женщин не видели ничего зазорного в том, что люди с подобными взглядами будут работать в вузах. В среднем 5,5% мужчин и 4,0% женщин не знали ответа на этот вопрос. Среди респондентов Дагестана, Ингушетии и среди мужчин-респондентов Кабардино-Балкарии сомневающихся не было.

Абсолютное большинство опрошенных мужчин (92,5%) и женщин (92,8%) считают необходимым изъять из библиотек книги, оправдывающие однополые браки.

Таблица 3.

**Представьте, что книги, призывающие узаконить брак между гомосексуалистами, есть в местной библиотеке. Нужно ли разрешить или запретить библиотеке держать такие книги?
В%**

	Национальность													
	Русские и русскоязычные		Кабардинцы, балкарцы		Карачаевцы, черкесы		Народы Дагестана		Ингуши		Осетины		Чеченцы	
	муж	жен	муж	жен	муж	жен	муж	жен	муж	жен	муж	жен	муж	жен
Разрешить	3,8	8,9	2,1	1,2	7,9	4,3	4,3	12,9	2,3	5,8	10,2	7,6	3,3	3,6
Запретить	94,3	91,1	91,5	97,6	92,1	95,7	95,7	87,1	97,7	94,2	87,8	91,1	88,5	92,7

	Национальность													
	Русские и русскоязычные		Кабардинцы, балкарцы		Карачаевцы, черкесы		Народы Дагестана		Ингуши		Осетины		Чеченцы	
	муж	жен	муж	жен	муж	жен	муж	жен	муж	жен	муж	жен	муж	жен
затрудняюсь ответить	1,9	0,0	6,4	1,2	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	2,0	1,3	8,2	3,6

Более всего сторонников запретов обнаружено в среде мужчин Ингушетии (97,7%) менее всего – среди мужчин Северной Осетии – 87,8%. Более всего сторонниц запретов обнаружено в республике Кабардино-Балкария (97,6%), менее всего – в Дагестане (87,1%).

Среди женщин Кабардино-Балкарии, Карачаево-Черкесии, Северной Осетии, Чечни в среднем на 4,3% больше, чем среди мужчин, было тех, кто посчитал необходимым запретить хранение в библиотеках книг подобного содержания. В республиках Дагестан, Ингушетия и среди русскоговорящих респондентов в среднем женщин было на 4,8% меньше, чем мужчин из тех, кто посчитал необходимым запретить хранение подобного книг в библиотеках.

В среднем 4,8% мужчин и 6,3% женщин не посчитали зазорным оставить такие книги в библиотеке. Среди респондентов Чечни 8,2% мужчин и 3,6% женщин, не знали ответа на этот вопрос. В других республиках таковых было немного, а в республиках Карачаево-Черкесия, Дагестан, Ингушетия таковых не было вовсе.

Высокий коэффициент вариации (59,1%) разрешительных ответов таблицы 3 указывают на большую разницу во мнении мужчин и женщин в этой части опроса. В запретительных ответах наблюдалось единодушие ($V = 3,6\%$).

Все эксперты убеждены, что и население их республик, как и они сами, никогда не приемлет легализацию однополых отношений. О физической расправе над гомосексуалистами, которые бы отважились открыто говорить о своей ориентации, говорили 29,6% экспертов. Более всех о возможном насилии к таким людям говорили эксперты Кабардино-Балкарии. Их оценки составляли 18,5% от подобных оценок всех республик и более половины от оценок экспертного корпуса КБР. 18,0% экспертов говорили о том, что подобные браки, как и «выпячивание» этой темы в обществе, «необходимо запретить». 7,4% экспертов считают, что «не стоит с такими вопросами подходить к гражданам».

Заключение

Абсолютное большинство опрошенных, как мужчин, так и женщин, были против открытого объявления гомосексуалистами о своей ориентации на митингах и собраниях; против того, чтобы со студентами работали открытые сторонники легализации однополых браков, а также, чтобы книги, одобряющие гомосексуализм, оставались в библиотеке.

В течение всего исследования сохраняется тенденция единодушия в случае запретительных ответов и большого разброса мнений в утвердительных ответах. Коэффициент варьирования запретительных ответов сохранялся относительно стабильным (от 3,6 до 4,0%) на протяжении всего исследования. Среди одобряющих ответов коэффициент варьирования был на порядок выше и подвергался значительным колебаниям (87,2, 48,0 и 59,1%).

Вопреки выдвинутой гипотезе, в среднем разница во мнениях мужчин и женщин в запретительных ответах была ничтожно мала (0,2%).

В разрешительных ответах наблюдалась другая картина. Респондентки в большей степени склонялись к положительным ответам. Наибольшая разница в ответах женщин (6,9%) и мужчин (2,6%) наблюдалась в разделе исследования 1, наименьшая – в разделе 2 (9,6 против 9,9%). В среднем разница в ответах по гендерному признаку различалась на треть и составила 2,1%.

Участницы опроса из Дагестана высказывались наименее категорично: по трем частям опроса они дали наибольшее число позитивных ответов, а по части опроса 1 разница в ответах мужчин и женщин этой республики была максимальной и превысила число ответов мужчин-дагестанцев в четыре раза. Наиболее категорично высказывались против всех предложенных вариантов мужчины Ингушетии. Мужчины Карачаево-Черкесии и Северной Осетии дали наибольшее количество позитивных ответов по всем блокам исследования.

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