

1 Article

2 Reindeer Herders and White-Collar Workers: A 3 Descriptive Study of Protestant Ethnic Groups in 4 Urals and Western Siberia

5 Alexander Klyashev

6 R.G. Kuzeev Institute for Ethnological Studies, Ufa Scientific Center of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Ufa,
7 Russia

8 * Correspondence: ak1168n@gmail.com; Tel.: +7-927-636-4168

9 **Abstract:** This paper considers two types of Protestant ethnic groups of some areas of Urals and
10 Western Siberia. The first type consist of representatives of members of different ethnic groups
11 consisting of well-educated professionals, incorporated into industrial society and associated with
12 the intellectualism of Protestantism. The second type is represented by the indigenous peoples of
13 the Polar Urals and Western Siberia, who use the Protestant religious organizations as tool for
14 restoring life-sustaining elements of the native peoples' traditional economy. I employed the
15 inductive approach and the comparison method; during the fieldwork I used ethnographic
16 participant observations, sociological structured interviews and closed-ended questionnaires. The
17 empirical data have been collected in the Southern, Middle and Polar Urals and Western Siberia.

18 **Keywords:** Protestantism; Protestant Churches; post-Soviet Russia; ethnic groups; national
19 intelligentsia; native peoples; social activity

21 1. Introduction

22 The Protestant religious organizations, especially Pentecostal ones, actively spread in different
23 areas of the world. Allan Anderson (2004) claims that number of Pentecostal Churches increase in
24 South America, Southeast Asia, and Sub-Saharan Africa. He argues also in his Chapter 41 *The Future*
25 *of Protestantism: The Non-Western Protestant World* of The Blackwell Companion to Protestantism,
26 that:

27 The traditional categories of Christianity used in the West like 'Protestant', 'evangelical',
28 'ecumenical' and so on, are becoming increasingly meaningless in Africa, Asia and Latin
29 America. Protestant Christianity has grown to such an extent during the twentieth century in
30 these three continents that the vast majority of Protestants in the world today live there. (P. 468)

31

32 However, both Western and Eastern churches are very different. John Corrigan (2004) in
33 *Protestantism in The USA* writes:

34

35 At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Protestantism in America was enormously more
36 complex than it was in the nineteenth century. The proliferation of denominations has been
37 profound: some came about through theological innovation, others through schism, others as a
38 result of racial and ethnic difference, and yet others because of re-emergent regional emphases.
39 The complexity of Protestantism is equally manifest in its fluidity, in the way that Americans
40 move from one congregation to another, one denomination to another, bringing with them
41 expectations and tastes that influence the congregations that they join or rejoin. Protestants
42 have also complicated their religious life through popular devotions, and through their
43 embrace of or flirtation with ideas and practices – reincarnation, astrology, healing arts,
44 goddess-worship – not historically linked to Protestant institutions. Pentecostals increasingly
45 represent their religious life with reference to popular culture in all of its forms, from motorcar

46 racing to dieting. The dynamic aspect of American Protestantism is visible in all such
47 developments. While sharing a past grounded in the Reformation of the sixteenth century,
48 American Protestants in the twenty-first century identify themselves in a myriad of ways. (P.
49 179)

50

51 If the Protestants of the United States look for different spiritual paths and sometimes choose
52 ones not tied with fundamental Protestant doctrines, then, according to Anderson (Anderson, 2004:
53 472), their Chinese co-religionists "...are characterized by conservative evangelical piety, an
54 emphasis on prayer, healing, exorcism and other spiritual gifts, and leadership often by women.
55 These independent, nonregistered churches are often in opposition to the political order, but reflect
56 popular Chinese spirituality."

57

58 Lukas Lingenthal_(2012) claims that, on the one side, Pentecostals take an active part in the
59 political life of Brazil:

60

61 In the course of its more than 100-year history, Pentecostalism in Brazil has increasingly been
62 able to exert its influence on society, politics and the business sphere. It has grown particularly
63 rapidly over the last 20 years, and, from being a religious minority, it has become the country's
64 second largest denomination after the Catholic Church. By mixing elements of Christian
65 services with popular rituals from the Afro-Brazilian folk religions, such as communal chanting
66 and dancing, trance states and encounters with spirits, and through its prosperity theology, the
67 Pentecostal movement has found itself a concept that is, quite literally, a "bestseller" in Brazil.
68 For many years now, the sphere of the main Pentecostal denominations has gone way beyond
69 their physical churches and members. To some extent, they operate like businesses, and they
70 use the media to exert a strong influence on society. Some of them own national TV stations and
71 publish high-circulation newspapers. Their direct influence on politics has also increased
72 steadily. Many members of the state parliaments and the National Congress also hold positions
73 in the Pentecostal churches. The churches have not yet succeeded in getting one of their
74 members directly elected to the highest political positions, but they have been able to use their
75 close ties with certain politicians to exercise significant indirect political influence for the benefit
76 of their own clientele. (P. 57)

77

78 On the other side, Brazil Protestant religious organizations play role of a survival tool for favela
79 dwellers:

80

81 The Pentecostals are particularly powerful in the favelas, which receive little assistance from the
82 Brazilian welfare state. In many areas that are ruled by the drug gangs, the only safe way of
83 getting out of the drug trade is to join one of the Pentecostal churches, as this is deemed
84 acceptable by the gangs. In contrast, other churches or religions are being squeezed out –
85 sometimes violently. The image of the Pentecostal Church is therefore something of a
86 two-edged sword. On the one hand, it is often stressed that it provides its members with a sense
87 of stability and direction. The strict ban on alcohol and drugs, the feeling of belonging to a
88 strong community, and the inclusion of certain rituals from the Afro-Brazilian animist religions
89 that can turn spiritual experiences into a state of religious ecstasy – all these elements can help
90 the Church's followers to feel they have the power to break out of the vicious circle of poverty
91 and despair.

92 On the other hand, however, Church members have to pay a high monetary price for this;
93 money that is not only reinvested in social projects but which also goes to line the pockets of the
94 Church's leaders, who are often not whiter-than-white, despite expecting this of their
95 congregations. (pp. 57-58)

96

97 Allan Anderson (2004) note political loyalty and religious conservatism of Protestants in Latin
98 America:

99 Protestants in Latin America tend to be politically and theologically conservative. The open
100 support of many Chilean Pentecostal leaders for the dictator Augusto Pinochet is a case in point.
101 Although there are exceptions, the great majority of Protestant churches in Latin America are not
102 affiliated to the World Council of Churches or to national ecumenical organizations. (P. 477)

103

104 About African Protestantism he tells:

105

106 Protestantism is probably more difficult to define in Africa than anywhere else, because there
107 are several thousand independent churches, some of which have existed since the end of the
108 nineteenth century. Some were protest movements against European ecclesiastical domination
109 and control, but the great majority are churches of a Pentecostal nature: the older African
110 Initiated Churches (AICs), and the new charismatic churches that have arisen since the 1970s. In
111 these churches the emphasis is on the power and gifts of the Spirit, particularly healing,
112 exorcism and prophecy, which have been interpreted within an African context dealing with
113 daily witchcraft and rampant disease. The older AICs arose as a movement of religious
114 resistance to colonialism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and have become
115 a major part of Christianity in Africa, particularly in southern Africa, Kenya, the West African
116 coast and the Congo. In South Africa and Nigeria, AICs constitute almost half of the Christian
117 population. The influence of the AICs is enormous, amounting to a fundamental reformation of
118 Protestant Christianity in Africa. Most African churches have now followed the example of the
119 AICs and have incorporated into their worship more of the popular oral culture with its rich
120 symbolism and rituals, expressing their Christianity with the rhythms of African song, dance
121 and charismatic public oratory. (P. 474)

122

123 In Russian religious field, as notes Sergei Filatov (2004):

124

125 After ten years of freedom in Russia some of the results of the religious revival there can now be
126 summed up. In assessing which religious movements have achieved the greatest success, from
127 the religious standpoint, there can be only one conclusion - the greatest gains, up to the year
128 2000, have been made by the Protestants. (P. 93)

129

130 He defines following feature of Russian Protestantism:

131

132 ...it is worth mentioning again one feature of the dynamic intellectual life of Russian
133 Protestantism: many Protestant movements are actively searching for roots in the history,
134 culture and spiritual life of Russia, and trying to discover features they share with Russian
135 Orthodoxy. Some Pentecostal groups have created a legendary history for themselves, going
136 back to the time of Princess Ol'ga; the Christian Missionary Union gives sermons on the
137 Protestant tradition in Russian Orthodoxy, represented (amongst others) by St Sergi of
138 Radonezh, Filipp Kolychev and Fr Aleksandr Men'; the Lutherans of the Church of Ingria and
139 the Lutheran Biblical Church in Siberia are adapting parts of the Orthodox liturgy for their own
140 use. Protestantism in Russia is not just growing, it is also becoming more and more Russian. (P.
141 102)

142

143 John Couretas (2015) notes discourse of Mark Elliot that:

144

145 ...evangelicals in Russia have become ardent fans of President Vladimir Putin

146

147 So we see that Protestant communities are very varied in the different countries. They are
148 characterized by a wide range of activities: political and social activism, support for existing

149 regimes, ethnically oriented practices and the search for spiritual paths that are not related to
 150 traditional Christianity.
 151

152 2. Results

153 2.1. Socio-demographics

154 2.1.1. Ethnic composition

155 I show such socio-demographic characteristics of different Protestant ethnic groups as the level
 156 of education, the occupational composition, the places of residence and the participation into the
 157 religious life of the community. I compare the data on the education levels from the Ural Region and
 158 Western Siberia – Yugra with those from the all-Russian study on religiosity of the population
 159 performed by Yuliya Sinelina in 14 federal subjects of the Russian Federation in 2004 (Institute for
 160 Socio-Political Studies. RAS) with the data of the 2010 Russian Population Census.

161 Table 1 presents the ethnic composition of the Protestants' sample from the Ural Region and Western
 162 Siberia – Yugra.

163 **Table 1:** Ethnic composition

| Ethnic group | Ural Region (%) | Western Siberia – Yugra (%) |
|--------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| Russians | 63.0% | 61.7% |
| Tatars | 14.1% | 2.5% |
| Ukrainians | 3.1% | 8.6% |
| Bashkirs | 4.9% | 1.2% |
| Chuvashes | 2.0% | - |
| Mordvins | 0.8% | - |
| Udmurts | 4.4% | - |
| Mari | 2.9% | - |
| Khanty | - | 22.2% |
| Nenets | 0.6% | 1.2% |
| Germans | 1.0% | - |

164 I show the data on the following largest ethnic groups of the Protestants' sample from the Ural
 165 Region and Western Siberia – Yugra: Russians (63.0% in the Urals and 61.7% in Yugra), Tatars (14.1%
 166 and 2.5%), Ukrainians (3.1% and 8.6%) and Bashkirs (4.9% and 1.2%). I also demonstrate the
 167 percentage of native peoples living a traditional lifestyle: Khanty (0% in the Urals and 22.2% in
 168 Yugra) and Nenets (0.6% and 1.2%).

169 During my fieldwork I found that the number of the Nenets Pentecostals in the Vorkuta district
 170 is about 45 persons (including Khanty and Komi); the general number of reindeer-herders in the
 171 Vorkuta district is 514 persons. Laur Vallikivi identifies that the number of the Nenets reindeer
 172 herders belonging to the Russian Unregistered Baptists is approximately two hundred adults: 'I
 173 have lived with reindeer herding families for shorter and longer periods in and around the Polar
 174 Urals, as well as frequented the prayer house in the city of Vorkuta. This is the area where the
 175 Russian Unregistered Baptists have been particularly successful, having baptised around two
 176 hundred adults from the nearby Nenets communities. Today, the new Christians constitute
 177 approximately half of the local Nenets population' (Vallikivi 2014: 97). Thus, more than a half of the
 178 reindeer herders in the Vorkuta district are Protestants.

179 Unfortunately, I managed to survey only one home church situated 100 km south-east of the
 180 city of Vorkuta that belonged to the Russian Christian Church of Evangelical Faith (Pentecostals).
 181 The snow-cars of the Unregistered Baptists had broken and I had to undertake my field trip using

182 the snow-cars of the Pentecostals. Thus, I managed to survey the Khanty members of the Pentecostal
183 Church located in the taiga of Yugra.

184 Here I give data primarily on the Khanty. It should be noted that the cultures of Nenets reindeer
185 herders living in the tundra and Khanty reindeer herders living in the taiga are very close. Both
186 represent traditional cultures of the indigenous ethnic groups.

187 2.1.2. Level of education

188 The results presented in Table 2 offers evidence in favour of the idea that Protestants both from
189 the Ural Region and Western Siberia – Yugra have a greater percentage of persons with higher
190 education than the Orthodox Christians and Muslims. These results prove also that Protestants have
191 higher levels of education than any other group in the whole of Russia.

192 Table 2 combines the data on incomplete higher education (4 years of university studies in the
193 Soviet Union) and higher education, because Yuliya Sinelina used this method in her study.

194 We can see that 40.8% of Protestants from the Urals and 47.9% of Protestants from Yugra have
195 incomplete higher education and higher education. These figures make up 28.0% for Orthodox
196 Christians, 14.0% for Muslims and 31.2% for the whole of Russia.

197 The data on vocational secondary education do not differ much from each other (31.2% – 38.0%)
198 except for the data on Protestants from Yugra (18.8%). The data on higher education, incomplete
199 higher education and vocational education of Orthodox Christians do not differ much from those for
200 the whole of the Russian Federation. I guess it is because of the fact the Orthodox identity is a more
201 essential ethno-confessional marker than the religious identity and the Russians who are the largest
202 ethnic group in Russia identify themselves as Orthodox Christians.

203

Table 2: Brief comparison of education levels

| Education levels | All data of the Ural Region (%) | All data of Western Siberia – Yugra (%) | All data of the Russian Federation (2010 Russian Population Census of (%) | Orthodox (Sinelina, 2006) (%) | Muslims (Sinelina, 2006) (%) |
|--|---|---|---|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Vocational secondary education | 36.7% | 18.8% | 31.2% | 37.0% | 38.0% |
| Incomplete higher education and higher education | 40.8% (including 32.4% with higher education and 8.4% with incomplete higher education) | 47.9% (including 41.3% with higher education and 6.3% with incomplete higher education) | 27.4% (including 22.8% with higher education and 4.6% with incomplete higher education) | 28.0% | 14.0% |
| Total | 77.5% | 66.7% | 58.6% | 65.0% | 52.0% |

204 Thus, the given data demonstrate that both groups of Protestants (from the Urals and Yugra)
205 have a higher percentage of persons with incomplete higher education and higher education than
206 Orthodox Christians and Muslims. A comparison of the data in the 2010 Russian Population census
207 shows that Protestants have a higher level of education than the population of the Russian
208 Federation in general.

209 Accordingly, I found that in comparison with Orthodox Christians and Muslims the
210 functioning of Russian Protestantism is generally more oriented towards higher educated part of the
211 Russian society.

212 Based on the results of my investigation I defined that in most cases the group consisting of
 213 persons with incomplete higher education, higher education and doctorate degree is the largest
 214 among different ethnic groups of Russian Protestants.

215 Table 3 provides information on the percentage of people in different ethnic groups who have
 216 elementary education (elementary school or primary education, 4 years of schooling in Russian
 217 schools), lower secondary education (secondary education, 8–9 years of schooling in Russian
 218 schools), secondary education (secondary school, 10–11 years of schooling in Russian schools),
 219 vocational secondary education, incomplete higher education (4 years of university studies in the
 220 Soviet Union), higher education, doctorate degree ('kandidat nauk' and 'doktor nauk' in Russia).
 221 Data is presented for the Ural Region.

222

Table 3: Education levels of the sample for the Urals

| Education levels | All data of the Ural Region (%) | Ethnic groups (%) | | | | | |
|--|---|-------------------|--------|------------|----------|--------|----------------------|
| | | Russians | Tatars | Ukrainians | Bashkirs | Khanty | Nenets |
| Primary education | 1.9% | 2.2% | 1.7% | - | - | - | 25.0% (1 person) |
| Lower secondary education | 5.6% | 5.6% | 4.1% | 3.7% | - | - | 50.0% (2 persons) |
| Secondary education | 13.4% | 13.5% | 9.9% | 14.8% | 7.1% | - | 25.0% (1 person) |
| Vocational secondary education | 36.7% | 37.0% | 34.7% | 25.9% | 28.6% | - | - |
| Incomplete higher education | 8.4% | 7.6% | 14.0% | 11.1% | 11.9% | - | - |
| Higher education | 32.4% | 32.2% | 33.9% | 44.4% | 42.9% | - | - |
| Doctorate degree | 1.3% | 1.3% | 0.8% | - | - | - | - |
| Total (Incomplete higher education, Higher education and Doctorate degree) | 42.1% | 41.1% | 48.7% | 55.5% | 54.8% | - | - |

223 As is seen from the table, the most educated ethnic groups among Protestants of the Ural
 224 Region are Ukrainians (55.5% of the persons with incomplete higher education, higher education
 225 and doctorate degree); Bashkirs rank second (54.8%) followed by Tatars (48.7%) and Russians
 226 (41.1%). Nenets have primary education, lower secondary education and secondary education only.
 227 Nenets are represented in Table 5 only by 4 persons, though the data on this ethnic group, according
 228 to the results of interviewing pastors, adequately display their educational level. So Nenets children
 229 do not go to school regularly because they live in the tundra, go to school located in the nearest
 230 villages and have to take significant part in the economic life of their families.

231 Table 4 reports the similar sample data from Western Siberia – Yugra.

232

233

Table 4: Education levels of the sample for Western Siberia –Yugra

| Education levels | All data of Western Siberia –Yugra Region (%) | Ethnic groups (%) | | | | | |
|--|---|-------------------|------------------|------------|-------------------|--------|-------------------|
| | | Russians | Tatars | Ukrainians | Bashkirs | Khanty | Nenets |
| Primary education | 8.8% | 2.0% | 50.0% (1 person) | - | - | 22.2% | 100.0% (1 person) |
| Lower secondary education | 11.3% | - | - | - | 100.0% (1 person) | 44.4% | - |
| Secondary education | 11.3% | 10.2% | - | - | - | 22.2% | - |
| Vocational secondary education | 18.8% | 20.4% | 50.0% (1 person) | 28.6% | - | 11.1% | - |
| Incomplete higher education | 6.3% | 8.2% | - | 14.3% | - | - | - |
| Higher education | 41.3% | 55.1% | - | 57.1% | - | - | - |
| Doctorate degree | 2,5% | 4,1% | - | - | - | - | - |
| Total (Incomplete higher education, Higher education and Doctorate degree) | 50.1% | 67.4% | - | 71.4% | - | - | - |

234 According to the data presented in Table 6, the most educated ethnic group among Protestants
 235 of Western Siberia – Yugra is also the Ukrainians (71.4% of the persons with incomplete higher
 236 education, higher education and doctorate degree); Russians rank second (67.4%). We can ignore the
 237 data on Tatars, Bashkirs and Nenets presented in Table 6 because of the small sample size (2 persons
 238 of Tatars, 1 Bashkir and 1 Nenets), though the data on Nenets adequately display the education level
 239 of this ethnic group too. None of the Khanty has higher education; for the most part they have lower
 240 secondary education (44.4%) and only 11.1% of the Khanty sample has vocational secondary
 241 education.

242 We can conclude, on the one hand, that such Protestant ethnic groups as Russians, Tatars,
 243 Bashkirs and Ukrainians are more educated than Orthodox, Muslims and Russia's population in
 244 general. On the other hand, the Protestants Khanty and Nenets who represent traditional cultures of
 245 the indigenous ethnic groups of the North do not have higher education.

246 2.1.3. Places of residence

247 Now we consider the places of residence of various ethnic groups of Protestants. Table 5 shows
 248 their places of residence in the Ural Region.

249

250

Table 5: Places of residence of the sample for the Urals

| Places of living | All data of the Ural Region (%) | Ethnic groups (%) | | | | | |
|------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------|--------|------------|----------|--------|--------------------|
| | | Russians | Tatars | Ukrainians | Bashkirs | Khanty | Nenets |
| Urban areas | 87.6% | 92.0% | 87.5% | 100.0% | 87.8% | - | 100.0% (4 persons) |
| Rural areas | 12.4% | 8.0% | 12.5% | - | 12.2% | - | - |

251 The most urbanized group of the sample for the Urals are the Ukrainians (100.0% of urban
 252 dwellers); Russians rank second (92.0% and 8.0%) followed by Bashkirs (87.8% and 12.2%) and
 253 Tatars (87.5% and 12.5%). Nenets are the villagers only; the small sample size is complemented by
 254 the survey results of pastors. According to the survey results I have learned that all 45 persons of
 255 Nenets Protestants of the Pentecostal Church live in the tundra.

256 Table 6 shows the places of residence of Protestants in Western Siberia – Yugra. As is seen, the
 257 most urbanized group of the sample for Yugra are the Russians (98.0% of urban dwellers);
 258 Ukrainians rank second (85.7% of urban dwellers). We can also ignore the data on Tatars, Bashkirs
 259 and Nenets presented in Table 8 because of the small sample size. Khanty are primarily the villagers
 260 (94.4%), or more exactly, inhabitants of the taiga living in 60 plots located at a distance of about 20
 261 km from each other. The representativeness of the sample was confirmed by the results of the
 262 interview with Igor Kornilishin, the pastor of the ‘Word of Life’ Church (Russian Union of Christians
 263 of Evangelical Faith (Pentecostals)). He claimed that the number of church members makes up 200
 264 persons, 190 of whom live in the taiga (95.0% of the total number of church members); 10 persons live
 265 in the village of Russkinskaya (Surgut district of the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug – Ugra)
 266 located 128 km north of Surgut.

267

Table 6: Places of residence for Western Siberia – Yugra

| Places of residence | All data of Western Siberia –Yugra (%) | Ethnic groups (%) | | | | | |
|---------------------|--|-------------------|-------------------|------------|-------------------|--------|-------------------|
| | | Russians | Tatars | Ukrainians | Bashkirs | Khanty | Nenets |
| Urban areas | 75.3% | 98.0% | 100.0% (1 person) | 85.7% | 100.0% (1 person) | 5.6% | 100.0% (1 person) |
| Rural areas | 24.7% | 2.0% | - | 14.3% | - | 94.4% | - |

268 Data submitted both from the Ural Region and Yugra demonstrate that Protestant ethnic
 269 groups of Russians, Tatars, Ukrainians and Bashkirs predominantly are townspeople, Protestant
 270 ethnic groups of Khanty and Nenets are rural population.

271 2.1.4. Occupational composition

272 Table 7 explores occupational composition of different Protestant ethnic groups of the Ural
 273 Region. The group ‘intelligentsia’ is the largest among the sample from the Ural Region and makes
 274 up 51.2%. This group includes heads of enterprises and organizations, government officials,
 275 specialists and engineers, employees (non-manual workers) and, partially, skilled workers and
 276 businessmen. It includes 52.8% of Russians, 53.4% of Tatars, 57.7% of Ukrainians and 54.8% of
 277 Bashkirs.

278 The Nenets who represent traditional cultures of the indigenous ethnic groups of the North
 279 identified themselves as a businessman (1 person, head of the family of Pentecostal reindeer herders
 280 Aleksey) and peasants (4 persons, Aleksey’s wife Nadezhda, their elder son Abraham and daughters
 281 Nina and Rimma). Aleksey is also an owner of a reindeer herd numbering 300 animals and a leader
 282 of home church, which represents part of the Vorkuta Church ‘House of God’ and is located in the

283 tundra 100 km south of Vorkuta. Yet, he can hardly be considered a representative of the group
 284 'intelligentsia' because he can neither read nor write. His younger son and two younger daughters
 285 were not surveyed because of their preschool age.

286 **Table 7:** Occupational composition of the sample for the Urals

| Occupational Composition | All data of the Ural Region (%) | Ethnic groups (%) | | | | | |
|--|---------------------------------|-------------------|--------|------------|----------|--------|------------------|
| | | Russians | Tatars | Ukrainians | Bashkirs | Khanty | Nenets |
| Heads of enterprises and organizations | 6.2% | 7.6% | 4.2% | 3.8% | 2.4% | - | - |
| Government officials | 1.2% | 0.7% | 0.8% | - | 4.8% | - | - |
| Specialists and engineers | 10.2% | 11.4% | 9.2% | 7.7% | 11.9% | - | - |
| Employees (non-manual workers) | 11.7% | 12.5% | 10.8% | 15.4% | 11.9% | - | - |
| Unskilled workers | 3.4% | 2.0% | 3.3% | 7.7% | 7.1% | - | - |
| Skilled workers | 12.7% | 12.9% | 14.2% | 15.4% | 7.1% | - | - |
| Peasants | 1.1% | 0.7% | - | - | - | - | 80.0% (4 person) |
| Businessmen | 9.2% | 7.7% | 14.2% | 15.4% | 16.7% | - | 20.0% (1 person) |
| Military | 0.5% | 0.4% | 1.7% | - | - | - | - |
| Learners (schoolchildren and students) | 8.1% | 8.7% | 11.7% | 11.5% | - | - | - |
| Housewives | 8.1% | 5.9% | 9.2% | 7.7% | 7.1% | - | - |
| Pensioners | 20.1% | 21.6% | 10.0% | 11.5% | 21.4% | - | - |
| Unemployed | 2.0% | 1.7% | 4.2% | - | 2.4% | - | - |
| Working pensioners | 6.1% | 5.7% | 5.0% | 3.8% | 7.1% | - | - |
| Others | 0.7% | 0.4% | 1.7% | - | - | - | - |

287 Table 8 shows the occupational composition of Protestant ethnic groups in Western Siberia –
 288 Yugra. The group 'intelligentsia' is also the largest among the sample from Yugra and constitutes
 289 51.7%. It includes 66.0% among Russians and 71.5% among Ukrainians. We can also ignore the data
 290 on Tatars, Bashkirs and Nenets presented in Table 6 because of the small sample size (2 Tatars, 1
 291 Bashkir and 1 Nenets). Only 11.1% (2 persons) of the Khanty are employees (non-manual workers).
 292 Despite the fact that other Khanty identified themselves as peasants (16.7%), learners (5.6%, one
 293 person), housewives (27.8%), pensioners (5.6%, one person), unemployed (27.8%) and working
 294 pensioners (5.6%, one person), all of them are indigenous people of the North who live a traditional
 295 lifestyle.
 296

297

Table 8: Occupational composition of the sample for Western Siberia –Yugra

| Occupational composition | All data of Western Siberia –Yugra (%) | Ethnic groups (%) | | | | | |
|--|--|-------------------|--------------------|------------|-------------------|--------|-------------------|
| | | Russians | Tatars | Ukrainians | Bashkirs | Khanty | Nenets |
| Heads of enterprises and organizations | 8.6% | 10.0% | - | 28.6% | - | - | - |
| Government officials | 1.2% | 2.0% | - | - | - | - | - |
| Specialists and engineers | 9.9% | 14.0% | - | 14.3% | - | - | - |
| Employees (non-manual workers) | 18.5% | 22.0% | - | 14.3% | - | 11.1% | - |
| Unskilled workers | 1.2% | - | - | 14.3% | - | - | - |
| Skilled workers | 4.9% | 8.0% | - | - | - | - | - |
| Peasants | 3.7% | - | 100.0% (2 persons) | - | - | 16.7% | - |
| Businessmen | 8.6% | 10.0% | - | 14.3% | - | - | - |
| Military | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Learners (schoolchildren and students) | 4.9% | 6.0% | - | - | - | 5.6% | - |
| Housewives | 11.1% | 8.0% | - | - | - | 27.8% | 100.0% (1 person) |
| Pensioners | 14.8% | 16.0% | - | - | - | 5.6% | - |
| Unemployed | 7.4% | - | - | - | - | 27.8% | - |
| Working pensioners | 2.5% | 2.0% | - | 14.3% | 100.0% (1 person) | 5.6% | - |
| Others | 2.5% | 2.0% | - | - | - | - | - |

298

299

300

301

302

303

304

305

306

Thus, we see that half of such Protestant ethnic groups of some areas of Urals and Western Siberia – Yugra as Russians, Tatars, Ukrainians and Bashkirs can be identified as the social status group ‘intelligentsia’ consisting of heads of enterprises and organizations, government officials, specialists and engineers, employees (non-manual workers), skilled workers and businessmen. Most of them live in cities and incorporated into an industrial society.

At the same time the Russian Protestants – representatives of indigenous peoples of the North (Khanty and Nenets), living in the taiga and tundra and working in traditional economy whose level of education is rather low.

307

2.2. Religious characteristics

308

2.2.1. Number of church ministers

309

310

Tables 9 and 10 show that the number of church ministers exceeds the number of ordinary church members in the ethnic groups incorporated into industrial society. In most cases their

311 number makes up more than 50.0% in both samples. This fact proves that the different ethnic groups
 312 of Protestants from Urals and Yugra such as Russians, Ukrainians, Tatars and Bashkirs take active
 313 part in religious life of their churches.

314 Protestant churches operating among these ethnic groups widely use different types of church
 315 ministries involving ordinary church members in different ministry teams.

316 **Table 9:** Number of church ministers of the sample for the Urals

| Status in church | All data of the Ural Region (%) | Ethnic groups (%) | | | | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------|--------|-------------|----------|--------|--------|
| | | Russians | Tatars | Ukrainian s | Bashkirs | Khanty | Nenets |
| Ordinary church member | 37.6% | 36.5% | 38.1% | 26.9% | 45.2% | - | 60.0% |
| Pastor | 3.6% | 3.8% | - | 3.8% | 4.8% | - | 40.0% |
| Church minister | 58.8% | 59.7% | 61.9% | 69.2% | 50.0% | - | |

317

318 **Table 10:** Number of church ministers of the sample for Western Siberia –Yugra

| Status in church | All data of Western Siberia –Yugra (%) | Ethnic groups (%) | | | | | |
|------------------------|--|-------------------|--------------------|------------|-------------------|--------|-------------------|
| | | Russians | Tatars | Ukrainians | Bashkirs | Khanty | Nenets |
| Ordinary church member | 30.0% | 24.5% | - | 28.6% | - | 44.4% | 100.0% (1 person) |
| Pastor | 3.8% | 2.0% | - | 28.6% | - | - | - |
| Church minister | 66.3% | 73.5% | 100.0% (2 persons) | 42.9% | 100.0% (1 person) | 55.6% | - |

319 The number of Church ministers among Khanty from Yugra exceeds 50.0% as well as among
 320 Russians, Tatars, Bashkirs and Ukrainians from both samples. At the same time there are no Church
 321 ministers among Nenets from the Urals. This is explained by the fact that almost all members of the
 322 Church 'Word of Life' (Russian Union of Christians of Evangelical Faith (Pentecostals)) live in the
 323 taiga. Only 10 of them live in the village of Russkinskaya, the other 190 members are Khanty and live
 324 in 60 plots located at a distance of about 20 km from each other. In fact, this church is almost
 325 mono-ethnic. For example, the sample of the Church "Word of Life" consists of 18 Khanty, 1 Nenets,
 326 1 Ukrainian and 1 Russian. The ordinary members and ministers of this church are predominantly
 327 Khanty.

328 The Church 'House of God' of Vorkuta differs from the Church 'Word of Life' in the following
 329 way. In practice, this church consists of two groups: the first group is represented by the members of
 330 two communities of the Church 'Word of Life' located in the city of Vorkuta. It consists of 122
 331 persons incorporated into industrial society. The second group is represented by 45 Nenets reindeer
 332 herders living in the tundra in skin tents (chums). In fact, every Nenets family is a home church
 333 located in the tundra, and the heads of the families are their leaders. The Nenets Protestants' group
 334 is a focus of the activities of ministry teams in two communities of the Church 'Word of Life' of
 335 Vorkuta, which consist mostly of Russians.

336 Such ministry teams as Family Ministry teams, Prayer groups, Children's Ministry teams, Social
 337 Ministry teams, Worship teams, Bible study small groups, Prison Ministry teams and others operate
 338 both among the industrialized ethnic groups and the indigenous peoples of the North.

339 I think that one of the most important types of the activities of the Protestant churches among
340 the native peoples of the North is the work of Social Ministry teams. They help to restore
341 life-sustaining elements of the national cultures of the native peoples. In fact, the indigenous peoples
342 in some areas such as the Vorkuta district and Yugra were on the edge of extinction because of
343 severe economic problems and, as a consequence, lack of government help. For example, the
344 municipal corporations of Yamal took an active part in solving social and economic problems of the
345 indigenous peoples because of availability of financial resources from gas productions.

346 Today, only four in twelve coal mines are working in Vorkuta. Therefore the municipal
347 corporations of the Vorkuta district are unable to help the native peoples because of lack of financial
348 resources. In spite of large-scale oil production and availability of financial resources the municipal
349 corporations of the Surgut district do not render support to the indigenous peoples.

350 By contrast, the Protestant religious organizations do render support to the indigenous peoples
351 in the Vorkuta and Surgut districts. Protestant Social Ministry teams provide them with medical
352 care, supply with food and fuel. Pastors and church ministers direct the Khanty and Nenets at
353 restoring life-sustaining elements of their traditional economy such as reindeer herding, handicrafts,
354 fishing, hunting and gathering. All these activities are carried out using only churches' own
355 resources. Abstinence from alcohol, cessation of domestic drunkenness, restoration of different
356 elements of the national culture, languages and family relations occur among the Nenets and Khanty
357 who adopted Christianity. Police officers assess positively the results of the activities of the
358 Protestant religious organizations both in the Vorkuta and Surgut districts.

359 The use of national languages is also an important aspect of the activities of the Protestant
360 Churches both in industrial and traditional societies. For example, the Bible study small groups of
361 the Union of Evangelical Christian Baptists of Russia and the Russian Union of Christians of
362 Evangelical Faith (Pentecostals) located in the Republic of Bashkortostan and oriented towards
363 Tatars and Bashkirs use the Bashkir and Tatar languages during their Bible studies. They use the
364 Tatar version of the New Testament 'Injil' and other religious literature in the Tatar and Bashkir
365 languages. These churches also use the Russian, Tatar and Bashkir languages during their Sunday
366 services, worship, sermons and in their missionary activities. The Baptist Tatar and Bashkir radio
367 station has been operating for almost 20 years in Ufa (Republic of Bashkortostan). In the same way
368 the Protestant churches use the native languages in the Polar Urals (Vorkuta district) and Western
369 Siberia – Yugra (Surgut district).

370 As a result, Christianity is not perceived as an alien religion by the Tatars and Bashkirs who are
371 potential Muslims incorporated into industrial society, and also by the Khanty and Nenets who are
372 potential pagans and represent the traditional society. Despite the adaptation of Protestant religious
373 organizations to the ethnic factor, there is interethnic consolidation in the Protestant churches
374 functioning in multi-ethnic areas of Russia. Furthermore, in most of cases the representatives of
375 different ethnic groups become active Church Ministers themselves.

376 Another important characteristic of Russian Protestant ethnic groups is the systematic study of
377 the Bible and other religious literature.

378 I would like to define some aspects. Table 11 shows that functioning of the Protestant religious
379 organizations in both multi-ethnic areas of Russia (the Urals and Western Siberia – Yugra) is
380 characterized by an intellectual approach to salvation based on a systematic study of the Bible and,
381 to a lesser extent, other religious literature. Comparison of the regularity in reading religious
382 literature with the same data on Orthodox Christians and Muslims confirm this fact especially well.
383 More than 65.0% of Protestants regularly read the Bible and more than 29.0% of them regularly read
384 other religious literature.

385 I also compare the data on the Protestants' regularity in reading religious literature with the
386 whole dataset on Orthodox Christians and Muslims using the research results obtained by Yuliya
387 Sinelina (Institute for Socio-Political Studies, RAS) in 14 federal subjects of the Russian Federation in
388 April 2006 (Sinelina 2009). It can be seen that only 7.0% of Orthodox Christians regularly read the
389 Bible and 11.0% of Muslims regularly read the Quran; 4.0% of Orthodox Christians and 6.0% of
390 Muslims regularly read other religious literature.

391 The data presented above demonstrate that the Russian Protestant religious organizations are
 392 more oriented towards the systematic study of religious literature and have a more intellectual
 393 approach to their religious activities than Orthodox Christians and Muslims.

394 **Table 11:** Regularity in reading religious literature (in comparison with Orthodox Christians and
 395 Muslims)

| Regularity in reading religious literature | All data of the Ural Region (%) | All data of Western Siberia – Yugra (%) | Orthodox Christians (Sinelina, 2006) (%) | Muslims (Sinelina, 2006) (%) |
|---|--|--|---|-------------------------------------|
| I regularly read the Bible | 76.0% | 67.1% | 7.0% | 11.0% (Reading the Quran) |
| I never read the Bible | 0.5% | 1.3% | 35.0% | 47.0% (Reading the Quran) |
| I regularly read other religious literature | 39.2% | 29.5% | 4.0% (Including reading the Bible) | 6.0% (Including reading the Quran) |
| I never read other religious literature | 7.1% | 10.3% | There are no data available | There are no data available |

396 The results given in Tables 12 and 13 reveal the main trends in studying religious literature
 397 among different ethnic groups of both areas under investigation. The group with regular studies of
 398 the Bible is the largest among almost all ethnic groups of Protestants, except for Ukrainians from
 399 Yugra. The group that sometimes reads other religious literature is the largest among almost all
 400 ethnic groups of Protestants, except for Nenets from the Vorkuta district (5 persons) and Surgut
 401 district (1 person).

402 **Table 12:** Regularity in reading religious literature of the sample for the Urals

| Regularity in reading religious literature | All data of the Ural Region (%) | Ethnic groups (%) | | | | | |
|---|--|--------------------------|---------------|-------------------|-----------------|---------------|--------------------|
| | | Russians | Tatars | Ukrainians | Bashkirs | Khanty | Nenets |
| I regularly read the Bible | 76.0% | 75.0% | 75.6% | 74.1% | 71.4% | - | 100.0% (5 persons) |
| Sometimes I read the Bible | 23.5% | 24.5% | 23.5% | 25.9% | 28.6% | - | - |
| I never read the Bible | 0.5% | 0.6% | 0.8% | - | - | - | - |
| I regularly read other religious literature | 39.2% | 40.3% | 30.8% | 42.3% | 30.0% | - | - |
| Sometimes I read other religious literature | 53.8% | 52.1% | 59.2% | 53.8% | 67.5% | - | - |
| I never read other religious literature | 7.1% | 7.6% | 10.0% | 3.8% | 2.5% | - | 100.0% (5 persons) |

403

404 We see that studying the Bible is practiced by the Protestant churches among the native peoples
 405 of the North even more frequently than among other ethnic groups incorporated into industrial
 406 society. The percentage of Khanty from Yugra who regularly read the Bible constitutes 88.9% and
 407 exceeds that of Russians (75.0%), Tatars (75.6%), Ukrainians (74.1%) and Bashkirs (71.4%) from the
 408 Ural Region and that of Russians (59.2%) and Ukrainians (50.0%) from Western Siberia – Yugra.

409 **Table 13:** Regularity in reading religious literature of the sample for Western Siberia – Yugra

| Regularity in reading religious literature | All data of Western Siberia – Yugra (%) | Ethnic groups (%) | | | | | |
|---|---|-------------------|--------------------|------------|-------------------|--------|-------------------|
| | | Russians | Tatars | Ukrainians | Bashkirs | Khanty | Nenets |
| I regularly read the Bible | 67.1% | 59.2% | 100.0% (2 persons) | 50.0% | 100.0% (1 person) | 88.9% | 100.0% (1 person) |
| Sometimes I read the Bible | 31.6% | 40.8% | - | 50.0% | - | 5.6% | - |
| I never read the Bible | 1.3% | - | - | - | - | 5.6% | - |
| I regularly read other religious literature | 29.5% | 25.0% | 100.0% (2 persons) | 28.6% | - | 35.3% | 100.0% (1 person) |
| Sometimes I read other religious literature | 60.3% | 68.8% | - | 57.1% | 100.0% (1 person) | 41.2% | - |
| I never read other religious literature | 10.3% | 6.3% | - | 14.3% | - | 23.5% | - |

410 Based on the data presented above we can define that in fact representatives of all ethnic groups
 411 of Protestants from both regions – Ural and Yugra – read religious literature more often than
 412 Orthodox Christians and Muslims. In most cases they are also activity Church Ministers. This is
 413 mainly due to the fact that Russian Protestant religious organizations use different types of church
 414 ministries for study of Christian doctrines and different types of social activity associated with using
 415 national languages among non-Slavic ethnic groups, restoring national cultures of the indigenous
 416 peoples of the North and saving them from extinction.

417 3. Discussion

418 The data above demonstrates that Protestantism in investigated religious organizations of Urals
 419 and Yugra has “white” face and predominantly represented by the Russians (more than 60.0% of
 420 sample). Tatars, Bashkirs and Ukrainians as well as Russians in most cases are high educated
 421 non-manual workers, incorporated into an industrial society and live in cities. They can be identified
 422 as the social status group ‘intelligentsia’.

423 Conversations with pastors and believers allowed us to conclude that the Protestants in
 424 investigated churches, like their co-religionists from China, occupy the fundamentalist positions. So,
 425 55.2% of all respondents from Urals and 19.2 % ones from Yugra claim that tribulations in the life of
 426 a Christian are God's instruments serving the salvation of man Only 27.9% of all respondents from
 427 Urals and 38.0 % ones from Yugra are “health and wealth” theology proponents. They believe that
 428 such values as material well-being, education, successful career, creative self-realization, strong

429 health, understanding and respect of others should be realized in the Christians' life and their
430 realization is an indispensable attribute of a believer.

431 As is seen, all ethnic groups of Protestants learn religious literature more intensively than
432 Orthodox Christians and Muslims. I consider that a higher level of education is associated with
433 systematic studies of religious literature. In fact, Protestantism is the religious choice of the
434 well-educated representatives of different urbanized ethnic groups, ore, more exactly, Confessional
435 choice of national urban "intelligentsia" of Russians, Tatars, Ukrainians and Bashkirs.

436 Transition from one church to another is typical for Russian Protestants, but spiritual search is
437 limited to the framework of Christian doctrines and does not go beyond their boundaries, contrary
438 to what it happens for US Protestants. Protestants – representatives of Russians, Tatars, Ukrainians
439 and Bashkirs urban 'intelligentsia' as well as Chilean Pentecostal support the strong state power, but
440 practically they are excluded from official religious life in Russia. There are not representatives of
441 Protestant religious organizations in the Interreligious Council of Russia¹.

442 Russian Protestants - indigenous peoples of the Polar Ural and Western Siberia as well as
443 inhabitants of favelas in Brazil use the Protestant religious organizations as the tools for survival. But
444 unlike the Brazilian Pentecostals, they do not influence on political life of Russia. Instead, state
445 authorities and indigenous peoples - activity Protestant Ministers are allies in the fight against social
446 problems in the polar and northern regions of the Urals and Western Siberia and do not try to
447 influence each other. Russian reindeer-herders also use the Protestant Churches as a tool for
448 restoring their national cultures

449 In future, wider studies should make more clarify the characteristics of ethnic groups of
450 Russian Protestants.

451

452 **4. Materials and Methods**

453 I employed the inductive approach and the comparison method. During the fieldwork I used
454 ethnographic participant observations, sociological structured interviews and closed-ended
455 questionnaires as the research methods.

456 In the first section I define some socio-demographic characteristics of different ethnic Protestant
457 groups from some areas of Urals and Western Siberia such as the level of education, the occupational
458 composition, the places of residence and the participation into the religious life of churches.

459 I compare the data on the Protestants' education levels with those on Orthodox Christians and
460 Muslims and the whole dataset on education levels in the Russian Federation using the data of the
461 all-Russian studies on religiosity of the population performed by Yuliya Sinelina (Institute for
462 Socio-Political Studies, RAS) in 14 federal subjects of the Russian Federation in October 2004
463 (Sinelina 2006.).

464 The study was carried out in the following federal subjects: Moscow, St. Petersburg, Republic of
465 Tatarstan, Republic of Bashkortostan, Krasnodar Krai, Khabarovsk Krai, Arkhangelsk Oblast,
466 Sverdlovsk Oblast, Irkutsk Oblast, Rostov Oblast, Samara Oblast, Tambov Oblast, Tomsk Oblast and
467 Yaroslavl Oblast. During this study the education levels of Orthodox Christians and Muslims were
468 researched only once, the sample consists of 1794 persons.

469 I also use the data on people's education in the Russian Federation based on the results of the
470 2010 Russia Population Census.

471 In the second section I describe such religious characteristics as number of church ministers and
472 regularity in reading religious literature (the second one presented in comparison with Orthodox
473 Christians and Muslims). I introduce also ethnically oriented functioning of the Protestant religious
474 organizations among different ethnic groups both incorporated into industrial society and living a
475 traditional lifestyle.

¹ Interreligious Council of Russia <http://interreligious.ru>

476 And finally I indicate the main socio-demographic and religious characteristics of the Protestant
 477 ethnic groups from some areas of Urals and Western Siberia and indicate their differences from
 478 other largest religious groups and general populations of Russia.

479 Data are taken from my fieldwork performed between 2013 and 2015 in the following federal
 480 subjects of the Russian Federation belonging to the Southern, Middle and Polar Urals: Republic of
 481 Bashkortostan, Orenburg Oblast, Udmurt Republic, Komi Republic; and, for comparison purposes,
 482 in one federal subject belonging to Western Siberia: Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug – Yugra. I
 483 have collected empirical materials in the following Protestant religious organizations functioning in
 484 the Russian Federation: The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Russia and Other States (ELCROS); The
 485 Union of Evangelical Christian Baptists of Russia; The Seventh-Day Adventist Church; The Russian
 486 Christian Church of Evangelical Faith (Pentecostals); The Russian Union of Christians of Evangelical
 487 Faith (Pentecostals); The Association of Christian Churches “Union of Christians.”

488 Table 14 shows the number of churches of different Protestant religious organizations covered
 489 by the survey. The survey was performed in 38 churches of 6 Protestant religious organizations.

490

Table 14: Number of churches

| Religious organizations | Federal subjects of Russia | | | | | Total |
|---|----------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|---------------------------------------|-------|
| | Republic of Bashkortostan | Orenburg Oblast | Udmurt Republic | Komi Republic | Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug – Yugra | |
| Evangelical Lutheran Church | 1 | | | | | 1 |
| Union of Evangelical Christian Baptists | 3 | 1 | | | | 4 |
| Seventh-Day Adventist Church | 5 | 2 | 1 | | | 8 |
| Russian Christian Church of Evangelical Faith (Pentecostals) | 8 | 1 | 1 | 3 | | 13 |
| Russian Union of Christians of Evangelical Faith (Pentecostals) | 7 | | | | 3 | 10 |
| Association of Christian Churches “Union of Christians” | 2 | | | | | 2 |
| Total | 26 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 38 |

491 Table 15 shows the sample and the statistical population. The general statistical population
 492 from the total number of federal subjects of the Russian Federation includes 3800 persons, the
 493 sample consists of 943 persons, or 24.8%.

Table 15: Statistical population and sample

| Religious organizations | Federal subjects of Russia | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------|
| | Republic of Bashkortostan | | Orenburg Oblast | | Udmurt Republic | | Komi Republic | | Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug – Yugra | | Total | |
| | Number of persons / (percent) | | Number of persons / (percent) | | Number of persons / (percent) | | Number of persons / (percent) | | Number of persons / (percent) | | Number of persons / (percent) | |
| | Statistical population | Sample | Statistical population | Sample | Statistical population | Sample | Statistical population | Sample | Statistical population | Sample | Statistical population | Sample |
| Evangelical Lutheran Church Union of | 30 | 7 (23.3%) | | | | | | | | | 30 | 7 (23.3%) |
| Evangelical Christian Baptists | 151 | 57 (37.7%) | 150 | 14 (9.3%) | | | | | | | 301 | 71 (23.5%) |
| Seventh-Day Adventist Church | 236 | 69 (29.2%) | 180 | 85 (47.0%) | 100 | 36 (36.0%) | | | | | 516 | 190 (36.8%) |
| Russian Christian Church of Evangelical Faith (Pentecostals) | 646 | 184 (28.4%) | 350 | 68 (19.4%) | 400 | 79 (19.75%) | 167 | 42 (25.1%) | | | 1563 | 373 (23.8%) |
| Russian Union of Christians of Evangelical Faith (Pentecostals) Association of Christian Churches "Union of Christians" | 702 | 184 (26.2%) | | | | | | | 650 | 81 (12.46%) | 1352 | 265 (19.6%) |
| | 75 | 37 (49.3%) | | | | | | | | | 75 | 37 (49.3%) |
| Total | 1840 | 538 (29.2%) | 680 | 167 (24.5%) | 500 | 115 (23.0%) | 167 | 42 (25.1%) | 650 | 81 (12.4%) | 3837 | 943 (24.5%) |

496 The fieldwork data were obtained using two types of questionnaires. The first one includes
 497 three blocks of closed-ended questions and 45 items. The first block contains socio-demographic
 498 questions, the second one contains religious questions and the third one contains questions related
 499 to confessional policy. In this article I use the data from the first and second blocks.

500 The second questionnaire contains three open-ended questions about the aims of the Christian
 501 life, reading the religious literature and the difference between the Orthodox Christianity and
 502 Protestantism.

503 I also use the data obtained from participant observations.

504 References

505 Anderson, Allan. *An Introduction to Pentecostalism: Global Charismatic Christianity*. Cambridge
 506 University Press: Cambridge, UK, 2004.

507 Anderson, Allan. The Future of Protestantism: The Non-Western Protestant World. In *The Blackwell
 508 Companion to Protestantism* Edited by Alister E. McGrath and Darren C. Marks; Blackwell
 509 Publishing Ltd., Malden, USA, 2004.

510 Corrigan, John. Protestantism in The USA. In *The Blackwell Companion to Protestantism* Edited by
 511 Alister E. McGrath and Darren C. Marks; Blackwell Publishing Ltd., Malden, USA, 2004.

512 Couretas, John. Russian Evangelicals, Like Most Russians, 'Thank God for Putin'. January 8, 2015
 513 Acton Institute Powerblog. Available online:
 514 <http://blog.acton.org/archives/75050-russian-evangelicals-like-russians-thank-god-putin.html>
 515 (accessed on 12 November 2017).

516 Filatov, Sergei. Protestantism in Postsoviet Russia: An Unacknowledged Triumph *Religion, State &
 517 Society* 2000, 28, 1, 93–103.

518 Lunkin, Roman. 'Russia's Native Peoples: Their Path to Christianity.' *Religion, State & Society* 2000,
 519 28, 1, 123–33.

520 Lunkin, Roman. 'Rossijskij protestantizm: evangel'skie hristiane, kak novyj social'nyj fenomen'
 521 (Russian Protestantism: Evangelical Christians as a New Social Phenomenon). *Sovremennaya
 522 Evropa* 2014, 3, 133–43.

523 Lingenthal, Lukas (2012) Pentecostalism in Brazil: Churches , Business and Political Parties. KAS
 524 International Reports, 1 January 2012. Available online:
 525 http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_29975-544-2-30.pdf?120120115055 (accessed on 12 November
 526 2017).

527 Onishchenko, Andrei. 2015. 'Prosvetitel'skaya deyatel'nost' harizmaticheskikh cerkvej sredi
 528 malochislennyh narodov Krasnoyarskogo kraja'. (The Educational Activity of Charismatic
 529 Churches Among the Nativel Peoples of the Krasnoyarsk Krai. *Mezhkonfessional'naya missiya.
 530 Missiya Konfessij* 2015, 6, 45-52.

531 Sinelina, Yulia. 'Dinamika processa vocerkovleniya pravoslavnyh' (The Dynamics of the Churched
 532 Orthodox Process). *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniya* 2006, 11, 89–97.

533 Sinelina, Yulia. 'Pravoslavnye i musul'mane: sravnitel'nyj analiz religioznogo povedeniya i
 534 cennostnyh orientacij' (Orthodox Christians and Muslims: Comparative Analysis of Religious
 535 Behaviour and Value Orientations). *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniya* 2009, 4, 89–95.

536 Vallikivi, Laur. 2014. 'On the Edge of Space and Time: Evangelical Missionaries in the Post-Soviet
 537 Arctic' *Ethnology and Folkloristics* 2014, 8, 2, 95-120 .