

Prisonisation of the city as manifestation of hybrid culture (Siberian case)

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Abstract — M. Foucault's model seemed relevant so far to consider prisonisation. According to Foucault, the criminal culture is marginalized, ousted as far as possible into the outer colony. Creation of the life of the Siberian cities happened in a different mode, not being able to reject the criminal culture, society went the way of its processing, connection with the official culture. The neighbourhood of official and criminal culture gave rise to a special discourse that can be considered in the optics of the hybrid culture of H. Bhabha. The methodology developed in the frames of the postcolonial approach open opportunities for analyzing the modern social and cultural situation in Siberian cities.

Keywords— *prisonisation, criminal culture, hybrid culture, postcolonial studies, Siberia, Siberian cities.*

I. INTRODUCTION

The term "prisonisation" comes from the English *prison*. It is quite clear in the Russian word usage because of borrowed earlier word "zone" (Greek ζώνη "belt"). Prisonisation of city can be considered as the influence of language, behavioural norms of prison, camp life on the culture of the modern urbosystem. In the 60th years of the XXth century expressions of usual language like "big prison" (freedom), "small prison" (prison and camp) were widely adopted. The expressiveness of processes of prisonisation in our country makes special contents of the term. A part of the population lives really, not figurative, with the prison and near the prison. Names of many cities beyond Ural Ridge have very characteristic local "interpretations" as Omsk – "The Remote Place of the Reference of Convicts" (the Remote Place of the Siberian Penal servitude), Tomsk – "The Taiga Place of the Siberian Penal servitude". In the research "Formation of Regional Identity in Modern Russia" N. Petrov designated specifics of Russian regions, unlike North American states, that have not official symbols: animal, plant or motto, the fact that Russian regions have nicknames, which are unambiguously connected by public consciousness with any region. According to N. Petrov a nickname of the Irkutsk region "in depth of the Siberian ores", the Magadan region of "Zekiya", "Kolyma", the Republics of Buryatia "Jail", the Republics of Mordovia "Mordovian camp" [1, p. 171 - 173]. In every large city beyond the Urals there is "Cherebyyu" (the settlement described in S. Dovlatov's memoirs), that

placed close to the central streets, with its' norms and customs like Omsk's "Chicago", "Neftyaniki (oil industry workers area)", "Amur", "Severnye (northern) streets", "Port-Arthur", "Stalinsk", "Sakhalin" (unofficial names of the Omsk districts). A common feature of consideration of manifestations of prisonisation in big cities in foreign and Russian social and humanitarian knowledge is studying of city ghettos' subcultures, accentuation of meanings of cutting off, isolation, opposition. Thus, the ghetto becomes a peculiar internal socio-culture antithesis of the post-modernist understanding modern city, the center of protest anti-culture, relation to which is fully realized in symbolics of the white concrete wall, separating the 13th district of Paris from another city in "District 13" movie by Luc Besson.

We find comprehension of a discourse of prison culture, its reflection in mass culture in the article of L. Speed [2]. He analyzes "Prison Songs", Australia's first documentary musical performance. Performance is based on documentary and stories of prisoners. The narrative about participants' experience of the project finds art expression in songs, dances, etc.

J. Anderson in the article "The Homeland, Imprisoned and Illegal: The Impact of Marginalisation on Views of the Homeland in Kanafani's and Khalifa's Work" [3] uses Zh. Delez and F. Gvattari's theory for analysis of representation of a discourse of authority and submission in the literary text.

The problems connected with increasing crimes always were demanded in the academic circles. Questions of prisonisation are considered in article of Bryan J. McCann where it comes to light as the prison affected the Movement for Black Liberation [4]. Sho Shigeoka reveals how bad behavior at school correlates with hit in prison [5].

At the junction of Game studies and Postcolonial studies the interesting research projects comprehending representation of a discourse of the power, identity in space of a computer game are born. For example, K. Levan and S. Downing [6] study simulation of escape from prison in a computer game. The player appears as the prisoner who is under observation of protection and has to escape from prison. Simulation in virtual reality of a disciplinary space and interest in such game from free citizens is indicative. P.

Martin [7] study how in the Japanese computer games reflects ideas of race, skin color, etc. Martin shows the idea that black and white skin color in games demonstrating in a very unusual way (unlike Europeans and Americans) because of the difference in skin color of Japanese. Studying computer games from a position of post-colonial turn demonstrate how subjects of colony and prison get into mass culture.

II. MATERIALS AND METHODS (MODEL)

The authors' hypothesis of the research is that Siberian prisonisation is not localized, as the phenomenon, it is observed in social and cultural space of the big city, penetrating all its levels, systems, functional zones without exception. Prisons and prison life are interwoven into the history of the Siberian cities, they are its integral part which, even isolated in discourse, is shown in "national" interpretation of the developed toponyms, urban symbolics. The CLC card (corrective labor colonies) of FSEP (Federal service of execution of the punishment) of Russia can be plotted to any Siberian city map.

The main aim of the research is to reveal and to describe theoretically mechanisms of functioning of a prisonisation in the Siberian cities as forms of hybrid culture.

As methodology in research is the post-colonial approach allowing to comprehend transformation of a discourse of prisonisation within official culture.

In the analysis of the material the method of the analysis of text massifs was used.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The history of the Siberian cities created around the fortresses including guardrooms, prisons, barracks of convicts from the very beginning meant inclusiveness of prison specifics in city daily occurrence. This was the way Siberia accustomed and became populated. Existence of a belt GULAG passing through all Siberia (Omsk, Karaganda, Novosibirsk, Krasnoyarsk, Irkutsk) especially during the Great Patriotic War and after that only enhanced this dependence, taking into account restrictions on territorial mobility of the former prisoners. A modern building of the Siberian cities, growth and development of their urban structure, CLC (correctional labor colony) become islands in city agglomeration around which the industrial enterprises the residential zone of houses, malls, cultural institutions are located, for example around CLC-6 in Omsk, being on 3rd Razyezd Street, Lermontov Street, connected with central for the city, within walking distance of it on 27 Liniya Street there is CLC-9 FSEP of Russia across the Omsk region. Known thanks to attention of human rights activists to activities of CLC-7 FSEP of Russia for the Omsk region [8], [9] is within walking distance of Neftezavodskoy Street to which there are two buildings of the Omsk state university n.a. F.M. Dostoyevsky.

The inculturation of a prison narrative which is shown in allocation of the memorable places connected with known Siberian "sidelets (prisoner)", creation of expositions of the provincial museums is peculiar to the Siberian cities. In an architectural complex of the Tobolsk Kremlin a specific place is held by the "Prison castle" on the basis of which the

Museum of the Siberian penal servitude and exile functions. According to information from the official website of the museum: "During the excursion tourists get acquainted with life of prisoners of the pre-revolutionary and Soviet periods, the most courageous guests can go down in the gloomy vault which kept the oppressive atmosphere of imprisonment. If you are not frightened by stories and legends of ghosts, become our guest in the "Uzник" hostel located in the center of the Prison castle. Visitors can get signature crackers and souvenirs in a prison bench, ore warmed in tea-cafe "Around or make memorable pictures in a photo zone" [10]. The Omsk State Literary Museum of F.M. Dostoyevsky suggests visitors to sit on benches of the unbearable barrack, the central place of an exposition "Dostoyevsky and Siberia" is occupied by foot shackles, the website of the museum explains the reason of such decision: "The art solution of each hall accents the main idea of an exposition: to show a way of spiritual searches of F.M. Dostoyevsky through a gloom of tests of the Omsk penal servitude to Celestial light of belief" [11]. The Tomsk Memorial museum "People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs House of Detention" makes the project "restoration of a part of a firing underground tunnel and inclusion by its component of the Memorial museum that will allow to expand considerably exhibition and exposition and functionality of the Museum" [12], becomes the platform for concentration of information on the "mailboxes" which were in the Tomsk region, the closed administrative-territorial educations (CATE), such as city of Seversk (Tomsk 7) [13]. On July 8, 2014 in Tyukalinsk of the Omsk region heads of municipalities of seven areas of the Omsk, Tyumen and Novosibirsk region founded Association of intermunicipal cooperation "Siberian path", as the interregional tourist project "Siberian Path" includes four operating tourist and excursion routes. According to information from the project website, during the excursion "The district city of Tyukalinsk" is planned visit of a complex of buildings of city prison, the interactive excursion "A way of convicts and the Museum of history of the Moscow-Siberian path" assumes (shackles, a uniform, protection maintenance), and a bus walking route Omsk-Tyukalinsk offers disguise in prisoner uniforms, shackles [14].

The international action "Night of the museums" in 2019 timed to the international day of the museums in the Siberian cities took place according to noted subject: the historical and cultural center "Omsk Fortress" offered citizens participation in an action "Fortress on Om – the play in three actions" which first part "Penal servitude – the beginning" opened with the exposition of shackled.

The website of an action invited participants with the following advertisement: "You will be able to see a fragment of internal furniture of a forge workshop in which were making shackling; our guide will tell you story of the exile in Siberia, will show on the example of the real convict as shackles rushed and will give an opportunity to try on them and also to receive "the prisoner's brand" (Partizanskaya St. 5aD is an engineering workshop)" [15].

Those who were afraid to be branded in Omsk Fortress, in the Literary museum of F.M. Dostoyevsky waited for role quest "Escape from a jail in the night" [15]. The Tobolsk prison castle make similar action: "22 meters", constructed on real events: a true story of escape from the Tobolsk

prison [16] and also master classes with marking 16 "Prison тайнопись", "The supervisor's tower", "Strogach (high security prison)" [17].

As media said, the action attracted great attention of citizens, attracted interest of regional authority. Omsk news resources provided about five options of the material "Burkov at "Night of the Museums " was taken for shackles of the convict...", with the following information: "After that delegation visited Dostoevsky Museum, the governor was here for the first time. Showed it an entrance to the basement where takes place the interactive exhibition "Barracks of the Omsk Jail", clothes of convicts and the integral detail of "clothes" – foot shackles. – "They can be taken in hand, to look as far as they are heavy. They did not take off, the person slept in them, washed in a bath. About four kilograms weighed", – the curator of the museum Svetlana Rudnitskaya told. After these words Alexander Burkov bent indeed touched the live certificate of the difficult past" [18].

Especially intensively processes of prisonisation happen among young people where it often has character of a role-playing game. To mentally try on itself "uniform" of a prisoner, having emotionally endured a parting opportunity with freedom offers a city chanson, more precisely its hybrid forms in which it is already impossible to define a composition genre precisely. Tracks of the Omsk performers, popular on youtube.com, for example, "For the Cherkak Boys" song by Igor Sakhalin representing the industrial settlement in the Omsk region the place where life flows only in concepts of prisonisative culture; "Hi Chita" Yury Almazov (who was born in Omsk), representing Chita as the city which drowned in hills, as the city of camps and "good friends" which is known in Siberia: "Hi Chita will tell you the Omsk friends"; "Here so I also wrote" Zhenya Sibiryak describing hit "in the camp" the student of the university who gave driving to the drunk classmate and suffer innocently because of impossibility for himself "to show up" the girl on interrogation: "And we sat drank and celebrate examination / She told me "let me ride" / That her father taught her / And that was then ... then I was asked". As note Nisa Kurniati and Fitri Atikasari "According to (Hassanzadeh & Mahdinejad, 2013), there is a correlation between happiness and achievement motive among students. Meanwhile, (Rahayu, 2016) stated that one of the factors that influence happiness is education level" [19, p. 59]. The research conducted by them among students of the island of Borneo demonstrate that the feeling of happiness depends from education level belongs to so-called post-colonial researches. Even if education is perceived as the social elevator on the island of Borneo, the song by Zhenya Sibiryak shows opposite, the student's bench unfortunately brought his hero into colony. If from prison as well as from poverty, as the proverb said, nobody is insured, what can be asked from the student when media publish stories about imprisoning of rectors of large institutions.

According to the points of view of psychology, the openness of culture to a prison subject can be explained by analogy with openness of non-created personality to adaptive or biological aggression. Concerning biological aggression is written and told quite a lot. Starting with L. von Bertalamfi who was finding biological inclinations of destructive behavior in human mentality, and therefore

considering adaptive aggression natural and innocent. In the same direction E. Fromm thought that there are special needs in human nature which are based on the conflict, congenital to the person contradictory aspiration to safety and to freedom of the vital choice at the same time. A sense of security makes anxiety of unfreedom, the feeling of freedom threatens with intensive experience of lack of safety. Most of existentials modern philosophical anthropology based on (like fear, boredom, melancholy, nausea, pleasure and horror) can be placed and described between safety and freedom. Passing through them, testing existentials as experiences in different forms, person in his own way adapts in the world, learns to live between defenseless freedom and the protecting need. How can this approach be projected on prisonisative culture? We recognize that prisonisative culture is penetrated by aggression, adaptive qualities are inherent in it, examples of a city chanson are full of the endured existentials. However, M. Foucault's methodology is represented to us as a more perspective explanatory scheme.

From the point of view of M. Foucault and the Chicago sociological school studying segregation and the principles of zoning in the city, the prison is a marginal space. It is forced out from official culture, and social prison practices are considered as inadmissible "at liberty". However, as show the examples given by us above, long coexistence of two cultures at which official culture does not force out criminal culture in external colonies, and it is forced to be reconciled with it in colonies internal, brings a phenomenon of hybrid culture to life, in the most fancy way including practice of both.

The subject of hybrid culture traditionally contacts with discourse about national and cultural identity. The texts written with the use of methodology of postcolonial studies analyze problems of identification of the person who got to space of foreign culture. Postcolonial studies which appear as the critical theory focusing attention on existence of domination and submission in culture had an impact on the methodology of philosophy and theories of culture. Researchers deconstruct colonialism and its imperious images and try to recreate original shape of the submitting culture or social group. Post-colonial discourse promoted at the same time accentuation and washing out of borders between cultures, races, gender behavior models that updated a question of identity and search of the bases of the egoism inevitably. Accentuation of limits of cultures is shown in underlining of their uniqueness and otherness in comparison with each other. Upholding of the cultural originality by community on post-imperial space is comprehended in postcolonial studies as fight for identity in the political and discursive field. The deconstruction of concepts of the nation, race, local images of culture designed under the influence of "mother country" involves the problem of languages of culture and ways of their functioning.

The notion of hybrid culture was introduced by H. Bab in his works. Formation of such cultures happens on border to the dominating and colonized culture. During colonization radical culture transformed forcedly, adapting to the culture of the empire. Newly created culture differs both from the culture of the mother country and from primordial culture, it gains lines of hybridism as it is formed

on a joint of two cultures in space of dialogue and suppression and absorbs in itself discourses and practices of different cultures, thus become boundary product.

The notion of hybrid culture is used for an explanation of the behavior models which are formed as a result of migrations in a multiculturalism situation. The rupture of representations of identity within hybrid culture is generated by the fact that the person should switch from one system of values to another. An example of carriers of hybrid identity are migrants, refugees, representatives of diasporas, etc.

Hybridization of culture was productively comprehended by H. Bkhabkh in concepts "other nation", "other country". In work of "The Location of Culture" [20] he uses such concepts as a mimicry, an interstition, hybridism and limitation to claim that cultural production is always most productive when it most ambivalent. By all calls standing behind the term a prisonisation we will risk to assume in it not only a problem but also an opportunity for the Siberian region. Noticing as the provincial museums of Siberia begin to use a subject of "shackles", we do not seek to emphasize with it the aggravated meanings of their marginalization, in H. Bkhabkh's optics we assume rather here search of points of growth, an opportunity to declare oneself. However, if the western culture of the large cities of the ghettos which are pushing out from themselves, is culture split: "Splitting represents the difficult strategy of protection and differentiation in colonial discourse. Two contradictory and independent relations inhabit the same place, one considers reality, another is under the influence of instincts which separate ego from reality. It leads to emergence of multiple and contradictory beliefs. The explaining moment of multiple belief is at the same time and protection against concern on distinctions, and in itself is a differentiation product" [20, p. 132] that, culture of the Siberian cities more homogeneous.

For us the interpretation of the process of penetration of discourse of colony and prison into a discourse of "free", "dominant", "official" culture as a process of formation of hybrid culture is represented appropriate. The post-colonial discourse was beyond the frames of nation questions analysis long ago. The post-colonial optics become so-called "general" for many "special" marginal discourses of the present times. Many researchers use post-colonial optics for identification of the authority and submission in culture, for analysis of templates of perception of other culture.

The deconstruction and marginality as key concepts of philosophy of Michel Foucault are rather far from a "colonial" subject, but the post-colonial optics allows to consider them as one more "special" which impact on development of "general".

Firstly, the reception of a deconstruction taken at Ge. Derrida was applied to images and identities which are accompanied by concepts of the nation, race, the East, West, the empire and colony.

Secondly, the reception of the analysis of institutes of the power and the systems of suppression by post-colonial researchers entered by M. Foucault is broadcast in the relations of domination and subordination in culture in multiple options. Explanatory potential of reception of Foucault allowed even to find the internal periphery in not

peripheral cultures. The internal periphery in a post-colonial study is what is forced out from the present as irrelevant or "hostile", causing "concerns". Mechanisms of such replacement can be different, from marginalization and museumification to criticism "color feminism" of the western feminism. Prisonisation in this context is treated as coexistence on border, in one space of the region of prison culture and "free" mass culture. The prison and a prison discourse are not isolated in city space in spite of the fact that prisoners are isolated from society. A prison discourse being marginal nevertheless gets into space of mass culture, creating hybrid identities. The analysis of prisonisation shows that hybrid forms of culture appear not only on border with other nation, another state, but also open existence of borders in the city in spite of the fact that these borders already stopped being impenetrable.

IV. CONCLUSION

In our opinion attempts of the Siberian cities to separate from the colonial history are doomed to failure in the context of which we explain appearance of prisonisation as a phenomenon. Prisonisation mentioned social, economic, cultural life of the Siberian cities, its markers are included in language and individual life strategy. Is it possible if the prisonisation cannot be overcome? Can it be used? We see how museums of Siberian cities try to attract visitors with the appeal to prison and colonial subject. We see as a colonial and prison themes are weaved in the general discursive space of development of Siberia. It is obvious that methodological adaptation of post-colonial researches to the Siberian subject [Proskurina] will allow to clear up also a prison, careful subject.

Considering success achieved by the former external colonies of Europe in economic, social, cultural construction we assume a possibility of development and productive use by the Siberian cities including prisonisitive history, their social and economic specifics of which is a concept hybrid culture at last that gained the terminological embodiment adequate to it.

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