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

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Abstract

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

Keywords: Protestantism, Protestant Churches, Post-Soviet Russia, Ethnic Groups, National Intelligentsia, Native Peoples, Social Activity

Introduction

The Protestant religious organizations, especially Pentecostal ones, actively spread in different areas of the world. Allan Anderson (2004) claims that number of Pentecostal Churches increase in South America, Southeast Asia, and Sub-Saharan Africa [1,2]. He argues also in his Chapter 41 The Future of Protestantism: The Non-Western Protestant World of The Blackwell Companion to Protestantism, that: The traditional categories of Christianity used in the West like 'Protestant', 'evangelical', 'ecumenical' and so on, are becoming increasingly meaningless in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Protestant Christianity has grown to such an extent during the twentieth century in these three continents that the vast majority of Protestants in the world today live there. (P. 468)

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

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Protestantism in America was enormously more complex than it was in the nineteenth century [3]. The proliferation of denominations has been profound: some came about through theological innovation, others through schism, others as a result of racial and ethnic difference, and yet others because of re-emergent regional emphases. The complexity of Protestantism is equally manifest in its fluidity, in the way that Americans move from one congregation to another, one denomination to another, bringing with them expectations and tastes that influence the congregations that they join or rejoin. Protestants have also complicated their religious life through popular devotions, and through their embrace of or flirtation with ideas and practices – reincarnation, astrology, healing arts, goddess-worship – not historically linked to Protestant institutions. Pentecostals increasingly represent their religious life with reference to popular culture in all of its forms, from motorcar racing to dieting. The dynamic aspect of American Protestantism is visible in all such developments. While sharing a past grounded in the Reformation of the sixteenth century, American Protestants in the twenty-first century identify themselves in a myriad of ways. (P. 179)

If the Protestants of the United States look for different spiritual paths and sometimes choose ones not tied with fundamental Protestant doctrines, then, according to Anderson (472), their Chinese co-religionists "...are characterized by conservative evangelical piety, an emphasis on prayer, healing, exorcism and other spiritual gifts, and leadership

often by women [1,2]. These independent, nonregistered churches are often in opposition to the political order, but reflect popular Chinese spirituality.”

Lukas Lingenthal (2012) claims that, on the one side, Pentecostals take an active part in the political life of Brazil: In the course of its more than 100-year history, Pentecostalism in Brazil has increasingly been able to exert its influence on society, politics and the business sphere [4]. It has grown particularly rapidly over the last 20 years, and, from being a religious minority, it has become the country's second largest denomination after the Catholic Church. By mixing elements of Christian services with popular rituals from the Afro-Brazilian folk religions, such as communal chanting and dancing, trance states and encounters with spirits, and through its prosperity theology, the Pentecostal movement has found itself a concept that is, quite literally, a “bestseller” in Brazil. For many years now, the sphere of the main Pentecostal denominations has gone way beyond their physical churches and members. To some extent, they operate like businesses, and they use the media to exert a strong influence on society. Some of them own national TV stations and publish high-circulation newspapers. Their direct influence on politics has also increased steadily. Many members of the state parliaments and the National Congress also hold positions in the Pentecostal churches. The churches have not yet succeeded in getting one of their members directly elected to the highest political positions, but they have been able to use their close ties with certain politicians to exercise significant indirect political influence for the benefit of their own clientele. (P. 57).

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

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

Allan Anderson (2004) note political loyalty and religious conservatism of Protestants in Latin America: Protestants in Latin America tend to be politically and theologically conservative [1,2]. The open support of many Chilean Pentecostal leaders for the dictator Augusto Pinochet is a case in point. Although there are exceptions, the great majority of Protestant churches in Latin America are not affiliated to the World Council of Churches or to national ecumenical organizations. (P. 477)

About African Protestantism he tells:

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

In Russian religious field, as notes Sergei Filatov (2000):

After ten years of freedom in Russia some of the results of the religious revival there can now be summed up [5]. In assessing which religious movements have achieved the greatest success, from the religious standpoint, there can be only one conclusion - the greatest gains, up to the year 2000, have been made by the Protestants. (P. 93)

He defines following feature of Russian Protestantism:

...it is worth mentioning again one feature of the dynamic intellectual life of Russian Protestantism: many Protestant movements are actively searching for roots in the history, culture and spiritual life of Russia, and trying to discover features they share with Russian Orthodoxy. Some Pentecostal groups have created a legendary history for themselves, going back to the time of Princess Ol'ga; the Christian Missionary Union gives sermons on the Protestant tradition in Russian Orthodoxy, represented (amongst others) by St Sergi of Radonezh, Filipp Kolychev and Fr Aleksandr Men'; the

Lutherans of the Church of Ingria and the Lutheran Biblical Church in Siberia are adapting parts of the Orthodox liturgy for their own use. Protestantism in Russia is not just growing, it is also becoming more and more Russian. (P. 102)

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

...evangelicals in Russia have become ardent fans of President Vladimir Putin [6]. So we see that Protestant communities are very varied in the different countries. They are characterized by a wide range of activities: political and social activism, support for existing regimes, ethnically oriented practices and the search for spiritual paths that are not related to traditional Christianity.

Results

Socio-Demographics

Ethnic Composition

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

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

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%	-

Table 1: Ethnic Composition

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

During my fieldwork I found that the number of the Nenets Pentecostals in the Vorkuta district is about 45 persons (including Khanty and Komi); the general number of reindeer-herders in the Vorkuta district is 514 persons. Laur Vallikivi identifies that the number of the Nenets reindeer herders belonging to the Russian Unregistered Baptists is approximately two hundred adults: 'I have lived with reindeer herding families for shorter and longer periods in and around the Polar Urals, as well as frequented the prayer house in the city of Vorkuta. This is the area where the Russian Unregistered Baptists have been particularly successful, having baptised around two hundred adults from the nearby Nenets communities. Today, the new Christians constitute approximately half of the local Nenets population' [7]. Thus, more than a half of the reindeer herders in the Vorkuta district are Protestants. Unfortunately, I managed to survey only one home church situated 100 km south-east of the city of Vorkuta that belonged to the Russian Christian Church of Evangelical Faith (Pentecostals). The snow-cars of the Unregistered Baptists had broken and I had to undertake my field trip using the snow-cars of the Pentecostals. Thus, I managed to survey the Khanty members of the Pentecostal Church located in the taiga of Yugra.

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

Level of Education

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

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

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

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

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%

Table 2: Brief Comparison of Education Levels

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

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

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

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

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%	-	-

Table 3: Education Levels of the Sample for the Urals

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

Table 4 reports the similar sample data from 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% (1person)
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%	-	-	-

Table 4: Education Levels of the Sample for Western Siberia –Yugra

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

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

Places of Residence

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

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%	-	-

Table 5: Places of Residence of the Sample for the Urals

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

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

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%	-

Table 6: Places of Residence for Western Siberia – Yugra

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

Occupational Composition

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

The Nenets who represent traditional cultures of the indigenous ethnic groups of the North identified themselves as a businessman (1 person, head of the family of Pentecostal reindeer herders Aleksey) and peasants (4 persons, Aleksey's wife Nadezhda, their elder son Abraham and daughters Nina and Rimma). Aleksey is also an owner of a reindeer herd numbering 300 animals and a leader of home church, which represents part of the Vorkuta Church 'House of God' and is located in the tundra 100 km south of Vorkuta. Yet, he can hardly be considered a representative of the group 'intelligentsia' because he can neither read nor write. His younger son and two younger daughters were not surveyed because of their preschool age.

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%	-	-	-	-

Table 7: Occupational Composition of the Sample for the Urals

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

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% (2persons)	-	-	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%	-	-	-	-	-

Table 8: Occupational Composition of the Sample for Western Siberia –Yugra

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.

Religious Characteristics Number of Church Ministers

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

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

Status in church	All data of the Ural Region (%)	Ethnic groups (%)					
		Russians	Tatars	Ukrainians	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%	-	

Table 9: Number of Church Ministers of the Sample for the Urals

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% (1person)
Pastor	3.8%	2.0%	-	28.6%	-	-	-
Church minister	66.3%	73.5%	100.0% (2 persons)	42.9%	100.0% (1person)	55.6%	-

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

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

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

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

I think that one of the most important types of the activities of the Protestant churches among the native peoples of the North is the work of Social Ministry teams. They help to restore life-sustaining elements of the national cultures of the native peoples. In fact, the indigenous peoples in some areas such as the Vorkuta district and Yugra were on the edge of extinction because of severe economic problems and, as a consequence, lack of government help. For example, the

municipal corporations of Yamal took an active part in solving social and economic problems of the indigenous peoples because of availability of financial resources from gas productions.

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

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

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

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

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

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

I also compare the data on the Protestants' regularity in reading religious literature with the whole dataset on Orthodox Christians and Muslims using the research results obtained by Yuliya Sinelina (Institute for Socio-Political Studies, RAS) in 14 federal subjects of the Russian Federation in April 2006 (Sinelina 2009) [8]. It can be seen that only 7.0% of Orthodox Christians regularly read the Bible and 11.0% of Muslims regularly read the Quran; 4.0% of Orthodox Christians and 6.0% of Muslims regularly read other religious literature.

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

Table 11: Regularity in Reading Religious Literature (in Comparison with Orthodox Christians and Muslims)

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

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% (5persons)
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)

Table 12: Regularity in Reading Religious Literature of the Sample for the Urals

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

Table 13: Regularity in Reading Religious Literature of the Sample for Western Siberia – Yugra

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

Discussion

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

Conversations with pastors and believers allowed us to conclude that the Protestants in investigated churches, like their co-religionists from China, occupy the fundamentalist positions. So, 55.2% of all respondents from Urals and 19.2 %

ones from Yugra claim that tribulations in the life of a Christian are God's instruments serving the salvation of man. Only 27.9% of all respondents from Urals and 38.0% of ones from Yugra are "health and wealth" theology proponents. They believe that such values as material well-being, education, successful career, creative self-realization, strong health, understanding and respect of others should be realized in the Christians' life and their realization is an indispensable attribute of a believer.

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

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

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

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

Materials and Methods

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

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

I compare the data on the Protestants' education levels with those on Orthodox Christians and Muslims and the whole dataset on education levels in the Russian Federation using the data of the all-Russian studies on religiosity of the population performed by Yuliya Sinelina (Institute for Socio-Political Studies, RAS) in 14 federal subjects of the Russian Federation in October 2004 [9].

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 14: Number of Churches

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

Religious organizations	Federal subjects of Russia										Total	
	Republic of Bashkortostan		Orenburg Oblast		Udmurt Republic		Komi Republic		Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug – Yugra		Total	
	Number of persons / (percent) Statistical population		Number of persons / (percent) Statistical population		Number of persons / (percent) Statistical population		Number of persons / (percent) Statistical population		Number of persons / (percent) Statistical population		Number of persons / (percent) Statistical population	
Evangelical Lutheran Church	30	7 (23.3%)									30	7 (23.3%)
Union of 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)	702	184 (26.2%)							650	81 (12.46%)	1352	265 (19.6%)
Association of Christian Churches "Union of Christians"	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%)

Table 15: Statistical Population and Sample

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

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

I also use the data obtained from participant observations.

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Foot Note

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