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The Presidential Grants Fund as an Instrument of the Policy of Remembrance for the Great Patriotic War

Sergey I. Belov

Lomonosov Moscow State University
1, Leninskiye Gory str., Moscow, Russian Federation, 119991

Abstract. The presented research is devoted to the study of the role of the Presidential Grants Fund in the implementation of the memorial policy in relation to the events of the Great Patriotic War. The methodological base of the study is formed through a combination of comparative and structural analysis. The author concludes that the activity of the Presidential Grants Fund on the field of memorial policy is built outside the context of a clear strategy for implementing the policy of memory. Currently, the Fund allocates funds primarily to support local and regional initiatives that are not linked to each other in a single system. There is a clear imbalance in the territorial distribution of grants in terms of their number and size in favor of projects of participants from Moscow and St. Petersburg. Part of the grants is allocated for the solution of tasks assigned by law to the sphere of responsibility of local self-government bodies (for example, this concerns projects for the improvement of military graves).

Keywords: Great Patriotic War, memory policy, memorial policy, Presidential Grants Fund, grant

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Introduction

To date, the Presidential Grants Fund (hereinafter referred to as the Fund, grant operator, grant operator) is one of the most promising tools for the implementation of the memorial policy by the Russian state. Since 2017, the

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Foundation has actively supported the implementation of various projects in the field of memory policy, holding an All-Russian competition twice a year. Potentially, the use of its resources should contribute to the elimination of structural imbalances in the implementation of the memorial policy associated with the difference in the amount of financial resources available to mnemonic actors in different subjects of the Russian Federation. In addition, the support of the Foundation can help to eliminate the gaps in memory policy caused by the state authorities emphasis on the development of specific areas of work to the detriment of other recognized secondary areas. Of great importance is the possibility of supporting through the grant program new directions of creating and broadcasting a memorial narrative (for example, through the development of new formats of works of popular culture on historical topics, such as video games, comics or board games).

The high relevance of the study of the stated topic is also caused by the question of the effectiveness of the grant operator. Traditionally, this indicator is evaluated in accordance with internal regulations, as a result of which the Fund's activities from the point of view of implementing the memory policy are considered in an exclusively functional and normative way. Thus, the question of whether the activities of the grant operator in this area correspond to the basic goals and objectives of the state in the implementation of the memorial policy remains unresolved. Similarly, there is no clear understanding of the extent to which the Fund's work in this area is linked to the activity of other mnemonic actors representing the State.

Attention to the stated topic from the scientific community is also attracted by the lack of explanatory models describing the mechanism for implementing the state policy of memory through grant operators in modern Russia.

The degree of study of the topic is characterized by a high degree of fragmentation. The role of grant operators as a tool of memory policy is almost not sanctified in the scientific literature today. In the framework of published studies, the stated topics are covered mainly in the context of either broader issues, such as grant support for NGOs [1; 2; 3; 4; 5], or through the prism of studying certain aspects of the relevant issues [6; 7; 8; 9].

In the works devoted to the study of the memory policy of the Russian authorities, the topic of grant funding is not directly raised. However, most researchers agree that the memorial model built by the elites is very contradictory and utilitarian in nature. In principle, it is not suitable for ensuring “reconciliation of memory” both in the domestic and foreign policy arena, and is manipulative in nature. Its narrative forms not so much a representation of the actual events of the past, as a “space of myth”, within which the image of national history is represented, built in accordance with the needs of the political situation [10; 11; 12; 13; 14; 15].

The research of foreign authors also touches on the topic of grant financing of memorial policy only indirectly, in the context of studying individual cases [16; 17; 18].

The aim of the presented research is to evaluate the effectiveness of the Presidential Grants Fund as a tool of memory policy within the framework of the case of memorial positioning of the events of the Great Patriotic War. The choice in favor of an appropriate empirical case is due to the fact that it is the events of the Great Patriotic War that today are a paradigmatic element of both the collective and cultural memory of Russians. This is directly indicated by the data of sociological studies. Conducted in November–December 2018 a study by the Levada Center showed that the victory in the Great Patriotic War serves as a basis for pride in their own identity in 87% of adult Russians. A survey conducted by VTsIOM on June 21, 2020, found that 95% of respondents consider the victory in the Second World War as the main event of national history in the XX century. 69% of respondents identified the victory in 1945 as the most important event in Russian history.

Materials and methods

The empirical base of the presented work was formed by referring to the materials of grant competitions posted on the official portal of the Presidential Grants Foundation.

The methodological basis of the study is built up through a combination of comparative and structural analysis.

Results

In 2020, the average amount of payments for the implementation of projects for the preservation of historical memory was:

– 2.2 million rubles in the framework of the first competition (in general, 793 million rubles were allocated for the implementation of the winners projects.);

– 1.4 million rubles in the framework of the second competition (with the total amount of the grant fund in this thematic area of 394.4 million) In

total, 83 regions were represented in the structure of the winners of the first grant competition from 85 subjects of the Russian Federation, and 69 subjects of the Federation were among the selected participants of the second competition.

At the same time, there are certain structural imbalances in the distribution of grants between regions.

According to the results of the first competition for 2020, 258 grants out of 369 (or 70% of their number) were distributed among participants from 28 regions. In total, they were allocated about 632 million rubles (or 79.6% of

the total allocated funds). Participants from Moscow received funding for the implementation of 36 projects (301.4 million), from the Volgograd region – for 14 (17.6 million), from the Moscow Region – for 11 (17.7 million), from the Belgorod Region – for 11 (7.6 million), from the Omsk Region – for 10 (6.9 million), from the Vologda Region – for 9 (9.5 million), from the Samara Region – for 9 (19.5 million), from St. Petersburg-for 8 (90.4 million), from the Ryazan Region – for 8 (8.9 million), from the Kemerovo Region – by 8 (8.7 million), from the Novosibirsk region – by 8 (10 million), from the Irkutsk region – by 7 (8.7 million), from the Krasnodar Territory – by 7 (10.1 million), from the Nizhny Novgorod region-by 7 (11 million), from the Novgorod region-by 6 (9.4 million) , etc. Separately, it should be noted that 428.1 million rubles (or almost 54% of all grant funds) were reserved for projects implemented by grantees from Moscow, St. Petersburg, Moscow and Leningrad regions.

The large scale of the first competition makes it difficult to visualize the relevant data, so the structural imbalances in the distribution of grants will be discussed in more detail in the example of the second competition.

In the second competition, the most representative clusters in terms of the number of successful projects were: Moscow, St. Petersburg, Belgorod, Volgograd, Vologda, Nizhny Novgorod, Omsk, Rostov, Samara regions, Tatarstan, Yakutia and Perm Krai. These 12 entities account for 112 grants, or 44% of the total.

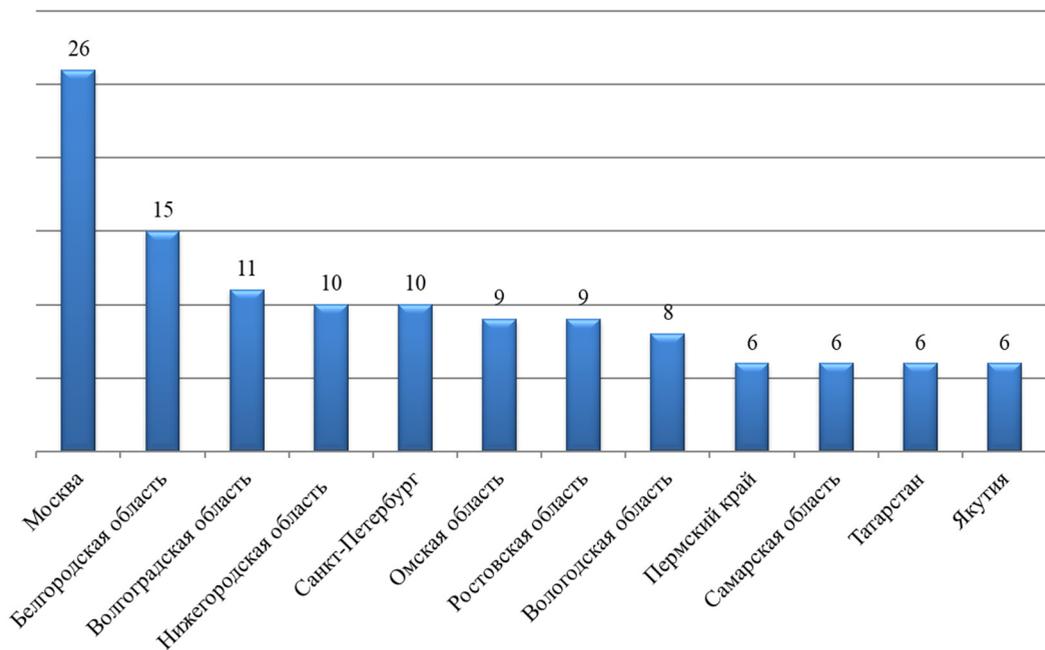


Fig. 1. Distribution of grants among 12 leading regions

The cost of the projects implemented within their framework is 217 million rubles, or 55% of the total amount of funds allocated by the Fund for

projects to preserve historical memory within the framework of the second competition.

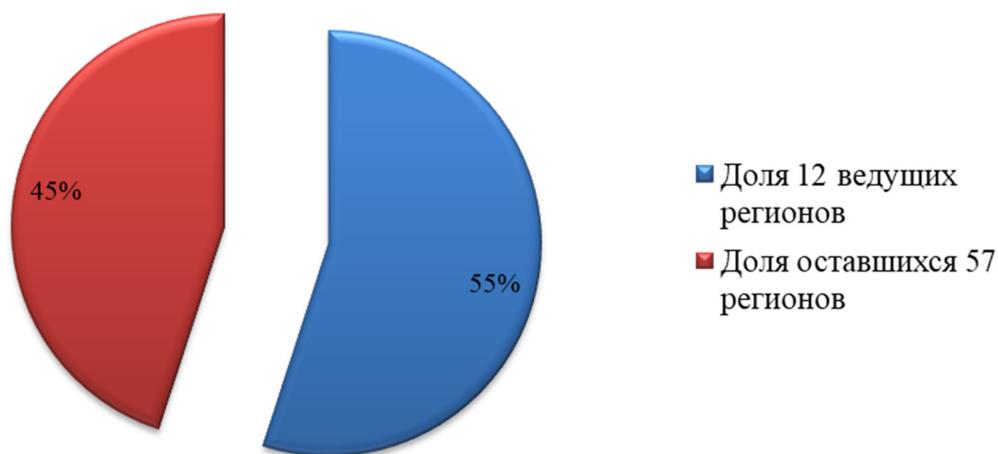


Fig. 2. Shares of grants from 12 leading regions

The average amount of grants received by participants from these regions is 1.9 million rubles. However, it should be noted that without taking into account the data for Moscow and St. Petersburg, this indicator will be equal to 1 million for the remaining 10 regions, as well as for the remaining 57 subjects of the federation.

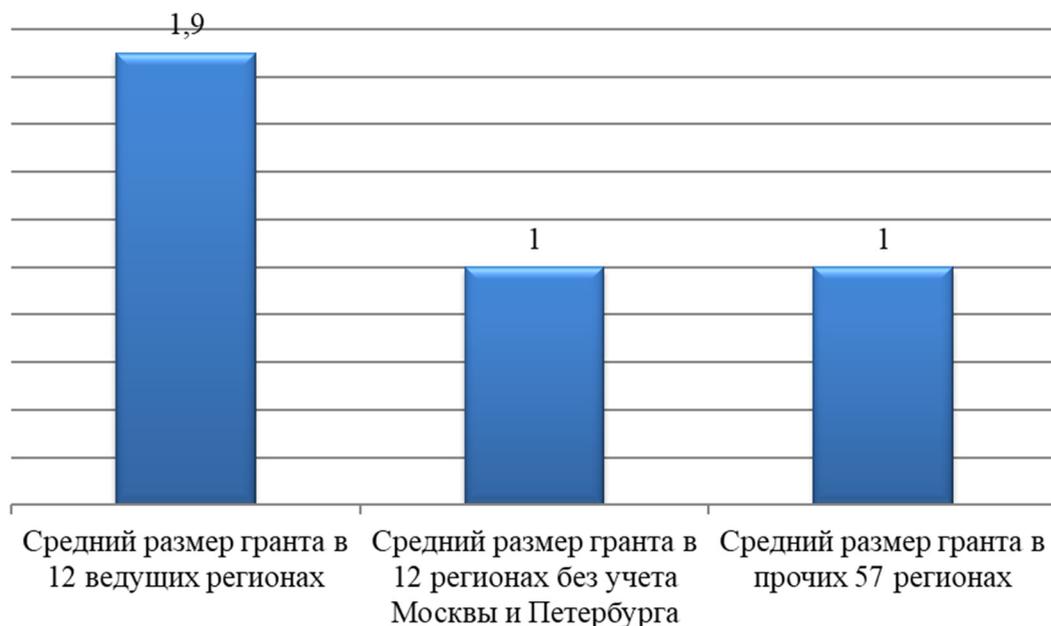


Fig. 3. Average grant size in 12 leading regions (million rubles)

In general, it should be noted that more than a third of all grant support funds were allocated to projects implemented by participants from Moscow,

St. Petersburg, Moscow and Leningrad regions. These regions account for 142.7 million rubles in the allocated grant funds (or 36% of the total allocated funding). At the same time, only 40 projects are being implemented within these regions (14% of the total number of allocated grants). The average amount of grants received by representatives of these regions is 3.5 million, which is more than 2 times higher than the average for the sample.

The main amount of grant funds (248 million rubles or 63% of the total funding) is accounted for by 58 projects worth more than 2 million rubles. Of these, 30 are implemented by participants from the regions that are part of the cluster structure of the 12 most effective ones. The highest degree of representation is typical for projects from Moscow: 16 grants in the amount of more than 2 million rubles were allocated for the implementation of initiatives of participants representing the capital (for a total of 45.9 million, with an average value of 3.3 million).

The share of the regions from the mentioned list of 12 subjects of the federation also accounts for 9 of the 10 largest grants.

Thus, the geographical distribution of grants is characterized by the lack of full coverage of the territory of the Russian Federation (participants from 16 subjects of the federation are in principle absent from the winners) and the presence of structural imbalances: only 12 regions account for 55% of all allocated grant funds. At the same time, the high share of this group is provided primarily by projects from Moscow and St. Petersburg.

However, it is necessary to make an important remark: in some cases, the grants received by the “capital” organizations are spent on organizing various events in the regions.

The structural imbalances described above cannot be considered as a sign of favoritism. An important role in the distribution of grants is played by the ability to correctly prepare applications (taking into account the specifics of the evaluation system), the experience of successful work with grant operators in the past, the level of awareness of the possibility of participating in the Fund’s programs in the field, etc. However, when assessing the territorial distribution of grants, it is necessary to proceed from fundamental ideas about the specifics of the memorial policy. As noted by e. According to Durkheim, the very nature of social memory presupposes the desire for the total dissemination of a universal historical narrative. In order to maintain stability, society must uniformly perceive the picture of the past (remember or forget certain events). Accordingly, one of the basic tasks of the memory policy is to ensure that the memorial tradition is spread throughout the territory occupied by a particular community. Therefore, the Fund’s activities objectively need territorial diversification. However, the elimination of these shortcomings requires the manifestation of activity primarily on the part of the regional authorities.

Discussion

According to the results of the first competition, the largest grant (69.9 million) was allocated for the implementation of the project “Struggle for Victory”, within the framework of which the performance dedicated to the Great Patriotic War was organized in the cities of Volgograd, Tula, Smolensk, Sevastopol, Rostov-on-Don, Veliky Novgorod and Novorossiysk. 59.9 million rubles were spent by the Fund of the Imperial Mikhailovsky Theater (St. Petersburg) for the festival dedicated to the 75th anniversary of the Novosibirsk State Academic Opera and Ballet Theater. 29.6 million. it was spent on the organization of interactive exhibitions “Flag Bearers of Victory” in 15 cities of the Russian Federation.

Within the framework of the second competition, the maximum amount of funding for one project was 29.2 million (the funds were spent on holding the international scientific and practical forum “Lessons of Nuremberg” in Moscow). 24.3 million rubles were allocated for the implementation of the project “Raise the sails!” in the capital, dedicated to the practical study of the history of the Russian navy, navigation and shipbuilding by children and teenagers, as well as teaching teenagers the basics of marine specialties. The third largest project in terms of funding (\$9.9 million) it also implements the Moscow NGO, but the corresponding work is carried out on the territory of the Tula region: a grant was allocated for the restoration of the Davydov estate of the XIX century in the village of Aksinino.

Of the 15 applications of the winners of the first competition that received the most financial support (the total amount of allocated funds is 302.5 million rubles, or 38.1% of all grant funds reserved for projects to preserve historical memory), 12 are thematically related to the Great Patriotic War. 6 of them are all-Russian, 5 – interregional, 1 – regional.

Within the framework of the second competition, among the first 15 projects that received the largest amount of funding (in total, they account for 125.7 million rubles, or 32% of the total funds allocated to support the preservation of historical memory), 9 are thematically related to the events of the Great Patriotic War. In 6 out of 9 cases, they do not address the relevant issues at the national level: the topic is revealed through the prism of regional and local history.

Most of the projects that have received large-scale funding are implemented within the framework of traditional forms of commemoration.

Thus, the work within the framework of the festival “Victory Theater” provides for premiere performances, lectures, concerts, film screenings and exhibitions. The promotion of the content of the “Victory Flag Bearers” is built mainly through the organization of exhibitions and the use of federal television resources (although it is supplemented by work in social media). The project “Stalin, Churchill, Roosevelt: the joint struggle against Nazism”

is a plan to create a classic museum exhibition. The project “Fiery Frontier” is aimed at creating a military-historical park of the same name dedicated to the events of the Battle of Kursk. The project “Chronicles of Heroes” is a series of events (excursions, quizzes, field lessons on the topic of war) on the basis of the Irkutsk military-patriotic park “Patriot”. Within the framework of the project “Ascent to Victory. Reading the diaries of Vyacheslav Grozdov. 1941–1945” at the level of micro-history, the specifics of the functioning of Tambov hospitals are revealed, while the narrative is broadcast in such formats as an interactive exhibition, a series of public lectures and a public electronic publication of their materials. The project “The line of Defense of Moscow near Zvenigorod” (distinguished by its complex nature and the presence of a wide variety of forms of commemoration. It includes organizing search activities, organizing events for the systematization and publication of archival documents, actions for the improvement of memorable places, installing commemorative signs and developing local history routes, training guides, and even developing a mobile application-an audio guide. However, we are also talking about the development of memorial culture at a purely local level.

The issues of organizing commemoration practices related to solving practical problems of the all-Russian scale should be solved within the framework of the scientific and practical forum “Lessons of Nuremberg” and the International Forum of Victory Volunteers. However, in both cases, it is only a matter of making recommendations on the organization of memorial activities.

The project “All-Russian Search Engine School “Search Front”” is of national importance, built around ensuring the work of the platform for popularizing advanced methods of military archaeology and techniques for using a unified system for recording the results of search operations in the Russian Federation. However, its implementation does not directly involve the creation and popularization of the memorial narrative: it is rather about improving the methods of accumulation and systematization of new historical sources.

Against the general background, such projects of the all – Russian level as “The All-Russian historical dictation on the events of the Great Patriotic War-The Dictation of Victory” and the initiative “Without a statute of limitations: crimes of the Nazis and their accomplices against the civilian population in the occupied territory of the RSFSR” (dedicated to the creation of electronic content based on archival documents) stand out favorably. Also of great importance is the project of the foundation “Education in the Third Millennium” to create 37 documentary TV films dedicated to the 75th anniversary of the Victory. We cannot ignore the project to create an “educational platform “The Great Patriotic War””. As part of its implementation, among other things, augmented reality technologies and

game-based learning formats will be actively used, which should ensure the wide dissemination of the memorial narrative without the use of mobilization tools of the administrative plan.

Conclusion

Accordingly, in its current form, support for the preservation of the historical memory of the events of the Great Patriotic War through the Presidential Grants Fund is mainly focused on the implementation of initiatives at the local, regional and interregional levels, which is why the scale of its impact on the cultural memory of the Russian people as a whole is limited, often non-systemic and fragmented.

There is a clear territorial disparity in the distribution of grants by their number and size in favor of the initiatives of participants from Moscow and St. Petersburg, which reflects the level of civic activity, the number of non-profit organizations in the country.

Another aspect of the grant distribution structure is also noteworthy. Many of them are actually allocated for the implementation of projects in which public structures perform the duties assigned by law to the competence of local self-government bodies (in particular, this applies to projects for the improvement of military graves).

Separately, it is necessary to highlight the fact that within the framework of the grant competition, projects of other mnemonic actors, in addition to structures, volunteer associations and NGOs, reflecting the state agenda in terms of history, received financial support. In particular, funds were allocated for the implementation of memorial projects of Cossack associations (positioning the Cossacks as a separate people) and the Russian Orthodox Church, whose memorial traditions differ in a number of aspects from the approaches to the interpretation of Russian history declared at the official level.

It is necessary to highlight another specific feature in the organization of the work of the grant operator. In accordance with the terms of the competition, only non-profit organizations (NPOs) can take part in it. This approach should be evaluated very positively, since it contributes to the development of public-private partnerships. However, in practice, budget constraints have learned to circumvent the corresponding restrictions quite easily. For example, in the framework of the second competition for 2020, a grant of 59.9 million rubles. it was received by the Foundation of the Imperial Mikhailovsky Theater (St. Petersburg) for a theater festival dedicated to the 75th anniversary of the Novosibirsk State Academic Opera and Ballet Theater. One of the two founders of the Foundation is I.M. Kekhman, the wife of V.A. Kekhman, the artistic director of the Mikhailovsky Theater and the Novosibirsk Opera and Ballet Theater. At the same time, V. A. Kekhman

himself initially acted as the founder of the Foundation. In fact, we see an example of the creation of an affiliated NGO at a budget institution, used as a tool to attract additional financial resources.

All this points to the need to continue working on the development of a clear, well-thought-out and systematic strategy for implementing the memory policy through the resources of the Presidential Grants Fund.

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Фонд президентских грантов как инструмент политики памяти в отношении Великой Отечественной войны

С.И. Белов

Московский государственный университет имени М.В. Ломоносова
Ул. Ленинские горы, 1, Москва, Россия, 119991

Аннотация. Представленное исследование посвящено изучению роли Фонда президентских грантов в реализации мемориальной политики в отношении событий Великой Отечественной войны. Методологическая база исследования сформирована за счет сочетания сравнительного и структурного анализа. Автор приходит к выводу, что активность Фонда президентских грантов на поле мемориальной политики выстраивается вне контекста четкой стратегии реализации политики памяти. В настоящее время Фонд выделяет средства преимущественно на поддержку инициатив локального и регионального уровня, не увязанных между собой в единую систему. Наблюдается явная диспропорция в территориальном распределении грантов по их количеству и размеру в пользу проектов участников из Москвы и Санкт-Петербурга. Часть грантов выделяется на решение задач, отнесенных законом к сфере ответственности органов местного самоуправления (например, это касается проектов по благоустройству воинских захоронений).

Ключевые слова: Великая Отечественная война, политика памяти, мемориальная политика, Фонд президентских грантов, грант

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Информация об авторе:

Белов Сергей Игоревич – кандидат исторических наук, доцент кафедры российской политики Московского государственного университета имени М.В. Ломоносова (ORCID ID: 0000-0002-1464-040X) (e-mail: Belov2006s@yandex.ru).

Information about the author:

Sergey I. Belov – PhD in History, Associate Professor of the Department of Russian Politics, Moscow State University (Russian Federation) (ORCID ID: 0000-0002-1464-040X) (e-mail: Belov2006s@yandex.ru).

