

# PHENOMENON OF DIASPORA IN THE PRESERVATION OF NATIONAL CULTURE ON EXAMPLE OF RUSSIAN DIASPORA IN BOLIVIA

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## ABSTRACT

The development of the modern world is characterized, as we know, by globalization. Can the phenomenon of the diaspora in modern social life be associated with it? No, because the diaspora is directly connected with culture, while globalization is opposed to culture. Globalization is aimed at unification, ignoring the problem of cultural identity. Globalization involves the erasure of cultural features, the loss of cultural, ethnic, religious differences. But at the same time, globalization contributes to the growth of population migration, which leads to an increase in the number of diasporas abroad. The rapid growth of immigrant communities and their institutionalization forced to talk about "the diasporization of the world" as one of the scenarios for the development of mankind. One way or another, this process deepens and takes more and more new forms, and the role of diasporas and their influence are intensified. In this article the author explores how the diaspora, being the product of globalization, nevertheless contributes to the preservation and development of national culture. Every year, the number of diasporas increases following the migration of the population, so the study of the diaspora's topic is now more relevant than ever. Data collection techniques used in this study is a library study, which literature study itself is looking for data that support for research. The author, citing the example of the Russian Diaspora in Bolivia, comes to the conclusion that the diaspora, as one of the global phenomena of the present, contributes to the preservation and revival of the national culture.

**Keywords:** globalization; diaspora; national culture; Russian diaspora; cultural globalization

## ABSTRAK

Perkembangan dunia modern ditandai, seperti yang kita tahu, dengan globalisasi. Dapatkah fenomena diaspora dalam kehidupan sosial modern yang berhubungan dengan itu? Tidak, karena diaspora secara langsung berhubungan dengan budaya, sementara globalisasi menentang budaya. Globalisasi ditujukan untuk unifikasi, mengabaikan masalah identitas budaya. Globalisasi melibatkan penghapusan ciri-ciri budaya serta hilangnya perbedaan budaya, etnis, dan agama. Pada saat yang sama, globalisasi mendorong pertumbuhan migrasi, yang mengarah ke peningkatan jumlah masyarakat luar negeri. Pesatnya pertumbuhan komunitas imigran dan pelembagaan mereka dipaksa untuk berbicara tentang "diasporisasi dunia" sebagai salah satu skenario dari perkembangan umat manusia. Dengan demikian, proses ini memperdalam dan membuat semakin banyak bentuk-bentuk baru, sehingga peran dan efek diaspora diperkuat. Dalam artikel ini penulis mengeksplorasi bagaimana diaspora, menjadi produk globalisasi, tetap berkontribusi pada pelestarian dan pengembangan budaya nasional. Setiap tahun, jumlah diaspora meningkat setelah migrasi penduduk, sehingga studi tentang topik diaspora sekarang lebih relevan dari sebelumnya. Teknik pengumpulan data yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah studi kepustakaan, dimana studi pustaka itu sendiri mencari data yang mendukung untuk penelitian. Penulis, mengutip contoh Diaspora Rusia di Bolivia, sampai pada kesimpulan bahwa diaspora, sebagai salah satu fenomena global masa kini, berkontribusi terhadap pelestarian dan kebangkitan kembali budaya nasional.

**Kata Kunci:** globalisasi; diaspora; kebudayaan nasional; diaspora Rusia; globalisasi kebudayaan

## Introduction

Globalization covers the most diverse spheres of human life, including social, where the processes of migration and globalization of culture take on special significance. Cultures arise and develop, interact with each other. And the first field of this interaction is the diaspora. Diaspora is the environment where culture is directly developed and enriched. The development of diasporas is carried out by spreading the culture, values and traditions of their people, but at the same time integrating into society with a different culture, which implies the acquisition of new socially and spiritually significant qualities. The psychological reason for the emergence of the diaspora is that people far from their homeland begin to understand, appreciate and even more love their native culture.

A characteristic feature of the globalizing world is the intensification of migration processes. Globalization makes "national partitions" more transparent, and therefore millions of people leave their homeland in search of a better share and flock to other countries. Over the past 50 years, the number of international migrants has increased almost threefold. If in 1960 there were 75.5 million people living outside the country of their birth in 2000, then 176.6 million in 2000, and at the end of 2009 they were already 213.9 million. According to estimates UN experts, now every 35th inhabitant of the globe is an international migrant, and in developed countries - every tenth<sup>1</sup>.

The sharp increase in the scale of migration goes in parallel with the consolidation of immigrant ethnic communities. Once in a new place, the settlers, as a rule, seek to unite in order not only to survive, but also to preserve their customs, traditions, language in an alien to

them, often very hostile ethno-cultural environment. To this end, they either join existing diasporas, or create new ones. As a result, the number of diasporas in the world is continuously increasing.

The term "diaspora" (from the Greek diaspora - settlement) is used in two different senses. In the narrow sense - the totality of places of settlement of Jews after the defeat of Babylon of the Kingdom of Israel, later - the totality of all places of settling Jews around the world outside of Palestine. In a broader sense - the word is used to designate the places of resettlement of certain ethnic groups that have come off their native ethnic territory. Diaspora does not include cases of dismemberment of territory by ethnic political-state borders, while preserving the compactness of resettlement.<sup>2</sup>

According to Sultanov Sh.M.: "The definition of the concept of the diaspora should begin with the identification of system-forming characteristics, which include:

- 1) ethnic identity;
- 2) community of cultural values;
- 3) socio-cultural antithesis, expressed in the desire to preserve ethnic and cultural identity;
- 4) representation (most often in the form of an archetype) about the existence of a common historical origin. From the point of view of political analysis, it is important not only for the diaspora to recognize itself as a part of the people living in another state, but also to have its own strategy of relations with the state of residence and the historical homeland (or its symbol); The formation of institutions and organizations whose activities are aimed at preserving and developing ethnic identity. In other words, the diaspora is unlike the ethnic

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<sup>1</sup> United Nations (2005 revision) Trends in total migrant stock. Retrieved from <http://esa.un.org/migration>

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<sup>2</sup> VI Kozlov, *Diaspora code of ethnographic concepts and terms*, (pp. 26). Moscow. 1986

group and it does not only carry ethno-cultural, but also ethno-political content".<sup>3</sup>

"The process of formation of the diasporas has already taken on such a large scale that it is obviously impossible to find a country in the world where there would not exist a diaspora of another people, as well as a country whose natives would not form at least a small diaspora in any other country Or several countries".<sup>4</sup> The previously widespread individual integration of immigrants into the host society is increasingly being replaced by collective integration, which results in a different, diasporal form of settling peoples.

Diasporas have a serious impact on host countries. They change their demographic structure, ethnic and confessional composition. Diasporas not only preserve their traditions, customs and rituals, but often impose values that are alien to society. The influence of the diasporas is growing not only on the domestic, but also on the foreign policy of the host countries, as large transnational diasporas, which have significant financial resources, are actively lobbying the interests of those countries that until recently were their homeland and with whom they have close ties.<sup>5</sup> According to the ethnologist S.A. Arutyunov, "if we take into account the constant growth in the number of diasporas, their dynamism, active economic and political ties, lobbying up to the" upper floors "- both in the countries of" exodus "and in the host countries, their role in the modern world cannot be overestimated".<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Sh.M Sultanov, *Regional vectors of foreign policy of the Republic of Tajikistan*, Author's abstract. Diss. Ph.D. (pp. 19). Moscow RAGS. 2006.

<sup>4</sup> SA Arutyunov and S.Ya Kozlov, *Diaspora: hidden threat or additional resource*. 23 November 2005.

<sup>5</sup> A. Kupriyanov, *For the benefit of the distant Motherland. In whose interests are the national diasporas*. 6 August 2014.

<sup>5</sup> S.A. Arutyunov. There are more people living in two countries and two countries in the world. Retrieved from. <http://noev-kovcheg.lgb.ru/article.asp?n=96 &a=38>

The growth of the number of immigrant communities and their institutionalization are so rapid that this, in the opinion of some experts, gives grounds to talk about "the diasporization of the world", and some of them believe that the modern world is "not so much the sum of states as the amount of diasporas".<sup>6</sup>

"Diasporas rule the world, establish international norms, form governments and states, and even set the task of creating a world government," argues E. Grigoryan, professor, doctor of philosophical sciences, leading researcher at the Institute of Philosophy, Sociology and Law of the National Academy of Sciences of Armenia. - In a broad sense, we can say that the last half century the world processes are taking place under the economic and even ideological dominance of the diasporas.<sup>7</sup>

Such a statement can hardly be called indisputable. The diasporas undoubtedly play an increasingly important role both in the domestic politics of the countries in which they settled and who became their "second homeland" and in world politics, where they are increasingly asserting themselves as an independent player. But it is still too early to talk about "the diasporization of the world", although it can not be ruled out that the development of mankind can go according to this scenario.

The diaspora researchers began to attract close attention only from the end of the 1970s. It was then that a number of works appeared (mostly American scientists), which served as a starting point for further studies of a wide range of problems generated by diasporization. But a truly wide-ranging diaspora theme has only been

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<sup>6</sup> A. Dokuchaeva. Problems of the Diaspora. Retrieved from <http://www.zatulin.ru/institute/sbornik/046/13.shtml>

<sup>7</sup> E. Grigoryan. (2009). Contours of the New Diaspora Philosophy. Retrieved from [http://www.perspectivy.info/oykumena/vector/kontury\\_novoiy\\_diasporalnoiy\\_filosofii\\_\\_2009-3-9-29-18.htm](http://www.perspectivy.info/oykumena/vector/kontury_novoiy_diasporalnoiy_filosofii__2009-3-9-29-18.htm)

available since the 1990s, when diasporas began to acquire the features of transnational communities. As noted by the well-known expert on ethnic issues, the professor of the University of California R. Brubaker, if in the 1970s the word "diaspora" or similar words appeared in the theses as keywords only once or twice a year, in the 1980s - 13 times, then in 2001. - already 130 times. Interest in this topic is not limited to the academic field, but also applies to paper and electronic media (for example, the Google search system, for example, contains more than a million references to the word "diaspora").<sup>8</sup>

In 1991, after the collapse of the USSR, many ethnic groups (and primarily the Russians) were cut off from the territories of the compact settlement of their fellow tribesmen. At the same time, there were conditions for free movement of people in the post-Soviet space, which contributed to the formation of powerful migration flows, primarily from the former republics of Central Asia and the Caucasus. As a result, the process of Russia's diasporization was launched, in the rate of which this country, undoubtedly, occupies one of the first places in the world.<sup>9</sup>

Many people pay attention to the danger inherent in this process. For example, V. Dyatlov notes that "the appearance of a new element in the face of the diasporas not only seriously complicates the palette of the social structure of the population, especially its urban part, but inevitably breaks the old balance, habitual way of life, which introduces new development mechanisms and new conflicts into society". Moreover, "the factors that cause this phenomenon to exist are long-lasting and profound, and therefore its impact on society

will not only be preserved, but will also increase".<sup>10</sup>

The problematic of this paper is that in the era of globalization, leading to cultural and religious integration and unification, the phenomenon of the diaspora makes a significant contribution to the preservation of cultural traditions and ethnic self-awareness of ethnic groups, and also promotes the establishment of international relations.

It is obvious that the Diaspora, as one of the global phenomena of our time, contributes to the preservation and revival of the national culture, as well as to the strengthening of international relations. The novelty and scientific relevance of this article is that the aspects of the diaspora problem that have not been studied before are considered in this study. The lack of study of the problem is confirmed by the absence of a "generalizing monographic work" on the subject of the study.

### **Diaspora as a transnational community**

In recent years, scientists involved in the study of problems associated with diaspora processes are increasingly talking about "blurring the usual ideas about the diaspora" and about the appearance of a qualitatively new feature in modern diasporas - transnationality. As A.S. Kim posits, modern diasporas are "special social groups whose identity is not determined by any particular territorial formation; The scale of their distribution allows us to say that the phenomenon of diasporality has already acquired a transnational character".<sup>11</sup>

When considering the problem of diaspora transnationality, according to A.S.

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<sup>8</sup> Brubaker R. *The diaspora: Ethnic and racial studies* 28, No. 1, 1-19. 2017.

<sup>9</sup> AG. Vishnevsky. (2000). USSR Disintegration: Ethnic Migrations and the Diaspora Problem. Retrieved from <http://ons.gfns.net/2000/3/10.htm>

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<sup>10</sup> V. Dyatlov. Migrations, migrants, "new diasporas": a factor of stability and conflict in the region. Retrieved from <http://www.archipelag.ru/authors/dyatlov/?library=2634>

<sup>11</sup> AS Kim. (2009). Ethnopolitical study of modern diasporas (conflictological aspect): St. Petersburg. Retrieved from <http://vak.ed.gov.ru/common/img/uploaded/files/vak/announcements/politich/2009/06-04/KimAS.rtf>

Kim, two important factors should be considered:

1. Socio-economic and political cataclysms lead to the emergence of quite a large number of groups interested in relocating to other incultural, hetero-ethnic territories: refugees, internally displaced persons, and persons seeking temporary or political asylum, flows of postcolonial migrants. In fact, in the context of globalization, a new model of a social community - a transnational migrant - has been formed. Despite specific ethno-cultural identities, transnational communities have common interests and needs, generated by migration motivation. For example, they are all interested in the freedom to cross the limits of national states.

2. The basis for the emergence of diaspora communities is ethnic migration. Ethnic migrants are not only interested in moving, but in a long-term settlement in the receiving country. But before immigrants there is always a dilemma to varying degrees: successful adaptation (integration) or separation (ethnocultural isolation, and maybe return to the historical homeland).

Since in the context of globalization ethnic migration is characterized by the dispersion of ethnic groups in not one but at least several countries, the formation of diasporas leads to ethno-cultural diversity in host societies, creates problems for the preservation of the identity of both former immigrants and the old-timers. Thus, without the study of transnationality, it is impossible to understand and resolve the problems that arise in the functioning of diasporas in modern societies.

G. Sheffer draws attention to the relevance of the problems connected with the transnational character of contemporary diasporas. He notes that the diasporas are increasingly influencing the situation in their places of residence, as well as reaching a regional and international level of decision-making in all parts of the world. At the same

time, in the sphere of scientific research, in G. Sheffer's opinion, there are still a lot of blank spots, and one of them is the political aspects of diaspora functioning, the trans-state networks and communication systems that they create that cross the boundaries of the sending and receiving societies, and also Political weight and political loyalties of the diasporal collectives.<sup>12</sup>

The diaspora is not threatened with extinction, G. Sheffer points out. On the contrary, in the context of globalization in different states, new immigrant communities are likely to emerge, and the number of old ones will increase. Accordingly, strengthening of the diaspora organizations and cross-border support networks should be expected, and the increasing politicization of the leaders and rank-and-file members of the diasporas will promote their more active participation in the cultural, economic and political life of the societies that have accepted them."<sup>13</sup>

### **Diaspora in the context of the globalization of culture**

In history, we can meet many situations associated with the imposition of cultural patterns by force, which are the result of direct conquest or military-political pressure. The shares of Germanization and Russification on Polish lands during the partition of Poland; China's supremacy over Tibet, which does not hide its intention to destroy the Buddhist religion and local Tibetan cultural traditions; Americanization of Japanese culture after the Second World War; Denazification and democratization of culture in Germany - these historical examples show widespread practices for the unification of culture.

At present, the uniformization of culture on a world and global scale proceeds more peacefully, cultural samples are transferred from

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<sup>12</sup> G Sheffer. *Diaspora in World Politics No. 1*, 166-167. 2003.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 170.

one country to another and are adopted primarily through mass media, as well as mass personal contacts, the development of which is facilitated by the popularity of tourism and ease of movement; Finally, a common cultural frame is created by mass purchase of technical and consumer goods.<sup>14</sup>

We are talking today about the "imperialism of the mass media," especially television, which spread to the world similar patterns, similar to each other in form and content; About the "effect of demonstration", which arises as a result of the personal contact of the viewer and the reader with attractive samples of foreign culture; About the "dictatorship of consumption," which forces all people to buy and use the same or similar goods.<sup>15</sup>

Diaspora is the environment where culture is directly developed and enriched. The development of diasporas is carried out by spreading the culture, values and traditions of their people, but at the same time integrating into society with a different culture, which implies the acquisition of new socially and spiritually significant qualities. The Diaspora, uniting people into a socially significant community, fulfills two functions: the preservation of ethno-cultural identity and adaptation to living conditions. And the supreme task of the diaspora is to ensure their harmonious combination and balance. The psychological reason for the emergence of the diaspora is that people far from their homeland begin to understand, appreciate and even more love their native culture.

While globalization is opposed to culture, the diaspora is directly related to culture. Globalization is aimed at unification, ignoring the problem of cultural identity. Today, almost all large nations live in their states and outside

them. In addition, people these days easily move from country to country. At the same time, the desire to preserve its national culture, its language, customs, not only has not diminished, but, on the contrary, it grows. This is a paradox of our time. Therefore, the role and importance of diasporas at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century multiplies.

### **Russian Diaspora**

Russian diaspora is the global community of ethnic Russians. The Russian speaking diaspora are the people for whom Russian language is the native language, regardless of whether they are ethnic Russians. The number of ethnic Russians living outside the Russian Federation is estimated at roughly between 20 and 30 million people (depending on the notion of "ethnicity" used), the majority of them in countries of the Former Soviet Union; about 30 million native speakers of Russian are estimated to live outside the Russian Federation (compared to 147 million living within the Russian Federation).

The largest overseas community is found in the United States, estimated at some 3 million people. The next largest communities of Russian speakers outside the Former Soviet Union are found in Israel and then in Germany, both of unknown size but estimated in the six-figure range in Israel and in the five-figure range in Germany. In addition, in Canada, Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Venezuela, several hundred thousand citizens each identify as being of at least partial Russian descent.<sup>16</sup> Since 2014, due to the deteriorating economic situation in Russia, there has been an increase in the number of emigrants. In 2013, 186 thousand people left Russia for permanent residence, in 2014 more than 308 thousand people emigrated from Russia. In 2016, 313,210 people left Russia.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Globalization and the problems of culture. Retrieved from <http://diplomba.ru/work/92197>

<sup>15</sup> V Malakhov, Cultural differences and political boundaries in the era of global migration. *New Literature Review*, C.22-25, 27-29. 2014.

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<sup>16</sup> Where most Russian living abroad. (8 October 2016). Retrieved from <http://russian7.ru/post/gde-bolshe-vsego-russkikh/>

Since September 2012, the "State Program for the Promotion of Voluntary Resettlement of Compatriots Living Abroad in the Russian Federation" is in effect. The program provides for measures to receive resettled people, reimbursement of costs for moving and payment of a one-time allowance for accommodation. Under this program of Russian Federation in 2014 and 2015 more than 100 thousand people come back to their motherland annually. In 2015, the project on the resettlement of scientists and scientists started. By September 2015, 44 scientists who have the degrees of doctors and candidates of technical, economic and medical sciences have already moved to Russia, and 21 people are in the process of formalization.<sup>18</sup>

### **Russian Diaspora in Bolivia**

Bolivia is an extremely interesting country, famous for its ancient Indian civilizations, conquistadors, liberators, revolutionaries and the first Indian president in the history of Latin America and ardent advocate of the coca plant, Evo Morales. The most numerous constituent of the Russian diaspora in Bolivia are the communities of Russian Old Believers, who live mainly in the tropical departments of Bolivia and number about two thousand people. Today, at the beginning of the 21st century, the villages of the Old Believers are scattered throughout the Bolivian departments of La Paz, Santa Cruz, Cochabamba and Beni, and are usually located far from the big cities. The main occupation of the Old Believers is farming and animal husbandry: they grow rice, corn, wheat, bananas, pineapples, sunflowers, soy. The current situation of the "Bolivian" Old Believers can be assessed as very prosperous, given their propensity for hard work

and the fertility of tropical soil - according to the Old Believers themselves in the Bolivian land - only what you do not plant is not growing! Despite the fact that the Old Believers strictly preserve Russian customs and customs, customs and traditions of a hundred years ago (some of which, by the way, are almost impossible to meet even in Russia itself), they practically have no problems with local authorities. Bolivian Old Believers carefully preserve their traditions. In each Bolivian Old Believers' village there is a prayer house, in which they pray several times a day; on the same Sunday and holidays, prayer takes several hours, and adults, despite the 40-degree heat, stand it on their feet.<sup>19</sup>

All foods used for food are grown by the Old Believers themselves while they never eat food in Bolivian cafes and restaurants, nor in a foreign house, taking food and even water with them. The Old Believers in Bolivia do not smoke or drink alcohol. Watching TV, visiting cinemas, reading secular literature, using the Internet is strictly prohibited. In Bolivia the Old Believers preserved the Russian language and the Orthodox faith. Surprisingly, the modern Old Believers who have never been to Russia, and many have fathers and grandfathers born either in China or in South America, communicate in Russian - the language of the Siberian village - as well as their ancestors a hundred years ago.

Finally, the Old Believers strictly observe family ties. Given that marriages even with distant relatives are strictly forbidden, young Old Believers already at the age of 13-15 years have to find a life partner in Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Paraguay, as well as in Canada and the United States. There are practically no mixed marriages; In the case when Russian girls marry local people, the Bolivian must accept the Orthodox faith, dress, read and speak in Russian and fully observe the traditions of the Old Believers, including reading the holy books in

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<sup>17</sup> Demographics. Federal State Statistics Service (Rosstat). Retrieved from [http://www.gks.ru/wps/wcm/connect/rossta\\_t\\_main/rosstat/ru/statistics/population/demography/](http://www.gks.ru/wps/wcm/connect/rossta_t_main/rosstat/ru/statistics/population/demography/)

<sup>18</sup> Decree of the President of Russia No.637, *The state program on rendering assistance to voluntary resettlement to the Russian Federation of compatriots living abroad*. June 22, 2006

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<sup>19</sup> G. Zotov. (2009). Taborche - Santa Cruz. Newspaper "Arguments and Facts". Retrieved from <http://messengeru.livejournal.com/2267.html>

the Old Slavonic language. Not surprisingly, such international weddings are extremely rare (there were only two such marriages, and both fell apart).<sup>20</sup> That's why practically all Bolivian Old Believers are blue-eyed and light-haired.

For them, the homeland is Russia, which they have never seen and practically do not know about. On the other hand, a modern Russian person who got into the colony of Old Believers in Bolivia gets the impression that he returned with the help of a time machine several centuries ago, where in the Bolivian tropics there is a pre-revolutionary Russia, which in Russia itself is practically no one remembers. Against this background, Russian-Bolivian bilateral relations are developing very actively. For example, in 1999 in the political capital of Bolivia, La Paz, there was a street named after AS. Pushkin, the famous Russian poet.<sup>21</sup>

There is growing interest in Bolivia and the study of the Russian language and education in Russia (the main incentive here is the possibility of its use when entering Russian universities). The Russian diaspora slowly but surely increases; a striking evidence is the opening in March 2002 in La Paz of a private Russian kindergarten "Matryoshka." The Russian Embassy in Bolivia plays an enormous role in supporting the Russian diaspora. In 2008, the first Orthodox church was built in Bolivia.<sup>22</sup> Currently, in Bolivia, on the initiative of the former Russian ambassador in this country, preparations are under way for the construction of the second Orthodox church.<sup>23</sup> One way or another, it seems that the sacred duty of official Russian authorities and non-governmental organizations dealing with the

problems of compatriots is to bring to everyone, even the completely forgotten corner of the vast Russian world information about the Motherland and, most importantly, its unshakable desire to provide support to all, Who consider themselves to be part of this world.<sup>24</sup>

## Conclusion

For cultural globalization is characterized by the convergence of business and consumer culture between different countries in the world and the growth of international communication. On the one hand, this leads to the popularization of certain types of national culture around the world. On the other hand, popular international cultural phenomena can displace national ones or turn them into international ones. Many regard this as a loss of national cultural values and are fighting for the revival of national culture.

Today, practically all large nations live both in their states and outside them. In addition, people these days easily move from country to country. At the same time, the desire to preserve its national culture, its language, customs, not only has not diminished, but, on the contrary, it grows. This is a paradox of our time. Therefore, the role and importance of diasporas at the beginning of the 21st century multiplies. The example of the Russian diaspora in Bolivia, represented by the Old Believers, shows that the diaspora, as one of the global phenomena of the present, contributes to the preservation and revival of the national culture, as well as to the strengthening of international relations.

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<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> A. Naumov. "Old Believer" Bolivia. Retrieved from [http://ricolor.org/rz/latin\\_amerika/bl/b\\_r/1/](http://ricolor.org/rz/latin_amerika/bl/b_r/1/)

<sup>22</sup> Press Service of the Moscow Patriarchate. (2008). In Bolivia, the first Orthodox church was consecrated. Retrieved from <http://www.taday.ru/text/95734.html>

<sup>23</sup> Y. Maksimov. (2009). Orthodoxy in Bolivia. Retrieved from <http://www.pravo-slavie.ru/29095.html>

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<sup>24</sup> A. Naumov. Russian World - "Old Believer" in Bolivia. *The Union Newspaper*. Retrieved from <http://www.sgline.org/>



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