RUSSIAN FORMAL AND INFORMAL EDUCATION: SIBERIAN EXPERIENCE OF A DIALOGUE OF CULTURES

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Abstract

Purpose of the research: This article aims to find national commonalities that will help ensure the harmonization of interethnic relations and create a unified educational space of the country, considering national and regional characteristics inherent in the subjects of the Russian Federation.

Methodology: The methods were determined by the specifics of theoretical and historical research: systemic, historiographic, axiological, and socio-cultural approaches to the research of the school education evolution; the research and analysis of archival and historical-literary sources, including materials of dissertations and applied research on the educational problems in Yakutia; the documents of the People’s Commissariat of Education: orders, instructions, circular letters, statistical reports, and others, and reference materials, containing specific information on the problem under discussion.

Main Findings: The research and use of domestic historical experience identified the continuity between the school of the past and the present, to creatively interpret and preserve all the valuable lessons from the experience of domestic and foreign pedagogy.

Application of this research: It was revealed and established that this was necessary due to the diversity of natural-geographical, demographic, ethnic, cultural, educational, and other conditions in Russia and the search for solutions to difficult problems of interethnic cooperation. Our research aims to identify value- and activity-based foundations that underlie the activities of political exiles and ethno-pedagogical experience in Yakutia.

Novelty/Originality of this research: The research opens up prospects for fundamental scientific and applied research in the field of pre-revolutionary history of pedagogy and education, the development of cultural dialogue ideas related to the problems of education, the scientific substantiation of modern innovative strategies for education in national regions.

Keywords: Formal Education, Informal Education, Ethno-Pedagogical Experience, Exiled Teachers, Activity-Based Foundations, Dialogue of Cultures.

INTRODUCTION

Education is the most important social activity. In its continuous development, the formation of a civic, ethnocultural, and universal human identity is one of its main tasks. In society globalization, it is necessary to conduct a scientific substantiation of the ongoing changes and look for development paths. This necessity is also due to the actualization of the search for solutions to complex problems of interethnic integration and multicultural cooperation (Priatna, 2020; Ridwan, 2020). In this situation, comprehending the experience of school education in Russia is more relevant than ever. One of the objectives of the research is to conduct a retrospective cultural and historical analysis of the education system evolution in the national northern region (on the example of Yakutia). An objective of the research is to identify the similarities between formal (state) and informal (folk) education in the pre-revolutionary period. This refers not just to a practical experience but also a formed holistic type of education with corresponding characteristics. An analysis of the reasons for this process, its stimulation, and support can be carried out only in addressing the sources, comprehending the lessons of the history, and the evolution of the education system. Accordingly, this kind of analysis — carried out on a specific historical and pedagogical material — allows us to maintain a “socio-cultural context,” to search for ways and means of connecting the processes of globalization in education and civilization approaches with specific historical and cultural approaches, the scientific understanding of which allows us to develop culturally appropriate, viable, and timely decisions. According to some historical and pedagogical studies, the experience of folk pedagogy contains specific mechanisms for the transmission of what we would call today “subject knowledge” (in botany and zoology, meteorology, mathematics and physics, astronomy, psychology, medicine, etc.). Some authors conclude that to some extent. All this has paved the way for school education and upbringing, and, therefore, the initial development of writing and the school system is more of an organizational problem than a psychological, pedagogical, and socio-cultural one. However, this is not true at all. The state and society have always believed that rural people (peasants) are illiterate and require training, education, and enlightenment. This social class had a specific mentality, authentic culture, and its values and attitudes towards education and its practical results (Zhirkova & Yakushkina, 2018; Shergina, 2015). We believe that something similar has also happened in the history of Yakutia in the relationship between informal and formal
education, ethnic pedagogy, and the state school. The point is not only in the essential differences between the so-called “civilization of oral creativity” and “book civilization,” which have different perceptions and psychology of cognition, which is often overlooked in traditional teaching methods. We also do not believe that cultural differences between the European historical consciousness that came from Russia and the one that existed in the ethno-pedagogical experience of the Yakut people (Eastern, Asian) play an important role. Perhaps the roots of the problem go even more profoundly. Modern studies of the national school show that schools can differ from each other, not in the set of subjects but the type of activities. From this point of view, we can single out schools, or even educational systems, which are based on the traditional type of education (transfer of knowledge and skills), developmental education, “dialogue of cultures,” etc. (Vinokurova, 2017; Zhirkova & Okoneshnikova, 2018). In the 19th century, the main task of public school education was the transfer of knowledge and teaching multiple subjects. Simultaneously, ethnic pedagogy was aimed at the development of children and their involvement in multiple activities. Based on this thesis, the following tasks were set: to correlate different types of ethno-pedagogical experience with the types and forms of educational activity of exiled teachers; to reveal the similarity between the value- and activity-based foundations that underlie these two types of education, and to research the well-known isomorphism (structural similarity) of folk pedagogy and education in the schools of political exiles in the general structure of education.

Thus the analysis of historical material informal education (in our case: schools of political exiles in the far North in the period before 1917) and non-formal education (folk pedagogy, ethno-pedagogy) is done. Folk pedagogy of the peoples of the North is distinguished by unique collective experience accumulated and formed in the natural environment and passed from generation to generation. A folk value and dominant principle in education is the value of life and lifestyle and experience of adults. Simultaneously, there were state and public schools organized for formal education by political exiles. It is of scientific interest to compare and identify the activity-based nature of informal folk education and formal education provided at schools by political exiles.

The analysis showed a cultural and educational phenomenon: the proximity of two types of education, openness an dialogue with another culture. Hence the integration of formal and non-formal education contributed to the continuity of spiritual traditions, the folk foundations for education were preserved and reproduced.

**LITERATURE REVIEW**

Russian and foreign literature has accumulated sufficient material on the general problems of the formation and development of regional education in Russia. The dialogue of cultures phenomenon, including its history, basic principles, and concepts, is covered in the publications of Annese and Traetta (2018), Buriak (2016), Isik and Sener (2018), Meijers et al. (2017), Meijers and Hermans (2018), Abramova et al. (2018), Zapata-Bartero (2019), Elias and Mansouri (2020), and others. The most important and necessary for our research were the scientific principles and ideas of the Russian scholar Bakhtin (1919), the author of the dialogue concept foundations, and some theoretical approaches of multiple foreign authors. The main idea of our analysis is based on these principles and is that no culture in the world was created in isolation from other cultures and civilizations; only those cultures able to “exchange” their achievements with other cultures in dialogue have survived and developed. According to this idea, a culture can exist only if it borders with other cultures. Giorgett et al. (2017) note that culture can be understood as a national characteristic, which includes many aspects and determines a person’s belonging to a particular community. General theoretical problems of the interaction between the school education and the cultural heritage of the environment and the endogenous cultural worldview, are reflected in the works of Iyon and Kuščević (2013), Getmanov and Tazayan (2017), Vinokurova and Yakovets (2016), Zhirkova (2018).

In multiple aspects, the formation and development of the national, regional education system are highlighted in the works of Tsirulnikov (2019), Nikolaeva et al. (2019), and others. The authors unanimously believe that, despite the uniformity of the political and social processes in Russia, different ethnic groups and nationalities come to different historical results and retain their own spiritual, cultural, and educational potential. This is partly due to the initial demographic characteristics of a particular ethnic group, passionately, and national character type, determining the degree of resistance to destructive changes and the ability to find flexible solutions in new extreme conditions. Simultaneously, no less important is the cultural and spiritual reserve, which is concentrated in the experience of the people and the ethno-pedagogical consciousness and behavior of the people that predetermines their fate (Ilic & Bojovic, 2016; Zhozhikov, 2017; Rohova, 2020).

Of particular importance are the works of authors such as Chikachev (2016), Kazaryan (2003), Kolpenskiy (1920), Maynov (1898), Neustroeva, and Shergina (2018), Pomelev (2020), and others. Their studies examine the developmental features of the formal (state) and informal (folk) education and the experience of Yakutia in the pre-revolutionary period, and the role of political exiles in the development of education in the northern region. The authors point out that the evolution of education in Yakutia was strongly influenced not only by ethnic pedagogy but also by multiple types of schools organized by political exiles.

After analyzing the educational activities of political exiles who taught children in Siberia and Yakutia in the 19th–20th centuries, we were able to identify and characterize the following main types of education: home lessons or tutoring;
home-schools; private schools with extended social and pedagogical functions (boarding schools, schools for children from low-income families, etc.); common schools (determined by nature and content, the sources of creation and functioning, availability of extracurricular and educational activities); experimental and partly experimental schools; mobile schools (movable, fugitive, and fleeting schools, liberal and voluntary teaching, travelling teachers). The development and existence of these schools for more than a century and a stable positive attitude of the indigenous population towards them confirmed trial viability and cultural congruity, their correspondence with the traditional culture of local ethnic groups. The researchers emphasize that a critical factor in the development of the school of political exiles was the dialogue of cultures, which was always carried out between the Russian (and more broadly, Western European) culture — the carriers of which were teachers-exiles — and the cultures of local ethnic groups and nationalities (as part of Eastern and Asian culture, and circumpolar civilization). Tsurulnikov (2019, 2020) and Nikolaeva (2017) found that such educational institutions compensated for the absence and acted as an analog of the “public system,” which began its active development in the Russian education system in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Cultural and historical analysis of the structure and content of school education and folk pedagogy showed that in the 19th century, public school education was based on knowledge transfer and multiple school subjects. In contrast to ethnic pedagogy was based on activities. Over time, school education became more activity-developing, and informal education — ethno-pedagogical experience — ceased to be an “artifact” and became a normal, cultural, and historical component of general education (Rogoff et al., 2016).

Psychophysiological and socio-cultural characteristics of a person and society play an important role in ethnic pedagogy. Dar and Najar (2018), Fedorov (2018), and others presented in their works specific aspects of ethnocultural identity that are associated with the development of psychological characteristics inherent in Northern people. Life in extreme conditions requires special abilities, such as highly developed spatial orientation, physical endurance, observation skills, and low threshold for sensory hearing sensitivity and kinesthetic sensations. The development of these abilities and qualities led to specific changes in the biochemical, physiological, and anthropological structures of a person. According to Vinokurova and Yakovets (2016), there are many specific psychophysiological and socio-cultural phenomena characteristic of a person and community in extreme conditions: attunement to the environment, a particular rhythm of the connection between nature and a northern person, and others.

In their research, Zhirkova, and Yakushkina (2018), Neustroev et al. (2019a), and other authors cite the ethnocultural and ethno-regional features of the children’s education organization that are associated with the experience of folk pedagogy. The authors draw attention to the influence that ethno-pedagogical foundations have on child-rearing in harmony with the natural environment and cooperation with the surrounding reality. In multiple aspects, the problems of ethnic education, including Northern ethnic education, have been widely studied by foreign and Russian scholars, such as Abdulrahman (2016), Nikolaeva et al. (2019), Neustroeva et al. (2016), Robbek et al. (2009), Meijsers et al. (2017), Olaniran (2018), Ng’ asike (2019), and others. The authors agree that the coexistence of the individual with society and nature in the extreme conditions of the North, the development of the ability, and insistence on living and solving problems has been going on for centuries. A representative of the northern civilization was characterized by self-restraint in appropriating economic activity, a spherical, generalized awareness of life, and a spiritualized creative attitude towards the environment. Extreme conditions led to the development of an immutable moral code, the main meaning of which was reduced to the mutual support of human life as a core value. Such a school of survival required a special type of education.

Specific issues of the formation and development of the general education system in Yakutia are discussed in sufficient detail in many historical and pedagogical studies (Isachenko, 2019). However, even with such a scientific groundwork, the relationship between ethnic pedagogy and schools of political exiles, formal and informal education in the specified period has not been fully covered. There are no conceptual and generalizing studies on this issue. Scientific works devoted to the general problems of the school education evolution in Russia do not holistically consider the studied problem and focus mainly on socio-pedagogical and organizational-pedagogical aspects of school education.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

To solve the problems posed in the research, a set of theoretical and empirical methods were used. The methods were determined by the specifics of theoretical and historical research, namely: systemic, historiographic, axiological, and socio-cultural approaches to the research of the school education evolution in Russia using the experience of Yakutia. A methodological foundation of this type of research is a systematic approach that helps reveal the integrity of the object (phenomena) and to determine the mechanisms that ensure this integrity and to reveal the variety of connections of the object under research as a system. Considering the variety of relationship types and connections, structural and typological characteristics of education, we were able to research the relationship between ethnic pedagogy and educational activities of educated political exiles. This became possible after analyzing folk pedagogy from a systematic approach and researching the teaching methods used by political exiles.

For the most accurate and truthful reflection of reality from a historical perspective, the historiographic approach is of exceptional importance. The implementation of historicism ensures scientific objectivity in the coverage of the research topic and excludes embellishment or nihilism concerning events, facts, and their evaluation. This principle requires consideration and evaluation of the studied phenomena and facts in a specific historical time.
The axiological approach allows one to give a social and personal evaluation of the phenomena and processes of reality. In an objective and comprehensive analysis, this approach may also reflect the authors’ point of view. According to the provisions of the axiological approach, the authors of the research should be aware of their attitude towards the object of the research but simultaneously, have an objective, mediated (due to the action of socialization mechanisms) social consciousness and socio-cultural experience.

Based on the axiological approach and historical and cultural analysis, the authors were able to identify new facts and phenomena in the formation and development of school education in Yakutia in the pre-revolutionary period. The new data helped characterize the specifics of ethno-pedagogical experience in the northernmost region of Russia, consider for the first time the relationship between ethnic pedagogy and schools of political exiles, and determine their role in the development of education.

The conducted expert analysis revealed a special type of education — ethno-pedagogical — which is characterized by a specific personality that can accept specific social and ethical norms and values, folk wisdom, and traditions associated with the way of life. This constitutes an entire pedagogical potential influencing the shape of a person’s identity, especially in the extreme conditions of the Russian Far North.

Following these approaches, the authors were able to research and analyze the sources of the problems in ethnocultural and intercultural education (the dialogue of cultures). The selected methods of analysis, systematization, generalization, analogy, and an expert evaluation made it possible to identify analogies between an ethno-pedagogical experience (informal education) and the activities of political exiles (formal education) in the pre-revolutionary period (up to 1917) based on the experience of Yakutia. In considering the structure of education as a whole, this allows for speaking about the structural similarity between folk pedagogy and education in the schools organized by political exiles.

The authors gave an axiological evaluation of the applied research on the problem under a research conducted by regional authors, the documents of the People’s Commissariat of Education of the Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, including orders, decrees, circular letters, statistical reports, and reference materials, containing specific information on the problem under discussion. This method of examination helped obtain the main result of the research. Comparison of the different types of ethno-pedagogical experience with the types and forms of educational activities of political exiles helped reveal the similarity between the value- and activity-based foundations underlying these two types of education. In considering the structure of education as a whole, structural similarity between folk pedagogy and education in the schools of political exiles was revealed. In generalizing the experience and analyzing the structure and content of school education in pre-revolutionary Yakutia, methods of quantitative and qualitative analysis were applied.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Based on the historiographic and axiological analysis and evaluation of the research, it was revealed that the starting point for understanding the evolutionary features of the Yakut school is the factor of disproportion and uneven development of education in different socio-economic regions of Russia in the pre-revolutionary period. Back then, it was not uncommon for a Siberian province to not have any schools at all. Such provinces could consist of 10-15 volosts with 12 thousand souls. An analysis of the pre-revolutionary statistical data shows that, at the beginning of the 20th century, more than 80% of all elementary schools in the country (almost 90% of students) were located in the European part of Russia. The entire territory of Siberia accounted for about 5% of schools (about 4% of students, respectively), and Eastern Siberia estimated 1.74% of schools and 1.34% of students (Afanasiev, 1966). At the end of the 19th century, there were 81 educational institutions (1783 pupils) in Yakutia, of which 13 institutions (241 pupils) were rural elementary schools. Almost 91% of children did not go to school at all (Afanasiev, 1966).

The first specially organized schools in the area appeared only in the 18th century, 100 years after the Russian state nationalized Yakutia to develop the region and carry out missionary activities. Consequently, the development of ethnoscience and personality took place exclusively under the influence of folk pedagogy — informal education — which was carried out in different forms: games, labor activities, folklore, and myth-making. It was customary to familiarize children with nature and to teach them traditional professions that are necessary for life in the tundra, taiga, or near the ocean. The harsh climatic conditions of the North, the nomadic and semi-nomadic way of life, and the economic and domestic isolation of the peoples left a specific imprint on the nature of folk education, the role and place of ethno-pedagogical experience in the period preceding the mass state school (Neustroev et al., 2019b).

The analysis revealed that in the pre-revolutionary period, the development of folk education in Yakutia was influenced by political exiles. Political exile and related educational and pedagogical activities of the exiles permeate almost the entire history of the region, starting from the first quarter of the 18th century. In specific periods of history, the number of political exiles reached two-thirds of the entire Russian population of the region. In 1889, more than 6000 exiles of multiple categories lived in the Yakut penal settlement. In the second half of the 19th century and until the early 20th century, about a hundred political exiles were detained in a settlement in Verkhoyansk, a town with about one and a half thousand people. Researchers, educators, and teachers among these prisoners formed a tremendous cultural and educational potential. In one form or another, almost all generations of political exiles (Decembrists, members of Narodnaya Volya, Polish rebels, Social Democrats, Bolsheviks, and others) were involved in teaching activities and created their schools. For example, in just three years from 1885 to 1888, political exiles set up 12 home schools. In
A comparison of informal (ethno-pedagogical) and formal (schools of political exiles) education revealed specific similarities between the value- and activity-based foundations that underlie these two types of education. The analysis showed obvious similarities in many aspects of ethnic and informal education, for example:

- Folk games and competitions that permeated communication between teachers and children, and the educational process in the informal, creative schools of many exiled teachers;
- The acquisition of the native language in ethno-pedagogy through direct communication and activity, and the acquisition of the Russian language based on the principles of nature and culture conformity;
- Direct inclusion of children in labor activities, training in traditional professions, training with uus masters, and the spread of new cultural examples of professional labor activity, such as the development of agriculture and tools of technological progress, problem-solving with examples from local life, the introduction of students and parents to scientific research with the use of intensive, discovery teaching methods, etc.

Such coincidences (analogies) are found in 60-70% of cases, which shows sufficient credibility of the revealed pattern. This is evidenced by the data of comparative analysis (Table 1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types and Forms of the Activities in Ethnic Education</th>
<th>Types and Forms of the Activities in Schools, Organized by the Exiles</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Folk games and competitions; Warrior training.</td>
<td>Outdoor games (gorodki, lapta, and others), skiing, ice-skating, sledding. National games.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The acquisition of the native language and the languages of ethnic partners (neighbors) through direct presence in the language environment, communication, and activities</td>
<td>The acquisition of the Russian language is based on the principles of nature and culture conformity. The acquisition of the students’ native language. The use of ethnographic materials for researching ethnic groups, comparative studies of languages, creation of custom dictionaries, etc.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Direct inclusion in labor activities and the system of traditional professions (hunter, horse breeder, reindeer herder, angler, etc.). Training in multiple crafts. Training with uus master. Practical and discovery teaching methods (direct inclusion in situations that require action, a gradual transfer of initiative from the “craftsman” to the “apprentice,” “learning from the unexpected” technique, etc.)</td>
<td>The development and spread of new cultural models of professional labor activities (agriculture, gardening, the use of tools of technological progress, etc.) Problem-solving with examples from local life. The introduction of students and parents to scientific research (ethnography, local history, philology, geology, meteorology, etc.). Methods of intensive, discovery teaching (teaching based on students’ questions, essay competition, a publication of school magazines). Organization of independent activities for students based on their interests and abilities (design, scale modeling, still-life painting, etc.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction to nature at a young age. Development of the ability to live in it. Harmonious education is based on experience and folk knowledge about nature.</td>
<td>“Learning in nature” (walks and excursions, compiling herbariums and collections, keeping diaries, introduction to scientific research).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tales, lore, legends, “Olonkho” poems, riddles, Musical instruments, folk dances, arts, and crafts. The research of traditional material and family culture (house, food, clothing, ethnic symbols, rituals, etc.).</td>
<td>Literary, artistic, and visual arts among exiled teachers and students. Teaching based on fairy tales, folklore, classics of the Russian literature. Organization of libraries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious culture, its transmission, and acquisition. Shamanism as a special kind of activity aimed at gaining knowledge of oneself. The experience of shamanism (methods of mutilation, shutting off consciousness, creative insight, turning to extraordinary sources, the technology of heuristic initiation, and reconstruction of a new, different reality, etc.)</td>
<td>Tactful attitude and research. Developing students’ minds. Creative activity as a means of entering the native culture and other cultures.</td>
</tr>
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New for domestic science, facts and phenomena were identified based on historical and cultural analysis of the formation and development of pre-revolutionary school education in Yakutia. These facts and phenomena characterize the specifics of ethno-pedagogical experience in the national region. The analysis made it possible to research the
previously unexplored relationships of ethno-pedagogy and schools of political exiles and to determine their role in the development of education. Based on the classical definition given by Russian researchers, it can be concluded that ethno-pedagogy is a special type of general education that includes social interaction and social influence, during which a specific personality — a personality that learns social norms, values, and experience — is created. Ethno-pedagogy also collects and systematizes folk knowledge about parenting and education; all folk wisdom that is reflected in family life and daily life, in religious teachings, folklore, games, and toys, etc.; traditions; philosophical, ethical, and, of course, pedagogical thoughts and views, i.e. the entire pedagogical potential that affects the social, historical, and cultural formation of personality (Korotkova, 2016).

Ethno-pedagogy was an archetype of education. It was deeply connected not only with the way of life but with the very anatomy and psychology of a northern person. Survival in extreme conditions has always required the development of special abilities and led to specific changes in the biochemical, physiological, and anthropological structures of a person. Particularly important were the highly developed spatial orientation skills, physical endurance, observation skills, and low threshold for sensory hearing sensitivity and kinesthetic sensations (Nikolaeva & Savvinov, 2016). In other words, life required constant improvement of the physical form and mental abilities, i.e. the brain, which acted as the organ of adaptation to the extreme conditions of the North (nature conformity). Several specific psychophysiological and socio-cultural phenomena were recorded: attunement to environment, a particular rhythm of the connection between nature and a northern person, and others, which turned out to be characteristic of a person and a community in extreme conditions (Vinokurova, 2017).

The coexistence of the individual with society and nature in a cold environment, the development of the ability, and insistence on living and solving problems has been going on for centuries. A representative of the northern civilization was characterized by self-restraint in appropriating economic activity, a spherical, generalized awareness of life, and a spiritualized creative attitude towards the environment. Extreme conditions led to the development of an immutable moral code, the main meaning of which was reduced to the mutual support of human life as a core value (Chikachev, 2016; Olaniran, 2018; Shachin, 2019). Such a school of survival required a special type of education.

The rudiments of pedagogical thought appeared among the Yakut peoples in ancient times. They represented a totality of “unwritten laws,” common rules, and norms that stemmed from education and upbringing, the experience of family life, and ethnic groups. Folk thinkers, improvising singers, warrior heroes, us masters, shamans, and healers, who passed on their experience in education to subsequent generations, developed these pedagogical ideas. The palette of means and possibilities of ethnic education is endless. It includes prenatal education, cold exposure training at the young age, games and folk sports, direct inclusion in the system of traditional professional training, fairy tales and olonkho, musical instruments, tongue twisters, and riddles, in which a special ethnic way of thinking is encoded. In figurative expression, ethno-pedagogy straightens the natural abilities of the child (Nikolaeva et al., 2019).

The attitude of the indigenous people of the region towards the exiles and their schools was always positive, which is confirmed by both direct estimates and the very factor of choice, the preference for the school of exiles over the parochial or ulus schools. Kamennogorskiy (1911) noted that the population of the region had kept good memories of many exiled teachers, and even today, there are some Yakut songs, which sing of the merits of some “state” exiled teachers to the ulus population (Maynov, 1898). The choice of a school organized by political exiles was determined by the higher quality of education given by a home teacher compared to a public school. Schools of political exiles were closer to family and home, because, as a rule, political teachers gave lessons at their home, or in students’ yurts, while the official school was often located at a considerable distance.

For many political exiles, secretive, illegal, or semi-illegal pedagogical activity was an opportunity for meaningful cultural activity, a way of survival. Therefore, we can assume that in those life circumstances, the motives for teaching among political exiles were stronger compared to the teachers of state schools, the fact that affected pedagogical results.

The analysis showed that more than half of the activities in ethno-pedagogical experience and the educational work of exiled teachers coincide. For comparison, as evidenced by a selected analysis, the percentage of such coincidences with public (state) schools do not go beyond 10-20%. In considering the structure of education as a whole, this allows for talking about the well-known isomorphism (structural similarity) between folk pedagogy and education in schools of political exiles. This phenomenon is not accidental and is rooted in the lifestyle and close relationships of the local population and the exiles. Quite often, the latter was not even professional teachers but were sufficiently educated. Folk pedagogy was a part of life; it arose from the vital needs of the people, and, in the same way, the teaching of political exiles developed as an available, leading ways of life in these circumstances. In this sense, initially, the pedagogy of political exiles could not be simply missionary work and enlightenment, it could not be just about problem-solving, and that was practised at the state school. The very circumstances of life determined the closeness of the school of political exiles to ethno-pedagogical principles, openness to the world, other cultures, and the dialogue between them.

In the course of the work, we compared different types of ethno-pedagogical experiences with the types and forms of activities in the schools of exiles. The results of the comparative analysis showed that the work of teachers-exiles has an activity-developing nature inherent in ethno-pedagogical experience (learning through deeds). Therefore, the evolution of the education system in the studied period periodically connected culture and civilization, ethno-pedagogy,
educational ideas, and technologies that came to Yakutia through advanced Russian and European pedagogy. All this created ideal conditions for the dialogue between cultures, their mutual influence, and penetration.

CONCLUSION
The analysis on the different types of ethno-pedagogical experience and the types and forms of educational activity of exiled teachers led to the conclusion about the similarity between the value- and activity-based foundations that underlie these two types of education, and, in considering the structure of education as a whole, about the structural similarity between folk pedagogy and education in schools of political exiles. A critical foundation of the school of political exiles was the dialogue of cultures, which was always carried out between the Russian (and more broadly, Western European) culture — the carriers of which were teachers-exiles — and the cultures of local ethnic groups and nationalities (as part of Eastern, Asian culture, and circumpolar civilization). For all the socio-cultural originality, these types and forms introduced the educational processes into general trends of the developing educational system in pre-revolutionary Russia and acted as a kind of analog of the “public system,” which was actively developing in the educational system of Russia at the end of 19th-early 20th century.

Teachers from among the political exiles actively used the peculiarities of folk pedagogy in their work, learned from the local population, adults and children, traditions, language, and management experience; learned the peculiarities of national thinking and activity; shared the views and views of the ethnos on man and the world. Simultaneously, there was a combination of national culture and civilization, folk pedagogy (as part of Eastern, Asian culture, and circumpolar civilization), and educational ideas and technologies used in formal education (schools of political exiles). The provisions arising from the analysis carried out can serve as a constructive and predictive historical and cultural justification for the design and development of national education systems in dialogue, mutual influence, and penetration of cultures.

LIMITATIONS AND STUDY FORWARD
The research can open up prospects for fundamental scientific and applied research in the field of pre-revolutionary history of pedagogy and education, the development of synergetic ideas related to the problems of education, the scientific substantiation of modern innovative strategies for the development of education in national regions. There is a new opportunity not only to integrate the achievements of the past but also to comprehend and then overcome the mistakes made earlier to make informed and correct decisions.

CO-AUTHORS CONTRIBUTION
Nikolaeva Alla D. was the main leader of the research, who organized the research and distributed roles and tasks. Chudinovskikh Alexander V. and Sitnikova Natalia V. conducted the research and gathered the facts. Semenova Svetlana S. participated in the theoretical part of the research.

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