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**Cultural and Anthropological Studies
of Indigenous Peoples of Krasnoyarsk Krai Childhood
(based on the field studies
of Siberian Federal University in 2010-2013)**

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The article describes the genesis of the social anthropology of childhood and reveals its basic concepts. A well-reasoned statement that preservation, translation and reproduction of a specific culture are directly connected with the topical cultural and anthropological state of childhood allows to consider the culture of childhood of the indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East, which have found themselves most vulnerable in the processes of global transformations of the 21st century. Children are a strategic subject able to preserve and develop the unique culture of indigenous peoples. At the same time, it is this category of population that is most vulnerable in terms of the socio-cultural aspect, which is demonstrated on the examples of Chulym and Selkup ethno-cultural groups. Global transformations of the modern industrial society actively destroy the traditional culture of the indigenous peoples of Krasnoyarsk Krai childhood. In the nearest future, this culture will have only a virtual-information form or will disappear along with native languages of the cultural groups.

Keywords: social (cultural) anthropology of childhood, socialization, cultural transmission, ethno-cultural identity, modal personality, Culture and Personality.

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**1. Conceptual Foundations of Studies
of Small Indigenous Peoples
of Krasnoyarsk Krai Childhood Culture:
Psychological Anthropology**

Childhood culture is one of the most topical research subjects of the contemporary

social (cultural) anthropology. Such prominent researchers as Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, Cora Du Bois, John Whiting and other scientists [Benedict, 1997; Mead, 1988; Whiting, 1974] laid foundation of the social (cultural) anthropology of childhood. The subject of their

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study was modal personality, origins of which they were searching in the cultural practices of education and children socialization in a particular cultural group. In connection with this, cultural methods of feeding, dressing, *hygiene habituation*, indigenous children's sleep and wakefulness periods were thoroughly studied; the field studies were conducted by cultural anthropologists. Special area of scientists' attention is internal relationships between children, between children and adults, as well as socialization practices associated with rewards and punishments typical of a particular culture. For example, in certain cultures of indigenous peoples there was no punishment of children, while other Aboriginal cultures punished their children for a long time, until the age of 20. One of the scientific achievements of classical cultural anthropology was discovery of the critical role played by the rites and rituals connected with children's initiation, with their transition to adulthood.

Sigmund Freud's works [Freud, 1969] had great impact on the social (cultural) anthropology of childhood. Psychoanalytic concepts developed by Freud are applied virtually in all cultural and anthropological studies of children. Following his works, the greatest importance of children's need for love, care and communication is underlined in an effort to overcome stress and anxiety disorder, etc. Etymological researches of childhood, when the subject of study are cultural mechanisms of socially significant emotions formation: affection, joy, grief, suffering, aggressiveness and others are of great importance.

Currently, the number of approaches characteristic of cultural and anthropological studies of childhood are emphasized, including an empirical approach based on the fact that the culture of childhood is the most important stage of enculturation, where horizontal and vertical cultural transmissions are performed,

and the basic cultural norms, ideals and values are learnt. During this period external influences play the key role for the cultural identity formation.

Vertical and horizontal cultural transmissions have a clearly emphasized ethnocultural form. The result is formation of a personality that "fits in" into a certain ethnocultural group, considers it as "his/her group" and distinguishes it from "alien" ethnocultural groups. Mechanisms of ethnic and cultural identity formation can be very different. The most important of them is formation of affection, a strong and stable emotional connection of a child to his/her immediate environment. The affection is based on bioorganic processes, thereby, psychobiological basis for the formation of a strong cultural identity develops.

Formation of personal ethnic and cultural identity is the basis for preservation, translation and further development of a particular culture. Preservation, translation and development of a particular culture is connected with the fact that these processes are carried out in the course of direct activities of a person with the formed modal personality type, characteristic of this particular cultural group and different from the modal personality type of another cultural groups.

The concept of modal personality type was developed in American school "Culture and Personality" founded by Franz Boas [Boas, 2001]. Development of this concept was associated with implementation of the main scientific ideal, characteristic for the "Culture and Personality" school. Representatives of the scientific school upheld the principle of uniqueness, autonomy, isolation and integrity of each particular culture. These researchers believe that there are no cultures that are "above" or "below" other cultures. Representatives of Franz Boas' school explain specific features of different cultural groups in connection with the peculiarities of

psychological personality type. They believe that there is a deep and inextricable connection between economic, social and ecological cultural forms of psychological personality type that are formed in the process of specific cultural pedagogical and socialization practices.

Within the frames of “Culture and Personality” school A. Kardiner, C. Du Bois and R. Linton developed an approach related to the discovery of “basic and modal personality”. “Basic and modal personality” approach was developed in the course of anthropological seminar at Columbia University (the USA). During the seminar anthropologists presented results of the specific cultural groups fieldworks, and scientists-psychologists offered their own interpretation of the obtained results to show how certain psychological characteristics of cultural group members define the basic cultural practices. As a result, a joint work by psychiatrist A. Kardiner and anthropologist R. Linton “The Individual and His Society” [Kardiner, 1939] was written, where the authors developed the basic personality structure and demonstrated how the sum of characteristics that specifies the general personality “carcass” determines the basic cultural practices and basic cultural forms of a particular community. A. Kardiner and R. Linton proved that as early as primary cultural institutions – food production, marriage and family relationships type and socialization practices fully determine special features of a given culture. These primary cultural institutions define the basic personality type that operates in a given culture and creates it, and only then secondary cultural institutions appear (to support the specific forms of primary cultural institutions) – religion, mythology, folklore, etc. Secondary cultural institutions appear and exist as a result of primary cultural institutions influence on a personality’s consciousness.

The basic structure of a personality, in terms of A. Kardiner and R. Linton, is formed and implemented in the course of adaptation of a personality to the basic ways of existence, characteristic of a given cultural group.

The basic personality structure theory got its further development in the studies by Cora Du Bois [Du Bois, 1931, 1935, 1944, 1945, 1949], who proposed to replace the term “basic personality structure” to the concept of “modal personality structure” in order to “soften” the rigidity of the “basic structure” definition. The concept of “modal structure” is connected not with the rigid psychological characteristics of personality as a carrier of culture, but with the statistical frequency of certain psychological properties’ manifestations of definite culture representatives. This allowed Cora Du Bois investigate the dynamics of the psychological qualities of the particular cultural group representatives and to identify possible conflicts between a personality and a particular culture. Cora Du Bois rightly believes that study of the psychological personality type should give not unified but multiplicative results. Her hypothesis that only a small percentage of people – members of a particular cultural group will fully comply with the modal personality type, is also attention worthy.

In 1974, John Whiting proposed effective scientific model, designed for research of interactions and cause-and-effect relationships between psychological personality type and specificity of the cultural group a personality belongs to [Whiting, 1974]. The basis of this model is S. Freud’s idea that socialization practices, in which a child was absorbed, fully determine psychological type of an adult personality. The second important idea for J. Whiting’s model became A. Kardiner’s thesis that primary cultural institutions predetermine psychological personality type (a culture carrier),

and secondary institutions are formed on the basis of primary institutions and as a result of primary cultural institutions influence on a personality's consciousness.

J. Whiting's merit was that he thoroughly researched primary cultural institutions and specified practices that belong to them. He identifies the following basic primary cultural institutions: natural environment, social dynamics and methods of cultural reproduction. J. Whiting specified the concept of "child upbringing" through the following parameters: natural environment, in which a child lives; people, who care of a child; teachers; homework assignment a child gets and his mother's workload. Thus, primary cultural institutions include both natural and social parameters.

An adult person is considered through the following parameters: 1) innate and 2) acquired. Innate parameters include needs, motivations and abilities. Acquired parameters include: behavioral styles, skills and abilities, values, conflict methods and ways of protection. Culture reproduction systems are: food production patterns, settlement patterns, production methods, social structure, protection methods; types of division of labor; laws and social control. The external influences on a cultural group include natural and social influences. Natural influences are climate, landscape, flora and fauna. Social influences include history of the cultural group migration, borrowing (diffusion) and its cultural discoveries.

J. Whiting calls secondary cultural institutions "Project expression systems". They are represented by: religious practices, magical practices, rituals, ceremonies, arts, leisure, entertainment, crime rates and suicide indicators.

Complete understanding of these parameters constitutes the model of psychocultural research by J. Whiting.

Thus, in American cultural anthropology the most important principle of modern applied culture studies that is associated with the necessity of a thorough study of children's socialization practices and practices of moving into adulthood was formed, because these practices determine special characteristics of a cultural group an adult will belong to. American Psychological Anthropology in numerous field studies discovered and recorded a direct cause-and-effect interdependence between patterns of behavior and psyche functioning on the one hand, and cultural space (economic, social and political) on the other hand.

There is no doubt that preservation, translation and reproduction of a particular culture is directly connected with the current cultural and anthropological state of childhood in a given culture. For conservation, reproduction and translation of the unique culture of indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East, that live compactly in northern and arctic regions of the Russian Federation, it is necessary to understand which socialization practices, which pedagogical and educational practices typical for children, representatives of these cultures, it is necessary to record and use in the forms that are common in the 21 century.

In this regard, the study of childhood culture of the indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East is of special importance, as these particular nations, as evidenced by the current practice, are particularly vulnerable to global transformation processes characteristic of the 21st century. Currently, the Russian Federation is actively developing northern and arctic zones, which are places of indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East compact residence. In this regard, studies of childhood culture of these peoples are of immediate interest.

**2. Childhood Culture
of Chulym Ethnocultural Group
in Tyukhtetsky District
of Krasnoyarsk Krai**

Currently, in the territory of Krasnoyarsk Krai active cultural studies of indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East in the context of global transformations are conducted. Studies related to childhood culture of these peoples are of immediate interest. The children are strategic subjects who could preserve and develop the unique culture of indigenous peoples. Nowadays, however, children of the indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East are the most vulnerable socially and culturally.

In 2010 field studies of Chulym ethnocultural group that belongs to the category of indigenous peoples of Krasnoyarsk Krai were carried out. Participants of the field studies were scientists, postgraduate students and students of “cultural studies” course at Siberian Federal University. During 2 weeks in August 2010 cultural studies were conducted using the methods of participant observation, expert interviews, focus groups, etc. As a result of observations and interviews with children and adults population of Chindatsky village council during the expedition it was possible to evaluate the situation and identify the problems of Chulym children.

The main problem of the child population of Pasechnoye, Chindat and Ust'-Chul'sk (people call it Karasi settlement) settlements is that these 3 settlements are a part of Chindatsky village council, as well as adults – remoteness and even isolation of their places of residence from the “civilization centers” (within the borders of Chindatsky village council such a center is Tyukhtet – the regional center). From the settlements of the village council to Tyukhtet it takes more than 8 hours of travel along a country road with challenging terrain, which in the rain is not suitable for traffic and bus service

is cancelled. Bus service to Tyukhtet was set up by the village council – it is a local bus “PAZ”, running 2 times a week (on Mondays and Fridays it leaves Pasechnoye at 6 a.m. and goes back from Tyukhtet at 6 p.m.). In this situation, children have little or no opportunity to leave the settlement for study or leisure that is why they are always in a quite isolated environment.

Basically, the children of Chindatsky village council settlements are not pure blood Chulyms, but children of mixed families of Chulyms and Russians, Ukrainians, Belarusians and Mordvins. In this territory there were no problems connected with differentiation of Chulym children from children of other nationalities. Mostly these were not problems of Chulym children but problems of the children living in the territory of Chindatsky village council. Chulyms' assimilation to the dominant ethnic group (Russians) in the territory reached its high level, and for the children of Chulym nationality it is often difficult to answer questions relating to their ethnic self-identification (they shrug shoulders, avoid the answer asking counter-question, most of them call themselves Russians, less often – Khakas and Chulym). All the children speak Russian as their mother tongue as using this language they communicate with their families, at schools and other public places; even among the adult population there are few native speakers of the Chulym language and they only use some trite phrases in their native language, noting more. Only two adults have a perfect command of Chulym – a Russian woman who lives in the district since her childhood in the neighborhood with Chulym people and a Chulym man who actively collects information about his people and collaborates with Tomsk State University towards development of Chulym writing system (historically it has not appeared yet), creation of a dictionary and a program for studying Chulym language (he has already created such a program). Chulym children do not speak

the language; during the expedition we only met three children who claimed that they understand something in the Chulym language. Thus, there is no practice of language as a main component of self-identification among the Chulym children of Chindatsky village council. Only on holiday (The Annual Day of Chulym, celebrated in July) children learn and sing the songs and ditties translated into the Chulym language.

Upbringing and education. Children from the three settlements of Chindatsky village council study at school of Chindat settlement. Not a long time ago a school in Pasechnoye settlement and a boarding school in Chindat settlement were closed. The reasons were difficult to find out as opinions of the local people and leaders of the village council were divided. The most common version among officials about the reasons for the educational institutions closure is that there was small number of students (there is almost no school-age population in Chindat and Ust'-Chul'sk settlements). There is no kindergarten in the settlements, for this reason preschool children, in fact, are left to themselves – their parents are busy all day (in the morning and in the evening – hunting/fishing, in the afternoon – gardening, etc.) or, in the case of underprivileged families, just do not take care of their children.

Due to the village council initiative the children are transported to school by rural bus (it takes about 40 minutes from Pasechnoye to Chindat and more than an hour from Ust'-Chul'sk to Chindat). The level of schools' provision with learning materials could not be estimated as the expedition was there in summer and was unable to visit school but, according to the local people, the problem is in the presence of school textbooks.

It was found out that schooling program does not contain a national component. Local settlement club performs this function for school, annually organizing Chulymnational celebrations. At that, school-age children themselves are not

interested in studying their native language – it is not used by them and their parents. Children claim that it is most necessary to know Russian, the most motivated kids from high school are also interested in learning English, but there are few of them (only two students said that; one of the girls already studied English thoroughly at Tyukhtet school after moving to the district center).

Young people of these settlements, according to adults and themselves are not interested in continuing their education in secondary specialized educational institutions and in higher educational institutions – there are practically no jobs in the settlements, people live die to fishing and subsistence farming, therefore, only those who would like to change their place of residence and lifestyle need to get a profession. And there are such people, although only few of them. We met several families whose children study in Krasnoyarsk universities and at driver training courses in Tyukhtet after military service.

No one of children and young people mentioned the need for a national component in school, vocational and higher education.

Healthcare. Children's health problems in the settlements are really problems, as the only polyclinic is in Tyukhtet. We witnessed a mass departure of children for tests from Pasechnoye by bus that was full of people and bags with fish at 6 a.m. on Monday. At that, the village council organized delivery of the tests' results by the postman – a bus conductor gives her all the documents taken at the post office and in the polyclinic, and every settlement has its own medical station and a health worker. However, for diagnostics (delivery of medical tests) and qualified specialists' consultations parents with children have to go to Tyukhtet polyclinic.

An urgent need and a lack of dental care for children and adults are especially noticeable.

Leisure time. Most of time children from the settlements of Chindatsky village council are left

to themselves due to the fact that families live due to fishing and subsistence farming – their parents are busy all day (fishing in the morning and in the evening, gardening in the afternoon) besides there are a lot of underprivileged families – parents consume alcohol and do not take care of their children. In summer time children spend time playing joint games, swimming in the river and just walk the streets in small groups. Many children go cycling – locals say that the bikes were presented to children by Chulym Regional Public Association of Indigenous Minorities of the Krasnoyarsk Krai North for Chulym celebrations. Often bikes are too big for children and parents reconstruct them into tricycles.

Children from the settlements of Chindatsky village council, according to the local residents, rarely travel during summer holidays, they only visit their relatives, but it concerns children from a few families. Children, according to conversations, are not provided with summer holiday packages as their parents cannot afford it. Maybe the problem is that the parents of these children don't have the official status of people in need of help – a few of the locals, most of who after collapse of the collective farm left without employment records and work places, venture such an experience as employment centre registration. Employment centre is located in Tyukhtet, and when somebody registers there, according to the residents, he/she has to come to the centre twice a month, and for the third time come to the bank for unemployment benefit. At that, a trip to Tyukhtet costs 240 rubles (return trip), and people will spend almost all the monthly benefit to three return trips (according to the settlements dwellers, it is about 800 – 900 rubles). Many of them find no sense in such a waste of time and efforts, fully devoting themselves to farming and fishing...

The only place of leisure for children and young people of Pasechnoye settlement is

settlement club. Here, employees of the club collected a small library, hobby groups function (there is the art director), there are toys (they were bought 10 years ago at the expense of the village council, the children cherish them and always return to the place – on the library shelves), celebrations are organized (their programmes are developed, participants rehearse in the club), disco parties are hold for young people (3 times a week, they are very popular), a there is an audio system with karaoke.

Children's games are mostly focused on adult's image – they play in adults (in one evening all the girls in Pasechnoye settlement we met were wearing makeup – some of them used their mother's beauty bag, but girls have their own beauty bags, to the question: 'What are you playing at?' the children answered: 'We drink vodka', i.e. they explained that they play in adults), play families (often without dolls, these are role-playing games). Children's games are mostly aimed at forming the image of the future, to where, more often children transfer what they see in their present. At that, in conversations the image of the desired future children associate with moving to another place of residence, i.e. a change of lifestyle – Tyukhtet and Krasnoyarsk are their ultimate dreams. Answering the question about their future profession most girls of preschool and primary school age said that they want to become sails assistants, because in this case you have everything. No other professions were mentioned. Perhaps it is connected with the real situation in the settlements where sails assistants in stores work 3 hours a day (the rest of time they are busy with farming and gardening) and they are well off as they also get salary (what cannot often be found in the territory).

Communication with children in Pasechnoye settlement (expedition members lived in it) helped them to see another acute problem – these children really needed to communicate with adults,

because they have enough communication with other children. Both girls and boys are very shy at the beginning of communication, though they start communication first (often girls, boys are more closed). At that, feelings of friendship and “affinity” are the most demanded – tactile contact is very important. As a result of communication it became clear that children are in a desperate need of adults who would be interested in them, and having found such interlocutors in us, they did not want to stop the communication. In this case children need psychological consultations with a psychologist able to solve these problems by organizing the children’s communication with adults and with each other in the correct format, but there is no such a person in the settlements and among the club and the school employees (there is no such a position in the school’s staff schedule).

Thus, the children from Chindatsky village council settlements are in desperate need of not only financial support, but also in formation of healthy image of the future through education and recreation, as well as in addressing their blurred ethnic identity.

3. Ethnographic Description of Childhood Culture Field Studies Results of Indigenous Peoples – Selkups and Evenks that dwell in Turukhansky District of Krasnoyarsk Krai

In 2010, scientists, postgraduate students and students of Cultural Studies Department of Siberian Federal University carried out field research of indigenous peoples’ of Krasnoyarsk Krai culture with a purpose to identify the changes that occur in everyday culture of these peoples under the influence of industrial society, as well as under the impact of global processes, including those, associated with secondary industrialization of Siberia in the first third of

the 21st century. The following are the results of studies of the group of scientists, postgraduate students and students of the Department Cultural Studies of Siberian Federal University carried out in August 2010.

Farkovo settlement is located in Turukhansky district of Krasnoyarsk Krai – it is a place of compact residence for the unique ethnocultural group – Selkups. In Farkovo there is an original attitude toward the institution of marriage: official marriage registration is not as important as in large cities or towns; in Farkovo regarding marriage locals use such expressions as “came together” and “broke up” but not “got married” and “got divorced”. A large number of families cohabit for years and decades. At that, children have their father’s surname. A percentage of children in Turukhansk and Farkovo is large. Often a family has four or even more children. Since there is no even medical-obstetric centre in Farkovo, expectant mothers go to Turukhansk, but there is a percentage of those who, due to different reasons, do not have time to get to the district center and among them there are many cases of children’s death in the process of childbirth. The main problems related to children’s health are dental diseases: in most cases children’s teeth are in a state of neglect, require major treatment. Hygiene also leaves much to be desired.

Most families of Turukhansk and Farkovo have many children (at least three). Older children babysit juniors. In most cases, children are dressed in whatever came to hand, often in smeary old rags. Clothing is given from seniors to juniors as well as numerous toys. There are few toys, they are often dirty and old. Parents take care of children, for example, enumerating electrical appliances they have, they may note that they bought them for children: for their studying and development. Some of the families moved to Turukhansk from remote villages because of

children, because the school is better as well as living conditions. In families, despite the fact that father is called the head of a family, mother is an unofficial leader. She takes care of children more, she also punishes them, while fathers only teach moral values and mentor children. Few times the researchers witnessed a situation when discussing family plans regarding moving to more favorable living conditions, a father said that he would not move with his wife and children, but on the contrary, would go to the wilderness and would live there in simplicity.

Children, as well as adult population, are divided into two main categories: sedentary and nomadic. We communicated with sedentary population, in many of these families children live in insanitary conditions, as things and dirty clothes are scattered everywhere in the house, dishes is unwashed. Children up to about 2 years old are undressed in the summer period, maximum, they are carelessly wrapped in a baby linen cloth. At that, it is quite cool in the room. It appears that children sleep either with their parents or with older children as there are no separate baby cots. Most often they sleep on the floor, side by side. Bed-clothing, if there is any, often not very clean. From the interviewees we found out about children who lead a nomadic life with adults. According to them, before school these children mainly live in the forest, they don't go to kindergarten, don't know anything, "they even haven't seen colored pencils". In settlements children live with their parents only in the summer months and not in their homes but with relatives, where several families live in the same house. One of the interviewees said that babies sleep in tents absolutely naked on the sawdust in cradles suspended from the ceiling, because there is too little space.

Basic baby food products are the same as for adult population: fish; meat, not beef or pork but moose meat; sometimes bear meat; waterfowl

is widely used for food. Fish and meat are often eaten raw. There is no bakery in Farkovo, so bread is baked in every family and under conditions of very high prices for food, it contains a limited amount of ingredients: flour, water, baking soda and salt. Dough, kneaded of the aforementioned products, is baked in hot sand or in the oven, and this dish is called "Selkup bread". According to the local residents, children forgot about fruit and candies a long time ago. In autumn most of the children are sent to study to a boarding school, where all of them have serious digestive problems due to the drastic change of diet: instead of raw fish and meat with selkup bread – unusual soups, yeast bread and compotes.

In the presence of strangers the children were very calm, did not attract attention, didn't make noise, listened conversations between adults without interfering and spoke gently. When a stranger appears, children come closer to their parents, showing their curiosity to what is happening only by their presence. Teenagers do not demonstrate interest in adults' business. During the survey they tried to go to another room. Children (approximately from 3-11 years old) are very liberated, not shy, easily contact, they were very interested to be around unfamiliar adults during conversations with their parents. Children always greet other people and thank for little things. On the one hand the children are very obedient, but on the other – very active, always smiling. Nothing is forbidden to them, they do what they want but at the first request to stop, they stop an action. They are very responsive, for example, once we had to go to the other end of the settlement to conduct a survey, and a girl, whose house was recently visited volunteered to show us the way (and the way was quite long). The children use any opportunity to talk to new people. Teens of 11-18 years old are rude, they do not come in contact, rudely refused to conduct a survey, by any means pretend that they are not

interested in it and generally it does not concern them.

Children's ethnicity is determined quite pragmatically: small indigenous peoples of the North can potentially qualify for government assistance, for this reason children of mixed marriages are rarely determined as Russians. Because of ethnic origin loss sometimes confusion, concerning children's ethnic identification, occurs. Thus, we witnessed a situation when the question concerning ethnicity of a 14-year-old teenager, was answered that he is a Selkup. His father, who was nearby got indignant: "You are not a Selkup, you are Russian!" The son agreed, "Well, okay, Russian". The father asked: "Mom, what is his ethnicity?" The mother: "Ostyak". The father: «Well, okay. Write a Selkup". There were such situations where children's mother was a Selkup and their father was a Circassian, but children were Russians. Generally, children almost do not have information about their ethnos, and, as a rule, are not interested in their ancestors' history. Many teenagers refused to discuss their ethnicity, stating that "they are Russians", although they had characteristic phenotypic features of small indigenous peoples of the North. Children consider themselves belonging to an ethnic group because of granted benefits, including university admission. They don't speak their native language and don't know their national culture. Moreover, their parents believe that it isn't necessary for children to know their national language, it is more important to know English and, probably, Chinese. They want their children to study in Krasnoyarsk. Children studied the Selkup language in elementary school, but they do not speak it fluently, they know only a few words and can show the differences in writing from the Cyrillic alphabet. But even the fact that children are taught the Selkup language in school, parents do not consider as benefit, because there are several territorial Selkup dialects and in

Turukhansk district they teach not a local dialect, but that, which is common in Tomsk Oblast. It happens due to the fact that in Tomsk Oblast more attention is paid to indigenous peoples and quite successful attempts to revive the language and traditions are made.

In Turukhansk few bright, interesting and good-quality children's outdoor playgrounds were set up, in settlements we found at least four. These playgrounds propagandize good attitude towards their settlements by slogans "Love Turukhansk!" In Farkovo there is also such a high-quality children's playground; it is only one, but taking into account the fact that there are only two streets in the settlement, it is enough. Older children attend school. Adult population of Turukhansk have very negative attitude about the current situation of small indigenous peoples' children, as in many families where parents are alive children live in boarding schools, while their parents consume alcohol. Juvenile delinquents' department drives around the settlement visiting dysfunctional families in the mornings and takes their children to school. They are fortunate that the settlement is small, the locals say. The settlements dwellers say that initially people have negative attitude towards all children of indigenous peoples. It is connected to the fact that most of indigenous population is degrading and it affects their children. But in the course of time teachers observe children and if they understand that if a family is good, they change their attitude. Where Russians are dominant ethnic group, classmates also have negative attitude towards indigenous peoples' children: they say that they smell bad and try not to approach them once again. In Krasnoyarsk children of small indigenous peoples of the North are often called Chinese.

Adults say that children should be taught according to a special curriculum. They do not need advanced mathematics or nuclear physics

basis, it would be better to put greater emphasis on biology, and not in its present form but in more applied aspect. Some teachers tend to inculcate ethnic activities in children through extracurricular activities in schools, thus one teacher teaches them taxidermy. The vast majority of parents want their children to continue their education in Krasnoyarsk and other southern cities after they finish school, in the best case, they expect that their children will not return to their homeland. In Farkovo and Turukhansk there are no educational institutions to continue education: the only specialized school in Turukhansk where girls were taught to run the household and boys were taught the plumbing works and other blue-collar jobs was closed. Nowadays in Turukhansk only a music school functions and the local population is very proud of it, because the school students win prizes in regional competitions.

A lot of people believe that one of the main reasons for the decline and death of the national culture and loss of the ethnic roots is educational system that existed during the Soviet era, when children were taken to boarding schools away from their parents and the culture has faded away. Children aged 3 months were taken to kindergarten boarding schools. Their parents continued to live in the forest, practicing traditional forms of husbandry. 9 months a year a child spent in kindergarten boarding schools, the older children – in a boarding school; for three months period they were returned to their parents, but children didn't know what to do there after coming from conditions where they were wrapped in cotton wool to the forest where they had to hunt, at the same time saving themselves from annoying gnats. It was education system that became the reason of the fact that the 70s generation doesn't know anything about their own culture, doesn't practice the traditional ornamental arts and doesn't know their native language at all. Adults who grew up in boarding

schools say that when they studied at school, they were not allowed to speak their native language, they were beaten for speaking it and reeducated, as many children came to boarding schools directly from the tents, could speak only their native language and didn't know Russian. Children talked their native language only in secret... In boarding schools students of different ethnic groups studied together: Russians, Evenks and Selkups; within the class there were no problems based on a national basis, but on the other hand, while studying ethnic identity disappeared. One of the boarding school's students 15 years after its graduation, despite understanding of all the negative points connected with it said that it doesn't worth reviving the ethnic roots, as they shouldn't return to a state of "monkeys". But, perhaps, it was said in the heat of the moment, as nowadays ethnicity is preserved only by hunters and fishermen, who due to the way of life and government policy actively lose themselves in alcohol. Therefore a false impression that a Russified person is wealthy, sober and literate is formed, while a "national" is always drunk, using obscene native language.

Children are buried as well as adults in the cemetery, either crosses or monuments are erected. In former times (up to the 60s of the 20th century, when the last herds of deer were killed, when the last real shamans died) infants, as well as shamans were buried in especially carved hollows of tree trunks. Over time, as the trees grew, graves turned out to be at high altitude. Farkovo locals say that they often found children's graves in houses' cellars, as well as under the thresholds.

4. Resume

1. Psychological anthropology, introduced by Franz Boas' scientific school, also known as the "Culture and Personality" School can be the conceptual basis for cultural and anthropological

studies of small indigenous peoples of Krasnoyarsk Krai childhood. Such well-known concepts as “basic personality structure” and “modal personality structure”, introduced by the school’s scientists are of the highest significance.

2. The most effective method of studying the indigenous peoples of Krasnoyarsk Krai childhood culture is field studies that include direct observations and surveys of a studied cultural group. Expeditions carried out by Department of Cultural Studies of Siberian Federal University in 2010-2013 in the territories of Chulym, Selkups and Evenks’ compact residence, gave opportunity to make reliable ethnographic and cultural-anthropological description of the real condition

of indigenous peoples’ childhood in Krasnoyarsk Krai.

3. The main mechanism of preservation, reproduction and translation of the unique culture of small indigenous peoples of Krasnoyarsk Krai is reproduction of the traditional socialization practices, pedagogical and educational practices in the modern society. It appears that global transformations of the modern industrial society are actively destroying the traditional childhood culture of indigenous peoples of Krasnoyarsk Krai. In the nearest future, this culture will have only a virtual-information form or will disappear along with native languages of the cultural groups.

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**Культурно-антропологические
исследования детства коренных малочисленных народов
Красноярского края
(на материале полевых исследований
Сибирского федерального университета в 2010-2013 гг.)**

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В статье происходит обращение к генезису социальной антропологии детства, раскрываются основополагающие для нее понятия. Аргументированное утверждение, что сохранение, трансляция и воспроизводство конкретной культуры напрямую связаны с актуальным культурно-антропологическим состоянием детства, позволяет сделать шаг к рассмотрению культуры детства коренных малочисленных народов Севера, Сибири и Дальнего Востока, оказавшихся наиболее уязвимыми перед процессами глобальных трансформаций XXI века. Дети являются стратегическим субъектом, который мог бы сохранить и развивать уникальную культуру коренных народов, но именно эта категория населения оказывается наиболее уязвима в социально-культурном отношении, что демонстрируется на примерах чувлымской и селькупской этнокультурных групп. Глобальные трансформации современного индустриального общества активно разрушают традиционную культуру детства коренных народов Красноярского края. В ближайшем будущем эта культура будет иметь исключительно виртуально-информационную форму или исчезнет вместе с исчезновением родных языков данных культурных групп.

Ключевые слова: социальная (культурная) антропология детства, социализация, культурная трансмиссия, этнокультурная идентичность, модальная личность, «Культура-и-личность».

Исследование сделано в рамках выполнения государственного задания по теме «Разработка научно обоснованной концепции создания механизмов взаимодействия органов власти, бизнеса, этнокультурных групп, относящихся к коренным малочисленным народам Севера, Сибири и Дальнего Востока», а также в рамках гранта Красноярского краевого фонда поддержки научной и научно-технической деятельности.
