

**THE FEATURES OF ETHNIC IDENTITY IN THE NORTHERN
AREAS OF KRASNOYARSK KRAI (CENTRAL SIBERIA) ON THE
FIELD RESEARCH MATERIALS OF 2010-2016**

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Table of contents

Acknowledgements	3
Abstract	4
Related literature	6
Basic concepts of discourse theory	6
Examples of some discourse studies	9
Opportunities of discourse analysis	10
Theoretical framework. Discourses regarding ethnicity	15
Primordialist approach to understanding ethnicity	15
Instrumentalist approach to understanding of ethnicity.....	16
Constructivist approach to understanding of ethnicity	16
Ethnicity in modern philosophical discourse	18
Examples of ethnic discourse studies.....	19
Methodology	23
Rationale for discursive approach.....	23
Data collection procedures.....	23
Case Studies	26
The Interviews	26
The Pre-Soviet period.....	26
The Soviet period	30
The Modern period	32
The image of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North in cinema	43
Stable representations about the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North.....	44
The concepts of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North, which changed over time .	51
The image of the indigenous peoples in the perception of students in Krasnoyarsk	52
Thematic Analysis	59
The results of interviews	59
The results of film analysis	60
The results of associative experiment	61
Discussion	63
Interpretation of themes.....	63
Implications for further research	65
Recommendations for practice.....	65
Conclusion	67
Bibliography	70
Appendix	73
Interview guide.....	73
Table 1. Information on field research in the North of the Krasnoyarsk Territory (Krai)	74
Table 2. Information on the respondents.....	75

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Abstract

Issues of identity are among the major ones in the humanities and social sciences. A man as a social being needs to belong to a group and feel this belonging. One of the consistently popular identities over the centuries has been the ethnic identity. Ethnic identity is socially constructed and fluid which involves a sense of self-identification with an ethnic group, a sense of commitment and belonging, and social participation and practices. However, its popularity does not mean that the ethnic identity can be easily defined or that it is immutable. On the contrary, there are incessant discussions about the nature of ethnicity, about the process of its identification, etc.

At the end of the 20th century the indigenous peoples of the North faced the problem that the criteria of their ethnic identity ceased to be obvious, traditional and inviolable as before. The representatives of the indigenous peoples were actively involved into the process of discussion of what constitutes their identity and what it means to be “indigenous”. Enunciation and transmission of ideas about the features of the indigenous peoples, their relations with the non-indigenous world are the processes which draw not only the representatives of the indigenous peoples themselves, but also political and public figures, academic and journalist community, artistic intelligentsia.

In the present thesis the processes of constructing the ethnic identity by different actors are viewed as discursive. To achieve this goal, the thesis outlines the basic concepts of discourse by different authors and their opinions about features of discourse analysis. Also there is a brief analysis of the studies of ethnic discourse. In this work, the notion of what it means to be “indigenous” will be considered through the prism of discourse analysis.

In addition, the thesis constructs an understanding of the characteristics of the indigenous discourse, sounded by the representatives of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North. In addition, the author studied the image of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North in Russian film industry, meaning the shift to studying the indigenous discourse broadcast by non-indigenous sources. Finally, the thesis deals with determining which of the two indigenous discourses (articulated by the indigenous peoples of the North or in the mainstream cinema) is more influential. The thesis is based on such techniques as interviewing, associative analysis, philosophical analysis, art criticism, narrative analysis, and other methods. The respondents were the representatives of indigenous peoples of the North of the Krasnoyarsk Territory (Krai) (the Selkups, the

Nenets and Dolgan Peoples, the Kets, and the Yessey Yakuts), and Krasnoyarsk students, too.

Related literature

The author has analyzed an array of research literature on discourse, discourse analysis, and issues of ethnic identity. The major perspectives of ethnicity such as primordialist, instrumentalist and constructivist approaches are discussed with a broad focus on the significance of the discursive perspective of ethnic identity.

Basic concepts of discourse theory

This section presents the author's concepts of discourse, different understandings of its boundaries, structures with some examples of studies of the individual discourses, as well as certain peculiarities of discourse analysis in detail.

Discourse is traditionally understood in two main aspects. Firstly, the notion means a sequence of discrete logical steps in the mind as opposed to intuitively grasping the essence of phenomena (such representation is characteristic of classical philosophy). Secondly, discourse marks a specific mentality, manifested in the text (this concept is intrinsic in the French philosophy of postmodernism). During the second half of the 20th century there were developed several discourse theories based on this second understanding.

M. Foucault understood under the discourse related to each other communicative acts, the meaning of which is conditioned by the rules that exist in the group. Group rules determine the content of statements (what can be expressed) and their shape (how it can be expressed). In fact, discourse here is nothing but a process of the group self-identification through an act of communication, in which the social reality is formed, then the group takes some place in this social reality and specifies its own relationships with the other groups. Discourse is more resistant to change than the environment, since it allows the group to retain its identity and maintain its integrity. Nevertheless, discourse is not immutable, eternally sustained, on the contrary, "discourse is far from perfect, timeless shape, it is rather a piece of history, which imposes its own limitations, offers its division into parts, its transformation, its own specific ways of temporality" (Foucault, 1994). Therefore, there emerges the dual relationship between discourse and social practice; the case is their mutual influence, mutual dependence.

R. Wodak points out the mutual conditionality of discourse and social reality; she mentions that discourse is both social (forming) constitutive and is constituted by social reality at the same time. Discourse creates social practice, the identity of the group

members. Discourse both fixes them and transforms (Wodak, 1996). F.P. Casula expresses an interesting opinion, according to which not only discourse shapes social reality, being formed by its means, but it also creates actors themselves, “within the discourse not only worldview is produced, but in a sense, actors themselves, because their identities are not initially specified; they are formed politically, i.e. through discursive struggle for the denotation” (Casula, 2009: 60).

Culture is reproduced in the discourse, according to T.A. Van Dijk, on the one hand, culture is drawn from macrosocial level to microsocial level. These measures narrow discourse, putting it among semiotic codes (such as visual images, for example), one of the multiple culture expressions. On the other hand, discourse is able to reproduce culture most clearly, directly, precisely. However, T.A. Van Dijk says that discourse is both highly sought-after concept and a very vague one, which can be understood as having at least six meanings (as a social formation, as a genre, as a type of conversation, etc.) (Van Dijk, 1998).

On the one hand, N. Phillips and S. Hardy characterize discourses as something fundamentally incomplete and contradictory; on the other hand, discourses produce a “social reality that we perceive as solid and real. <...> Objects that make up the social world, including our identities, are formed in discourse. In other words, what we say and what we are is one and the same thing” (Phillips, Hardy, 2002: 1). N. Phillips and S. Hardy believe that social reality does not exist without discourse; it is impossible to know neither it nor ourselves without examining the relevant discourse.

Discourse is defined by E. Laclau and Ch. Mouffe as an area in which the values and meanings are formed. For E. Laclau and Ch. Mouffe the critical task is to determine the boundaries of discourse, but they come to the conclusion that even if we make efforts to close and control discourse, the result will be valid only for the point in time when the restriction took place, because discourse is a basically open and variable. Thus, while defining the boundaries of discourse the researchers go through its understanding as a sequence of “moments”, in each of which the signs that make up the discourse have a single meaning (important here is that E. Laclau and Ch. Mouffe remark on the idea that there can be signs with opposite meanings in one discourse). Fixing of such a single meaning for a sign, according to E. Laclau and Ch. Mouffe, is “articulation”. Consequently, discourse is a totality, a structure set by articulation (Laclau, Mouffe, 2001). E. Laclau and Ch. Mouffe also introduced the concept of “nodal points”, which refer to the discourse signs, concentrating the largest number of “points”.

Having indicated the difficulty of delineating the boundaries of discourse, E. Laclau and Ch. Mouffe defined an area which is close to discourse, but is not one, as “discourse field”. It consists of those values which had signs that are currently being in discourse. These values have been named “elements”. The basic openness, variability of discourse is an ongoing effort to transfer the values of the signs from “elements” into “points”, to master them, making them internal and discourse-related. E. Laclau and Ch. Mouffe speak about “overcrowding” of discourse with “infinite field of discursivity” (Laclau, Mouffe, 2001: 113). But if there is a field of signs, potentially able to enter the discourse (the field of “discursivity”), we can assume the existence of the signs that under no circumstances can be discursive. E. Laclau and Ch. Mouffe called them the “field of overdetermination”.

Discourse theory of hegemony by E. Laclau and Ch. Mouffe involves the study of the process of the struggle for the approval of regular elements of social practice, social structure, revealing itself in the space of the mass text, which reproduces the social structure of its own readers. In the course of this discourse study, the observer oversees the process of the social structure formation.

D.O. Timoshkin writes in his dissertation on the constant variability of social reality that is displayed in the discursive process, noting that “the dynamism and constant volatility is one of the main conditions of the discursive process, as each statement embedded in the everyday context must simultaneously take into account the difference in the subjective perception of the communication participants of the discussed object; this statement should thus seek to ensure that the number of its possible interpretations is the lowest as possible. <...> A text as a part of a discursive process is a space where the social meanings of the group recipients are constantly validated and challenged” (Timoshkin, 2016: 33).

Variability of discourse and its interdependence with social reality are some of its main characteristics, but another obvious point about discourse should be further specified: discourse is impossible to avoid. On the other hand, various discourses can be used to describe the same reality. The same action can be described in a heroic or a criminal discourse. Accordingly, the selected discourse will determine the individual words, expressions, style for the described social practices. Another important property of discourse was noted by N. Phillips and S. Hardy, who paid attention to the relationship between discourse and text: “Discourses are realized through a variety of texts, although they exist outside the specific texts that they make” (Phillips, Hardy, 2009: 51).

In the discussion of discourse enough attention is paid to its separation into two types – oral and written. “The difference between the oral speech and the text discourse is that in the speech boundaries and interpretation of communicative actions can be extremely unclear due to mutual communication settings of participants that the interlocutor puts into spoken words the same meaning as the speaker by default” (Timoshkin, 2016: 36). Consequently, the oral discourse analysis is possible only in case the interviewer and the respondent are in the same contextual field.

Based on different theories, modern scholars make an effort to identify individual types of discourse. For example, V.A. Kurennoi refers to the language and personality problems in the pedagogical discourse of the mid 19th – early 20th century (Kurennoi, 2007).

Examples of some discourse studies

In an effort to provide a context for our discussion of the indigenous discourse, I will present some original and relevant views on the diverse narrower variants of discourse.

For instance, D.O. Timoshkin in his dissertation of Candidate of Philological Sciences deals with the definition of the “post-Soviet” discourse, coming to the conclusion that “it is a set of statements describing the space and daily operations of a group in this space context, while the group originally differs from all the others thanks to this signifier – “post-Soviet”. Also “post-Soviet” discourse can be defined as the process of the symbolic redefining of the “former Soviet” space, as the word “post-Soviet” itself bears the great symbolic significance of the change, the transition from one state to another” (Timoshkin, 2016: 34). For the analysis of the post-Soviet discourse D.O. Timoshkin chose a massive literary text and a number of interviews, revolving around understanding of the “post-Soviet” phenomenon. Speaking of the relationship between discourse and social practice, D.O. Timoshkin describes that “the discourse both determines social practice and is determined by it” (Timoshkin, 2016: 32).

From the standpoint that discourse can create a certain identity, A.S. Makarychev defines discourse as a whole as “narratives that build identity”, and explores the Russian “Olympic discourses”, in particular, the Olympic discourse of the Kremlin authorities as a “tool of identity formation” (Makarychev, 2013). According to the author, the Olympic Kremlin discourse is based on four key elements; these are unity (Sochi Olympics contributes to the unity of Russia), modernization (modernization of the sports sphere in particular and society in general), “normal” (“one of the most important messages, which

the Kremlin would like to broadcast in the world through the Olympic project, acts as confirmation of Russia's "normality", universally recognized normative order complying with MOC regulations (Makarychev, 2013.) and security. But A.S. Makarychev also adds that "hegemonic discourse is able to fix the meanings ascribed to these ideas only partly, whereas a variety of other discourses generate a large number of alternative interpretations that ultimately hinder the Kremlin authorities to declare themselves the sole focus of the positively defined and comprehensive national identity" (Makarychev, 2013).

A.N. Bezrukov is engaged in the work of defining the specificity of fictional discourse (being a "paradigmatic structure, characterized by not only subjective component, but also by the origin of intersubjective reception (Bezrukov, 2015: 23)) and its research. He pleads that "the final plan-report of the coordinate system of fictional discourse should not become the final result of its analysis, but it should rather give a careful definition of the multiplicity of semantic nodal points in a spherical area" (Bezrukov, 2015: 24).

As for political distinguishing, S.A. Ragozina is concentrated on the study of discourse of "political Islam" and defines it as "a set of specified ideas in designed textual field, which makes forms that have the potential to be converted into political action" (Ragozina, 2013: 20).

These were some of the approaches to discourse being a tool of forming some perceptions that ultimately are in charge of creating a certain identity.

Opportunities of discourse analysis

Discourse analysis has become indispensable in modern cultural studies, which reject uniquely interpreted definitions found in the dictionaries and seek for the concepts that have relevance to the communication actors. In connection with this, A. Wierzbicka's concept analysis has become widespread along with the method of the association experiment described by Nazarov and Sokolov, etc. One more assemblage is studies based on discourse analysis. It is needless to say that discourse analysis is applicable in various sciences, including linguistics, sociology, anthropology, cultural studies, and so on. In addition, each science adapts it to their needs, the peculiarities of its methodology. The essential characteristic of discourse analysis is its focus on the social reality instead of understanding of the properties and structure of the text.

Virtually all researchers, mentioned earlier, when asked to name the main characteristics of discourse, spoke about its ability to constitute social reality and to be

constituted by it. Searching for the link between reality and discourse form, the standpoint of N. Phillips and S. Hardy is the goal of discourse analysis, offering to learn how texts take on meanings, on the one hand, and also how discourse constitutes social reality. In search for a material for the study, N. Phillips and S. Hardy offer not to analyze individual texts, but rather to advert to the corpus of texts, as well as to other phenomena endowed with semantic significance, such as cartoons. They state, “to understand from a discourse-analytical point of view why a particular person is a refugee, we need to understand how the discourses of asylum, immigration, humanitarianism, sovereignty and other help to empower the concept of “refugee” to certain meanings. To understand how these discourses have evolved over time, we can review such texts as cartoons, newspaper articles and international conventions. We must also consider the social context, i.e. wars, natural disasters, judicial decisions, international agreements, the current government, political developments in other countries in order to determine the extent of their involvement in the discourse events being studied” (Phillips, Hardy, 2009: 52).

At the same time N. Phillips and S. Hardy repeat that it is more correct to define the discourse analysis not as a method, but as a methodology, whose mainstay is socio-constructivist conception of social reality. In the framework of discourse analysis these researchers propose to resort to various methods such as narrative analysis, conversation analysis, and so on. N. Phillips and S. Hardy distinguish the following five reasons for scientific application of discourse analysis: “linguistic turn”; new and reconceptualized research topics; the revival of the critical management theories; development of organizational and post-bureaucracy forms; the limitations of traditional methods and theories. For this study the most interesting is the fourth of these identified reasons, so it is worth considering in more detail.

The end of the 20th century – the beginning of the 21st century is the period of active, occurring at high speed transformations that have affected the entire world. Nonetheless, they are particularly strongly visible in the environment of the peoples living in a traditional manner. It is in the organization of such groups, where tradition and progressive modernization trends are intertwined, you can fix the most diverse forms, which are to be studied by discourse analysis. N. Phillips and S. Hardy comment on this in the following way: “Today we are witnessing a large number of new organizational forms; wide dissemination of new information technologies; the increasing globalization of business, labor and culture, as well as resistance to them; the increasing role of businesses, which are based on the knowledge and signs’ application. These changes in practices have

led to the growing demand for the study of more ephemeral aspects of the organization. It becomes more difficult to study the organizations as if they were solid and fixed material objects. We are aware of their variability and inconsistency, as a result, we are forced to reveal stories, narratives and symbols, i.e. discourses. These discourses hold the mutually exclusive processes together and make them “real” for us. Discourse analysis offers a powerful way to study these fickle, ephemeral phenomena, and therefore it seems indispensable if we want to recognize organizational and management practices and report about them” (Phillips, Hardy, 2009: 61).

T.A. Van Dijk proposes to replace the term “critical discourse analysis” by “critical discourse studies” for several reasons, one of which is the absence of a method of discourse analysis as such, “discourse analysis itself is not a method, but rather an area of scientific practice, an interdisciplinary project, common in all the humanities and social sciences” (Van Dijk, 2009: 8). During the critical discourse studies, according to T.A. Van Dijk, any suitable methods can be used; among them he lists “grammatical (phonological, syntactic, lexical and semantic) analysis; pragmatic analysis of verbal and communicative acts; rhetorical analysis; stylistic analysis; the analysis of specific (genre, etc.) structures (e.g., stories, news, parliamentary debates, lectures, advertising texts, etc.); conversational analysis of chatting; semiotic analysis of audio and visual material and other multimodal parameters of discourse and interaction” (Van Dijk, 2009: 8).

Moreover, T.A. Van Dijk notes that it is quite difficult to distinguish between “methods”, “approaches”, “ways” in the process of critical discourse research; they may be combined, supplement each other, depending on the purposes of the work. The author also mentions the traditional sociological methods (such as an experiment, participant observation, etc.) as valid for critical discourse studies. Summing up such a large variety of methods, which are applicable in critical discourse studies, T.A. Van Dijk presumes the methodological pluralism to be the property of these studies.

Critical discourse analysis, despite its relevance in modern research, has some limitations that need to be taken into account in its application. E.V. Pereverzev identifies several such limitations, but it is important to pay attention to such limitation as the problem of scientific objectivity. It refers to the complexity of the objective analysis of the studied discourse due to the researcher’s belonging either to the same or a different discourse (Pereverzev, 2009).

It should be specifically mentioned that the material of discourse analysis is a text, but not always a verbal text. So, pictures, movies, cartoons, and other genres can be

perceived as texts. O. Adzhimas and E.A. Kozhemyakin scrupulously prove the validity of the application of discourse analysis for photojournalistic work while studying the representation of the authorities. They claim that “the photo is a socio-cultural text: it does not only reflect the existing socio-cultural realities, but it also focuses on the production and reproduction of culture or its components” (Adzhimas, Kozhemyakin, 2011: 34). As for photographs, O. Adzhimas and E.A. Kozhemyakin offer to analyze a visual representation, understanding it as “transmission of a message about reality (people, activities, things, events, situations) by the visual code; and encoding some of the information about the objective state of affairs with the help of visual-graphic semiotic means” (Adzhimas, Kozhemyakin, 2011: 34).

One should not ignore E.A. Kozhemyakin’s work, in which he examines the features of some institutional discourses. In particular, he considers the linguistic strategies of political, religious, legal, educational and pedagogical discourses. Besides this, E.A. Kozhemyakin draws attention to such discourse characteristics as lexical and grammatical structure, stylistic means, speech acts, “with which social institutions reproduce specific concepts, ideas, pictures of the world, and mythologies. Similarly, the key linguistic strategies ethnic discourse may be considered further.

Let us summarize this section with some of the most important provisions:

Virtually all researchers, who specialize in discourse, stipulate its mutual conditionality regarding social reality: discourse constitutes social reality, being constituted by it at the same time. In addition to the social reality in general, discourse forms individual actors, while being articulated by them.

Discourse is understood as a process of self-identification of the group via an act of communication, in which the formation of the social reality happens, the place in the group is identified and this group’s relations with the other groups are specified. Discourse is more resistant to change than the group environment, it allows the group to retain its identity and maintain its integrity. Nevertheless, discourse is not immutable or eternally stable structure. Discourse makes it possible to observe the process of the struggle for the establishment of the correct elements of social practices and social structure.

Different discourses can be used to describe the same reality. Accordingly, the selected discourse will be at the same time determined by the individual words, expressions, style chosen for the description of this or that social practice.

It is more correct to define discourse analysis not as a method, but as a methodology, whose “backbone” is social and constructivist conceptions of social reality.

Within the framework of discourse analysis, the researchers can use various techniques such as narrative analysis, conversational analysis, and so on. The material of discourse analysis is a text, but it is not always a verbal one. So, pictures, movies, cartoons and other genres can serve as texts too.

Theoretical framework. Discourses regarding ethnicity

This section will cover a variety of discourses, involving problems of ethnicity in both general terms, and problems of specific ethnic groups. The emphasis will be placed on who is the actor of the ethnic discourse; on whether articulated narrative is discourse in the sense that it constitutes a social reality, being constituted by it; and on the methods which researchers use to study the ethnic discourse. Ethnicity is an elusive concept and very difficult to define in one precise way. Just like any other areas of study, it grew out of diverse scholarly contributions. The first and foremost, I will refer to the consideration of philosophical discourses in which ethnicity is articulated; they are primordialism, instrumentalism and constructivism. Only then the ethnic discourses shall be studied.

Primordialist approach to understanding ethnicity

In the second half of the 20th century scientists started lengthy discussion of ethnicity, which is usually associated with the emergence of new states as a result of the collapse of the colonial system, as well as with the aggravation of mutual relations on ethnic grounds in a number of countries. The understanding of ethnicity was discussed within the framework of many theories, which are usually reduced to three approaches: primordialist, instrumentalist and constructivist ones. Primordialist approach (“primordial” means “original”) used to be dominant in science until 1960-70s (in Russia – until the early 1990s). Primordialists regarded ethnic societies as really existing, biologically replicable groups of people who share the basic values of their culture, forming single communication fields, which provided members of the group with identification and self-identification opportunities.

It is commonly accepted to allocate two basic directions inside primordialist approach: sociobiological, evolutionary and historical. Proponents of sociobiological directions understand ethnicity as objective primordial givenness, “primordialists highlight deep affective attachment of people in ethnicity <...> interpreting it as “an extended form of kin selection and relationship” (Arutyunyan, 1999). At the beginning of the 20th century there was emphasis on the biological component of ethnicity, Kh.B. Tadaev gives S.M. Shirokogorov’s definition of ethnicity as an example of over-reliance on sociobiological component. S.M. Shirokogorov equates an ethnos to a biological groups: it is “a group of people speaking the same language, recognizing their common origin, possessing complex

customs, lifestyles, stored in tradition and sanctified by it; all these features distinguish it from other ethnoses” (Tadtaev, 2001: 7).

In another primordialism direction – the evolutionary and historical primordialism, the founder of which is J.G. Herder, ethnic groups were regarded as “social, not biological communities associated with the social and historical context” (Arutyunyan, 1999). Representatives of the evolutionary and historical trend believed that ethnoses are groups that are different from other groups in their language, culture and the territorial community. The ethnic area has an impact on particular economic activities of people, their culture, social norms. Language seems a symbol of ethnicity, as it is one of the most significant objective evidence of an ethnic group. The components of the material and spiritual culture of the ethnos are also important features of the ethnos. In Russian science the most popular primordial views on ethnicity were expounded by Yu.V. Bromley.

Instrumentalist approach to understanding of ethnicity

The instrumentalist approach, also known as situationism, or mobilizationism, originated in the US in the 1970s. An ethnic group, according to the views of instrumentalism representatives, mobilizes (hence – “mobilizationism”) and supports its members in the pursuit of equality, overcoming alienation, restoring the violated national pride. Instrumentalism as a key concept considers the idea of ethnic “interest”, which is directly dependent on the structural factors of the social environment, which creates situational determination of ethnicity (hence – “situationism”), therefore, instrumentalism finds support in functionalism. In addition to functionalism, the instrumentalism basis is pragmatism as the achievement of economic or political interests for ethnocratic leaders with the help of the political activity of the ethnic groups, united artificially, sometimes even without objective grounds for the existence of the ethnic group.

Constructivist approach to understanding of ethnicity

Constructivism in ethnology and cultural anthropology originated in the late 1960s. According to F. Barth, ethnic groups emerge as a result of the interaction of a number of political, economic and historical factors. This creates a situational character of ethnic groups. Despite this, F. Barth denies a primordial character of ethnicity. Constructivism has the position that in defining ethnicity not signs are important, but the representations of these symptoms: representations about the general history, a myth of origin, etc. Thus, F. Barth believes that “no matter how group members differ in their external behavior, if they

claim to belong to category A, in contrast to other similar category B, they want to be perceived as A, not as B, so that their behavior should be interpreted and evaluated as behavior of A, rather than the behavior of B. In other words, they declare their affiliation with the culture of the ethnic group A and not B. <...> The ethnic boundary becomes the focus of research attention; this boundary defines the group, but not the cultural inventory that it contains in itself" (Ethnic groups and social boundaries, 2006: 17).

In keeping with the ideas of constructivism, B.E. Viner says that ethnicity is a social construction of communities, the construction process is based on the belief in a common origin, on the concept of single culture and the existence of natural ties. He invokes the analysis of postmodernism in the Russian ethnology and works by its most prominent representative – S.V. Sokolovsky. So, B.E. Viner alleges that S.V. Sokolovsky has put forward "theses that ethnographic facts are constructed by ethnographers, the existence of ethnic communities is derived from scientific discourse by researchers, and that the ethnic communities are a relatively new phenomenon and in the past there were no these communities" (Viner, 2005: 116).

Thus, we can conclude that the essence of constructivism, the most widely used in the US and other emigrant countries, is that "generated on the basis of cultural differentiation ethnic feel and its contextually formulated representations and 'doctrines' are the intellectual construct of writers, scientists, politicians" (Arutyunyan, 1999), i.e. ethnicity is constructed from "outside" and is understood not as an objective reality, but as a subjective construction. Representatives of constructivism approach stress the importance of widely accessible education and development of the media to broadcast such an intellectual construct. V.A. Tishkov, being a constructivist and defining ethnic community through a set of signs, almost coinciding with what was proposed by Yu.V. Bromley (common name, culture, origin, historical memory), points out that all these factors are "the result of much effort, especially the nation-building process" (Tishkov, 1996: 17). Moreover, V.A. Tishkov says that "<...> the ethnic affiliation has mobile and often multiple and multilevel character. <...> A person can change their ethnic identity in their lifetime, or portion the identity out between several cultures" (Tishkov, 2001: 161).

Constructivist ideas have not only supporters but also opponents; moreover, even constructivists themselves, in particular V.A. Tishkov, believe that the most productive in the interpretation of ethnicity is the integration of all approaches. A weak point of the constructivist approach may be, for example, the fact that "a lot of ideas that 'constructors' would like to engrain in people's minds, exist only in their own imagination, while other

ideas become consolidating force even under the conditions of inaccessibility of the media and the education system” (Arutyunyan, 1999).

Ethnicity in modern philosophical discourse

Ethnicity problem in modern philosophical discourse is studied by O.N. Bushmakina, who names essentialist and constructivist philosophical discourses as the most influential. In the first discourse an ethnic group is understood as something given, natural. The second discourse is designed to manifest the “imaginary structures of thought”, which are these ethnic groups. Constructivism began to take shape after the statements of B. Anderson about imaginary nature of the nation in particular and society in general. He believed that any community is the imaginary one, if its members do not know each other (Anderson, 2001: 31). O.N. Bushmakina says that the construction of ethnic identity is not a matter of purely theoretical, academic science, on the contrary, “the alignment of structures of this kind... is able to regulate social activities, penetrating into the social environment by means of communicative relations. By setting a certain vision of social identities, the imagined community can design social images and influence of specific social conditions, being objectified in discursive practices of the political groups and elites” (Bushmakina, 2005: 18-19).

The participation of the indigenous population in the processes of construction of ethnic identity is recorded by many researchers. In connection with these processes, the researchers introduce new terms to refer to this phenomenon, such as the “fourth world”, “Circumpolar civilization”. Circumpolar civilization is an aggregation of the indigenous peoples with their traditional culture, traditional forms of management, unique languages, etc. Combining certain northern ethnic groups in one term indicates their kinship, as well as the similarity of the problems that confront them at present, while the search for solutions of these problems should take place at the international level. Circumpolar civilization is supported at public and legal levels by the creation of international associations of the northern peoples and by the special rights granted to the indigenous peoples.

The development of the term “circumpolar civilization” is associated with the name of the sociologist V.A. Vinokurova. In her monograph she proves the unity of the circumpolar peoples at the cultural, historical, environmental and other levels (Vinokurova, 2011). She believes that the unique local civilization, which is certainly circumpolar

civilization, is able to bring an idea of a global polycivilizational and multidimensional space to the world.

M.S. Kuropyatnik connects the emergence of the term “circumpolar civilization” with the creation of the “fourth world”, which is a manifestation of the “supranational strategies” by the indigenous peoples (Kuropyatnik, 2006). From the standpoint of M.S. Kuropyatnik, the “fourth world” is a thought construct whose reality is bespoken by the ethnicity of the indigenous peoples. In other words, “circumpolar civilization” and the “fourth world” are discourses that are realized by representatives of the indigenous peoples and find their real embodiment in the ethnic identity of the northern ethnic groups.

Discourse of circumpolar civilization can be assessed in different ways. On the one hand, it pertains to the hope of preserving the unique cultures of the indigenous peoples of the North. But on the other hand, the introduction of the new term is associated with changes in social reality, lobbied by political actors. This position is shared by such researchers as K.V. Kiselev (Kiselev, 2013), N.S. Shkurko (Shkurko, 2012) and others. Besides, the emergence of circumpolar civilization discourse is evaluated positively, because it involves the possibility of self-affirmation of the indigenous northern peoples, transfer of their status from the peripheral to the central one, raising the low status of the northern peoples. O.B. Podvintsev can be called one of the supporters of this point of view (Podvintsev, 2013).

Examples of ethnic discourse studies

O.K. Shevchenko admonishes about the importance of the study of ethnic discourses, noting that for the 21st century it is characteristic that “the discourse of authorities goes into the discourse of ethnicity more and more” (Shevchenko, 2015: 169-170). Perhaps this is due to a large amount of studies about the discourses of certain ethnic groups living in the Russian Federation – the Yakuts, the Udmurts, the Buryats, the Germans and others.

E.G. Maklashova studies the discourse of ethnicity on the material of socio-political publications in the Republic of Sakha, wondering how in spite of the trend towards unification, the Yakuts continue to maintain their ethnic identity. The author recurses to discursive research, because it is “intended to establish the features and mechanisms of the construction of ethnicity, ethnic self-identity in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), to identify the semantic meanings, factors and markers of ethnicity” (Maklashova, 2013: 114). The study allowed E.G. Maklashova to conclude that “ethnicity discourse in the Republic of

Sakha (Yakutia) is based on the prevalence of primordial approaches” (Maklashova, 2013: 119), while constructivist or instrumentalist approach were not so well supported in the discourse of Yakut ethnicity. E.G. Maklashova makes several interesting conclusions, in particular, about a shift in focus from political and economic markers to cultural markers of ethnicity. Yet the concepts of “power” and “ethnicity” are closely related to each other.

Using content analysis of printed texts, published in the media of the youth organization “Jugendheim”, S.V. Kardinskaya explores “discursive space of the ethnic identity actualization” (Kardinskaya, 2005a: 128) of the Germans, which arose in Izhevsk along with the revival and maintenance of the ethnic identities among the Jews, the Udmurts and other nations against the background of indifference of the major population to issues of ethnicity. The term “ethnic community” is important for our work. S.V. Kardinskaya introduced this term to define “discursive space, establishing a distinction between ‘we’ and ‘they’; this discursive space reveals its existence only in the discourse of the subject, reproducing this distinction by interpretation of their own belonging to a community. <...> Ethnic tradition is actually present only at the point of distinction, or at the point of the subject. Reproduction of ethnicity in the subject’s discourse involves a situation of identification that is new walk-through about ethnic tradition and its interpretation” (Kardinskaya, 2005a: 134-135).

The author notes that ethnic identity actualization takes place on the basis of concepts that were formed in the scientific discourse (primordialism discourse and constructivism discourse). Having analyzed media texts, S.V. Kardinskaya concludes that the German ethnic identity represented in them is not a reflection of the current reality, but rather a construct, “the media do not reflect certain independent ethnic ‘reality’, but form its symbolic images and patterns, in which it only exists. Presence of some “German” construct in Izhevsk is doubtful; ethnic reality is only found in the process of distinguishing between ‘our’ and ‘other’. <...> Ethnicity is updated in the process of self-reflection of a community calling itself in a certain way” (Kardinskaya, 2005a: 134).

Ya.V. Rakacheva also chose text content analysis for the study of the ethnic situation in the Kuban region. The subject of ethnic discourse in publications is not youth ethnic organizations, but the political elite, “a common form of the influence of power elites is their ideological influence on the mass consciousness of the ethnic population. <...> Representatives of the elite <...> are the main authors of today, who formulate and distribute modern ethnic ideas in the mass consciousness” (Rakacheva, 2014: 106-107). Among the elite Ya.V. Rakacheva names politicians, artistic intelligentsia, representatives of

NGOs, journalists and others. Ethnic ideas spread by the elite representatives largely appeal to the creation and instilling of the image of “the other”, so they resort to “security” strategy. In the context of the traditions that exist in the Kuban region, the most important concepts are “home”, “our home”, “our laws”, with “our” meaning primarily Slavic, Cossack traditions. It is interesting that the preservation of the ethnic group should be carried out including the help of government resources, “ethnic movements’ activists mobilized under the aegis of ethnic slogans claim on government resources, benefits, etc. The basis of these claims is confidence that the ethnos should be protected by the state to the same extent as cultural monuments are protected” (Rakacheva, 2014: 108).

S.V. Kardinskaya refers to the construction of ethnic identity in the ethnofuturism discourse on the example of the Udmurts. Ethnofuturism, which arose in Estonian scientific community in 1994, involves the union of the two aspects of the ethnic culture of the Finno-Ugric peoples. On the one hand, it is a traditional, primordial component of this culture. On the other hand, it is modern, which allows the researchers to insert ethnicity in the rapidly changing world. According to experts, whose opinions S.V. Kardinskaya cites, “ethnofuturism <...> is <...> outlook of those who have quitted their own environment, but have not yet adapted to the “other” environment (Kardinskaya, 2005b: 124). This situation is characteristic of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North, who have largely abandoned the traditional way of life, but have not fully fit into the modern urban life yet.

The ethnofuturism discourse considers ethnicity as a “space of creativity – what is created each moment, without any rules and canons” (Kardinskaya, 2005b: 125), for supporters of ethnofuturism ethnicity seems deeply linked with the concept of the collective unconscious by C.G. Yung, with the simulation of the deep layers of the psyche, with the search for ancestral homeland. While studying the ethnic discourse of the Germans S.V. Kardinskaya had an interesting finding that the reproduction of identity is observed only in the very discourse, but the “German” nature is not detected among the ethnic Germans living in Izhevsk. Searching for the Udmurts’ motherland and its discovery also brings about revealing the “universal” character of this ethnic group, which finally results in that “the Udmurts become, according to ethnofuturists, a kind of ‘messianic’ people, who will lead the world to a new civilization. The ethnofuturism discourse, therefore, questions the existence of ethnicity as the limitation or specificity, devastating the “place” of ethnicity, freeing it from all of certain ethnic manifestations” (Kardinskaya, 2005b: 127). By trying to recreate the ethnic world, the ethnofuturism discourse, on the other hand, dilutes it, “destroys the reality of ethnicity”.

So there is a wide range of studies devoted to the general issues of the existence of ethnic discourse with the corresponding terms, such as “circumpolar civilization” and the “fourth world”.

Finally, the researchers note that in the ethnic discourses of peoples living in the Russian Federation there is a reliance on the primordial concept articulated in the philosophical discourse.

Methodology

The thesis used a range of qualitative research methods in order to enhance credibility and validity of the results obtained: field research, interviews, narrative analysis, associative experiment, philosophical analysis and art criticism.

Rationale for discursive approach

The methodology base of this study was discourse analysis. The most popular philosophical discourses, in which ethnicity principle is articulated, are primordialism, instrumentalism and constructivism.

Primordialism can be described as sticking to the point of view on the real nature of an ethnos, while ethnic societies are regarded as really existing, biologically replicating groups of people who share the basic values of their culture, forming unified communications field, providing the group members with possibilities for identification and self-identification.

Instrumentalism puts forward the idea of “interest”, which is directly dependent on the structural factors of the social environment that creates situational determination of ethnicity.

The essence of constructivism is that ethnicity is understood not as an objective reality, but as a subjective construct, acquiring its reality in time. The conventional nature of ethnicity is perceived unconsciously by its participants and that is critical. Ethnicity from the standpoint of social constructivism can be attributed to a number of institutional facts, as one of their most important properties is participants in collective intentionality are unconscious of conventional nature of the facts. This happens due to the fact that while socializing people take cultural institutions for granted, being not aware of their ontology, and also because in the process of the institute development its participants do not find it necessary to realize the collective intentionality, which confers the institutional status and function.

Data collection procedures

In the course of writing the thesis the field research was supported by six expeditions to the north of the Krasnoyarsk Territory (Krai) in the remote villages, which are the places of compact residence of several indigenous Northern and Siberian ethnic groups, i.e. the Selkups, the Yessey Yakuts, the Nenets and Dolgan Peoples. During

expeditions the author visited not only monoethnic but also multiethnic communities, whose residents have contacts with other different northern ethnic groups and with society at large. More than that, a combination of philosophical analysis and art criticism, developed by V.I. Zhukovsky and N.P. Koptseva to study fine arts, in this thesis was adapted for the study of cinema works.

During the field research the author collected more than 50 interviews of the respondents among the indigenous peoples of the North and Siberia, dedicated to the ethnic indigenous identification and self-identity, such as answers to the question what it means “to be indigenous” in the modern world. The emphasis was placed on their traditional activities by virtue of their ethnos’s conserving functions in the views of the indigenous peoples. Philosophical analysis and art criticism were applied to Russian films, which present the image of the indigenous peoples. The respondents for the association experiment conducted to study sustainable images of the indigenous peoples were the students of Krasnoyarsk universities.

One more practical technique used is the associative experiment, which emerged in the late 19th century. According to some sources, it was introduced by English scientist F. Galton. In 1879, he tested the invented method, the procedure was as follows. He wrote 75 words, one word on each of 75 cards, then put them aside for a few days. After some time he returned to the cards, flipped each in turn and wrote down two associations, which first came to his mind when he read the words. The results of the experiment were destroyed by F. Galton, as they revealed the essence of the thought processes so clearly that it was not possible to find an appropriate form for their descriptions and corresponding publications, which would not obscure the results.

C.G. Jung also resorted to the association experiment in his practice in order to “reach a dark sphere of man” (Jung). He called the method of the associative experiment “word associations”, or “mental associations” and assumed it to be one of three means, together with the analysis of dreams and the “method of active imagination”, for the detection of the archetypal images in collective unconscious. C.G. Jung offered to his interviewees a list of one hundred words, he read out one by one and fixed the time spent on writing associations. In addition to timing C.G. Jung paid attention to the reactions accompanying the emergence of associations. If the patient was nervous, stammering, C.G. Jung paid heed to the stimulus that caused such a reaction in the belief that it is an indication that the subject had this or that complex. After consideration of all one hundred words C.G. Jung repeated the list again, focusing also on those stimulating words, the

responses to which did not match during the first and second readings. In his practice C.G. Jung discovered 12 types of violations of the reaction, which should attract the researcher's attention: "If you want to know what worried the man, look at the words that caused the violation. Connect them, and you will have a good story" (Jung).

Following C.G. Jung psychologists have continued to use the associative experiment, but in modern science, it is also used in linguistics, sociology, political science. For example, using it you can learn mood of the electorate in a more truthful way, than those who carry out normal social surveys. Here we can mention the work by E. Krasova, who investigated the images of the federal and regional politicians (in Voronezh region) by using the directed associative experiment (the association with birds, flowers and literary heroes) (Krasova, 2010); as well as article by T.A. Bondarenko, who has been studying the perception of law enforcement agencies (Bondarenko, 2006).

So the main research methods of the ethnic discourse based on case studies comprise content analysis of the media publications, the content analysis of associative experiment and so on. But the primary method of data collection for the field research was in-depth semi-structured interviews. In-depth interviews provide conversational communication between the researcher and an interviewee with the help of active asking and listening. Interviews also allow participants to express their thoughts and feelings in their own words that will help to elicit "deep" information or knowledge about their experiences, meanings, opinions, and interpretations. Each interview was transcribed verbatim for analysis.

Case Studies

The cases studies can be divided into three sections. The first one consists of the interviews collected during the field research and involves narrative analysis. The second one is based on the perceptions of the matter reflected in Russian films, though not many research material, it was found quite fruitful for art criticism and philosophical analysis. The last section is concentrated on the results of the associative experiment processed using content analysis.

The Interviews

The interviews presented here allow us to understand the difference between self-identity of the indigenous peoples in pre-Soviet, Soviet and modern time (diachronic aspect) and to compare people's moods according to their main activity and way of life (synchronic aspect).

The Pre-Soviet period

The pre-Soviet period is the time of active work of generation of the grandfathers of modern middle-aged adults. This period was characterized by employment in the traditional forms of fishing, hunting, cropping, etc. that are virtually identical to the indigenous ethnic groups living in the North of the Krasnoyarsk Territory (Krai), and only a fraction of traditional employment differs between some of these particular peoples. These types of traditional economic activities are: reindeer herding, hunting (wild deer and sable hunting dominated), fishing. Let us refer to some records:

I grew up until I was 7 years old in the tundra, I saw that the people there do not sit without work. There is the attitude that all the locals are dependents, all of them want everything for free. But in the tundra it is impossible to be dependents and sit without work. I have a grandmother who had wandered in the tundra until she became 65 years old. It is impossible to sit without work there. I saw it and it helps me today. That prevented me from just sitting with you to chat. I am trying to find what I could simultaneously. Anna, Dolgan

Evenki live in Sovrechka, their activity all year round is deer graze, they graze in the forest. There are swamps, mostly polar fox, with very few sables. And fishing. Keto¹, I do not know what they do, there are very few sables there, up the river. In Kellogg this is fishing, picking berries, red bilberries. The Selkups are more forest, they roamed a little in the tundra.

¹ That is the self-referential name.

There are tundras in the area, but they have been engaged in hunting and fishing more than the Evenks. The Evenks have always had reindeer, always endless expanses of tundra. The Selkups kept deer to move and eat. I like the way they shoot. They never shoot away. Shoot to seat the prey on the gun. Dmitry, Selkup

For the most part men were engaged in traditional ways of management, while women were busy with bringing up children, sewing, cooking.

Women are repairing sheds² – saw skins, which were torn, make a cover of the new calico, the outer cover of waterproof canvas so that neither snow nor rain drench through the shed, so as without leaking. Life in the tundra is very difficult, you cannot understand. Zinaida, Dolgan

The traditional activities were taught to children by parents. And the training process was latent: many children learned themselves looking at what the parents were doing.

Naughty children – like to put them at the corner – in general there is no such thing. Children are busy. Everyone has something to do. Even a kid, he could take a maut³. He sees who is doing what. After deer. Father shepherd went after the deer, he runs in the same direction. They see who is doing what. Olga, Dolgan

I learned to sew at home on my own. You see what parents do and take example by them. We watched, then have learned ourselves. Ulyana, Dolgan

Also, parents specifically demonstrated how to perform a particular action:

Embroidery, my mother was very good at sewing. She once made me a doll, so that I sewed clothes for this doll, embroidered in Dolgan, a Dolgan pattern. “So, if you’re not going to work, then at least you will sew and sell this to earn your bread”. ... My mother taught me when I was six years old. They taught throughout everything at this age. And she would say when cooking something: “See how things are done. If I’m sick all of a sudden, you’re an only girl, you’ll be cooking”. There’s a soup of partridge, how to handle everything. So they slowly taught all the children who go in the tundra, how to process fish, and how to process raw and frozen meat, taught everything. How to care for the deer. Zinaida, Dolgan

The leading work principle among the representatives of the indigenous small-numbered peoples in pre-Soviet times can be named an ecological economy: according to the respondents, their ancestors had never hunted more animals or fish than needed to feed their families and making clothes.

² Small frame windowless hut of Siberian people, also called *balok*

³ Maut is a lasso for catching deer, 9-16 m in length. Braided maut is made from the skin of adult deer.

Among the Selkups and all the peoples of the North there is no sense of hoarding like saving for the future, for keeping. Two killed – enough for food, right. Dmitry, Selkup

Another far reaching principle that guided the ancestors of the contemporary indigenous small-numbered peoples is in constant readiness to share with those in need with what is available. This was manifested in the distribution of hunting or fishing bag of game among relatives and friends, and in the tradition to entertain any guest, who called on. The interviewers note that they still try not to let the guests leave without at least a little, symbolic gift, or without feeding them.

I have a Nenets clothes. This year, I finally have not sewn it myself, but bought. I have previously had my own clothes, but I have given it all way in the tundra. I am a good soul, I do not keep anything. And all the shoes were given away. ... I used to have whatever. Any kamus⁴ dressed and pretty. I gave everything to someone. Earlier, though people were a little bit greedy, but the Nenets customs were such, if a guest comes to you from far away from somewhere, even if you do not know the person, it is necessary, here comes a guest, from time immemorial, always, custom, even earlier, in the old days, the previous times, a greedy man he is always greedy. He wouldn't even treat a man with tea. But it is very bad. According to our customs, it is a great sin. A man came to you from afar, such, well, a stranger, or even a lost man, you are obliged to treat him under the laws of the Nenets, under good laws, under the concepts of good people, a man must welcome a man, even if a man came at night. The hostess, the owner should naturally say. We should light a fire, light a stove. And meet the guest, even if it is night. Drink tea, feed, warm the guest. Give him shelter for that time while he is here. And then in the morning, if the person leaves, we should have something to give him: either to kill a deer, or to give a deer, or a good knife, anything which is good. And people should not regret about this. If a guest is a woman – be sure to give her a handkerchief, a kamus to give for gloves. You should not give many, give two kamuses – and that is good. Or ornaments for a kamus. Nadezhda, Nenets

Another important activity in addition to fishing and domestic affairs is shamanism, judging by the stories of interviewers, it used to have and continues to have a significant symbolic capital. Usually with no additional questions about professional affiliation of their grandfathers our respondents did not start themselves talking about those generations, but if someone from ancestors was a shaman, this fact was mentioned with a sense of pride.

Our grandfather was a shaman. Tatiana, Ket

⁴ Climbing skins

My grandmother believed in shamanism, she had all these charms. Then ethnographers came, scraped the whole village. The old charms they have whisked away from the old women. They gave them bottles. My grandmother was not a shaman, her mother was a shaman. She treated people, and like this. Valery, Selkup

I had a grandmother, Maria Gavrilovna she was. Her mother was a pure shaman. We sometimes also do something a little, to shaman. But you can never just talk about it plainly. Tatiana, Selkup

We believed in shamans. My grandmother was, and we believed her. My grandmother was a shaman. Now there are no shamans, have already died. Our grandmothers' all things guys-brothers removed and buried somewhere. Then came ethnographers and constantly asked. The guys removed the things, so as not to be touched. Irina, Selkup

One of the respondents belonging to the Evenk ethnic group noted that the shaman's powers are often passed down through one generation, hinting thereby the probability that she is the heir and successor to her grandfather-shaman, stipulating also that the real shaman would never admit being a shaman, as he/she is "a person loving solitude".

I learned my tree, my grandfather was a shaman. All this has passed a generation skipping. ... Current shamans are not real, they shout loud for the entire village to hear. Never a person who has something, would say 'I have it and be afraid of me'. Never. A man never knows, that the person has something. This man just loves solitude. He would not live in a society, this person. ... If I have to live alone – I will live alone. Very often I feel like this. A bunch of children, I want to go somewhere so that nobody could be heard close. Very often such a feeling catches me. I want peace and loneliness. Elena, Evenk

Shamanism remained among hunters, fishermen and reindeer herders in the form of household rites for fishing luck. Forces of nature continue to be animated.

It is forbidden to kill a bear wrongly. If you get a bear, always leave a piece, cut the paws off and hang them up. We have such a tradition – you cannot kill the fortieth bear. If you do not do this, you will always die. Or it will be bad for you. It is better not to get caught by the fortieth bear, he will kill you himself. Tatiana, Selkup

These listed principles were: to take from nature as little as necessary for survival; willingness to share the latest; the presence of a shaman in the kin; animation of nature and coaxing it, etc. They are the subject of pride for their ancestors among the contemporary indigenous peoples. They also mentioned continuity and conservation of these principles.

The Soviet period

The Soviet period embraces the generations of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North, whose active life was in the years of the USSR until the early 1990s. During this period the life of these indigenous people changed dramatically, the policy of the Soviet authorities led to the collectivization of reindeer herds in the sovkhos (state farms) or the kolkhoz (collective farms); the results of hunting and fishing were centrally collected; there were founded centralized cattle and livestock farms.

Sovkhoz, kolkhoz were before. Once on the Taimyr peninsula, we earlier had barns in each village, poultry houses, we kept pigs and fur animals. Skins of blue foxes were given to the state and traded at the international auctions. Irina, Dolgan

Hunters and fishermen have become engaged in their hunting and fishery not within the minimum needed for the life of their families, but at their best.

During the Soviet era there were sovkhoses in the villages, the people were organized. There were no bad hunters and fishermen. Delivered tons. Hunted, were leaders. Hunters lived well, could afford to earn over the winter for buying "Buran", furniture. In the village the richest people used to be the hunters, lived very well off. Dmitry, Selkup

The people were involved in their traditional activities, today they also say that traditional activities are alive and evolve. But in those years, when every village of our Khatanga area had deer to provide economy, and each sovkhos, kolkhoz had not just one herd of deer. A half of the population was occupied by original traditional economic activities. Then along the way, there were fishing, reindeer herding and hunting. And all the results were received by kolkhozes and sovkhoses. There were collection points, for this people received wages. There were no any specific problems: they produced, they delivered, for this they received the money, though it wasn't not large, probably it wasn't. I judge by parents. They were not well-off, of course. ... At that time the households were very strong. In kolkhozes there were many deer, people wander, have cultural exchange, go to visit each other. Olga, Dolgan

At the same time the authorities provided the hunters with the necessary supplies – guns, bullets, networks in virtually unlimited amounts, allowing hunters and fishermen not to save.

I missed a couple of times – "was left without". They counted all. This is because it is difficult to obtain. The Soviet government gave everything. For the hunt I took 10 thousand cartridges, the sovkhos gave and then deducted from the salary. They did not need. During the

perestroika all was over. They gave anybody so that you work in the sovkhos, whether you are a Selkup, a Russian, a German – whoever. They issued weapons, engines, nets. Dmitry, Selkup

A part of the collected products was processed locally, mostly these were the products of the northern fish factories. Most of the share was taken to the mainland, where the further processing and distribution of finished products took place. The food industry had a complex organization and northern trappers were its primary, procuring link, not caring and not even thinking about what happened next with the harvested production. They, like the other Soviet workers, were focused on meeting the deadline of the plan and outperforming the plan to shoot, to kill, to catch the specified number. Women continued to be engaged in household chores, but they also worked in the sewing workshops.

Modern representatives of the indigenous small-numbered peoples, whose work activities at least partially fell on the Soviet period, and those who joined in later almost unanimously believe that the Soviet system of centralized collection of prey was set up perfectly for the northern peoples. They were engaged in their traditional businesses, receiving reasonable funding for their work, without thinking whether the subsequent industrial units cope with the harvested volumes.

And then perestroika came and the collapse of everything. And terrible problems started. Dmitry, Selkup

There are no sovkhoses, which used to be in all the villages. People were engaged in fishing, hunting, fur animals' farming. All people worked, received the salary. When everything was closed, there was nothing left, 4 thousand roubles for nomadic peoples in villages and that's all. And what is 4 thousand? Go buy a couple of loaves of bread and something else – and that's all. Everything was cut off. Sovkhoses were subsidized by the state. The grants were huge, but not now. In Katyryk there was farming, foxes were bred, now there is an oppressive situation, the empty cells are there. Maya Dolgan

The vast majority of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North would like to have the old centralized system restored.

Open companies, procurement centers, which would take these products at the normal price. Yes, there would not have been any people in the village, everyone would have gone into the tundra. People do not go there, because, why, for what, where? There were previously taken partridge, fish – all species, all breed were accepted without problems, hare was taken, polar fox was taken, deer – all the more. Now of all species only deer is taken and at such price, which does not justify even the cost. Anna, Dolgan.

With respect to introducing the children into traditional forms of management, the respondents are of the opposite opinions. Some believe that the education of children in boarding schools and their separation from the house is one of the fundamental reasons for the destruction of the traditional way of life.

Times have changed, God has kept us in all these times, has left us here. Assimilation has passed, a lot of half-breds have appeared, nevertheless, we remained. And there was a time when we all wanted to merge with the great Soviet people, were ashamed of our peculiarities, when at school we were not allowed to speak our language, but forced to speak Russian, when all of our features were rubbed out. It has its big disadvantages. ... Our children were torn from the tundra. But the reindeer herders stayed, then it is acceptable to God. Anna, Dolgan

Others ascertained that the Soviet government supported the children education of employment of traditional types.

In the Soviet times, chairmen of kolkhozes encouraged schoolchildren very much: they helped adults to catch gadflies, especially in August, when they attack deer. They spread skins and counted how many gadflies they beat, right by number. How much a gadfly costs, they were considered students of the shepherds. All put together, counted, there were duties on par with senior herdsman. My husband once told the competitions were organized who kills more, how many – for them not to get lost. Binoculars were given to them for memory, when went to school by the 1st of September. Olga, Dolgan

The Modern period

The life of the modern ISNP falls within the post-Soviet time, the economy of which is based on market relations. But not all the representatives of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North could adjust to a new track of life.

In 1983 I knew that in my native Kresty, in the village, one reindeer brigade remained there, an only brigade. There was some sort of breakdown. Olga, Dolgan

Nope deer, domesticated deer only in Syndassko, in Novorybnoe. Previously, there had been deer, somewhere in 1992 disappeared. Director of sovkhoses, kolkhozes couldn't provide them with feed. They have probably eaten their moss, a little of it grew there. All of them were killed. Ulyana, Dolgan

There also can be identified four main groups of ISNP in accordance with their type of employment. The first group is involved in traditional activities. The second is the

employees of municipal enterprises and the workers employed in commercial enterprises. The third is individual entrepreneurs. The fourth is the unemployed and rather marginalized people so they were excluded from sampling.

People engaged in non-traditional activities

The first group is usually represented by the inhabitants of villages in which municipal and commercial structures have minimal presence. They were stronger derogated from the USSR collapse than all other people, because, as a rule, these are hereditary fishermen, hunters and herders who wished to be engaged in traditional activities like their ancestors and to get paid for this work as their parents did. But there is no a centralized system of procurement any more.

This abandonment, that the herders were left to themselves. They were abandoned by the state. ... I think that our authorities do not want to look at this problem. YaNAO⁵ looks, in their reindeer husbandry there is a processing of everything, nothing is likely to disappear: guts, antler, even the contents of the intestines, everything is used. Anna, Dolgan.

Now private companies buy up production of ISNP on market terms, i.e. at low cost. Fishermen, hunters and herders cannot carry their products far away from home in order to sell them on more favorable terms due to lack of adequate logistics. Therefore, they are forced to sell the prey on the spot at the lowest prices of their work, therefore they have to work a long time, increasing the volume of production, so as to make a living.

The same group of workers receives a monthly “nomadic” payment from the state, reindeer herders also get government subsidies, the size of which depends on the herd size. A part of the represented group spends received funds on sustaining very modest existence of their own families: food, clothes and shelter.

As poor reindeer herder had carried this burden a thousand years ago on his sled, his products, so still he carries on. Olga, Nenets

The other part of the population is highly susceptible to alcohol abuse, spending most of the funds on the purchase of alcoholic beverages.

When they are in the village, you'll be surprised at what drunkards they are, always in search of a drink. In the forest, they are completely different people. You come to them in the forest and wonder at how different they become. They do not drink, they are masters. You come to Borya's house – empty, bare, although he is one of the best hunters in the area. And in the woods his place is clean, neat, all upholstered with fur skins, everything is beautiful.

⁵ Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug

In the forest, we never drink, we work. At 7 o'clock in the morning we get up, at 12, at 1, at 3 a.m. we arrive from work. I myself earned 28 sables with my son in just one month. How many months we do not drink there – spring, autumn, winter. In summertime we drink. Bib really. Tatiana, Selkup

In view of the weak financial security, on the one hand, and the desire to continue to be engaged in the traditional activities, on the other hand, the members of this group are not often interested in the education of their children.

My brother, his wife and their two daughters. Although it is believed that traditionally the Nenets people give birth to many children. Two daughters for a Nenets man is a very small number, so he knows that for 6 thousand, which he and his wife receive, they will not be able to teach their daughters. And whether the children go to school? A lot of us are not motivated. No motivation to learn. Olga, Nenets

We take the children from school. But they work. Really work. ... Why don't our children have education ever? We are all in the forest, the forest, the forest. We try to the forest, to the forest. Education we have secondary. All – the forest, the forest, the forest. Tatiana, Selkup

Dukh has all the whole family in the forest, the boys followed in the footsteps, all in the woods with him. ... Even now, only girls come to study, the boys do not come. They will study until the 4th grade, to the 5th they will be sent, and then taken back. So they are with their parents and graze deer all the way. It was the same in Farkovo. My generation was such, who studied in a boarding school, so that not to break them away, they boys went hunting, fishing for the boarding school. They went to check the traps on the own. On holidays they were taken back to the camp. Dmitry, Selkup

For children from this group getting the education often leads to their failure to return to parents' work; their return can turn out tragic.

If you do not receive an education, where to work? ... Neither Lerka nor Natashka, no one returned. They all stayed there. Finished Herzen⁶ and mainly all stayed there. Natashka is in ISNP work. Lerka finished, works as a plasterer-painter in St. Petersburg. Sipping the good of civilization, hardly anyone is trying to return to the village. In youth, I wondered, having served in the army, they came back to drink, drink and die. Alyoshka that year drowned, a soldier, three years served somewhere on contact as an ensign. Came to the village for holiday, drank off and stayed there. Came as a manly man – dressed in the city manner. But has he only started to drink – a derelict. Dmitry, Selkup

⁶ The Herzen State Pedagogical University in St. Petersburg

We have to be fanatic of this activity, in order to live in these conditions, especially considering what state support herders get. In fact you have to be a fanatic. A person to stay in the reindeer herding should not know another way of life. But children go to a boarding school and that's all. ... The only thing we got used to is comfort. I dodge. I would like to have it warmer, lighter, so as not to run into the hole to get water. Anna, Dolgan

15 children, whose parents were sedentary in the village, we decided to bring them into the tundra to reindeer herders for a month. We made the children ready, bought what necessary and went. I watched the children, many did not like it. Did not like the Tundra, it's not theirs, they were not born in the tundra. This is not for them. The first time was interesting, a week must have been interesting. And then they lacked a TV, computer, light, electricity. And there is another life altogether. ... I was also born in the tundra, lived, my parents lived in the tundra. I came to the village and howled, I was bored in the village, on the contrary. And now I learned, I was accustomed to civilization. Alexandra, Dolgan

The children rushed to the tundra. A helicopter flies in late August, gathers children, about the Nenets it is now told the same that children run away, they do not want to get ready for school. At Dolgan sites it's different now, on the contrary, the children are waiting for a helicopter to fly to learn. What is it – is it the willingness to learn, or do they want a little bit of another life? ... However, young people do not really want to return to the villages. They can be understood – the infrastructure is not well developed, they feel very pressed. The most sensitive issue is the lack of housing. Olga, Dolgan

My niece came to me yesterday, said: "Aunt Zina, how good it is around here. Once I came to Nadia – right into the bathroom. So good. And there I was as big – do not fit in the bath". And there is a zinc bath. Here, I say, learn. If you do not learn, you'll live like your parents, and if you learn, you'll go to work anywhere, to live in normal conditions. Zinaida, Dolgan

Women belonging to this group may do household chores, or hunt and fish along with men.

For all life father, having twelve children, he has never fished with anyone, the eldest son grew older, he started to go fishing with him. And I grew up, so I, poor, from an early age was taken to fishing and hunting, everywhere, everywhere, everywhere. Though in the spring on the boat you drag fish by, on the ice pull this boat. Nadezhda, Nenets

We have friends, who live near Yanostan, Selkups. She and her husband and children live there. While I am cutting a pike, she does 10. As the conveyor. Valya also catches sables pretty well. Networks generally, she checks. And it's all in the cold, it is necessary to hollow

away. Horror. What supplies she makes! Insanely all is interesting. Jam cooks without sugar, six buckets makes one. Madly delicious. Dmitry, Selkup

In addition to the difficult living and working conditions and low pay, the life of this group of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North is complicated by the activities of large industrial enterprises.

The pipeline covers the historical course of the deer. They built pipes, we go away for the deer. They live so far away in the tundra, and from the hut for another 100 km we go, that is 300 km away. Imagine how much gasoline do you need? It affects this. Deer why far away? In the summer did you see dead trees near Norilsk? Not only trees die, but also the soil. No moss close. Deer and moss – everything is interconnected. Deer walks where moss is. We have to travel far. Fish poor for past two years. Icebreakers go. Everything influences. We are ruining ourselves. And no fish, built HPP, there was no water, the entire summer there was no fish. And the fish – the same salary, the same basic income. Anna, Dolgan

In general, respondents are inclined to estimate employment in the traditional field not only as professional, but as fundamental to the way of life of ISNP.

Reindeer herding is not a profession, it's not the kind of activity. It is a way of life. And if a child is not born with this, not grown, not sucked it with their mother's milk, it is not transferred, it is not learnt. Anna, Dolgan

In these villages there are no longer people who know how to graze deer, and it is an art. To teach a reindeer herder, to educate, to give a certificate somewhere in the school – this cannot be done, one must live in the tundra. To live in the tundra and to study there, there to teach a person. The college educated our herders, but so what? No one reindeer herder works as a reindeer herder. Have not stayed. Because this is not a profession, which can be learned. A stove-setter can be taught. But a reindeer herder does not learn in the school. It is necessary to live in the tundra. Olga, Dolgan

When the traditional activities, characteristic of lifestyle, turn into a profession, then instead of ancestral tradition occurs stylization, which does not stand the test of harsh conditions.

In the patterns we are now more engaged in aesthetics, before that a parka was like a passport. Now no one can tell in detail what it is. Anna, Dolgan

Now there have remained a few craftswomen. And before that, the old masters were, they really knew how to embroider their national pattern. And where now can modern people know? ... And now no one sews. There are few craftswomen left who sew. To sew it is necessary to process, and who is now to elaborate these skins? ... Yet they can, perhaps, process skins in

manual method. And the last time we were herding, and had wild deer, there was only chemical treatment. But for the tundra this chemical treatment is not appropriate, there is no heat from it. They sew mukluks – they do not keep warm after chemical treatment. Previously, they treated the skin with liver. I remember as a child my mother to treat here these deer climbing skins or a deer skin itself, to make parkas out of it, or to cover the shed, the chum, to process, it was necessary to process the deer liver. And I do not know why, we were forced to chew the liver. ... And, apparently, in human saliva there is a composition, as a chemical of some kind, which helps to process these skins well. Zinaida, Dolgan

It is very painful that the art of sewing clothes, shoes also goes. In the camp at the holidays there can be seen a lot of the stylized clothes. And really, in the canon of the tundra, with the selection of ornaments, colours, the number of masters has become much smaller. It all dies away. ... A man turns back, it is his passport, everything is painted with ornaments: how old he is, whether he is married or not married, how many children he has. It hurts that the present goes away. There are masters still, who live next to them, it is necessary to fix, to learn. ... They taught to fabricate skins, climbing skins as it should be, not by the chemistry of some kind, namely, as in the old days: to scrape the inner side of skin, to boil liver, to scroll liver through a meat grinder, to get muck, to lubricate with it when it gets dry, to scrape the entire inner side. This is age-old traditional processing, now it is not present. Now the skin is processed with chemical methods. But if the climbing skin is processed with chemicals, shoes do not keep heat. There is nothing warmer than mukluks. Therefore, in the villages they try, in Katyryk, make toys skillfully, sew, where there are masters who can, they can transfer their skills to the younger generation, this is our task, our administrations to set up workshops so that people can learn to fabricate the skin, sew something. Olga, Dolgan

The respondents-Selkups shared their experience in some villages. According to them, some entrepreneurs “take under the protection” several hunters (or fishermen), provide them with food; in exchange for it for nine months of the year hunters are engaged in their traditional activities, and in due time they sell skins of sables to businessmen at knockdown prices and, as a rule, add to the earned money saved “nomadic” subsidy and then spend all available means on drinks in the remaining three months of the year.

We do not drink more than six months, we work. And we get kopeiks. We hand over furs. We work for the guts, work for stomach.

The respondents referred to this form of work as slavery, since the prices for production are extremely low, the work is exhausting and food provided is often substandard. Nevertheless, this model of employment seems reasonable and even

approved of because without it hunters and fishermen would have drunk themselves to death a long time ago.

Our nationals, if do not give protection to them, they would have long ago drunk themselves to death and would have died out long ago. This man, he takes our people as if slaves, that is, they work for him, they catch fish for him, kill fish, furs, everything. He gives them a minimum. They, whoever, do not know there, but we know that they work for him, and they have nothing from him instead. He brings them food, so they do not starve. He delivers foods, gives them with what to hunt, to fish. But the result is that the money that they earn, he had it in his pocket. And they do not need anything. It is right. If they lived here, they would have already drunk themselves to death, and would already have been in the other world, in afterlife. And he had taken them as the slaves. And Selkups they all tomorrow would sell the last pants. If you address them somehow, what he has, although he has nothing, he would give you the last. I support the idea that he would take control over them. If they lived here, they would have been not people long ago, and they would have been in the cemetery. Valery, Selkup.

Employees of the municipal enterprises and the workers employed in commercial enterprises

The second group of the interviewees includes teachers, doctors, employees of government agencies, municipal utilities, post offices, etc.

Today it is prestigious to work in the budget organization. There is a stable salary, benefits' package. Anna, Dolgan

Who wants, they go fishing, sell, hunt, too. By this only, people now live in villages. There is no work there. Only budget organizations work: a hospital, a boarding school, an administration, a club, a power station – municipal utilities and that's all. There are no boilers, only the light is organized. There stoves. That's all – nothing more. The rest of the population – as they wish – no one cares. Zinaida, Dolgan

I am a worker, work in the public bath house, not enough money. I used to work in the store, now I just work in the bath house. ... Yesterday I cleaned everything in the bath house, scraped it there. All shelves, everything there. As if shines. I got a thank-you letter from a health organization. Tatiana, Ket

But I live well, I have all the children. My wife works at the post office. ... In the boiler house – my main work, at school I work under the contract. I receive more at school than in the boiler house. Valery, Selkup

They work on a clearly defined schedule, receive a stable salary from the employer; they have almost completely broken away from traditional activities. The exception is

employees of the club system and the teachers who teach subjects related to traditional culture. But there are not so many workplaces in the field of culture and education to take on all those wishing to be involved in traditional arts and crafts.

We would take them all, but we have no workplaces. We'd love to. We have a lot of young people who graduated from Norilsk, Taimyr colleges, specialists in bone carving. But there is no such possibility for us. How long we asked for opening the workshops in the settlements. Give us 2 workplaces – for one skilled craftswoman and a master in carving. And still no workplaces. And they work on a private basis, it is all, of course, goes away. Everything is for sale, everything passes. It is a pity, of course. Olga, Dolgan

We have reached our goals in Syndassko and Popigay. And we have 8 villages, I would like to see a master in each village. At home they work, at the club. There work is temporary. Here we have the master working, sitting. At least 20 people would be hired, but no workplaces. Where to send them, the poor? Here they hang about. Maya, Dolgan

There are no places for those, who would like to join in the traditional cultural activities in their free time.

We have opened the folk circle, bone carving circle. Adult circle. We cannot take many people, the workshop is quite small. We can take on up to 5 people. But up to 15 men would go if it were possible. Maya, Dolgan

Most respondents say that the desire to engage in traditional activities comes with age.

Valya is the true forest. Although in Sovrechka she did not know about anything. It comes itself, the call of the ancestors. Dmitry, Selkup

Even with the age we understand that it is necessary to know it all, to be interested in, to be engaged. Here I started embroidering when I was nearly 40 years old, I began to embroider 2 years ago, before I had not been interested. I think they will also want to do it all when the time comes. Galina, Dolgan

At 40 years, it began to awaken in me, we understood much, like what will I leave to children? Children would only say that their grandma had such an eye shape. And about that I lived in a chum, who I am by birth, nobody, children, grandchildren, would not know anything about it. Anna, Dolgan

The representatives of this group mostly have higher or secondary special education or strive to get it.

We who work here, all graduates with diplomas. Someone graduated from Norilsk Arts College, someone – from Krasnoyarsk, Ulan-Ude colleges. Someone has higher education, someone – secondary special. Maya, Dolgan

I graduated from Kansk college. After college, I worked in Dudinka area, in Khantayskoe lake. In Katyryk I worked in the library. I graduated from a library college in Kansk. All the time in the library, now retired – and everything in the library. Here I moved for health reasons to Khatanga, because now to live in the village is very difficult. Zinaida, Dolganka

Now I have only one catch – to get higher education. Any, even paid, on a fee basis. I agree to pay, I get a good salary. Valery, Selkup

Even workers who receive salaries complain about the fact that in the harsh conditions of the North it is impossible to live on it without doing at least something connected with traditional activities.

In rural areas people live with the salary of 4 thousand. Well, we get the salary. But the flat rate is expensive for us. For my flat with 2 rooms I pay about 12 thousand. Used to pay 10 something, now it has increased. We get by as we can. Our fish and meat save us. Our men go hunting and fishing. We do not buy at least this. The rest is taken from afar. Subsidized potato costs 70 rubles per kilogram. Soon it will be 180. Maya, Dolgan.

According to some respondents, the workers in this group find it difficult to keep to a clear timetable, because traditionally they used to be nomadic.

We all tend to work quietly and steadily. ... For a long time I thought over what national features are. I am 52 years old and I realized what they are. A lot of our guys are good, sensible, already fulfilled, have family, they fall down on the work, they cannot run at 9 a.m. to work, to fulfill certain requirements, to write plans. We agree to work for ourselves, I have devised this axiom, I do not know how many people would agree with me, probably, my advantage is that I work, and there is no one to supervise me, there is a certain freedom, like the gypsies. We slept, we lay down, then we went to work. This is a luxury. Everyone wants to live like that. But in the tundra people live this way. They live in a terrifying way, of course. Every 3 days they wander. To gather a house, to assemble it, to boil something to eat, to feed children, to clothe children, men should not go in the torn clothes, everything has to be patched. People worked from dawn to dusk, the children gathered firewood, hauled buckets with water, mom cooked food, made everyone dressed and ready, my father worked. I'm beginning to think at my age and realize that herders go after deer: where deer went, there they go. Nobody pushes them. It is inherent in them by nature – two days they rest, then they

wander in two days. A person falls in with the rhythm of life. And here the person should go to work, to write something there. ... This is our feature, this has to be fought with. To my work, I do not have to arrive at 9 a.m., I am very sorry for the people who run there at 9 a.m. I wrote the plate that I'll be at 10, and come at 11. No one is above me, so it is not necessary. But then I sit until 10 p.m., I feel comfortable to work. When no one bothers. Anna, Dolgan

Also, they sometimes find it very difficult to adapt to the life conditions in large towns and cities (and the most of the municipal and commercial structures are in them only), as they are used to endless spaces of tundra, not urban landscapes.

It's hard to live in metropolitan areas, we all got sick. Not everyone would admit this. ... At the same time, there are walls everywhere, boxes, it puts a psychological pressure on. I like to look in the open window to see the horizon. In a big city I cannot, high-rises are annoying. Eyes got accustomed to the expanse, to the tundra. Anna, Dolgan

Once in the city, they cannot adapt to urban conditions. Go back to Taimyr college, they wanted to go first to Krasnoyarsk, wanted in a big city, quite difficult. Come back, enter the college, it turns out, there they wanted to be – in Taimyr college. Graduates work here in the exploration geological party, work in the housing and utilities sector, work according to their specialty. Go back and work. Olga, Dolgan

Individual Entrepreneurs

The third group is very small in number, these are individual entrepreneurs (photographers, seamstresses, etc.). According to them, they have achieved all by themselves, without any help from scratch. Such people are very active, ready to tell in detail the story of their success, how it came slowly, with great labor.

I'm probably one of the few who are satisfied with their lives. ... When the Finns came to me for a visit, they were very surprised, because they used to think that we're humiliated, trampled, trapped. ... I have to rack my brain, it is not so easy, I still have not learned how to use the computer. There are regional, federal, district, municipal, city programmes... I learned to read at the time, thanks God. I opened the program, read what concerns me, I sit and I knock, I sit and create. In fact, nothing complicated. Another point that we had a transition period, I think, as in all Russia, when he had to sell our high fur boots. There was a moment of transition, 10-15 years, when it was considered shameful to engage in trade speculation in Russia. The hardest part was to overcome this psychological barrier, up to the family scandals. A husband drove off, shot meat, handed over to friends. And the wife nags. The man sits in the house in isolation: "Go to hell, sell on your own, I feel ashamed..." This is called to overcome psychological barrier. So what? I came to the garage, opened it and sold. You break

yourself down and another wave from fellows is condemnation. Sell when the habit is to share. Thank God, those days are gone, and we have overcome ourselves, it is perceived differently now. For this room, which you see today, I won the grant. ... A lot of programmes. I participate in all the grants. Why do I have to miss the chance, if the state makes it possible? Anna, Dolgan

I have developed a gold mine here, so that I have no competitors any longer. I take pictures of everything: weddings, children, and for documents, and print orders from disks. I bought equipment in the city, studied there. We've had there a master who understands laboratories. We brought him even here to install everything. Elena, Evenk (photographer)

As a rule, such people do not have higher education because they had to start working early, they often they have specialized secondary education.

There comes a Muscovite, a bit above himself, and already engaged in a dialogue with me. "This your project deserved attention, well, it is necessary to modify". I listen as a pioneer. He begins: "marketing, management" – clever phrases. By the way, I still say for this: "speak Russian". Well, first of all, like everyone else, I have a psychosis: "I cannot, so why are you bothering me at all?". I told him: "in general, I have ten years of education, you do not talk to me in Russian, incomprehensible words – I speak as I think". In this way, it's a big plus, what do you think – you are not afraid to speak and appear stupid. In fact, we are not stupid, if we speak, if we are worthy of attention. Anna, Dolgan

I worked at many jobs, started to work at sixteen years, I started to work early. I wanted to live normally and learn.... And yet while I was studying there, I worked at three jobs. At night, it depends, anywhere anything. In the afternoon and in the morning I was studying. To raise myself, to drag myself out of the hay. ... At the morgue I worked as a nurse. ... At the "Yakhont" I worked as a maid, cleaned. Then I worked in a restaurant, as a pastry chef. A little here, a little there. And managed. I learned properly. Elena, Evenk

The representatives of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North who adapted well to market relations are proud of this.

It is nowhere to be photographed. All people go to me. I crushed all competitors here – as many as six of them. First, I made the price cheaper, so everybody rushed to me. While I learned with them, I made cheap prices. Then I set such a price! Like it or not. The market is the market. Monopolist. Elena, Evenk

They are full of plans for the future, certainly related to their employment.

I want to make the lab in a separate house to have the separate living room. It is hard to have them all at home, each with their own aura. Elena, Evenk (photographer)

Such people condemn those who got assistance from the Agency of ISNP and who could not use it due to their own laziness. They also condemn inertia inherent in the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North.

In Farkovo only Selkups live, they almost do not know their language, rarely there is someone, who knows their language. Most people do not know. There is the Selkup language, but the children do not twig. All speak in Russian, live in the village. They are engaged in agriculture. Farming agriculture here is from Bikherts. They were here in exile, escaping Germans, in a word, those who ran away, so nobody started to look for them. Here they settled. They were planting land here, the very first. The Germans, the most cultured. In the village people drink, but the Bikherts played the master – they had cows and transportation. You take a detached view, they are comers, and these are indigenous and bugger all. And a lot of envy these people have, because they do not put two and two together and do something. The Bikherts were bustling about. Then the store appeared, there came a second, okay. Many people do not understand this. Take care of the business, a garden, plow, there is a lot of land. Up for grabs. Most do not want to. Elena, Evenk

Interestingly, the current state of contentment does not preclude a probability to quit the business for these entrepreneurs from the indigenous peoples. Sometimes, fatigue and hopelessness betray them even in their judgment.

*Maybe the work screws me that a lot of people come. Each person has their own aura. Everyone as if smiles in the eyes, and in his heart there is such **for my, say, side. It's very annoying. Elena, Evenk*

And I have such a feeling that I can give up, it's hard, I cannot say that it's easy: the smell, the dirt. From all this, you get tired, you sit all day sometimes. Anna, Dolgan

The image of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North in cinema

While the previous section was about the ethnic discourse, articulated by the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North, the purpose of this section is to show another version of the “indigenous” discourse. Its actors are not the indigenous peoples; it is a discourse of movies, shot for the general public. Therefore, we can assume that this “indigenous” discourse is more centralized and has a larger audience.

The cinema is one of the strongest means of constructivism. According to V.A. Kurennoi, this characteristic has been widely used in the USSR during Stalin times. Now in

Hollywood they actively resort to it (Kurennoi, 2009). The present study focuses on how the image of ISNP is created in Russian films, designed for a mass audience. It should be noted that there are only a few movies of that kind:

- Uglyum-river, 1968, directed by Ia. Lapshin;
- Territory, 1978, directed by A. Surin;
- The Cuckoo, 2002, directed by A. Rogozhkin;
- Agitbrigade “Beat the enemy!”, 2007, directed by V. Melnikov;
- Territory, 2014, directed by A. Melnik.

The film analysis allowed us to observe that the image of ISNP consists of two units: one is very stable, and the other is subject to changes over time.

Stable representations about the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North

Visual representation

In four of the five films the indigenous peoples are presented against the background of traditional dwellings: these are chums in “Uglyum-river” and in two film adaptations of “Territory” and the Sami house in “The Cuckoo”. In all of these films there are also deer close to the dwelling (including those harnessed to the sleds) and dogs. The indigenous peoples are wearing traditional clothes and attributes (for example, sun glasses with narrow slits which Kyae was wearing in “Territory” of 2014). The old men smoke pipes (“Uglyum-river” and two film adaptations of “Territory”).

The film has no direct indication of what ethnos is represented

In “Uglyum-river” only from the words of Sinilga it becomes clear that Prokhor Gromov came to the Evenks, but she uses the old name – the Tungus peoples.

In “Agitbrigade “Beat the Enemy!” a hunter introduces himself as Stepan, nicknamed Ostyak, or as he prefers more – Stepostyak. To identify his ethnicity by a nickname is fairly impossible, because “Ostyaks” is an outdated ethnonym for several nations, such as the Selkups, the Kets, the Khanty, the Yugh people. Most likely, Stepostyak is a Khant, as he mentioned village Sosva, located in the modern Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug.

In both film adaptations of the novel “Territory” the name of the people, to whom the shepherd and his granddaughter belong, is not mentioned.

Only in “The Cuckoo” they say that the main character belongs to the Sami people.

Consequently, viewers who watched the listed films may think that there are such indigenous peoples of the North as the Sami, the Tungus and probably the Ostyaks, though

the word "Ostyak" in "Agitbrigade "Beat the enemy!" is positioned not as the name of the ethnic group, but as a hunter's nickname.

The indigenous peoples are found only in remote places

An ordinary man cannot reach such places. Only geologists (including gold miners before the revolution) are capable of this, or military men (including exiles during the war). And everyone is in mortal danger in these places. As a result, the common man has almost no chance to meet the representatives of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North, because, on the one hand, the indigenous people do not come to the ordinary people on their own initiative (the only such case is presented in the film "Agitbrigade "Beat the enemy!" and it ended up tragically for the Ostyak who came around the Russian). On the other hand, only the geologists or the military men, putting their lives at risk, may reach the habitat of the indigenous peoples. The isolation from the world is expressed inter alia in that the indigenous peoples and their well-established way of life have not suffered from the Second World War.

The indigenous peoples are closely connected with deer herding

In "Ugryum-river" an old Tungus man said that he had a lot of deer. In addition to deer, according to him, the Tungus peoples hunt squirrels – go "squirreling".

"Territory" gives a lot of attention to the demonstration of the indigenous peoples' way of life associated with the reindeer herding: a shepherd is shown riding on a sledge, to which five deer are harnessed, unharnessed deer, catches one deer with a maut, kills it in the traditional way, dresses it, a girl collects the blood of the killed deer for a sick geologist to drink it. The shepherd says that the deer – this is happiness: "Why do people live? To be happy. When is the happiness? When you have all the main. What is important in the tundra? A deer".

Near the housing of the Sami woman in "The Cuckoo" there is a small corral for a few deer. According to her, before that she and her husband had a herd of deer.

When the indigenous peoples are not engaged in reindeer breeding, they hunt fur animals like the Tungus peoples in of "Ugryum-river" and the Ostyak in "Agitbrigade "Beat the enemy!": "He changed for furs in factories", or go fishing: "A fisherman is not to miss fishing season".

The attitude of the indigenous peoples to the war

The representations of the indigenous peoples are fairly simple and are difficult to combine with the standard images. The Ostyak hunter reveals little interest in that the country is embroiled in war. In his world, a system of values is quite down-to-earth (it has

only “good people” and “bad people”) and is linked to traditional activities, the need to participate in which forced him to leave the place of fighting, without realizing that he violated the law. Even during the war he remained a hunter, only a type of prey changed: “And then the war was. I shot, where was shown, there I shot. Seven fascists shot. I am a good hunter. What’s next? Winter – war, summer – war, in the winter – war again. Then a new spring has come, how to be? A fisherman is not to miss the fishing season. I sat down in the trailer and went away”.

The Waffen-SS retreat is in quite a short distance from the home of the Sami woman in “The Cuckoo”, and also there is the bombardment of a machine by Soviet aircrafts, though soldiers have not reached her. She goes out to the bombarded car to bury the dead. When a military Finn in a greatcoat comes up to her house and the Sami woman notices that he is looking at her through the scope, she stops only for a moment, then continues her daily operations as if nothing has happened. The war for the Sami woman is the smell of iron and death, coming from men, it is “foolishness of big kids who think that if they deprive someone of life, it will help to extend their own life”.

The indigenous peoples are fairly prosperous

The old man in “Ugryum-river” says: “I am rich. ... I have fur, yellow stone, have gold”.

he film “Territory” (1978) shows a large herd of deer, indicating the wealth of the shepherd’s family.

The hunter in “Agitbrigade “Beat the enemy!” is very rich, in 1944 and the corresponding conditions this fact surprises others: “Has he got tea? – He has everything. – I have everything. – There is no tea in the country, and he has it”.

The film “Territory” (2014) shows a good enough standard of living of the old man Kyae, in the scene when he is filling his pipe with tobacco, he pulls out tobacco out of cigars packed in a box and laid the parchment.

The indigenous peoples are not idle

The film “Territory” (1978) presents the indigenous peoples the most fundamentally: a man is shown riding on a sled, unharnessing a deer, catching a deer, killing and undressing it, while women treat people, prepare the food, and bring something to drink. The man, even when talking to a geologist, does not leave the work – he is reeling off the maut.

The Sami woman in “The Cuckoo” is constantly busy, even when talking, she does anything, for example, she chips wood residues in flour.

In “Agitbrigade “Beat the enemy!” the hunter, too, does not lose time in vain, even while being under arrest he is repairing a leaky wading boot.

The granddaughter of old Kyae in “Territory” (2014) is shown either sewing or cooking. The shepherd himself sometimes is contemplative, though actively engaged in the affairs, not only traditional ones, but also those about which he agrees with the geologists: “Could I forget when the plane flew, as we agreed? I brought everything. Left on the base”.

Established practices of communication

Only older men communicate with the past. So, in “Ugryum- river” only an old Tungus is shown talking with Gromov in the camp, while women and children are silent. Later, Sinilga speaks with Prokhor, but it turns out that she is, first of all, dead, secondly, a shaman, and thirdly, she comes to him either in a dream or a vision.

In “Territory” (1978) women are next to the geologist, talk to him, touch him, only when he is unconscious. With the recovered geologist only the shepherd chats. The girl only brings a drink and then goes away and sits down at a distance.

The Sami woman in “The Cuckoo” drags a wounded man to her house, he is unconscious. Later, communication takes place in three different languages, but understanding as such is absent.

In “Territory” (2014) mainly old man Kyae socializes with the geologist, while Kyae’s granddaughter Tamara opens the mouth to talk to the geologist only when she comes to visit him in the hospital.

Poor knowledge of the Russian language

The hunter in “Agitbrigade “Beat the enemy!” uses vernacular language (“changed”, “briskly”, “baba”), incomplete sentences (“Winter – war, summer – war, in the winter – war again”). The old man in “Ugryum-river” in addition to the use of the vernacular (“aida”, “briskly”, “you will peg out”, and others) does not interlink the words by gender (for describing women he uses the forms of the verbs and adjectives suitable for masculine, and vice versa) and number, etc.: “Just your fool, winter is coming. ... This is my daughter, the man was dead. ... A lot of deer, furs, this and that. ... Is a woman bad? ... The household will look. ... Why the clerk the neck shoved?”

In “Territory” (1978) women speak to each other in the ethnic language. In the ethnic language old man Kyae in “Territory” (2014) talks to himself. But it is noteworthy that in this film the indigenous peoples, speak good Russian in all other cases, and only occasionally use the vernacular (e.g., “you’ll croak”).

The Sami woman in “The Cuckoo” does not speak the Russian language at all.

The most important for the indigenous peoples are issues are of families and procreation

The old man in “Ugryum- river” says to Gromov: “The boy should be, but she doesn’t bear. I’ll die ... who’s the host? Oh, boy is briskly necessary. A grandson. Here you stay. Wait small. ... She briskly hugs warmly. A? Stay, loves. Gives a birth to a boy, then you leave”.

The geologist in “Territory” (1978) is offered to stay in the nomads camp: “Maybe. you’ll go to the shepherds? You will run, get married, give birth to many children, you’ll be happy”.

The story, which happened in 1944, when the house of the Sami woman was visited by the Russian and the Finn, a few years afterwards is told to her children, named in honor of the fathers – Pshelty and Veiko.

The hunter in “Agitbrigade “Beat the enemy!” offers one of the heroines to stay and live with him: “You’re a good, Zinka, baba (woman). I have a hut here, but no woman. Aida (let’s) go to my hut”.

The question of marriage is raised also in “Territory” (2014), but in contrast to the rest of the films, the initiative comes not from the indigenous peoples. Here the geologist offers Tamara to marry him and she agrees. Moreover, the relationship of young people is based not on the necessity of procreation, but sympathy for each other, platonic feelings. It is in the process of writing a letter to Tamara geologist Baklakov gained “insight and confidence”, needed for reconnaissance works.

The indigenous peoples are presented in the image of saviors

In “Territory” (1978) treatment with rubbing and deer blood raises the geologist to feet.

In “Territory” (2014) Kyae saved two geologists. And, saving the second, he not only drove three deer to the grave, overcoming one hundred and seventy kilometers riding day and night, but he also harnessed himself to the sledge and drove the geologist, who had broken his legs. Baklakov says, meeting the old man : “Kyae, God has sent you to me again”.

Having pulled off the dead bodies for burial, the Sami woman in “The Cuckoo”, found that one of them are alive, dragged him to her house and cured. Later, she returned the seriously wounded Finn back to life, from the path of the dead.

Shamanic practices are an attribute of traditional life

In “Ugryum-river” there appears the soul of the dead shaman Sinilga, who is trying to make the main character remain in the nomads camp, predicting his destiny (“I prophesy to you: you will have the good beginning, with the vigorous middle, and the end

will be terrible”). She salutes him at the time of obfuscation before his death. In the same film in the scene of the first appearance of Sinilga there is a wooden idol, in front of it she appears and disappears behind it. Sinilga refers to Tungus faith and tells Gromov that shaitans guard her grave. The shaman compares her heart with a magic drum: “And my heart is a magic drum. I will get up and strike the drum, and lead you above the forest”.

In “Territory” (1978) shamanism is represented, on the one hand, through the use of traditional healers’ practices: the patient geologist is rubbed in a chum and fed with the deer blood. On the other hand, through the story of faith in the soul of the tundra: “You are lucky. The tundra let you go. When a person is alone, she wants to take him. If she lets you go, you will live a long time”.

In “The Cuckoo” shamanic practices are associated with the medicines, with the belief in spirits, in the ability to steal the soul. The Sami woman does not say her real name: “I’ll be dashed if I say my name to you, so that you bring damage or steal the soul”. She believes in spirits: “For four years no man, and now two at once. The spirits must have heard my thoughts”. Mushrooms in the culture of the Sami peoples are a means to penetrate into the spirit world: “Pshelty decided to communicate with spirits. He gathered mushrooms and decided to eat them. Maybe, he’s a shaman or a sorcerer”. For therapeutic purposes, the Sami woman makes a small incision on the side of the deer to collect some of its blood, saying: “Do not worry, I will not hurt you. I’ll take a little bit of your strength, the wounded needs it”. She treats the Russian by rubbing him with deer blood with milk and amulets: “These are men’s defenders, they will help you overcome the weakness of the body”. While treating the wounded Finn the Sami woman says: “He leaves us, I do not remember how to hold the outgoing to the dead. My grandmother knew how to do it. She turned into a dog and by barking returned a dying person. I turn my little finger in the dying, hold him tightly by the hand, I will bring you out of the way of death. I intercept you on the way to the land of the dead. Come back. Hear the dog howl and come back. ... Hear my barking and howling, I catch up with you, jumping in front of you and biting your hands-feet, I do not let you go further. ... I turn your soul into a floating log, you are carried by waves. I am a wind, a strong north wind, which will take you to the shore. ... The soul returned to the body”. Doing this the Sami woman beats her drum, barks, bites the Finn, blows on him. The pictures of treatment are followed by those showing how the Finn goes for a white-haired boy, through his shirt blood from a wound oozes, on his hand the bite marks appear. But the Finn turns around and comes back, after a while the boy retreats from him.

In "Territory" (2014) the shamanic practices are shown twice. First, when the old man's granddaughter pricked herself with a needle, she wiped appeared blood with a white feather and put it into the hearth fire. The second time is when the scene showing the geologist lying in the chum and smoking Kyae is accompanied by throat singing, this scene is intermitted with the scenes, in which this going geologist is attacked by birds. The geologist's curation in the chum is complemented by Kyae's words, who fit the geologist's life in the life of all the world: "Eat, eat. Eat in the morning, at noon eat, eat in the evening, eat at night. When you feel the force, go. A deer walks, a bear walks, a geologist will walk".

The indigenous peoples are prone to philosophical reasoning

In "Territory" (1978) the shepherd talks about life, about what is happiness: "No young one wants to be a shepherd. Everybody hurries somewhere. Try to fly away, sail away, leave away, run away. And why do people live? To be happy. When is the happiness? When you have all the main things. What is important in the tundra? A deer. ... The tundra is very similar to life. The tundra hills are like years. You walk over the hills, over the hills, getting old. And the hills are repeated. Only people with you are different".

In "Territory" (2014) contemplative shepherd Kyae is presented as a philosopher of the tundra: "Over the years of long life many people have passed by Kyae. He liked to think about them, about the words spoken by them. Some people smelled of sweat, even their thoughts smelled work, as it seemed to Kyae, he respected them. The other smelled money, Kyae had compassion on them. He was angry when people talked about life as good or bad, it can be just different. It is ridiculous to think that money can improve it. Kyae's memory kept the smell of grass, ice, spring snow, flight of a raven covered with hoarfrost and its hoarse cry over the snow, the wolf falling after a shot, the taste of reindeer meat. Kyae's daily and hourly memory also kept sad recognition of the inevitable change of snow, rain and human lives. Kyae found the inevitability of changes the most striking. To stop it is impossible".

The Russians treat the indigenous peoples pretty bad

Being young, Prokhor Gromov communicated with the old Tungus respectfully, slapped the child's shoulder friendly enough. But coming to the nomads camp a few years later, he threw the child from the fire, scolded the old man ("Your skins are bad. Cons") and committed violence against his daughter. From the words of the old man, it is clear that the clerk Gromov also oppressed and pinched them: "Briskly few goods gave. Why the clerk the neck shoved?"

The wounded Russian comments in “The Cuckoo” on the house of the Sami woman and the surrounding area: “Ugly and disgusting is here”. And about her: “A bad baba (woman)”.

In “Agitbrigade “Beat the enemy!” the hunter at first recalls “the bad people”, who dropped him out of the train; then he is under arrest, later he is shot to death, as if “written off” as a runaway.

Even in “Territory” (2014), in which the image of the indigenous peoples is the most positive, there is a person who calls Kyae “an illiterate shepherd”.

The indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North are associated with oral tradition – fairy stories, songs

In “Ugryum-river” Sinilga says that she is a fairy tale, she is a song: “You love fairy tales, terrible, terrible. I am a fairy tale. You like songs, sad, sad. I am a song”. Prokhor Gromov said that he had heard about her in the fairy tale: “I just heard a fairy tale about her. She’s dead”.

Throat singing is presented in “Territory” (2014) in scenes related to the recovery of geologist Baklakov in Kyae’s chum.

The concepts of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North, which changed over time

Attitude to the Russians as those who can barter for something useful

First of all, the old man in “Ugryum- river” lists to Prokhor Gromov what he is willing to get hold of: “Fire water, powder, sugar, cereals, tea?”

The indigenous peoples are prone to alcoholism

Alcohol is the first item among those which Tunguses would like to receive from Gromov in the first series of “Ugryum- river: “Fire water, powder, sugar, cereals, tea?”. In the final series, they do not just ask for fire water among other things, but crave for it, look like animals at drinking Gromov, pulling his hands to his flask and quickly drink out of it, when Gromov throws it.

The life of the indigenous peoples deteriorates over time

If at the beginning of the movie “Ugryum- river” the old man-Tungus said that he is rich, he has a lot of deer, he knows where to get the gold and furs, but in the last series he complains: “We will peg out”.

The combination of traditional and modern in the indigenous peoples’ life

In "Territory" (2014) the example of this tendency is the clothes (both furs and checkered shirts, shorts, etc.), the language (Kyae is talking to himself in the native language, but with his granddaughter and the geologist – in pure Russian), the names (old Kyae's granddaughter is called Tamara), and compliance with customs in modern times ("Tamara sat naked on the old custom of the women of the tribe. ... Kyae liked that the granddaughter complies with an ancient custom and lets body breathe"). Gender and age characteristics of communication are erased: Kyae's granddaughter not only renders her opinion, but he also agrees with her point of view, contrary to his own. Kyae: "Probably, the shot came from the distant hills of the time. It was made a lot of years ago. And now it comes back". Tamara: "Or it comes from the future". Kyae: "I guess so".

The image of the indigenous peoples in the perception of students in Krasnoyarsk

In the previous two sections two "indigenous" discourses have been considered. One of them is articulated directly by the representatives of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North in the Krasnoyarsk Territory. The other "indigenous" discourse can be called "centralized", it is articulated in the national movies, created for the mass audience. The purpose of this section is to establish what kind of discourse proves to be more effective. For doing this method of the associative experiment is involved.

Along with the practice of the associative experiment there is a trend of its theorizing: its different types stand out (for example, free and directed), the researchers specify the sample characteristics, etc. So, regarding the issue of sampling, the researchers accept as true that most effective method is to address to the audience of young people aged from 17 to 25 years, as "for them the language of stimuli is the native one. It is believed that by this age the formation of the vocabulary and language abilities of an individual has been substantially completed. Psycholinguists indicate that most people retain these qualities almost relatively stable throughout life" (Pautova, 2007: 154). Although we should not forget about the errors, which the recourse exclusively to young audience would entail. In particular, it can be assumed that in the study of the phenomenon of modern war, the results of the work with young respondents and pensioners would have been different, because these groups have different sources of information: the first group is primarily the target audience of the Internet, the second group favour TV and print media.

In this work, the associative experiment with the phrase-stimulus “the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North” was aimed at the students of Siberian Federal University and Krasnoyarsk State Medical University (studying pharmacy, dentistry, general medicine, industrial and civil engineering, architecture, arts and humanities) aged 18 to 23 years. All in all 100 respondents took part in the experiment. Totally students’ answers accounted for 730 responses, i.e. an average number per capita is 7.3 associations.

The Associations

The list of most frequent association (5 or more repetitions) is as follows (in brackets the number of repetitions is indicated): deer (57), cold (53), snow (35), Chukchi (33), yurts (32), narrow-eyed (16), Yakuts (15), ice (14), dogs (12), hunting (12), Evenks (12), a fur coat (11), the north (10), tradition (10), shamans (10), winter (9), sledge (9), a bear (8), Northern Lights (8), teams (8), high fur boots (8), fur (7), fishing (7), Husky (7), a drum (6), fire (6), frost (6), fish (6), the Eskimos (6), igloo (5), ceremonies (5), skins (5).

The most popular was the association the word “deer”, indicating that the ethnic, culture-forming factor in the life of the indigenous peoples is this animal, according to the respondents. It is noteworthy that the most frequent associations are related to difficult living conditions in the north (cold, snow, ice, etc.).

Next, the associations can be divided into several meaningful groups. In brackets after the name of the group the number of associations that make up the group is shown shows, after the slash mark the total number of associations is given.

Features of the living area. This enlarged group includes four groups of associations: climatic and area conditions, geographical objects, animals, plants.

Climate and area conditions (30/170): cold (53), snow (35), ice (13), the north (10), winter (9), Northern Lights (8), frost (6), polar night (4), tundra (4), permafrost (3), steppe (3), wind (2), nature (2), the harsh conditions (2), permafrost soil (1), the eternal snow (1), blizzard (1), dirt (1), a star (1), forest (1), snow-blast (1), a lot of snow (1), the weather is minus fifty (1), the polar day and night (1), the polar day (1), rivers (1), too bright sun (1), snowflakes (1), taiga (1), territory (1).

Most often, the indigenous peoples of the North are associated with the geographical and climatic features of the circumpolar territories. And, more important for respondents are the most severe times of the year and at the same time – the time of day at the circumpolar territory – winter and the polar night.

Geographic features (17/23): village (3), Norilsk (2), the Arctic Ocean (2), Chukotka (2), Evenkia (2), Alaska (1), Dikson (1), Dudinka (1), the North Pole (1), Taymyr (1), Shoria (1), Yakutia (1), small village (1), a globe (1), wilderness (1), a map (1), very far (1).

The largest number of repetitions of the associations from the group the “geographic features” – 2, which indicates the absence of the strict relationship between the indigenous peoples and the specific ranges of settlement in the respondents’ views. But it should be specified that several geographic objects can be combined into a single geographical territory – Taymyr; these are settlements, such as Norilsk, Dikson, Dudinka, Taymyr. Totally – 5 references.

Animals (22/109): deer (57), dogs (12), Husky (7), fish (6), polar bear (4), bear (4), riding a reindeer (3), wolves (2), laika (2), animals (1), elk (1), red deer (1), a lot of fish (1), walruses (1), seal (1), penguin (1), cattle (1), venison (1), drink deer blood (1), reindeer moss (1), dog sled race (1).

The most popular association from the group “animals” is a deer (in the aggregate – 63 associations), which is connected to the main, according to respondents, traditional activity of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North –reindeer herding. Dogs are second in frequency – 20 associations total (dogs, Husky). Interestingly, the dog breed Husky has lately become very popular in the cities, and has become associated with the way of life of the indigenous peoples of the North. The third in the associations’ popularity is a bear (8 associations: bear and polar bear).

Plants (5/5): birches (1), dwarf birches (1), reindeer moss (1), wood (1), moss (1).

Judging by the number of mentions of small-numbered associations that make up this group, plants do not make an important part in the life of the indigenous peoples of the North.

Analysis of the enlarged group “peculiarities of the territory of residence” suggests that general ideas about the place of residence of the indigenous peoples are more important for the respondents than specific knowledge of those settlements that they inhabit. Animals are ethno-identifying factor in relation to the indigenous peoples, while the plants do not perform such function.

Representatives of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North - this enlarged group consists of three groups of associations: the human communities, individual representatives; ethnoses; appearance of the indigenous peoples.

Human communities, individual representatives (16/19): people (3), peoples (2), Santa Claus (1), groups (1), individuality (1), groups of people (1), yeti (1), lovely people (1), nation (1), residents (1), tribe (1), settlers (1), Roman Abramovich (1), the Old Believers (1), severe (1), the nomads (1).

In this group, there are no frequent associations, which suggests that the views of respondents on the indigenous peoples are associated primarily with the ethnic communities that make up a separate group of associations.

Ethnoses (24/98): the Chukchi (33), the Yakuts (15), Evenk (12), the Eskimos (6), the Nenets (4), ethnic groups (4), the Tuva peoples (3), the Tungus peoples (3), the Buryats (2), the Nanai peoples (2), the natives (1), the Vikings (1), the Dolgan peoples (1), the Indians (1), a true northerner (1), the Kets (1), the Chinese (1), the northern peoples (1), the northerners (1), the Udmurts (1), the Uzbeks (1), the Khakas peoples (1), the Khanty (1), the Shors (1).

Every third respondent believes that the indigenous peoples of the North are the Chukchi. This is due, probably, to the fact that in Soviet times, and after the 1990s the Chukchi was an ethnos, most mocked at in popular jokes. Among ISNP of the Krasnoyarsk Territory most often were mentioned the Evenks (including their ancestral ethnonym – “Tungus”). The Yakuts are a titular ethnos in the Republic of Sakha, but they also inhabit the northern town of Krasnoyarsk Territory – Yessey. In general, ISNP in the region in the views of respondents are the Evenks, the Yakuts, the Nenets, the Dolgan, the Ket peoples; in the aggregate – 36 references. Along with the mention of such indigenous peoples as the Chinese, the Indians and the Uzbeks, there is an assumption that respondents are only slightly familiar with the names of the indigenous northern ethnic groups.

Appearance of the indigenous peoples (17/29): narrow eyes (10), rosy cheeks (3), skin (2), white skin (1), yellow skin (1), gold teeth (1), a small height (1), Mongoloid appearance (1), Mongoloid race (1), bad smell (1), slanted eyes (1), dark skin (1), narrow-eyed (1), yellow (1), strong (1), small (1), tiny (1).

The most important external characteristics of the indigenous small-numbered peoples for the respondents is the shape of the eyes (in the aggregate – 12 mentions) and the skin. At the same time the respondents were not able to define clearly the skin color, which is characteristic of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North. Different colors were mentioned: pink (3), white (1), yellow (2).

The analysis of the enlarged group of associations allows mentioning that for the respondents ISNP are first of all the names of some ethnic groups (although they can fix the

lack of a clear understanding of what ethnoses are northern or small-numbered, and what are not). The appearance of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North is very important, in particular, the shape of the eyes and skin color.

The material culture of ISNP - the enlarged group, composed of the following groups of associations: artifacts of material culture, clothes, transport infrastructure, houses.

The artifacts of material culture (17/39): fur (7), teams (7), small drums (6), skins (6), bonfire (6), fire (2), drum (1), wood (1), firewood (1), smoke (1), a tin (1), a pot (1), onion (1), a lot of fur (1), matches (1), arrows (1), wool (1).

Among the artifacts of material culture the majority is made up of fire-related objects (11): bonfire, fire, firewood, smoke, matches. Fur (8) is also very important for the culture of the indigenous peoples, according to the ideas of the respondents.

Dwellings (7/42): yurts (32), igloo (5), wigwams (1), cells (1), a shack (1), ice houses (1), chums (1).

Every third respondent believes that indigenous peoples' dwelling is a yurt, although traditional types of dwellings for them are chums and sheds. Yurts are the Yakuts' dwelling, but they are not an ethnic minority, and some peoples in the more southern areas live in yurts, too. The popularity of this association may be related to the popular among young Krasnoyarsk people cafe "Yurt ", oriented in its design and cuisine on the ethnic culture.

Clothes (16/39): fur coats (11), high fur boots (8), warm clothes (4), boots (2), national clothes (2), a cap (2), fringe (1), large caps (1), national costumes (1) , painted patterns (1), funny fur caps (1), warm fur coats (1), the traditional patterns (1), a sheepskin coat (1), colored clothes (1), overcoat (1).

In general, among the associations belonging to this group, the dominant is winter warm clothes, which once again confirms that the most important link in the respondents' perceptions is "the indigenous people – the North".

Transport infrastructure (12/31): sledge (11), riding the reindeer (3), a helicopter (2), a snowmobile (1), storm (1), dog sled race (1), a muddy road (1), a winter road (1), KAMAZ (1), skis (1), a cart (1).

Sledges, sleds in the views of respondents are the main means of transport for the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North.

The list of groups included in this enlarged group may indicate that the special importance for the respondents regarding the objects of material culture of the indigenous people are houses, clothes and vehicles.

Spiritual culture (23/47): traditions (10), shamans (10), ceremonies (5), history (2), songs (2), an endangered language (1), sacrifices (1), native (1), a tricky language (1), culture (1), customs (1), dances (1), fairy tales (1), strange songs (1), a traditional way of life (1), the traditional way of economy (1), expeditions (1), ethnic music (1), the language (1), non-religious (1), traditionalism (1), daily life (1), original identity (1).

The enormously important things in the spiritual culture of the indigenous peoples for the respondents are traditions (13): traditions, traditional way of life, the traditional way of economy, traditionalism – and the image of the shaman (10) as well.

The Characteristics of the Indigenous Small-Numbered Peoples of the North

Characteristics of ISNP in the respondents' views are both positive and negative.

Negative characteristics of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North (20/27): lack of education (4), poverty (2), survival (2), the backwardness from the world (2), rarity (2), alcoholism (1), extinction (1), an endangered language (1), deficit (1), dysentery (1), extermination (1), disappearance (1), not developing (1), isolation (1), renunciation (1), the reduction of the population (1), frozen in time (1), no civilization (1), separate (1), detachment (1).

This group consists of a lot of associations, each of which is referred by 1-2 times. This may attest that in the views of the respondents the life of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North may seem as problematic, but the specifics is missing in this area.

Positive characteristics of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North (13/15): hard-working (3), long-living (1), friends (1), friendliness (1), unity (1), nomadic life (1), love (1), joy (1), close family relationship (1), large families (1), a strong family (1), harmony (1), natural character (1).

Positive associations have little frequency, although the list is large enough.

In general, reviewing the characteristics of ISNP we can say that they have a low frequency, which may betoken that the respondents have no very characteristic estimations of ISNP.

Types of activities (6/23): hunting (12), fishing (7), barter (1), bee-keeping (1), reindeer herding (1), crafts (1).

The most popular types of ISNP activities in the views of the respondents are hunting and fishing. But we should not forget about the reindeer herding as activity, reflected in the association group of “animals”.

Food (13/16): meat (3), vodka (2), lamb (1), fat (1), blood (1), corn (1), a lot of fish (1), ice cream (1), venison (1), drink deer blood (1), saguday (a meal of raw fish) (1), lard (1), eat raw meat (1).

The low frequency of the associations represented in this group shows that the respondents have no clear idea of the traditional cuisine of the indigenous peoples.

It stands to reason that poor awareness of the indigenous peoples of the North expressed by students is conditioned by the insufficient number of studies regarding the subject, so our research contributes in substantial ways. First, the voices of the indigenous peoples have been documented after the lasting information gap. My findings substantiate the claim of divisiveness in the indigenous communities, in regards to the practice of authenticating their identity and self-reference according to the main activity and way of life. Once objective facts about life and nature are internalized into the indigenous peoples' subjective reality, they rarely question the origin of their beliefs, but instead work to accept and maintain them, which obviously does not concern those who are eager to assimilate and participate in modern, capitalist lifestyle fully. As such, the study enriches our understanding of the indigenous peoples' lives and beliefs via recording material, the essential meaning of which is inextricably linked to the fact that many of these indigenous peoples are on the brink of extinction/assimilation and that their native languages are endangered.

Thematic Analysis

The representatives of the indigenous peoples are actively involved into the process of discussion of what constitutes their identity and what it means to be “indigenous”. Articulation and transmission of ideas about the features of the indigenous peoples, their relations with the non-indigenous world are the processes in which not only the representatives of the indigenous peoples themselves are actively engaged, but also political and public figures, academic and journalist community, artistic intelligentsia.

In the present thesis the processes of constructing the ethnic identity by different actors are viewed as discursive. Discourse constitutes social reality and is being constituted by it. In addition to constituting social reality as a whole, discourse shapes separate actors, being at the same time articulated by them. Discourse is understood as the process of self-identification of a group through a communication act in which social reality is constructed, while the place of the group and relations of the group with other groups in it are defined. Discourse proves to be more resistant to changes than the group environment; it is discourse that helps the group to maintain its identity, to preserve its integrity. Nevertheless, the discourse is not immutable or unchangeable forever. In the discourse one can observe the process of struggle for assertion of the correct elements of social practice, social structure.

The importance of studying ethnic discourses is connected with the growing transfer of the discourse of authorities into ethnic sphere. In the present research the indigenous discourse is considered in its two manifestations – as the discourse of the indigenous and non-indigenous people. In the first case the analysis of expert interviews collected during field research of 2010-2016 was conducted. In the second case the analysis of Russian films for wide audience was carried out. The third case was the associative experience aimed at the non-indigenous people.

The results of interviews

The following is an examination of the overarching themes and related sub-themes that emerged from the interviewees’ life story narratives centered on ethnic identity development. Following the results of the interview analysis, I can draw the following conclusions.

Almost all respondents say that hoarding is not peculiar to the northern peoples, in the old days, they killed enough animals just to get by, no more (eco-friendly economy),

simply to feed their own families. It is this traditional absence of parsimony, which can explain the peculiar way of life of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North. Therefore, this principle is a fundamental one to the culture of ISNP. The great importance for the indigenous peoples the image of a shaman has, and it is not an abstract image, but the concept of the ancestor-shaman, the memory about whom is a source of pride for the respondents.

The overwhelming majority of the interviewees – representatives of ISNP feel nostalgic for the days of the USSR, when the authorities were engaged in centralized sale of products of hunting and fishing, while hunters and fishermen could be involved in traditional activities all the time without thinking about where the raw materials would go further. And now, ISNP are willing to be just a link in the chain of raw materials processing. Centralization is in demand now also in the sphere of culture – skilled masters of arts, crafts, folklore are eager to deal with the conservation and maintenance of traditions, in case they get workplaces in the relevant institutions.

While ISNP entered the socialist relations quite easily, the capitalism cause rejection among many of them. As a rule, individual women become self-entrepreneurs. Becoming a breadwinner along with a man, a woman can transgress over the traditional principles of life in the North (for example, the principle of sharing, rather than selling), no matter how tough it is for her to do this. The reason for this possibility is that most women are focused primarily on the provision of their own children, whereas the ideological issues fade into the background.

Once again, according to the indigenous discourse of the indigenous people, to be a northerner is to have a number of typical characteristic features. Among them are the following: the idea of not accumulating wealth, willingness to share the last thing, commitment to the principle of eco-friendly economy; treating traditional economic activities (reindeer herding, hunting, fishing) not as professional, but as fundamental for life; pride of one's ancestors, in particular, shamans; the idea that traditional culture must have centralized support, etc.

The results of film analysis

The consideration of the indigenous discourse in cinema can be summarized as follows:

The image of the indigenous peoples has fairly robust features. ISNP are prosperous, living a traditional way of life, which is closely connected with reindeer herding, living in

places out of the reach for mere mortals. These are minorities, some ethnic groups, who are bad at Russian, whose representatives serve for geologists or military men as saviors, saving them from deadly peril by the means of shamanic practices. For the indigenous peoples the most important, fundamental issues are the family and procreation. The indigenous are prone to philosophical arguments while not sitting idly. Also they have some well-established and stable communication practices, taking into account age and gender factors.

The image of the indigenous peoples in Russian film industry is improving with time. While in the 1968 film *Tunguses* were prone to alcoholism and accepted the Russians as an opportunity to exchange the goods, then in subsequent films the indigenous peoples are skilled, hard-working, simple-minded philosophers, always ready to help. The most recent film presents the indigenous peoples to the best advantage. The representatives of these groups act as saviors for geologists or military men, saving them from fatal consequences with the help of shaman practices. The indigenous peoples' way of life combines traditional and modern characteristics; gender and age characteristics of communication are obliterated; no longer the indigenous peoples offer the strangers to stay in their camp at all costs, but, on the contrary, the geologist himself makes a proposal to the granddaughter of the shepherd and in the letter to her acquires understanding of this gold-bearing area.

The image of the indigenous people in Russian film industry has been improving over time.

The results of associative experiment

The conducted associative experiment with student participation revealed that the indigenous discourse of the indigenous peoples is less effective in this group than the indigenous discourse of cinema. The respondents' ideas about the indigenous small-numbered peoples are not deep and varied. The representations of the respondents about the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North cannot display any depth or diversity. Basically, these representations are very general ideas of the area of residence of ISNP (like "the circumpolar area where the winter and polar night prevail"); poor acquaintance with the names of the indigenous small-numbered northern ethnic groups; only general ideas about the kinds of activity specific for ISNP; reduced awareness of their traditional cuisine, etc.

For them the visual component of the image of the indigenous peoples of the North is important. The obvious source of ideas about ISNP is anecdotes and stories of urban culture.

Discussion

Interpretation of themes

My purpose in this study was to elucidate the process of ethnic identity development among the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North and to cast the light on the perception of the indigenous peoples by non-indigenous peoples.

The importance of the study of ethnic discourses is associated with the special reference to the discourse of authorities in the ethnic sphere. Modern Russian scientists explore the discourses of the ethnic Yakuts, the peoples of the Caucasus, the Udmurts, the Germans and other peoples.

This research was based on an analysis of interviews obtained during field research; an attempt is made to highlight the main features of the indigenous discourse articulated by the representatives of the indigenous peoples of the North. Interviews cited in this section were collected during expeditions in 2010-2016. Among the respondents were the Selkups (Farkovo), the Kets (Turukhansk), the Yessey Yakuts (Yessey), the Evenks (Turukhansk, Tura), the Nenets peoples (Nosok), the Dolgans (Khatanga, Dudinka). The interview analysis as a whole dealt with the subject of preserving the unique traditional cultures of the indigenous peoples. The interviews were held in three "timelines" connected with the concepts of the indigenous peoples about the right way of life support for themselves and their families. The first block of the interviews runs on living arrangements of older generations before the Soviet regime; the second block concerns the time of the Soviet Union; the third block – the time after 1991. The material was presented in chronological order according to this logic.

Long-term field studies of the ethnic identity of the indigenous Northern and Siberian peoples of the Krasnoyarsk Territory (Krai) have shown the need for a fundamental understanding of the processes of the indigenous identification and self-identity from the point of discourse. In the thesis discourse is understood as a communicative process of self-identity of the groups and the definition of its place in relation to other groups. Discourse produces social reality being generated by it. This dual process demonstrates discourse being more resistant to change, but at the same time, discourse may reveal the process of the struggle for the establishment of social structures and social practices. Such constructivist ideas about social reality form the basis of discourse analysis, understood as a methodology demanding for different methods of text analysis, aimed at both verbal and nonverbal texts.

The indigenous discourse articulated by the indigenous peoples of the North and Siberia themselves consisted of the interviews of the indigenous peoples of the North. Almost all respondents identified traditional farming and traditional land management as factors contributing to preservation of the ethnos. They noted that the indigenous northern peoples avoid hoarding, whereas the important principles to the northern culture are ecologically conscious economy, the historical cultural memory in the family, ethnic and religious forms. The northern people admit the centralization of the traditional activities by the authorities in the Soviet years being acceptable and still popular. At present, the need for centralization is felt by hunters, fishermen reindeer breeders, and also by masters of arts and crafts, folklore artists. Only a few representatives of the indigenous peoples can get into the capitalist relations, as they imply rejection from the traditional principles of the northern life.

The thesis studied the image of the indigenous people in the films as the indigenous discourse, not articulated by the representatives of those nations. In these films the indigenous peoples live prosperously keeping traditional way of life, the basis of which is herding. The indigenous peoples have poor communication with the larger society since they live in inaccessible places, resort to shamanic practices instead of medicine and their command of the Russian language is extremely bad. For the northern peoples the most important is family and in communication they pay special attention to age and gender factors of the interlocutors. But over time the image of the indigenous peoples in Russian films is improving.

Moreover, using the association experiment the author compared the efficacy of two indigenous discourses - articulated by the indigenous and non-indigenous nations. It was found that the students' opinions did not show any depth and diversity of the representation of the indigenous peoples, as the image of the indigenous peoples was formed thanks to movies, jokes and stories of the urban culture. The reason for the weakness of the indigenous northern peoples' discourse, articulated by themselves, may be attributed to less efficient means of broadcasting this discourse in comparison with the funds that are used for creation various social identities being different from the indigenous ones.

The above mentioned association experiment led us to the following conclusions. For the respondents the visual component of the image of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North is particularly important, which is manifested in mentioning the indigenous peoples' appearance; the ideas of the respondents about the spiritual culture of

ISNP are much more scarce than about their material representation. It should only be noted that in the spiritual culture of the indigenous peoples the most remarkable peculiarities for the respondents are the traditions and images of the shaman.

ISNP in fact are not included in the value system of the respondents, which is proved by the fact that neither positive nor negative characteristics of the indigenous people have a high frequency. This is probably due to the fact that the worlds of ISNP and the respondents almost do not overlap.

Ethnic, culture-forming factor in the life of the indigenous peoples of the North, according to the ideas of the respondents, is a deer.

The sources of ideas about the indigenous small-numbered peoples of North are anecdotes (jokes) about the Chukchi, and some concepts derived from the urban culture (a characteristic cafe "Yurt", urban fashion for Husky dogs).

Implications for further research

The methods used in the thesis can be applied to the study of the indigenous ethnic identification and self-identity in other regions of Russia and the world as a whole for the comparison of who, how and using what means articulates the indigenous discourse; for assessing the indigenous discourse's effectiveness.

Therefore, the analytic potential of this perspective expands our ability to understand identity construction not just within the indigenous community of the northern ethnoses in particular but other ethnic groups as well.

Recommendations for practice

The thesis gives recommendations concerning means of broadcasting indigenous discourse that is relevant to the indigenous peoples of Krasnoyarsk Territory (Krai) as of today. The findings shall be useful for political management in the areas of the Krasnoyarsk Territory (Krai) densely populated by the indigenous peoples. The indigenous peoples articulate their discourse rather inefficiently. The means used for their ethnic identification and self-identity are the following: participation in ethnic festivals, publishing small number of copies of folklore works, broadcasting television programs for a very limited audience, etc. The means of broadcasting the indigenous discourse used by the non-indigenous ethnic and cultural groups have dramatically greater efficiency. Consequently, the social actors interested in learning the primary concepts of the indigenous ethnic

groups, need to pay heed to the means of broadcasting indigenous discourse, designed to influence a mass audience.

Alongside with this, the thesis enlisted a number of recommendations for political management and business entities related to the Northern Territories Development especially in the field of preservation and maintenance of traditional forms of economy for the indigenous small-numbered peoples in the modern world.

Conclusion

The thesis was devoted to studying features of ethnic identity of the indigenous peoples living in the North of the Krasnoyarsk Territory (Krai) in the light of discourse analysis. The study involved analysis methods aimed at both verbal and visual texts

The study of the features of ethnic identity of the northern peoples in the Krasnoyarsk Territory (Krai) determined the need in the term “discourse” and discourse analysis. Virtually all discourse researchers stipulate its mutual conditionality with social reality: discourse constitutes social reality, being constituted by it. Discourse is understood as a process of self-identification of the group through an act of communication, in which social reality forms, the place of the group is specified and its relations with the other groups are identified.

Discourse is more resistant to changes than the environment, it allows the group to retain its identity and maintain its wholeness. Nevertheless, it is not immutable, eternally stable. In discourse one can observe the process of the struggle for the establishment of the correct elements of social practices and social structure.

Discourse analysis is often defined not as a method, but as a methodology, whose mainstay is socio-constructivist concepts of social reality. Within the framework of discourse analysis the researchers can use various techniques such as narrative analysis, conversational analysis, content analysis and so on. The material of discourse analysis is a text, but this text is not always verbal. So, as the texts there can be used pictures, movies, cartoons, and other genres.

The importance of the study of ethnic discourses is associated with the increased attention of the discourse of the authorities to the ethnic sphere. Modern Russian scientists explore the ethnic discourses of the Yakuts, peoples of the Caucasus, the Udmurts, the Germans and others. The main scientific research methods of ethnic discourse include content analysis of the media publications, narrative analysis of the interviews and so on and so forth. Also there is a series of studies on the general issues of the existence of ethnic discourse with the inherent terms, such as “circumpolar civilization” and the “fourth world”.

Almost all respondents acknowledged a lack of hoarding among the northern peoples, as in the old days they killed as many animals as they needed, no more than to feed their own families (green economy). It is this traditional lack of flint-skinning which can be explain the peculiar way of life of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the

North. Therefore, this principle is a fundamental one to the culture of ISNP. The key importance for the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North is demonstrated by the image of the shaman, and is not an abstract image, but the shaman-ancestor, the memory about whom is a source of pride for the respondents.

The overwhelming majority of the interviewed representatives of the indigenous small-numbered people of the North expressed nostalgia for the days of the USSR, when the sale of products of hunting and fishing was centralized, the authorities were in charge of it, while hunters and fishermen could engage in traditional activities all the time without thinking about where the raw materials would go further. And now, the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North are willing to be just a link in the chain of raw materials and shun the responsibility for this. Centralization is in demand now also in the sphere of culture, the masters of arts, crafts, and folklore are eager to deal with the conservation practices, if they get workplaces in the respective institutions.

While the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North found socialism relations quite easy to adapt to, the capitalism cause many of them to reject. As a rule, the individual entrepreneurs are women. Becoming a family supporter along with a man, a woman can break the traditional rules of life in the North (for example, the principle of sharing, rather than selling), no matter how hard it can be for her. The reason for this feature is that most women are focused primarily on the provision of their own children, while the ideological issues fade into the background.

The image of the ISNP in the films was also investigated as the indigenous discourse, articulated not by the indigenous northern peoples. It has quite sustainable features. The indigenous peoples shown in movies are prosperous, living a traditional way of life, which is closely connected with reindeer herding, and they live in inaccessible for mere mortals places. These peoples appear as minorities, who speak bad Russian, but serve for geologists or military men as saviors from mortal danger by the means of shamanic practices. For the indigenous peoples the important, fundamental questions are those of family and procreation. The indigenous peoples are prone to philosophical arguments while not sitting idly. Moreover, they have some inherent, stable communication practices, taking into account age and gender factors.

The image of the indigenous in the Russian film industry is improving with time. While in the 1968 film *Tunguses* were prone to alcoholism and accepted the Russians as an opportunity to exchange the goods, then in subsequent films the indigenous peoples are skilled, hard-working, simple-minded philosophers, always ready to help. The most recent

film presents the indigenous peoples to the best advantage. The indigenous peoples' way of life combines traditional and modern characteristics; gender and age characteristics of communication are obliterated; no longer the indigenous peoples offer the strangers to stay in their camp at all costs, but, on the contrary, the geologist himself makes a proposal to the granddaughter of the shepherd.

The analyzed above associative experiment, whose participants were students, led to the conclusion that the indigenous discourse is less effective in this environment, than the indigenous discourse in the cinema. The representations of the respondents about the indigenous peoples cannot boast with the depth and diversity. For these respondents the visual component of the image of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North is strikingly important. The obvious sources of ideas about ISNP are anecdotes (small humorous stories) and other concepts derived from the urban culture.

Perhaps the greatest weakness of the indigenous discourse of the northern ethnic groups as compared with the indigenous discourse in the cinema is associated with a lower efficiency of translation instruments. The loudspeaker of the indigenous peoples are some very rare publications in the media, several books about their culture, which are rarely put out (also their circulation is usually small), the presentation of their culture on festivals, etc. The indigenous discourse is articulated not by the indigenous peoples, it is rather translated through cinema – one of the most popular arts, judging by the degree of coverage of the audience. Consequently, it is advisable for the indigenous peoples and institutions, promoting their very ethnic discourse, to pay attention to the means of its representation.

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Appendix

Interview guide

The interviews of the representatives of the indigenous peoples of the North were obtained during field research in expeditions in 2010-2016. Among the respondents were the Selkups (Farkovo), the Kets (Turukhansk), the YesseyYakuts (Yessey), the Evenks (Turukhansk, Tura), the Nenets peoples (Nosok), the Dolgans (Khatanga, Dudinka) (see Table 1). The interviews were divided into three time blocks, associated with the ideas of the indigenous peoples about the right way of life to support themselves and their families. The first block concerns living conditions of older generations up to the establishment of the Soviet regime; the second regards the time of the Soviet Union; the third – the period after 1991.

We used a non-formal method of in-depth interview (see Table 2). Instead of the formalized questionnaire the survey was based on the interview guide, in which only the main thematic clusters were identified as inviolable. In general, the interviews were about the preservation of unique cultures of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North. The thematic clusters were as follows: history of interaction between the indigenous peoples and the central government (before the revolution, during the Soviet era, at the end of the 20th – beginning of the 21st centuries); traditional economic activity (history, present, future projections); reindeer herding (historical aspects, current status, future prospects, the value for the ethnic group); the scope of professional activity, if it is different from the traditional one (education, place of work, the degree of satisfaction, forecast of their own professional employment and employment of their children); traditions and customs (ceremonies, rituals, everyday norms of behavior); shamanism (history, existence in modern time); traditional art culture (undamaged or good condition, future prognosis, the degree of involvement); upbringing and education of children (level of education, command of the traditional language).

During communication with the individual respondents the researcher tried to cover the widest possible range of these topics, while the narration of the respondents was aligned rather than limited. The interviewer asked clarifying and inducing questions and changed the conversation topic if necessary. Each interview lasted one or two hour in the environment convenient for the respondents: at home, at work, in the garden, etc.

Table 1. Information on field research in the North of the Krasnoyarsk Territory (Krai)

Year	Settlement	Location	Local features	Interviewed ethnic groups
2010	Turukhansk	Turukhansky District	Capital of Turukhansky District	Evenks, Kets, Selkups
2010	Farkovo	Turukhansky District	place of compact residence of the Selkups in the Krasnoyarsk Territory (Krai)	Selkups
2011	Nosok	Taimyrsky Municipal District		Nenets
2011	Karaul	Taimyrsky Municipal District		Nenets
2011	Tura	Evenkiysky Municipal District	Capital of Evenkiysky Municipal District	Evenks
2011	Yessey	Evenkiysky Municipal District	place of compact residence of the Yessey Yakuts	Yessey Yakuts
2013	Tura	Evenkiysky Municipal District	Capital of Evenkiysky Municipal District	Evenks
2013	Dudinka	Evenkiysky Municipal District	Capital of Taimyrsky Municipal District	Nenets, Naganasans, Dolgans
2014	Khatanga	Taimyrsky Municipal District		Dolgans
2014	Kresty	Taimyrsky Municipal District		Dolgans

Table 2. Information on the respondents

Name	Ethnicity	Kind of activity	Place of residence
Anna	Dolgan	Self-employed	Dudinka
Zinaida	Dolgan	Work in culture sphere	Khatanga
Olga	Dolgan	Senior position in the administration of Khatanga	Khatanga
Ulyana	Dolgan	Pensioneer	Kresty
Irina	Dolgan	Work in culture sphere	Khatanga
Maya	Dolgan	Work in culture sphere	Khatanga
Alexandra	Dolgan	Work in culture sphere	Khatanga
Galina	Dolgan	Post office worker	Kresty
Tatyana	Ket	Pensioneer	Turukhansk
Nadezhda	Nenets	Healthcare worker	Nosok
Olga	Nenets	Teacher at school	Nosok
Dmitry	Selkup	Turukhansky District administration officer	Turukhansk
Valery	Selkup	Teacher at school	Farkovo
Tatiana	Selkup	Hunter	Farkovo
Irina	Selkup	Turukhansky District administration officer	Turukhansk
Elena	Selkup	Self-employed	Turukhansk