

SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIAL VALUES OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF THE NORTH (SIBERIA)

Natalia Koptseva^{*}, Natalia Pimrnova^{**}, Anastasia Kistova^{**} and Maria Bukova^{**}

Abstract: The processes of modernization possess significant features in the socio-economic and cultural space of ethnic groups living in the extreme climatic and landscape conditions of the Siberian Arctic. The factors that affect these processes are numerous and are not always documented by the use of existing academic approaches. In 2010-2017, field studies have been conducted in the territory of the Siberian Arctic, in locations where indigenous ethnoses compactly live together, which allows researchers to notably specify mechanisms of indigenous peoples' modernization. The dynamics of social values and features of social transformation among indigenous peoples of the Siberian Arctic that are under conditions of global transformation are associated with mechanisms of "cultural trauma" and a response from various ethnic communities of indigenous peoples.

JEL Classification: R11; N15; N35; Z13.

Keywords: Social values, social transformation, indigenous peoples of the Siberian Arctic, cultural trauma.

INTRODUCTION

The importance of dealing with the social values of indigenous peoples is associated with the study of specific features of modernization processes in various socio-economic and cultural spaces. The social values of indigenous peoples of the Siberian Arctic are currently undergoing complex transformation whose mechanisms should be investigated in both historical dynamics and modern multiple-factor processes. Radical social transformation processes among indigenous peoples of the Siberian Arctic are easily intergrated with northern peoples' traditional economic and ecological lifestyle, which is associated with severe natural conditions and traditional forms of management (reindeer breeding, hunting, fishing, collecting wild plants, processing products of the traditional economy).

The modern situation of the autochthonous population of the North and Siberia features extensive materials designed to study mechanisms of social change and specific aspects of the modernization of various social groups: ethnic, demographic, gender, cultural, and many others. The major feature is these ethnoses' long colonial experience that has been followed by a number of social transformations. Relying on the research results of the colonial history of indigenous peoples of the North and Siberia, one can model the "cultural trauma" that has brought on social changes in this ethnic environment as a multi-stage phenomenon comprising a number of

^{*} Department of Cultural Studies, Siberian Federal University, Krasnoyarsk, Russia. *Email:* decanka@mail.ru

^{**} Department of Cultural Studies, Siberian Federal University, Krasnoyarsk, Russia

traumatic events. This concerns the following events and processes: (1) during the 17th and 19th centuries: colonization, integration into the Russian Empire, and change of religion; (2) at the beginning of the 20th century: the change of power and means of production and introduction of education systems, including the residential system that has seriously affected the formation of the identity of the younger generation and transfer of both traditional forms of management and other elements of ethnic heritage; (3) the 1990s: the change of power and economic crisis of traditional farms in their industrial form by contrast with the long period of indigenous peoples' subsidized existence of the North and Siberia. The difference in means of overcoming cultural trauma selected by different representatives of indigenous peoples, as well as mechanisms of reaction to the long nature of traumatic events and their consequences, has formed the basis of the modern social variety of ethnoses, including a number of subcommunities. This process is currently characterized by the modern situation requiring the overcoming of stigmatized identities and the formation of positive reproduction of an ethnos by representatives of indigenous peoples.

RESEARCH REVIEW

The formation of the ethnic identity of indigenous peoples, including the autochthonous population from circumpolar territories, as a social structure, is justified and considered by B. Anderson [1], T. Eriksen [2], Y. Slezkine [3], and many other researchers. A number of scientists document the modernization processes of indigenous peoples of the Siberian Arctic, which are associated with global effects [4], [5], [6], [7], [8], [9]. At the same time, these works establish that the social values system of indigenous peoples of the Siberian Arctic remains and serves as the basis of ethnic identification.

The field studies of indigenous peoples of the Siberian Arctic provide extensive materials to study the transformation of their social systems and social values dynamics. Such studies are conducted for various ethnic groups of indigenous peoples: the Evenks, Selkups, Dolgans, Tuvinians, Nenets, and certain other peoples [10], [11], [12], [13], [14].

The specific features of the traditional lifestyle and traditional values of indigenous peoples under conditions of global transformation are examined by Betsy F., Azmiri S. [15], Hilhorst D., Baart J., van der Haar G., Leefink F.M. [16], Nyong A., Adesina F. and Osman Elasha B. [17], Silliman S. [18], [19], Tushingham S., Brooks R. [20], Wairimu W.W., Christoplos I., Hilhorst D. [21].

The originality of the traditional values system of indigenous peoples of the Siberian Arctic is studied by Hultkrantz A. [22], Kharitonova K.I. [23], Libakova N. and Petrova K. [24] and some other scientists.

Despite numerous studies, the specific features of the modernization of indigenous peoples' social values and mechanisms of their social transformation have not been determined thus far and are subject to relevant analysis.

The research objective (problem determination) is to specify the basic mechanisms of social transformation and social values dynamics among indigenous small-numbered peoples of the Siberian Arctic living in extreme climatic and landscape conditions. The conceptual basis of the study is the "cultural trauma" concept introduced by P. Sztompka that allows experts to specify the major processes of modernization of indigenous peoples and determine the specific features that characterize them.

THE "CULTURAL TRAUMA" CONCEPT BY P. SZTOMPKA AS THE THEORETICAL BASIS OF THE STUDY ON THE SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION OF INDIGENOUS ETHNOSES OF THE NORTH AND SIBERIA

Among mechanisms of social change, the "trauma" term has been recently introduced to document such changes in the public and cultural environment that are experienced as a shock and serve as a reaction to traumatic events and circumstances. Piotr Sztompka, one of the most prominent contemporary sociologists, explains the appearance of the new social change paradigm, i.e. the trauma paradigm (since the end of the 20th century), taking the place of the change paradigm of progressive development (in the 19th century) and the crisis paradigm (starting in the middle of the 20th century). According to Sztompka, one of the areas of the socio-cultural trauma concept's application is "analyzing the problem of the negative, dysfunctional, and adverse effects that major social change may leave in its wake" [25]. Abrupt, and instant or long, destructive effects on the social environment in this paradigm are known as trauma and understood as initiating changes. The socio-cultural change of the traumatic variety, according to P. Sztompka, takes place under certain structural and cultural circumstances ("the favorable context"), is caused by "traumatic events", and evokes responses based on the community's capacity for further social change. The favorable context for the appearance of trauma is characterized by some kind of disorganization, displacement, or incoherence in culture or society, i.e. the situation of a loss of coherence and stability that covers, with its new phenomena, key components of culture, such as values, beliefs, and social norms. As a rule, traumatic situations, events, or beliefs as ideas of an event are perceived as something coming from "the outside", without the community's direct impact. Also, they are characterized by suddenness, depth of impact, and report the radicality of future changes. The main symptom of such a process, according to P. Sztompka, is the disturbance of normality taking place as "disorganization in the ordered and self-evident world", and "the impact of trauma depends on the relative degree of such a fragmenting or displacement, as compared to the preceding

measure of order, or as compared to the expectations concerning the continuation of order” [25]. The more seriously trauma affects the socio-cultural situation (“the social and cultural body”), the more of a gap between the habitually organized environment and conditions are created as a result of the traumatic event and the more that trauma penetrates the territory of the cultural basis, i.e. basic values, norms, and expectations. At the same time, even objectively positive and useful circumstances, only if they are experienced by a group as a threat to their stable course of things, may serve as traumatic events. The three spheres of traumatic impact, according to P. Sztompka, are the demographic level (decreased birth rates, increased death rates, etc.), the social structure level (disturbance and destruction of public relations, social system, hierarchy) and the culture level (disturbance of systems featuring collectively shared meanings and symbols included in cultural phenomena and practices). This type of trauma, according to the sociologist, “has the strongest inertia; it persists and lingers considerably longer than other kinds of trauma, sometimes over several generations, preserved in collective memory or hibernating in collective subconsciousness” [25]. The author examines the following four types of cultural trauma: (a) any significant event recognized as inappropriate and contradicting basic values; (b) representatives of a community in the situation of dominance of another culture, such situations as migration and colonization (direct colonialism or cultural globalization referred to as modernization), (c) the conflict of a way of life’s updating (under the influence of economic and political conditions) with traditional culture, which is followed by a conflict between generations; (d) intracultural trauma sources: nonsynchronous development of different spheres of culture and discoveries representing an approach inappropriate to the previous culture or requiring reconsideration of the past and former views shared in the culture.

The analysis of the “cultural trauma” concept shows that strategies for “coping with cultural trauma” noted by P. Sztompka in accordance with the concept introduced by R. Merton [26] are different and express four active and passive typical adaptations to anomie: (a) innovation is spontaneous or purposefully directed and aims toward alleviating incongruence within a culture brought about by traumatogenic change and locating oneself more securely in a new cultural reality; (b) rebellion indicates a more radical effort aimed at the total transformation of culture in order to replace the traumatic condition with a completely new cultural setup; (c) ritualism means turning (or rather returning) to established traditions and routines and cultivating them as safe hideouts to deflect cultural trauma; (d) retreatism means ignoring trauma, repressing it, striving to forget, and acting as if trauma did not exist. Thus, the four types of reactions to cultural traumas typical of modern reality are mechanisms of socio-cultural changes that actively operate in the modern society. At the same time, these mechanisms are capable of generating two possible scenarios of further development: aggravation of the

traumatic situation and, as a result, destruction of a culture or effective overcoming of trauma by reconstructing the culture. The sociologist connects the second scenario with changes facilitating traumatic effects and “the disappearance of the previous cultural heritage as a result of the change across generations”.

The positive transformations of original cultural heritage must also be specified that effectively function in the updated socio-cultural space and simultaneously allow experts to preserve the independent limits of a community under the conditions of globalization, unlike the “glocalisation” phenomenon indicating an uneven change that refers to inclusion in economic benefits of the global socio-cultural space under conditions of strict protection of all forms of traditional culture.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL TRANSFORMATION OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF THE NORTH AND SIBERIA AT THE PRESENT STAGE

Russian society is in the process of global transformation and indigenous peoples are quite often victims of such processes. At the present stage, indigenous peoples of the North and Siberia represent ethnic communities that are geographically localized, consolidated on the basis of ethnicity in the context of relations with the dominating ethnos, featuring their historical colonial (neocolonial) experience and its reflection, as well as recognition of indigenesness of communities by the dominating ethnos and the state. Many indigenous peoples are recognized by the state and experts as being under threat of extinction due to their small number in light of demographic factors or as a result of progressing assimilation, change of their representatives' identity, and often “dual” identity [27], [28].

Mechanisms of socio-cultural change in the indigenous ethnic environment are based on both the external effects and internal attitudes among the representatives of an ethnos that have become an expression of various strategies for their improving the traumatic situation. First of all, the changes have significantly affected their traditional lifestyle; markers of the resulted changes and the degree of these changes are modern forms of indigenous peoples' ethnic heritage. The preservation and translation of ethnic heritage actually serve today as effective means of reproducing ethnic identity [29].

Colonization and exogenous modernization impair natural mechanisms of socio-cultural changes. The changes experienced by indigenous peoples have resulted in the division of their current composition into at least three subcommunities: “indigenous peoples”, “city ethnic minorities”, and “protonations” (ethnonationalist movements). This internal differentiation exhibits the variety of mechanisms of socio-cultural change used by the representatives of an indigenous ethnos in the condition of multi-stage cultural trauma and its consequences they experienced. The “city ethnic minorities” group is the representatives of an ethnos who have chosen the “innovation” adaptation (the partial change of initial culture for the

purpose of mitigating trauma) and as a result are involved today in socio-cultural practices of the industrial and post-industrial society at a different degree of activity. The protonations group represents the community that has supported the “rebellion” adaptation (a more radical effort aimed at the total transformation of culture in order to replace the traumatic condition with a completely new cultural setup). Now, in some ethnoses, this group embodies the “reactive rebellion” mechanism and effectively uses modern and postmodern practices maximally mastered by their representatives and, with their help and with some inclusion of cultural premodern practices, actively reconstructs their ethnic identity for the purpose of overcoming its stigmatization. This process of an ethnos’ construction also includes the innovation mechanism, so far as this concerns socio-cultural traditional practices continuing their existence in particular forms. These forms are of transcultural nature and they exist at the edge of ethnoculture and global culture, generate new meanings on the basis of forms and actions typical of only a particular people, at the same time allowing the ethnocommunity to outline independent borders, and join into the global world (tradition is being adapted to modern practices).

At the present historical stage, indigenous peoples are non-uniform communities divided into groups. In fact, “indigenous peoples” are an internal group of the ethnocommunity whose representatives have participated in the passive overcoming of trauma (ritualism and ignoring) and, therefore, are least of all covered by postmodern practices, but combine both traditional and industrial practices in some way. The “protonations” category among the representatives of indigenous peoples of the North and Siberia is notable not only for the successful use of cultural practices of modern society, but also for their active position concerning their own ethnicity and ethnocommunity. These representatives of indigenous peoples initiate comprehension of a people’s colonial experience, finding the position of reconstructing an ethnos while overcoming the negative nature of identity obtained in the situation of the dominance of another nation, establishing a movement “from stigma to self-affirmation”. The fact that today the autochthonous population has reached positive identity is supported by examples not only at the regional level, but also at the transnational one, which is confirmed by the distribution of the “circumpolar civilization” concept. The dynamics of indigenous peoples’ socio-cultural change is a complex relation of characteristic features of the three historical stages: premodern, modern, and postmodern. This historical scheme allows researchers to see that the modern social structure of indigenous communities is irregular as a result of diverse external effects, responses to them, and selection of their own paths for development.

In this regard, there is much concern for the functioning of ethnic heritage of indigenous peoples of the North and Siberia as initial forms of ethnocultures, which most brightly represent the degree of impact the resulted and continuing socio-

cultural changes have had on them in their modern forms. The ethnic heritage of indigenous peoples in the context of this study is an indigenous ethnos' system of basic values and a whole variety of economic and socio-cultural practices typical of it that serve as both real ways/tools of life and markers of the representatives of a people's belonging to their community and its members means of forming identity of its members. At the present stage, the primary function of the original population's ethnic heritage of the North and Siberia is to form and maintain the ethnic identity of the representatives of these peoples, as well as overcome its negative assessment.

Due to the fact that indigenous ethnocultural communities are currently dealing with the issue of stigmatization of original identity, assimilation, dissolution of the borders of an indigenous ethnos in the global field of the modern world, and socio-cultural practices of traditional society, today with these people's having the status of a special ethnic heritage of these peoples, are becoming relevant. The reproduction, reconstruction, or construction of socio-cultural premodern practices under the modern and postmodern conditions represent an attempt to initiate internal mechanisms of cultural change and, therefore, the means for the renewal and restoration of not only the indigenous ethnoses' own borders, but also the active capacity of their representatives in modern society.

The intraethnic situation of indigenous small-numbered peoples is such that mechanisms for constructing an ethnos "from the outside", by means of assigning markers of their traditional economy and culture understood and offered by national elites, scientists, and experts of national and world levels by its representatives, become a means of self-affirmation for an indigenous community. The use, preservation, and translation, i.e. the reproduction, reconstruction, or construction of the economic and socio-cultural practices of traditional society under postmodern conditions represent a way to restore indigenous peoples' subjective and active capacity in the context of modern society, as full participants of state and world processes.

Each of the subgroups currently representing indigenous ethnocommunities is notable for different variants of actualizing ethnic heritage as a means of reproducing an ethnos under modern conditions. The fact that modern science's views on indigenous peoples' ethnic heritage are sustainably contradictory relies on the specified variety of economic and socio-cultural practices as an intrasocial conflict. This contradiction confirms the recognition of the necessity of preserving the ethnocultural heritage of indigenous peoples, on the one hand, and the unacceptability of breaking the modernization processes for an ethnos on the road to transformations necessary under the changing conditions and the inadmissibility of the "museumification of a people", on the other. The recognition of modern transformation of ethnotradition as adequate means and forms of existence of ethnoheritage helps in avoiding the "conservation" of indigenous

peoples' lifestyle on the existing socio-economic and cultural level when moving toward the purpose of ethnic heritage preservation by representatives of these ethnoses. Change in traditional economic and socio-cultural practices can be referred to as a mechanism of self-preservation of ethnic heritage, promoting the performance of the function of an ethnos' reproduction and the transformation of economic and cultural traditions is inevitable and necessary as a result of its actual existence.

CONCLUSION

At the present stage (of performing the function of the reproduction of an ethnos and improvement of identity), the process of preservation of ethnocultural traditions of indigenous peoples of the North and Siberia requires focus on the composition of indigenous communities and the application of various integrated political, economic, and socio-cultural practices according to the heterogeneity of an ethnos. The important place in the course of the autochthonous population's ethnocultural heritage performing the general function by its actualization is still attributed to the theoretical approach, i.e. conservation, museumification, and the research and scientific reconstruction of ethnoses' traditional economic and socio-cultural practices. The important point of political management aimed at preserving indigenous peoples is to create the conditions for them to perform their function of maintaining ethnic identity through forms of ethnic heritage. Considering means of maintaining indigenous peoples' ethnocultural heritage as relevant, those that are already available in the experience of the peoples of Russia, and opportunities, not sufficiently taken advantage of, the work presents a number of recommended spheres and forms of actualization of components of ethnic heritage of the autochthonous population of the North and Siberia. Among them, the academic strategy of scrupulous study can be determined, including via a cross-cultural method, as well as collecting available statements and various forms of museumification, from the museumconcept (including in the form of virtual excursion) up to the etnovillage, as well as educational projects.

Acknowledgment

The reported study was funded by Krasnoyarsk Region Science and Technology Support Fund according to the research project: "Decorative and Applied Art of Indigenous Peoples of the Krasnoyarsk Territory: Current Status, Prospects for Development".

The reported study was funded by Russian Foundation for Basic Research, Government of Krasnoyarsk Territory, Krasnoyarsk Region Science and Technology Support Fund to the research project No. 17-16-24601.

References

- B. Anderson, B. Imagined Communities. London, New York, Verso. 2006.
- T. Eriksen, T. Ethnicity and Nationalism. London. Pluto Press. 1993.
- Y. Slezkine, Y. Arctic mirrors: Russia and the small peoples of the North. Cornell University Press. 1994.
- A. Hultkrantz. On the History of Research in Shamanism. In: Shamans. In Pentikäinen Juha, Toimi Jaatinen, Ildiko Lehtinen, Marjo-Riitta Saloniemi (Eds.). Tampere: Tampere Museums, 1998, pp. 51-71.
- V. Kharitonova. "Sacredness and sacralization: Sociocultural contexts of today (an introduction to the issues' special theme)." Siberian Historical Research, pp. 185-190, 2016.
- N. Koptseva, V. Kirko. "Ethnic identification of indigenous people of the Siberian Arctic." American Journal of Applied Sciences, Vol. 11 (9), pp. 1574-1578, 2014.
- N. Koptseva, V. Kirko. "Post-soviet practice of preserving ethnocultural identity of indigenous peoples of the North and Siberia in Krasnoyarsk region of the Russian Federation." Life Science Journal, Vol. 11 (7), pp. 180-185, 2014.
- N. Koptseva, V. Kirko. "The impact of global transformations on the processes of regional and ethnic identity of indigenous peoples Siberian Arctic." Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences, Vol. 6 (3), pp. 217-224, 2015.
- N. Koptseva, V. Kirko, V. Nevzorov, V. Razumovskaya, E. Bukharova, A. Semenova. "Traditional nature management areas as means of organizing the economic activities of the Siberian arctic's indigenous minorities." International Review of Management and Marketing, Vol. 6 (5), pp. 154-161, 2016.
- V. Krivonogov. "The Dolgans' Ethnic Identity and Language Processes." Journal of Siberian Federal University. Humanities and Social Sciences, Vol. 6 (6), pp. 870-881, 2013.
- M. Kolesnik. "Decoration of Children's Literature of the Indigenous Peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East." Journal of Siberian Federal University. Humanities and Social Sciences, Vol. 9 (9), pp. 2044-2059, 2016.
- K. Reznikova. "Preservation and Transformation of Certain Aspects of the Traditional Way of Life of the Indigenous and Small-Numbered Peoples of the North, Living in the Settlements (Posyolki) of Turukhansk and Farkovo." Journal of Siberian Federal University. Humanities and Social Sciences, Vol. 6 (6), pp. 925-939, 2013.
- K. Reznikova, J. Zamaraeva, A. Kistova, N. Pimenova. "The current state of traditional socio-cultural practices of indigenous peoples of the North (on the example of cultures of Selkups, Nenets and Essey Yakuts)." Life Sci J, Vol. 11(12), pp. 126-132, 2014.
- N. Shishatsky. "Indigenous Minorities of the North as a Factor of Preservation and Sustainable Development of the Northern Territories." Journal of Siberian Federal University. Humanities and Social Sciences, Vol. 9 (7), pp. 1449-1456, 2014.
- F. Betsy, S. Azmiri. "Indigenous ecotourism's role in transforming ecological consciousness." Journal of Ecotourism, Vol. 8 (2), pp. 144-160, 2009.
- Hilhorst, D., Baart, J., van der Haar, G., Leeftink, F.M. (2015). Is disaster "normal" for indigenous people? Indigenous knowledge and coping practices. Disaster Prevention and Management, 24 (4), 506-522.
- A. Nyong, F. Adesina, B. Osman Elasha. "The value of indigenous knowledge in climate change mitigation and adaptation strategies in the African Sahel." Mitigation and Adaptation Strategies for Global Change, Vol. 5, pp. 787-797, 2007.

- S. Silliman. "Agency, practical politics and the archaeology of culture contact." *Journal of Social Archaeology*, pp. 190-209, 2001.
- S. Silliman. *Colonial Worlds, Indigenous Practices: The Archaeology of Labor on a 19th-Century California Rancho*. PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, 2000.
- S. Tushingham, R. Brooks. "Inland sanctuary: A synergistic study of indigenous persistence and colonial entanglements at hiouchi (Xaa-yuu-chit)." *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 118 (1), pp. 108-139, 2017.
- W. Wairimu, I. Christoplos, D. Hilhorst. "From crisis to development: the policy and practice of agricultural service provision in northern Uganda." *Agriculture and Human Values*, Vol. 33(4), 799-812, 2016.
- A. Hultkrantz. *Ecology of Religion: Its Scope and Methodology*. *Science of Religion: Studies in Methodology*, pp. 221-236, 1979.
- V. Kharitonova. "Revived shamanism in the social life of Russia." *Folklore (Estonia)*, pp. 37-54, 2015.
- N. Libakova, K. Petrova. "The Children's Literature of Indigenous Small-Numbered Peoples of the Krasnoyarsk Krai." *Journal of Siberian Federal University. Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol. 9 (9), pp. 1977-1993, 2015.
- P. Sztompka. "Social change as a trauma." *Sociological research*, Vol. 1, pp. 6-16, 2001.
- R. Merton. *Social Structure and Science*. Chicago, 1996.
- N. Libakova, A. Sitnikova, E. Sertakova, M. Kolesnik, M. Ilbeykina. "Modern practices of regional and ethnic identity of the Yakuts (North Asia, Russia)." *Life Sci J*, Vol. 11(12), pp. 133-140, 2014.
- M. Kolesnik, N. Koptseva, N. Libakova, V. Luzan, N. Sergeeva, E. Sertakova. "Economic migration in central siberia and ethnic conflict risks (Based on Krasnoyarsk Krai analysis)". *International Journal of Economics and Financial issues*, Vol. 6 (5s), pp. 104-108, 2016.
- A. Kistova, J. Zamaraeva, N. Pimenova, K. Reznikova, N. Koptseva, N. Seredkina. "Regional peculiarities in modernization processes within the territories of Central Siberia." *International Review of Management and Marketing*, Vol. 6 (4), pp. 857-865, 2016.