

THE ANALYSIS OF THE SIBERIAN REGIONAL SELF-IDENTIFICATION PROCESSES AMONG THE STUDENTS OF SIBERIAN FEDERAL UNIVERSITY (THE KRASNOYARSK TERRITORY, NORTH ASIA)

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Abstract: The article presents the results of the study of the processes of Siberian regional identity formation among the students of Siberian Federal University. The scientific debate subject is the existence of the Siberian regional identity. The stable character of the Siberian identity and self-identification among young students is proved on the material of empirical studies using the method of associative experiment. The processes of the Siberian identity formation are more intensive during a crisis than stable economic periods. Associative experiment shows that students have a stable content of the concept “sibiriyak” (“Siberian”). In general, the Siberian regional identity possesses positive meaning. It is based on historical features of Siberia colonization, specific cultural values, coexistence of a variety of ethnic groups on the same territory, as well as remoteness from the centre. The intellectuals living in the cities of the Siberian regions of post-Soviet Russia are the Siberian regional identity presenters.

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Keywords: Siberia, Siberian identity, self-identification, associative experiment, post-Soviet Russia.

INTRODUCTION

The modern Russia is actively undergoing the process of regional and self-identification. Regional populations separate themselves from the center which usually means the capital – Moscow. According to the latest population census there are new civil and ethnic self-identifications with *sibiriyak* (a resident of Siberia, Siberian) at the forefront. In 2002, 10 people filled in the column “NATIONALITY” with the word *sibiriyak*, and already in 2010 the number was 41 16. That growth of the regional identification might be caused by a blogger-stream called *Nastoyashchiye Sibiryaki* (True Siberians) as well as by “We are Siberians”, Internet community movement. The participants of these events encouraged people of the Siberian Federal District to call themselves as *sibiriyak* and *sibiriyachka* (Siberian woman) as well as to demand reduction of tax transfers from the Siberian regions to the Federal structures.

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The mainstreaming of Siberian identity has particular reasons and ways of formation both at macro- and micro-levels. The Siberian identity has certain forms and contexts. It becomes valuable within specific economic, political and cultural situations. The Siberian identity has the socio-psychological and political content manifested within recognition of socio-economic inequalities between center and regions. There is an inner logic and dynamic of formation and importance of the Siberian identity, the research on which might help to outline the specificity of globalization and localization processes in the scale of Siberian regions and persons undergoing changes in their self-identification.

The study of Siberian identity is topical in many aspects:

1. Siberian identity is considered as a local, territorial and regional identity; its study allows to see the dynamic of the spatial structure of social ties and identities;
2. Siberian identity is a social and cultural phenomenon which shows the influence of global changes and local reaction on them;
3. Siberian identity is based on the mode of interaction between a person with the history of residential territory;
4. Siberian identity is a contemporary type of “solidarity”, a way to announce publically about oneself so that the cultural differences are recognized and certain economic and social rights are declared.

The purpose of this research is to define the content and formats of the Siberian identity by associations of people identifying themselves as *sibiryaki* (*Siberians*), to find out through which social and political processes this Siberian identity is formed and what can activate it.

Through the process of globalization and communicative revolution the modern world is drastically changing in a number of vectors: (1) the significance of identity linked to a particular territory; social interactions are characterized as “extraterritorial” and “interterritorial”; (2) national states are suffering from the crisis; new supranational structures are appearing and new social solidarities are being created in isolation from the national borders; (3) different local cultures are being inserted into the global cultural space, producing a distinctive mode of life as a respond to the challenges caused by globalization; (4) complication of the information traffic in new media, expansion of the net forms of social organization and mobilization are preparing new spaces for virtual and/or real identities, for new forms of civil and political activity; (5) global migrations are being considered as real or potential opportunity for the biggest part of population that allows changing ethnic and cultural spaces and regarding them as a new basis for the identity by comparing themselves with Others (even virtual ones); (6) politicization of the identity (most frequently, territorial and ethnical) in the case when it is used as a form of political mobilization.

All these tendencies can be seen within the Siberian identity which demonstrates them in a very specific way. The formats and content of this identity represent the subject of any topical scientific disputes.

TEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The concept “identity” is defined in a number of ways which have been addressed by R. Brubaker and F. Cooper [1]. The researchers critically explore the notion of “identity” and assume that some scientific goals would be achieved more effectively using other terms. R. Brubaker and F. Cooper (2000) divide the definitions of identity into 5 groups depending on scientific goals and focuses:

1. “I” as a core and main state of the social organism; something deep and imperative;
2. Collective phenomenon as a basic equality of the members within a group;
3. Basis of political and social activity;
4. Result of political and social activity;
5. Random product of different discourses.

In the context of contemporary constructivism the Siberian identity represents a specific collective phenomenon, basic and consistent equality between the members of a group, as well as a product of social and/or political activity, a ground for collective solidarity or group cohesion and, thus, predetermines particular group actions.

Regarding the in-depth interviews conducted in such Siberian territories as Omsk, Irkutsk and Novosibirsk Regions, the Siberian identity was addressed by A. Anisimova and O. Yechevskaya [2]. In 2011 they carried out a research on macro- and micro-preconditions for the identity formation and analyzed the cultural, historical and spatial preconditions, the history of Siberian families including personal mobility, symbolic birth and residence status, the image of Siberian people in new media, regional Siberian peculiarities in socio-economic and political problems perception. The researchers concluded that the Siberian identity is a complex and multilevel phenomenon influenced by various factors at macro- and micro-levels. At the macro-level such factors include climate, natural landscapes, geographical position, remoteness from the center, economic status, infrastructure and the place of the Siberian Federal District in the whole economy of the Russian Federation. At the micro-level, which the researchers investigated through a biographical method, the Siberian identity, as they see it, is influenced by the family history, ethnic background, symbolic status of the birth and residence place, personal mobility and involvement of the person into different activities within the territory [2]. The researchers suggest the notion “Siberian character” to be a set of stereotypes and self-explaining myths as well as a sum of characteristics

which allow differentiating “Us” from “Them”, expressing these differences and drawing the line basing on the aspects relevant for the informant [2].

Despite the large scale of this research, it completely lacks any materials related to the leading region of the Siberian Federal District – the Krasnoyarsk Territory – which is inhabited with almost 3 mln people. The study of the Siberian identity excluding comprehension of its formation within the Krasnoyarsk Territory cannot be complete and exhaustive.

D. Anderson and D. Arzyutov [3] consider the way how the notion *Narody Sibiri* (*Siberian peoples*) was defined in the soviet ethnography. They highly appreciate those efforts made by the Soviet ethnographers whose researches have resulted in the development of new ethnic (Eurasian) communities playing an important role in the current process of globalization. According to them, multi-authored monographs written by the Soviet scientists, serve as a storage of the social memory and ways of professional activity the meaning of which cannot be overestimated. These researches represent a ground for the self-awareness of native elites all over Eurasia.

A number of scientists consider the Siberian identity through the angle of social measures [4], [5] studies social image of Siberian regions in the context of post-crisis transformations in the post-Soviet society. Socio-cultural changes and their dynamic in the Siberian population’s consciousness are addressed by V. Nemirovsky [6] who is also interested in the socio-cultural basis of the Siberian identity through the example of extensive and long-term field researches in the Krasnoyarsk territory as the largest region of the modern Siberia (2010). The social capital and structure of the Krasnoyarsk residents as the holders of the Siberian identity are analyzed by Nemirovsky and Nemirovskaya [7]. In Yu. Aksyutin and Ye. Tyshta [8] study the Siberian identity is understood as a supra-ethnic identity relating on the territorial affiliation and emerging in the political situation of a new Russian federalism formation.

There is a particular scientific tendency to explore the processes of Siberian identification and self-identification by visualizing the image of Siberia in art works [9], [10], cinema [11] and architecture [12], [13].

The post-Soviet Russia is marked by an active growth of the native identity linked with the ethnic groups of Siberian aborigines. Some scientists record the formation of specific complex identity which includes the Siberian territorial identity together with the ethnic native one [14], [15].

Most frequently, the Siberian identity is considered as the territorial [16], [17] or regional one [18], [19]. Shmatko and Kachanov [18] define the territorial identity as the result of “I” identification with the “territorial solidarity”. The territorial identity implies that within a set of territorial images the mechanism of identification is constant for every person and can be explained by rather “external” categories

in relation towards this person. It may be a city, settlement, region as well as the state or even the state which does not exist any more (the Soviet Union).

The Siberian identity is perceived not only through the territorial aspect, but also through the ethnic, cultural, psychological and historical contexts. M. Zhigunova [20] proposes the elements of the concept “sibiryak”:

1. Territorial (*sibiryak* is a person who lives in Siberia);
2. Regional (*sibiryaki* (*Siberian people*) are the people who are born and live for a long period in Siberia);
3. Cultural and historical (*sibiryaki* are the native population of Siberia, aborigines);
4. Psychological (*sibiryaki* have a specific character, they are strong, healthy and easily adapted);
5. Ethnic (*sibiryaki* are the people which have been built on the basis of the Russian ethnos and integrated with the Ukrainian, Tatar, Khakass and other ethnic communities) [20].

N. Sverkunova conducted the quantitative sociological researches in Shelekhov, a city in the Irkutsk Region, on a sample of 551 people. She asked the question regarding the features of sibiryak's character. 92,6% of the respondents answered “*vynoslivost*” (*endurance*), 80,5% – *uporstvo* (*perseverance*), 74,1% – *chestnost*’ (*honesty*), 72,9% – *blagozhelatelnost*’ (*benevolence*), 65,5% – *iskrennost*’ (*sincerity*), 59,5% – *rasovaya tolerantnost*’ (*race tolerance*), 50,8% – *kollektivizm* (*collectivism*). Most of the chosen by the Siberian residents characteristics are positive (Sverkunova, 1996, p.92). Among negative positions were: *khitrost*’ (*cunning*) – 12,3%, *skupost*’ (*greed*) – 8%, *len*’ (*lazyness*) – 7,3%, *trusost*’ (*cowardice*) – 2,8% [4].

Starting from 2010 the ethnic perception of the concept *sibiryak* has been actualized. The ethnic evaluation of the Siberian identity is starting to be studied [2], as well as the political one related to the protests events of 2011 – 2012.

A. Remnev considers the historical roots of the Siberian “separateness” from the European “center” based on the 20th century beginning mass migration. As he writes, the migration communities had a low level of ethnic conflicts and due to the settled peasants the Russian Empire and later the Soviet Union and post-Soviet Russia managed to keep Siberia within their borders [21].

In 2013 the federal media included the articles invoking to resist to so called “Siberian separatism”, in particular, with which a blogger and writer D. Verkhoturov speaking about “What the Siberian nation is?” in 2011 (<http://schriftsteller.livejournal.com>) was charged.

On March 17, 2013 E. Kryukov blamed D. Verkhoturov in the article “*Sibirsky separatizm...pod markoi sibirskogo natsionalizma*” (“Siberian Separatism... Under the Siberian Nationalism”) [22], the site of “Krasnaya Vesna” Information

Agency (“Red Spring”), for the anti-national activity and fact that this blogger wanted to separate Siberia from the other Russia and form a sovereign nation within this territory (<http://rossaprimavera.ru/article/sibirskiy-separatizm-pod-maskoy-sibirskogo-nacionalizma>).

The main features of the Siberian nation were determined by Verkhoturov as:

1. Existence of the national “core” combined by the Siberian long-term residents who gather people belonging to different ethnic groups;
2. Existence of the large number of people who solve the problem of self-identification by regarding themselves as Siberian people; this case demonstrates the difference between Siberian people and the Russian ethno-cultural group;
3. Appearance of the Siberian language created by Ya. Zolotarev as a written literary language on the basis of Siberian dialects.

Verkhoturov emphasizes that the Siberian nation does not mean the Siberian separatism. His activity is mainly aimed not at separatism, but at recognition of Siberian people within the multiethnic structure of ethnic communities of the modern Russia.

Among the Russian intellectuals a rather large buzz was caused by the book “The Siberian curse: How communist planners left Russia out in the cold” by F. Hill & C.G. Gaddy in 2003 [23]. The Russian translation of this work encouraged an active discussion about economic peculiarities of the Siberia development. The authors’ point of view on the necessity to resettle a large proportion of the Siberian population, which is modified as “excess”, and, then, to work there on a rotational basis was the subject of debates. This book was quoted by Y. Gaidar, one of the reformers of the post-Soviet Russia [24]. Those economists interested in the economic parameters of the Siberian regions also participated in this discussion [25], [26], [27].

In the context of a “new imperial history” of Russia as the history of interaction of the imperial power and local communities Siberia is analyzed in “*Sibir v sostave Rossiyskoy Imperii*” (“Siberia as a part of the Russian Empire”), a monograph by I. Dameshek, L. Dameshek, V. Zinoviev, A. Remnev, N. Suvorov, V. Shakherov and M. Shilovsky [28]. This work contains a detailed history of Siberia and its images within the imperial space till 1917. The scientific interest is focused on colonization of Siberia between the 18th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, on the administrative autocratic policy in Siberia of this period, management practices, self-governance of peasants, native peoples policy, industrial development, economic policy and Siberian exile. The research ends with the observation of Siberian *oblastnichestvo* in the context of development of the Siberian regionalism. A detailed discussion is put upon the administrative-and-household autonomy

in Siberia considered as a management model to control large territories from a center. But the results concern the most pressing problems of the contemporary times, i.e. democratization and regionalization of the administration in the modern Russia. Today, an efficient development of the Siberian regions is impossible without increasing economic and regional self-dependence. The authors predict a growth in the Siberian identification and self-identification among those permanent residents, especially among intellectuals and talented persons, among elites of the indigenous peoples.

Critics of the current relationship between the Siberian regions and Federal Center is being unfolded in an analytical report "*Makroregion Sibir: problemy i perspektivy razvitiya*" ("Siberian Macro-Region: Problems and Prospects for Development") made by a group of intellectuals [29]. The report says that the opportunities for an efficient development of Siberia are slowly running out. The following problems were considered by the authors as potential risks: (1) increased competition with the Asian states and regions similar to the one between raw materials suppliers; (2) limitation of opportunities for Siberia as a transport corridor between Asia and Europe in the case if a new "Great Silk Road" from China to EU would be re-constructed; (3) potential lack of the human capital caused by the migration outflow of the population to the central part of Russia.

The authors, as well as experts, consider that the main conflict lies between a real colonial status of Siberia and its development as an independent territory. At the present time, we have reached the peak of that development. So, the Siberian identity will develop in relation to overcoming that colonial status: either to fix as a specific Siberian identity, or to get lost in the identity peculiar to a metropolitan area. Currently, the territory per se does not represent a value, but it has a value if it is a source for the economic growth. Siberia needs subjectivity, radical transformations related to the task of the living standards improvement. It can become true, if Siberian regions achieve considerably greater independence. It's unlikely that Siberia would meet that severe competition with China, Mongolia and other Asian states. Today, Siberia needs people, migration inflows. It can lead to the further enhancement of the processes of Siberian regional identification and self-identification.

Till the present time, the researches on the Siberian identity have been mainly based on such methods as questionnaires, economic analysis and literary critics. The socio-psychological level of the study which considers people as the holders of the Siberian identity is peculiar to a small group of scientists [2]. To understand the dynamic of the content and formants of the Siberian identity it is necessary to include such crucial Siberian region as the Krasnoyarsk Territory. The micro-level of the research is linked to the re-construction of the essence of *Siberia* among Siberian people as the holders of the Siberian identity.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The primary method to investigate the whole set of meanings and senses implied in the concept “Siberia” aiming at the scientific monitoring of the Siberian identity formation processes in the modern Russia is an association experiment. Previously, in the terms of the national security this experiment was applied to analyze the content of the notion *sovremennaya voina (modern war)* [30]. The same context characterizes the researches on the methodology of association experiment carried out in “*Novoye buduschee Sibiri: ozhidaniya, vyzovy, resheniya*” (“The New Future of Siberia: Expectations, Challenges and Solutions”) [31], and also in the investigations related to the concepts of *security, motherland, state* by K. Akhramenko [32], M. Kolesnik [33], A. Semenova [34].

The association experiment is regarded as one of the cross-disciplinary methods actively applied in psychology [35], linguistics [36], cultural studies [37], psycholinguistics [38], sociology [39] and social philosophy [40].

For the first time this experiment was used for the social humanities researches by F. Galton who pioneered the implementation of psychological tests in human intellect studies in “*Inquiries into Human Faculty and Its Development*” (1883). Further, as an evidence of the experiment being a valid scientific method, the works by E. Kraepelin [41], C. Jung [42], W. Wundt [43] and A. Luria [44] were considered. In psychiatry the association experiment was applied by V. Bekhterev, A. Ivanov-Smolensky, V. Protopopov, M. Astvatsurov and other Soviet psychiatrists [38]. Obviously, the experiment is based on the method of free associations proposed by Freud and interpreted by Jung.

Of special interest is the use of association experiment for social and humanities studies. An extensive justification of this approach in terms of the modern sociology was suggested by L. Pautova in “*Assitsiativnyy experiment: opyt sotsiologicheskogo primeneniya*” (“Association Experiment: Experience in Sociologic Implementation”) [45], where she identifies its advantages: (1) obtaining information about recurring meanings that allows to outline the social element of knowledge. (2) analysis of the qualitative variety of social meanings and problems; (3) identification of the social experience within the analyzed group, including professional and/or gender groups involved in the political life; (4) recording of the frequency of personal and social responds (political and economic) which provide a ratio between the personal and socio-political spheres. Pautova proves the sociological relevance of the association experiment and implements this method among the students, but assumes that the results obtained in this environment should be extrapolated for the other part of the Russian society quite carefully.

Within the current research the method of association experiment is used following the system of A. Nazarov and R. Sokolov [46]. The application features of this methodological practice were described by N.Koptseva and V. Kirko

[47], M. Kolesnik [48], N. Koptseva and K. Resnikova [30], N. Libakova [40], A. Semenova [34].

The basic structure of the association experiment represents a research on the most standard for the society response-words (word-R) to a specified stimulus words (word-S). The psychologists have developed a set of different ways to obtain the words-R (associations) and to refer interpretations of the results. There are several recommendations of conducting the association experiment to precision increase. Words-R are considered to be the most valid, which occur within a short period of time as a response to the words-S. The truth is that as the modern researches that will be described below show, a long response to the word-S can be considered not only as an unreliable answer, but as a less actual association for the person in the moment of experiment, what can also lead to relevant conclusions given the time fixation within the experiment procedure.

First and foremost, let's dwell on the experiment technique suggested by T. Popova, who identifies two types of the experiment – direct and indirect [49].

The direct association experiment involves tasks which require the linguistic knowledge from the respondent, his reliance on such notions as lexical meaning, synonyms, antonyms, etc. This type of the experiment is called a focused experiment. These methods include the tasks ad modum: define the following notions; finish the sentence; find antonyms to the following words. The focused association experiment allows evaluating linguistic skills of the person. Different analytic tasks can also be regarded as direct methods: find the principal part of the sentence; translate the sentence; answer the questions; ask the questions; give a one sentence text summary.

In contrast, indirect ways of the association experiment do not require or do require to a far lesser degree any deliberate responses. Among such methods there are psycho-physiological, association, gaming techniques and semantic differential methods. A non-focused association experiment is usually carried out in the form of a word-S set offered to the respondents who are to find spontaneously occurring associations. In this case the most significant part of the work consists in processing, classification and interpretation of these associations, since any compilation of just a frequency chain of associations turns out to be not enough to study the cultural concept. T. Popova notes such options of the association experiment, in a separate part of her book *“Assotsiativnyy experiment i yazykovoye soznaniye nositeley russkogo yazyka”* (“Association Experiment and Linguistic Consciousness of the Russian Native-Speakers”) and writes: “one of the ways to analyze the content of the linguistic consciousness implied into the basis of the speech activity, is a direct association experiment which allows to identify an association-verbal network (ACB) peculiar to an average Russian native-speaker. The notion ACB was suggested and is still being developed by Yu. Karaulov. In his point of view, ACB means a substrate of the human linguistic ability – a complex of all the formal and

semantic relations of any given semantic sign (phraseological units, words, proverbs, morphemes and etc.) existing in the human consciousness. An elementary unit of ACB is a chain “stimulus – response”. Basing on the free association experiment, one can, by comparing the responses, find the most frequent, general responses that may help to construct association fields of any language, including the Russian one. (...). The analysis of associations provides identification of the concepts and stereotypes typical to different nations” [49, 36].

It is worth noting that the construction of association field of the Russian language was realized by Yu. Karaulov, Yu. Sorokin, Ye. Tarasov, N. Uphimtseva and G. Cherkasova in “*Russkiy assotsiativny slovar*” (“The Russian Dictionary of Associations”) in 1994 [50]. Regarding this dictionary we should note the following aspect of the association research:

1. The experiment respondents were represented by students, Russian native-speakers, aged from 17 to 25 years, of I-IV courses of different Universities. Such choice was caused by two reasons: (1) the higher education importance; (2) forecasting the further consciousness development of those Russian, who may determine the linguistic, spirit and material life of our society in the near 30 years. It is possible to conclude that to carry out the association experiment it is quite enough to make a sampling from students (we keep in mind, that generally association experiments are focused on the students that is in line with foreign scientific researches in which students are considered as an ideal set of cultural studies samplings). Further, a noteworthy detail is that the association dictionary experiments conducted between 1980 and 1990s with the intention to predict the future. Such approach demonstrates the fact that associations can change in the course of time. The implementation of such experiment in the context of today’s world may show some shifts in the words understanding. This experiment was held by the Soviet researchers team, the associations had been formed by the Soviet experience and reality, while the modern students form their own associations relying on absolutely different historical experience.
2. The dictionary authors determined the number of people needed for the valid experiment, i.e. 100 people, as well as a sufficient number of stimuli – responses to construct the association field, i.e. 100 responses (increase in the number of stimuli-responses leads to the growth of too personal associations deliberately excluded from the construction of the national-collective association field of the language, since the cultural study is oriented on comprehension of the Universal, and not Particular). The information obtained during the dictionary compilation was recorded in “*Assotsiativny experiment kak sposob kross-kulturnogo issledovaniya obrazov soznaniya*” (“Association Experiment as the Method of Cross-Cultural Research on the Consciousness Images”) by A. Palkin in 2008

[51]. The team continues interpretation methods development used for the experiment's results, especially, in its application to the national culture analysis. It is evident that even from 100 items not all the stimuli-responses manage to reveal some significant characteristics of the national concepts. Yu. Karaulov [52] suggests using 7+/- 2 stable (most frequent) associations to the word implying important information about the cultural concept and representing a "semantic gestalt" (a completed semantic image) of the concept. The approaches to classification of large amount of associations gained as the result of association experiment are described by A.V. Kapitonova in "*Svobodniy assotsiativniy experiment kak metod izucheniya yazykovogo soznaniya v psikholingvistike*" ("Free Association Experiment as the Way to Study the Linguistic Consciousness in Psycholinguistics") [53].

Another type of the association experiment which involves a heterochronic feature is in the work by A. Nazarov and R. Sokolov "*Metodika seriynikh tematicheskikh assotsiatsiy*" ("Methods of Serial Thematic Associations") [46]. In this type of the association experiment the respondents are offered to match not one word-R with the word-S, but a chain of responses to the word-S (theme) and, besides, they are not limited in time. At the same time, the authors draw the attention to the necessity to mark the time-laps between the responses. The authors ground the idea under which a person has two levels of the experience – active and passive. It is expected that in the course of such experiment the active experience shows itself within a short period of time, while long-term deliberations of the response push the passive experience in the front line. This means that such technique of the association experiment is less straight (it involves sub-conscious and conscious ways to show associations – the experience). The article also contains quite a general classification of the obtained associations: (1) associates directly related to the theme or characterizing its structure; (2) associates directly related to the theme and characterizing its features; (3) associates indirectly related to the theme, i.e. the link between them is clearly seen through additional implicit elements; (4) indirect associates far removed from the theme; the determination way is higher than in the previous class; (5) associates functionally linked to the theme; the theme is characterized not per se, but through those features obtained as the result of interaction with the environment of the content set by this theme; (6) non-relevant associations, i.e. those either unlinked to the theme at all and appeared on a random basis, or related to it indirectly, from the personal experience. In the first two classes the associates are likely to the formal collective experience. So, there is a range of psychological research methods and experiments which can be implemented to study the culture. Among the psychological techniques which can be used for the cultural concepts studies a particular relevance is given to the method of association experiment due to the proximity between some features of

the association and concept. The association experiment allows constructing the “semantic gestalt” of the concept, i.e. identifying such words and their meanings, which accompany the concept in the national language. The interpretation of related meanings provides better understanding the cultural concept existence specificity. Psychological research techniques applied to the concept studies are relevant for the comprehension of the concept nature within the modern era.

We show further the results of the association experiment following A. Nazarov and R. Sokolov’s methods “Serial Thematic Associations” with the word *sibiryak*. Participants included 200 Siberian Federal University students.

The research is aimed at identification of the nature implied in the concept *sibiryak* in Krasnoyarsk students perceptions.

Having processed the responses, we have divided the obtained associates with the notion *sibiryak* into several groups:

1. Characterizing a man as a *sibiryak*;
2. Related to human peculiarities;
3. Related to the activity sphere;
4. Related to the attributes associated with the *sibiryak* perception and appearance description;
5. Related to certain names of images representing the category *sibiryak*;
6. Notions similar on their meaning to the associate;

Evaluation parameters positive/negative towards the associate.

INTERPRETIVE READING OF ASSOCIATION EXPERIMENT

The processed psycho-cultural data resulted in the opportunity to identify the key aspects, topical spheres related to them (association groups) and evaluation emotional perception towards the notion *sibiryak* and lead to the following conclusions:

Sibiryak has a stable association with the territorial affiliation to Siberia – *Zhitel Sibiri (resident of Siberia)* 22 (11%), *Sibir (Siberia)* 5 (2, 5%). Within this, the association of *sibiryak* with Russia in general and with Krasnoyarsk in particular is extremely low: *russky (Russian)* 3 (1,5%), *Rossia (Russia)* (0,5%), *narod (people)* 3 (1,5%), *natsiya (nation)* 1 (0,5%), *natsionalnost' (nationality)* 1 (0,5%), *rodina (motherland)* 1 (0,5%), *sotsium (society)* 1 (0,5%), *korennoy zhitel (indigenous resident)* 4 (2%), *zemlyak (fellow countryman)* 3 (1,5%), *sibiryachka (Siberian woman)* 1 (0,5%), *Krasnoyarsk* 1 (0,5%), *krasnoyarets (native of Krasnoyarsk)* 1 (0,5%), *Stolby (the Reserve Park Stolby)* 1 (0,5%).

Some of the students marked patriotism as an essential characteristic of the Siberian: *patriot* 11(5,5%), *patriotism* 3 (1,5%), *lyubyaschiy rodinu (country devotee)* 1 (0,5%).

The notion “sibiryak” is revealed as the image dominated by a man principle bearing certain characteristics both of physical appearance and spirit content: *chelovek* (human) 32 (16%), *muzhik* (male peasant) 31 (15,5%), *muzhchina* (man) 7 (3,5%), *muzhestvennost'* (manhood) 1 (0,5%), *lichnost'* (personality) 1 (0,5%).

In the context of this research 6,5% (13) of the respondents associate the notion *sibiryak* with a concrete characteristic of self-identification, since they call themselves in that way – the answer *ya* (I am).

The notion is mostly defined by the parameter of strength/power – it dominates in all the tested groups – in relation to the human characteristics – *silniy* (strong) 34 (17%) and also to its attributed feature – *sila* (strength) 32 (16%). At the same time, this parameter is understood in two different ways: on the one hand, it is defined as a physical health characteristic, and then the respondents create the following stable chain of associations – *zdoroviy* (healthy) 14 (7%), *krepiy* (strong) 13 (6,5%), *vynosliviyy* (enduring) 10 (5%), *zakalyonniy* (hardened) 23 (11,5%), *morozoustoichiviy* (frost-resistant) 6 (3%), *stoykiy* (persistent) 5 (2,5%), *ustoichiviy* (steady) 3 (1,5%), *moschniy* (forceful) 2 (1%), *lovkiy* (dexterous) and *zdorovie* (health) 19 (9,5%), *vynoslivost'* (endurance) 11 (5,5%), *zakalka* (hardening) 6 (3%), *ustoichivost'* (steadiness) 4 (2%), *stoikost'* (firmness) 7 (3,5%), *krepost'* (strength) 4 (2%), *morozoustoichivost'* (frost-resistance) 2 (1%), *vyderzhka* (moderation) 5 (2,5%), *zdrovnyak* (sturdy man) 1 (0,5%), *bogatyr'* (strong warrior) 2 (1%), *dolgozhitel* (long-liver) 1 (0,5%). On the other hand, the strength can be considered as a moral core and in that case *sibiryak* is defined as *s kharacterom* (with a temper) 10 (5%), *volevoy* (strong-willed) 5 (2,5%), *stoykiy* (persistent) 5 (2,5%), *otzyvchiviy* (responsive) 4 (2%), *tselestremenniyy* (dedicated) 3 (1,5%) and accompanied by the notions *chest'* (honour) 4 (2%), *chestnost'* (honesty) 7 (3,5%), *khrabrost'* (bravery) 3 (1,5%), *vnutrenniy sterzhen'* (spirit core) 1 (0,5%), *sila voli* (will power) 2 (1%), *silniy dukh* (strong spirit) 3 (1,5%), *volivoy dukh* (will spirit) 1 (0,5%), *mosch'* (power), *doblest'* (valour) 1 (0,5%), *blagorodnost'* (genteelness) 1 (0,5%).

Separately worth noting the characteristic of *sibiryak's psycho-state*, therefore there are such attributes as *dusha* (soul) 12(6%), *vera* (faith) 7 (3,5%), *shirokaya dusha* (big heart) 6 (3%), *dushevnost'* (warm-heartedness) 2 (1%), *dukh* (spirit) 5 (2,5%), *silniy dukh* (strong spirit) 2 (1%), *dukhovnost'* (spirituality) 1 (0,5%), *chist dushoy* (pure in mind) 1 (0,5%), *chelovechnost'* (humaneness) 1 (0,5%), *khristianstvo* (Christianity) 1 (0,5%).

Among the associates belonging to the sphere of activity the first place is taken by *zhitel Sibiri* (resident of Siberia) 22 (11%); among the similar features there are such responds as “*ya*” (I am) 13 (6,5%), *korennoy zhitel* (indigenous resident) 4 (2%) – as a territorial characteristic. Directly among the spheres of activity the respondents identified the following positions: activities: *okhotnik* (hunter) 15(7,5%), *okhota* (hunting) 10 (5%), *rybak* (fisher) 7 (3,5%), *lesnik* (woodman) 6 (3%), *master* (craftsman) 5 (2,5%), *zaschitnik* (defender) 4 (2%), *voin* (warrior)

4 (2%), *rabochiy* (worker) 4 (2%), *pisatel'* (writer) 2 (1%), *kolkhoznik* (collective farmer) 2 (1%), *krestianin* (peasant) 2 (1%), *naezdnik* (horseman) 1 (0,5%), *vozhak* (leader) 1 (0,5%), *poet* 1 (0,5%), *yeger'* (forester) 1 (0,5%), *olenevod* (reindeer-breeder) 1 (0,5%), *lesnichiy* (forester) 1 (0,5%), *khudozhnik* (artist) 1 (0,5%), *drovosek* (woodman) 1 (0,5%), *strelok* (shooter) 1 (0,5%), *kuznets* (smith) 1 (0,5%), *tayozhnik* (people who live in taiga) 1 (0,5%).

Those associates describing the *sibiryak* as a working man should be represented as a separate group of notions: *trudolyubie* (industriousness) 10 (5%), *rabotyaga* (worker) 8 (4%), *trud* (work) 6 (3%), *rabotyaschiy* (hard-working) 3 (1,5%), *khozyain*, *rabota* (owner, work) 3 (1,5%), *truzhennik* (toiler) 1 (0,5%), *trudyaschiysya* (toiling man) 1 (0,5%), *ne sidit na meste* (never stays in one place) 1 (0,5%), *polezniy obschestvu* (productive) 1 (0,5%), *rabotayuschiy* (working) 2 (1%), *vse umeyuschiy* (skilled in anything) 1 (0,5%), *trudolyubiv* (industrious) 1 (0,5%).

Moreover, one of the significant features is skillful housekeeping and domesticity of the Siberians, consequently, there are such definitions as *gostepriimiy* (hospitable) 9 (4,5%), *semyanin* (family man) 6 (3%), *khozyaistvenniy* (economical) 5 (2,5%), *zabota* (care) 4 (2%), *ogorod* (kitchen garden) 3 (1,5%), *khozyaistvo* (household) 3 (1,5%), *semya* (family) 3 (1,5%), *glava semyi* (householder) 2 (1%), *dom* (home) 2 (1%), *rodniye* (relatives) 2 (1%), *deti* (children) 2 (1%), *khozyaistvennost'* (domesticity) 2 (1%), *vedeniye khozyaistva* (housekeeping) 1 (0,5%), *ochag* (fireplace) 1 (0,5%), *teplitsa* (hothouse) 1 (0,5%), *chelovecheskiye otnosheniya* (human relations) 1 (0,5%), *vernii muzh* (faithful husband) 1 (0,5%).

Besides the respondents had stereotypical associations with the word “*sibiryak*” – *valenki* (felt boots) 19 (9,5%), *ushanka* (ear-flaps hat) 16 (8%), *zima* (winter) 8 (4%), *medved'* (bear) 6 (3%), *les* (forest) 6 (3%), *taiga* (deep forest) 5 (2,5%), *moroz* (frost) 4 (2%), *sneg* (snow) 4 (2%), *banya* (sauna) 4 (2%), *morozy* (frosts) 1 (0,5%), *oleni* (deer) 1 (0,5%).

To describe the appearance the students suggested such attributes as *valenki* (felt boots) 19 (9,5%), *ushanka* (ear-flaps hat) 16 (8%), *odezhda* (clothes) 11 (5,5%), *boroda* (beard) 10 (5%), *tulup* (sheepskin coat) 9 (4,5%), *v shube* (in fur coat) 8 (4%), *teplo odetiy* (warmly clad) 8 (4%), *borodatiy* (bearded) 8 (4%), *tyoplaya odezhda* (warm clothes) 7 (3,5%), *shapka* (warm cap) 7 (3,5%), *shuba* (fur coat) 6 (3%), *odevayetsya* (dressed) 5 (2,5%), *telogreika* (bodywarmer) 2 (1%), *balalaika* 2 (1%), *khorosho odet* (well dressed) 2 (1%), *fufaika* (sweater) 2 (1%), *usy* (mustache) 2 (1%), *rumyanets* (ruddiness) 2 (1%), *varezhki* (knitted gloves) 1 (0,5%), *vyazanniye noski* (knitted socks) 1 (0,5%), *lapti* (bast shoes) 1 (0,5%), *rozovoschyokiy* (with rosy cheeks) 1 (0,5%), *schetina* (bristle) 1 (0,5%), *svetlaya kozha* (light skin) 1 (0,5%), *sedina* (gray hair) 1 (0,5%).

The respondents' consciousness also contains quite a clear images which encapsulate the notion *sibiryak* linked to the historical events or cultural life –

Mamin-Sibiryak 8 (4%), *Yermak* 4 (2%), *Astafiev* 2 (1%), *Surikov* 2 (1%), *Pozdeev* 1 (0,5%).

The experiment is resulted in the fact that the category *sibiryak* has mainly positive associations and perceptions among the respondents. The positive characteristics refer to the following notions: *dobriy* (*kind*) 15 (7,5%), *umniy* (*clever*) 12 (6%), *gostepriimniy* (*hospitable*) 12 (6%), *dobrota* (*kindness*) 8 (4%); *vesyoliy* (*cheerful*) 8 (4%), *dobrodushniy* (*good-natured*) 6 (3%); *krasiviy* (*beautiful*) 5 (2,5%); *nadyozhnost'* (*reliability*) 5 (2,5%); *otzyvchiviy* (*kind-hearted*) 4 (2%); *gordost'* (*pride*) 12 (6%), *dobrota* (*kindness*) 8 (4%), *krasota* (*beauty*) 7 (3,5%), *smelost'* (*courage*) 5 (2,5%), *uporstvo* (*perseverance*) 5 (2,5%), *iskrennost'* (*sincerity*) 3 (1,5%); *smyshlyonniy* (*smart*) 2 (1%) and etc. At the same time, there also are negative perceptions of the image, especially caused by alcohol – *vodka* 6 (3%), *piyanstvo* (*excessive drinking*) 2 (1%), *alkogolizm* (*alcoholism*) 2 (1%), *alkogolik* (*alcoholic*) 2 (1%), *alkogol'* (*alcohol*) 1 (0,5%), *piyaniy* (*drunk*) 3 (1,5%), *silno napivayetsya* (*heavy drunk*) 2 (1%), *vypivayuschiy* (*drinking person*) 1 (0,5%), *alkash* (*alcanaut*) 1 (0,5%), *spirt* (*pure alcohol*) 1 (0,5%), *pivo* (*beer*) 1 (0,5%); or by such manifestations of the character as: *suroviy* (*harsh*) 10 (5%), *s kharakterom* (*with a temper*) 8 (4%), *grubiy* (*rude*) 3 (1,5%), *leniviy* (*lazy*) 3 (1,5%), *odinokiy, zhestkiy* (*lonely, rough*) 2 (1%), *otmorozhenniy* (*spaced out*) 1 (0,5%), *nevospitanniy* (*ill-mannered*) 1 (0,5%), *otstaliy* (*retarded person*) 1 (0,5%), *selskiy* (*rural man*) 1 (0,5%). In general, an approximate ratio between “positive – negative” parameters inclines towards the positive description – 70%, while for the negative one – 30%.

Besides, the biggest part of associates possesses the feature of hopelessness in the image of *sibiryak*–*razbitiye mechty* (*denied dreams*) 2 (1%), *obmanutiye* (*cheated*) 1 (0,5%), *nedootsenenniy* (*underestimated*) 1 (0,5%), *bezyskhodnost'* (*hopelessness*) 1 (0,5%), *perezhivaniye* (*inner turmoil*) 1 (0,5%), *zanesyonniy sudboyu* (*brought by the fate*) 1 (0,5%), *katorzhnik* (*convict*) 1 (0,5%), *toska* (*depression*) 1 (0,5%), *odinochestvo* (*loneliness*) 1 (0,5%), *chuvstvo ostavlenosti* (*feeling of abandonment*) 1 (0,5%), *serost'* (*dullness*) 1 (0,5%), *vyzhivaniye* (*survival*) 1 (0,5%).

Thus, in the perception of Krasnoyarsk students the territory of Siberia generates its own unique resident called *sibiryak* (*Siberian*). At the same time, the natives of Krasnoyarsk also have Siberian self-identification. The modern students also understand *sibiryak* as the category to express self-identification inalterably directly associated with the respondents' personalities.

Sibiryak is represented as a *generalized character*, mainly of a man, who is strong and sturdy not only physically, but also morally and ethically, possessing a wide range of norms and traditions which altogether determine his moral character. *Sibiryak* is not only a heavily-built man, but he also is a hard-worker and a pure-minded family guy. Within this, *sibiryak* does not mean an idealized image, it is the man with his weaknesses, among which the main one is alcohol abuse.

CONCLUSION

The challenges brought by the globalization and crisis of the modern national states cause a feedback appearing in the form of regional identification. In the federal states, particularly, in the post-Soviet Russia, the problem of regional identification toughens in the periods of economic and political crisis, when the locals, being removed from the federal center, assume that it is the federal policy that intensifies the economic crisis in the removed Siberian regions. Just the period of 2011 – 2012 – the years of the world recession – was marked by increased processes of the Siberian regional identity. At present, politicization of these processes has passed its peak. Nevertheless, the socio-psychological researches based on the association experiment show that the social psychology of young people living in the Krasnoyarsk Territory is characterized by the stable and generally positive image of *sibiryak* which does not coincide with the image of *Russian*, *Moscow residents*, etc. Alongside with that, this research has demonstrated that the Siberian self-identification has also the negative presentation related to “disappointment”, “defeated hopes” and feeling of a severe “injustice”. One may predict that in the case of another wave of the economic crisis the Siberian self-identification in the natives of the Krasnoyarsk Territory would strengthen and the demands for economic independence made by the Siberian population would sound more and more insistently.

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