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## THE PHENOMENON OF NEO-TRAMBALISM, TRAMBOLISM AND RE-TRAMBALISM IN THE REGIONS OF THE RUSSIAN ARCTIC DURING THE SELECTION AND PLACEMENT OF PERSONNEL AMONG INDIGENOUS MINORITIES IN THEM

***Abstract:** In the article, the authors analyzed the experience of two Russian Far Eastern regions - Yakutia and Buryatia - in using the categories of neo-tribalism in political discourse. This is an interesting phenomenon, since we are not simply talking about the use of the concept of "political clan", but about references to local cultural traditions. Tribal identity as a political factor may not be condemned, but rather encouraged. The origins of this phenomenon are usually sought in local specifics, in cultural practices described by anthropologists and ethnographers. This study is an attempt to demonstrate that the language of neotribalism is modern, it appeared in response to current demands, and the state plays one of the main roles in its formation and maintenance. The work is based on the analysis of various content, but its goal is not to describe the language of neotribalism, but to understand the origins of its existence. Studying the situation in two regions made it possible to compare the data obtained and fit the practice of using neo-tribalist language into the socio-political context. Authorities are one of the main actors representing neo-tribalist meanings, which are part of the more general discourse of neo-traditionalism. The content created signifies tribalism as part of valued local traditions. The mass media pick up and replicate the idea of the tribal structure of local society, since this is a rating topic. As a result, the state itself is viewed in a neo-tribalist manner. The popularity of this model of describing politics directly depends on how actively the authorities support the neo-traditionalist discourse.*

**Key words:** neo-traditionalism, neo-tribalism, Asia, culture, politics, power, language, meanings.

**Language:** English

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## Introduction

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Neo-tribalism in politics is a phenomenon considered by world science from various points of view. Although there are classic works describing tribes in modern times, the debate about what tribalism and neotribalism are and whether these terms can be used today continues to this day. The authors offer their own approaches and definitions: retribalization, modern tribalism, etc. Each of them focuses on specific aspects of the phenomenon being studied, which is reflected in the terminology used. In the presented work, the term “neo-tribalism” is used, understood as a modern phenomenon of the actualization of artificially archaized relations (tribal, clan, etc.) and the identities corresponding to them. The prefix neo- in this situation emphasizes the presence of innovative practices and ideas that are a response to certain processes in society. In addition, we are interested in tribalism in a political context - as the phenomenon where, under specific circumstances, certain interest groups use parts of their traditional culture to formulate functions for informal organizations that are used in the struggle of these groups for power within formal organizations. However, the object of analysis was not the political actors identifying themselves with the corresponding informal groups, but the neo-tribalist meanings attributed to them and their actions. Studying how tribal life is portrayed as an idealized past or a regressive barrier to development has provided insight into why ideas about the existence of tribes and clans can be cultivated: they are portrayed as part of traditions, valuable or unfavorable in the context of ethnic identity and national consciousness. In other words, neotribalism in this study is viewed in terms of systems of meaning already used to describe politics, and not as actual groups and their relationships. This avoided the danger of accepting neotribalism as a given, a cultural feature that can be described and thereby contribute to the formation and systematization of the language of neotribalism. An earlier study of the manifestations of neo-tribalism in the field of politics of the modern Far East showed that language in this situation is of paramount importance in the context of a formally unified region with many ethnic groups for which tribalism is officially enshrined as part of culture and history, part of traditions that need to be preserved.

The presented study focuses on two republics: Sakha (Yakutia) and Buryatia. They are united by both

the presence in the public sphere of the language of neotribalism as a way of describing politics, and the common features of the historical past, significant in the context of this work, as well as the national character of autonomy. On the other hand, the territorial boundaries are somewhat wider, since the use of the language of neo-tribalism tends to describe local ethnic groups whose borders of residence do not coincide with the official borders of the republics. It is on this scale that the public categorization of politics in terms of tribalism manifests itself most clearly. It allows one to evaluate political phenomena, draw political boundaries, legitimize political decisions, claims to power and resources, and explain ongoing political processes. The language of neotribalism is not the only one in this situation; there are other ways of everyday describing and understanding politics. But it is definitely popular, and in order to see its prospects, it is necessary to put it into context, to understand the origins of this phenomenon.

An attempt to understand the socio-political conditions in which the language of neo-tribalism is formed revealed its close connection with the general neo-traditionalist discourse. Government authorities systematically announce the need to preserve and revive traditions; officials publicly position the study areas as unique spaces where traditions are an integral part of culture and history. This relationship between the general neotribalist discourse formed by state institutions and the idea of neotribalism, which becomes the basis for describing the political actors themselves, their relationships and actions, became the subject of this study. Similar processes are recorded everywhere in the modern world, when the revival or construction of ethnocultural and religious traditions and, in general, archaics become an integral and integral part of socio-economic and political discourse.

The purpose of this article is not to record and classify the use of neo-tribalist discourse in political content, but to understand the reasons for this phenomenon. The basis of the study was the concept of representation and the theory of commodification of ethnicity. The concept of “ethnicity industry” made it possible to analyze the motives of authorities in the creation and dissemination of neo-traditionalist discourse, and the concept of representation made it possible to trace the movement of relevant meanings in society and identify the relationship between the actions of politicians and the spread of neo-tribalist discourse about the politicians themselves. The emergence and transformation of the language of

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neotribalism is associated with many factors, but in this situation the study is limited to the sphere of influence of state institutions, therefore it is based on interpretive approaches to policy analysis. Their central characteristic is a focus on meaning, so they are situation specific rather than requiring general laws or universal principles. Typically, they focus on language as well as other artifacts that convey meaning, such as people's actions and any objects they may use in those actions. The interpretive approach offers a wide range of research methods, ranging from observation, interviews, document study, to spatial analysis, each of which was used at a specific stage depending on the data obtained. This allowed us to adjust the study, making its results more relevant. In addition, this made it possible to analyze such a complex concept as “neo-tribalist discourse”, which consists of many heterogeneous meanings. The method of structured focused comparison helped to organize the research techniques used. With its help, you can study a small number of cases in detail and comprehensively and minimize the negative aspects of having a small number of cases participating in the comparison (remember, the study is focused on Yakutia and Buryatia). Formulating a set of general questions that should be applied to each of the cases ensures that the data obtained are truly comparable. A structured, focused comparison allowed for detailed examination of individual cases that differed in both chronological and geographical characteristics. It was important to identify and compare different models of describing politics using neotribalism, and to trace the process of their transformation.

The empirical basis of the study was formed on the basis of the applied research methods. Materials published in the region over the past twenty years dealing with the topic of tribalism and politics were examined. Initially, the selection was carried out using keywords and phrases; the obtained data was grouped by source and ranked by popularity; The materials referenced at the initial stage of the study were examined. Next, a special search was carried out for materials with similar characteristics to conduct a comparative analysis. As a result, the data that was accessed can be divided into three categories: actions (what people do in the analyzed political situation, for example, the practice of government bodies), language (what is said and written about tribalist groups in politics, incl. the language of legislation, various documents, reports, language used in interviews, journalistic articles, statements of politicians, etc.), as well as politically related objects or physical artifacts (for example, items of clothing emphasizing membership in a particular tribal group and etc.). All this made it possible to identify the significant role of state institutions in the emergence and support of the language of neotribalism.

The Krasnoyarsk Territory is one of the most resource-rich regions of Russia: its territory contains

huge reserves of oil, gas, iron ore, coal, non-metallic minerals, non-ferrous and rare metals. Thanks to its unique natural resources, the Krasnoyarsk Territory is one of the supporting industrial regions of the Russian Federation: the basic industries are metallurgy (the share of non-ferrous metallurgy is more than 40%), mining (about 30%), hydropower and solid fuel power (more than 10%), forestry and timber processing industry.

In the Taimyr Dolgano-Nenets municipal region, reserves of platinum, platinum group metals, cobalt, copper-nickel ores are concentrated; these are the Norilsk-1, Oktyabrskoye, Talnakhskoye deposits, united in the Norilsk mining district. On the territory of the largest in Eurasia, the Great Arctic Reserve, there is a natural reserve known since the mid-19th century. Taimyr coal basin. In the 1970s The world's largest deposit of impact industrial diamonds was discovered within the boundaries of the Popigai ring structure. According to the map of distributed resources, more than 40 mining companies operate in Taimyr. The main developer of subsoil on the peninsula is MMC Norilsk Nickel. Over the past few years, oil and gas production companies have been actively entering the area. The flagship project for Taimyr is the Vostok Oil project of the Rosneft company. The development of the peninsula and its resources involves not only mining and processing companies, but also wild reindeer hunters, reindeer herders, fishermen, i.e. indigenous peoples (Dolgans, Nenets, Enets, Nganasans, Evenks). The meaning of the concept of “development” is revealed when identifying resource-user projections, in which various stakeholders and actors appear. It is clear that all residents of Taimyr have common resources that everyone uses, although in different volumes and forms. But they use resources in different ways, and these differences do not occur directly from the location and purpose of the resource (say, pastures or minerals), but in the refraction of traditions, interests, technologies, strategies. The decisive role is played by the motives and attitudes of communities (peoples, villages, corporations) and their leaders. Different views and approaches can give rise to conflicts, or they can serve as the basis for cooperation and the development of multilateral models of interaction. Ultimately, it is not the resources themselves, but the behavioral strategies of their users that create the picture and history of a particular space. Analysis of intersecting motives reveals the existing alignment of interests and possible scenarios for the development of events. The history of the Russian mining and metallurgical company Norilsk Nickel goes back more than eighty years. The earliest mentions of minerals on the territory of Taimyr date back to the 18th century. Geological expeditions in the 1920s. determined the high prospects of the region (Norilsk-1 deposit), and already in March 1935, the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR and the Central

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Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks adopted Resolution No. 1275198ss “On the construction of the Norilsk Combine” and on the transfer of “Norilskstroy” (full name - “Norilsk Mining metallurgical plant named after A.P. Zavenyagin”) into the NKVD of the USSR. Together with the industrial capacities of the plant, the workers' settlement of Norilsk was built by the prisoners of the Norilsk forced labor camp. By the end of the 1930s. Norilsk has turned into an industrial giant in the Arctic, which has radically changed the economy of the Taimyr National District. November 4, 1989The Council of Ministers of the USSR adopted a resolution on the creation of the “State Concern for the production of non-ferrous metals “Norilsk Nickel”. On June 30, 1993, by Decree of the President of the Russian Federation, the State Concern for the Production of Precious and Non-Ferrous Metals “Norilsk Nickel” was transformed into the Russian Joint-Stock Company for the Production of Precious and Non-Ferrous Metals (RAO) “Norilsk Nickel”. Nowadays, the Public Joint Stock Company “Mining and Metallurgical Company “Norilsk Nickel”” (PJSC “MMC Norilsk Nickel”, since 2016 – MMC “Norilsk Nickel”) is the world’s largest producer of palladium and refined nickel, one of the largest producers of platinum and copper, as well as cobalt, chromium, rhodium, silver, gold, iridium, ruthenium, selenium, tellurium and sulfur. The company unites two main production sites: the Polar Branch operates on the Taimyr Peninsula (in Norilsk, Talnakh, Kayerkan and Dudinka), and the Kola Metallurgical Company JSC operates on the Kola Peninsula (in Monchegorsk, Zapolyarny and Nikel).

Norilsk Nickel has always invested in the Taimyr region - both when it was a “plant” (as the local population continues to call it), and when it became a “master” (a joint stock company and a world-famous industrial giant). In the coming years, the Norilsk Nickel company plans to invest more than \$10 billion in the development of the north of the Krasnoyarsk Territory (an agreement between the Krasnoyarsk Territory, the Ministry of Industry and Trade of the Russian Federation and MMC Norilsk Nickel). Norilsk Nickel's criticism for its irresponsible attitude towards nature and people, especially in connection with the oil spill at CHPP-3 in May 2020, does not prevent us from treating it as the main investor for Taimyr and the Krasnoyarsk Territory, as can be seen in the answers to interview questions: “In Soviet times, bosses from the plant were assigned to each village. Tripartite agreements were signed: the plant – the region – the district.”

“Since perestroika, no one cares about the population. “Norilsk Nickel” is only interested in taking from the region, and live the rest as you want. And now, after the spill accident, there is a desire to crush the people, it won't work!” How to build new relationships between the indigenous population and

the mining company? To ask or demand, to quarrel or to cooperate? Probably, dualism in the “either-or” format is unacceptable for these relationships - they are much more complex, and in their debugging not only strict restrictive settings are possible, but also alternative agreed-upon scenarios.

MMC Norilsk Nickel is the main generator and organizer (sponsor) of project activities in Taimyr. Support for many large-scale events and exciting initiatives testifies to the socially responsible policy of the company as the “chief of the region.” The palette of new and already traditional projects and grants is very diverse. Thus, in 2013, Norilsk Nickel launched a charitable program of social projects “A World of New Opportunities” to support the sustainable development of all regions of the company’s presence: implemented in the Krasnoyarsk Territory (Norilsk, Taimyr Dolgano-Nenets Municipal District) and the Murmansk Region (Norilsk). Monchegorsk, Pechenga district). The program is aimed at solving social problems; the key task is to support and develop intersectoral cooperation of local communities. Each of the nine nominations of the competition represents significant vectors for the development of cities, territories and people: “Pole of Revival”, “Pole of Energy”, “Pole of Growth”, “Pole of the Future”, “Pole of Good”, “Pole of Nature”, “Pole of the North” and etc. In 2021, 208 applications were submitted to the competition from 133 organizations in Norilsk and Taimyr. The winners were 54 projects from 52 organizations. The winning projects covered a large number of areas of public life: from a center for adaptive classes for children with disabilities to teaching digital literacy to older people, from the anniversary of the first house of Norilsk to museum performances, from scientific collaboration between schoolchildren and university teachers to craft workshops for sewing bokars, from robotics tournaments to a digital self-teacher of the Nenets language through VR applications. “The World of New Opportunities is a very strong grant project. Norilsk Nickel is the largest grant giver, distributes grants of up to 5–6 million rubles, creates rehabilitation centers, and supports many projects of various types. The competition is also held in Murmansk, our projects are watched by experts from there, and we watch their projects. In this part of Norilsk Nickel’s policy, I really like their position; they have interesting rules. I can confidently say that the company is responsible.” The World of New Opportunities Program does not have special nominations for the indigenous population, however, among the winners there are projects of an ethnic nature, and not only representatives of indigenous peoples. For example, with grant funds in the summer of 2018, the Turkic holiday “Polar Sabantuy” was organized in Talnakh. The ideological inspirer of the project is the chairman of the board of the public

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organization “Local Nogai National Cultural Autonomy” Kumykbiy Ibragimo.

In general, supporting ethnic festivals and holidays is not new for Norilsk Nickel. With the sponsorship of the company, traditionally, since Soviet times, the main holidays of the indigenous peoples of Taimyr are held - Fisherman's Day and Reindeer Herder's Day. “We are working with Norilsk Nickel to organize holidays – Reindeer Herder’s Day, Fisherman’s Day. They sponsor 5 million annually. We buy gifts on their behalf through a charitable foundation.” In 2021, on Reindeer Herder's Day, nomads from the tundra once again gathered in Tukhard to take part in reindeer sled races and meet with family and friends. 30 men's, 16 women's and 26 youth teams took part in the race, which had to cover a 30-kilometer distance. In the men's group of participants, Alexander Yamkin was the first to reach the finish line, and he received the main prize - a snowmobile. Second place, and along with it the outboard motor, went to Grigory Iaptune. Third place went to Timur Marik, who was also awarded a boat motor. Among the women, Henrieta Tesedo won, Oksana Yarotskaya was second, and Gilda Lyrmina was third. Among the young reindeer herders, Nikolai Yamkin was the fastest, Illarion Naivosedov was in second place, and Pyotr Naivosedov was in third place. In addition to reindeer sled racing, competitions were held in national sports: throwing a maut (lasso) on a trochee (a pole for driving deer), national wrestling and jumping over sleds. Competitions for men's, women's and children's national clothing and festive harnesses were organized for the villagers and guests of the holiday. The winners and runners-up in each of the competitions received gas generators, chain saws, tool sets, and sewing machines.

Reindeer Herder's Day and Fisherman's Day are always awaited in Taimyr, however, according to the population, these holidays are becoming less and less interesting from year to year. Interest in competitions, for example, in the same deer races, is reduced due to prizes - expensive goods purchased through competitive bidding are of such low quality that they devalue the very tradition of holding holidays. Thus, the indigenous residents give the example of transporting a snowmobile donated for winning a race on cargo sleds - it was neither possible to get new equipment nor, as it turned out, to use it for its intended purpose. Of course, direct responsibility lies with the organizers, and not with the sponsors, but the shadow of “disapproval” also falls on the latter. It seems that in order to support the sponsor’s image, it is necessary not only to finance, but also to monitor the progress and results, determine the prospects of supported projects and grants, especially for those that are designated as the strategic direction of the company.

In the development strategy of MMC Norilsk Nickel until 2035, support for indigenous peoples of

the North is included as a separate item. One of its important components is the “World of Taimyr” project competition, launched in 2020 after the events at CHPP-3. The project is aimed at creating conditions for the sustainable development of territories traditionally inhabited by indigenous peoples of the Taimyr Peninsula. Depending on the nominations (and there are four of them in the competition), the amount of grants ranges from 1.5 to 6.5 million rubles. The competition supports socially significant initiatives of non-profit organizations of indigenous peoples of Taimyr, family (tribal) communities, state and municipal institutions registered and operating on the territory of the Taimyr Peninsula. The geography of project implementation is the Taimyr Dolgano-Nenets municipal district of the Krasnoyarsk Territory.

In 2021, the winners of the competition were 6 projects of family (tribal) communities, 2 projects of non-profit organizations and 20 projects of municipal and budgetary institutions. The projects of the competition winners are aimed at solving a variety of issues: reviving national languages, carrying out environmental campaigns, developing infrastructure in the villages of the Taimyr Peninsula, preserving historical memory, etc. Of the four areas of the competition, the leading category was “Ideas of Taimyr” - revival of cultural heritage, support for gifted children, development of national sports. 17 winning projects were presented in this nomination for a total amount of 15.5 million rubles. The largest in terms of the amount requested was the project in the category “Opportunities of Taimyr” - “Ethnopark TYYAKHA”, prepared by the family (tribal) community of indigenous peoples “Tyyakha” (4.5 million rubles). The project team plans to complete the construction of an ethno-ecological settlement, where objects of everyday life and culture of the indigenous peoples of the Taimyr Peninsula will be presented.

Although the overall assessment of the significance of the competition in the development and promotion of initiatives of the indigenous population and popularization of the territory is high, there are obvious shortcomings in the conditions and procedure for its conduct. The stumbling block was the support of a large number of projects from budgetary organizations, and not from the tribal communities themselves. “The Norilsk Nickel grant program “World of Taimyr” appeared after the spill, but out of 45 communities, only five won grants, the rest of the institutions are again budgetary organizations that sit on salaries, on budget funding, but they again took away these grants, and the communities that were promised, for whom this grant program was created, they again gave nothing.”

One of the reasons for this imbalance is the low level of applications completed by communities due to a lack of experience and legal assistance. “Norilsk Nickel was offered to make grants for communities,

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they agreed. A huge number of budget institutions are participating in the competition. Of the 45 communities that applied for grants, only five or six won <...>. The main winners were public sector employees – 22 budgetary institutions. It is not right. It was necessary to at least do it in half, it was necessary to pull out some communities, help and advise, that's why you are experts. After this, there was serious negativity from the communities. I even felt ashamed that I won a grant because I have tourism, my grant was written by professionals, I attract experts because I work as a team player... I apply knowledge, adapt it so that it complies with social norms, grants, and the project is written experts. I'm putting their salary into this project. To win, you need professionals." The imbalance was also noted in the direction of the competition projects: the applications of the community members, due to the specifics of their activities, and also, let's not lie, because of the habit of receiving subsidies, had a "commercial" orientation. "I didn't apply to "World of Taimyr" because I think it's all socially oriented, I applied a few years ago and they also turned me down, they said that I had too much commercial stuff, I was asking for purely material values. I know that it's already clear who wins – the dances, the dancers, the artists." "Nobody gave me a grant to win in the same Norilsk Nickel that I praise. I didn't win - I pledged a million to purchase raw materials. We won dances, dances, and government institutions. Is this normal at all? I'm sitting without a single piece of clothing."

In turn, the organizers of the competition refer to the inactivity of local communities.

"Norilsk Nickel has initiated another grant competition, "The World of Taimyr." Communities benefited little because much depended on the quality of the application. In this case, we fundamentally do not divide "communities - not communities." In general, communities do not really work; in our country, maybe eight out of 100 communities are active."

However, the activity of communities is largely determined by its leaders, and their inertia is associated with a lack of experience and legal literacy, the ability to conduct business and organize work in market conditions.

The competition-grant policy is certainly promising, since competitions are held periodically and openly, which makes it possible to quickly respond on both sides. However, the main instrument of interaction with KMNT MMC Norilsk Nickel calls the quadripartite agreement on interaction and cooperation signed on September 25, 2020 in Moscow between the Russian public organization "Association of Indigenous Minorities of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation" (President G.P. Ledkov), regional public organization of indigenous peoples of the North of the Krasnoyarsk Territory (president A.I. Gayulsky), local public organization of

the Taimyr Dolgano-Nenets municipal district "Association of indigenous peoples of Taimyr of the Krasnoyarsk Territory" (chairman G.I. Dyukarev) and Public Joint Stock Society "Mining and Metallurgical Company "Norilsk Nickel"" (A.M. Grachev). The agreement includes a detailed "List of activities to assist the social and economic development of the Taimyr Dolgano-Nenets municipal district of the Krasnoyarsk Territory for 2020–2024." (in short - "KMNT Support Program") - these are 42 projects of various directions worth 2 billion rubles. Such an agreement with a specific action program for Taimyr is unprecedented. And although the program was proposed as a compensation measure in connection with the accident at CHPP-3 of JSC NTEC, part of the MMC Norilsk Nickel group, in its purpose and scale it clearly went beyond the scope of simple "patronage" (sponsorship).

Undoubtedly, Norilsk Nickel's new large-scale program is an attempt to build partnerships with the indigenous population of Taimyr, evidence of the company's ability to respond and provide assistance to the population in extreme conditions and in a short time frame. Control over its progress and implementation is entrusted to the department for interaction with indigenous peoples of Taimyr, which has been operating at Norilsk Nickel since January 2021, which works directly with local governments, public organizations and family (tribal) communities 14. A number of projects have already been implemented and have a good resonance, however, the attitude towards the program among the indigenous population is ambiguous: "I think as long as they are united and invincible as monopolists, partnerships and cooperation with the plant are impossible. Not only with Norilsk Nickel, but in general. They accepted the 2 billion with a bang and signed an agreement - solve your problems. In Canada, where I was, the villages were united into a corporation. The state pays them money and the oil workers. They have their own shares, their own roads, transport, aviation and river fleet."

Perhaps one of the recently discussed projects initiated by Norilsk Nickel is the construction from scratch of a comfortable village for residents of Tukhard. The Tukhard rotation camp, intended for the builders of the Messoyakha-Dudinka-Norilsk gas pipeline (Zapolyariegaz company, now Norilskgazprom), appeared on the left bank of the Yenisei, not far from the old Nenets settlement of Kisly Mys back in 1968. Due to its location (76 km from Dudinka) and supply, the village quickly grew, including due to the resettlement of Kislomysovites, and turned into a transshipment base for reindeer herders roaming the nearby tundra. The helipad remained a kind of border between the part of the settlement where the shift workers lived, called "Torch," and Tukhard itself (Nenets "fire-city" or "place where fire is made"), where houses for the

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indigenous population were built. The main problem of the village (today there are more than 80 houses in which about a thousand people live, an elementary school, a hospital, a post office, a cultural center, a library and an airfield for small aircraft) is non-compliance with environmental regulations and “safety standards”, since the settlement is located in sanitary protection zone of an industrial enterprise, but most importantly, the quality of housing does not correspond to living conditions in the Far North. As the Tukhard residents themselves say, it is impossible to live in houses due to design miscalculations, lack of full-fledged infrastructure and poor quality of construction (most of them are in disrepair). “Norilsk Nickel’s policy regarding indigenous peoples is actively changing. They allocated 170 million rubles to the same indigenous communities. Subsidizing reindeer herders, grant assistance is quite impressive - about 180 million rubles, of which about 150 million remains in Taimyr (half in Norilsk, half in the region). Norilsk Nickel financed the construction of 27 houses in Tukhard. True, the village is frozen because there is no connection to the electricity grid or to the boiler house. This is a political dispute between the regional authorities and Norilsk Nickel. The authorities are focused on Deripaska, on RusHydro, so they attach debt obligations to Norilsk Nickel. This is bad for us, because while these boyars are fighting, our new village is falling into disrepair.”

In 2021, the Norilsk Nickel company proposed to build New Tukhard with the necessary infrastructure and social facilities (school, kindergarten, hospital, shopping center, visitor center for tourists) one and a half kilometers from the current village. To discuss, accept and agree on the resettlement project, Norilsk Nickel launched the FPIC procedure. To carry it out, the Interregional Public Organization for the Protection of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples created an advisory council, which included international and Russian experts. Representatives of the indigenous population saw this procedure not so much as an act of “free, prior and informed consent”, but rather as a fact of compliance with federal law and the responsibility of residents of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation.

“This is not FPIC, this is an eviction in accordance with the federal law on the sanitary zone. First, you need to agree on the shore about where the village will be, what buildings will be there, etc. sign a letter of intent.”

At a gathering of residents of Tukhard on November 21, 2021, a Council of representatives of the village was formed, including reindeer herders who do not have a permanent place of residence in the village (chaired by Igor Yamkin), designed to become a link between the residents of Tukhard and the company. At the meeting on March 4, 2022, the Program for the resettlement and development of the village of Tukhard until 2026 was discussed. Based on

the results of the meetings, an agreement “on the implementation of FPOS” was signed between the Council of Representatives of the residents of the village of Tukhard and the General Director of the industrial sites of Norilsktransgaz JSC in Tukhard, M. Shilykovsky. It was developed in accordance with international standards, contains the company’s obligations to the residents of the village, defines the conditions of resettlement, including options for compensation or the purchase of housing in other villages of Taimyr or the city of Dudinka, and provides for monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of the resettlement program at all stages of its implementation. A separate paragraph, albeit very abstractly, spells out the need to take into account the “ethnocultural characteristics of the territory.”

It is obvious that MMC Norilsk Nickel is placing a special emphasis on the construction of New Tukhard. Given the deplorable state of many Taimyr villages with their problems in solving basic life support issues (energy and water supply, heating, housing repairs, waste removal and disposal), with a complex expensive transport scheme and high prices for consumer goods, the lack of digital means of communication and information and unemployment, the construction of a model village would significantly enhance the image of Norilsk Nickel’s programs and projects.

Vice President for Federal and Regional Programs of the company A. Grachev comments: “This joint work and partnership will help us create a comfortable environment for people to live and develop.” According to the legislation of the Russian Federation, obtaining consent for resettlement from the local population in such cases is not required, but Norilsk Nickel emphasizes that the company acts in accordance with the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (adopted by the UN General Assembly in September 2007), voluntarily recognizing international standards.

The indigenous population also has some hope for the successful implementation of the resettlement program: “And my opinion on FPIC in Tukhard is that Norilsk Nickel does not need another epic failure, so now everything will be done normally. According to Tukhard’s opinion, everyone living in the village is employees of the administration, post office, culture - what they are told, they will do, they do not have their own opinion. I remember that reindeer herders did come to the meeting, they spoiled the organizers’ mood a little.”

Since the 2000s Oil and gas companies are actively entering the Taimyr Peninsula. At the end of April 2021, the Vostok Oil project alone included 52 license areas, within the boundaries of which there are 13 open fields. The deployment of the project is associated with the construction of a huge oil terminal in Severnaya Bay on the eastern shore of the Yenisei

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Gulf based on the seaport of Dikson (40 km from the city of Dikson), intended for reloading onto oil tankers and transporting oil from fields along the Northern Sea Route to Russian ports, Europe and Asia-Pacific countries. In July 2022, drilling work began at the Payakhsokoye field. Oil supplies from the field were planned for 2024. However, in the strategy for the development of the subsoil of Taimyr and the development of the Northern Sea Route, the voices of indigenous peoples are barely heard.

“Almost all of Taimyr has already been marked with licenses. The allocation of licenses is at the federal level. There is no parity. They decided there in Moscow, they marked a square with a pencil, and in it there were villages, wild deer, fish. They come here with all the documents, and in fact they are accepted by the administration. In this, our rights, as indigenous people, are infringed. Well, give us a rent of 1% of the dollar, that’s enough for us. We will build houses ourselves, we will set up young people to study. Now they do everything for us; if they come to build, it will be with their own builders. We would raise our own builders, we know how to build a house for us.”

“Conflicts happen. People are moving here from the east and moving from the west, the locals have nowhere to go... I flew by helicopter last year, it’s just terrible what’s wrong with the land, it’s all cut up for kilometers. Apparently, the administration is giving permission to work... As I understand it, in the future we will have Rosneft working, very big things will happen here, especially along the coast, an entire industrial center will grow here. The people started a race for land in order to shake the oil workers in this way.”

However, the authorities and public organizations of Taimyr are already interacting with oil companies.

“Oil companies are turning around. At the very least, they help somehow. Last year, the Lukoil company commissioned an educational building in Khatanga. Two and a half years ago, the same company helped open a boarding school for 150 children in the village of Nosok. The Surgutneftegas company assisted the rural settlement of Karaul in holding Reindeer Herder Day. Of course, there is help, but I would like a more serious relationship. Especially with the company that will, in essence, run the show – Rosneft.”

With the beginning of the development of oil and gas fields in Taimyr, the problems of using land resources - pastures, water areas, as well as landscape zones of settlements - become increasingly acute. Judging by the reviews, the policies of oil and gas companies and their methods of interaction with the indigenous population do not meet expectations:

“Reindeer herders are looking for lands where the food supply is better than where there is an oil rig or many kilometers of oil pipelines sticking out every kilometer...”

“Due to the occupation of pastures by oil workers and the rapid depletion of the remaining ones, almost all the left bank Noskov reindeer herders will move to the right bank of the Yenisei...”

“It’s easier to pay off with free condensate than to bring in gasoline, and without putting people in a humiliating position.”

Direct dialogue is not easy to build. Indicative in this regard were the public hearings held on May 4, 2021 in the rural settlement of Karaul. By decision of the gathering of village citizens, the unauthorized seizure of the territory by the Yamaldorstroy organization was condemned and suspended; Sibtract LLC (contractor of Vankorneft) was refused to allocate a land plot in the landscape zone of the settlement; distrust was expressed in local authorities in resolving issues regarding the “entry” of oil companies and their subcontractors into the territory of the settlement. The local population was not shy in assessing the actions of the companies and the administration:

“Good company - they came, landed 100 meters away, neither hello nor goodbye. Neither the administration was warned, nor were they met with the population.”

Cases like this demonstrate the ability of a small Arctic community to say “no” to the planned activities of oil companies. In general, the indigenous population of Taimyr is “not against the oil industry,” “not against development,” “not against the Presidential decrees,” but they are outraged that subsoil users behave “like owners.” They do not take into account the residents of the settlements, who, by and large, cannot influence the situation with land use, since the “tundra behind the village” is agricultural land, permission for their use is given by the municipal district, and “these lands together with The guards have long belonged to Rosneft.”

Local communities are especially outraged by the lack of awareness about projects for further development of the Taimyr territory. This applies to both zones near populated areas and distant Taimyr tundras.

“So far, only technical structures come to us to prepare the soil, build bases, sand quarries in order to lay pipelines in the future. Nobody informs us about this, we find information on websites: such and such a company is planning some kind of work in such and such a year. We do not receive information from the district or from the region that, dear guards, you will have such and such Ivanov-Petrov-Sidorov here and will specifically conduct such and such business. Maybe they think that we shouldn’t know about this, that it’s not our interests, but our interests, our lives!”

“Near Karaul and along the tundra there are several industrial points, technical bases, the oil workers themselves are not here yet, companies have come to the territory that are only preparing the soil, building quarries, but before that there were



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geologists. And now I've driven across the tundra, two quarries are ready. What are the plans of Rosneft and other companies? It is clear that they will have several points along the Yenisei, the so-called berths. They have already applied, won certain competitions, and construction has begun. All this is the authority of the district - the coastal part is beyond.

"Information comes, if a hearing needs to be held, then we are provided with a certain package of documents. Resolving land issues outside landscape zones is the responsibility of the district <...>. We used to read news in newspapers and there was radio. But now there are no radio points, the tundra people know absolutely nothing."

On August 10, 2021, public hearings were held in Dudinka on the construction of the Vankor-Suzun-Payakha pipeline, which will run along the banks of the Yenisei. Local residents and public opinion leaders in the region - deputies, bloggers, and leaders of indigenous communities - took part in the hearings. Just before the hearings, Rosneft reported on its support for indigenous peoples in the territories where it operates. They talked about the construction of houses and the development of the infrastructure of reindeer herders' villages, and about the development of the material and technical base of indigenous peoples' families, and about providing assistance to educational institutions where children of representatives of indigenous peoples of the North study, and about the implementation of the "Comprehensive program for training workers and specialists for "RN-Vankor". At the same time, the hearings began with criticism of Rosneft's projects. Particularly pressing issues were the restoration of the whitefish population in the Yenisei basin, the construction of crossings for reindeer herders through the pipeline, and the creation of a normal information infrastructure for the work of Rosneft contractors with the local population. Taimyr deputy Sergei Sizonenko voiced important problems in his speech:

"It's good that our reindeer herders have been heard and additional crossings for herds through the pipeline have been designed. But we need to once again take a balanced approach to all other issues of cooperation with Rosneft and its contractors <...>."

In addition, I return to my proposal to introduce a quota for hiring local people in Rosneft contractors. In villages, a lot of people can work as drivers, welders, cooks, and laborers. There should be a hotline, through which any tundra dweller or village resident can quickly report to Krasnoyarsk or the parent Rosneft about any observed violations - from environmental problems to drunken shift workers."

In an environment of intensive industrial development, the willingness to defend their interests and the active position of the indigenous population and its leaders are very important. The local population sees the prospect of developing dialogue in open cooperation and direct interaction with oil

companies and their contractors. In addition to compensation payments for environmental and economic damage and the provision of various types of social assistance, the local population has special aspirations for the revival of ethnic villages and the creation of jobs:

"We need to provide jobs, why bring our own people on shifts again, they will pump our mineral resources, but what about the residents of Taimyr?"

"Dudinka and the villages of Taimyr should be transformed with the presence of Norilsk Nickel and Rosneft. Residents of Taimyr should be assigned to all jobs. I understand that not all at once, but it should be so. And that's okay."

The trump card of KMNT can be knowledge of its territory, the presence of mechanisms for the development of large spaces, including the possibility of organizing land control (recording facts of destruction of the tundra cover, protocol of violations, etc.) and work on reclamation and nature conservation.

"I proposed that reindeer herders be involved in guarding the pipe along the route. After all, they tolerate harsh climates well and move mobile on their sleds. All they have to do is set a time for contact, give them a walkie-talkie and a salary. Then you can attract less people on an all-terrain vehicle to ride along the pipe and save costs, as well as on the salaries of temporary workers."

So, in the industrial development of Taimyr, priority goes to the Norilsk Nickel and Rosneft companies, which advocate, at least in their official statements, for the preservation of the traditional way of life and ethnic identity, for a constructive dialogue between subsoil users and the indigenous population. These companies have a significant package of projects to support indigenous minorities, but the local population sees a positive future not so much in grant-project activities, but in the development of large-scale joint programs and building partnerships based on simple principles (according to the survey):

"Don't forget that the indigenous population lives on their own land, take into account their opinion."

"Cooperate as equals, transparency in providing assistance, open dialogue in all areas."

"If you shit, use the earth and subsoil, you just need to clean up after yourself, do some landscaping - that's a simple rule."

"Bilateral agreements on the use of natural resources, payment of compensation for damage caused to the landscape and nature."

"There must be not only meetings, but also real action."

"Teaching companies how to work. Otherwise, the indigenous indigenous peoples will remain with their hand outstretched. And so the third generation of parasites is growing."

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And what is important, the leaders of the indigenous peoples of Taimyr, aware of the complexity of the situation, have an understanding that in establishing constructive partnerships between indigenous peoples and industrial companies, the state should become a mediator for the next five years, since coordinated decision-making and actions through associations and KMNT unions are complicated by serious contradictions, both between and within public organizations. The development strategy of Taimyr should focus on the formation of a platform for long-term interaction between subsoil users and indigenous northerners, based not on competition, but on cooperation and partnership, which will ensure the efficient use of the region's natural resources. The scenario of coexistence of an industrial cluster and ethnocultural communities, in which three main actors are involved - industrial companies, authorities (federal, regional, municipal) and indigenous peoples, should be determined through monitoring and carrying out ethnological examinations.

### Main part

For the region under study, the popularity of the topic of authentic culture and traditions is a fairly common occurrence. A special contribution to its development is made by political actors who constantly raise the issue of reviving and supporting local culture, history and traditional practices. At the same time, those who have the opportunity to speak on behalf of the state (politicians holding public positions, officials), i.e. those who associate themselves with the state apparatus and speak on its behalf, are able not only to speak out in a neo-traditionalist manner, but also act in this direction. We are talking about various projects aimed at maintaining tradition: support programs, organizing relevant events, etc. And since the beginning of the 2010s. the number of such projects has increased sharply. If we analyze the frequency of appearance of the concept "tradition" in regional legal acts in the post-Soviet period, we can see that in the 1990s and 2000s. these were just rare mentions, most often in documents establishing the procedure for using certain natural resources. Even then, the term "indigenous small peoples" appeared in the new legal system, as well as its connection with tradition. In different variations, it appears in laws, regulations and other official documents in both Buryatia and Yakutia, when it comes to special conditions for these population groups.

From this moment on, the definition of the concept of "tradition" became quite fundamental: the mode of use of certain resources, primarily raw materials, depended on it. This is how a procedure for selecting certain cultural elements that are defined as traditional begins to be created and consolidated. Over time, it became more and more bureaucratized, the

main role began to be played not by invited experts, but by officials and authorities as a whole: for example, in 2000 in Buryatia, when selecting types of economic activities that receive the status of folk artistic crafts (traditions became their defining characteristic), the decision was made by the artistic expert council [Law of the Republic of Buryatia 2000], then in 2010 - by the Government of the Republic of Buryatia [Law of the Republic of Buryatia 2010]. In 2013, new amendments to the law appeared that made it a condition that such products be manufactured in a "place of traditional existence."

In the 2010s the number of references to traditions in official documents increased sharply. In addition, a practice has developed of mentioning traditions and traditions in the speeches of officials: these were policy statements, comments on the actions of authorities, welcoming speeches or speeches at various events, congratulations on holidays. And if in the 1990s. traditional economic activities were mentioned almost only in the context of indigenous peoples (and belonging to them was usually determined by a set of strict rules), then in the 2010s. the concept of "traditional activity" has increasingly begun to be used in relation to the Republic of Buryatia as a whole [Resolution 2011], which is typical for the entire region under study. Over time, the rhetoric changes from discussing the "national and cultural revival of small and endangered ethnic groups" [Decree 1999] and the creation of special conditions for them (from tax benefits to deferment of conscription for military service [Decree 1999]) to positioning a subject of the Russian Federation as a place where "they sacredly honor traditions" [Appeal 2020].

In the first case, traditions were a way to justify the benefits provided, and they themselves acted as an invaluable element of culture, which was not questioned, and therefore did not require justification. The emphasis was not on the traditions themselves, but on the threat of their disappearance, which legitimized state support. This discourse has not disappeared; it has been supplemented by statements about tradition as a value, a strong side of the region in a variety of fields of activity. Gradually, differences in the nuances of this process in Yakutia and Buryatia began to appear. In Yakutia, official discussions about traditions still mostly refer to the topic of indigenous, small peoples, Arctic zones, but most often they are discursively integrated into the idea of modernity, development and the future. When asked about traditions in modern Yakutia, its head, Aisen Nikolaev, replied: "At the same time, we perfectly understand how fragile and vulnerable the Arctic is, how important it is to respect its unique nature and the traditions of the indigenous population. In the Arctic zone of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), a large layer of cultural traditions of the indigenous peoples of the North has been preserved. In places of compact

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residence, the Evenks, Evens, Yukaghirs, Dolgans, Chukchis, Northern Yakuts, and the Russian old-timer population (Russian Ustinets and Pokhodchane) - the descendants of the first Russian explorers, Cossacks and polar explorers - conduct traditional economic activities. The strategy provides for the creation of favorable socio-economic conditions for the sustainable development of indigenous people of the Arctic zone, the preservation and development of traditional culture and the stimulation of employment and self-employment of the population in the agricultural sector, the creation of infrastructure (trade and logistics centers, the acquisition of transport for transportation), the modernization of production through creation of complexes for deep processing of reindeer herding and fishing products. We are counting on additional incentives to promote organic food products in the consumer market, including the acceleration of international certification, branding and export of local products.”

Buryatia is characterized by two other trends. Buryatia is presented as a special space where “traditional cultures” coexist. Their list is not constant, but since uniqueness has become the cornerstone, the “Buryat culture”, “culture of the Semeisk (Old Believers)”, and sometimes the Cossacks are most often mentioned. This does not mean that the authorities of the Republic of Buryatia ignore public organizations acting on behalf of various ethnic groups; however, the model of presentation of Buryatia through traditional unique cultures is dominated by Buryat and Semeisk. The head of Buryatia spoke about traditions like this: “The culture of the Buryat people is deep and diverse. Songs, dances, customs, amazing cuisine, everyone who has tried our cuisine comes back, looks for it in Moscow, in other places, but tries again and again to taste our national cuisine and, of course, first of all, our buuzas, which recently took over first place in Russia as a brand in a competition held by the Russian Ministry of Agriculture. In addition, the culture of the Old Believers is very interesting. Here the Semeyskie community <...> is one of the largest communities in Russia. Preserved traditions, songs, prayers, customs, way of life, costumes, jewelry - this is interesting, original, accessible and leaves vivid impressions for everyone who touches it.”

And here we should highlight the second trend in the dissemination of neo-tribalist discourse by the authorities of Buryatia - its close connection with the past. We are talking not just about the continuity of the historical past, but about its transfer to the present in its original form. The purpose of the state’s actions is declared to be “the preservation of values and the transfer of traditions from the older generation to the younger.” The number of texts emphasizing the importance of the past is growing every year. At the same time, unlike Yakutia, the emphasis is not on the need to integrate traditions into modernity, but, on the

contrary, on the revival of something that is declared authentic, and on changing modern life for the sake of traditionality. The question arises: why does this happen?

For several decades, the global trend in public administration has been its rethinking from a business point of view. The reforms that were carried out in various countries were justified by the changing economy, globalization, regional integration, trade liberalization, and the digital revolution. In any case, their outcome referred to the concept of a market for services that the state provides to the population. The idea of identifying state institutions and private companies also came to Russia. Gradually, the state itself became one of the main adherents of the idea of complying public administration with the requirements of the world market, using management techniques, increasing efficiency, and those who spoke on behalf of the state spoke about their activities in management terminology, which did not surprise anyone. An increase in subsidies from the federal budget has become equivalent to attracting new investors, and an increase in economic development indicators has become equivalent to an increase in sales, etc. Against this background, in the narratives broadcast by local authorities, the region itself becomes the main product sold, and, like a certain product in an advertising campaign, it reveals the rarest features needed by the end consumer.

Traditions easily fit into this model, becoming a unique characteristic of the proposed “product”; they are presented as synonymous with local culture and a component of ethnic identity. The region seems to be a special space where many peoples coexist with unique traditions that can be “consumed.” The “ethnicity industry,” as J. and J. Comaroff described it, is strongly supported by government authorities, which produce more and more relevant content year after year. This is especially evident in Buryatia, while in Yakutia, in texts distributed on behalf of the state, they often talk about the traditions of indigenous and small peoples. In Buryatia, the emphasis is on rootedness, which is why Buryat traditions have become the most popular topic. Ultimately, support from above for such discourse led to the general spread of these ideas throughout society. By the end of the 2010s, there was a sharp increase in sales of Buryat ethno products and ethno practices: clothing, dishes, shaman services, etc. However, the final buyer in the end was not tourists, but local residents. The canteens were replaced by poznye (or buuznye), and semi-finished products of Buryat cuisine became an indispensable part of the assortment of grocery stores.

Constantly emphasizing the importance of tradition turns to the past. The very concept of traditions becomes polysemantic, and therefore can justify a combination of ideas between which, it would seem, there is no connection. Social assistance programs are described through traditions and local

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ethnic culture [Decree 2009], and in the era of a pandemic, under the head of the republic, a council on traditional medicine is created, almost entirely consisting not of doctors or scientists, but of officials [Decree 2021]. At the same time, the discussion of such actions still takes place in market categories, i.e., as a supply in response to demand: “Deputy Minister of Health of Russia Oleg Salagai, during a working visit to Buryatia <...> said that the republic sets the tone for the development of traditional medicine in Russia, therefore the ministry is ready to support the initiatives of Buryatia to develop this area. According to Oleg Salagai, the republic’s achievements in the field of traditional medicine are doomed to success. According to the press service of the government of Buryatia, the use of traditional medicine methods is a competitive advantage of the republic; there are prospects for developing the export of such services in the region. According to the head of Buryatia, Alexey Tsydenov, the introduction of methods of traditional folk medicine will improve the quality of health of citizens and provide services to residents of other regions of Russia and other countries.”

Addressing the topic of tradition fits into the current agenda, which can be used to legitimize the new appointment (the interim head answers the question of what traditional sport he is involved in), and to justify the allocation of the budget (for the revival of the original traditional animal husbandry [Resolution 2013]), both for the presentation of the region (the arrival of the delegation of the Republic of Buryatia to the Moscow Kremlin in traditional national clothes), and to justify the effectiveness of government initiatives (explaining the success of the Year of the Volunteer through the provision of mutual assistance, which is part of local traditions [Message 2019]). As a result, no matter how much the historicity and authenticity of everything traditional is emphasized, it becomes a response to modernity; it is inscribed in modernity, in all the processes that characterize it. Even when presenting an ethnic product for sale, the creators offer something average and understandable to everyone, making it mass. Traditions are an absolutely modern element of the cultural industry. They are described as something constant and unique, but each time they are created anew with the characteristics that are currently in demand.

At the same time, the state becomes one of the main initiators of this process. The ethnographic museum in the city of Ulan-Ude has become one of the most popular; The gates of the family estate located here are a recognizable brand, just like the gates of the Ivolginsky datsan. Today, the carefully calculated effectiveness of the most typical products has a clear superiority. At the same time, tradition allows us to rely on mass marketing while simultaneously justifying the permanence of these products.

The difference in the popularity of neo-traditionalist discourse in official publications in Yakutia and Buryatia is obvious, but the nature of the publications is quite similar in content and presents local conditions as a unique brand. At the same time, the Yakut authorities more often talk about the mining industry and related topics: the wealth of the region, improving infrastructure, investments, local characteristics. As for the situation in Buryatia, large industrial enterprises created in Soviet times went bankrupt one after another. Against this background, the authorities of Buryatia prefer to discuss the problems of agriculture, small business and tourism, and the topic of traditions is more appropriate here than discussions about mining.

In order to use the concept of traditions in an ethnic context, it is necessary to introduce boundary markers and corresponding cultural and political “loci”. We are talking about what separates these ethnic communities from all others and what is defined as tradition for them. Those who represent the state filter and select certain elements of the culture they represent as central and important definitions of “tradition”; one of them was the “tribal” structure of society. In Buryatia, in official discourse, it is much more popular than in Yakutia. The division into clans and tribes is here described as a natural, and therefore more authentic and moral form of social organization compared to “modern”, less “spiritual” structures. References to clans and tribes are embedded in the general neo-traditionalist discourse and constantly appear in images disseminated by authorities. The various “unique” themed events organized by or with the support of local authorities actually represent a typical situation where existing common traditional practices - folk chants, physical competitions, shooting - were modernized, ritualized and institutionalized in such a way as to serve new national objectives . Sports competitions, where teams are “representatives of tribes/clans”, theatrical festivals, where references to tribalism make it possible to promote neo-traditionalist discourse - all this provides an opportunity to present an ethnic product. “On this day, the participants in the theatrical performance showed the threads connecting the past and the present, about how important it is to know your tribal composition. Having shown the legend of the past, we returned to the present, where the 5th games of 108 suburgans are taking place and their opening was given to 11 Khorin clans, the elders of the clans, real athletes. Traditionally, 11 Khorin clans greeted those gathered with sky-blue khadaks, and the elders of the Khorin clans performed the “Serjem” ritual. The wrestlers performed the Eagle dance, which was greeted with delight by the audience, the horsemen’s dance was performed by the dance group “Udy”, and the archers performed a ritual goroo. The audience was amazed by the richness of the colorful costumes

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**ISI (Dubai, UAE) = 1.582**  
**GIF (Australia) = 0.564**  
**JIF = 1.500**

**SIS (USA) = 0.912**  
**PIIHQ (Russia) = 3.939**  
**ESJI (KZ) = 8.771**  
**SJIF (Morocco) = 7.184**

**ICV (Poland) = 6.630**  
**PIF (India) = 1.940**  
**IBI (India) = 4.260**  
**OAJI (USA) = 0.350**

and the performance of the characters in the performance”.

Authorities do not simply disseminate neo-tribalist discourse, they explain it, since interaction with the external environment becomes important. In order for the final recipient of a message to understand it, it is necessary that they belong to the same culture, and culture is shared meanings. Language acts as a representational system that is central to processes of meaning creation. The state, through its official channels of information dissemination, publicly presents the very concept of neo-tribalism, explaining what a clan or tribe is, what place these concepts occupy in local culture, what relation they have to certain ethnicities, and most importantly, to the state itself. And now the official portals of government authorities publish interpretations of tribal symbols on the coats of arms of municipalities [Coat of Arms 2017], explain how to conduct tribal rites, and write local history in a neo-tribalist vein.

The birth and spread of neo-tribalist meanings are associated with various moments and practices in the “circulation of culture” - in the construction of identity and the designation of differences, in their production and consumption, as well as in the regulation of social behavior. Language is the most important medium through which meaning is disseminated. The surge of interest in neotribalism in society, which appeared against the backdrop of the creation and representation by the authorities of neotribalist discourse, in addition to the obvious consequences in the form of the promotion of national languages, “traditional” religions, appeal to the past, and the commodification of national culture, also led to the spread of neotribalist discourse about politics in the mass media. Now the authorities themselves began to be understood through the concept of tribal groups and the struggle between them. Journalists publish articles with detailed neo-tribalist descriptions of the political situation in the region; they theorize and derive their models of tribal identity of politicians, and explain through this the distribution of resources - from appointment to public office to the allocation of budget funds. These models are transformed under the influence of a specific political situation, so belonging to a tribe/clan/clan, i.e., to some group presented in such language, can be understood in both a positive and negative way. The authorities, for their part, tend to ignore these publications, but continue to participate in the creation and representation of neo-tribalist meanings, in constructing identities with their help, include them in everyday rituals and practices of everyday life, and thus give them value and significance. When the speaker of the People's Khural attends the local New Year's celebration for eleven Buryat clans and participates in a "traditional" competition, it becomes a public act charged with neo-

tribalist meaning; all participants in this event use the same language codes and speak the same language.

The use of neo-tribalist language paradoxically helps to achieve greater diversity in the interpretation of the political situation. As such, there is no monopoly on tradition, but there are limits to the range of its interpretation and instrumentalization, which means this also applies to neotribalism. The most important role in this is played by the hierarchy of power, that is, which actors can determine what is considered traditional. The active use of neo-tribalist discourse by the authorities has real consequences when, through modern mass media, a model of understanding politics and the distribution of power through revived communal relations is increasingly spreading and taking root. All this is actually a reaction to modern circumstances, despite the fact that all the actors creating and publicly presenting neo-tribalist discourse emphasize its traditionality. Advances in communications and the globalization of economic life are making differences between people increasingly important and divisive, prompting them to seek a separate space for their own “tribe.” This is not a unique feature of local relationships; the modern world as a whole is characterized by a situation where politics is determined not so much by economic or ideological problems as by issues of identity. Relationships remain modern, but are associated with the past, which is constructed in categories that meet current needs.

The language of neo-tribalism is itself used to construct ethnic boundaries, since in the region under study the concepts of tribalism and tradition in general are closely related to ideas of rootedness. This allows us to declare the degree of legitimacy of politicians' claims to power, to produce ordered descriptions of the political using understandable (in the modern situation) categories. But at the same time, the problem of identity appears as part of cultural circulation. Talking about politics in neo-tribalist terms excludes those to whom they do not apply. This was clearly manifested in Buryatia: the rapid spread of the understanding of the political process as a struggle between tribal groups led to the spread of the concepts of “Buryat clans”, “semeysky clan”, but, judging by the analyzed empirical material, the stable and increasingly popular concept of “Russian clans” never appeared. This allows us to exclude the bulk of the region's population from the discussion, but in this situation we are talking only about a neo-tribalist understanding of politics, which is not the only or dominant way of describing it.

### Conclusion

In modern conditions, using the concept of clan to describe politics is a common practice. All over the world, including in Russia, publications about political clans constantly appear. Most often we are talking about closed shadow groups of businessmen,

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politicians, bureaucrats, law enforcement officials, and sometimes representatives of organized crime, united by common business interests and informal relationships. But there is another group of publications where a clan is a group that is held together by norms and practices traditional for a given culture. Tribalist connotations in this situation make it possible to emphasize certain characteristics of groups described as clans: their closedness, hierarchy, their position in the external environment, etc. In any case, "clanism" is most often contrasted with modern progressive relations and political order. In modern Russia, such a phenomenon as a conscious appeal to the past is widespread, and it includes both ideas, idealization, nostalgia, and practical activities aimed at reviving the traditions of former times.

It should be emphasized that the situation is of greater interest when the language of neo-tribalism is tied to ethnicity and autochthony. Contrasting the local ("indigenous") with everyone else, attributing to them a traditional way of life that is natural for them in the political sphere, allows us to interpret the current political situation in the interests of specific actors. In two republics of the Russian Far East, Yakutia and Buryatia, where there is a concept of a titular nation, an indigenous but not small people, more and more such texts are being produced. The generally accepted status of the indigenous people is important because tribalism is declared one of the markers of regional identity - "traditional culture". And the need to discuss "Buryat politics" or "Yakut politics" opens up the possibility of using neo-tribalist discourse, since tribal identity is presented as an element of the corresponding national culture.

Despite all the similarities in the processes of formation of neo-tribalist discourse on politics in Buryatia and Yakutia, the speed and scale of their spread are different. These differences can serve as a quasi-experiment to evaluate the role of government

in this process. In both cases, officials seek to use the concept of traditional culture as a competitive advantage for the region. They constantly reproduce the discourse about traditions, emphasizing their importance, positive impact and the need for implementation in modern life, which allows increasing the effectiveness of government: planning and implementing projects, attracting funds or promising to attract them, taking on obligations regarding economic growth and improving living standards.

In Buryatia, this process is most obvious, while in Yakutia, the raw materials sector of the economy is most often discussed as a competitive advantage. In Buryatia, both agriculture and medicine are associated with traditions, not to mention tourism or culture. Traditions have become a way of positioning the republic in the modern world: identifying its place in the economy (regional, national and global), in relations with the federal center, and forming an idea about it among the residents of the republic. The spread of neo-traditionalist, and with it neo-tribalist, discourse has led to the fact that the authorities themselves have become the object of its description. As a result, this process manifested itself more clearly in Buryatia. In the media space of the republic, many texts have appeared that interpret what is happening in politics in tribal categories. And although local authorities choose to ignore them, they nevertheless still produce and disseminate neo-traditionalist discourse, in fact encouraging an understanding of politics in terms of neo-tribalism. Of course, the representation of neotribalism in each case is a conscious action of specific actors pursuing their own goals, including political ones. Discourses about clans, tribes and clans in politics ultimately have real consequences, since they create an appropriate norm, but the question of how viable it will be remains open.

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