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IDENTITY AND LANGUAGE IN AN ARCTIC CITY: THE CASE OF THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN DUDINKA[3]

In our study, we explore the identity constructions of indigenous peoples living in Arctic urban environment. The choice of topic is justified by the fact that studies of indigenous peoples living in urban settings in the Arctic have focused on cities outside of the Russian Arctic. The purpose of this article is to provide a contemporary overview of Arctic urban indigenous peoples in terms of their identity and language use. Important issues are urbanization processes and the position of indigenous peoples in the Arctic. Comparing the eight Arctic countries, the largest gaps in research on northern urban communities can be found in the Russian Federation. The migration of ethnic minorities to urban settlements has been particularly rapid under the conditions of globalization and industrialization. It should be emphasized that moving to the city may be one of the appropriate ways for these minorities to survive in Siberia. In the urban settlements surveyed, ethnic groups are trying to establish their own minority organizations and groups to preserve minority culture, language, and identity. The starting point of the study is the activities of the organizations, the current multifaceted language situation, patterns of language use, and the study of language attitudes specific to these urban minorities. In this article, we analyze the current situation of indigenous peoples in Dudinka in light of the research questions. The findings are based on recent literature and field research conducted in 2008, 2016, and 2019. We conclude by saying that although the language is disappearing, its value remains important to the community. We also think it is important to investigate the city in terms of language use because, contrary to previous expectations, urbanization does not simply mean the disappearance of small languages. On the one hand, new, highly efficient and independent scenes of language use are opening, and on the other hand, the decline in language use is not at all accompanied by a decline in language prestige, which can also be a justification for revitalization. In addition to language, other elements of identity become important.

Keywords: indigenous peoples, minorities, urbanization, identity, Taimyr

1. Introduction

In our study, we explore the identity concepts of indigenous minorities living in Arctic urban environments. The choice of topic is justified by the fact that this type of research on indigenous minorities living in the Arctic urban environment is largely focused on cities outside the Russian Arctic, the focus has been primarily on Canada, Greenland, Scandinavia and Alaska. The aim of the paper is to give an up-to-date overview about native minorities in an arctic city from the point of view of their identity and language use. Urbanization processes and the situation of aboriginal/indigenous peoples in Arctic territories is an important question (e. g. Dybbroe 2008; Laruelle 2019). Comparing the eight arctic countries, the biggest gap +in the research of the urban societies of the Far North can be detected in the Russian Federation. Migration of ethnic minorities to urban settlements has been especially rapid in the overwhelming globalization and industrialization [e.g. Larsen & Fondahl 2014]. It must be emphasized that moving to the city seems to be the relevant way for these minorities to stay alive in Siberia. In the urban settlements under consideration, ethnic groups make attempts to form their own minority organizations and groups which aim at preserving minority culture, language and identity. The starting point of the research is to identify these organizations and to explore the current multifaceted linguistic situation, patterns of language use and language attitudes characteristic to these

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urban minorities. For this purpose we seek to address the questions. In this paper we analyze the current situation of native peoples in Dudinka in the light of the research questions. The materials and results are based on the freshest literature and fieldwork in 2008, 2016 and 2019. In conclusion, we argue that the "traditional" ethnic labels exist, but are transformed in urban circumstances. We can establish similar processes to the other parts of the Arctic: basing on the traditional values there are new forms of ethnic and cultural identities.

In this paper we give a "big picture" of Dudinka. Our data and conclusion mostly based on the results of the project of Várnai et al. and partly some presuppositions from an ongoing project on ethnosyntax (Ethnosyntactic Analysis of Siberian Uralic Languages (2018-2021, NKFIH-K129186, University of Szeged). Project of Várnai et al. investigated indigenous multilingual Arctic minorities living in urban settings in **Enontekiö** (Finland), **Dudinka** and **Khanty-Mansiysk** (Russia): Minority languages in the process of urbanization: A comparative study of urban multilingualism in Arctic indigenous communities (2015-2020, NKFIH-K11246) Research Institute for Linguistics, Budapest (Duray, Zsuzsa; Hámori, Ágnes; Horváth, Csilla; Mácsai, Boglárka; Szeverényi, Sándor; Várnai, Zsuzsa). The overall aim of the project was to investigate linguistic and cultural identity among Arctic minorities in urban settings and to explore the ways minority members engage in multilingual urban communities and adapt to multilingual contexts. The research aimed at examining linguistic and cultural identity and the integration of minorities into a multilingual urban environment among representatives of northern indigenous multilingual communities living in urban settlements in Arctic Russia and Finland. The main questions of the research: To what extent minority language is an essential part of ethnic identity? What are the markers of ethnic minorities that are left to the minority people after their traditional way of life and subsistence has been lost? What kind of minority language attitudes characterize urban minority members? How are attitudes reflected in the patterns of language use? How do they manifest themselves in behavior in various minority language domains? And, finally, what role do alternative educational and cultural institutions and social media play in preserving minority culture and language? Designing and compiling a summary volume of the results of the study (with methodological, descriptive and analytical chapters).

The participants of the project applied traditional methods, such as participatory observation, structured guided interviews, focus group interviews, skype-interviews. Interviews were prepared, recorded and processed (approximately 40 hours; Dudinka 18, Enontekiö 10, Khanty-Mansiysk 10 interviews). In the frame of the project a new vehicle, a so-called „identity game" was developed and applied – developing a common methodological approach. The methodological framework designed in this study fits in the investigation of the identity constructions of other ethnic minorities, and in the comparative studies of minority identity constructions. This methodology due to its interdisciplinary nature is useful for researchers from other fields of science. During our fieldworks we examined language use, language attitude, changing language and cultural identities, ethnic groups in the city; cultural activities of minorities; educational systems, educational institutions and communities involved in linguistic revitalization; activists of revitalization programs and processes; media and internet activities; linguistic landscape [Várnai 2016, Duray & Horváth & Várnai 2017, Várnai 2019, Várnai & Hámori 2021, Várnai 2021a].

This paper has two major parts. The first one (section 2) deals with the detailed theoretical context of the research (section 3): the concept and types of identity and its components and their relevance in the Arctic. In the second main part (section 3) we give a description of the indigenous peoples of Dudinka in the light of demographic data and the main findings of our research.

2. Concepts of identity

2.1. Identity

Identity is a sense of sameness which is a layered network that connects the individual to different groups in society. The social self-image formed by the community towards the outside world. On the one hand, ethnic self-awareness symbolizes the separation of ethnicity, on the other hand, a system of moral, behavioral, and customary norms toward its members.

Identity exists on an individual level and it is socially constructed depending on one's experiences and one's relations with other members of society. Furthermore, identity depends on one's calculated, strategic decisions and can be formed and reformed over the course of one's lifetime. Social, cultural and ethnic identities emerge in any given situation where social interaction, political formation or cultural meetings take place.

At the same time, however, the concept of identity itself is multi-layered, on the other meaning the identity of these small communities and ethnicities is much more complex, heterogeneous and non-permanent.

The traditional linguistic and Uralic studies presuppose an ethnic identity based on (scientific) historical traditions, and for a long time defined these peoples only on the basis of a presumed ethnic identity that is constant and fixed in time and space. But it is not typical only for Uralic peoples, "most historical population records are based on rigid ideas of unchangeable cultural units. Prior to the 19th century many local peoples relied on very inclusive identity systems based on kinship, while governments increasingly relied on a race-based definition that focused on the individual's blood quantum." [Schweitzer et al. 2014, 130]

2.2. Ethnic identity, ethnicity

According to the more recent constructivist approach, ethnic identity can be determined on the basis of non-objective criteria [Barth 1969, 14–15]. It does not assume static and lasting group membership and is not defined by isolated cultural contents but is formed during specific interactions. A dynamic form of organization and process in which interacting groups, in the practice of everyday interaction, jointly create their boundaries along symbols and insignia of culture that are chosen by the members of the group themselves [Eriksen 1993, 47; Horowitz 1975, 120]. Thus, an individual can be a member of more than one group. Ethnic identities are not necessarily mutually exclusive, and boundaries are not given once and for all, but can be crossed [Barth 1969, 19; Horowitz 1975, 118] and it is constantly changing. According to situationalnist theory, it is situation-bound, it can change in a given situation according to the development and requirements of the given situation.

Group membership, identification, use of a name of a group means self-classification. When the individual accepts the name of the group, assumes group membership, identifies with a group. It is the own subjective decision of the individual. When one declares, "I am of xy nationality", marks the boundaries of ethnic identity [Csepeli 1992, 60]. Thus, group membership will actually be identity itself [Barth 1996). Adherence to the name is one of the keys to preserving ethnic existence, a kind of survival strategy. We use ethnonyms to differentiate ourselves from other communities, thus designating the most fundamental dimension of our cultural self [Eriksen 1993].

One of the most important features of identity consciousness is the pursuit of survival, the desire to preserve qualities, which allows individuals and communities to remain permanently identical with themselves. As in our case, small peoples, endangered minority communities are particularly vulnerable. In the societies of globalization, national and ethnic identities are undergoing a significant transformation: organizations above nation-states (union, federation) appear, and in addition to these, regional organizations are formed. Within these, local and regional identities are also emerging, which are playing an increasingly important role. Thus, the conditions for the formation and survival of identity change radically [Csepeli 2002, 11].

Ethnicity is a cornerstone in identity construction. The notion of ethnicity may be characterized as a sense of belonging to a community, as a social elaboration of collective identities whereby individuals see themselves as one among others like themselves [Fenton 1999, 6] or as a collective identification that is socially constructed with reference to putative cultural similarity [Jenkins 1997, 76]. Ethnicity binds people together. Like identity, ethnicity is not a homogeneous phenomenon. Different social contexts give rise to different types of ethnicity. Further, ethnicity has a dual character; it can be understood as a recourse to belonging to a group and as a device of social categorization and differentiation.

"Culture as identity" refers to individuals or groups trying to express themselves through an objective or emblematic culture that others see about someone or that someone wants to show about themselves. From this perspective, we see culture as the result and product of interaction, in other words, that people are actively involved in the creation of culture and not just passive recipients of it, so culture is a means by which we create meanings and by which the world becomes saturated with meaning for us and we gain meaning for the outside world has become a form of representation: it refers to the decision that people make to symbolically represent themselves or others as bearers of a particular cultural identity. Culture as an identity is represented by symbols that have a simple form and complex content, referring to cultural icons such as culinary arts, folk costumes, music, etc. The process by which pieces of culture are selected from everyday life to represent identity has been called "ethnognomy" by American anthropologist Theodore Schwartz.

2.3. Elements of the ethnic identity

Identification with ethnicity can take place along several lines of thought at the same time [Schmidt 2008, Horváth 2006: 108]. These identity components, or identity elements, identity-forming factors are categories that carry certain socio-cultural meanings, which may differ from community to community, and even from individual to individual [Horváth 2006, 109]. Different elements may appear in the identity construction for each community. There may be differences in gender, age, and even individuals in terms of affinity and sensitivity to identity elements.

Most often, our ethnic identity is determined by our origins. Ethnic group membership is based on birth, so it is not optional. Origin is biologically inherited, the most basic criterion for ethnic classification. However, commitment, identification with the group, and group loyalty are the subjective decisions of the individual. Blood is a symbol of tradition, continuity and togetherness, an acceptance of the commitment of the ancestors. Other important elements in the definition of ethnicity could be [Horváth 2006]:

• language;
• external, visibility (phenotypic or cultural): External physical features such as skin color, stature, facial style, eye type, etc.; and cultural visibility, which is a characteristic appearance of a given ethnic group, e.g. folk costumes, hairstyles, tattoos and other body modifications;
• religion;
• cultural practices;
• legal practice (entry or relocation, listing, citizenship);
• the habitat, which is not only to be understood as physical presence, but can also serve as a kind of identification frame. This is how local communities are created in a country, region, city, etc.

2.4. Language and identity

Ethnic identity is closely linked to the use of the mother tongue. In the literature, the language plays a particularly prominent role in the issue of ethnicity as the most important retaining force in maintaining group cohesion. Language is the 'essence of ethnicity', a symbol that marks the boundary of ethnicity (Barth 1969; Horowitz 1975, Schmidt 2008). However, the use of the mother tongue is not necessarily linked to ethnic identity. For a long time, language and identity were thought to be inseparable factors because "the identity that an individual tries to preserve is compelled primarily to be linguistically represented" [Krappman 1980, 19].

According to Fishman's [1975, 1977] theory, language is not a conscious factor. By this he means that language is used as a means of communication in everyday speech acts, and in itself has no particular value to be protected. However, according to the national ideals of the European region, but especially of the Central and Eastern European region, the created literary language, which functions both as a mother tongue and as an official language, has become a central category of national identity [Kis 1996]. For ethnic groups in this region, their mother tongue was the central basis of their existence, self-determination and identity. In this sense, language is not just a means for communication and everyday speech acts, but "the sweet mother tongue," which has become a value, it has to protect, to love. [Szabó 1984/85].

If the mother tongue does not go hand in hand with group membership, it loses its role of identifying identity. Language can only become an element of identity if it is coupled with an assumed group membership. Conversely, this is not the case: a decrease or loss of the importance of a language does not mean a loss of ethnic identity, it only shows the weakening role of language. Commitment to origin and group membership can be identity-forming even without the mother tongue, from which it can be concluded that language alone is not an identity-forming factor [Bindorffer 1996, 1997, 2001, Schmidt 2008].

In multilingual communities, the coexisting languages remain those whose role and functions better cover the needs of current social activities. The condition for the survival of a group's mother tongue is that the language is used and useful in all areas of social roles and activities. In the absence of the mother tongue of public life, language inevitably narrows. [Herman & Imre 1987, 528; 529].

Although it is generally accepted that language is one of the main elements of identity formation. However, it can be stated on the example of several minorities, such as those we have researched, that an ethnic group lives not only in its language. The loss of language does not mean the loss of culture, it is not legal to disintegrate an ethnic group [Bindorffer 1997]. An ethnic minority can continue to live in its customs, music, dances, foods, in the elements of folklore, religion, in values and norms, in its historical con-

sciousness. The retaining power of communities that forget their language is increasingly rooted in culture. Cultural traditions are perhaps the last field of ethnic self-expression, a survival strategy.

Language change is always determined by expediency. As a result of modernization, minority languages are losing more and more of their function. However, culture is not determined by expediency, their emotional elements are emphasized. So ethnic identity finds a place in the cultural field. The minority culture that has lived in everyday life, interweaving and defining all areas of life and includes customs and folk costumes, no longer exists in its entirety and in the traditional sense of most minorities. They are often expressed on an occasional basis. The traditional elements and customs of minority culture continue to live on stage at events and cultural centers choreographed as festive customs at local, regional and national or even international ethnic meetings and events. The reason for this is modernization and assimilation [Bindorffer 1997].

2.5. Local identity

An important part of our self-determination is our territorial affiliation, by defining which we satisfy our strongest social need, the need to belong somewhere [Raagmaa 2002]. Obviously, our settlement affiliation and local identity are particularly decisive. Regional identity, uniformly referred to in the international literature as regional identity [Paasi 2000; 2002; 2003; van Houtum & Lagendijk 2001; Raagmaa 2002; Landaboso 2003]

Common identity dates back to social, territorial, historical and cultural roots [Paasi 2003), it can appear in ideas, cultural elements, specific dialects, traditions, natural landscape or built environments, but even in economic success. Regional identity is both a conscious and an emotional identification, a connection to a region, which is the result of a process of historical and territorial socialization. Emotional attachment is highly dependent on e.g. from how long someone has lived in that place and in what form and how much they are attached to those who live there [Raagmaa 2002].

Recent approaches suggest that regional identity can be grasped in three closely intertwined dimensions: the strategic, cultural, and functional identity dimensions [van Houtum & Lagendijk 2001]. This also means that a region will have its own identity if it differs from other regions in terms of its strategic plans (strategic identity), cultural assets (cultural identity) and its functional activities / dimension (functional identity). Strategic identity means that the population, institutional and organizational actors of a given region have common goals, and have a common, documented vision of the given area, since in part this makes the area special. Cultural identity is the process through which a common self-consciousness, a sense of belonging, develops and strengthens. Its value bases and elements are usually the common symbols that help individuals recognize their belonging and express the unity of the region. Functional identity (dimension) refers to socio-economic cooperation, relationships and bonds within a region.

Regional identity is expressed in different ways. It may be simply a regional inferiority complex or regional pride. More intense regional identity is expressed in a certain sense of belonging. Paasi [1986] identifies in his model four shapes in regional identity formation:

(1) the constitution of the territorial shape,
(2) the symbolic shape,
(3) the institutional shape,
(4) the emerging socio-spatial consciousness of the inhabitants and the establishment of the region/locality in the regional system.

Existing strong regional identity enables the growth of social capital (networking, shared values and trust) and cooperation. Regionally and locally embedded identity creates greater collective and personal work motivation, induces learning and civic activities, as Harvey wrote:

"This dynamism of regions and identities has been increasing particularly nowadays, when competition in the image building trade becomes a vital aspect of inter firm competition … and the search for historical roots are all signs of a search for more secure moorings and longer lasting values in a shifting world." [Harvey 1990, cited by Ragmaa 2002, 62].

Identity can refer to those aspects which make a place identifiable, or unique but can also refer to the way individuals or groups identify with a place. A common view so far is that uniform concepts of planning and development together with the 'commodification' of places has led to the loss of localized identity. However, it now appears that the increased pressure on city managers to compete for investment and 'market' their locality has led to a renewed interest in local difference. Creating a sense of identity is essential for successfully generating economic activity and urban marketing. "As urban management moves closer to urban mar-

keting the city will become increasingly fragmented into discrete stereotypical pieces with a thematic rather than spatial relationship." [Erickson & Roberts 1997, 35]. Local areas are now increasingly seen as places for entertainment, leisure activities. These developments are closely connected with a redefinition of local identity. They reflect a cultural interest in locality in the larger society, which encourages customs, practices and social demands. At the local level these new demands and images are incorporated into the construction and identification of new local identities. In examining the processes of transformation and redefinition of local identity can consider the heritage feature as an element of tourist development at local level. [Erickson & Roberts 1997].

We will focus here on the relations between identity, ethnicity and location. Northern identities are also profoundly tied in with the region. Regardless of their ethnicity, people living in the same region share similar problems as citizens in their local communities. On the one hand, northern identities are seen here in terms of hybrid and changing phenomena. At the same time, strong claims are being made about the ancient heritage and essential features of northernness. Second, northern identities are influenced by individual and collective experiences that are emphasized in sharing and understanding northernness. Finally, there are social practices and structures that both contribute to and constrain northern identities.

Sari Pietikäinen and her colleagues made the following findings regarding Sámi indigenous identity [Pietikäinen 2003, 583–584]: "Sami identity has been articulated through time and territories, and across changing political, cultural and legal circumstances. This identity work has been - and still is - a dialogue between the past and the present, between the traditional and the new conditions. For instance Veli-Pekka Lehtola (1997), a prominent Sami scholar, notes that the Sami have survived as an indigenous people precisely because accommodating to changes has always been part of Sami identity and culture… Another Sami scholar, Rauna Kuokkanen (1999) describes Sami identity as 'jutaava' (moving). This is a Finnish word that refers to moving one's place of habitation, but has a specific reference to the trek the Sami follow due to the migration of the reindeer and the circulation of the seasons… Sami identity not only involves language, livelihood or living in a specific area, but it also presupposes a deeper and more complex sense of belonging to a culture, family and heritage that stretches over the North and across the centuries". The abovementioned findings are also true of the indigenous peoples of Taimyr.

2.6. Arctic and mixed identity; "Northerner"/'Severyan'

Since the Arctic is being influenced by extensive processes of change, including internet access, migration, and globalization, the complexity of identities increases correspondingly. Overall, a slightly improved understanding of mixed or multiple identities is a trend since the first AHDR. [Schweitzer et al. 2014, 131]. As it stated, "The emergence of Arctic identities and a sense of Indigenous and, more broadly, Northern identity becoming an asset: Culture, especially indigenous culture in the North, has increasingly become a resource, both in the sense of a commodity and in the sense of a tool that makes external recognition easier. Also, there is a growing sense of the marketability of the North, which may present certain advantages to being in the North." [Larsen & Fondahl 2014, 23] – Our experience confirms this statement in the context of Dudinka.

The 3rd chapter of AHDR-II [Schweitzer et al. 2014] discussed in detail the context of identity in the Arctic.[4] It is well-known that the identity of individuals is socially constructed and can be formed and reformed over the course of one's lifetime. It means that the personal identity depends on one's experiences and one's relations with other members of society: it depends on one's calculated, strategic decisions. Identity always has individuality and group affiliations. The different types of identity, such as social, cultural and ethnic identities can emerge in any given situation where social interaction, political formation or cultural meetings take place, therefore identities are not easily classified. Identity can be changed, and the change is based on choices that can be strategic. A person can change identity over time, but it is also possible to experience and be associated with different identities at the same time and it often has varying degrees of status.

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[4] We apply the definition of AHDR-I: "Arctic encompasses all of Alaska, Canada North of 60°N together with northern Quebec and Labrador, all of Greenland, the Faroe Islands, and Iceland, and the northernmost counties of Norway, Sweden and Finland. The situation in Russia is harder to describe in simple terms. The area included, as demarcated by our demographers, encompasses the Murmansk Oblast, the Nenets, Yamalo-Nenets, Taimyr, and Chukotka autonomous okrugs, Vorkuta City in the Komi Republic, Norilsk and Igarka in Krasnoyarsky Kray, and those parts of the Sakha Republic whose boundaries lie closest to the Arctic Circle." (AHDR-I, p. 17–18)

The identity of a person from an older generation can differ from that of a person from a younger generation of the same family. [Schweitzer et al. 2014, 127]

The result is "an increased awareness of »mixed« identities, and of the fact that many northerners have a mixed heritage." The Arctic subregions have diverse ethnic profiles, some of them made up mostly of migrants from outside the Arctic. But it is more typical that indigenous peoples are dominant. Furthermore "There are significant demographic differences among the various ethnic groups residing in the Arctic in terms of size, urban-rural residence, household size and composition, fertility levels, mortality levels and migration patterns." [Heleniak 2014, 89] Thus, despite the fact that the climatic and geographical conditions have a lot of similarities and parallel processes can be established in the whole arctic area, each country and sub-region has its own peculiarities. This is why it is important to have comparable data from as many regions as possible.

According to the indigenous peoples of the Taimyr peninsula, we can cite John Ziker's Dolgan informant from the village of Ust-Avam in the '90s: "We are not Dolgan and Nganasan anymore. We are people of the former Soviet Union." [Ziker 2002, 153]. As it was proposed in an earlier paper – agreeing with Krivonogov [2001] – that "*ethnicity* has no real significance and function without real cultural values. (...) Ethnicity is becoming more important for the younger generation, but their identity seems to be bereft of almost any significant meaning. They express values (e.g. the importance of language, way of life), but they do not live according to them." [Szeverényi & Wagner-Nagy 2011, 402]. We can agree with this statement, but a great deal has happened in the last 10 years on the basis of which this statement needs to be reworded, especially in the light of urbanization.

2.7. Urban indigenous identity and Arctic urbanization

There is a difference between urban and non-urban indigenous identity as in the literature of Western territories (e.g. Australia, Canada, USA, Mexico) is accepted – in spite of the different national traditions. The question is "what makes urban Indigenous communities distinctive and unique from other Indigenous communities such as remote or rural remote communities." (Detez et al. 2016). Detez et al. established the followings that illustrate that the main processes and distinctions are similar in the Northwest Russian context [Detez et al. 2016, 29–30]:

● Generally, a remote community is one clan or language group or all have very close tribal links.

● Like other urban Indigenous communities, the social indigenous space is filled with an array of diverse interests, agendas and power structures, all grounded in a sense of Indigenous culture, identity, ethnicity and history. All these interests play out in time, shifting landscapes, identity and culture, all contributing to the construction of an ever-changing boundary of the Indigenous social space and defining the nature and the experience of the Indigenous community.

● During the Soviet era "many of the languages, the stories, rituals and song lines were lost. As a result, opportunities for cultural participation in urban settings are now often less than those of remote communities, where traditional languages remain stronger."

● "Aboriginal culture, like any other, is not static and Aboriginal people neither become bereft of culture when they 'lose' the traditional, nor are they suddenly transformed into non-Aborigines". [Morrisey et al. 2007, 245]

● "In urban environments experiences and practice of culture and belonging can be complicated by a range of different factors. Formal bureaucratic constructions of 'Aboriginality' are currently centred on Aboriginal descent, identification as an Aboriginal person, and acceptance as Aboriginal by one's community. However, as Hansen and Butler (2013) have argued, non-Aboriginal people have constructed views of urban Aboriginal identity as illegitimate or 'less authentic' ". [Detez et al. 2016, 29]

● The urban indigenous communities exist within larger non-indigenous communities and are generally very much in the minority.

The research interest of indigenous peoples/communities in urban environments has a long tradition in anthropology and sociolinguistics. The process of the Arctic urbanization increasing interest since the turn of the millennium (primarily cf. Aboriginal People's Survey 2001 (APS, Statistics Canada 2003) and the Arctic Human Development Report (AHDR, Einarsson et al. 2004)), but as early as the 1960s. "Arctic urbanization" is a separate research field, despite the fact that the situation, historical, political and economic context

of Arctic cities (and their inhabitants, including indigenous peoples) are very different. The concept of "city" itself varies from region to region/country to country, for example in the US, Norway or Russia (e.g depending on population), and although the 2nd AHDR highlights that there is a need for more knowledge on the impacts of global change on Arctic cities and urban areas, [Larsen & Fondahl 2014, 22], the research on Arctic cities of Russia are still underrepresented, but more and more studies are dealing with the region (e.g. Rozanova 2019]. There are many reasons for the increasing interest: „Interest in the Arctic has mushroomed, due in large part to climate change and expected resource development opportunities, and the media hype regarding these developments. The Arctic is becoming more "marketable" and Arctic identities are seen increasingly as an asset. Concomitantly Arctic residents are themselves redefining what it means to be "a Northerner" [Larsen & Fondahl 2014, 22].

Another of the major findings of the AHDR-II was that „The emergence of Arctic identities and a sense of Indigenous and, more broadly, Northern identity becoming an asset: Culture, especially indigenous culture in the North, has increasingly become a resource, both in the sense of a commodity and in the sense of a tool that makes external recognition easier. Also, there is a growing sense of the marketability of the North, which may present certain advantages to being in the North." [Larsen & Fondahl 2014, 23]. This is true not only for Scandinavia and North-America, but this is the tendency also in the Russian Arctic.

2.8. Urbanization in Russian Arctic

From a historical point of view three waves of urbanization can be established in the Arctic. The first is the colonial wave, the "Soviet' wave and the "globalization' wave [Laurelle 2019]. The "globalization wave" has three "engines" [Laurelle 2019]: industrial activities, the militarisation of the Arctic, and the development of regional administrative centres. In Russia, the definition of "Arctic City" is also unclear from an indigenous point of view, as many indigenous minorities who live in non-Arctic, preferably subarctic, and cities are also considered Arctic (this justified the involvement of Khanty-Mansiysk in the project). In a narrower sense, 16 Arctic cities can be examined (Murmansk, Norilsk, Mirnyi, Dudinka, Arkhangelsk, Naryan Mar, Salekhard, Apatity, Kirovsk, Vorkuta, Severodvinsk, Yakutsk, Noyabrsk, Monchegorsk, Novyi Urengoy). Globally, increasing urbanization can be observed, however, in the case of the Russian Arctic Cities this is not clear, there are also examples of urbanization, e.g. The population of Dudinka is also declining from year to year, and this is more the case: only 5 of the 16 cities mentioned have grown in population over the last decade. Behind this duality are the opposite effects of the 2nd Soviet-era urbanization (followed by the industrial, mining activity typical of the SU period, and the economic downturn after the dissolution of the Sovietunion) and the 3rd Wave (another Arctic activity, mainly related to mining). An example of the former is Vorkuta, the latter Salekhard [Laurelle 2019: 7]. "Russia is a highly urbanised country, with 73 percent of the population living in urban areas and only 27 percent in rural settlements. With the indigenous peoples of the North, the picture is reversed: in the 2010 census, only 33 percent fall under "urban population", while 67 percent are rural dwellers" [Rohr 2014, 10].

The data about the Russian Federation show many things when we look at the statistics of indigenous peoples. Between 1955 and 1975, 800 new cities were born in Siberia [Nagy 2015, 55]. The urban population in the region and its ratio to the total population is growing steadily and exponentially. A study [Sokolova & Stepanov 2007, 76], referring to data from the 2002 census, finds that more than 16 of the 40 northern peoples surveyed have an urban population of more than one-third, while the highest proportion is more than two-thirds, and the overall rate 31.2%. Data from the 2010 census are extremely similar to this. These proportions are also true for the Krasnoyarsk Territory.

Table 1

Urban/rural population in the Krasnoyarsk Territory

	total population, thousand people				percentage of the total population			
	urban		rural		urban		rural	
	2002	2010	2002	2010	2002	2010	2002	2010
Krasnoyarsk Krai	2245,7	2157,7	720,3	670,5	75,7	76,3	24,3	23,7

Settling in the city is not a completely voluntary decision. Indigenous peoples are under administrative and existential pressure, leading to settlement. But it should also be noted that the oil industry, mining, and industrialization are in fact a competition for the traditional way of life. Moving between the town and the village is essential to understanding the ethnic identity of the Siberian indigenous minorities. It is difficult to classify informants by municipality who have not lived in a city since birth but have moved there later, such as university students, or who may commute between the countryside and the city at variable intervals. The most typical form of this in Russia (e.g. in the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Area) is the so-called *vahtovanie* form of work in which workers commute in two-weeks or monthly shifts between their home and workplace, a large city, or an oil-producing area. This kind of lifestyle and other new forms of migration call into question the community and spatial theories of science used so far [cf. Nagy 2015, 64], so the village-city opposition is also becoming more and more relational, the endpoints of which are connected by the movement of people and their relationship is determined by the dynamism of the movement. Therefore, the linguistic effects thus obtained should not be neglected in urban research issues either. Those belonging to these groups are exposed to significant urban influences, while also pursuing their rural lifestyle to a greater or lesser extent [Mácsai 2017].

Traditionally, the concepts of group, culture and space are closely intertwined, where the group always means a society tied to one space, necessarily with a unified culture. Territoriality was also a principle of community and identity. Migration, change of location was thus basically interpreted as a change of culture and identity, according to which migration is the transition to another culture, which meant the loss of the original culture in exchange for another admission. However, migration is no longer necessarily a detachment from the original community and, in fact, often explicitly confirms identification with it. The "distant" locality may even be more important than what we are in, so the space of residence and cultural identity may be separated in translocal space: the space where we live and the space that is the basis, reference point of our identity [cf. Nagy 2015, 64].

3. The research

3.1. The research site

3.1.1. Indigenous peoples in Russia: the official data and possibilities

The Russian Federation has an unusually complex structure. Since the annexation of Crimea in March 2014, it has now had 85 subjects (members) of the Federation. There are 22 ethnic republics, each with the constitutional right to an official language in addition to Russian. Russia's population is falling, currently around 140 million. "Russia stated in the first periodical report of the Russian Federation that, the Russian Federation is one of the largest multinational states in the world, inhabited by more than 170 peoples, the total population being about 140 million." Russia also reported that, "The education in Russia's schools is now available in 38 languages. As many as 75 national languages are a part (including languages of national minorities) of the secondary schools curricula (to the Advisory Committee under the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM) Council of Europe 2000)" [Browing & Borgoyakova 2017, 350].

Russian (and the former Soviet) legislation distinguishes between "indigenous numerically-small peoples" (less than 50,000), and other non-Russian peoples, – e.g. in the Arctic, the Sakha and the Komi. This feature is more relevant than their location (as Arctic or Subarctic etc.). Administratively, the "Arctic Russia" covers Arctic and subarctic areas as well (see footnote 1). In linguistic, ethnic or cultural context, therefore, the term *Arctic* (арктический) is not widely used in Russia, but, mainly in economic-political context. Languages are really used for those living in the Arctic, but seemingly contradictory: e.g. by definition in the Народы Арктики wikipedia article, this includes peoples living north of the Arctic Circle, but the list includes the Evenkis, Mansis, Finns, and Komi, who typically live below the Arctic Circle. Furthermore, and partly because of this, not specifically Arctic territories and even more so non-Arctic languages/peoples are classified as "Northern".

According to the laws – "On the State Guarantees and Compensations for the Persons Employed and Residing in the Far North and Equivalent Regions" of February 19, 1993, and in 1994 provided the enumeration of the peoples who were included in the special treatment within the scope of this law – the "Small-numbered indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East" are the peoples who

– count less than fifty thousand persons in Russia;
– inhabit the traditional territories of their ancestors;

–preserve their original lifestyle.

In 2000 governmental decree N 255 "On the Uniform Register of the Small-Numbered Peoples of the Russian Federation" officially recognized 45 ethnic categories.[5]

According to the laws these peoples are protected under the following minority rights provisions in Russian legislation:

–exempted from military service and land-use taxes;

–have priority rights to wildlife resources;

–have a right to compensation if the state uses their territory for mineral extraction,

–have a quota in higher education facilities,

–have an earlier retirement age.

These provisions raised the numbers of many small-numbered indigenous ethnic groups. They have changed their identity if they were born in mixed families. Most of them are less indigenous, do not practice hunting herding or fishing activities and are highly urbanized (50-70%).

3.1.2. Dudinka

Dudinka is a port city on the banks of the Yenisei, in the northernmost part of Siberia, beyond the Arctic Circle in Russia. Administratively, it also includes five villages: Volochanka, Levinskie Peski, Potapovo, Ust-Avam, and Khantaiskoe Ozero, which are located 90 km to 340 km from Dudinka. It is the seat of the district of Taimyr (Dolgan-Nenets) M. D. in the Krasnoyarsk Krai.

Accurate data on the ethnic distribution of the urban population are rarely published:

Indigenous Peoples in K.K. (2010) and Taimyr M.D. (2008)

Table 2

Ethnic distribution in the Krasnoyarsk Region and in Taimyr M.D. (2008)

	Russia	Krasnoyarsk Krai (2010)		Taimyr Municipal District (2008)
All		2 727 566		
Russian*		2 490 730		
Nenets	44 640	3 633	8,1 %	3,486
Evenki	37 843	4 372	11,5 %	270
Dolgan	7 285	5 810	79,7 %	5,517
Nganasan	862	807	93,6 %	749
Enets	227	221	97,3 %	168
Indigenous minorities in Krasnoyarsk Krai			0,54%.	

65% of the population of the Taimyr M.D. lives in cities. There are 21,978 people living in Dudinka (according to the city's official website on the basis of data as of January 1, 2018) and 22,175 people according to the 2010 census in Russia (25,132 in 2002 and 32,325 in 1989). The city is inhabited by five indigenous minorities in addition to the Russian majority, the largest number of Nenets and Dolgans, as well as Nganasans, Evenkis and Enets.

The next table shows urban-rural rates by the indigenous peoples of the Russian Fed. living in the Taimyr Peninsula basing on the 2010 Census:

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[5] Aleut, Alyutor, Veps, Dolgan, Itelmen, Kamchadal, Kerek, Ket, Koryak, Kumandin, Mansi, Nanaj, Nganasan, Negidal, Nenets, Nivkh, Orok, Oroch, Saami, Selkup, Soyot, Taz, Teleut, Tofalar, Tubalar, Tuvin, Udegej, Ulchi, Khanty, Chelkan, Chuvan, Chukchi, Chulym, Shor, Even, Evenki, Enets, Yukaghir, Eskimo (raipon.org)

Table 3

Urban-rural rate by the indigenous peoples of the Russian Fed. living in the Taimyr Peninsula

	In RF	urban	rural
Dolgan	7885	1840	6045
Nganasan	862	315	547
Nenets	44640	9543	35097
Evenki	37843	10021	27822
Enets	227	57	170

As it can be seen, the rate of urban/rural population of the five indigenous peoples of the Taimyr Peninsula is similar: appr. 30-40% of them live in cities and 60-70% live in rural areas. Almost all Nganasan and Enets live only in Taimyr Peninsula/Mun. District. Most Nenets and Evenki peoples live outside the District, but their urban/rural rate can be similar in the other districts as well.

The freshest data[6] shows that although the population of indigenous peoples of Dudinka is relatively high it is not true entirely, because the Dudinka's five villages also belong to the city officially. For instance, in Dudinka the number of Nganasans is 654, but only 111 live in the city, most of them live in Ust-Avam and Volochanka which are cc. 300 km far from the city of Dudinka:

Table 4.

Population of indigenous peoples of Dudinka

	Dudinka				Potapovo	Volochanka	Khantaiskoe ozero	Levinskie peski		Ust Avam
Summa	21 978	8,9 %		402	604	364	170			628
Dolgan	1715/786	45,8%		26	295	184	97			327
Nenets	550/390		70,9 %	149	3	0		7		1
Nganasan	654/111		16,9%	10	266	0		7		260
Evenki	260/71	27,3%		40	0	148	0			1
Enets	37/24	64,8%		11	0	2	0			0
	3216/1971			236	564	334	111			589

The official language of the city is Russian. The members of the indigenous population are very different and diverse in terms of language skills from individuals to individuals and ethnic communities, and their language use habits are also very variable. Whereas for some of the minority languages language can be a mother tongue, for others it is learnt at school or later in life. There are also people who hardly speak their minority language.

Regarding their language use habits, in addition to strong language assimilation tendencies, the use of the mother tongue can be observed among all minorities living in the city, however, we can only talk about the general level of mother tongue use considering the older generations. In the younger age groups, the process of language assimilation has practically ended, language shift has taken place, they, without exception, speak the majority language better. At the same time, each minority strives to preserve its mother tongue in some form and level. However, the language of the grandparents is only learned by the grandchildren as a foreign language at school or in the framework of specially organized language teaching.

It is mainly the older generations that speak and use their language. They work mostly in educational and cultural centers, in the media, where the indigenous minority culture, language and identity have been preserved. However, the majority of communities have no or little knowledge of their mother tongue.

Although to a very small extent, in recent decades revitalization efforts can be observed in the city: family clubs have been established (Nenets, Dolgan, Nganasan), events, classes, language courses have started, "language nests", summer schools have been organized. However, these are mainly ad hoc, project-based initiatives of the state.

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[6] Data collected during fieldwork, from the local administration (2019).

The teaching of minority languages is the prerogative of some schools only, where typically only one language (Nenets, Nganasan, or Dolgan) is taught, sometimes in the absence of mother tongue teachers and teaching materials. Pupils can learn them as a foreign language in 2-4 hours a week.

There are 19 educational institutions engaged in mother tongue education in Taimyr, employing 51 minority language teachers. (16 Nenetses, 25 Dolgans, 5 Nganasans, 1 Enets and 1 Evenki). "Mother tongue" is taught at Taimyr College (Dolgan, Nenets, Nganasan, Enets and Evenki). However, textbook publishing is the most deficient area of mother tongue education in Taimyr. There is a shortage of both properly trained authors and methodology with regard to their language skills, but there is also a lack of language standard and tradition of writing in some of the languages in question. For all that, between 2012 and 2017, no less than 5,920 teaching aids were published.

Several major national and international educational projects were developed during the last decades. Among other things, one of the largest is the Language Nest Project in kindergartens, which was launched in 2008 in cooperation with the Finnish leadership and further Finno-Ugric peoples

There are primary school projects aiming to reorganize traditional national cultural groups in minority communities. The pedagogic program of the 1th Boarding school of Dudinka concentrated on nomadic culture for a whole school year: "Ethnograd - city of the nomad culture". In addition, several art ensembles have been formed in the recent period:

- *Taimyr* children's choreographic ensemble, 1996
- *Sare Tes* folklore ensemble, 2013 (Karaul)
- *Huluksan* Dolgan dance ensemble, 2001 (Volochanka)

Family clubs:
- *Maj'ma* Nenets family club, 2005 (Dudinka)
- *N'a tansa* Nganasan family club (Dudinka)
- *Biirge* Dolgan family club (Dudinka)
- *Jalmd* Nenets family club (Karaul)
- *Sare Tes* is multiethnic club (Karaul)
- *Vavle Nenyng* Nenets family club (Ust Port)
- *Rainbow* Nenets family club (Nosok)

There are also two cultural and folklore centers in the city: City Folk Art Center of Dudinka and the House of Folk Arts of Taimyr – Chum, which are home to indigenous artists, the preservation and transmission of traditional culture, traditions, and language: exhibitions of arts and crafts, folklore performances in native language, organizing traditional national ceremonies, activities and sports, trips to the tundra to study flora and fauna, sewing national clothes, embroidering and weaving beads, cooking national foods, etc.. Both are located in the heart of the city, surrounded by indoor museums and outdoor community areas. [Bataeva 2017]

3.2. Fieldwork in Dudinka [Várnai 2021a]

In our latest fieldwork in Dudinka (December, 2019) we worked with the so-called identity game. On the basis of our former knowledge regarding the specialties of the region and speech communities in question, as well as our fieldwork experience, our team has developed and applied a so-called identity game (see 3.3.)

We conducted 19 interviews (16 hours). The interviews have been structured to map (1) the domains and patterns of personal language use, (2) language attitudes, (3) the presence of the communities involved in the maintenance of the heritage language and culture in the target city and the participation of the interviewees in their activities, (4) the ways personal ethnic identities are constructed. The block of questions under (4) on identity construction is in the focus of this investigation containing closed and open-ended questions on the role of the language and other elements of the indigenous culture in the construction of today's ethnic identity. The interview ends with an 'identity game' requesting the participants to arrange constituents of the indigenous culture in order of importance with regard to their own ethnic identity.

Semi-structured interviews conducted with 19 participants born between 1950s and 2000s who identify themselves and whom the local community also identify as aboriginal people. We had 13 female/ 6 male consultants, two 70 years old, three of them 60 years old, 6x40-50 years old, 2x30 years old, 6x20 years old. By nationality they considered themselves as Nenets (5), Dolgan (5), Nganasan (5), Enets (2) and Evenki (2).

19 people took part in the interviews: 6 (3 men and 3 women) were born after the 1990s; 8 (3 men and 5 women) were born near the 1970s and 1980s; and 4 women are the members of the elder generation, they were born in the 1950s- 1960s. Most of them resided in the municipality of Dudinka most of their adult lives.

Regarding their ancestry, all of the participants have indigenous parents, and all grandparents as well. In terms of language proficiency data is based on self-assessment of the four language skills: speaking, listening, reading and writing. Most of the participants consider themselves fluent or good speakers of his/her heritage language. Fluent speakers also have fluent listening skills, but they often lack reading and writing skills. The respondents from the elderly generation have very good language skills in speaking, listening, reading and writing also.

Young respondents are mostly students, two of them work as artists at the Folklore Center. Men are engaged in traditional occupations, they are all craftsman, carvers, while the majority of women work in education and folk art in the urban areas of the Taimyr. Respondents were all born in villages or on the Tundra in the rural areas of the Taimyr Peninsula. In terms of participant mobility, usually they have not left the arctic area, its rural areas, while during their education they had some urban experience when studying in secondary and / or higher institutions, e.g. in Norilsk, Krasnoyarsk or Saint Petersburg. Ten of the participants are married, most of them to aboriginal spouses, while nine are single. Those respondents who are married all have children.

Our aim during the interviews on the one hand, was to see how significant the linguistic aspect of ethnic identity used to be in the early years of participants' lives versus today, especially in informal domains of language use. On the other hand, we were also interested in mapping out the participants', their parents' and/or their grandparents' attitudes to transferring their language to the young generations.

Each participant claims to be proud of being a member of the aboriginal peoples of the Taimyr. At the beginning of the interview each participant was asked to talk about his or her childhood, most specifically about norms of language use in the family and in the school domain.

During the interview participants were also asked to assess their language proficiency in heritage language. While thirteen of them believe to be able to speak fluently, six of them cannot speak it at all. They were all brought up exclusively in Taimyr, except one man who had spent his childhood in the Evenki area. All of the interviewees were brought up in indigenous families and none of them have Russian parents. All of them are today advocates of their indigenous language and culture. Education in primary schools has played a significant role in their linguistic identity. All of the eighteen speakers had taken part in some sort of institutional education in Russian language. Many participants had the opportunity to receive education in their mother tongue, but these project-based forms were ad hoc and short lived. Many people complained about the scarcity of teaching materials or the poor qualifications of teachers. In accordance with Russian educational practice since the Soviet regime, children are collected and taken to a boarding school from those settlements where they were not schools. All interviewees reported on the difficult years of starting school. Changing the language and the foreign environment definitely put a strain on their childhood. Regardless of their age, there are some who have experienced these years as a serious psychological trauma.

Most of the youngest participants, unless they were born in aboriginal family with a Dolgan/Nenets/Enets mother and father, explain that their parents did not consider it important to speak with their child at home. All of them spoke Russian with other family members as well. So many of them don't speak their mother tongue at all. There are also some middle-aged interviewees, who did not have the opportunity to learn their language as an L1. As for their family background, their parents are aboriginal people who decided to speak Russian with their children so that they could manage better in the Russian majority community.

The traditional fishing hunter lifestyle, and the traditional living space contributing to the maintenance of the heritage language. Many interviewees said that urban conditions are not conducive to the preservation of the language. Rural conditions are conducive to the preservation of the language not only among elderly people. Two men said that moving to the city later did not forget their mother tongue, but they experienced changes in their language and language use, and they are ashamed of this.

3.3. Identity elements

In the framework of the project mentioned above the participants applied traditional methods and a new vehicle, a so-called „identity game" was developed and applied – developing a common methodological approach. Identity construction is in the focus of this investigation, the link between identity and language. Thus, a deeper understanding of what exactly the linguistic and non-linguistic markers of this identity mean

for the indigenous peoples. To investigate this, we developed a special method based on minority identity elements determined with the help of fieldwork observations and the results of our research.

The following concepts were defined as the main components of the identity of the examined minorities: kinship, nationality of parents; traditions and culture; language; religion; knowledge of the past; genetic similarity. During the 'Identity game' requesting the participants to arrange constituents of the indigenous culture in order of importance with regard to their own ethnic identity. The items related were printed on pieces of paper, and participants were asked to arrange them in order of importance, i.e. to put the item that describes their ethnic identity the best in the first place and the one that describes it the least in the last place.

Comparing the data during the analysis we examine the individual elements in their relation to each other, so we get a picture about which elements of the minority identity of the communities losing their language are the ones that come to the fore during assimilation and language shift. Each element was identified separately for the different urban communities — in Dudinka, Enontekiö, and Khanty Mansiysk — studied. For the sake of comparability, we sought uniformity, but this principle could not be fully enforced. There were elements that all indigenous communities could claim, but there were some that were unique to one: for example, while being listed in the electoral register is an important element of the minority identity of the Sámi community in Finland, it is a completely negligible for those living in Russia due to their different political status. Or while traditional food is an important part of the identity of Russian communities, it should not be included among the identity elements in the case of Sami in Finland, as Sami traditional food is not different from the food of the majority Finnish cuisine [Duray 2018]. Table 5 illustrates the relative importance of each item as each participant perceives them.

Table 5.

Aspects and components of minority identity in Enontekiö and Dudinka
[Duray 2018, Horváth 2021, Várnai 2021b]

Results of Dudinka (Zsuzsa Várnai)	Results of Enontekiö (Zsuzsa Duray)	Results of Khanty Mansiysk (Csilla Horváth)
1. Close relatives	1. Close Sámi relatives	1. **Speaking the indigenous minority language**
2. **Language**	2. **The Sámi language**	2. Knowing traditions and folklore
3. Religion, traditional holidays	3. Reindeer herding and related activities	3. Having minority ancestors and/or relatives
4. Folk art, handicrafts	4. Traditional Sámi costumes	4. Practicing traditional ritual activities and customs
5. Traditional way of life (reindeer hunting/herding, fishing, living in tundra)	5. Keeping contacts with the Sámi community	5. Owning and wearing folk costumes
6. Folklore, fairy tales, stories, songs	6. Sámi handicrafts	6. Practicing traditional crafts
7. Living in Taimyr	7. Fishing	7. Playing traditional music and doing traditional dance
8. Active participation in the activities of local cultural organizations	8. Living in Lapland	8. Living in the traditional territories
9. Contact with the community, participation in cultural events	9. Sámi indigenous religion	9. Fishing, hunting
10. Eating habits, cooking traditional dishes	10. Taking part in the activities of Sámi organizations	10. Reindeer breeding
11. External / internal properties	11. Being listed in the electoral register of the Sámi Parliament	11. Preparing traditional food

	12. The Sámi joiks/Joiking	12. Living in a traditional type of building
	13. Staying in a Sámi tent	13. Participating in the programs of indigenous organisations

It should be noted that this survey provides only a comprehensive picture, it is not a representative sample, because of the relatively small number of respondents. There could be significant differences between each indigenous group (population, spoken language). All this can fundamentally affect e.g. the establishment and survival of the traditional group. But there can also be differences at the individual and family level depending on whether the given person e.g. keeps in touch with relatives living in the tundra (are there relatives, and what kind of lifestyle do they have), do they have direct ancestors (parents, grandparents) from whom they can learn on the first hand (language, recipe, dance, folk customs, dressmaking etc.) or from others, this is only possible in a community space. Thus, this picture can be nuanced later by analyzing interviews, which will be the subject of another study.

Our results are in line with expectations. The ancestry came among the first. We predicted that language would play an important role in these communities, despite the fact that language use patterns did not show any correlation with who professed to belong to which community or what they considered their mother tongue. While the traditional way of life (reindeer husbandry) was ranked as the most important by Sámi respondents, it does not play such an important role in urban communities in Russia. Living in a traditional type of building does not play an important role in any of the communities.

4. Conclusion

4.1. Identity context

The identity in the city arises in the context of "others", in this respect, the indigenous should differ in the city. Urban identity is valued in the context of the identities of others and becomes "different" that can be manifested first of all in native institutions and cultural events. It has been revealed that the aspects operating in an urban environment and ensuring the survival of native identity elements are relatively important.

Because of the minority culture that has survived in everyday life, interweaving and defining all areas of life, it no longer exists in its entirety and in the traditional sense in any minority, but is occasionally expressed. The reason for this is modernization and assimilation. The traditional elements and customs of minority culture no longer live in everyday life, but in stage events and cultural centers choreographed as festive customs at local, regional and national or even international ethnic meetings and events. Usually, urban intellectual activists are the ones who make the culture of the indigenous peoples of a given area visible. They organize celebrations, festivals, conferences, launch magazines and newspapers, and operate folklore ensembles. The ethnic culture thus created is primarily a festivalized, professionalized culture, with a well-grasped, limited number of well-interpreted cultural elements that have excellent advertising value. At the same time, it is the urban intelligentsia who have the most access to economic and political resources: it is their organizations that develop the framework for the distribution of benefits and subsidies, and those that do so in practice - validly for the villagers. The urban intelligentsia has a prominent role in the enforcement of ethnic interests and in the shaping of ethnic discourses. The existence of these organizations strongly depends on the size of the urban population, the degree of urban intelligence lined up behind it. In ethnopolitical arenas, only these urban activists and ethnic entrepreneurs have the opportunity to represent the interests of a group represented as an ethnic group, including non-urban residents. One of the main goals of these movements is to provide the institutional and legal possibilities of the traditional way of life, which is considered to be closely related to the given ethnicity, which can be realized primarily in a non-urban context. At the same time, it is clear that non-city dwellers also provide the legitimacy base for the functioning of urban activists: they are the current reference point, their traditional way of life is what can be presented as an emblem that can be used in ethnopolitical and even in some places regional politics [cf. Nagy 2015].

According to Nagy [2015] the example of Jugra in the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous. District similar can be said to the indigenous peoples of Taimyr. On the one hand, it can be seen how important the maintenance of ethnic discourse is for the elite representing local indigenous minorities, and how it is used to represent the interests of the referenced ethnic group - and themselves - in relation to the majority society in local politics. On the other hand, this elite and the culture they represent are used by the district's administrative

leaders to articulate regional interests toward Moscow in big politics. A serious institutional system has been established in the region to present the culture of the local indigenous peoples: institutions cultivating traditional culture, folk art centers, folklore ensembles, museums, where dozens of "Russian folk artists" work. Some elements of the culture of the five indigenous peoples of Taimyr are also used in state-sponsored but alternatively organized art life. The increasing use of the name "Taimyr" as brand, the inclusion of the ornamentation of indigenous peoples in the urban landscape, the presentation of the customs and traditions of indigenous peoples at regional and state holidays, sports events are all examples of how to create an independent identity of the region within the Russian Federation. However, language is one of the most important factors, although the knowledge and use of the language disappears.

4.2. Language and city

The role of the native, indigenous language in the city differs from rural circumstances, however, the decreasing number of speakers in villages shows some parallel characteristics. The language is disappearing but its value remains important for the community. It is also important to examine the city in terms of language use, as, contrary to previous expectations, urbanization does not simply mean the disappearance of small languages. On the one hand, new, highly effective and independent scenes of language use are discovered, and on the other hand, the reduction of language use is not accompanied at all by a decrease in the prestige of language, which is also the basis for revitalization. There is also an important contradiction between the fact that ethnic entrepreneurs closely link the existence of ethnicity and language, in line with Russian expectations, which has virtually nothing to do with everyday language use.

As the results of the "identity game" show, language is the second most important factor of the identity of Dudinka's indigenous peoples, in spite of a small number of the speakers. In this respect there are differences among the minorities depending on their population and number of speakers. What can the importance of language mean in a city where there are a few possibilities/occasions to use it? In the case of rural minorities of Taimyr, no exact and fresh data about the usage of the language, data is based on some former research [e.g. Krivonogov 2001, Szeverényi & Wagner-Nagy 2011, Siegl 2013]. The value of the language lies in its factor of identity, the native language as an abstract or relique object or an instrument for saving the culture (e.g. in nests and clubs), and not as the instrument of well-being, the basic education. Institutions and native clubs first of all that deal with indigenous heritage serve for the remembrance and preservation of traditions and one of the few places where indigenous language use has prestige. It seems that native indigenous identity (as a part of another identity) can exist without use of the native language. Decreasing or losing the practical role of language does not mean losing ethnic identity, language alone is not an identity-forming factor [Bindorffer 1996, 1997, 2001, Schmidt 2008].

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Жужа Варнаи, Шандор Северени
ИДЕНТИЧНОСТЬ И ЯЗЫК В АРКТИЧЕСКОМ ГОРОДЕ: КОРЕННЫЕ НАРОДЫ В ДУДИНКЕ

В нашем исследовании мы исследуем конструкты идентичности коренных малочисленных народов, проживающих в арктической городской среде. Выбор темы оправдан тем, что исследования коренных малочисленных народов Севера, проживающих в городской среде Арктики, фокусируются на городах за пределами Российской Арктики. Цель данной статьи - предоставить современный обзор коренных малочисленных народов арктического города с точки зрения их идентичности и использования языка. Важными вопросами являются процессы

урбанизации и положение коренных народов в Арктике. Сравнивая восемь арктических стран, наибольшие пробелы в исследованиях северных городских сообществ можно выявить в Российской Федерации. Миграция этнических меньшинств в городские поселения происходила особенно быстро в условиях всеобщей глобализации и индустриализации. Следует подчеркнуть, что переезд в город может быть одним из подходящих способов выживания этих меньшинств в Сибири. В обследованных городских поселениях этнические группы пытаются создать свои собственные организации и группы меньшинств с целью сохранения культуры, языка и самобытности меньшинств. Отправной точкой исследования является деятельность организаций, текущая многогранная языковая ситуация, модели использования языка и изучение языковых установок, характерных для этих городских меньшинств. В данной статье мы анализируем текущее положение коренных народов Дудинки в свете вопросов исследования. Результаты исследования основаны на литературе последних лет и полевых исследованиях, проведенных в 2008, 2016 и 2019 годах. В заключение говорим о том, что хотя язык и исчезает, его ценность остается важной для сообщества. Также считаем важным исследовать город с точки зрения использования языков, поскольку, вопреки предыдущим ожиданиям, урбанизация не означает просто исчезновение малых языков. С одной стороны, открываются новые, высокоэффективные и независимые сцены использования языка, а с другой стороны, сокращение использования языка вовсе не сопровождается падением престижа языка, что также может служить оправданием возрождения. Помимо языка важными становятся и другие элементы идентичности.

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