

YOUTH ENCOUNTER

LONGING FOR TOGETHERNESS

[Ina Schröder]



NOTES ON SUMMER CAMP
COMMUNITIES AND A YOUTH
EXCHANGE BETWEEN NATIVE
AND GERMAN YOUTHS IN
WESTERN SIBERIA

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FIELD NOTES AND RESEARCH PROJECTS XXIV

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Youth Encounter: Longing for Togetherness
(Notes on Summer Camp Communities and a Youth Exchange between
Native and German Youths in Western Siberia)

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SERIES EDITOR'S PREFACE

(GÜNTHER SCHLEE)

ABOUT THE SERIES

This series of *Field Notes and Research Projects* does not aim to compete with high-impact, peer-reviewed books and journal articles, which are the main ambition of scholars seeking to publish their research. Rather, contributions to this series complement such publications. They serve a number of different purposes.

In recent decades, anthropological publications have often been purely discursive – that is, they have consisted only of words. Often, pictures, tables, and maps have not found their way into them. In this series, we want to devote more space to visual aspects of our data.

Data are often referred to in publications without being presented systematically. Here, we want to make the paths we take in proceeding from data to conclusions more transparent by devoting sufficient space to the documentation of data.

In addition to facilitating critical evaluation of our work by members of the scholarly community, stimulating comparative research within the institute and beyond, and providing citable references for books and articles in which only a limited amount of data can be presented, these volumes serve an important function in retaining connections to field sites and in maintaining the involvement of the people living there in the research process. Those who have helped us to collect data and provided us with information can be given these books and booklets as small tokens of our gratitude and as tangible evidence of their cooperation with us. When the results of our research are sown in the field, new discussions and fresh perspectives might sprout.

Especially in their electronic form, these volumes can also be used in the production of power points for teaching; and, as they are open-access and free of charge, they can serve an important public outreach function by arousing interest in our research among members of a wider audience.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

(INA SCHRÖDER)

*Ну напоследок хочу сказать, что лето это маленькая жизнь.
И то как мы проживем эту жизнь, зависит только от нас и я желаю
всем людям, чтоб жизнь была не только летом но и в течении всего года.
Что это лето, оно хоть и было не в природе, но оно жило всегда в
душе. И люди задумывались о многом, о многих положительных вещах.
Чтобы это помогало им жить и чтобы люди не страдали от многих
негативных вещей, которые воздействуют на наш организм, на нашу
душу. Я думаю что если мы будем вместе, то мы сможем создать
тот мир – может даже маленький мир, в котором мы сможем
находить себе приют.*

Last but not least I would like to say that summer is like a small life. And the way how we live this life depends only on us and I wish that all the people not only live in the summer, but during the whole year. So that the summer lives somewhere inside their soul. And that people reflect upon many things, about many positive things, so that it helps them to live and they don't suffer from many negative things which affect our organism and our soul. I think that if we hold together, we can create the one world, maybe a small world, in which we can find our home.
(Vania, 18 years old, Siberia)

In the present volume I offer the reader ethnographic insights into a cultural project of a youth exchange between young people in Russia and Germany. I see this empirical material as a contribution to the research on local-global connections of youths beyond class, national/ethnic and political differences.

Only few young people in Western Europe have relations to Russia or know the country from their own experience. Siberia remains an 'out-of-the-way place' (Zuev 2013: 69) with incoming tourism, limited to backpackers, fishing and hunting expeditions and all-inclusive rail tours. Zuev ironically summarises the image of Siberia in the Western world as a place of 'un-smiling people in ear-flapped hats rushing through forbidding temperatures from one snow-bound Gulag camp to another, warming up with the help of vodka, consumed abundantly in the company of reindeer herders amidst the tundra, with an occasional bear wandering by' (67). This volume shall serve the purpose to document and present to the wider public an ongoing cultural exchange between German and indigenous youths in Russia. It should serve as an example among many others that civil engagement of people between the two countries is an important step to prevent prejudices and political schisms between Russia and Western Europe.

I was fortunate to travel to Siberia for the first time in 2006 as a participant and interpreter in the youth exchange project. We were a group of 12 Germans who travelled to a social event organized by indigenous pedagogues

in the rural Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug (KhMAO), Beloiar Raion. At that time, I was an *Ethnologie*/Anthropology student in Göttingen and in search of a subject for my Magister thesis. Although my native language is Russian, I have never been to Russia before as I was born in the former Soviet Kyrgyz Republic. I was curious to travel to the country for the first time and meet indigenous youths in Western Siberia.

When we arrived at the place of the destination in the almost deserted Khanty village Khullor, we found ourselves in an event called ‘Parliament of the Peoples of the World’ in which pedagogues were creating space for the local youth to discuss and find solutions for the distressing social and economic issues, such as unemployment and low living standards in northern communities. Various ethnicity-based ‘delegations’ such as Khanty, Mansi, Perm’-Komi and Russians from different regions in the district and beyond came together to discuss these issues. The main topic of the meeting was ‘What can we offer to the world?’ Workshops and discussions were oriented towards the main goal: developing ethno-tourism (Rus.: *etno-tourizm*) in local communities. Various workshops included the invention of new objects and practices based on re-invented local indigenous traditions: souvenir products, clothes and accessories such as bags and jewellery ornamented with indigenous patterns, theatre for non-indigenous audiences, games and various guiding tours for tourists. Our presence as international guests was welcomed, as we were expected to give feedback on how we had perceived the above mentioned ‘products.’ Besides that, we were also asked to give our opinion on how to make them more appealing for an average Western tourist.

I was overwhelmed by the complexity of the social event. It went beyond the simple commodification of local traditions for tourist audiences. Here, we attended intense disputes on how to get local youths to take an interest in indigenous traditions, how to ‘develop culture’ without violating sacred aspects of it. We could witness Khanty offering rituals for local spirits as well as folkloric performances of native dances, games and music. Pedagogical methods of practice-oriented workshops (Rus.: *masterklassy*) were combined with female leadership of Soviet-educated indigenous pedagogues. Moreover, we learnt that these grass root initiatives were organized by women who were also involved in organizing and conducting summer camps for native children and youths in rural areas of KhMAO with the aim to immerse them into traditions of their ancestors.

As a consequence of this trip, I began to do ethnographic research in this region on forms of indigenous revivals targeted at youths, first for my Magister thesis (Schröder 2008) and subsequently for the doctoral research (Schröder 2017). For this volume, I have chosen to present the ethnographic material recorded during my field trips in Russia and Germany during the youth exchange in 2010/2011. Besides the audio transcriptions from these years, I also present photographic material from youth exchanges over the

last 12 years. The visual material was generously made available by exchange participants, paedagogues and guests of the camps. At this stage I would like thank my dear hosts in Siberia and the photographers for their contributions. This volume is also an expression of acknowledgement and deep appreciation for all the tireless organisers of the summer camps and the youth exchange.

The present volume is organized as follows: First, I will situate my study in the regional context of KhMAO and present my main points of research; after that I will present the aims and activities of the German-Siberian youth exchange supported by photographic material gathered between 2006 and 2018. In the subsequent section I will present the methodological approach of recording video life-journals and ethnographic material in a form of transcribed life-journals from the youth exchange, which took place in 2010/2011. And finally I end this volume with comments from German and Siberian youths about what this exchange means to them.



Photo 1: Summer camp Numsang Yokh, Russia.

(H. V. A. FÄHRMANN, 2017)

SUMMER CAMPS: THEIR ROLE AND SIGNIFICANCE

In this section I provide the socio-political context in which the summer camps are situated and thereby refer to my research about the significance of these institutions for local communities.

In my doctoral thesis I focused on ways of how moral education is reinscribed and contested in the youth leisure practices related to indigenous revival practices in KhMAO (Schröder 2017). For the purpose of my study I have chosen the pedagogical form of summer camps, which was initiated by indigenous female pedagogues, who were active in the KhMAO indigenous revival movement since the late 1980s. Here, local children and youths were to enjoy natural surroundings and at the same time develop their self-confidence, widen their personal horizons and strengthen their ethnic identity.

Indigeneity is a legal category in Russia, which refers to the so called indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North, Siberia and Far East. The recognized indigenous minority groups in KhMAO are Khanty, Mansi and Nenets, who make only 2% of the total population of the district. According to the 2010 census 12,269 people identified themselves as Mansi and 30,943 as Khanty. Only 7% of Mansi and 30% of Khanty indicated to speak their mother languages (www.perepis-2010.ru). In the cause of the post-Soviet transformation the indigenous intelligentsia intended to revive the languages and recapitulate the worth of native cultures. For that purpose, they (re)discovered forest areas and small ancestral villages as places suited to immerse youths into indigenous traditions.

Although indigenous intellectuals were successful to establish certain pedagogical, legal and administrative institutions to advocate their rights, the indigenous issues were increasingly marginalized in the legal and public sectors since Putin's centralization agenda. At the same time 'native culture' remains a big business throughout the district and in the regional capital Khanty-Mansiisk, with many institutions competing for the public budget. The political leadership provides a considerable amount of funding for public visibility of indigenous heritage for political reasons such as strengthening regional identity in the oil and gas reach district. In this competitive context indigenous pedagogues are struggling to continue to draw upon public financial resources based on granting provisions. Due to high safety stipulations and constant changes in the legislation about children's leisure, there was a constant fluctuation of opening and closing of summer camps for indigenous children in the district. During my fieldwork period there were around 15 such summer camps targeted at indigenous children in KhMAO.

The first summer camps in the district targeting indigenous participants, Man' Uksve und Numsang Yokh, were created between the mid of the 1990s and 2000. The summer camp Man' Uskve is located in the small Mansi village Yasunt, not far from the multi-ethnic settlement Saranpaul', Berezovo Raion. Numsang Yokh was established in the clearing of the taiga forest approx. a 20 minutes drive by boat from the village Kazym, Beloiar Raion. Both camps are also welcoming children and youths of non-indigenous background, such as Komi, Ukrainians, Tatar and Russians, who live in multi-ethnic villages.

Like many other villages of native northerners, the Mansi village Yasunt was abandoned at the beginning of the 1960s as a consequence of Khrushchev's centralization campaign. Already in the cause of the collectivisation reform under Stalin at the end of the 1930s, Khanty and Mansi were forced to leave behind their seasonal villages and semi-nomadic way of life as fishers, hunters and reindeer herders and forced to settle in Soviet 'modernized' multi-ethnic settlements provided with schools, cultural institutions and a hospital. The fundamental transformation of native people's social and economic institutions during the Soviet period was a continuation of the colonial encroachment into the Asian part of the continent under the Tsarist rule.

Due to the remoteness of the villages, many parents from low-income families can neither afford to make a holiday trip together with their children, nor to pay for their children's leisure activities that would imply a travel to other parts of Russia. Especially Saranpaul' is located fairly distanced from central roads, so that the transportation system is very costly, varies by season and involves water, air and winter road options. Since the participation in the summer camps is free of cost, it makes it possible for children and youths from low-income families to join it. Most participants come from villages located in the same *raion*, but also from other neighbouring *raions* and the regional capital city Khanty-Mansiisk. While the Mansi and Khanty languages are still important for crafting ethnic identities in the camps, Russian is the main language of communication between pedagogues and participants.

In many ways indigenous communities in the Russian North are socially and economically marginalized, expressed by a high unemployment rate, substandard medical care, high prices for electricity and food. Often alcohol misuse is the outcome of psychological stress in these communities. Public social care institutions state a high suicide rate among young people.

As my research has shown such locally organized and publicly financed leisure spaces are central for rural youths in northern remote regions in order to craft their selves and find new possibilities in life (Schröder 2017). The summer camps draw together local youths of many different social orientations and ethnic backgrounds. These are school dropouts, unemployed youths with or without further education, university students and those who

followed professional education. In that sense youths who would not necessarily meet in other social contexts due to the geographical distance and social differences were immersed in one common time/space for one week. Their motivation to join the summer camp in the natural surroundings differed. Some of them want to enjoy a positive sense of community and belonging, to be engaged in creative activities and to develop themselves, to find new friends and to flirt, to relax and enjoy nature leaving behind the bustle of everyday life as well as to escape negative aspects in their native villages such as alcoholism. For many participants the summer vacation in the camp is not less than a ‘rescue boat’ from their everyday realities. Indigeneity becomes a resource for local youths to craft their (ethnic) identities under a certain guidance and within performative frameworks set up in the camps. Also, the organized leisure activities based on indigeneity became a local resource to establish and maintain networks with various individuals and organisations on regional, interregional and international levels.



Map 1: General research area within the district Khanty-Mansi Autonomous District-Yugra, Russia



Map 2: Places of fieldwork



Photo 2: Helicopter view of the
West Siberian Plain
(E. NORIEGA 2007)

THE CAMP MAN' USKVE



Photo 3: The Summer camp Man' Uskve. Yasunt, Russia.

(A. VYUTKIN, 2010)



Photo 4: The Man' Uskve flag with the pattern of the bird wagtail, the protector spirit of the camp. Yasunt, Russia.

(G. KONDINA 2011)

Photo 5: : Taking rest at the bank of
the river Mania, Yasunt, Russia.
(MAN, USKVE ARCHIVE 2018)



Photo 6: Mansi elder is conducting a workshop on a Mansi female dance. The dance is accompanied by the string music instrument *samkyryltap*. Yasuni, Russia. (MAN' USKVE ARCHIVE 2018)



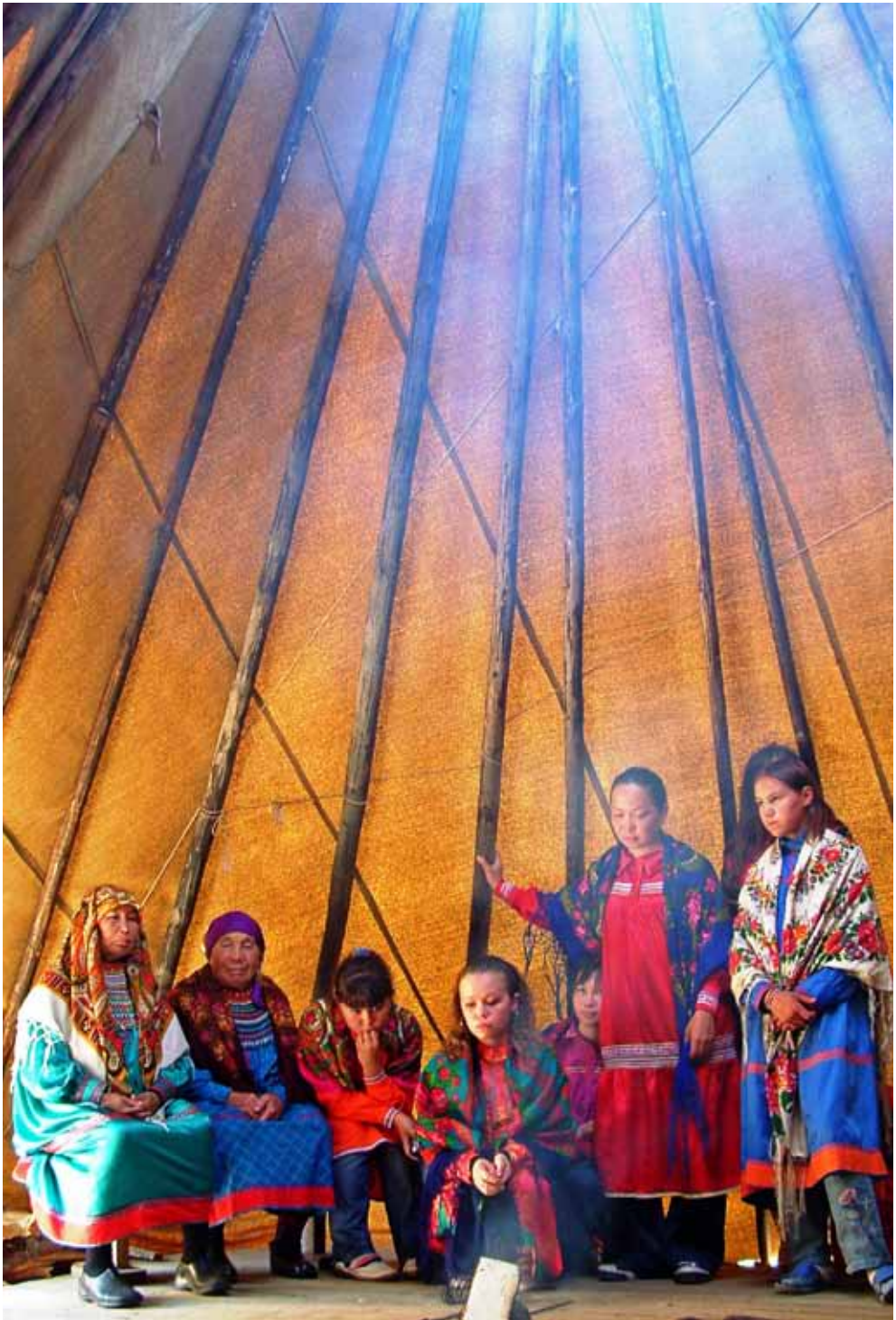


Photo 7: The female side of the tent (*chum*). Yasunt, Russia

(E. NORIEGA, 2007)



Photo 8: Mansi handicrafts workshop for female participants. Female elders play an important role in transmission of local knowledge. Yasunt, Russia.



Photo 9: Girls sew traditional Mansi scarves, which they will use during the role-playing game. Yasunt, Russia. (G. KONDINA 2011)



Photo 10: Satirical sketches from the Bear Feast. Male performers change their voices to *falsetto* when speaking and interacting with the audience (G. KONDINA 2011)



Photo 11: The skill of improved interaction with the audience is one of the key qualifications of performers. Yasunt, Russia (MAN' USKVE ARCHIVE 2017)



Photo 12: Female roles are performed by males. The content of the sketches can be changed and reinvented by the players. Yasunt, Russia (MAN' USKVE ARCHIVE 2017)



Photo 13: Watching children's theatre play. Yasunt, Russia (G. KONDINA 2011)



Photo 14: Male players of the historical role-playing game “The Time of Singing Arrows” wear braids tied down under bandannas. Boys practice tearing off braids from the head of the enemy. Yasunt, Russia



Photo 15: Young player. Yasunt, Russia

(MAN’ USKVE ARCHIVE 2017)



Photo 16: A young player is carrying goods. Food stuff is transported by boats from the village Saran-paul' to the camp. Yasunt, Russia (From Man' Uskve archive 2017)



Photo 17: Boys practice to tear down the braids, the symbol of life in the role-playing game. Yasunt, Russia (MAN' USKVE ARCHIVE 2017)

Photo 18: Marriage ceremony. Each warrior has to choose a wife. Girls hide their faces under hand-crafted scarves and open their face only after the warrior made his choice. Yasunt, Russia (MAN' USKVE ARCHIVE 2017)



Photo 19: After the warrior made his choice, the girl becomes his “wife” and stands behind him. Yasunt, Russia (MAN’ USIKVE ARCHIVE 2017)



Photo 20: The role of “wives” is to take care of their “husbands” and support them emotionally, to organize the household inside the fortress and wait patiently until the warriors come back from warfare. Yasunt, Russia (MAN’USKVE ARCHIVE 2017)



Photo 21: The artificial braids of girls are plaited into their hair. In the pre-Soviet past all Mansi men and women used to grow their hair long and tighten it into braids. Hair was regarded as a symbol of one's life strength. Yasunt, Russia (Man' Uskve archive 2017)





Photo 22: Camp participants. Yasunt, Russia

(MAN' USKVE ARCHIVE 2017)



Photo 23: Girls get emotionally engaged when seeing their “husbands” in the battle. Yasunt, Russia



Photo 24: The camp director is visiting the wooden fortress. Yasunt, Russia



Photo 25: Transporting goods to the fortress. Yasunt, Russia

(MAN' USKVE ARCHIVE 2017)



Photo 26: The fortress was built on a historical spot, where archaeologists had found traces of a supposedly medieval fortress. Yasunt, Russia (MAN' USKVE ARCHIVE 2017)



Photo 27: One tribe hides in the fortress and the opposite tribe tries to attack them. Yasunt, Russia



Photo 28: Warriors linger inside the fortress, waiting for the next attack. Yasunt, Russia



Photo 29: Lunch prepared by wives. Yasunt, Russia

(MAN' USKVE ARCHIVE 2017)



Photo 30: When all players from one tribe have lost their braids, their tribe is defeated. (A. VIUTKIN, 2010)

Photo 31: Girls sew and
take care of their tribe's flag.
(MAN' USKVE ARCHIVE 2017)





Photo 32: Male player.
Yasunt, Russia.
(Y. VYUTKINA, 2010)

Photo 33: Female player.
(Y. VYUTKINA, 2010)



Photo 34: Pre-Polar Ural Mountains.
Many sites and summits are considered
sacred in the Mansi mythology, Russia.
(MAN² USKVE ARCHIVE 2017)



Photo 35: Long-term participant and counsellor of the camp Man' Uskve during the mountaineering trip. Each year, educators in Man' Uskve organize a 10-day trip for boys and girls from the age of 16. (MAN' USKVE ARCHIVE 2018)





Photo 36: The camp director is instructing youths before the mountaineering camp. Saranpaul', Russia. (A. VYUTKIN 2018)



Photo 37: The tour guides are former Komi and Mansi reindeer herders, or young people who grew up in reindeer herding brigades and know the area. Pre-Polar Ural Mountains, Russia



Photo 38: Taking a rest. Pre-Polar Ural Mountains, Russia

(MAN' USKVE ARCHIVE 2018)



Photo 39: After the hiking tour the group is rafting down the river to Saranpaul'. Pre-Polar Ural Mountains, Russia

(A. VYUTKIN 2018)



Photo 40: Man' Uskve youths during the mountaineering camp in the Ural Mountains
(MAN' USKVE ARCHIVE, 2010)

THE CAMP NUMSANG YOKH



Photo 41: Summer camp Numsang Yokh. Kazym, Russia.

(E. MUCHNAYA, 2015)



Photo 42: In the evenings, the camp community gathers around the open fire. The kids call it 'legendary' fire, because it is there that legends, folklore tales are narrated and performed. Kazym, Russia.

(ARCHIVE NUMSANG YOKH, 2013)



Photo 43: Regularly new contests for boys are introduced, where they train their agility and physical fitness. Kazym, Russia.



Photo 44: Contest for boys. Kazym, Russia

(ARCHIVE NUMSANG YOKH, 2013)



Photo 24–25: ‘Birch bark masques’ shown at the traditional Bear Feast, performed by males. Kazym, Russia (ARCHIVE NUMSANG YOKH, 2013)



Photo 47: Theatre rehearsal. Kazym, Russia.

(V. SEMYONOV 2015)



Photo 48: Theatre play rehearsal. The content of the plays are derived from the living realities of the participants. Kazym, Russia. (V. SEMYONOV, 2015)



Photo 49: Theatre rehearsal. Professionals from various fields such as theatre educators, choreographers, folklore specialists, scholars and filmmakers are invited to work with children. Kazym, Russia.



Photo 50: Rehearsal for the play
“The Scarf of my grandmother”.
Kazym, Russia.
(V. SEMYONOV 2015)



Photo 51: Rehearsal for the play
“The Scarf of my Grandmother”
(N. SEMYONOV 2015)



Photo 51–52: Rehearsal for the play “The Scarf of my Grandmother”

(V. SEMYONOV 2015)



Photo 53–54: Rehearsal for the play “The Scarf of my Grandmother”

(V. SEMYONOV 2015)



Photo 56: Photographic session:
"Fashion of Kazym principedom"
Kazym, Russia (NUMSANG YOKH ARCHIVE, 2016)



Photo 57: Photographic session:
“Fashion of Kazym principedom”
Kazym, Russia (NUMSANG YOKH ARCHIVE, 2016)



Photo 58: Participants are building a bench with the forest materials

(V. SEMYENOV, 2016)



Photo 59: New-built bench for theatre audience



Photo 60: Making of the birch bark masks. Kazym, Russia.

(E. MUCHNAYA, 2015)



Photo 61: Handicrafts are an important aspect of the camp's pedagogy. Kazym, Russia.

(Y. MESHANINA, 2017)



Photo 62: Youth exchange camp “On the paths of the ancestors“. Kazym territory, Russia.
(S. SCHOLZ, 2014, <http://www.esszett.com/>)



Photo 63: Youth exchange camp “On the paths of the ancestors“. The participant is playing a jaw’s harp (Khanty: *tumran*), a female music instrument. Kazym territory, Russia.



Photo 63–64: Youth exchange camp “On the paths of the ancestors”. Kazym, Russia.”
(S. SCHOLZ, 2014, <http://www.esszett.com/>)



Photo 65–66: Youth exchange camp “On the paths of the ancestors”. Kazym, Russia.”
(S. SCHOLZ, 2014, <http://www.esszett.com/>)



Photo 68: Spouses at their reindeer camp Osetnye. They cooperate with the summer camp Numsang Yokh and receive regular guests at their camp. This time they receive the German exchange group. Osetnye, Russia.



Photo 69: Youth exchange camp “On the paths of the ancestors”. Visiting the reindeer camp Osetnye. Russia. (S. SCHOLZ, 2014, <http://www.esszett.com/>)

Photo 70: Children are meant to become active creators of culture rather than passive consumers. Here, participants are encouraged to make music themselves. Kazym, Russia. (S. SCHOLZ, 2014, <http://www.esszett.com/>)





Photo 71: "On the paths of the ancestors".
Kazym territory, Russia
(S. Scholz, 2014, <http://www.esszett.com/>)

WHEN HOSTS ARE BECOMING GUESTS: NOTES ON THE GERMAN- SIBERIAN YOUTH EXCHANGE

Am Ende bleibt für mich die Erkenntnis, dass Verständigung, über welche Grenzen auch immer, zunächst nur in kleinen Schritten und Gesten gedeihen kann und erst mit der Zeit über sich selbst hinauswächst. Vielleicht ist das ja die eigentliche Botschaft dieses Austausches und zugleich Ausgangspunkt einer nicht enden wollende Reise.

At the end what remains is the realization that the mutual understanding beyond whichever boundaries can grow only in small steps and gestures and only with time it can surpass itself. Maybe it is the real message of this exchange and at the same time the point of departure of a never-ending journey.

(Robinson, 2014)

The youth exchange project has been initiated by a German environmental youth organization *Youth Action for Nature and Environmental Protection Lower Saxony* (JANUN: Jugend Aktion für Natur- und Umweltschutz Niedersachsen). The non-profit organization has its roots in the German environmental movement and promotes environmental awareness, democratic decision-making processes and has a critical stance to mass consumer culture. As a response to a growing inequality in tourism on the global level, JANUN promotes mutual hospitality on non-commercial basis. Its working groups have been building networks with local communities in different parts of the world, such as Serbia, Belarus, Indonesia as well as with Native Americans in the USA. In the early 2000s, they made efforts to extend their networks reaching for indigenous peoples in Russia. It had been through the Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North (RAIPON) in Moscow that the first contact between JANUN and pedagogues in KhMAO could be established. The first travel took place in 2004, when a group of young Germans went to KhMAO to establish contacts with youth organizations for a long-term cultural exchange between Germany and Siberian partners.

Since then the youth exchange project continues to be an on-going and long-lasting cooperation between two rural based summer camps for native children and youths in KhMAO and the German NGO. The cooperation is maintained mainly through voluntary engagement of pedagogues and youths on the Siberian side and the young participants, who are supported by the NGO, on the German side. One cycle of the youth exchange takes two years: first, the German group is hosted in Siberia and the following year the hosts

are sending their delegation to Germany. The project is partly funded through the private-public partnership Foundation of the German-Russian Youth Exchange (*Stiftung für Deutsch-Russischen Jugendaustausch*). In 2006, based on the bilateral political economy, governments on both sides made a contractual agreement on cooperation to support intercultural youth exchanges (until the age of 27) both ways.¹ So according to the agreement, school students and youth groups who travel for exchange purposes may get their visa for free. During the visits hosts and guests have no commercial exchange with each other. Their roles reverse during the return visit.

By supporting the project, the camps' leadership hope that local youths can expand their horizons and improve their communication skills, gain new prospects in life, and learn to value their own native culture through sharing it with others. Like in many other native communities in the Russian North, indigenous pedagogues expressed the fear that Westernised popular youth culture would sweep away cultures of indigenous minorities. They encourage native youths to use computer technology, animations, photography and filming hoping that the appropriation of modern technologies would facilitate the interest of youths for their own ethnic roots. Also, the youth exchange shall fulfil this purpose. As one pedagogue commented: "Although it seems like in Germany it is another culture, yet it strengthens the traditional culture. Because when they are coming to Germany, they start to show their own culture.² And it is clear that they want to show it better, they need to bring it to perfection, the songs and dances and other things. That is why I am very interested in the continuation of these exchanges" (Olga, 56). Also, pedagogues would like to make it possible for youths from remote villages to travel and see other places. Young people in Siberia currently face more lifestyle choices and mobility options than it had been the case in the 1990s. Yet, still in rural areas mobility is a precious capital, which continues to be conditioned by the 'remoteness' of the home settlements.

Every two years one cycle of exchange is dedicated to one or several themes and/or cultural practices which are negotiated between the partners. In the past years these were: developing alternative tourism in Siberian indigenous communities, creating a theatre play, writing songs, recording a CD and shooting a film. Additionally, German guests were welcomed to stay in Siberian host families, participate in the summer camp located in the taiga

¹ The foundation is financed by the Federal Ministry for Family, Elderly, Women and Youth, the Robert Bosch Foundation and the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg. Apart from that one stakeholder of the foundation is the 'Eastern Committee of German Economy' (Ost-Ausschuss der Deutschen Wirtschaft), among whose contributors the gas production giant Gasprom as well as the E-ON – the German and world-wide largest electric utility service provider – can be found.

² The term 'culture' presupposes here somewhat formalised cultural forms such as dance, theatre, music and games.

forest, undertake a several days trip on local rivers, experience fishing, learn traditional handicrafts and visit reindeer herders' camping sites. In Germany the programs are diverse and differ from one year to another. They normally include visiting both rural and urban places. In the past few years Siberian guests were experiencing and learning about re-naturalization of landscapes after coal mining in Saxony, possibilities of renewable energies, language and culture preservation of minorities in Germany (community of the Sorbs in Saxony), ecological community projects and much more.

Most of the German participants of the exchange are university students or occupied in pedagogical, therapeutic, or artistic fields in the age range between 20 and 30. According to the design of the project, they have to commit to the process for two years and organize the back exchange for the Siberian participants in Germany. Thus, the participation in the project requires an investment of personal time, some money, skills and knowledge, and a high level of responsibility. Most of them had already extended travelling experiences as backpackers, or participated in internship or voluntary service programs abroad. The Siberian participants tend to be a bit younger than the Germans. In their early 20s some of them have already finished their professional education or university studies. Many young people from rural areas in Siberia want to decide for a partner in order to build a family already in their mid-20s. Thus, young people who get involved in marital responsibilities usually drop out as potential participants.

What motivates the German youth to travel to Siberia? According to the interviews which I conducted with German participants in 2010, they did not want to travel as an "average" tourist. All of them desired to make deeper connections with youths who grew up in another cultural context. They aspired to experience immersion in the natural environment aside from civilization, internet and urban noise, experience pristine nature and native traditions; they desired to learn about the social, cultural and political background in Russia and in particular about the situation of its native peoples. The project enabled them to travel to remote places in Siberia, where they would not necessarily be able to travel on their own. Some of them felt attracted by the creative content of the project like filming and music. To most of them Russia, and Siberia in particular, was largely unknown as a travelling destination. When German participants were telling their friends and family that they would like to travel to Siberia, they earned responses of surprise and worry. Siberia has an image of a frontier space: inhospitable and dangerous. Also, German participants responded that they felt safer and more comforted to make their first travel to rural Siberia not on their own, but with a group of like-minded people and to have the luxury of a few group members who had some travelling experience in Russia and could be interpreters.

For return visits in Germany, the 'Siberian delegation' carries the mission, given to them by the summer camp pedagogues, of representing their

native culture in Germany. The organization of a travelling group and the selection process of a maximum of 12 persons is orchestrated mostly by the leadership of the respective camp. The youth exchange is seen by educators as a grant for one's commitment to the summer camp project. Pedagogues try to encourage 'own' (Rus.: *svoi*) young people, who are either long-term participants, or counsellors of the camp to join the exchange. In general, only active young people, who are able 'to represent own culture' (Rus.: *predstavliat svoiu kul'turu*) in form of handicrafts, dances, theatre and/or singing were first favourites to travel. While some Siberian youths identify with this mission, others are more interested in seeing urban landscapes in Germany, its architecture, technology, restaurants and last but not least shopping malls. However, most of the time these interests are not mutually exclusive. I have experienced that Siberian youths feel satisfaction to be able to share their skills, to teach others and to impress audiences with their performances. Also, as one Mansi participant and guitar player commented, it makes him satisfied when the exchange happens on the more "finer level", through music.

As one participant mentioned: "In 2007 I was there [in Germany] and I have a lot of impressions from this trip. The way how people look at you during this exchange. You tell them something and they listen to you and follow each of your movement with their eyes, because the people are like that, they absorb it all, so that they don't miss anything". Indeed, a few Siberian participants developed a deeper interest in their native background and related practices only during the exchange project. In their home environments in Siberia native traditions and languages still have a pejorative connotation of being primitive and out-dated. For example, during his visit in Germany one participant with a Komi-Mansi origin mentioned: "Today I remembered a little bit Mansi and Komi language. And I had the feeling that you can communicate in several languages and it raises your self-worth a little bit [...] You open something for yourself, something new, new capabilities. You understand that you know something and are able to do something. It is important to know it for oneself." After a mutual dancing workshop with the Bavarian traditional dance ensemble, he mentioned that he never danced the traditional male Mansi dance before: "I never was interested and danced this dance until this year. I think I was not bad in it. I had the feeling that I am just remembering it, as if I have the sensation of what the essence of this dance is [...] I never was interested in culture of my peoples before [...] I was indifferent to it."

In the past few years the youth exchange had developed some synergy effects for several side projects. In 2009 two young women had the opportunity to accomplish their European Voluntary Service in the National Park Bavarian Forest and in JANUN. They learnt the German language and conducted educational programs for children and youths about contemporary

indigenous practices, as well as shared their observations on how climate change affects the Northern environment. Both organizations had purchased the nomadic dwelling *chum* from the Siberian partners in order to conduct educational programs on practices of native peoples in Siberia. Moreover, Siberian pedagogues were representing their region in the exhibition for alternative tourism in Leipzig and participated in the project on global education 'Um.Welt' (www.projekt-um-welt.de). For this project some Khanty representatives were invited to work with German school children and share with them their perspectives on nature and Khanty cultural practices in the use of natural resources.

How can the 'results' of the youth exchange can be summarized so far? The project offers young people from both sides the possibility to experience mutual hospitality beyond commercial benefits, to learn to be responsible for each other and to be involved in the life of each other in different ways despite cultural and language differences. And above all the project raises mutual awareness about certain issues such as German-Russian history and ecology. For example, one Khanty participant mentioned that she became more aware about the environmental pollution by the oil production in KhMAO only after working on a German-Siberian theatre play, in which this was the main issue.

The exchanges are not without misunderstandings, or frustrations. It would be naïve to suppose that the socio-political differences between the two countries don't play any role during the project. For example, Siberian participants reflect that in comparison to Germany people in Russia have a lower living standard and that the social welfare in Russia does not function in the best way. Thus, when confronted with wealth in Germany it created sometimes the feeling of social distance. At the same time Siberian participants comment that German people are more used to a comfortable way of life and thus are less "tough" in terms of surviving in the natural environment. According to my observations, the more the German and Siberian partners succeed to create the feeling of social intimacy, mutual understanding and joy while creating things together, the less socio-political differences between them matter and affect their communication.

As the life-journal from the German side shows (see below), the organization of the program for the return exchange in Germany is often challenging for the organizers, as they have to communicate with each other from different cities in their spare time and often lack a central leadership/coordination. Also, the language differences continue to be a certain barrier between the two partners. In general, until now only a few Russian speaking participants have shown interest to learn German, or English. The interpreters from the Russian side are not native youths, but often Russian students from Moscow, Surgut or Khanty-Mansiisk. In the last year the communication between the Siberian and German partners somewhat improved due to technology. Now

they can continuously stay in touch with each other through the established WhatsApp group and by using a translation software.

Until today the project could withstand the cold breeze between Russia and the 'West'. Since its establishment of the *Stiftung für Deutsch-Russischen Jugendaustausch* in 2006, the number of exchange projects has been steadily growing.³ However, in the last 3–4 years the negative media reports about Russia also affected the organizers of the exchanges and its participants. As a result, some long-lasting partnerships were interrupted. In comparison to 2016, the number of school exchange projects has decreased by 60% in the following year. At the same time the administration and government in both countries stress that they are interested in continuing the cooperation in political questions on youth. As a signal of appreciation and mutual interest to maintain the youth exchange practices both governments announced the 'German-Russian Year of Youth Exchange 2016/2017', which took place under the patronage of foreign ministers from both countries. The youth exchange runs as long as there is a political will between Russia and Germany to support bilateral youth policy and willingness from project partners to keep it ongoing. The political estrangement and Cold War rhetoric show that such encounters on the same eye level are necessary more than ever. As the editor of the journal *Wostok* writes: 'In fact we need a movement of citizens, a movement from below against the increasing enemy image "Russia". One movement that emphasizes that peace in Europe can be preserved only with Russia and not against Russia' (Franke 2018: 3; translation by the author). The intercultural youth encounter which runs on voluntary basis is a constant effort and learning process to understand the other side and oneself as well as to create and enjoy the sense of togetherness.

Every cycle of the youth exchange happens in a different way and depends on the people who get involved in it. As the project is evolving the Siberian youths get more used to have international guests in their camp and are less reserved to communicate with them. Moreover, the Siberian partners can refer to the regular guests from Germany in their endeavour to develop ethnographic tourism in the community. On the German side, the youth exchange leaves traces of Siberian nomadic dwellings and cultural objects purchased by different educational institutions throughout Germany, which are interested in incorporating the indigenous peoples' perspectives on the world in Russia. After one youth exchange cycle is completed former German participants share their stories, experiences and photos with the new cohort of interested young people open for an adventure to an unknown and fascinating Siberia.

³ According to the Foundation report from 2016 there were 272 funded projects with 9.197 participants (https://www.stiftung-drja.de/_Resources/Persistent/9209fb2e17bac3d9e55b8ea7b131b058d85c41a2/Webversion_Statistik%20SDRJA_010618.pdf, accessed on 13.06.2018)

YOUTH EXCHANGE 2006/2007



Photo 71: German exchange group during the preparation meeting in Großgoltern. Germany.



Photo 72: Collective photograph with Siberian partners at the river Kazym. Russia
(NUMSANG YOKH ARCHIVE 2006)



Photo 73: Arriving at the end train station in Priobie. From here the group will take a water transportation to the village Kazym. Priobie, Russia. (L. LAMBERT 2006)



Photo 74: Traversing the Kazym river to get to the ethnographic museum. Kazym, Russia



Photo 75: German guests are invited to participate in the fish preparation, the staple food of Kazym Khanty. Kazym, Russia (L. LAMBERT 2006)



Photo 76: During the expedition tour in the taiga, the group was guided by two local Khanty men. Kazym territory, Russia



Photo 77: German men were encouraged to play satiric sketches from the Bear Feast. Khullor, Russia
(NUMSANG YOKH ARCHIVE 2006)



Photo 78: Workshop at the “Parliament of the Peoples of the World”. Local participant teaches Germans a traditional male Mansi dance. Khullor, Russia. (NUMSANG YOKH ARCHIVE, 2006)



Photo 79: “Parliament of the Peoples of the World”. Germans were invited to discuss ways of developing cultural tourism in local indigenous communities. Khullor, Russia



Photo 80: Return exchange. Siberian guests carry the mission to popularize their indigenous cultures in Germany. Hannover, Germany



Photo 81: Return exchange. Siberian guests are invited to give handicraft workshops for German children. Hannover, Germany (NUMSANG YOKH ARCHIVE, 2007)

YOUTH EXCHANGE 2008/2009



Photo 82: The German group on the way to Western Siberia. Berlin, Germany
(NUMSANG YOKH ARCHIVE, 2008)



Photo 83: The German guests are hosted by a Khanty family. Kazym, Russia

Photo 84: No comment. Kazym, Russia
(NUMSANG YOKH ARCHIVE, 2008)



Photo 85: Inside the German's *chum*.
Facing the challenge to keep some order
inside the tent. Kazym, Russia
(NUMSANG YOKH ARCHIVE, 2008)





Photo 86: Rehearsal for the mutual production of the theatre play "Singing River". In the middle: the German young woman and the Khanty man are playing an international couple. (NUMSANG YOKH ARCHIVE, 2008)

Photo 87: Musical accompaniment for the theatre play "Singing River". Kazym, Russia. (NUMSANG YOKH ARCHIVE, 2008)





Youth Cultural Exchange Program
2009
SIBIRIEN
GERMANY

Поющая Река / The Singing River

Саундтрек к спектаклю / The Theatre Play Soundtrack

08.2009

Photo 88: Record of a soundtrack for the theatre play. Hannover, Germany

(NUMSANG YOKH ARCHIVE, 2009)

YOUTH EXCHANGE 2010/2011



Photo 89: Germans and local youth in “Man’ Uskve”. Yasunt, Russia

(N. WIEGAND, 2010)



Photo 90: Germans take a helicopter flight from the end train station Priobie to Saranpaul’. Russia

(S. FINK, 2010)



Photo 91: German participants are invited to play brides in the role-playing game “The Time of Singing Arrows”. While sewing they discuss what it means to be a woman in Russia and in Germany. Yasunt, Russia



Photo 92: The male side of the *chum*.

(N. WIEGAND, 2010)



Photo 93: Rehearsal before the battle to tear off the braids of the opponent. Yasunt, Russia



Photo 94: Taking a rest at the Mania river. Yasunt, Russia

(N. WIEGAND, 2010)



Photo 95: German and Siberian youths
shooting a music clip together.
Yasunt, Russia
(MAN' USKVE ARCHIVE 2010)



Photo 96: Shooting the music clip.
Willie and Maksim became friends and
shared the task of working with
the camera. Yasunt, Russia
(MAN' USKVE ARCHIVE 2010)

Photo 97: Women support each other while dressing up for the marriage ceremony. Traditionally, Mansi men and women used to wear artificial braids tied to their long hair. Nowadays the braids are used for performances and role-plays.
(N. WIEGAND, 2010)



Photo 98: Using the building structures in Yasunt
to shoot a music clip. Russia
(MAN' USKVE ARCHIVE 2010)





Photo 99: Girls resume female responsibilities in the role-playing game: they cook supper for their husbands who are busy with warfare (N. WIEGAND, 2010)



Photo 100: A German participant is playing a Mansi princess. Yasunt, Russia. (N. WIEGAND 2010)



Photo 101: The sandy bank of the river Mania. Yasunt, Russia

(N. WIEGAND 2010)



Photo 102: German participants enjoy white nights at the river bank. Yasunt, Russia



Photo 103: Dismantling the *chum*. The summer camp season is over. Yasunt, Russia
(N. WIEGAND, 2010)



Photo 104: The Siberian delegation is travelling to Germany. Family and friends accompany them to the helicopter landing site. Saranpaul', Russia (I. SCHRÖDER, 2011)



Photo 105: Hiking tour in the National Park Bavarian Forest. On the border between Germany and the Czech Republic. Germany (I. Schröder, 2011)



Photo 106: Siberian guests were invited to give a workshop on Siberian games for guests of the National Park Bavarian Forest. Wildniscamp am Falkenstein, Germany (I. SCHRÖDER, 2011)



Photo 107: Siberian youths meet a Bavarian folklore group for a mutual dancing exchange. National Park Bavarian Forest, Wildniscamp am Falkenstein, Germany

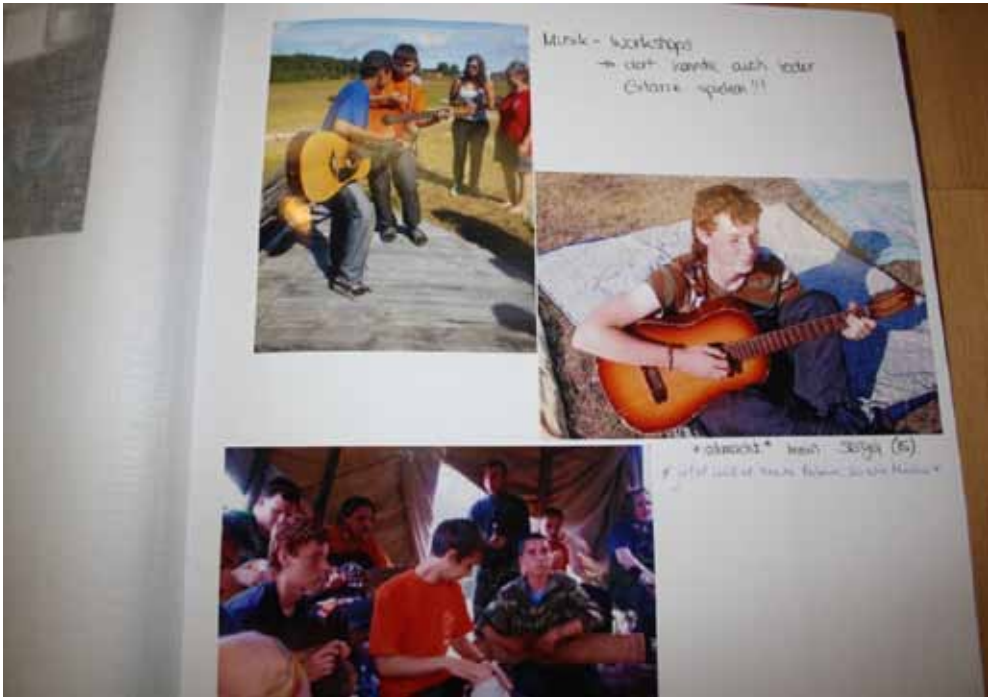


Photo 108: Photographic memories from the 2010 exchange in a photo book of a German participant



Photo 109: Siberian guests are meeting their German friend in Dresden

(I. SCHRÖDER, 2011)

YOUTH EXCHANGE 2012/2013



Photo 110: Group photo of the international gathering in Numsang Yokh. Kazym, Russia
(I. KUZNETSOV, 2012)



Photo 111: Germans get a guiding tour in the ethnographic museum. Kazym, Russia (Ch. ZEINER, 2012)



Photo 112: Playing team games in the tundra forest. Games are an important aspect of the camp pedagogy. Kazym, Russia (Ch. ZEINER, 2012)



Photo 113: "Wolves and Hunters" is one of the favourite games in the camp. Kazym, Russia (I. Kuznetsov, 2012)



Photo 114: The camp director is dividing participants into the playing teams. Kazym, Russia (I. Kuznetsov, 2012)



Photo 115: Enjoying common games beyond language barriers. Kazym, Russia (Ch. ZEINER, 2012)



Photo 116: Camp participants are learning to craft an arch. Kazym, Russia

(CH. ZEINER, 2012)



Photo 117: Female padagogues guiding the discussion at an open fire place. The main topic of the international camp is: 'Ethno-tourism as business card of peoples'. Kazym, Russia (I. KUZNETSOV, 2012)



Photo 118: Gathering berries in the swampy areas around the camp site. Kazym, Russia
(I. KUZNETSOV, 2012)



Photo 119: Enjoying the mutual time in the swampy areas around the camp site. Kazym, Russia
(CH. ZEINER, 2012)



Photo 120: Return exchange. Visiting the Hooqe Island in the North Frisian Wadden Sea

(CH. ZEINER, 2013)



Photo 121: Visiting the Hooqe Island in the North Frisian Wadden Sea. Hooqe, Germany

(CH. ZEINER, 2013)



Photo 122: Taking a walk in the flat water region of the North Frisian Wadden Sea. Hooge, Germany



Photo 123: Playing “blind man’s bluff” in the flat water region of the North Frisian Wadden Sea. Hooge, Germany (CH. ZEINER, 2013)



Photo 124: Enjoying the open fire. Hooge, Germany

(CH. ZEINER, 2013)



Photo 125: Visiting Hamburg. Germany

(NUMSANG YOKH ARCHIVE, 2013)



Photo 126: Excursion in Berlin. Germany

(NUMSANG YOKH ARCHIVE, 2013)



Photo 127: Relaxation time. Berlin, Germany

(CH. ZEINER, 2013)

YOUTH EXCHANGE 2014/2015

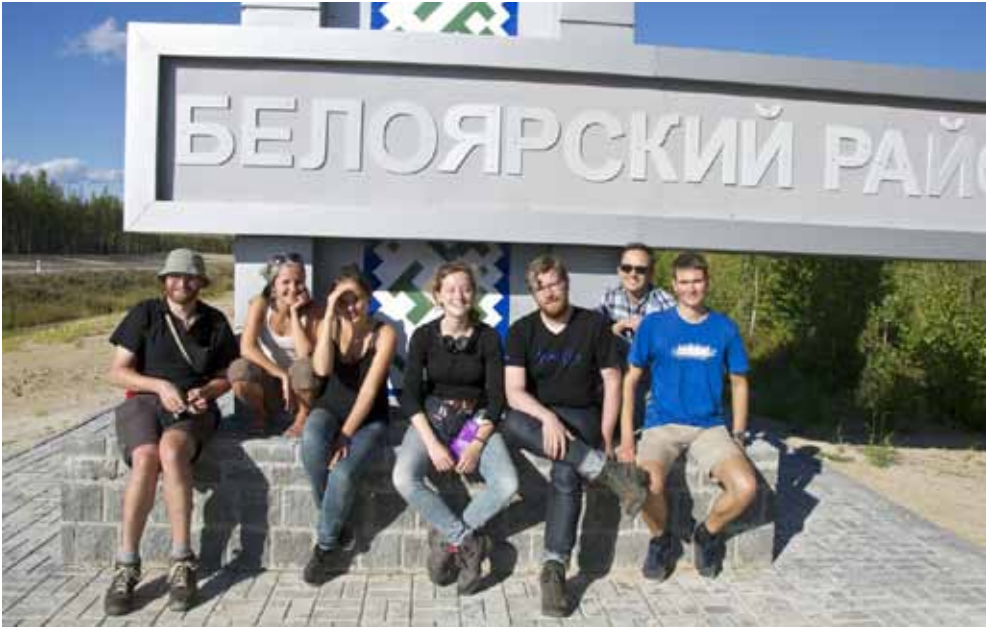


Photo 128: Group photo at the administrative border of the Beloiar Raion. The symbolic pattern in the background is borrowed from the indigenous peoples of the *raion*, the Khanty. Russia



Photo 129: Group photo of the international camp. Kazym, Russia (NUMSANG YOKH ARCHIVE, 2014)



Photo 130: A boat tour to the reindeer herder's camp, the Kazym river, Russia
(NUMSANG YOKH ARCHIVE, 2014)



Photo 131: Expedition to the village Pomut, Russia.



Photo 132: German guests experience local ways of fishing. Kazym river, Russia.



Photo 133: Kazym river, Russia.

(NUMSANG YOKH ARCHIVE, 2014)



Photo 134: Visiting the camp of local reindeer herders. Osetnye, Russia.



Photo 135: Robinson. Kazym territory, Russia

(NUMSANG YOKH ARCHIVE, 2014)



Photo 136: Long term participants of the camp Numsang Yokh. Kazym territory, Russia



Photo 137: Efim is making a salto. Kazym territory, Russia

(NUMSANG YOKH ARCHIVE, 2014)



Photo 138: Community of reindeer herders (*obshchina*).
Osethy'e, Russia
(NUMSANG YOKH ARCHIVE, 2014)

Photo 139: Community of reindeer herders (*obshchina*),
Osetnye, Russia
(NUMSANG YOKH ARCHIVE, 2014)





Photo 140: Return exchange, visiting Dresden. Germany

(NUMSANG YOKH ARCHIVE, 2015)



Photo 141: Visiting Berlin. Germany



Photo 142: In Dresden. Germany

(NUMSANG YOKH ARCHIVE, 2015)



Photo 143: Organizers of the return exchange

(NUMSANG YOKH ARCHIVE, 2015)

YOUTH EXCHANGE 2017/2018



Photo 144: International camp in Numsang Yokh. Kazym Russia.

(H. V. A. FÄHRMANN, 2017)



Photo 145: Playing games in Numsang Yokh. Kazym Russia.



Photo 146: Playing games in Numsang Yokh. Kazym Russia.

(H.V.A. FÄHRMANN, 2017)



Photo 147: German and indigenous youth visit a reindeer camp. Kazym territory, Russia



Photo 148: The summer residence of a reindeer camp. Kazym territory, Russia
(H.V.A. FÄHRMANN, 2017)



Photo 149: Resident at a reindeer herder's camp. Kazym territory, Russia
(J. KRAH, 2017)



Photo 150: Reindeer herder's camp. Reindeers gather around the smoke, which protects them against mosquitoes and flies. Kazy territory, Russia (J. KRAH, 2017)



Photo 151: Janine and Georgii. Kazy territory, Russia



Photo 152: Welcoming supper. By cooking soups, German organizers tried to meet the eating habits of Siberian guests. Lebensgarten Steyerberg, Germany (N. TASMANOVA, 2018)



Photo 153: Lebensgarten Steyerberg, Germany



Photo 154: Felting workshop. Lebensgarten Steyerberg, Germany

(D. TARLIN, 2018)



Photo 155: Felting workshop. Lebensgarten Steyerberg, Germany

(R. GRISHKINA, 2018)



Photo 156: Products from the hand felting workshop. Lebensgarten Steyerberg, Germany



Photo 157: The Siberian guests were invited to perform for residents of the ecological community Lebensgarten Steyerberg. Germany (D. TARLIN, 2018)

Photo 158: The Siberian guests performing for residents of the ecological community Lebensgarten Steyerberg, Germany (R. GRISHKINA, 2018)



Photo 159: Crafting figures out of sourdough.
Lebensgarten Steyerberg. Germany
(J. IGISHEV, 2018)



Photo 160: Joy to make pizza.
Lebensgarten Steyerberg. Germany
(J. IGISHEV, 2018)



Photo 161: Farewell. Germany
(NUMSANG YOKH ARCHIVE, 2018)



LIFE-JOURNAL

VIDEO LIFE-JOURNAL AS METHODOLOGICAL TOOL

During the initial phase of my doctoral research in 2010 I decided to experiment with methodological tools to gather empirical material by using means of visual anthropology. One idea was to make a film and to depict the summer camp as an arena of a complex social interaction and an intercultural encounter that is set aside from the routines of everyday life. Additionally, to explore youths' views on the camp event I asked local and German youths to record a life-journal. The idea was that they can use camcorders as a visual diary, to record their impressions and reflect upon their experiences in the summer camp. I wanted to let them decide on their own what is most important for them to speak about. I imagined that it would be a continuation of the way they use social network sites to represent themselves. They were free to choose the place where they want to record the life-journal, as well as whether they wanted to do it alone or with a group of people. I expected that the life-journal would be more natural for young people to express themselves, since they would not be guided by the researcher's own questions and a research agenda in an asymmetrical interview situation.

This visual shift in my methodology was inspired by the research programme at the former Siberian Studies Centre 'Conditions and Limitations of Lifestyle Plurality in Siberia' (2008–2012). One focus of this research project was to study lifestyle changes of people living in the Russian North and Siberia (Habeck 2019, forthcoming). Theoretically the project drew upon the British sociologist David Chaney (1996), who sees lifestyle choices paradigmatic for modernity. He stresses the performative aspect of human identifications, in which people employ symbols to express their values, aspirations and/or group belonging. Our interest was to look at diversification of lifestyles and social stratification in the region, how people see themselves, what is most dear to them and what they aspire to become. The method of a life-journal served as a tool for looking at how youths were creatively crafting their selves in an organized leisure activity.

When I tried to win the participants, especially Siberian youths were somewhat reluctant to participate and speak into the camera. One reason was that the camp schedule was very tight and there was little time for anything aside. However, it seemed that the main reason for their reluctance was that some of them still saw the life-journal as a sort of an interview in which they needed to be formal. During my fieldwork I observed that youths acted differently in front of authority persons such as parents, teachers, or pedagogues. Nevertheless, several young people agreed to participate in the project. Most of them were already older than an average participant in their early 20s. Their reflections reached from activities they performed in the camp, to how they

felt about the day and philosophical views about life in general. They reflected on the multiple spaces and activities inside the camp: youth exchange, handicrafts, workshops on film-making and the historical role-playing game. The German guests took the life journal as a possibility to record their impressions and experiences in the new cultural environment. Most of the time they recorded the life-journal in a group with either German or other local youths. For local and German youths the life-journal instigated their self-reflexivity about their (gender, ethnic) identification, their wishes and dreams.

Summarising my experience, the life-journal as a research method offered some possibilities, but had its own limitations. Depending on the research agenda, I think a visual life-journal is less suitable if the research question is already precise and narrow. As a method it can be especially attractive during an explorative phase of fieldwork. It can be an alternative to conducting interviews and may introduce a fun component for youths handing them a sense of control over the content.

In the next section I will say some introductory words about the youth exchange cycle that happened in 2010/2011, followed by the transcripts from the video life-journals which were recorded in 2010 in Man' Uskve, Russia and 2011 in Germany.

YOUTH EXCHANGE IN 2010/20011

The main theme of the exchange in the camp Man' Uskve in August 2010 was to shoot short film(s) about topics which would interest both groups. For the short period of time the Mansi village Yasunt turned into a scenery for an indigenous-German amateur film production. Apart from the youth exchange project, Man' Uskve was hosting a yearly organized historical role-playing game *The Time of Singing Arrows*. The game plays out a scenario of a Medieval warfare between two local tribes. According to the rules of the game, boys were to play warriors, while the role of the girls was to play wives and sisters. The camp took eight days and besides Germans encompassed around 85 people: participants between 14–18 years old from villages Saranpaul', Kazym, So'sva, Khulimsunt and the regional capital city Khanty-Mansiisk, counsellors, pedagogues and other working staff. German guests were also invited to participate.

During the preparations especially German female participants felt confronted with a normative traditional gender order in the camp. To prepare for the game girls were given the task to sew themselves dresses as a requisite for their marriage ceremony. This and other gender specific rules caused "friction" (*Reibung*) among German girls, as they called it, or responses of irritation, resistance and rejection. In one of life-journal they mention that this experience of "friction" (*Reibung*) instigated their reflection about their gendered identity. They found themselves in a position, where they wanted

to respect their hosts on the one hand and on the other felt uncomfortable to adjust to the role given to girls in the camp. As anthropological research on host-guest relationship shows once guests enter the living space of their hosts, they cannot act the way they want to but need to accommodate themselves to given rules and keep to places provided by hosts (Zuev 2013). Governed by ‘regimes of hospitality’ the guests are expected to participate in local activities and enjoy themselves, to see certain places and behave in a certain way. The life-journals provide an insight on how German youths responded to the local regime of hospitality and adapted to the place and how their experiences of the camp life evolved over time.

Siberian youths on the other side appreciated that German guests were fully involved in the camp activities. They did not behave like “normal tourists” by simply gazing around and were “interested in native cultures”. One participant mentioned in the life-journal to his German friends: “I respect you and I see how you listen to us seriously and you want to learn something from us. And I learnt something from you, too. So, in Germany baking bread is a male task and in Russia it is the task of women”.

Furthermore, one participant who never met West European young people before mentioned:

“Before I thought about the German delegation that they all will be so serious and quiet and that you will do it according to some plan and order. And here you come, such a relaxed and fun people, who are ... as noisy as ourselves. Before I separated us very much, somehow. I thought we will be so noisy and fun, but you will be serious and say: ‘Where are we here? What is this zoo?’ But no; what I see now is much better than I thought. You are all friendly, hospitable and shiny people.” (Oksana, 19)

What is striking in the expressions of youths from Russia and Germany is the central significance of the camp as an arena of social intimacy and creative co-production. As the life-journal from both sides reveal, the camp offered them the challenge and possibility to experience human connections across cultural and language barriers and gave them the opportunity to work on common projects. In contrast to fleeting experiences of sociality between tourists and local people in situations of commercial tourism, here both parties are willing to stay in the common time/space and to engage in some sort of creative exchange for a certain period of time. Most local youths spoke very little English and most Germans did not speak any Russian, nevertheless, common activities such as handicraft workshops, filming and music, but also participation in the role-playing game created a common ground to enter the exchange in one way or another. As the camp took place outside of a mundane life in a remote place and without reach to digital social networks, all inhabitants were synchronised in time/space. Thus, the camp had

the potential to create quick social relatedness in the sense of Victor Turner's (1982) *communitas*. The responses of the youth show that they experienced such a sense of togetherness mainly at the end of the 7 days camp.

In the next year 2011 the Siberian delegation travelled to Germany. In order to set up the travelling group the Siberian organizers faced typical administrative and economic obstacles.

First, some young people could not afford to pay for the travel. The condition of the Foundation of the German-Russian Youth Exchange is that the sending country pays a certain percentage of the travel expenses and the hosting country the stay of the guests. Despite this agreement the Russian coordination office did not cover the expenses of the KhMAO youth. In order to make the travel possible Siberian pedagogues could use 'left-over' money from state grants which they had gained to finance the summer camp, or gave personal donations/loans.

Second, the remoteness of their settlements created the structural disadvantage to apply for a 'foreign passport' (Rus.: *zagranichnyi passport*). The passport can be obtained in the regional centre at one's place of residence within three months. But since many young people live and study in other places, where they possess only a temporary registration, and because the application for the foreign passport has to be done six months in advance, they miss the point of time to hand in the necessary documents. Altogether, bureaucratic stipulations combined with remoteness of settlements, large distances between one's place of studying and constant registration, high prices for regional flights and dispersed transport infrastructure, create obstacles for them to apply for and to get their passports on time.

Third, there are also gender specific obstacles in the way of joining the youth exchange. At the age of 18 young men are obliged to do their army service. Consequently, some potential male participants at this age drop out. Moreover, not all potential participants want or can travel because they are preoccupied with their own personal life and have family obligations. Thus, as a result of these obstacles some potential native participants dropped out of the exchange and could not travel to Germany. Hence, the Siberian delegation of 12 members included also young Russians from KhMAO, who were not related to the summer camp project, but were welcomed as English-German interpreters.

The two-week program organized by the German group incorporated multi sited visits in rural and urban areas in Bavaria and Saxony. The first stop was in the National Park Bavarian Forest. The educational project *Wildniscamp am Falkenstein* which is located in the park includes the various dwellings from different parts of the world. As a result of the collaboration between JANUN and the *Wildniscamp*, the park purchased and erected a *chum* (tent) used by reindeer nomads in the Russian North. The Siberian delegation was welcomed to 'present their culture' and local ways of maintaining native traditions to the



Photo 162: Russian and German young women communicating (ZH. VIUTKINA, 2010)

guests of the National Park inside the *chum*. Besides this, they had the opportunity to participate in a photo workshop and to meet a Bavarian folklore group for a dancing exchange. After that the German-Siberian group travelled to a small village in Saxony, where one of the German organizers rented an ecologically oriented guesthouse. From there they made trips to the Sorbian village Nebelschütz, took a guiding tour in the Solarwatt company that manufactures photovoltaic systems, visited Dresden and Chemnitz. In Chemnitz everyone was happy to take part in a multicultural music jam in one of the local bars.

The experience of the return exchange in 2011 was somewhat different from the year before. While Siberian participants were touched by the hospitality of the German side, they also commented that in Germany they experienced less social intimacy and the feeling of togetherness compared to the time in Man' Uskve. The German group missed this as well, but because they were involved in the organization of the event, they could only partially recreate this feeling. As the life-journals of Susanne and Ulrich show it is a great challenge for the self-organized German group to organize and conduct a multi-sited program for the Siberian delegation. In the following section I will let young people speak for themselves about how they see this project and what it means to them.

LOCAL YOUTH

To record his life-journal, Denis chose a place not far from the main camp compound on the meadow. He took a reindeer fur to sit on and placed the camcorder in such a way that one could see his whole body and surroundings. It was the last day of the camp, so he could give his overall impression of what had happened during one week. Denis is 22 years old and studies in St. Peters-



Photo 163: Denis recording his life journal

(D. КОМКОВ 2011)

burg. He spent all of his childhood summer holidays in this summer camp and considers himself as Mansi. He took the role of a counsellor for the younger generation in the camp.

There were many people and all of them were different. Everyone with one's own inner worldview. Yes. It was interesting to communicate with them and to experience something new, to take something for myself, which I could not have imagined before. The German delegation visited us for the second time already and they surprised me with their vibes, their general worldview. They were very *emotional people* [pronounced in English]. I don't know [laughs] how to phrase it. A *rossiyanin*¹ man is more, how to say it, restrained or so. If there is something to do, one will not discuss it too much, but do it straight away. And here was the opposite. There were a lot of discussions, a lot of emotions and then a result. They discussed even the simplest things [laughs].

Было очень много народу, и все разные. Все какие-то со своим таким внутренним миром. Вот. Было интересно просто общаться с ними и узнавать что-то новое, что-то для себя такое брать, что раньше бы даже не мог подумать. Немецкая делегация уже вот второй раз они приезжают к нам, очень удивляет, ну, просто своим вот этим вот задором, своим, ну, таким внутренним миром, мировоззрением вообще общим. То что, ну, вот такие люди просто *emotion people*. Я не знаю. [Смеется]. Просто как бы, ну, как говорится, российский человек то он такой более, ну, можно сказать сдержанный, или как-то так. Или то ли если что-то думать, то, то

¹ *Rossiyanin*: does not refer to a nationality, but to citizenship in the Russian Federation.

не обсуждать это слишком долго, а сразу делать. Ну, а тут получается все наоборот. То есть масса обсуждений, масса эмоций и в итоге результат. Даже самые простые вещи они так долго обсуждали [Смеется].

At this camp, I liked to be occupied with film. That means we were shooting films. Ideas... In general, my own nature is such that I like to create something. I am not experienced in seeing through the camera... And that's why I would like to learn it all, of course. To write scenarios for films, or something else. Because it was always interesting to participate in these shootings or in the project that would be shown on the screen. It is very interesting. I wanted to do it since long time already. We could realize it in this camp. That means we shot a film. Specifically, we invented a good idea and made some kind of sketches, which we could transfer into a film. It was just that we did not have enough time to finalise it. But it does not matter. The main thing is that there is an understanding of what film-making is all about and, in general, when I will watch any film, I will now notice little nuances, which I would not have been able to see otherwise. What else to say? You would look at the films with different eyes, like a cameraman or film director. It is just a beginning.

Понравилось заниматься фильмами на смене. То есть снимали фильмы. Вот. Идеи... Вообще я, ну, по своей сути люблю больше, конечно, придумывать что-нибудь. Как-то у меня, ну, то есть такого видения операторского, ну, есть, но оно не слишком такое. Вот. И поэтому, хотелось бы научиться, конечно, этому всему. Именно писать сценарий для фильмов или еще что-то. Потому что всегда было интересно именно участвовать в таких съемках или... или... что-нибудь в таком проекте, который бы, ну, который бы был на экране. Очень интересно, очень хотелось давно. И вот как бы это все воплотилось в жизнь на этой смене. То есть мы сняли фильм. Точнее придумали идею очень хорошую. И, ну, набросали такие зарисовочки что ли, которые в дальнейшем уже превратятся в фильм. Просто потому, что времени очень мало было, и поэтому немножечко не успели мы все доделать. Ну, ничего. Главное, главное, что теперь есть какое-то понимание, о том, что это вообще и на самом деле, когда сейчас уже будешь смотреть любой фильм, уже какие-то маленькие нюансы такие, которые раньше не видел, они сейчас будут, ну, – что сказать? – уже на них будешь смотреть другими глазами. Как, как оператор может, как режиссер какой-то. Ну, это только начало.

Concerning the battle, each year we more and more move into the direction that this game will be ideal, which means that there will be no similar game of this kind in the world. There is a lot of freedom to develop the scenario and, in general, to make a lot of new innovations. There are many different kinds of role-playing games which are played elsewhere. But their focus is

on the material form of the personage. And here, the person who plays not only materially looks like he is dressed in clothes of that époque, but his fighting spirit is also awakening during the camp. It happens through these dances. Then, when you do workshops on martial arts, you start to open up your little inner treasures. They are awakening your memory; the ancestral memory. It makes itself noticed during battle, when you run through the forest, lead troops or simply fight with someone. The adrenaline level is actually high, very high. A surge of adrenaline due to the fact that the fight takes place through direct contact, by tearing down the braids (see Photo 164). So adroitness and strength are very important factors. It all depends on how you are developed. Yes. And it makes you reflect on the matter of being a good warrior. If so, then you are a good warrior in reality. If the man is weak in something, then he will also lose quickly in battle. Yes. And this game makes you understand that this is the thread of life, how it is ... you can drag this thread very easily. You had a braid, then a little bit of effort and that's it. You are out of the game and have to wait. Actually, this is how it works in real life. You have your life, your thread of life, and it also can get torn apart very easily. And it makes you think, that you have to take care of yourself and think ahead of what and how to do, because you have to take responsibility for your deeds; if not now, then some time later.

Что касается битвы, то с каждым годом все, ну, больше и больше, ну, точнее быстрее такими большими шагами идем к тому, что эта игра скоро будет идеальной и по своей, то есть по своему содержанию не будет, ну, точнее не будет иметь аналогов в мире. Потому что очень большой простор для того, чтобы развить сюжет, и вообще много можно нововведений каких-то сделать, и сам вот этот процесс, который эммм происходит, он, ну, то есть, есть же разные игры там, ролевые. Да, что? Да, вот, в которые играют. Но там больше идет акцент на то, что как выглядит сам персонаж. То есть на материальную часть персонажа. А здесь получается, сам персонаж, который играет, он не только материально выглядит, ну, то есть одет во что-то, в вещи той эпохи, но так же и, ну, по ходу смены пробуждается его боевой дух. То есть именно, вот этими танцами. Потом, проходя мастер-класс по боевым искусствам, ты начинаешь какие-то свои такие может маленькие сундучёчки открывать и, ну, как-то просыпается такая память, память поколений, которая дает о себе знать уже во время битвы, когда ты или бежишь, или по лесу там, или командуешь отрядом, или просто сражаешься с кем-нибудь. На самом деле адреналин очень, очень-очень большой адреналин. Выплеск адреналина. Потому что можно сказать, бой идет, ну, в полный контакт, но со срыванием кос. То есть ловкость, сила это, это очень важный фактор. То есть зависит от того, как ты сам будешь развит. Вот. И тут уже заставляет задуматься, если хороший воин, то он на самом



Photo 164: The role-playing game “The Time of Singing Arrows” The goal is to tear off the braids from the head of the enemy tribe (R. ВОНМЕ 2010)

деле хороший воин. А если человек в чем-то слаб, то он, он и в битве быстро, ну, то есть проиграет. Что ли вот так. И как бы, и игра по сути дела дает понять, как все-таки она вот эта вот ниточка жизни, какая она, ну, легко ее можно порвать. То есть вот была у тебя коса, малое усилие и все, и нет. Ты выбыл и просто ты ждешь. А на самом деле в жизни так и получается, то что у тебя есть вот твоя жизнь, твоя ниточка, вот эта вот, просто и она так же легко рвется. Это вот еще заставляет очень сильно задуматься о том, то что надо беречь себя и думать наперед о том, что делать и как делать. Потому что всегда за все действия, всегда приходится отвечать. Если не сразу, то когда-либо. Вот.

I liked the workshops of the German delegation. They showed to us how to make these useful things out of simple things, to be used in everyday life. Everything is simple and close by. You just have to see and notice it. Maybe it is their view on life. Yes. Simple. And we made also music instruments and lamps. Very accessible technologies. The objects, or more exactly the raw materials, can be found everywhere. And if you know how to do it, then there is no problem. Yes. It was very interesting. What I like in these exchanges is exactly the worldview of these people, who come from another country ... hmmm it is like ... the brain, precisely the thinking, is very different. And it makes you wonder sometimes. Somehow everything is the same. It is the same human being, same legs and arms, but he looks at life from different point of view. And then you wonder sometimes, why is it made like that? It would be better without all these [cultural, language] barriers. Next year we are planning to travel to Germany and that's why we will prepare our-

selves. Our delegation. Yes. In 2007, I was there and that is why I still have impressions from this trip. For instance, how people looked at you during this exchange. You told them something and everyone was listening to you. They followed each of your movements with their eyes. This kind of people embraced everything in order not to miss anything. They looked at me, if I could show them something interesting.

Так же очень понравились проведенные мастер-классы немецкой делегации. То есть вот это вот, все то, что они показывали, как из простых вещей можно сделать такое, очень полезные такие вещишки, которые быгодились там, ну, в быту или просто. То есть все-все простое, все рядом. Просто это нужно увидеть и заметить. Ну, у них, наверное, взгляд такой на жизнь. Вот. Просто. И музыкальные инструменты делали, светильники, вот. Технологии очень доступные. Предметы, точнее материалы, которые используются при изготовлении, тоже везде есть. Так что я тоже ну, если ты знаешь, как делать, то проблем вообще нет. Вот. Очень интересно было. Так же мне всегда нравится вот в таких вот обменах то, что вот именно вот это вот мировосприятие людей, которые приезжают с другой страны, все, ну, это как бы вот мозг, точнее мышление совсем другое мышление. И это так порой удивляет. Вроде все тоже самое, такой же человек, руки-ноги и все, а как то он по-другому мыслит, как то он по-другому на жизнь смотрит совсем, с какой-то другой точки. И еще раз просто это вот так удивляешься порой, то что, зачем думаешь это все сделано? Как бы было, наверное, вот хорошо без этих всех барьеров всяких разных. В следующем году намечается поездка в Германию и поэтому будем готовиться. Наша делегация будет готовиться. Вот. В 2007 году я был там уже и поэтому мне, у меня еще остались очень впечатления такие о той поездке. То есть, вот этот вот обмен, на то, как на тебя там люди смотрят. То есть ты что-то рассказываешь, и просто все слушают, и даже каждое движение можно сказать, каждое твое движение просто сопровождают взглядом, потому что, ну, такие люди по себе, которые кажется впитывают и впитывают все, чтобы не упустить ничего. Даже любое просто движение, но все равно. Идут так, смотрят, вот то что может я что-то покажу интересное.

I would like to say that hm ... it is interesting that there is a place, where we all can gather. These are all different people, with different professions, who occupy different positions in real life. Therewith, they have different interests and behaviour. And then in one place you can unite them all and be bosom buddies. That this is possible makes me joyful. Otherwise, we have potential for growth. That implies that we [the camp 'Man' Uskve'] are only 16 years old and I don't know where this path will lead us. I don't want to think ahead, because I can say with certainty that every year will bring us something new.

Every year. I am convinced that when we have to leave the place, we leave as the last. When we take apart the *chum* and go away, you bow in front of the camp and think that next year you will come back and there will be lots of new and interesting stuff. And next year, nothing will be left from this year. That is the concept, every year a change. It is reconstructing itself according to people, probably, because there is always a new scenario. It is very interesting to be involved in all of this, because new things open up for yourself, spaces within yourself, which where there but you probably had not noticed before, or there was no particular situation to notice them. And here you are confronted with many different situations and that's why you open up different sides of yourself and develop fully, spiritually and physically. It makes me happy. Now I start to understand why people who came here had a lot of luck! I am one of them. Now I understand, that we do something that is hm ... you proceed from different stages of life. You start to compare what used to be before and what is now and what helped me to act in a particular way or, let's say, to find a solution for a problem. Then I understand that I gained enormous experience here. In life it somehow just comes up and helps me in different situations. If I had lived just a simple life, then maybe I would not have it all. Or, I would have something, but rather something different and more common. House – work, work – house. Yes.

И хотелось бы еще конечно сказать о том, то что, интересно, что есть такое место, где можно собраться. И так все вместе буквально разным людям, которые вообще с разными профессиями, в жизни занимают совсем, можно сказать, разные места. И конечно же интересы разные, там, поведение. И вот так в одном месте все это объединить и жить просто вот душа в душу – это очень-очень как бы, очень радует, что можно так. А так нам есть куда расти. То бишь, только 16 лет, так что вот куда нас приведет этот путь даже и еще не знаю. Даже и загадывать не хочется, потому что точно могу сказать, что каждый год он приносит что-то свое новое. Каждый год. И я уверен, когда уезжая от сюда, мы уезжаем последние, разберешь чумы, уезжаешь отсюда, кланяешься стойбищу и думаешь, то что в следующем году ты сюда вернешься и будет еще много нового, много интересного. И предыдущий год он, то есть это уже будет новый год и в нем с прошлого года практически ничего не останется. То есть всё, вся полностью концепция каждый раз меняется. Как бы перестраивается под, вот, что ль под людей, наверное? Поэтому всегда как-то новый сценарий. Когда приезжаешь на смену, всегда новый сценарий. Всегда интересно очень в этом всем вариться, потому что, потому что ты открываешь новое для себя, места в себе же, которые раньше может быть, ну, то есть ты или не замечал или как-то может быть у тебя не было такой ситуации, а тут получается, что очень разные ситуации бывают, и поэтому вот со всех сторон открываешься, то есть

развиваешься полноценно, как духовно, так и физически. И очень, конечно, это радует. На самом деле вот те люди, которые тут побывали или есть вообще: им очень повезло. И я на самом деле в их числе. И сейчас вот уже начинаю понимать, то что мы делаем дело, которое, которое очень важно, которое очень важно для нас для всех, потому что вот проходя как бы определенные этапы своей жизни, ну, начинаешь сравнивать то, что было раньше, что было сейчас, и что мне помогло сделать вот так вот, допустим, или выйти из этой ситуации. И я понимаю, что я получаю колоссальный опыт тут и просто в жизни, в разных ситуациях он как-то либо как-то всплывает, как-то помогает мне. Просто если бы я был, жил обычной жизнью, то у меня, наверное, этого бы не было всего. Ну, или было бы что-нибудь другое, более привычное для всех. Дом-работа, работа-дом.

I would like to thank everyone, who was with us, who supported us and nourished us with their emotions and good moods and of course I would like to see everyone again. Maybe not right away, but maybe next year, or somewhere else. If you were here once, you would be connected with a web or thread. That is why people always come back, or keep in touch, because nothing happens by accident. Nothing happens by accident. We are all united you can say and part of one common mechanism. Something like this. Thank you. Thank you. Thank you everyone.

Хотелось бы сказать всем спасибо, кто был с нами, кто поддерживал нас, кто питал нас своими эмоциями, хорошим настроением и, конечно же, хотелось бы видеть всех, быть может не сразу, быть может в следующем году или еще когда-то. Побывав тут один раз ты просто связываешься с одной такой как паутиной или нитью и поэтому люди всегда или приходят обратно или же держат контакты, потому что, ну, случайно, конечно же, ничего не бывает. Случайно ничего не бывает, и поэтому все кто есть тут это такие единицы, можно сказать, детали такого одного общего механизма. Ну, в общем, вот так вот. Спасибо. Спасибо. Всем спасибо.

Lena recorded her life journal on the river bank at the sand cliff, with a background view on trees and the river. She placed the camcorder in order to get a close up shot a bit higher than herself sitting on the ground. As she shares in her life journal, it was her conscious choice to place the camcorder on the river bank as the river flow reflects also her own view on how her life is passing. It was recorded at the beginning of the camp. Lena is a student at the Khanty-Mansiisk university and a guest at the camp from a neighbouring raion. She considers herself as Khanty.

I like it here. But I am also used to comfort. For me it is not always comfortable to live in a *chum*, or tent. It is probably the only thing that it is not completely comfortable. I generally get tired from the buzz in the city and want and search for a place where I can relax, where there is silence and calmness. Even here it is a little noisy, because there are many children and the program is very intense. You don't always get into the flow. That's why I come here; sometimes alone and sometimes with someone else. It is quiet here and I like the river and its flow a lot. It reminds me of my own life and how fast it flows and how life passes by. You want to accomplish something, but it does not always work. When I come to the camp, to such a traditional one, I usually try to charge myself with some energy, try to catch a new flow, a new direction for myself in order to develop myself. It is difficult to be in a static mode. When you are just stuck for one month or two it is hard to come to terms with it. When you come here and see these people again, who you have not seen for a whole year, it is great. We all interact with one another, everyone is different. You all have common projects to do and you do them and it helps you in the future to simply live, not for a great discovery, but just simply live. You will live the moment once you come here. There will be so many people, you will be all good and great. Maybe in real life you will not meet each other, not interact with each other, but that's why these kind of camps (*stoibishche*) help to open up, to find the warmth of the soul which you miss in the city so much, where on each corner people are rude and you become rude as well.

Мне здесь нравится. А так я люблю... я настолько привыкла к комфорту. Для меня не всегда удобно жить в чуме или в палатке. Это единственное, наверно, что не совсем удобно. Так, вообще от городской суеты сильно устаёшь и хочется, ищешь такое место, где можешь отдохнуть, где тишина, спокойствие. Даже здесь для меня немного шумно, потому что много детей и насыщенная программа. Не всегда попадаешь в нужное русло и поэтому я прихожу сюда, бывает одна, бывает с кем-то ещё. Здесь тихо и вот мне очень нравится здесь река, какое у неё течение. Это напоминает мою жизнь, насколько она быстро течёт, так и жизнь проходит. Стараешься что-то сделать, но не всегда получается. Когда я приезжаю на стойбище, на такое традиционное, стараюсь зарядиться какой-то энергией, поймать новое течение, новое русло, для себя, для развития именно. Потому что тяжело быть в застое. Когда один месяц, два какой-то простой бывает. Тяжело душевно с этим справиться. И когда сюда приезжаешь вот людей год не видел. И приезжаешь сюда и всех их видишь. Так здорово! И вы все общаетесь и у каждого своё. И у вас есть какие-то общие дела и вы делаете их, это помогает вам в будущем просто жить, не просто совершать какие-то открытия, а просто. Ты уже живёшь тем моментом, что ты приедешь куда-то вас опять много, вы

все хорошие, замечательные, может в обычной жизни вы не видите, не общаетесь, но именно вот такие вот стойбища они помогают как-то раскрыться, поймать вот эту душевную теплоту, которой в городе не хватает. Когда на каждом углу хамы и ты тоже хамеешь.

Here, everything is the opposite. You try to share more smiles with people, because they also give them to you. Each day you spend here makes you understand how dear your own life is, not for someone else, but for yourself. The time you come back into this traditional life, even if not fully [traditional], and you live in the forest – or in such a camp (*stoibishche*) –, it is so wonderful, it is great. I would like to come here every year for the rest of my life, just for a week and then continue to live on. It nourishes me. I work in a press centre. I try to express myself in a creative way. I also try to write in real life. Here, the conditions may not be right [for writing]. After I have been here for one week, I can go home and write down all my impressions which I experienced here. I think they will be very bright and pure, like the nature and the people here. I think many believe that it won't be very comfortable here. But you can come here and survive one week in a tent, or *chum* and experience how wonderful it is. If I am honest, last year I did not visit such a camp. [Hesitating] For the last two years, I have been occupied with the question: what is the meaning of life? Now this question is partially closed, as I could find answers for myself. I understand that it is difficult to find an answer and you cannot say in a couple of words that the meaning of life is to do this or that. But for me it is very important that everyone is smiling and all are good and help each other. At this point, I can develop myself and begin to understand that the meaning of life is simply to live this life, to get such smiles, this joy, sensations, and emotions. It is great that we all gathered here. Maybe it is all nonsense. That's it.

Здесь всё наоборот. Ты стараешься подарить больше улыбок людям, потому что они тебе тоже дарят. И каждый день, проведённый здесь, даёт тебе понять насколько ценна твоя жизнь, не для кого-нибудь, а для самого себя. И то, как ты возвращаешься опять в эту традиционную жизнь, пусть и не совсем, но ты живёшь в лесу, или на стойбище и это настолько прекрасно, это очень замечательно. Я бы хотела так всю жизнь приезжать всего на недельку и продолжать дальше жить. Это даёт подпитку очень хорошую...я работаю в прессе, я творчески пытаюсь себя реализовать...в жизни я тоже стараюсь писать. Здесь не совсем те условия...после того, как ты побыл здесь недельку, я могу приехать домой и сесть и записать все переживания, которые получила здесь. Я думаю, что они будут очень светлыми и чистыми. Какая природа здесь и люди здесь! Я думаю, что многие считают здесь будет не совсем удобно, не совсем комфортно, но просто можно пережить такую неделю в палатке, в чуме и почувствовать насколько это прекрасно. Если честно, и меня в



Photo 165: Collective nights at the bonfire

(N. WIEGAND, 2010)

прошлом году. я не была на таком стойбище. У меня стоит вопрос уже два года, сейчас он уже более прикрыт, я нахожу ответы для себя. И два года задаюсь вопросом, в чём смысл жизни? Понимаю, что сложно найти ответ и навряд ли за пару минут можно сказать: смысл жизни в том, чтобы сделать...но вот... для меня важно очень все улыбаются, все хорошие, все помогают друг другу это точка, где можно развиваться и понимаешь, что смысл жизни заключается в то, чтобы просто жить, чтобы получить такие улыбки, такую радость, такие ощущения, эмоции, и очень здорово, что мы здесь собрались...конечно полный бред.

Pavel recorded his life journal twice; on the 3rd day and the last day of the event. He placed the camcorder in order to get a medium shot. Pavel just finished his army service and was invited to the camp as sports instructor for children. In the past, he used to spend his leisure time by attending trainings in mountaineering and cross-country skiing. Pavel was born into a mixed Komi and Mansi family. He saw himself as a Komi. By being in the summer camp, he was immersed into Mansi cultural revival activities for the first time in his life.

I did not know how many people were here. I am not used to this kind of leisure. I am used to relax in a somewhat different way. This is my first experience working with children. It was a bit difficult for me. In only 3–4 days, I have got new friends and acquaintances. I have got so much pleasure. If you compare how relationships are built at the university or somewhere else, you cannot compare it. You can't get so many acquaintances in such a short

period of time. Additionally, you work here and the work also unites people and fosters [relationships]. If I am honest, I don't regret that I happen to be here. Today is the last day before the battle. Our tribe is called 'The Warriors Who Carry the Cold'. We have a very good leader. Experienced one. Well, he is the real chief. Tomorrow we will try to capture the princess, who will be in the fortress. This is the meaning [of the game]. We will try to win. To me it seems that the preparations for the battle unite us. If something unites people, it makes them related to each and therefore the relationships become more mutual and friendly. I suppose I will not want to leave this camp. I will be sad to leave at the end of this international camp. So this is a short history about my impressions.

Я может не знал, не привык к такому отдыху, сам отдыхаю немного иначе. Первый опыт работы с детьми, так же трудно было. Появились новые друзья, новые знакомства. За какие-то 3-4 дня я получил массу удовольствия. Если сравнить как отношения складываются после поступления в ВУЗ или куда-нибудь ещё, это с этим не сравнится, за такой короткий период времени так много завести знакомств. К тому же ты работаешь здесь, труд он всё равно объединяет, сплачивает. Вот честно говоря, ни сколько не пожалел, что сюда попал. Сегодня последний предбитвенный день. Наше племя называется - «Воины, несущие холод».

У нас очень хороший предводитель, опытный. Ну что говорить, настоящий вождь. Будет завтра пытаться захватить принцессу, которая будет в городище. И в этом и суть. Постараемся выиграть. Подготовка к битве, мне кажется, что объединяет. Когда людей объединяет что-то одно, оно и роднит. И от этого отношения становятся более взаимными, более дружелюбными. Я вот так предполагаю, что мне не захочется уезжать с этого стойбища, будет грустно будет покидать в конце смены международной. Вот такая вот коротенькая история о моих впечатлениях.

[The second recording was done at the end of the 7 days camp]

About my impressions... I liked it. I gave an interview before the battle, but it was different. Different feelings after the battle, too. Now everyone is closer together. The unity with the collective, with people whom I did not know at all a week ago. I did not know most of them. But now I can say about some them that we are friends. They would say the same. Considering the battle: I liked it a lot. It cannot be compared with street fights. So much adrenaline. So many emotions, which overloaded us the players in this role-playing game. In this role-playing game we immersed ourselves into the history of our people, which had lived here so many, many, many centuries ago. This is incredible, it's great. And the feeling is just positive, it's happiness. This is happiness.

At the first day of the battle, after everything had happened, we were a bit sad. We entered the fortress and practically we captured it, but the inhabitants of this chiefdom protected themselves within an earth hut. In historical chronicles it was written that the last battle happens in some kind of building. In the same manner, our opponents protected themselves within a building, in an earth hut. This was new for us. We did not expect this to happen. When we started to attack them, almost all our warriors died. We thought they broke the rules, because they hid themselves in an earth hut. We had a lot of dispute and what is left is not a very nice feeling. At that evening the emotions took over. There was no time to discuss, to reflect calmly. Even in the evening after watching the video of capturing the fortress, there were many disputes and we came to the result that friendship had won. I was happy about it. The next day started with the fact that the chief of our tribe “Warriors Carrying the Cold” [name of the tribe], refused to continue playing and instead became an analytic [of the game]. Straight after that, we started new elections for the chief. And almost without a dissentient vote everyone voted for me. In the first second, I was very happy that people respected me. My self-worth increased immediately. But after a second thought, I understood it is not that good. I understood that it was a big, a huge responsibility to rule the troops. It is not an easy task. Nevertheless, with a good strategy, clear orders and a strong collective we endured it. We bear up an ambush for seven hours and during the last offensive we knocked off all warriors of the enemy tribe. After that, we forgot the insults after the first battle. We had so many emotions, so much joy, everyone in our tribe. So ... it seems to me, even if our national football team would become a world champion, there would not be so much joy as we had at that moment. We were all just happy. After the last fight on the field, wall to wall we just had lost it, but still our team was the winner. With the count 2:1 we won.

What else to say? Everything was great. I am in this camp for the first time. After 10 days, just in one week time, so many impressions. So many positive emotions. Now I can go back to the usual work with a quiet soul. Start everything with calmness. Just before I came here, the routine of life in the settlement – work – home – work – home, maybe go out fishing or hunting – just started to annoy me, if I am honest. And here is something new. A new world for me. I would say: an incredible new world, which you can find in this camp. It astonished me. I fall in love with this place and the people who are here. They are related to me in spirit and mind. ... I don't know, everyone is just how they should be. So ... It is a pity that camp is coming to an end. I hope to be here next year. I very much hope to get here next year. By the way, I was also invited to Germany next year, since we have the German delegation here via the exchange. And next year we will be travelling to Germany. And me too ... To visit Germany is, if I am honest, my long-time dream. A very long dream [smiles] And I hope next year

I can realise that. That is all. Pavel Arteev, 21 years old. Here I work as a sports instructor. Thank you.

Во-первых о впечатлениях. Мне безумно понравилось. Я до этого так же давал интервью, до битвы. Но это не то, уже не те ощущения, что после битвы. Сейчас всё намного более как-то стало роднее даже, тоже единение с коллективом, с людьми, которые неделю назад, не все, но большая часть, мне вообще были незнакомы. То есть я этих людей не знал. А сейчас, сейчас я могу о некоторых из них сказать, что они друзья! Что мы друзья! И они так же скажут. Ещё по битве : очень понравилось, так как это ни с чем не сравнимое ... думаю не сравнимо с уличной дракой, это совсем не подходит сравнение конечно...столько адреналина, просто волна эмоций, которая захлестнула, захлестнула меня, нас, то есть игроков в этой ролевой игре. Просто окунулись в эпоху, в историю. В историю нашего народа, живущего здесь многие века, много, много, много веков назад. Это просто потрясающе, здорово и ощущение просто настолько позитивное, просто счастлив. Да... много-ли оказывается для счастья надо? Вот оно счастье!

Так же по битве. В тот день, первый день битвы мы, конечно, после того, как всё уже произошло, были несколько расстроены. Так как мы ворвались в город, фактически мы уже взяли крепость и жители этого княжества замуровались. Как это и в исторических хрониках описывается бывало наиболее часто, что последний бой будет в каком-то здании. Но точно так же весь наш противник сосредоточился в одном здании, в землянке и для нас это было просто новшество, мы не ожидали такого хода. И когда мы начали атаковать, у нас почти все полегли, наши воины. Наши воины почти все полегли... Из-за, как мы считали, неправильного хода, т.е. мы считали из-за нарушения правила, что они спрятались все в землянку. Очень много было споров...остался осадок такой очень неприятный. В тот вечер просто эмоции брали своё. Не было времени даже спокойно рассудить, подумать, обсудить. Даже вечером, после просмотра битвы и взятия крепости, очень много было споров. Но всё таки пришли к одному выводу, что победила дружба. Это радует. Следующий день у нас начался с того, что вождь, который возглавлял племя воинов, несущих холод, т.е. наше войско, он отказался играть дальше и стал аналитиком. После чего начались выборы нового вождя и почти все единогласно, почти единогласно, выбрали меня... Для меня в первую же секунду это было и радость, из-за того, что люди уважают, самооценка у меня в тоже время повысилась. А так же, буквально через секунду, я понял, что это не так уж хорошо. Это большая ответственность, огромная ответственность... Руководить войском-это не простая задача, но тем не менее, благодаря хорошо выстроенной стратегии, точным указаниям и слаженности нашего коллектива, мы

всё-таки выдержали. Т.е. мы продержались в осаде на протяжении семи часов и при последнем штурме мы всё-таки перебили всех воинов вражеского племени. Вот после чего и забылись все обиды прошлой битвы, первой. Обиды первого дня. Настолько столько бурные эмоции были там, было столько радости у всех до единого, т.е. у нашего племени. Столько радости! Вот... Что мне даже кажется больше, если бы наша сборная по футболу стала Чемпионами Мира...там бы столько радости не было, сколько у нас на тот момент. Все были просто счастливы. Но заключительный бой на поле, уже стенка на стенку мы уже просто его проиграли, но тем не менее, наша команда выиграла, осталась в выигрыше.. Со счётом 2:1 мы выиграла. Что ещё сказать?.. Очень всё здорово прошло. Я на смене впервые в этом стойбище и за десять дней, которые уже почти подходят к концу, буквально за неделю эту столько впечатлений новых, столько позитивных эмоций, и теперь можно возвращаться к обычной работе со спокойной душой, начинать всё спокойно. Ведь даже до того, как я попал на стойбище, обыденность той жизни, которая у нас в посёлке: работа - дом, работа-дом... Ну, иной раз выйдешь куда-нибудь на рыбалку, на охоту... уже как-то начинало надо-едасть, честно... а это что-то новенькое для меня, вот этот новый мир, я бы даже так сказал : новый мир, удивительный новый мир, который находится здесь на стойбище, он меня просто поразил... я влюбился в это место, в это стойбище, в людей, которые здесь находятся. Они все родные, единые по духу, единые по мышлению, все... но я не знаю... Все такие как бы, какие должны быть...(Пауза) Очень жаль, конечно, что стойбище закрывается, сейчас последняя смена. Очень, очень надеюсь попасть сюда на следующий год...Очень...Кстати, меня уже пригласили в Германию на будущий год, так как у нас здесь немецкая делегация по обмену. На следующий год мы едем в Германию. Я в их числе, в числе тех людей которые поедут в Германию. У меня, если честно, давняя мечта посетить Германию...давняя, очень давняя.... я давно мечтал об этом...я надеюсь, надеюсь, что на будущий год она сбудется. Ну вот и всё. На стойбище работаю спорт-инструктором. Спасибо.

Irina and Lena. are friends. Irina is a long-term friend and educational supporter of the camp. She sees herself as Russian and lives in Moscow. Irina helps to organize the program for the summer and during the camp leads working groups on music and media. Lena moved to the city Khanty-Mansiisk from her native village Saranpaul' in order to study and work. She was a long-term participant in the camp since her childhood and started to take the role of an educator and fundraiser. She recorded the life journal twice. It was recorded in the wooden dwelling of Lena's grandparents, in the Mansi village Yasunt. The village is located close to the camp compound.



Photo 166: Irina and Lena recording their life-journal. Yasunt, Russia
(I. KAZANSKAJA, E. FRIZORGER, 2010)

I.: How do you like the camp?

L.: The space got filled up straight away. If I am honest, I did not doubt that organisationally it would work out like that. One after another. You know the Germans were upset the first three days. They articulated to me that it was difficult for them, this insane rhythm, everyone is running somewhere. They even didn't had time to eat and talk as everyone was already running to the next workshop. But later on, the work regulated itself and everything. Everyone knows what they have to do now. It is organized on its own. They find their working teams.

I.: I was really astonished when we prepared the program in Moscow. There are so many people who have different tasks and the people who come here are not just arriving to gaze around, but they want something from this camp. And it works. The space is very complex and diverse. It is very interesting, it is even democratic somehow. Even the last years, it was like there were rules and you followed one particular logic. But here are so many things: the filming, Ina is filming something, workshops with soap bubbles, children are running around, dogs. Somehow I like this. It is a living space, like life itself, not after a specific program. Life is unfolding itself, some movement is happening.

L.: How do you like the results of the camp?

I.: It is difficult to say so far. The result is that there is an exchange and there are inhabitants of 'Man' Uskve'. If you follow the logic of the exchange, yes it is working. I walk around and look at them, they give each other presents, interact with each other. It's good.

L.: Concerning the exchange, every year it is growing and gains a certain meaning, depth, something whole.

I.: We have to ask the Germans. There must be minuses as well.

L.: It is pity that we have such spaces where we all can live together like 'Man' Uskve' [mentions other summer camps], but Germans don't have it. They don't know the participants, who were here during the last exchange.

I.: They form a group and then they dissolve. In our case it is also similar.

И.: Как тебе смена?

Л.: Пространство как-то сразу заполнилось, если честно, я засомневался в том, что всё организационно сложится, последовательно. Знаешь, немцы возмущались первые три дня. На четвёртый день мне высказывали, что им было тяжело, этот бешенный ритм, все куда-то бегут. Они даже покушать не успевают и поговорить. А всем надо бежать на следующий мастер-класс. А потом как-то работа наладилась. Каждый знает своё дело, само собой как-то организовывается, сами собираются по группам.

И.: Меня поразило ещё в Москве, когда программы готовили. Очень много приезжает людей, у которых разные задачи. Что интересно, что они есть. Люди не просто приезжают поглазеть, а они что-то хотят от этой смены. Так и получается, что пространство сложное, разное. И это даже интересно, это как-то демократично. Даже не так, как в прошлые года было. Есть правила и мы идём по одной какой-то логике, А тут много, тут фильм, тут Инна что-то снимает, тут мастер-класс с пузыря-



Photo 167: Soap bubble workshop. Yasunt, Russia (MAN' USKVE ARCHIVE, 2010)

ми. Дети бегают, собаки. Как-то так живое пространство. Жизнь не по программе развернулась, жизнь, движение.

Л.: Как ты оцениваешь результаты работы?

И.: Сложно пока сказать. Результат в том, что обмен, и есть жители Мань Ускве. И исходя из логики обмена, да он удался. Я хожу, смотрю, они ходят, друг в друга шишками бросаются, общаются, подарочки дарят. Хорошо...

Л.: Что касается обмена, это каждый год наращивается, приобретает смысл, глубину, единое целое.

И.: Надо и немцев спросить, должны же быть минусы какие-то.

Л.: Жаль, то что у нас есть такие пространства, где мы живём вместе, Ну, а у немцев нет. Они не знакомы с теми участниками, которые были в прошлом обмене.

И.: Они собираются группой и потом расходятся. И у нас точно так же, похоже.

Here Lena shares her reflections about the complexities of her as Mansi-German ethnic identification. The life-journal was recorded in the wooden dwelling of L. grandparents, in the Mansi village Yasunt that is located close to the camp compound.

Today we talked about blood mixing. I have been preoccupied with this topic for a long time, because in a very strange manner, well not strange, but somehow it turned out like this, two bloods are blended in me: German and Mansi. My father is German and my mother is a pure Mansi. Somehow I always dig inside myself and start to search for who I am and what do I want to achieve in life. The first step that I did in this direction was my decision to go to Germany. There was this possibility to be a volunteer in a national park. I grasped this opportunity and, although it did not work the first time, in 2009 I went to Germany for half a year. I was successful and in only this half a year I learnt the language. Now I can communicate in this language. Yes. And I can feel in which moments my German blood awakes within me. Somehow it was very easy for me to communicate with Germans, although I could not communicate in this language before. Now I try to understand 'who I am as a Mansi?'. I would like to learn the Mansi language, it seems very important to me. Especially now due to the situation with our people. The language is the basis for culture. Can one speak of tradition today? What is Mansi tradition today? If we say the man had a traditional way of life, we mean that he lived in a *chum*, or had a settled life in a wooden hut in a village. When was there some subsistence economy? Now, if youth lives in a city, what is culture for them? Is there an urban Mansi culture in my case? It seems to me that for all that first of all you need to learn your native language.

Мы сегодня разговаривали о смешении кровей. Эта тема давно звучит у меня в голове. О том, что каким-то странным образом, наверное даже не странным, а почему-то же так получилось, что во мне смешались такие две разные крови. Это немецкая и мансийская. Мой папа немец, мама - чистая манси. И почему-то я всегда копаюсь в себе и начинаю искать, кто я и чего хочу добиться в жизни? И первый шаг, который я к этому сделала, я решила съездить в Германию. Появилась такая возможность побыть волонтером в Национальном парке. Я за это зацепилась и не смотря на то, что не получилось с первой попытки, в 2009 году я съездила в Германию на полгода. И довольно удачно. За полгода выучила язык. Сейчас могу общаться на немецком языке. Вот и я чувствовала в какие-то моменты, что во мне просыпается вот эта немецкая кровь. Как-то очень легко было общаться с немцами. Не смотря на то, что до моего приезда я не могла говорить на немецком языке. И сейчас уже стараюсь понять кто же я как манси? Хочу выучить мансийский язык, мне кажется это очень важно. Особенно сейчас, когда существует такая ситуация с нашим народом. Язык, он как основа культуры, потому что вообще можно ли говорить о традиции сейчас? Что для манси сейчас является традицией? Потому что если мы говорим: человек вёл традиционный образ жизни, это в том случае если он жил в чуме или оседлый образ жизни в деревушке, когда было своё подсобное хозяйство. Сейчас, когда молодёжь живёт в городе, что же для такой молодёжи культура? И существует городская мансийская культура в моём случае? И мне кажется для понимания всего этого важно в первую очередь изучение родного языка.

Maksim spent all his childhood summer vacations in the camp. As a guitar player and singer he often stands in the middle of everyone's attention and contributes to the sense of the collective in the camp. He identifies himself as Mansi. Maksim lives in Khanty-Mansiisk, where he moved from Saranpaul' in order to go to college and to work. This recording was done at the end of the event.

Oh well, the camp is ending now. Today is the last day. Today and tomorrow everyone is leaving. Today is the king's night. It will be very sad. We will be leaving. Yes. Then we will remember some bright moments together. That our friends from Germany had visited us for instance. Next year we are going to visit them. Yes. I can't wait to visit them. My mood is not very good, medium. Yes. Not very positive, because everything is ending. Tomorrow it will be sad. I liked that our friends from Germany visited us. Friends from Khuliumsunt. Later on, we will have another camp [in the village Khuliumsunt]. We will have to readjust. Yes. But once we go there we will see. What can I say about this one? Everyone has changed here. Everyone who comes



Photo 168: Maksim recording his life journal, Yasunt, Russia (M. ANIAMOV, 2010)

here becomes a new person. They change here. The atmosphere here, the common energy. Yes. I am communicating with Germans very well... with Willie, Ninja, Loni, Hilke. With Susi I also interact a little bit, with Ulrich. I communicate with everyone a little bit. They are good guys. Interesting. Next year we are going to Germany... I can't wait to go there. I don't know how it will be there. But probably it will be super and funny. And now I am so miserable. There is no time left to communicate with each other. Yes. If we had time to communicate more, it would be great. No one will be sleeping today.

Ох, вот и подошел к концу, подошла к концу смена. Сегодня последний день. Все сегодня-завтра разъезжаются. Ну, сегодня королевская ночь. Будет, конечно, опять грустно. Будем опять разбирать чумы. Вспоминать, что... какие-то яркие моменты, что к нам приезжали друзья из Германии. На будущий год мы к ним. Жду уже не дождусь, скорее бы туда. Настроение у меня не... такое... невес... ну, какое-то среднее. Среднее как-то. Не на высшем уровне как-то, потому что все заканчивается. Завтра будет опять грустно как-то. Понравилось то, что приезжали вот друзья их Германии. Друзья так же у нас из Хулломсунта. Сейчас будет, в дальнейшем будет смена. Опять перенастраиваться. Перенастрой будет. Вот. На ту смену надо будет еще настраиваться. Ну, там уже приедем, там уже будет видно. Хочется – что еще хочется сказать? – эмм, все изменились как-то до такого другого. Все приезжают новые даже, новые люди. Меняются тут. Атмосфера, энергетика

общая такая. С немцами очень хорошо общаюсь. С Вилли, с Ниней, с Хильке, с Лоней. Вот. Ну, с кем так больше общаюсь? С Сюзи общаемся тоже. С Ульрихом так. Ну, в общем, со всеми понемногу. Эмм. Хорошие ребята. [Улыбается] Интересные. На будущий год уже в Германию. Не знаю, что буду от этого, эмм... ну, жду не дождусь. Вот уже как бы чтобы уехать к ним. Но не знаю, что будет там, как. Ну, наверное, будет здорово, весело. Вот и сейчас так тоскливо. Еще с одной стороны, что времени мало, мало так же общаемся, но мало. Если бы побольше пообщаться, то было бы хорошо, здорово. Вот. Сегодня все не будем спать, все не спят.

GERMAN GUESTS



Photo 169: German exchange participants take a helicopter from Priob'e to Saran-paul' (N. WIEGAND, 2010)

Loni, Ninja and Anita are young women in the middle of their 20s. Loni is working on a dress to prepare for the marriage ceremony in the role-playing game (see p. 118).

The girls are discussing gender identities that they encountered in the camp.
 A.: Let us tell the scene from yesterday ...
 L.: I found it excellent. I was the woman and there was also a man in the beautifully divided *chum*. Everyone was there. [...] When you enter the *chum*, on the right hand side sit men and boys and on the left hand side women and girls. Fine. Then it came to the point that the film workshops had

to be presented again.. Then there was a need to discuss something between the man from the male side and a women from the female. Both are Germans. Fine, then you would just go to each other and chat about it. But the man was so considered to say we cannot do it, because we are in another culture and you cannot just get up and place yourself on another side. We looked uncertain into the round. No one is commenting. Then we solved it in a way, nonverbally that we met in the middle of the *chum* at the fireplace. Excellent! The other Khanty and Mansi sat there and giggled and talked about coupling, they are a couple and so on. And then [...] what are we doing in this moment? we adapt ourselves to this gender division! There are good manners and bad manners. It's nice and weird at the same time. And I think that's why today you were a little bit aggressive.

N.: Yes, I think there are many situations where we are adapting ourselves, not only to this gender division thing. But also that we all want, I would claim that now, to just jump naked into the river and feel like doing it, but it does not work here. And when H. [German participant] and me changed our clothes without making any acrobatic dance steps with our towels so that no one could see anything, they looked at us in a very strange way. Well, you make it differently and of course you think somehow about it and do not just do it the way you would do it at home. I find it very good, because it shows respect, but it also limits one. It is all about finding the balance between the respect to another culture and to do one's own thing, to perceive one's own needs.

A.: We were not aware when we came here that we need to abandon our normal thoughts and behaviour and that we would come here to this traditional way of life. They all know it and they are aware of it, but we did not know. It has been pointed out to us, but ...

L.: ... and at the same time I find that makes it great. We prepare our workshops [for them] but can we meet their expectations? What exactly is happening here? We also lose our traditions. How do we want to present ourselves? They also lose their traditions. That's why they have these camps, in order to preserve them. [...] And the great thing is, before, we had big difficulties to define it – what makes us who we are – but now we notice it through friction and through that what annoys us. That makes the difference. We Germans are very comfortable, writer and poets! [laughs] and think more, well its questionable ... anyway we Germans make a longer lunch break – siesta. And they don't do it here, they continue at a good pace. Or maybe we turn up to lunch a bit late and then have no time later on.

A. Lass uns an die Szene von gestern erinnern!

L.: Ja, richtig, also ich war die Frau, um die es ging und da war noch ein Mann dabei, um den es ging. Und folgendermaßen. Schön zweigeteiltes *Tschum*. Alle waren da. Wir hatten wieder mal einen Input hinter uns und es kam wieder zu Diskussionen und das *Tschum* ist, wenn man reinkommt

immer so aufgeteilt, das auf der rechten Seite die Männer sitzen und Jungs und auf der linken Seite Frauen und Mädchen. Gut. Dann kam soweit, dass die Workshops nochmal vorgestellt werden, die gerade aktuell verfilmt werden und es kam die Frage auf, da muss jetzt gerade etwas diskutiert werden, zwischen einem Mann vom einen Lager und 'ner Frau vom anderen Lager. Gut beides Deutsche. Na gut, dann wird man jetzt zueinander gehen und das bequatschen. Dann war der gute Herr so rücksichtsvoll zu bemerken: geht aber irgendwie jetzt nicht, wir sind ja jetzt in einer anderen Kultur kann da jetzt doch nicht einfach aufstehen und mich zu ihr rübersetzen. So unsicheres Gucken in die Runde. Keiner groß Kommentiert. Dann haben wir das so gelöst irgendwie, dann doch relativ nonverbal, uns in der Mitte des *Tschums* am Feuer zu treffen. Großartig, weil dann die Szene sich so entwickelte, dass die ganzen Chanty und Mansi grinsend dasaßen, schon von irgendwelchen Verkuppelungen geredet haben, eh die sind jetzt zusammen und so. (lacht) und dabei hatten wir das nur eben geklärt und dabei war das nur so ein typisches: Was machen wir gerade? Wir passen uns voll abgefahren an dieses geschlechtertrennende und ‚es gibt was, was sich gehört‘ und ‚es gibt was sich nicht gehört‘ an, so – schön und ein bisschen gruselig gleichzeitig. Und ich glaub’, das war etwas, weswegen ihr heute auch schon so ein bisschen aggressiv wart.

N.: Ja ich meine, es gibt ja mehrere Situationen, wo wir uns alle so anpassen, also es muss nicht nur dieses Geschlechtertrennungs-Geschichten-Ding sein, aber allein so etwas wie, dass wir, glaube ich gerade, alle, behaupte ich jetzt mal, einfach nackt in den Fluss zu hüpfen und auch viel mehr Lust drauf hätten, aber das jetzt einfach nicht geht so. Und als H. und ich uns einfach so umgezogen haben, ohne jetzt irgendwelche akrobatische Tanzschritte zu machen mit unseren Handtüchern, dass man auch ja nichts sieht, haben die



Photo 170: German exchange participants recording the video life journal. Yasunt, Russia (W. SCHUMANN, 2010)

schon alle bisschen komisch geguckt. Also das ist halt irgendwie anders und man denkt natürlich irgendwie darüber nach und macht das nicht einfach so, wie man das vielleicht daheim machen würde und also finde ich schon auch gut, weil das zeigt ja auch, dass man irgendeinen Respekt hat, aber es schränkt halt auch selber einen soweit ein und das ist halt so eine, diese Balance finden zwischen diesem Respekt vor der anderen Kultur und aber sein eigenes Ding, seine Bedürfnisse auch noch wahrzunehmen.

A.: Ja, uns war allen nicht so bewusst, dass wenn wir hier herfahren, dass wir alle unseren normalen Gedanken, Verhaltensweisen ablegen sozusagen und hier reinkommen und hier in diesem traditionellen Ding leben, was alle hier wissen und denen ganz bewusst war und uns war das halt nicht so ganz bewusst, wir wurden drauf hingewiesen, aber...

L.: ... und gleichzeitig, finde ich, macht es was tolles, weil, wir ja auch immer so ein bisschen Sorge hatten, ja gut, dann bereiten wir jetzt Workshops vor, aber werden wir der Erwartungshaltung gerecht. Was genau passiert denn hier jetzt so? Wir verlieren bisschen unsere Tradition. Womit wollen wir uns präsentieren? Die verlieren sie auch, deswegen haben sie die Camps, um das zu bewahren. Und da kommen wir da hin. Und das großartige ist, wir merken oft an so Reibungsdingern und dem, was uns nervt, was dann der Unterschied ist und was uns ausmacht, wo wir vorher krass Schwierigkeiten hatten das zu definieren. Wie Deutsche sind ganz schön gemütlich und dann so süß, die Dichter und Poeten. (lacht) Und mehr denkend, ja fraglich, aber jedenfalls, dass wir Deutschen halt doch, dass wir Deutschen 'ne längere Mittagspause machen – 'ne Siesta. Und das tun die hier auch nicht so, da geht es dann relativ zügig weiter. Aber vielleicht liegt es auch daran, dass wir einfach mal zu spät dazu bummeln und deswegen dann ein bisschen in Eile geraten.

A.: ... and they use their time after the lunch to play football or something else so that they still can participate in this strict timetable and have some spare time, something what we cannot manage yet.

[...]

N.: We need to discuss this sewing topic we did not exhaust it yet, because it is all about that. Before I sat in the *chum* and at once all the girls sat with their sewing things and I seemed to me, I don't know, to be thrown back so many years ago. Just like you said before, on the one hand it is very nice, because we don't do it anymore. Yes, it is not that I find it weird back home, or it's not that I find it awful, or I cannot do it. I like to sew and I sewed a lot before, but not with my hands but with the sewing machine. But it has something weird that all the girls are seemingly doing it without any resistance... In a manner "girls sew your dresses, otherwise no one will chose you tomorrow"! It is a no go! [...]

A.: Und sie vor allem auch einfach die Zeit nutzen, die sie da nach diesem Mittagessen noch haben, um vielleicht Fußball zu spielen oder so was, dass sie dann später wieder in diesen strengen Zeitplan reinkommen und doch auch ihre Freizeit hatten, was wir noch nicht so managen können.

[...]

N.: Nee wir müssen dieses Thema mit den Nähen, das haben wir doch noch nicht ausgeschöpft, weil darum geht es doch eigentlich. ... also ich habe vorhin, saß ich in dem *Tschum* und auf einmal saßen alle Mädels da mit ihrem Nähzeug, ich kam mir vor, wie keine Ahnung, wie viele Jahre zurückgeworfen, was einerseits echt irgendwie nett ist, was du vorhin gesagt hast, dass es schön ist, weil man es ja auch nicht macht. Ja also bei uns ist es jetzt nicht so, dass ich es irgendwie komisch finde, weil ich es super ätzend finde und nicht kann oder so. Ja, ich nähe total gern und habe früher voll viel genäht, aber natürlich nicht mit der Hand, sondern mit einer Nähmaschine, aber es hat so was komisches, dass die Mädchen das anscheinend widerstandslos machen einfach so, also dieses Mädchen näht euer Kleid, sonst werdet ihr morgen nicht ausgesucht. Geht halt gar nicht.

Willi recorded the life journal during the first part of the event. He is a professional photographer, used to travel in Russia and speaks Russian. He joined the working team with local participants to make a short music clip.

Here Radio Yerevan announces itself for the first time in Life Journal, together with a persistent fly, and reports about my personal experiences here in the camp, how I like it and which worries, hardships and wishes I have. So far everything has been really exciting and fast, as the timetable is so tight here. The same applies for the journey down here. To get to the train you have to hurry, in order to get to the helicopter in time, you have to arrive by train in time. You run on adrenalin a little bit all the time. The pressure is divided among different people, so you are not the only one who has to make sure that everything works out. This is quite pleasant somehow, well it relaxes the situation and it would not really work otherwise, because you would collapse. Here in the camp you are under fire, you have to do something. This partly pushes the limits. Funny are all these wild animals, mosquitoes and flies and other small insects that eat any pieces of flesh from your skin.

We were on the river with Maksim; we were looking for a small river for our short film. And we found it, but realized that you cannot film there, because there were thousands of mosquitoes. I have never seen anything like that before; one wall of mosquitoes where you almost cannot look straight because you have to wave so fast. This was very impressive and sobering at the same time, because you really need to surrender to nature. In Siberia it is not a coffee party, but it is a really wild country. And that makes it exciting of course [...]



Photo 171: Willi is recording his video life-journal. Yasunt, Russia (W. SCHUMANN, 2010)

Our [German] group is surprisingly harmonious with each other. I find it astonishing because I know that those who go to Russia are in fact independent travellers and in their character perhaps are somehow extreme and very self-confident and maybe also egocentric. It is not like a Mallorca holiday where you lie on the beach and knock back a beer, but here you really want to experience something and there are also extreme influences affecting you. And for that there is a lot of harmony.

It will be really interesting to analyse the camp later on, so what you have seen and experienced and which insights you have taken with you, because here you don't have time for that. Well here you don't have time to reflect, to write a diary. I did it last time, I think, when we were in the helicopter which was 3-4 days ago. You're so involved in activities or just leisure time, when you go to the water and swim, that you hardly have time for yourself to reflect. At the moment I don't find it extremely negative, it does not go to my head yet. I really enjoy a lot of attention here, which of course has definitely something to do with my Russian and because I can make jokes in Russian. And I think they find it quite charming and I find that very exciting. The attention does not disturb me at the moment [...]

And what is also super difficult – not negatively, but simply really difficult - are our accommodations. They are very romantic, super nice and beautiful, but to drag technology into a tent – laptop, cables and many other things - is simply madness. I can hardly find anything anymore. I defined different corners, where I have put things, like a clothes corner and cable corner and one for photo films, and yet you certainly cannot find specific things. My dictionary has already gone missing and I could use it very well right now. [...] But then there are also other cohabiters in the tent and they also take their places, so you cannot really spread out. It is a challenge to find the things which you want to find.

Ja hier meldet sich Radio Yerevan zum ersten Mal, im Life Journal, zusammen mit 'ner hartnäckigen Fliege, genau und berichte über meine persönlichen Erfahrungen jetzt hier im Lager und wie es mir gefällt und welche Sorgen, welche Nöte und welche Wünsche ich vielleicht habe. Ja bisher war das alles echt spannend und zügig, also wie der Plan hier so eng ist, so ist das natürlich auch auf dem Weg hier her. Um den Zug zu kriegen muss man sich beeilen, um den Hubschrauber rechtzeitig zu kriegen, muss man mit dem Zug rechtzeitig ankommen. Also man ist schon die ganze Zeit so ein bisschen unter Strom. Der Druck wird verteilt auf mehrere Leute, also man ist nicht der Einzige, der aufpassen muss, dass irgendwie alles klappt, das ist irgendwie ganz angenehm, also das entspannt das auch und anders würde es auch wirklich nicht gehen, weil man kollabieren würde, also jetzt vor allem hier im Lager, ist es so, dass man hier so unter Beschuss steht, dass man hier irgendwas machen muss, also das ist schon, geht schon teilweise an die Grenzen. Lustig sind natürlich die ganzen wilden Tiere. Die Mücken und Fliegen und andere kleine Tier, die irgendwelche Stückchen aus deiner Haut fressen.

Wir waren gerade mit dem Maksim unterwegs am Fluss, wir haben einen kleinen Fluss gesucht, für unseren Film, für unseren Kurzfilm. Und den auch gefunden, aber festgestellt, da kannst du überhaupt nicht drehen, da waren Tausende Mücken, also das habe ich noch nie gesehen. Eine Wand von Mücken, wo man fast nicht gerade ausgucken kann, weil man so schnell wedeln muss. Das war sehr beeindruckend und auf der anderen Seite ernüchternd, dass man sich hier wirklich der Natur unterwerfen muss, in Sibirien, dass es halt kein Kaffeekränzchen ist, sondern wirklich wildes Land. Und das macht es natürlich auch spannend. [...]

Die Gruppe ist ganz erstaunlich gut miteinander, also die harmonieren echt sehr gut miteinander, das finde ich erstaunlich, weil ich weiß, dass diejenigen, die nach Russland gehen, das sind schon Individualreisende und in ihrem Charakter vielleicht schon extrem oder sehr selbstbewusst und vielleicht egozentrisch vielleicht auch, weil es ist ja kein Malleurlaub, wo man am Strand liegt und sich das Bier hinter die Binde kippt, sondern hier willst du wirklich was erfahren und es strömen ja auch extreme Einflüsse auf dich ein. Und äh gibt's da schon ganz schön viel Harmonie.

Es wird echt interessant sein, das Lager dann nachher zu analysieren, also was du gesehen hast, was du erlebt hast, welche Erkenntnisse du mitgenommen hast, weil hier kommst du überhaupt nicht dazu. Also du kommst nicht dazu zu reflektieren, Tagebuch zu schreiben, das habe ich das letzte Mal gemacht, glaube ich, im Helikopter, das war jetzt vor drei oder vier Tagen. Man ist so eingebunden in Aktivitäten oder auch dann halt Freizeit, wenn man dann halt zum Wasser geht und schwimmt, dass man kaum Zeit für sich hat um zu reflektieren. Finde ich im Moment jetzt noch nicht so extrem negativ, also es steigt mir noch nicht zu Kopf. Mir wird ja auch wirklich viel Auf-



Photo 172: Siberian and German youths shooting a short music video together.
Yasunt, Russia

(I. GOLOVNEV, 2010)

merksamkeit hier zu teil, das hat natürlich zum einen mit dem Russischen zu tun, so dass ich halt auch Scherze mache auf Russischen und so, das finden die, glaube ich, ganz bezaubernd und finde das auch ganz spannend, die Aufmerksamkeit, die stört mich im Moment auch noch nicht.

Was auch super schwierig ist, finde ich, nicht negativ gesehen, sondern einfach wirklich schwierig, sind unsere Unterkünfte. Also sie sind sehr romantisch, super toll, super schön, aber Technik in ein Zelt zu schleppen, also Laptops, Kabel, etliche andere Sachen, ist einfach ein Wahnsinn. Also ich finde kaum noch was, hab jetzt schon verschiedene Ecken festgelegt, wo ich Dinge irgendwie abgelagert habe irgendwie die Klamotten-Ecke, es gibt die Kabel-Ecke, die für die Fotofilme und trotzdem findet man bestimmt Dinge nicht, also mein Wörterbuch ist mir jetzt schon abhandengekommen, wobei ich das sehr gut Nutzen könnte. [...] Aber dann gibt es ja noch die ganzen anderen Mitbewohner da im Zelt und die nehmen ja auch Platz weg, das heißt, du kannst dich nicht wirklich ausbreiten. Das ist wirklich echt immer ne Herausforderung die Dinge zu finden, die man finden möchte.

Ninja is a pedagogy student and an experienced tutor for children's leisure. This recording was done in the last phase of the camp. She sat on the meadow on the camp compound. She brought a self-grounded brown-bread mix from Germany to share with local participants the German bread making tradition.

Today we started with the bread baking workshop. It was again a blue sky and very nice weather. First we told them which meaning bread has in Germany, when we eat it, that the bakery trade is an old craft and mainly done



Photo 173: German guests give a bread baking workshop. Yasunt, Russia
(N. WIEGAND, 2010)

by men. When we mentioned the last point, I had the impression that all boys pricked up their ears. At the beginning they were like, now we have to listen to it all about sitting in the kitchen and making something to eat. That's women's business! I don't know if that was what they thought, but they gave this impression, because I have the feeling, no it is not only a feeling, but it is like this, that the gender roles are very conventionally distributed here. For the boys it is already like: "No, I would not take part in it".

Well, they are asked to do things, they wash the dishes, clean the space, but somehow it is clear that the boys will do the battle workshop and the girls will bake the bread. L. and myself achieved that everyone could listen to it, not only the girls. It was great that we managed to get everyone to participate and that the guys were interested. In the end there were not so many boys, but all of them were interested. They looked at the flour and smelled it, scrutinized the yeast package and that was very nice. I have the feeling that they are all very attentive, but I don't know if it is authentic, or a trained ability, which you learn when you have to listen all the time and have frontal lessons even here on holiday. I don't know, but at least they all appear very attentive. When we baked the bread we enjoyed it a lot. Finally we had direct contact with four girls and a couple of others came as well. You can't make close contact with all of them at once, but you must create particular situations for interaction with a handful of people. Then you realize that it works and it is totally fun and you lose all the inhibitions. You overcome the barrier and enter an exchange with the other, be it with a few words of Russian, or gestures – the threshold is crossed.

Wir haben heute angefangen mit dem Brotback-Workshop. Es war wieder blauer Himmel und super schönes Wetter. Wir haben erst was erzählt, was Brot eben in Deutschland für eine Bedeutung hat, wann wir das essen, dass Bäckerhandwerk ein altes Handwerk ist und dass es hauptsächlich Männer ausüben. Und bei dem Punkt hatte ich das Gefühl, dass die Jungs hellhörig wurden. Am Anfang so jetzt müssen wir uns das alles anhören über in der Küche sitzen und uns etwas zum Essen herstellen. Das ist doch Frauensache. Ich weiß es nicht, ob sie das gedacht haben, aber kam so ein bisschen rüber, weil ich das Gefühl habe, nicht nur das Gefühl, sondern es ist so, dass Geschlechterrollen eben total krass konventionell verteilt sind und für die Jungs ist es schon so, ne da mache ich jetzt nicht mit. Wenn es vor allem in diese Richtung Bewusstheit geht.

Die spülen schon ab und putzen den Raum und sind schon eingespannt, aber irgendwie von dieser, es ist ganz klar Kampfworkshop machen die Jungs und Mädels dürfen dann Brot backen. Und Loni und ich haben es erreicht, dass alle sich das anhören dürfen und nicht nur die Mädchen und das war eben super toll dass wir es geschafft haben, dass alle da teilnehmen, dass Jungs interessiert waren. Letztendlich waren nicht so viele Jungs dann da, aber interessiert waren sie alle und haben ganz interessiert das Mehl angeguckt und gerochen und die Hefepackung inspiziert und das war eben total nett. Ich habe eh das Gefühl, dass sie alle total aufmerksam sind, aber ich weiß nicht ob das echt ist, oder antrainierte Fähigkeit ist, die man lernt wenn man die ganze Zeit zuzuhören muss und Frontalunterricht hat und das sogar hier in Ferien. Das weiß ich nicht, aber zumindest wirken sie alle sehr aufmerksam. Als wir das Brot geba-



Photo 174: Baking bread in the local clay oven. Yasunt, Russia (N. WIEGAND, 2010)

cken haben, hat es super viel Spaß gemacht, endlich mal direkten Kontakt mit vier Mädels und an Paar anderen die kamen und es geht halt nicht mit allen auf einmal direkten Kontakt zu haben, sondern du musst schon eine einzelne Situation haben, wo du in Interaktion treten kannst mit ein paar Leuten und dann merkst du halt es funktioniert, es geht und es macht total viel Spaß und dann gehen diese Hemmungen. Diese Hemmschwelle sich gegenüber zu treten und sich auf irgendwelche Art und Weise auszutauschen sei es mit ein paar Worten Russisch, oder Gesten, die Schwelle ist übertreten.

Darja, Michaela and Nadja met at the end of the camp event to record the last life journal. The young women are sitting on the meadow; in the background one can see the whole camp area. One of the girls is holding a mosquito repellent incense in her hands.

M.: What I found a little sad is that the time passed so quickly and secondly that, only at the end, the group finally came out of one's shell and everyone has found friends with whom one gets along. Now when we are not so shy anymore and we understand each other despite enormous language problems and suddenly we have to leave. It would be wonderful to stay another week and to strengthen that. But well... It was great, the people, the weather. Today we have 30 degrees; we relaxed at the river beach today. It was simply perfect. Nature, no computer, no mobile phone. Great!

D.: Such an encounter lives from the people with whom you travel and the ones you meet and, first of all, we had luck with the German group. The German group was really great and secondly how we were hosted. They made us understand that we can make suggestions, can change things and that they want to hear our opinion. At the beginning, I found that we were guests and it was more and more that we became a part of the whole group towards the end. A part that does not speak Russian but a part of the whole group. [...] What else did I like? We were lucky with the weather. I partially overcame my fears with insects and going to the toilet. Going to the toilet with all these mosquitoes really is a challenge. Probably the biggest one that we had [laughing].

M.: You have to tell the joke: What is the greatest danger in the forest?

D.: ... going to the toilet [laughing]. What was negative? Well mosquitoes despite the fact that I survived them. I have the feeling that I am not getting properly clean, even in the *bania* [washing house]. I have dirt under my fingernails. I don't think that is so great. I am looking forward to a completely normal traditional German shower. What else was negative? Washing the clothes with hands. I tried it today once more. Again I noticed that we have machines for that. It was also positive that we had the role of guests and did not have to clean the tables and to do the dishes. Of course, that is very nice.

N.: What is still great is the landscape, above all the great forests and the river. Sleeping in the *chums* was totally unfamiliar, because I did not know it. I have known group tents, but not the form of these *chum*. I liked that we could bath in the river with the really strong current. Negative I also find mosquitoes and going to the toilet in the outhouse. I am looking forward to sitting on a proper toilet bowl.

M.: Was ich ein bisschen schade finde ist, dass die Zeit schon schnell vorbeigegangen ist und zweitens erst am Ende, die Gruppe richtig aufgetaut ist und jeder seine Freunde gefunden hat, mit denen er sich gut versteht. Und jetzt ist es aufgetaut und jetzt versteht man sich super trotz enormer Sprachprobleme und plötzlich muss man wieder abreisen und es wäre schön noch eine Woche zu bleiben und das Ganze noch ein bisschen auszubauen. Gut, was hilft's. War super, kann mich Nadja nur anschließen, die Leute natürlich, das Wetter ist hammergeil. Heute was 30 Grad, wir waren unten am Wasser gelegen am Strand und haben da gechillt. Es ist perfekt einfach. Die Natur, kein Computer, kein Handy. Geil!

D.: So eine Begegnung, so ein Austausch leben von den Leuten, mit denen man fährt, die man trifft und da haben wir Glück gehabt erstens mit unserer Gruppe. Die deutsche Gruppe war echt toll und zweitens wie wir aufgenommen wurden. Man hat uns schnell zu verstehen gegeben dass wir gerne Vorschläge einbringen können, was verändern können, dass sie unsere Meinung hören wollen. Ganz am Anfang fand ich wir sind Gäste und dann war es immer mehr so dass wir ein Teil sind, ein Teil der kein Russisch kann, aber ein Teil der Gesamtgruppe. [...] Was fand ich noch toll? mit dem Wetter hatten wir Glück. Mit den Insekten habe ich meine Ängste relativ gut überwunden habe und Klo-Ängste. Auf Toilette gehen mit den Mücken, wirklich eine große Herausforderung. Vielleicht die größte, die es hier gab.

M.: Da muss man ja den Witz erzählen: was ist die größte Gefahr im Wald?

D.: ... auf Toilette gehen; Was war negativ? Mücken trotzdem, dass ich sie überlebt hab. Ich habe das Gefühl, dass ich nicht richtig sauber werde, selbst in der Banja habe ich Dreck unter den Fingernägeln, das finde ich nicht so toll. Ich freue mich auf eine ganz normale deutsche traditionelle Dusche. Was war noch negativ? Per Handwäsche waschen habe ich ausprobiert heute wieder, wieder habe ich gemerkt, dass wir dafür Maschinen haben. Positiv war auch, dass weil wir eine Gästerolle haben, dass wir nie den Tisch abdecken mussten und nie abwaschen mussten. Das ist natürlich sehr nett.

N.: Was noch toll ist die Landschaft vor allem, die ganz tollen Wälder, der Fluss, und das Schlafen im *Tschum* war total ungewohnt, weil ich das nicht kenne. Im Gruppenzelt kenne ich, aber nicht in Form dieser *Tschums*. Und der Fluss in dem man super baden kann mit der richtig starken Strömung. Negativ finde ich auch Mücken und auf Toilette zu gehen. Plumpsklo, ich freue mich, mich auf die richtige Kloschüssel zu setzen.

D.: I found it great that we were allowed to make a suggestion about the theme of the camp in the next year.

M.: That's right and we had another really super idea. [laugh] They have here this great river and a great stream. The boys here are so technically skilled. Next year they could build canoes and compete with each other in races. I think it is great.

D.: And then we had another idea that has something to do with water. Ideas about the water cycle, water scarcity on earth, drinking water and the meaning of water in the traditional life of the Mansi [...].

M.: We are currently making a short film about prejudices Russia versus Germany. [...] One stereotype is that we always sit at the dining table for a long time. And in our case it always looks like we would talk about something important, that in a conversation each of us can contribute something. It is not only that it always takes so long, but it also looks like we would talk about super important topics like politics or war history or something like that.

D.: Denis made this nice comparison, it looks like we talk about politics, but in reality we probably talk about which colour the socks have or so [laughing].

M.: Conclusion: this is among my greatest holiday experiences! [...] I am looking forward to the exchange next year.

D.: Fand ich heute geil, dass wir einen Vorschlag machen durften, was nächstes Jahr das Thema des Camps sein sollte.

M.: Richtig. Und wir hatten wieder mal eine super geile Idee. [laugh] Sie haben einen super geilen Fluss, mit super geilen Strömung und Jungs sind ja megabegabt handwerklich. Man könnte doch Kanu bauen nächstes Jahr und gegeneinander fahren. Finde ich super.

D.: Und dann hatten wir noch andere Ideen, die mit Wasser zu tun haben. Ideen über Wasserkreislauf, Wasserknappheit auf der Erde, also Trinkwasser, die Bedeutung des Wassers im traditionellen Leben der Mansi [...]

M.: [...] Wir machen ja gerade den Film Vorurteile Russland versus Deutschland. Und ein Unterschied ist, dass wir lange am Tisch sitzen. Bei uns sieht es immer so aus, weil wir immer über irgendetwas reden, dass jeder von uns etwas einwenden darf, nicht nur dass es so lange dauert, sondern es sieht auch so aus, dass wir über super wichtige Themen reden würden wie Politik oder Kriegsgeschichte reden würden oder so was.

D.: Da hat Denis so einen schönen Vergleich gemacht, es sieht aus nach Politik und in Wirklichkeit ist wahrscheinlich welche Farbe die Socken haben oder so.

M.: Fazit: mit mein geilster Urlaub! [...] Ich freue mich auf den Austausch nächstes Jahr.



Photo 175: German participants with Mansi elders. Yassunt, Russia
(MAN' USKVE ARCHIVE, 2010)

SIBERIAN GUESTS

Pavel recorded his first life journal in Man' Uskve in 2010. He continued to use life journal as a reflection tool about his new experiences in Germany. He chose the place of recording, where one can see the chum, constructed by the Siberian delegation for ecological educational camps of the 'Pro Wal- und Wüsteberghaus e. V.', Schwosdorf.

Really for me it is a great experience. An experience that I could not get anywhere else in Russia. Here you just understand from the inside, how our German friends live their lives here, what they do, how they relax and what they work and how they earn their living. Russian, Siberians and Germans have many different views on life; the mentality is different. I have the impression that Siberians, at least our delegation, are people who can survive in extreme situations. It depends on your socialization, your place of residence and mainly on yourself. Germans are more life...they are accustomed to everything being ready-made. Here, the man that lives in Germany, he works and pays money so that he has gas at home, electricity and heating. We, on the other side, are used to do everything ourselves. We also pay for the electricity, like Germans, but we have to transport water, for example. That is you have to provide water and heating for the house the whole year. For example you have to prepare the firewood...and coal. We heat our house with firewood and coal. So you have to do it yourself, with your own hands. Probably from your birth, as you start walking and talking all these things still are taught to you. Your parents teach you the abilities, which are necessary to survive in the environment that surrounds you. [...] and probably, I don't know, it depends on the person, because there are some who live in the North and they don't want to do it, they become lazy ...

Действительно, по крайней мере для меня, для меня лично, это очень большой опыт. Это очень большой опыт, которого я нигде в России не смог бы приобрести. Вот просто, понимаешь, изнутри уже... ну просто понимаешь, изнутри как уже всё... как складывается жизнь у наших немецких товарищей, чем занимаются, как отдыхают, как и кем работают и как проводят свободное время, чем зарабатывают, Много, конечно, есть разных сторон допустим, у нас у Россиян, у Сибириков с немцами очень, как бы, много таких ... ну, разных сторон, разных взглядов на жизнь может как-то ... менталитет может разный менталитет в любом случай разный, да. Ну, ... такое ощущение, что мы сибиряки по крайней мере наша делегация, ну, те люди, которых я знаю, они ..., как бы, могут выживать в фарс-мажорных ситуациях, в экстре-

мальных. Это зависит, конечно, от воспитания, от места жительства, в основном от самого себя. Немцы они боле такие, как бы, ну, привыкшие ко всему готовые. Т.е. человек здесь, живущий в Германии, он работает, он платит деньги за то, что у него был газ дома, свет, тепло. А мы же в свою очередь, мы всё это делаем своими руками. За тот же свет мы так же платим, как и немцы в принципе, но ту же воду, например, приходится возить. Т.е. круглый год ты обеспечиваешь сам водой свой дом и теплом тоже. Т.е. заготавливаешь дрова ... Ну, или же ... эээ... уголь. По крайней мере, наш дом мы отапливаем дровами и углём. Вот, и всё это делаешь сам, своими руками. Ну вот, и просто может как-то... просто даже, наверное, с рождения, как ты только начинаешь ходить, там разговаривать, тебе уже прививаются. Начинают родители, как бы, прививать такие качества, которые необходимы для выживания в этом мире, т.е. в том мире, который тебя окружает. И наверно, не знаю, тоже зависит от человека потому, что есть некоторые, живущие на Севере, они уже не хотят этого, т.е. делать ..., т.е. лень появляется.

I think that in this case Siberians are tougher and hard-tempered. And also the same with women ... Here I think that women want to reign the world. They take over the job which in the North is a male job. Yes. Everything what a man can do, here everything is done by women. It seems to me that the role of men becomes secondary. This role is not so important anymore, it seems to me. In Russia we are far from it, yes we are far from it, we live nowadays like a man says, so it will be like this! [Sighs] It does not matter, whether he is right or wrong even. Well, they listen, of course, what women think, but they will do it in their own way. Even if she says the right things, he will still add something to it and do it on his own, maybe even better [sighs].

Так, в принципе, сибиряки, они вот в этом плане, конечно, крепче. Крепче и закаленнее. И женщин то же самое касается. Здесь, мне кажется, женщины стремятся к тому, чтобы править миром, вот, т.е. править всем. Они возлагают на себя ту работу, которую у нас, у нас на севере делает мужчина. Т.е. практически всё, что делает мужчина, делает, по крайней мере, должен мужчина сейчас здесь, делают женщины. Вот и мне кажется, что роль мужчин как-то отпадает на второй план уже. Не так она важна, почему-то мне так кажется. Но у нас в России, как бы, это ещё далеко, до это ещё далеко, и мы живём ... на сегодняшний момент у нас как мужчина сказал, так и будет! [вздыхая] Не зависимо от того, прав он или неправ или даже... Ну, прислуживаются, конечно, конечно к мнению женщин, но всё равно сделают по своему. Даже если она говорит правильно, он сделает всё равно какое-то добавление к этому и сделает по своему, может ещё лучше даже. [вздыхает] Вот.



Photo 176: Pavel recording his video life journal. Schwosdorf, Germany

(P. ARTEEV, 2011)

Some of us are for the first time abroad or in Germany in particular. First, I was behaving like a savage. I looked at everything with a savage gaze, because it was all new for me. I guessed how it would be, but I did not know much about it...about the culture, traditions, I wanted just to look at cities, architectural monuments. We were told interesting things. You get to know many interesting things. What concerns culture, I observed the behaviour of people. When we ate at the restaurant and paid for our dinner I went outside and just observed. People are walking quietly, speak with each other quietly, no conflicts and queries. I could not observe anything like it in Russia. Such an evening would not be possible. For sure there would be screams, exclamations, drinking alcohol on the street and a lot of other negative stuff. Here there are no such things! Maybe people are socialized in a different way. Probably. Or the place is like this. [...]

Может кто-то или некоторые из нас не впервые уже за границей, и в частности в Германии, но я вот просто вообще там как дикарь наверное себе вёл. Дикими глазами смотрел на всё потому, что для меня это всё ново. Для... Я всего как бы... я догадываюсь, но я не знаю об этом как бы много. Там о культуре, о традициях может, просто даже посмотреть города, архитектурные памятники, тоже очень интересно рассказывают. Узнаешь много нового. И в Дрездене тоже программа обширная. Вот, что ещё касается как-то культуры может быть, может быть просто поведения людей. Как-то мы вот... когда обедали в ресторане вчера в Дрездене в центре города и оплатив уже свой ужин, я вышел на улицу и сидел, смотрел. Люди ходят спокойно, спокойно о чём-то разгова-

ривают, никаких ссор, конфликтов! Ничего абсолютно я не заметил. В России бы такого, я скажу, со 100%-ной уверенностью такого вечера не удалось. Просто там по любому были бы какие-нибудь крики, возгласы, выпивания спиртного на улице и ... много всякого такого негатива. Здесь же такого нет! Может просто люди, может просто воспитанно по-другому. Скорее всего даже. Вот ну, может скорее всего просто воспитанно по-другому. Или просто место такое.

Germany is a very compact country. The territory of the Russian Federation is huge. Here every single place is counted, from one village you see the next one. All villages are next to one another. There is practically no forest, well there is one, but from my point of view there is not much of it in comparison to Siberia. Here the areas are covered with fields. Fields, fields, fields! Fields everywhere. Probably they cultivate some plants there. And what else...the population density is much higher. In Russia, at home, we don't have that. Until the next village you have to go so many kilometres. And concerning some different qualities, Germans they are all running after something. They are running after effectivity, want to shift to ecological resources. It is not that they are looking for their own benefit, but simply they try to be more ecological and to think of new solutions, for example like renewable energies. We visited a lecture, not a lecture but an excursion in the Solarwatt company [in Dresden]

Страна, вот, Германия, она очень компактная. Территория Российской Федерации она просто обширная просто. А здесь же каждое место просто, каждый участок земли на счету из одной деревни видно в другую деревню. Там все деревушки рядом. Всё практически... леса практически нет, там. Но, не практически. Лес есть. Но его... мне кажется, на мой взгляд его мало! По сравнению с Сибирью. Тут всё подпущено под поля. Поля, поля, поля! Кругом поля. Там, ну, какие-то культуры может они выращивают. И ... ещё... ну, то, что боле компактно более густо населено земля. Вот, у нас в России, конечно, нет такого, по-моему. Едешь до ближайшей деревни ой-ой-ой сколько километров. Вот ну, и ещё, что касается таких отличительных качеств, они, немцы они все на бегу. Уже несутся просто за экономичностью, за переход к экологическим каким-то ресурсам. Т.е. они во всём ищут уже ... эмм, ну, не выгоду, а просто ... немцы, они стараются уже быть боле такими экологичными, и стараются новые придумывать решения... неисчерпаемые энергии, например, возобновляемые, т.е. используют уже. Мы вот были на лекции. Не на лекции, были на экскурсии в фирме, которая изготавливает. Фирма называется Соларват [...]

We were thinking of how to create alternative water power stations for our village. We came to the conclusion that the best idea would be to build a

hydroelectric power station. Because... we can have the wind, but not always. We don't have so much sun in the winter and a lot of snow. And for us these alternatives don't fit. In terms of ecology, I think it would be possible to build a hydroelectric power station in our village. Not a big one. Not that this power station would block the whole river and not allow the stream to flow upwards. But several small power stations, so that they can provide electricity for the village all year around, as the stream is flowing in summer and winter. I think it would be much cheaper than to transport the fuel (coal) to Saranpaul', which on the mainland costs a lot and it is transported to us one and a half times more expensive than on the mainland. It would be much more profitable, it seems to me. And as we say "from your mouth to God's ear", I hope that we will aspire and achieve these goals!

Допустим, мы вот думали уже, как придумать такие альтернативные электростанции для того же ... для нашего посёлка. Пришли к выводу, что нам лучше всего, лучше всего, самая лучшая идея будет взять, сделать гидроэлектростанцию. Вот, потому что ветров у нас... ветра бывают, но их может и не быть. Солнца у нас зимой очень мало, снега много и тоже как бы для нас такой вариант не подходит. Ну, в качестве экологичности можно было бы, я так думаю, поставить в посёлке гидроэлектростанцию. Т.е. небольшую. Зачем? Не такую, чтобы там перекрыть всю реку и там не давать проезда вверх по течению. Чтоб она была такой громоздкой, нет, не надо! Достаточно, мне кажется, небольшой электростанции. Нескольких небольших электростанции для того, чтобы обеспечивать весь посёлок и при чём круглый год, мне кажется, потому, что и зимой и летом тикает течение. Было бы гораздо дешевле, чем завозить топливо в Саранпауль, которое и без того стоит на большой земле очень дорого, а к нам привозят его уж в полтора раза, практически в полтора раза дороже, чем на большой земле. Вот. Было бы гораздо выгоднее, мне кажется. Но, как говорится, мои б слова, да Богу в уши, но, надеюсь, что [вдыхает] мы всё-таки будем к этому стремиться и добиваться этих целей!

Oksana recorded her life journal at the beginning of her visit in Germany. She is a frequent guest at the camp Man' Uskve, from the village Khuliumsumt. At that time she was a student in St. Petersburg. For the life-journal she placed the camera in such a way that one could have a good view over the National Park. Oksana identifies herself as Mansi. In the life journal she makes comparisons between Russia and Germany and also reflects about her experiences of teaching Mansi traditional dances to a Bavarian folklore group.

In reality there are many differences with Russia. For example, when we were walking to the swimming pool, we were walking on very beautiful, interest-



Photo 177: Oksana recording her video life journal. National Park Bavarian Forest, Germany (O. MASLOVA, 2011)

ing and lively streets. I would even say that each house looked so interesting as if from an animation or so [laughs]. There are very few like that in Russia. Or, to be more precise, we don't have them. In general the living standard is very different from ours. Here, it seems like everything is thought through, it is neatly and clear. People have an ideal order. Everything has its own place. Back home it is in any way chaotic. Probably because I have lived in Russia all this time, for me, it seems to be normal. For the German delegation, when they came to us, it was probably strange that things happen spontaneously. I mean it totally differs from their own conditions. It is interesting also because of the buildings, because we have everything fenced, each territory is fenced. Here you don't have it. Even when we travelled by train the territories where animals graze are not fenced. Everything is relaxed. For example, next to the glass fabric there was an art sculpture with different glass balls. It just stays there. No one is disturbing it, doesn't break it. Everyone understands that. In Russia they would put someone there, stay here and guard it. This was a vivid difference. At least for me it seems like that. Also, I realized that people are like ... not more creative, but ... not that they have a more open view, but they have less some kind of stereotypes. In our place everything follows certain stereotypes. Here you don't have that: what would people say? I think it is good. I would like to learn that, because you live and you are probably afraid of judgments, you are not completely free.

Еще, на самом деле, очень много отличий от России, например, мы когда вот шли до бассейна, шли по улицам очень таким красивым, интересным, живописным, я бы даже сказала, потому что каждый домик он какой-то

такой интересный, как с мультиков что ли [смеется] Ну, или как вот... Ну, такие интерес... В России у нас таких очень мало. Точнее даже, наверное, нету. Вообще у... в... именно... как вот... уровень жизни вообще отличается очень сильно от нашего, потому что здесь, ну,... вообще все, наверное, продумано как-то, все очень так четко и ясно. Вот. У людей прям такой порядок идеальный. У них все везде на местах. А у нас как-то все равно немножко такой хаос присутствует. Ну, так как я, наверное, в России жила все это время, поэтому для меня это нормально кажется. А для, наверное, немецкой делегации, когда они к нам приезжали, это было немножко странно, что у нас все так спонтанно, все так происходит, ну, совершенно отличается от их условий. Много интересного вот именно в постройках, потому что, например, у нас все огорожено, каждая территория забором ограждена. Здесь такого нету. У них даже, вот когда мы проезжали на поезде, на электричке, места, у них даже животные ходят, и ничто не огорожено, все совершенно спокойно. и вот очень много, по улицам когда идешь, каких-то элементов... Ну, вот, например, раз там рядом производство стекла, на улице есть какие-то шарики разные. Ну, то есть они прям свободно стоят. Никто их не трогает, не ломает. Все прекрасно это понимают. А вот в России, наверное, за ними поставили кого-нибудь наблюдать, что вот, стой и смотри. Ну, это тоже такое яркое различие. Ну, по крайней мере, для меня оно показалось очень ярким. Эммм, и еще я заметила, что здесь люди как-то вот, ну, не то что, не креативней, а просто... Ну, у них взгляд какой-то более... Ну, не открытый, я даже не знаю, как это сказать, ну, они... как-то меньше каких-то рамок у них. У нас все как-то по стереотипам. Здесь такого нету, что: ой, а что скажут люди? Ну, это хорошо. Вот этому я хотела, наверное, бы научиться. Потому что если ты живешь и чего-то там, ну, как... ну, боишься какого-то осуждения, наверное, ты не до конца свободный....

I liked to dance Salsa. In principle, I like moving sports, well I like dancing [laughs]. I liked Bavarian dances and Salsa. Also I like to show our own dance. Of course at the beginning I was a little bit lost, because I did not think that we would show German children, girls the dance. I don't know the language and cannot explain and tried to show them with my hands. I took their arms and showed them how to do it in a right way and showed them everything in detail. And there was a result...It is very pleasant that you teach them something and they show a certain result. They experienced something new. Maybe they would tell it someone. I think we have presented ourselves in a positive way.

Ну, сальсу тоже понравилось танцевать. Вообще, в принципе, эммм, ну, мне нравятся такие подвижные какие-то, ну, не виды спорта, ну, в общем, [смеется] танцевать нравится. И мне что баварские танцы по-

нравилась, что сальса. Ну, естественно понравилось свой танец тоже показывать. Конечно, сначала я растерялась немножко, потому что я не думала, что мы будем показывать немецким... как это? Ну, детям, девушкам... эмм, ну, языка я не знаю, я не могу объяснить, я как-то пыталась там руками показать. Ну, когда подходила Даша, естественно, объясняла Даша. А так приходилось брать их руки, там показывать, как правильно. Или прям досконально все показывать. Ну, в принципе, результат... Ну, все равно интересно, когда вот ты учишь, например, им показала, они какой-то результат выдают, и тебе приятно, что хотя бы чему-то ты их научила. Они эмм, ну, узнали что-то новое. Смеется. Может, кому-нибудь об этом расскажут. Ну, здорово. Я думаю [Смеется], что мы хорошо себя показали.

I would like to see big cities. We were told that where we are now, these are small cities, provincial and I would like to see big cities, tall buildings, because right now we saw only the private sector. Next time we will pass through or see cities with millions of inhabitants [laughs]. How to phrase it? How do you call them here? It is very pleasant that those who visited us – like Michaela, Susi – remember Siberia with lots of warmth. They remember Man Uskve in a heartwarming way... and it is amazingly pleasant. And you understand that you showed the people your own world and now they show us theirs and we are also as open as they were... I think in the next life journal I will say a little bit more and can probably summarise it and make some conclusions for myself.

А посмотреть именно остальное, ну, уже более большие города. То есть здесь, как нам объяснили, это маленькие очень города, они такие провинциальные, а хочется посмотреть еще вот именно большие города, какие-нибудь высотные дома, потому что сейчас мы видели только частный сектор такой, а вот в дальнейшем мы будем, наверное, все равно проезжать или смотреть именно такие города-миллионники [смеется] как это сказать? Ну, как у нас они называются? Вот, и еще очень-очень приятно, что вот Михаэла, Сюзи, вот кто вот был у нас, они с теплом с таким вспоминают Сибирь. Они очень душевно так рассказывают о Мань Ускве и... становится, ну, безумно приятно. И ты понимаешь, что ты людям, ну, показал свой мир, а сейчас они показывают нам свой, и мы так же открыты, как и они были у нас на смене, ну, и я думаю, что в следующем живом журнале я уже немножко больше расскажу, и, наверное, уже обобщу что-то и сделаю для себя какие-то выводы.

Vania recorded the life journal at the beginning of the exchange in the National Park Bavarian Forest. He is a musician and joint the camps Man'



Photo 178: Vania recording his video life-journal. National Park Bavarian Forest, Germany (I. LIUBAVIN 2011)

Uksve and Numsang Yokh in his early 20s. Vania shares how he experienced to be in the natural environment in Germany and of falling in love with a German girl.

This year I am abroad for the first time and I like it a lot in Germany. People are very interesting and positive. Despite the fact that I don't speak English very well, we understand each other anyway... a little bit [laughs]. What else to say? I liked about Germany that here everything is very clean and the forest is very beautiful here. And incredible mountains! We climbed that mountain and saw a wonderful view. It was amazing. I can say that I adore mountains, because mountains are something wonderful made by nature on this earth. Mountains inspire us, they give us power and teach us life. They add to our endurance and power. If we hike in the mountains and see all this beauty it means we are strong people. We will not be lost. It means we can do a lot.

В этом году я первый раз поехал в заграницу, и мне очень понравилось здесь в Германии. Люди очень интересные и позитивные. Смотря на то, что я мало говорю по-английски, мы все равно понимаем друг друга ... немного. [Смеется] Вот, что еще сказать? Совсем мне понравилась Германия еще тем, что здесь все очень чисто и лес очень красивый здесь. Горы вот эти вот оболденные! Потрясающие горы! Вот мы забирались на ту гору и от туда открывался просо замечательный вид. Это потрясно просто. Еще могу сказать, что я просто обожаю горы. Потому что горы это нечета прекрасное, что создала природа, на самом деле на этой земле. Горы, они вдохновляют, они дают нам силы, они учат нас жизни.

Добавляют нам выдержки, силы. Если мы хотим в горы, если мы видим эти красоты. Значит мы сильные люди. Мы не пропадем. Значит мы можем много.

I would like to say that I fall in love here! [laughs]. I did not want to fall in love, because I thought it does not make sense and is complicated. You feel yourself a little bit uncomfortable. And at the same time it is great. It is wonderful and I think that people have to fall in love. It does not matter where, in which place. In Germany I fall in love with a German girl. She is so different from our girls. She has qualities that I did not find and observe among the girls that I know, in Russia. What to say? She is so wonderful, tiny and fragile. With beautiful hair and her walk, eyes and everything! She has a very beautiful and calm face and at the same time she can trippingly drive the car and is able to communicate with people with a calm voice. I did not see in her any animosity or dissatisfaction. Now I started to talk. If I talk a lot, I cannot stop. Well I decided to fall in love and anyway it is good. I was thinking: shall I fall in love, or not? Well, what's the matter and decided to fall in love and that's it. At the beginning I was very, very sad and later my mood started to improve. Yesterday we danced together and to be honest I liked it. Later we were speaking in English. We cannot understand each other. Well, we can, but not as good as if we were speaking the same language.

Я хочу сказать, что я здесь влюбился еще! [Смеется] Я не хотел вообще влюбляться, потому что я думал что это ... я не думал что это бессмысленно, но это как-то тяжело. Ты ощущаешь себя немножко дискомфортно. Но в тоже самое время это так велико. Это так замечательно, что ... я думаю, что люди должны влюбляться. Неважно где, неважно в каком месте. Но вот в Германии я влюбился в девушку немецкую. Она просто так отличается от наших девушек. У нее есть такие качества которые я не находил и наблюдал в последнее время в тех девушек которых я знаю вообще. Ну, в России. Что еще сказать? Ну вот она замечательная, маленькая, хрупкая девушка. С красивыми волосами и походкой, глазами и всем! Лицо ее очень красивое такое спокойное и в тоже самое время она очень бойко водит машину и общается с людьми весьма спокойным голосом,. Нет у нее ... я не заметил не злобы, не какого-то недовольства чем то. Ну вот, сейчас начал говорить. Я сейчас буду много говорить, если не остановлюсь. Ну вот, вот я решил влюбиться, все-таки, и это хорошо. Я думал: влюбляться или не влюбляться? Ну ладно, подумал, надо влюбится, и вот так вот. Сначала я ходил грустным-грустным, потом настроение поднимается так, вот мы вчера с ней танцевали. Мне так понравилось, честно говоря. Потом говорили на английском. Друг друга мы понять не можем. Ну можем конечно, но не настолько хорошо. Если бы мы говорили на одном и том же языке.

What else to say? Here is a wonderful air. And like the clouds here. I want to say it is good to be in Germany. Everything is arranged. In Russia we don't have such a living standard like here. But at the same time, we have enormous nature and the diversity, which allows us to develop our thoughts. Everything is still before us. We have to change something in our country. We need to learn something from Germany and other places and live in harmony with nature... we need to take only the positive things, so that our country is going to flourish. Otherwise we will be ruined as a country and as a state! The system that we have does not affect people in a beneficial way.

Вот, что еще хочу сказать? Воздух здесь отличный, облака мне нравятся здешние и ... ну в германии хорошо, я хочу сказать. Все очень хорошо устроено. Ну и у нас в России, хотя у нас нет социального такого благополучия как здесь. Но зато у нас есть огромная природа и многообразие, которое позволяет нам развиваться мыслить. У нас еще все впереди. Мы должны в нашей стране что-то изменить. В гармонии с природой, научится также ... научится чему-то в Германии и в других стран. Взять только положительное, что бы наша страна процветала. Иначе нас ждет гибель как страны, как государство! И эта система которая существует у нас, думаю она не благотворно влияет на людей. Вот как вот.

As a continuation from the last year in Man' Uskve, Denis recorded his second life journal in Germany. In particular, he reflects on how he started to play the Mansi music instrument sankvyltap for the first time at the airport on the way to Germany. Traditionally, this instrument is supposed to be played by males only. However, there were no males in the Siberian exchange delegation, who could play it. In that respect, Denis felt that they could not represent Mansi culture to the German audience in a right way.

I started learning to play *sankvyltap*. I learnt two melodies at the airport. For me it was very important. Because for all these 17 years in Man' Uskve I never took this instrument in my hands, life did not bring us together. It means I did not learn to play it. It bypassed me. And here we have the situation that among those who travelled to Germany only Dasha can play it. Girls are not allowed to play this instrument. We had come here to represent our culture but in this situation we could not meet our expectations. We cannot cheat on ourselves. So I started to learn how to play it at the airport. I had an incredible feeling. Yes? I felt like something knocked on me. I had a feeling that I do something very useful, not only for myself, but for the whole world. I don't know. To be honest I started to smile, when I played it. It was very heartwarming, as if it was my harmony and as if someone asks me for rhythms. As if it does exist already and the only thing that you have to do is to place the fingers in a right

way and to learn the melody. Now I have this plan that once I come back to St. Petersburg I would like to order this instrument and learn it. I think I can accomplish the whole program of the music school in half a year. There are very good video lessons. Everything else will work out. Something will be shown by people. Of course if this necessity will be there, outside of Germany. Everything is not just like that. [...] Of course regarding the guitar it is easy for me, but here you have a different instrument and it has a different melody. I can talk a lot about the music instrument, because it is part of me. Music is part of me [...].

Но зато начал обучение, на санквылтапе. Вот на аэропорту выучил две мелодии. Но это для меня как-то очень важно было. Потому что на санквылтапе вообще за 17 лет, ну с 16, 17 лет нахождения в стойбище никогда не брал этот инструмент в руки, и не сводила меня судьба с ним. То есть ни учился играть ничего никак. Как-то всего мимо, мимо и вот тут так сама ситуация получилась, то что из играющих только Даша поехала. Как девушкам нельзя играть на санквылтапе то понятно дело. То есть в разрез культуре. Вроде бы показывать культуру едим и тут же разрез, можно сказать. Мы конечно в этом не углублялись, но все таки себя то не обманешь. Вот и в аэропорту учился играть. Неописуемые чувства просто как будто вот. Да? Кто-то постучался. Чувство такое неописуемое как буд-то что-то вот такое очень полезное делаешь, что не



Photo 179: Meeting among the Siberian participants. They discuss how they can better organize their visit to Germany during the next exchange. Schwosdorf, Germany (I. GOLOVNEV, 2011)



Photo 180: Meeting of German and Siberian participants. Evaluation and feedback of the exchange. Schwosdorf, Germany



Photo 181: Meeting of German and Siberian participants. Evaluation and feedback of the exchange. Schwosdorf, Germany (I. GOLOVNEV, 2011)

только для одного себя, а для целого мира. Я не знаю. Я честно говоря, как-то заулыбался так, когда играл ее. Просто душевный он такой прямо был, гармония как будто это мое, как будто вот меня просят каких то ритмов. Как бы есть это где-то, но надо просто поставить пальцы и выучить именно мелодию. Присвоить то настроение это как бы, это ни проблема и хочется теперь в планах ... ну скачал видео уроки на санквылтапе и сейчас в планах, когда приеду в Санкт-Петербург хочу к новому году заказать санквылтап и учиться. Думаю, за полгода я усилю программу музыкальной школы. Очень там хорошие видео уроки есть. Вот, но а все остальное уже попутно. Где-то как-то, где-то что-то покажут люди. Если, конечно же, это нужно будет. Если, конечно же, такая необходимость будет существовать кроме Германии, потому что это все не просто так. Конечно, мне после гитары легко, но тут совсем уже другой инструмент совсем другая мелодичность, как бы. Много времени, конечно, могу рассказывать про музыкальный инструмент, потому что это часть меня. Музыка это часть меня.

Susanne and Ulrich recorded the life journal in Schwosdorf, Saxony. It was at the end of the exchange and here they reflect upon the challenges of organizing such an event in their spare time and without a central leadership.

S.: Yes, about the organization. After the exchange last year, we had to get together and organize it for this year. Me personally, I didn't know exactly what we would be dealing with and until now I could not grasp it totally. It is a little that we were left alone with the whole organization. The actual organization took place in diverse ways and I must say that I am a little bit disappointed about how it turned out, because everyone was shouting "here!" and wanted to do something and at the end it was done only by a handful of people. And what we definitely missed was a person, where all threads come together. On the other hand, this was not possible, because none of us had so much time. It had to be done by one person who would take matters into his own hands, where all the information would come together and who would be the head of all this and could delegate the tasks better.

It turned out like this, we roughly prepared the program after the 2nd or 3rd preparation meeting in Jena and then everything was changed during the email correspondence. New things came in, things we could not have known beforehand and also the emails were not read properly. Also, I would say that the biggest problem was the communication within the group and the responsibilities and that nobody said, "Yes, ok, to hell with all this. I am doing that now".

U. What is true is that it was new ground for almost everyone to organize something like this and there were certainly a few things that we could do better in the next project. Perhaps the biggest barrier, as you have already said, was probably the communication within the group, where some information got lost and or was not received, as it was supposed to. On the other side, I actually thought that everything worked out quite well with the organization, because in principle we got it all right with the 2nd preparatory meeting and that things still change when you try to implement them, that just happens.

S. But I have to say, we did not get things done with the 2nd preparation meeting. I can only speak for myself that in the last two weeks I had something to do with the project almost every day and that was, at least for me, an additional effort. It was not only on these two weekends, we accomplished a lot during this time, but there was a lot of detailed work which had to be done afterwards. [...] If you could make a manual, it does not have to be much, it can also be 2 A4 pages, with bullet points where you just have to pay attention to [when preparing an exchange].

So generally the whole thing could have been a bit better, but I still think it came out well what we have seen so far. It all worked out. Everything worked

out quite well. Compared to the last year, I am very tired. It could be due to a chronic lack of sleep. It was very different last year. Last year I could take a lot for myself, but this year not to the same extent, because we are here in Germany. I am German, of course. But the feeling from last year was not there for me this year. I also think that it was a bit different for the Siberians. I think some of them could relax, because they were taken along by us. We could show them a little bit of Germany.

S.: Ja, also zur Organisation. Nach dem Austausch letztes Jahr, haben wir, mussten wir uns dann quasi zusammensetzen und das für dieses Jahr organisieren. Mir persönlich war das noch nicht ganz so klar, was da alles auf uns zukommt und ich hab's jetzt auch noch nicht so wirklich erfasst, dass wir da vielleicht auch bisschen allein gelassen wurden mit der ganzen Organisation. Die eigentliche Organisation lief sehr unterschiedlich ab, ich muss sagen ich war schon ein bisschen enttäuscht darüber, wie es abgelaufen ist, weil es haben immer alle "hier!" geschrien, dass sie was machen und am Ende haben es dann nur einige wenige gemacht. Und was uns eindeutig gefehlt hat, war eine Person, bei der das zusammenläuft. Was aber andererseits auch nicht möglich war, weil keine von uns soviel Zeit hatte und wahrscheinlich auch so klar war, dass das einer machen muss, einer die Zügel in die Hand nehmen muss, und dass bei ihm quasi alle Informationen einlaufen und dass er dann quasi der Kopf von dem ganzen ist und dann die Aufgaben besser verteilen kann.

Im Endeffekt war das dann auch so, wir hatten nach dem 2. oder 3. Vorbereitungstreffen in Jena, das Programm im groben fertig, was dann wieder im E-Mail-Verkehr umgeschmissen wurde, weil Neuerungen reinkamen, Sachen dabei waren, die wir vorher nicht wissen konnten, aber E-Mails auch nicht richtig gelesen wurden, also ich würde auch sagen, ein großes Problem war auch die Kommunikation innerhalb der Gruppe, ja und auch Verantwortlichkeiten, dass man, dass keiner irgendwo gesagt hat, ja ok ich mach das jetzt scheiß drauf.

U.: Was stimmt ist halt, dass das für fast alle eigentlich Neuland war, so was zu Organisieren und dass es da bestimmt ein paar Sachen gab, die man im beim nächsten Projekt besser machen könnte, Ja, die größte Hemmschwelle ist vielleicht, wie du es schon gesagt hast, die Kommunikation in der Gruppe, wo manchmal Sachen verloren gehen oder eben nicht so ankommen, wie das eigentlich hätte sein sollen, auf der anderen Seite fand ich aber eigentlich, dass es ganz gut geklappt hat mit der Organisation, weil im Prinzip haben wir das ja mit 2 Vorbereitungstreffen alles auf die Reihe gekriegt und dass sich dann in der Umsetzung vor Ort noch Sachen verändern, das war ja eigentlich, das passiert halt einfach.

S.: Ich muss aber sagen, wir haben das nicht mit 2 Vorbereitungstreffen hingekriegt, sondern ich kann jetzt nur von mir sprechen, ich hatte die letzten Wochen eigentlich fast jeden Tag mit dem Projekt irgendwas zu tun und

das war, fand ich für mich schon ein ganz schön zusätzlicher Aufwand und es war nicht nur an den 2 Wochenenden, da haben wir viel geschafft, aber es hat auch noch viel Detailarbeit gegeben, die dann im Anschluss gemacht werden musste. [...] wenn man so eine Art Handbuch macht, es muss ja nicht viel sein, es können ja vielleicht 2 A4 Seiten sein, wo man so grobe Stichpunkte draufschreibt, die man einfach beachten muss.

Ja, aber so generell dies Gesamte hätte bisschen besser sein können, aber trotzdem ist es halt, denke ich schon, trotzdem eine gute Sache geworden, so was bis jetzt halt rausgekommen ist. Es hat alles geklappt. Ich denke, das hat ganz gut funktioniert. Im Vergleich zum letzten Jahr bin ich dieses Jahr sehr müde. Es könnte am chronischen Schlafmangel liegen. Das war letztes Jahr schon bisschen anders. Letztes Jahr habe ich für mich sehr, sehr viel mitgenommen, was dieses Jahr nicht ganz so in dem Maße ist, weil wir sind zwar jetzt in Deutschland. Ich bin Deutsche, ja klar. Aber dieses Gefühl vom letzten Jahr, das war für mich dieses Jahr nicht dabei. Ich denke, dass es auch für die Sibirier ein bisschen anders war. Ich denke, dass einige auch entspannen konnten, weil sie von uns mitgenommen wurden. Wir konnten ihnen eben ein bisschen was von Deutschland zeigen.



Photo 182: Daria is recording her video life journal. National Park Bavarian Forest, Germany (D. BRÄUNINGER, 2011)

Daria recorded her life journal in the National Park Bavarian Forest. She is reflecting about her identity quest as Russian, due to her Russian roots.

It was just one of those things that I noticed somehow, but I was never really aware that Russia is partially my home country. When I got a little older I began to appreciate it more. Thus, when I was in the 9th grade at school I started to take Russian classes, so I could learn to write and read. And there

it all started a little bit. Then I slowly started to watch Russian movies again, or when I visited my grandmother in Moscow, we listened to Russian songs a little bit. Not that I could say that somehow ... hmm well, that I felt myself Russian. And then I became aware that this second half, which I think also belongs to my identity, I don't know anything about.

And then I tried to get an internship in a Russian-speaking country and then I did my internship in Moscow for six weeks. It was for the first time that I consciously lived in Russia for longer time and was confronted with the Russian everyday life. But because my job was still in the German language, it was still not the right thing to do. Then I started to develop more interest for it and asked my Russian friends for music and tried more ... or more often watched the same over and over again. And then my boss found the youth exchange in a mailing list and that there is a trip to Siberia.

Und es war einfach nur so eine Sache die ich halt irgendwie mitbekommen habe, aber mir war das nie so wirklich bewusst, dass Russland ein Teil meiner Heimat ist. Und als ich dann so ein bisschen älter geworden bin, habe ich dann angefangen das mehr wert zu schätzen. Also ich habe in der Schule in der neunten Klasse angefangen Russischunterricht zu nehmen, damit ich schreiben und lesen lernen kann. Und da hat es so ein bisschen angefangen und ich hab halt auch hin und wieder russische Filme geguckt. Oder wenn ich bei meiner Oma in Moskau war, haben wir russische Lieder gehört so ein bisschen aber ... nicht so richtig, nicht so dass man sagen könnte, dass ich irgendwie ... hmm naja, dass ich mich so Russisch gefühlt habe. Und das ist mir irgendwann bewusst geworden, dass ich diese zweite Hälfte die, ich finde schon, zu meiner Identität gehört, überhaupt nichts darüber weiß.

Und ich hab dann versucht ein Praktikum zu bekommen in einem russischsprachigen Land und hab dann Praktikum gemacht in Moskau für sechs Wochen und das war das erste Mal, dass ich bewusst in Russland für längere Zeit gelebt hab. Und auch längere Zeit mit dem russischen Alltag konfrontiert war. Aber weil die Arbeit halt auf Deutsch war, war es immer noch nicht so das Richtige und ich hab mich dann mehr dafür interessiert und russische Freunde gefragt nach Musik oder versucht auch mehr ... oder häufiger die gleichen Filme immer wede zu gucken. Dann hat meine Chefin den Austausch gefunden, wo eine E-Mail rumgegangen ist im E-Mail-Verteiler, dass es eine Fahrt gibt nach Sibirien.

And I wanted ... during my internship time, I thought about going somewhere else in Russia or also in other Russian-speaking countries and had no exact or concrete idea where I should go or drive and why. Then there was this exchange to Siberia and I thought this is the right thing to go there. I did not have an idea what to expect. I would say that this trip so potentiated my desire to learn more about Russia, and that I again realized that I feel com-

fortable in this culture and that I would like to know more about it. I would say that during the exchange there was a lot of singing and storytelling and the whole time culture was the main topic and differences were at the centre of attention. [...] where I realized that I understand things a little differently than other Germans. That e. g. it is not strange for me that one eats pap (Russian: *kasha*) a lot because I know it from my grandmother. But at the same time when you eat it for a long period of time it gets on my nerves at some point. I realized then that I am not so completely Russian.

The youth exchange fits into my development to get to know more about Russia and my own origin. [...] Now I can tell my mother things which she does not know, I can show her songs and she knows them and then we can talk about where she knows them from and so on. [...] When we were in Siberia things developed in such a way that I gradually benefitted from my [Russian] language and picked up things faster, I would say, than Germans. And then I could explain more, because I could also ask someone. E. g. the songs which we recorded there, I searched them in the internet and found them and wrote to everyone on Facebook that they could also look at them. Now, since we are here again and listen to this music very often, I can sing these songs along and partially [laughs]... I even corrected it yesterday when the song text was wrong and I think that is very nice too. In a meanwhile I am not only the one who speaks a little and can perhaps explain a little here and there, but that I feel more... have more a sense of belonging. In general I find that there is far too little music-making in Germany. Among my friends from school, those whom I know, if someone sings then one is told: Stop it! It sounds wrong! And I find it really stupid, because when you sing it is not only about hitting the right tone, but also to express one's own mood.

Ah! What I still wanted to tell, namely I am also used for example that people in my environment are not so interested in Russia. Well, yes when they hear that I speak Russian, they ask: yes and how is it in this country? But beyond that they are not interested, for example to travel there and to deal with this culture and problems which exist there. And the group of Germans who are here is totally fascinated by this country. They constantly want to know more, want to expand their knowledge and to learn the language and I find it very pleasant... this atmosphere and the interest in the other person.

Und ich wollte... ich hatte mir so oder so überlegt während der Zeit des Praktikums irgendwo anders noch hinzufahren in Russland oder auch andere russischsprachige Länder und hatte aber noch keine genaue und konkrete Idee wo ich hin gehen, fahren soll und warum und wozu. Dann war dieser Austausch nach Sibirien und da dachte ich: das ist genau das richtige um dahin zu fahren. Ich hatte aber keine Vorstellungen was mich da erwartet. Ich würde sagen dass diese Fahrt so nochmal... dieses Verlangen danach mehr zu erfahren über Russland so potenziert hat, dass ich nochmal festgestellt habe, dass ich mich

wohl fühle in dieser Kultur und dass ich noch mehr wissen möchte und mehr kennen möchte. Und ich würde sagen dass beim Austausch auch dadurch so viel gesungen wurde und so viel erzählt wurde und das Thema die ganze Zeit Kultur war und die Unterschiede immer wieder so ein Thema waren [...]wo ich dann schon gemerkt habe, dass ich Sachen ein bisschen anders verstehe als die anderen Deutschen. Dass ich z.B. ... für mich nicht komisch ist dass man viel *kasha* isst, weil ich das von meiner Oma halt kenn, dass es so ist. Aber gleichzeitig wenn's dann sehr lange ist geht's mir dann auch irgendwann auf die Nerven. Wo es dann wieder so ist dass ich dann schon gemerkt habe, dass ich halt auch nicht so ganz russisch bin.

[...]

Und der Sibirien Austausch ist... ähm... passt halt rein in diese Entwicklung, mehr über Russland zu erfahren und über die eigene Herkunft. [...] Und jetzt kann ich meiner Mutter von Sachen erzählen die sich vielleicht noch nicht kennt. Kann ihr Lieder zeigen oder ich zeig' ihr Lieder und sie kennt sie und dann können wir darüber reden woher sie sie kennt und so. [...] In Sibirien, als wir dann da waren, hat sich das aber so entwickelt, dass ich doch nach und nach durch so Vorteile der Sprache schneller Sachen aufgegriffen habe, würde ich sagen, als die Deutschen. Oder dann auch mehr erklären konnte, weil ich halt auch nachfragen konnte. Z.B die Lieder die wir dort auch aufgenommen haben, dass ich die dann im Internet gesucht habe und gefunden und dann halt an alle bei Facebook geschrieben hab, dass sie sich die auch angucken können. [...] Jetzt wo wir hier wieder da sind, dadurch, dass wir die Musik so häufig gehört haben, kann ich jetzt auch bei einigen Liedern mitsingen und teilweise [lacht] habe ich gestern sogar berichtet, wenn der Text falsch war und das finde ich, ist auch sehr schön. Dass ich mittlerweile nicht nur die bin, die ein bisschen spricht und vielleicht hier und da ein bisschen was erklären kann, sondern dass ich mich noch mehr fühle... noch ein bisschen so... zugehörig fühle. Überhaupt finde ich, dass in Deutschland viel zu wenig musiziert wird. Also unter meinen Freunden, von der Schule die ich kenne, da ist, wenn einer singt, dann wird immer gleich gesagt: Hör auf, das hört sich schief an, was ich total blöd finde, weil es geht ja beim Singen nicht nur darum den Ton zu treffen sondern eine Stimmung auszudrücken und so.

Ah! Was ich noch erzählen wollte, und zwar bin ich z.B. auch gewohnt, dass Menschen in meinem Umfeld nicht so interessiert sind an Russland. Also schon, wenn sie dann hören: Ja und ich spreche Russisch, dass sie dann mal nachfragen: ja und wie ist es in dem Land? Aber, dass sie nicht darüber hinaus interessiert sind. Z.B. hinzufahren oder sich mehr mit der Kultur und den Problem usw. auseinanderzusetzen, die dort existieren. Und die Gruppe von Deutschen, die hier ist, ist total fasziniert von dem Land, die alles ständig wissen wollen die gerne ständig ihr Wissen erweitern wollen, die Sprache lernen wollen und das finde ich auch sehr angenehm. Diese Atmosphäre, dieses Interesse am Gegenüber.

Regina (25)

Обмен для меня это узнать и увидеть что-то новое и интересное. Знакомство с другими людьми, их традициями и мировоззрением.

For me the exchange is a way of learning about something interesting and new. It is a way of getting to know different people, their traditions and worldviews.

Gosia (24)

Что для меня обмен? Прежде всего это интересный опыт, возможность увидеть кусочек другого (необычного) мира а самое главное повстречать замечательных и интересных людей. Было классно!!!

What does the exchange mean for me? First of all, it is an interesting experience, a possibility to see a part of a different (unusual) world and the main thing is to meet wonderful and interesting people. It was great!!!

Zhenia (30)

Я считаю, что этот обмен очень полезен для молодёжи. Это возможность узнать много нового, получить много положительных эмоций, познакомиться с жизнью людей в другой стране. Вспоминаю нашу поездку только с положительными эмоциями. Спасибо огромное организаторам поездки и тем, кто вообще придумал идею этого обмена!

I think that this exchange is very useful for youths. It is a possibility to learn a lot of new things, to experience positive emotions, to get to know life of people in another country. I remember our visit only with positive emotions. Many thanks to the organizers of the trip and to all, who created the idea of such an exchange!

Maksim (25)

Мне очень понравилась поездка. Всё было хорошо организовано. Была насыщенная программа. Было приятно встретиться со старыми знакомыми и не знакомыми.

I liked the trip. It was very well organized. It was a very saturated program. I was glad to meet people whom I get to know and did not know before.

Nastia (26)

Поездка в Германию по программе была очень яркой и запоминающейся. Было интересно узнать о жизни в Германии не понаслышке, а настоящему: увидеть деревни и города, прикоснуться к ее истории и ее

настоящему, увидеть людей в их обычной жизни. Запомнилось знакомство и общение с ребятами, которые организовывали поездку. Большое спасибо за все!!!

The travel to Germany was very outstanding and unforgettable. It was interesting to learn about life in Germany not from hearsay, but in reality: to see villages and cities, to touch its history and the presence, to see people in their everyday life. Unforgettable is the acquaintance with folks, who organized the trip. Thank you very much for everything!!!

Sonja (21)

Für mich ist der Austausch ein tiefes Eintauchen in eine mir fremde Kultur.

Es war sehr spannend zu erleben, wie die Menschen die Traditionen und ihren alten Glauben mit der Moderne verbinden und sie wach halten können. Der Aufenthalt in Kazym und im Camp waren für mich die beste Zeit.

Musik, Tanz, Theater und Handwerk lernten wir kennen und durften mitmachen. Die Verständigung läuft durch die sprachliche Barriere auf einer ganz anderen Ebene ab, die trotzdem eine starke Verbundenheit ermöglicht.

Gerade dann auch im Jahr nach dem Austausch, für die Menschen, die uns so eine tolle Zeit geschenkt haben, Gastgeber zu sein, war sehr schön. Mich hat der Austausch sehr bereichert.

For me that exchange was a deep immersion into a foreign culture. It was very exciting to experience how people connect their traditions and their old beliefs with modernity and keep it alive. The stay in Kazym and in the camp was the best time for me. We could learn and participate in music, dance, theatre and handicraft sessions. The mutual understanding happens beyond the language barrier on a completely different level, which nevertheless makes strong connections possible. Especially one year after the exchange [in Siberia] to be able to host people, who gave us such a wonderful time, was wonderful. This exchange was an enriching experience for me.

Janine (29)

Der Austausch hat mich gelehrt, wie nah man sich Menschen fühlen kann, obwohl man deren Sprache nicht spricht. Ich werde die gemeinsame Zeit nie vergessen, sowohl in Sibirien als auch hier. Ich bin unendlich dankbar diese Erfahrung gemacht haben zu dürfen und diese lieben Menschen kennengelernt haben zu dürfen.

The exchange taught me how close one can feel to people, despite the fact that one does not speak their language. I will never forget our time together in Siberia and back here. I am endlessly grateful to be able to make such an experience and to meet such lovely people.

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Photo 183: Collective creation. Bread baking at the Lebensgarten Steyerberg, Germany (I. SCHRÖDER, 2018)

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