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**“Not by oil alone’: A History of Khanty and
Mansi Political Mobilization, 1985 to 1996,” 2005.**

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the origins of political mobilization amongst the Khanty and Mansi of Northwest Siberia, from the advent of *perestroika* in the Soviet Union in 1985 to the waning of the native rights movement by 1996. The central questions under investigation are how the Khanty and Mansi movement began and, importantly, what methods they employed in their political activism. I argue that they have engaged in politics at a symbolic level, incorporating symbols of their culture into their political activities and discourse, and then injecting these symbols into the public political arena to gain support and to renegotiate their place in the Soviet and post-Soviet political landscape. This research is grounded in oral interviews with native and non-native community members and leaders in Northwest Siberia, as well as in primary and secondary documentary sources.