

The Current Situation of the Traditional Sectors

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KEYWORDS Chukotka Native. Fishing. Community. Traditional Economy

ABSTRACT The paper is targeted at analyzing the current situation and prospects of the development of the traditional trades of the indigenous population of Chukotka. The author describes a modern state of reindeer breeding, sea hunting and fishing, appraises the current socio-economic situation in these sectors, which currently play an important role in life of native peoples of Chukotka. At the same time, these spheres of traditional trades run into serious troubles connected with continuity – local young people do not have motivation and, as a result, desire for dealing with nature management. The author reveals such problems as keeping up the traditional way of life in present-day conditions, developing of private reindeer, supporting young people, who are engaged in reindeer breeding and fishing. Recommendations relating to the further development of reindeer breeding, sea hunting and fishing in Chukotka are also given in the paper.

INTRODUCTION

Modern Russian scientists focus their attention on studying the problem of support and development of the traditional cultures of the indigenous people of the North. A wide range of questions under the study comprise modern demographic and social problems, traditional nature management, the experience of cooperation with industrial companies, education and socio-linguistic situation, ethnic identity and the development of social movements, amongst others (Funk 2015; Novikova et al. 2015; Wiget et al. 2014). Ethnological expertise takes a special place in such researches. Ethnological expertise takes into account the traditional knowledge of groups under study, particularly in the field of ecology and nature management, common law and existing legal practices. The basis for this approach is the study of changes in lifestyle, though anthropological methods of study allow studying the socio-economic, political, cultural and demographic aspects (Vasilkova et al. 2011; Golovnev et al. 2014).

Recently researchers have focused their attention on various aspects of the culture of the indigenous population of the Northeast of Russia. There is an ongoing long-term work on studying the reindeer breeding and sea hunting cultures of the indigenous people of Chukotka. Scientists also study the problems connected with keeping up and development of trades, with pass-

ing skills from one generation to another, with the threats generated by the industrial development of Chukotka (Kolomiets 2015a; Nuvano and Etylin 2000; Leonova 2014; Tishkov et al. 2016).

Nowadays scientists focus their attention on studying the problems of modern reindeer breeding – reorganization of reindeer husbandry, human resources problem, a process of municipalization, government assistance and other aspects of traditional trades in Chukotka (Gray 2016; Baskin 2016).

At the same time, the current problems of traditional trades traversed in scientific literature are not enough. The following questions should be thoroughly studied: the operating of reindeer breeders' and sea hunters' communities, interrelations between the young generation and professional hunters and fishermen, adaptation problems of traditional trades to new economic conditions.

Objectives

The research is targeted at analyzing the current situation and prospects of the development of the traditional trades of the indigenous population of Chukotka. The objectives of the study are characterization of modern reindeer breeding, sea hunting and fishing description, fixation of changes in these sectors, recommendations relating to the further development of traditional and contemporary nature management of indigenous population of Chukotka.

METHODOLOGY

The bases of the research are ethnographic field methods of collecting data including direct observation and interview. Official documents and statistical information, which are important sources for this research, were also collected. Collection of materials and population survey were carried out in 2013-2015 in Anadyr and Bilibino towns of the Anadyrskiy and Bilibinskiy regions of Chukotka. Respondents were chosen from different regions of Chukotka, they were the reindeer breeders, hunters, fishermen, indigenous intelligentsia representatives, and leaders of public organizations. The collected data show the attitude of local people to traditional trades, their wish to keep traditions in these areas. The data also helps to answer the question of how different age and social classes of the indigenous population evaluate a modern state of traditional sector. The researcher considers that the traditional nature management successfully coexists with modern methods of economic activity.

OBSERVATIONS AND DISCUSSION

Reindeer breeding, sea hunting and fishing are the most important agricultural branches in Chukotka. These practices, besides preserving and developing the culture of the indigenous people of Chukotka in the modern world, meet their need for traditional food (Kolomiets 2015b; Nuvano 2015).

Reindeer Breeding

With the collapse of the USSR the reindeer breeding in the North underwent drastic changes. In 1991 – 1998 the reorganization was held in Chukotka, the state farms (*sovkhos*) were split into small reindeer enterprises, which proved to be unworkable. That caused the degradation of reindeer breeding. Many scientists considered this period as crisis of Chukchi reindeer. By 1998, at the period of the complete collapse of reindeer in Chukotka, the government took measures to support the remained reindeer population and imposed social support for reindeer herders (Gray 2016). Reindeer breeding was brought under government control, and thus this branch of traditional trades was gradually restored.

In Chukotka, today there are 16 reindeer farms, five of them are tribal. There work 65 reindeer brigades. In the reindeer farms 850 people are employed, 230 of them are women (in 2011 there were 530 female reindeer breeders of the third qualification level). About 170 thousand of deer are herded.

The average salary of a reindeer breeder is 25 thousand rubles despite the fact that the average salary in the economy in Chukotka in the period from January to July 2015 is 82.6 thousand rubles. This sector is experiencing an acute shortage of professionals. Labor supply in this sector made up seventy-seven percent in 2014 and was eighty-three percent in 2013. However, only twenty-one percent of executives have a higher vocational education, and 37.5 percent of them have secondary special education. In reindeer breeding sector mostly people working are middle-aged and pensioners. One of the main problems is the reluctance of women to work in tundra. Heads of reindeer farms note that lack of women in brigades' leads to the fact that their husbands will sooner or later follow them, change jobs and way of life. Total demand for specialists in reindeer breeding sector was 235 people at the end of 2014.

One of the most important problems in the rural areas is the social infrastructure development to attract young people. Job availability is not the only condition for the return of young professionals who have received vocational training. The lack of financial and administrative segregation in a professional environment, modern entertainment and sport facilities, qualitative health care, and so on are also other factors.

Despite the measures taken by the Government of the Chukchi Autonomous Okrug on the development of Chukotka reindeer breeding sector, we can establish the fact of low level of material and technical equipment of reindeer farms. Great efforts should be put forth to provide this sector with the means of communication, special clothing, inventory, reindeer brigades infrastructure, the allocation of funds for manufacturing of mobile nomadic accommodation and other elements of the nomadic way of life; to improve the living conditions of reindeer breeders' families in the residential communities, to provide systematic medical examination and treatment of reindeer breeders (Kolomiets 2015a). Reindeer breeders of some farms complain of the poor and irregular food supply. In nomadic routes there

are more than 30 saddle-points and more than half of them are in poor condition; they have not been reconstructed since the Soviet times. In 2015, three modern saddle-points were purchased for Kanchalan and Amguema.

Along with the development of the traditional reindeer breeding it is essential to develop associated activities: deep processing of venison, deer pelts processing, organization of fur-sewing workshops, collection and sale of reindeer antlers to find end markets for leather and fur raw materials. For example, in the Chukchi Autonomous Okrug there is a steady demand for fur clothing of deerskin (on special clothes for reindeer breeders, hunters, fishermen), but there are no skilled craftsmen and high quality raw materials for its production, there are no financial resources to pay the masters. "Clothes sewing is a job for female native residents, this is their income, it is keeping up the traditions and herdsman's health, because nothing is better than original herdsman's clothes to work in frosty weather" (The Organized System of Management of the Sector Will Help 2014). At the Department of Agriculture Policy and Nature Management it was discussed about the construction of plants for the pelts processing in Amguema and Lorino. But there should be a stable product market for the finished product. "In Anadyr the workshop for raw materials processing was launched and now it is not functioning. There were neither chemicals nor professionals. Entering the market, the prices of equipment were found to be very high, the same with supportive services, and all these costs resulted in very high price for finished product. None would buy it. They were not competitive" (Source: Field survey).

At the beginning of the 21st Century in the Chukchi Autonomous Okrug, there was a policy of a phased substitution of the delivered livestock production (including import) for the products of local producers. First the researchers are talking about the growth in the total number of reindeer and a commercial increase in the venison production. This area remains relevant today and is taken under the state policy of import substitution. Thus, the state enterprise "Chukoptorg" and the municipal enterprise "The Food Complex "Polarny" plan to increase the venison production (The proceedings of the Department of the Agriculture policy and Nature management of the Chukchi Autonomous Region. Section: "Reindeer breeding").

Overall, the reindeer farms of Chukotka have gradually adapted to the new economic conditions. New technologies for the venison processing are implemented in residential communities including Kanchalan, Khatyrka, and Amguema. The material base of farms is strengthened.

Reindeer products become competitive, which is an incentive for further growth of deer farms, communities and development of entrepreneurship among the indigenous population. The exchange coupling is between the reindeer breeders and the sea hunters of Chukotka. Sea hunters of the geographically neighboring communities "Ankalyt", "Lorino" supply reindeer breeder herders of the communities "Amguema", "Pioneer" and others with meat, seal and bearded seal pelts, leather belts, in exchange for venison and fur raw materials.

The reindeer breeders' expectancies are linked to the prospects of development of the private reindeer breeding. Currently in the Chukchi Autonomous Okrug there is no one community, which is engaged in reindeer breeding.

Currently in private use there are 5872 deer. The reindeer breeders are not satisfied with the fact that the executives of the agricultural enterprises write off personal deer on the so-called unproductive waste. Controlling this situation is extremely difficult, as records of a household book is not kept everywhere. By the order of the governor of Chukotka on the yearly results, reindeer breeders are awarded by fawns. For example, in the village Vayegi the reindeer breeders have 60 fawns for private use. Private reindeer farms need to be developed, but also there should be an efficient commercial and marketing system, cooperatives and trading stations where the product may be exchanged for necessary goods, raw materials. So Kanchalanre in deer breeder interpret the current situation: "Any deer reindeer breeder will look after his own deer more carefully, but the regional administration does not want to give deer in their private use" (Source: Field survey).

Scientists believe that nowadays the support of reindeer breeding in Russia, including in Chukchi Autonomous Okrug, is equal to the support, given to the Sami reindeer herders in Norway and Finland (Baskin 2016).

Sea Hunting

Sea hunting is a traditional type of economic activity and the food base of the coastal Chuk-

chi and Eskimos of Chukotka. Nowadays sea hunting and fishing culture is focused mainly on the coastal area between the residential community Uelkal at the entrance to the Cross Bay and the residential community Vankaremon, the coast of the Chukchi Sea. In this area there are about 6,400 people living in 14 national villages. About 1,600 American Eskimos live in four villages on the Alaska side of the Bering Strait mainly by sea hunting (Bogoslovskya 2013).

In the sea hunters' communities of Chukotka there are 305 people. Moreover, there are private hunters and fishers. In the opinion of executive secretary of the Association of Chukotka hunters', the current number of sea hunters in the marine regional communities is at least 800 people.

The greatest number of sea hunters' communities is on the territory of the Providensky municipal district. D. Oparin has given a detailed description of the state of the sea hunting in this area. The author touches the problem of the lack of state support for the fishery, while the quotas for sea animals are spent by the population, and the author also notes the need for the exchange of products between coastal and reindeer breeding groups of the indigenous people (Novikova and Funk 2012).

In the Chukchi region there are three geographically neighboring communities, and one community is in the Iultinsky region. By January 1, 2014 these sea hunting communities produced 5730 head of sea wild animals, including 120 gray whales. The communities receive an annual quota for the production of 5135 gray and bowhead whales. In 2013, the hunters of Chukotka were given a quota for production of 3620 bearded seals, 1373 walruses, 170 white whales, 395 sea calves, 3290 ringed seals. In 2014, the communities received the permission to produce 1292 bearded seals, 1436 walruses, 180 white whales, 538 sea calves, 2865 ringed seals, 5 banded seals. The sea hunters have the opportunity to participate in the discussion of quotas. Till September 1 applications for the next fishing year are accepted from the communities in the Department of Agricultural Policy and Nature Management of the Chukchi Autonomous Okrug. Quotas are formed based on the production plans of the hunters themselves. The representatives of the communities are involved in the work of the International Whaling Commission, where quotas for gray and bowhead whales are validated to meet the needs of the indigenous people in the

traditional food (The proceedings of the Department of the Agriculture policy and Nature management of the Chukchi Autonomous Region. Section: "Sea fishing").

In support of sea hunting in 2013, 107 million rubles was spent. In 2014 from the regional budget there 109.7 million rubles were provided. The main items of expenses are salaries of sea hunters and fishers, insurance payments, material and technical equipment of the communities (seasonal clothing and footwear for hunters, boats, cartridges, signal devices for the safety of people at sea, life jackets, buoys, binoculars, halyards, first aid kits). The sea hunters' average salary in the community is 21.3 thousand rubles in 2013 and 18 thousand rubles in 2014, but in different communities it varies and depends on sales. The Lorinsky community has gained 3 million 800 thousand rubles, the community "Daurkin" has gained about 5 million 600 thousand rubles, in other communities revenue is made up from 300 to 500 thousand rubles a year. The territorial and neighboring communities "Lorino" (village Lorino, the Chukchi region) and "Daurkin" (village Lavrentiya, the Chukchi region) are examples of successful development of traditional fisheries today. In addition to sea hunting of walruses, bearded seals, seals, and whales, they are engaged in related activities: stocking of bearded seals and seal spelts, stocking and sale of walrus bone; applying new technology for storage of meat of wild sea animals (vacuum packaging, freezers). In the community, "Lorino", the bone carving workshop was organized by its chairman, A. Ottoy, who allowed an increase in the income of workers. Communities that receive the state support in the form of subsidies on one hand and earn their own money on the other are able to spend these funds on further development. Taking into account the positive experience of the community, "Lorino" reported that the community produced 52 whales in 2014, the community bought a quick-freezing machine which cost 3 million rubles, the plan was to equip the industrial premises with wind generators and solar panels to reduce the cost of public utilities (The proceedings of the Department of the Agriculture policy and Nature management of the Chukchi Autonomous Region. Section: "Sea fishing").

Chukotkahas have an operational experience in the rearing of wild sea animals and its meat processing. In 2014 the region purchased and

set up special equipment to aid the formulation and technology process of producing stewed walrus meat. Another aim of this was to create new jobs for the indigenous people as well as introduce modern methods of products processing. In 2006, the sea wild animals' meat processing mini-plant, "Lorino" was registered where the meat, fat, by-products and bones of fin-footed carnivores were processed. In 2009, it was merged with the agricultural enterprise, "Keper" and the canning plant became one of the divisions of the enterprise, it employed 10 experts. Tinned stewed meat of walrus, bearded seal and ringed seal were produced. The productivity rate was 600 cans per 8-hour shift. A huge amount of money was invested in the project, but it was not possible to run a shop at full capacity because of lack of demand for products, impossibility to appoint a specialist-technologist, the problems with the marketing of the products (canned meat can only be sold in the Chukchi Autonomous Okrug (ChAO), as a walrus is included into the Red data book, so it is considered unprofitable).

A profitable activity for sea hunters is catching young walrus for water parks, zoos and circuses. Since 2009, the Federal Agency on Fishery has allocated quotas on the so-called live-caught. In 2012, the quota was 100 heads of young growth. The communities "Lorino", "Ankalyt" and "Daurkin" caught 15 walrus in 2014.

Modern hunters are provided with the necessary material and technical devices (large-caliber rifle devices), boats, motors, radios, satellite phones, fuel, clothing, but in residential communities there is no machinery and technical equipment. A sea hunter from Lorino shared his problems related to fishing: "The work of the hunter is very hard. We really do not have enough tractors and all-terrain vehicles. Although it has been promised for many years. The community, "Daurkin" does not have a tractor. We need the winch to transport sea animals on the shore. We ourselves take out boats on the shore and it is 300 meters from the sea. Just try to drag the boat to the sea in the spring on fast shore ice! Our glacier is old; the meat gets spoiled. To fill the glacier to form ice in it, we need trucks. So we go to different organizations and ask for help to take out walrus and boat on shore" (The proceedings of the Department of the Agriculture policy and Nature management of the Chukchi Autonomous Region. Section: "Sea Fishing").

Old-timers say that young hunters do not appreciate and consider the experience and stories of the elderly hunters, but rely on modern techniques and equipment, they mostly rely on the powerful wheel motors, cordless phones and other modern equipment. They inherit some fishing traditions but only part of them, the overwhelming majority of young hunters go into the sea because in the national settlements there are no other fields of activities (The Fundamentals of Sea Hunting: Scientific Handbook 2007).

Fishery

Fishing is one of the most prevalent activities not only for the rural population, but also for the citizens of Chukotka. Indigenous people can catch fish without restrictions, except for rare aquatic biological resources. For indigenous people quotas for fresh water (whitefish, whitefish, grayling, smelt, whitefish) and marine fish (halibut, cod, saffron cod, red salmon, chum salmon, pink salmon, loach) are allocated. The Government of the ChAO identified 635 fishing areas: 281 for the indigenous population, it has plans to legalize another 252 fishing areas (The proceedings of the Department of the Agriculture policy and Nature management of the Chukchi Autonomous Region. Section: "Fishery").

Fishing is an important agricultural industry of the ChAO. In the city of Anadyr, in the villages of Meynypilgyno and Khatyrka of the Anadyr region, there are three fish processing complexes. In Anadyr, a smoking and a tinned food factory operate. In 2012, 46.3 thousand tons of fish was released. Basically, the company focused on catching salmon fish (hunchback salmon, red salmon, chum salmon). There are prospects for the organization of fishing in the river and lake waters. The district has four fishing companies, which provide mostly indigenous population with seasonal work. Indigenous peoples of Chukotka catch and sell fish, but they do not have refrigeration equipment to store it, there are no fishing bases for year-round fishing. Therefore, in the future it is necessary to fix the place for fishing communities, to provide financial assistance for the purchase of cooling equipment and the development of industrial infrastructure.

Every year during the fishing season various violations are revealed, including cases of poaching and barbaric attitude to natural resources (fishing only for caviar stocking). There are

cases when under the cover of indigenous people, indigenous population fishes. Representatives of local governments, activists from the indigenous people took the initiative to fix fishing areas for the communities and were responsible for improvement of their sanitary state and protect them from non-rational use. It is also necessary to continue the practice of delivering emboweled and disemboweled fish to the communities. Communities, in turn, have the opportunity to take it to larger trade-purchasing enterprises. The main problems for the fishery development is a complex transportation scheme, they are at a considerable distance from the district markets and due to transport costs, the products of the Chukchi fishermen become uncompetitive (The proceedings of the Department of the Agriculture policy and Nature management of the Chukchi Autonomous Region. Section: "Fishery").

Indigenous Peoples' Communities in Chukotka

One of the most promising organizational-economic forms of activity are indigenous communities. In Chukotka, after the amendments introduced into the part of the Federal Law "On Fishery" concerning the rights to traditional fishing, municipal agricultural enterprises (MAE) lost the right to obtain quotas for sea animals hunting. Therefore, in the coastal villages, on the basis of former MAE, communities were founded to get quotas for sea hunting and provide traditional food to villagers. A. Otke notes "that some of these communities have been successfully developed even more successfully than under the MAE". In the region, state support is provided to 8 communities in the Iultinsky, Providenskiy and Chukchi regions (Omruvye 2015). Currently, there are 23 ChAO indigenous communities, including 6 family-tribal and 17 territorial-neighboring communities which employ more than 400 people. This form of labor organization fully enables the indigenous population to maintain a traditional lifestyle (tundra and taiga reindeer breeding, sea hunting, fishing, and so on) and to provide a stable job and a steady income. Surveys have shown that the communal principle of labor organization is the most efficient.

CONCLUSION

In modern conditions, the traditional sectors of the economy are most vulnerable and sensi-

tive to the socio-economic changes taking place in the state. But the problems of the modern development of the indigenous peoples of Chukotka are not limited to the socio-economic issues. Today, the state is faced with the task of improving the legislative basis in the field of traditional nature management, identifying the ways to save a centuries-old unique culture. Overcoming such sensitive issues is possible with a stable governmental support and active social position of the indigenous people of Chukotka. This reindeer breeding, sea hunting, fishing are "live" industries are the most significant part in which the indigenous population of Chukotka are involved in.

RECOMMENDATIONS

It is necessary to provide support to reindeer farmers, in form of materials, technical equipments, means of communication, clothing and tools to improve the production and infrastructure. Funds should also be provided for the placement of mobile nomadic housing and other elements of the nomadic way of life to improve the living conditions of the reindeer breeders' families. It is important to develop the enterprises for deep processing of venison and deer pelts, fur-sewing workshops, the collection and sale of deer antlers, to find product markets for leather and fur raw materials. Currently, in Chukotka, the private breeding of reindeer is not developed; in the near future, the regional authority should provide a favorable atmosphere for the revival of private reindeer breeding and promote the organization of private reindeer farms. Development of sea hunting within the existing tribal and territorial-neighboring communities has future prospects. It is necessary to maintain the production infrastructure and employment in the form of a traditional economy.

There is an urgent requirement to promote the advantages of the traditional sectors of the economy by implementing special federal and regional programs aimed at financial incentives for young professionals and their families involved in reindeer breeding, sea hunting and fishing.

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APPENDIX

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