

*Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology,
in cooperation with the Franckesche Stiftungen zu Halle (Saale), Germany*

**Workshop
“Postsocialisms in the Russian North”**

November 7-9, 2000

At the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology particular attention is given to comparative research of the post-socialist transformation in various parts of the Russian North, from Yamal in Western Siberia to Kamchatka and Chukotka in the Far East. In conjunction with the Conference on “Actually Existing Postsocialisms” (November 10-12, 2000), a Workshop on “Postsocialisms in the Russian North” is held on 7-9 November, 2000, to discuss issues pertaining specifically to this region.

The Franckesche Stiftungen have offered to host this workshop in their historic buildings, as they can look back on more than 250 years of academic collaboration with scientists from Russia which even led to early ethnographic fieldwork in Siberia. This tradition has recently been revived and will be further enhanced in cooperation with the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, especially on the important theme of bicultural education among the peoples of the Russian North.

The workshop brings together a diverse group of ethnographers whose main unifying feature is that they have been closely following some aspect(s) of social, economic, political and cultural change in the Russian North through extended fieldwork. Most of the papers will have some link to our prime focus on property rights. Our aim is to begin to place our own projects on specific issues and locations within a broader comparative context. We also will leave some time available for ‘brainstorming’ sessions, in which we can compare the results of our research, learn from one another, and develop ideas for future work, including possibilities for collaborative research.

We ask participants to limit their verbal presentations to 20 minutes, to allow plenty of time for discussion. The final product of this workshop will be an edited volume, which will include the papers presented at the Workshop as well as additional contributions to be solicited separately. This should serve the scholarly community for years to come as a wide-ranging “state of the art” survey of anthropological work on this region. We plan to publish this volume in the first half of 2001. To meet this publication deadline, all participants will be asked to submit their finalised papers to the editor of that volume, Erich Kasten, by December 15th, 2000.

Programme

Wednesday, 8 November:

- 8:30 *Registration*
- 9:00-9:30 *Opening*
Prof. Dr. Jan-Hendrik Olbertz, Director of the Franckesche Stiftungen
Prof. Dr. Chris Hann, Director of the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology
Dr. Erich Kasten, Coordinator of the Siberia Research Group at the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology
- 9:30-11:00 *Chair: Peter Schweitzer*
Tatiana Argounova
 Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge
 The Republic of Sakha (Yakutia): Reconstructing Ethnic Identity Memory and Symbols
David Koester
 Department of Anthropology, University of Alaska Fairbanks
 When the Fat Raven Sings: Mimesis and Environmental Alterity in Kamchatka's Environmentalist Age
- 11:00-11:30 *Coffee break*
- 11:30-13:00 *Chair: Tim Ingold*
David G. Anderson
 Department of Anthropology, University of Aberdeen
 Proprietary Ways of Knowing in Eastern Siberia
Alexander King
 California State University, Chico
 Reindeer Herders' Landscapes and Culturescapes in the Koryak Autonomous Okrug
- 13:00-14:00 *Lunch*
- 14:00-15:30 *Chair: Nikolai Vakhtin*
Emma Wilson
 Scott Polar Research Institute, Cambridge University
 Power Relations and Rights to Natural Resources in North-eastern Sakhalin
Joachim Otto Habeck
 Department of Sociology, University of Aberdeen and Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge
 How to turn a Reindeer Pasture into an Oil Well, and vice versa:

Transfer of Land, Compensation and Reclamation in the Komi Republic

15:30-16:00 *Coffee break*

16:00-18:00 *Chair: Erich Kasten*

Tamara Semenova

Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North (RAIPON)

Participation of Indigenous Peoples in Building the Russia's Strategy for Sustainable Development

Discussion of current projects on the Russian North at the MPI
and possible collaborative links with participants' projects

Thursday, 9 November:

9:00-10:30 *Chair: Nikolai Ssorin-Chaikov*

Natalia Novikova

Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, RAN, Moscow

Indigenous Minority Peoples' of West Siberia Self-government:
Draft Law on Communities and Practice

Gail Fondahl

Geography Program, University of Northern British Columbia

Boundaries and Identities: Re-conceptualizing Social Spaces in
Berezovka Nasleg, Northeast Siberia

10:30-11:00 *Coffee break*

11:00-13:00 *Chair: Patty Gray*

Anna Sirina

Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, RAN, Moscow

Clan Communities of Northern Indigenous Peoples in the Sakha
(Yakutia) Republic: Step to Self-determination?

Nelson Hancock

American Museum of Natural History, New York

Pragmatics and Prospects of Indigenous Land Claims in the Russian
North

Anna Kerttula

State of Alaska, Office of the Governor, Washington D.C.

The Democratization and Povertization of Chukotka: the
Disenfranchisement of Yup'ik and Chukchi People in the New Russia

13:00-14:00 *Lunch*

14:00-16:00 *Chair: Nikolai Ssorin-Chaikov*

Tuula Tuisku

Department of Geography, McGill University, Montréal

Transition Period in Nenetsia: Changing and Unchanging Life of Nenets People.

John P. Ziker

Department of Anthropology, University of Alaska, Fairbanks

Land Tenure and Economic Change among the Dolgan and Nganasan

Yulian Konstantinov

New Bulgarian University

Forms of Reassertion of Non-Market Models of Ownership in the former Soviet Bloc: Comparing between Murmansk Oblast and Bulgaria

16:00-17:00 *Coffee break*

17:00

Piers Vitebsky

Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge

Plenary Lecture to be announced

18:00

Reception at the Franckesche Stiftungen

Abstracts

David G. Anderson

Department of Anthropology, University of Aberdeen

Proprietary Ways of Knowing in Eastern Siberia

Circumpolar societies have been at the forefront in suggesting alternate ways of thinking about the relationships linking people to landscapes. This is no less the case in the Arctic and Sub-Arctic territories of the former Soviet Union. In pre-Soviet times, Evenki hunters and reindeer herders had a very flexible, "relational" way of understanding the land which involved notions of respect, reciprocity and a moralistic type of "knowing". This way of knowing underwrote early and late Soviet attempts to rationalise production. In the post Soviet period, the special access and relationship that so-called "indigenous" peoples have to the land have become one of the most potent symbols wielded by multi-national institutions devoted to the protection of nature and to the "development" of rural areas. In this paper, the way that indigenous knowledge is captured and represented is argued to be one of the most significant developments in the property discourse in the former Soviet Union. Links will be made with the way that former "command" economies processed intelligence of people's activities. The paper concludes with speculations on how moral discussions of the place of property might be reinserted into post-Soviet discussions.

Tatiana Argounova

Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge

The Republic of Sakha (Yakutia): Reconstructing Ethnic Identity. Memory and Symbols

This paper will be an introduction to one of the republics in the Russian Federation – Sakha (Yakutia). It will focus on the evolution of ethnic identity under different political circumstances: from the identity of the 'sovetskiy narod' to the identity of the titular nationality of the republic. I will demonstrate this transition by using the example of the Tatta area in Sakha, starting from the period when expressing one's ethnic belonging had tragic consequences. For several reasons, Tatta was considered a 'nest of bourgeois nationalism' in the republic and became a scapegoat in the fight against nationalism. Throughout the Soviet period this kind of labeling was transferred to the people in Tatta, and it had a drastic effect on them: blocking educational and career opportunities, etc. Yet, with the collapse of the Soviet Union and with the Republic of Sakha gaining more of an ethnic profile, Tatta is re-building its ethnic identity. Enthusiasts and elders in the villages are involved in remembering the repressed Tatta writers, local story-tellers, and others. They build museums and memorials which carry a clear Tatta identity. Some aspects such as olonkho (the Sakha epic) acquire a symbolic significance. These symbols become a part of the process of re-constructing an ethnic identity.

Gail Fondahl

Geography Program, University of Northern British Columbia

Boundaries and Identities: Re-conceptualizing Social Spaces in Berezovka Nasleg, Northeast Siberia

Property rights are explicitly spatial. A first step in granting such rights involves establishing the boundaries within which certain rights will be enjoyed. In the Russian North, the on-going drawing and re-drawing of political and administrative boundaries has created parallel notional boundaries, including among the aboriginal populations. If, through much of the Soviet period, administrative boundaries were drawn with minimal input from aboriginal peoples, the new social spaces created by these boundaries contributed to re-conceptualizations of aboriginal identity, creating distinct aboriginal communities from more nebulous affinities. Today, when aboriginal peoples themselves are enjoined to participate in the drawing of new administrative boundaries, in order to enjoy renewed property rights

they are also faced with the reconsideration of how to deal with past boundaries and their legacies. To what extent do these old lines serve their purposes; to what extent can they be contested and obliterated? To what purpose can old identities be re-invigorated, or new ones be forged, by the re-drawing of the lines which circumscribe rights to property?

This paper considers how the drawing and enforcing of administrative borders has contributed to the parallel creation of conceptual boundaries among the Berezovka Eveny (northeast Sakha Republic). Space relatively unbounded in the aboriginal experience provided a zone of refuge from articulation with state structures until well into the 1950s. Although administrative boundaries dissected the lands of the Berezovka Eveny on paper, these notional lines had no currency in Even society. Later, however, as state organs began to enforce the boundaries in their interest to assert their property rights, Berezovka Eveny concomitantly began to re-conceptualize their identity, at least partially in conformity to these arbitrary and imperceptible lines. Spatially, what had served the Eveny an unbounded zone of refuge from the state mutated first into a frontier of development, and then into an area bisected by a decreasingly permeable border. This border became contested as much between Even herders on either of its sides, as between the Berezovka Eveny and the state, as the discourse of property rights parlayed by the state became inculcated by the Eveny. In attributing meaning to this border, Eveny adopted new spacio-social identities. Most recently, newly drawn administrative lines, in the form of obshchina territorial boundaries a foundation for new aboriginal property rights, may be encouraging the revision yet again of spatial identities.

Joachim Otto Habeck

Department of Sociology, University of Aberdeen and
Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge

How to turn a reindeer pasture into an oil well, and vice versa: Transfer of land, compensation and reclamation in the Komi Republic

Against a background of debates on the relations between resource extraction industries and so-called traditional livelihoods, this paper examines how rights to land and changes in land-use are regulated in the area of Usinsk (Komi Republic, Russia). Usinsk is associated with one of the world's largest oil spills, which occurred in 1994. The exploration and exploitation of oil fields in this region started some thirty years ago; they have significantly changed the preconditions for reindeer husbandry and other rural economies.

Most oil fields are located in areas that have been allotted to reindeer-herding enterprises. Before oil exploration and production can start, the land must be taken from its previous user and handed over to the oil company. In this paper, I will speak about the theoretical and practical aspects of this process as well as the issues of compensation fees and reclamation. I will describe the institutional framework that deals with these questions and illustrate the gaps between the legal intentions and the actual implementation of the regulations.

On the basis of a comparison with other regions in the Russian Far North, I will briefly discuss whether the securing of indigenous land rights or the delineation of territories of traditional land-use are likely to safeguard reindeer husbandry in the Komi Republic. The overall rationale behind this case study is to explore mechanisms that might reconcile conflicting forms of land and resource use.

Nelson Hancock

American Museum of Natural History, New York

Pragmatics and Prospects of Indigenous Land Claims in the Russian North

This paper, based on extensive field research in Kamchatka, will examine a broad set of land reform issues via the specific case of Kamchadals in Central Kamchatka. Much of the contemporary ethnographic literature from Siberia points to a distinction between urban, professional natives (who typically have better access to state agencies and thus to property rights) and the rural fishing, hunting and herding segment of the native population. The same literature suggests that as conditions for rural native peoples worsen, there is a migration to towns and cities. Relying on specific examples from central Kamchatka, and

setting these in contrast to examples from throughout Siberia, this paper will attempt to synthesize a central problematic for native groups throughout the Russian North: How to resolve the dilemma in which property rights are increasingly available only to those urban professional natives with relevant networking skills, while rural natives, who are typically more dependant on and involved in traditional land use, are unable to secure the right to legally pursue their traditional economies?

Kamchadals are an interesting test case for questions of land reform precisely because, in comparison with more remote tundra-dwelling reindeer herders, Kamchadals are relatively urbanized and thoroughly integrated into Russian society. Like other native peoples, their interest in land use and securing property rights lies in both the symbolic significance of traditional land-based economic activities and the economic advantage that such practices provide in the ruined post-Soviet economy. However, because Kamchadals mostly live in towns and work, or used to work, in the mainstream economy as teachers, office workers, construction workers etc., their claims for land and privileged property rights face a skeptical opposition. Opponents of Kamchadal land rights suggest that Kamchadals do not deserve special property rights because they are not distinctive enough, they are not entirely reliant on their land-based subsistence economy and that, essentially, Kamchadal culture is a historical artifact as opposed to a living tradition.

With reference to existing Russian law and to actual practices on the ground, this paper will examine the shortcomings of contemporary *obshchino* policies and evaluate the merits of certain alternatives. For example, an alternative to the *obshchino* program would be collective land grants that would be administered by the offices of regional Associations for Native Peoples. This would move the land allocation process closer to the actual user population.

Anna Kerttula

State of Alaska, Office of the Governor

The Democratization and Povertization of Chukotka: the Disenfranchisement of Yup'ik and Chukchi People in the New Russia.

This paper will examine the effects of the Western political agenda of democratization in Russia through the development of private enterprise on the indigenous people of Chukotka. A discussion will be made of the disjuncture between Soviet social and economic programs of the past and the current realities that effect basic cultural and individual survival. In addition, the current political landscape and the ways in which the indigenous people of Alaska have tried to fill the void left by the Soviet state, both economically and spiritually, will be examined.

Alexander King

California State University, Chico

Reindeer Herders' Landscapes and Culturescapes in the Koryak Autonomous Okrug

This paper contrasts two ways of speaking about the landscape and native culture in the Koryak Autonomous Okrug, which I identify as "European" and as "native Kamchatkan." I start with native Kamchatkans' ways of talking about space and place; it is a physical landscape which is conceived in terms of social relations and activities. My second term, "culturescape" is an attempt to connect culture to the landscape in a way opposite of that meant by Appadurai with his term "ethnoscape" (*Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, 1996). My usage of "culturescapes" is an attempt to return to a more old-fashioned anthropology, one that values such information as toponymy and narratives about trees and hills. As Basso (*Wisdom Sits in Places*, 1996) argues, thinking of the landscape as existing "out there" independent of humans reflects a European worldview. This paper concerns discourses about the landscape which mark someone as native or non-native in Kamchatka. Chukotko-Kamchatkan speakers are often arranged on a scale of "nativeness" from most "assimilated" Itelmen in the south to less assimilated Koryaks in the northern part of the okrug to most "native" Chukchi living in the northern part of the okrug and beyond.

I identify a general pattern of native culture being located "out in the tundra," away from town. Typical statements about native culture by people living in towns include the opinion that there is no "culture" in town. Native culture is "out there" in the tundra, which, practically speaking, indicates either reindeer herding camps or seasonal fishing camps are where the culture is. Russian administrators consistently talk about native culture as primitive, backwards, irrational, undeveloped, even though they admitted native people were the most familiar with the local landscape, and this is a highly valued asset. Native culture is naturalized as an adaptation. Native Kamchatkans are praised for their successful survival in the "harsh climate" of Kamchatka without advanced technology, but this praise simultaneously denies their contemporary relevance in the modern world.

Western discourses about the landscape assume an independently existing, "natural" topography, which exists "out there," independent of human culture, independent of meaning (cf. Heidegger, *Building Dwelling Thinking*, 1977). I have found that native Kamchatkans do not "perceive" space and "invest" it with cultural significance. Rather, the landscape is part and parcel of an open-ended symbol system. Native discourses about the landscape create the landscape. The Koryak landscape is an enacted place. Native landscape is part of an interconnected symbol system, where places reference people and actions, deer imply places, places require rituals, and so on. This landscape is not divisible into wild and domesticated. Western reifying taxonomies class parts of the landscape as "wilderness" which is opposed to "civilization." What Russians see as "civilization" (Moscow, Petropavlovsk-Kamchatski), natives see as European spaces (cities, towns). Russians in Kamchatka understand this point of view as one that puts native people not in civilization but in wilderness, and this makes native people "wild," whether as noble savages or just "primitives."

David Koester

Department of Anthropology, University of Alaska Fairbanks

When the Fat Raven Sings:

Mimesis and Environmental Alterity in Kamchatka's Environmentalist Age

As opposing international influences of oil, gas and mining developers on the one hand and environmentalists of various ilk crisscross and circumnavigate Kamchatka in ever-increasing numbers, their plans for a bright future belie a fundamental faith in ideas of scientific understanding contributing to rational, profitable use. The planners, as yet, have relatively little knowledge of Kamchatka's native inhabitants and their ways of life, past and present. As they have begun to inquire about how Kamchatkans view the environment around them, subsistence practices have been the primary object of most attention. Yet economic activity is far from being the only or even the most important aspect of Kamchatkans' experience and appreciation of the natural world. Watching, listening, joking, singing, dancing, telling stories and drawing, carving and ornamenting all constitute "traditional" uses of nature that are central to human-environment relationships and Kamchatkans' understandings of their natural surroundings. From both historical and contemporary perspectives, the interplay between experience of the natural world and its expression in music, verbal and plastic arts are vital sources of both individual and social sustenance in the Kamchatkan world. This paper discusses the significance of this realm of cultural life in the new world of social engineering, environmental planning and economic development in Kamchatka. It attempts to establish a theoretical basis for thinking through developmental alternatives along three lines. First is a consideration of the specific qualities of knowing and appropriating associated with mimetic forms of apprehension and representation. Secondly, economic well-being is discussed by contrasting these qualities of appropriating and knowing with economic forms. Finally, the knowledge that is produced by these forms of expression is contrasted with both scientific knowledge and its ethnographic analogue, traditional ecological knowledge.

Yulian Konstantinov

New Bulgarian University

Forms of Reassertion of Non-Market Models of Ownership in the former Soviet Bloc:

Comparing between Murmansk Oblast and Bulgaria

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Natalia Novikova

Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, RAN, Moscow

Indigenous Minority Peoples' of West Siberia Self-government: Draft Law on Communities and Practice

Legislation, related to the indigenous minority peoples of the North of the Russian Federation, currently includes several normative documents that regulate different aspects of the life. The rights of these peoples were for the first time fixed on the constitutional level in 1993. This legislation also exists on the federal and regional levels.

On April 30, 1999 President signed Federal Law "On Guarantees of the Rights of the Indigenous Minority Peoples of the Russian Federation". The law was the first attempt to regulate legally various aspects of life of the indigenous peoples.

I am addressing only one aspect - land rights and rights for self-government. Endorsement of these rights may provide an opportunity to preserve and develop traditional cultures, based on reindeer herding, hunting and fishing; these cultures share fundamentally different approaches to the use of natural resources. One can not ignore the fact that the indigenous minority peoples of the North make up from 1% to 15% of the local population in the areas of their traditional residence, and their rights can not be fully guaranteed through the local representative institutions of power and the existing mechanisms of a democratic state., not linked with the land rights and the rights to natural resources.

For about two years I was taking part in the working group together with Mr. V.M. Etylin, one of a leading figures in the indigenous peoples movement; the group was preparing the draft law "On the general principles of organization of communities of the indigenous minority peoples of the North". Our approach to the draft law was based on the idea of the community as an institution that combines functions of self-government, of economic enterprise, of the use of means of self-organization, preserved to a larger or smaller extent by representatives of many peoples, will provide a possibility to optimize the state governance of their development; it will also help to establish a dialogue between the indigenous peoples, organized in communities, governmental institutions and industrial enterprises. Conditions for the development of self-government and self-organization can be created only on the basis of the rights to participate in natural resources management and of the legal fixation of the land rights.

The new Federal Law describes the issue of self-government as a territorially based public self-government land owner. Difficulties of realizing this concept in practice are in particular due to the fact a community is usually perceived either as a territorial or as a corporate institution. This idea grew from the analysis of the activities of the communities in the North, and even to a larger extent - from those difficulties that the indigenous peoples face when defending their land rights. As the practice show, communities are not going to be the only way of self-organization, but they demonstrate one of the ways to self-government for the peoples of the North. Some communities that have been initially organized as institutions of self-government or as economic enterprise, in the course of their development are even experiencing the need to broaden their powers and functions.

One of the articles of the draft law is devoted to folk law, and the folk law is given a considerable role in regulating issues of local development. Applicability of this article would be tested through its future use in legal procedures, for example, in regulating land use within community. This article may also manifest development of the Article 14 of the new Federal Law, the latter stating that traditions and customs of these peoples should be taken into consideration in the court hearings.

Unfortunately our work on the draft law did not result in success, and we were practically removed away from working on the text at the final stage. The final draft document that passed through the first hearings at the State Duma on July 6, 2000, differ to a considerable extent from our version that has been approved by many representatives of the Association of the indigenous minority peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East.

Tamara Semenova

Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North, Moscow (RAIPON)

Participation of Indigenous Peoples in building the Russia's Strategy for Sustainable Development

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Anna Sirina

Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, RAN, Moscow

Clan Communities of Northern Indigenous Peoples in the Sakha (Yakutia) Republic: Step to Self-determination?

Consolidation of unity of all nations with a special emphasis on the role of the sakha (yakut) people is a basic tendency of national policy in the Sakha republic. Under such circumstances the process of self-determination among the northern indigenous minorities numbering only 2,5% of total population of the Sakha republic, have been proceeding extremely interesting.

On the basis of the field data, collected in 1993, 1997-1999, process of "clan-based" communities' development is examined. It was a reaction of northern indigenous peoples on political and socio-economic changes of late 1980th- 1990th. Breaking up of state farms has finished, partly in connection with reconstruction policy of state protectionism. Now the reverse process of reunification is observing, stimulated on republican and federal levels.

Clan-based communities were founded as a rule as an economic units, although there are same cases when units of clan communities were acted as a self-governance structures in a framework of local administrative bodies. The main criteria for clan-based communities creation was the fact of conducting "traditional" subsistence economy on the land of "traditional" occupation. It is quite interesting, that republican laws, following life's realities, gave more flexible interpretation of ethnic structure, as well as forms of subsistence economy.

This is an attempt to revitalize traditional family economy on the basis of individual and collective types of property. This process had been closely connected with land claims and self-determination movement among the Northern indigenous peoples. Nevertheless, the republican legislation concerning land rights were differ from legislation passed by other administrative regions of Russian Federation. While the territorial principle had been taken as a basic for laws in Primorskii and Khabarovskii territory, Magadanskyi, Kamchatskyi regions, in Sakha republic main principle consisted in existing/ definition of social units (so-called clan-based communities).

There are about 208 "clan-based" communities of indigenous northern minorities in the Sakha Republic by now. In 1997, they had in common use about 48,2 mln. hectares of land for traditional subsistence - hunting, reindeer-breeding, fishery. In the same time there are 51 collective and soviet farms, 157 different state enterprises. Economic activity of clan-based communities and their productivity are low (only 1,7% of total amount of agricultural production in the republic). A question is arising: whether the land of traditional resource management will be reservation for their "traditional" culture or the take-off point for their cultural and socio-economic development?

On the basis of republic legislation and on the case study of two clan-based communities, "Tompo" and "Maltan", questions of property rights, including rights to land, domestic reindeers, biological resources will be examined. I am considering the title "clan-based community" in some cases only a change of label.

It is obvious, that current changes are not a simple restoration of "traditional" subsistence economy, social structure and ordinary law. In general it can be characterised as a movement not only to the economic, but also to the political self-determination, in order to become a subject of decision-making.

Tuula Tuisku

Department of Geography, McGill University, Montréal

Transition period in Nenetsia: changing and unchanging life of Nenets people.

The 1990's were time of transition in the Russian Federation. In this paper I discuss changes which have occurred in the life of the Nenets people in the Nenets Autonomous Okrug (Nenetsia). This paper is based on my fieldwork which I conducted in Nenetsia in 1996-1997 in three different reindeer herding units.

While some changes have occurred, some things have remained unchanged. This is very obvious in reindeer herding: privatization of reindeer herding has only started (there are only 3 private units out of 15 reindeer herding units). The reindeer herding units can now organize selling of their products independently, but still the old structure functions. Reindeer herding units face many problems: there are only few buyers, lack of cash and transportation costs are high. Life of reindeer herders is becoming family orientated because many limitations concerning life on the tundra have been cancelled, such as the number of personal reindeer of herders, dwelling or women.

The local political and administrative organs have got more power in local matters, but also in issues concerning use of oil and gas resources that has started already in the 1970's. Today, the local administration can influence on development, and also the reindeer herding units have an opportunity to participate on negotiations about development. There are also new ecological regulations requiring new environmental friendly technology from oil and gas industry. However, reindeer herding units are anxious about the impacts of future development on reindeer herding. One unchanged matter is land ownership: land is still owned by the state and land users, like reindeer herding units and oil and gas industry, obtain a right to use land for certain purpose from the local administration.

The Nenets people have acquired an official status in Nenetsia. The organization of the Nenets people, Yasavei, is the political representative of the Nenets people and in local administration a committee of indigenous peoples was also established. The Nenets organization participates also in national and international cooperation of indigenous peoples. However, on the local level, in rural areas, the unemployment rate among the Nenets is very high and social and health problems are worsening. At the same time there are attempts to revitalize the Nenets culture and language. Still, among other ethnic groups their status is very low. While many structures are changing quite rapidly, attitudes of people change slowly.

Emma Wilson

Scott Polar Research Institute, Cambridge University

Power Relations and Rights to Natural Resources in North-eastern Sakhalin

The involvement of multinational corporations in Sakhalin's off-shore oil and gas projects has contributed to a shift in the balance of power in the sphere of natural resource use. In recent years not only have international players gained prominence (oil companies, project financiers, environmental NGOs), but also new opportunities have been presented to local populations for participation in decision-making and for asserting rights to land and resources. The projects have raised several important issues for the local people of Nogliksky district in the north-east, where the population is 7% indigenous (Nivkhi, Uil'ta, Evenki). These issues include: rights to project benefits, such as "Bonus" payments and revenues; rights to land, waters and natural resources threatened with encroachment from the oil industry; rights to a voice in decision-making and to compensations.

Concern over oil-related industrial expansion has catalysed interest in determining rights in other spheres of resource use. Old debates have been revived, such as the re-organisation of former state farms (*sovkhozy*); and support for failing Native enterprises (*rodovye khozyaistva*). Recently many Nivkhi have been returning to spend summers in their former villages on the shores of the coastal lagoons. This has led to conflict with the local fishing enterprise (*kolkhoz*), the fishing inspectorate and even OMON.

The indigenous populations have more legal rights (at least on paper) than their non-indigenous fellow citizens, which causes considerable debate locally, particularly in relation to fish limits. The on-shore oil industry (from the 1920s), commercial forestry, Soviet collectivisation and sedentarisation programmes, all resulted in significant loss of access to traditional lands and fishing grounds for the indigenous people. However, many of the non-indigenous citizens are second or third generation, are experienced hunters and fishers, and

are not planning to move away from Nogliksky district; many thus feel the same ties to the land as their indigenous fellow citizens.

In the context of increased international involvement in the Sakhalin region, this paper will explore the changing power dynamics of natural resource use in Nogliksky district, and the issues that are now being raised about local rights to land, natural resources and benefits from industrial projects.

John P. Ziker

Department of Anthropology, University of Alaska, Fairbanks

Land Tenure and Economic Change among the Dolgan and Nganasan

In the multidisciplinary study Fragmented Space (Blair Ruble et al.), the effects of Russia's free market reforms are described as a process of differentiation occurring on urban-rural continuums. Urban centers, where close to all of Russia's capital wealth has become concentrated, are surrounded by vast territories of poverty and infrastructure decay. Anthropologists are describing the micro-level processes and decision-making that can feed into this differentiation. Burawoy and Verdery's edited Uncertain Transitions gives a number of examples of how former East Bloc populations are reacting to free market reform in unexpected ways. Most notably, non-market strategies, such as subsistence production and barter, have become widespread. In my research I have investigated why non-market strategies are perpetuating among the Dolgan and Nganasan.

My ethnographic research in the central Taimyr lowlands focused on land tenure and economic change. Data on the costs and benefits of participation in the larger economy were compared with the costs and benefits subsistence hunting and gathering. I found that subsistence foraging to be a low-risk, highly productive activity that provides food for families, relatives, friends, and needy people in local communities. Participation in the larger economy was highly risky in terms of predictability of cash payments and costly in terms of time required to set up business relationships and the price of travel and freight. This comparison provides an economic context for analysis of the formal land claims process in the Taimyr Region. Initiated by a 1992 decree of President Yeltsin, native groups in the Taimyr Autonomous Region were allowed to claim what were termed family-clan or clan-community land holdings. Very few families or clans have set up these private, communal land holdings in the Taimyr Region.

This paper describes the interconnections between local social processes that encourage subsistence foraging, sharing, and communal land-tenure, along with the larger-level economic and political processes that make it difficult for native families in the rural Taimyr communities to pursue formal land claims. The situation in these Siberian communities in the first Post-Soviet decade contrasts significantly with that of native North American communities experiencing increasing integration with the global economy.

Participants' addresses

David Anderson

Department of Anthropology
University of Aberdeen
Aberdeen, AB9 2TY, Scotland
david.anderson@abdn.ac.uk

Tatiana Argounova

23 Cyprus RD
Cambridge, CB1 3QA, England
Phone: 01223-321 508 (h)
Phone: 01223-336 571 (o)
ta201@cam.ac.uk

Gail A. Fondahl

University of Northern British Columbia
Geography Programme Studies
3333 University Way
Prince George, B.C. V2N 4Z9, Canada
Phone: (604) 960-5856
Fax: (604) 960-5539
fondahlg@unbc.edu

Patty Gray

Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology
PO Box 11 03 51
D-06017 Halle/Saale, Germany
Phone: +49-(0) 345 2927-222
Fax: + 49 (0) 345 2927-402
gray@eth.mpg.de

Joachim Otto Habeck

Darwin College
University of Cambridge
Cambridge CB3 9EU England
Phone: 0044-1223-336531
Fax: 0044-1223-336571
jeoh2@cam.ac.uk

Nelson Hancock

29 East 9th St. #6
New York, NY 10003, USA
nhancock@amnh.org

Tim Ingold

Department of Anthropology
University of Aberdeen
Aberdeen, AB9 2TY, Scotland
Tel +44 (0)1224-274350
e-mail tim.ingold@abdn.ac.uk
Fax: +44 (0)1224-273442

Erich Kasten

Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology
PO Box 11 03 51
D-06017 Halle/Saale, Germany
Phone: +49-(0) 345 2927-221
Fax: + 49 (0) 345 2927-402

kasten@eth.mpg.de

Anna Kerttula

4501 Connecticut Ave. NW
Apt. 1116
Washington, D.C. 20008, USA
Phone: 202-363-1596 (h)
Phone: 202-624-5991 (o)
amkert@sso.org

Alexander King

Department of Anthropology CSU, Chico
Chico, CA 95929-0400
2626 Benvenue Ave, #2
Berkeley CA 94704-3439, USA
aking@csuchico.edu

David Koester

Department of Anthropology
University of Alaska Fairbanks
P. O. Box 757720
Fairbanks, AK 99775-7720, USA
Phone: (907) 474-7133
Fax (907) 474-7453
ffdck@uaf.edu

Yulian Konstantinov

Institute for Anthropological Field-Research
New Bulgarian University
BG-1233, PO Box 59, Bulgaria
Phone: 359 2-955 9641, 955 9627
Fax: 359 2-955 9854
bsrcs@mbox.cit.bg

Igor I. Krupnik

Smithsonian Institution, MRC-112
Department of Anthropology
Washington, D.C. 20560 USA
Phone: (202) 357 4742 (o)
Phone: (202) 546 8049 (h)
Fax: (202) 357 2684
ikrupnik@erols.com

Natalia Novikova

Leninskii prospekt 32-A
Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, RAN
117334 Moscow, Russia
novn@orc.ru

Peter Schweitzer

Department of Anthropology
University of Alaska Fairbanks
Institute for Social and Cultural Anthropology (Ethnology),
University of Vienna
Universitätsstrasse 7, 1010 Vienna, Austria
peter.Schweitzer@univie.ac.at

Tamara Semenova

Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North (RAIPON)
Pr. Vernadskogo 37, Korpus 2, suite 527
117415 Moscow, Russia
tams@online.ru

Anna Sirina

Leninskii prospekt 32-A
Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, RAN
117334 Moscow, Russia
guest@wave.sio.rssi.ru and annas@sever.iea.ras.ru

Nikolai Ssorin-Chaikov

Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology
PO Box 11 03 51
D-06017 Halle/Saale, Germany
Phone: +49-(0) 345 2927-221
Fax: + 49 (0) 345 2927-402
ssorinch@eth.mpg.de

Florian Stammer

Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology
PO Box 11 03 51
D-06017 Halle/Saale, Germany
Phone: +49-(0) 345 2927-222
Fax: + 49 (0) 345 2927-402
stammer@eth.mpg.de

Tuula Tuisku

Department of Geography
McGill University
805 Sheebrooke Street West
Montréal, Quebec, H3A 2K6, Canada
ttuisk@po-box.mcgill.ca.

Nikolai Vakhtin

Institute of Linguistic Studies, European University
Furstadskaya 40-15
St. Petersburg, 191194, Russia
Phone: 007-812-2181611
Fax: 007-2731128, -21280011
nicolay@vakhtin.spb.su

Aimar Ventsel

Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology
PO Box 11 03 51
D-06017 Halle/Saale, Germany
Phone: +49-(0) 345 2927-221
Fax: + 49 (0) 345 2927-402
ventsel@eth.mpg.de

Piers Vitebsky

Scott Polar Research Institute
Lensfield Road
Cambridge, CB2 1ER England
direct phone (+44) 1223 336554
direct fax (+44) 1223 336571
back-up for messages: phone (+44) 1223 336540, fax (+44) 1223 336549

Emma Wilson

Scott Polar Research Institute
Department of Geography, Cambridge University
Lensfield Road
Cambridge, CB2 1ER England
Phone: (01223) 336566 Fax: (01223) 336571
ecw22@cam.ac.uk

John P. Ziker

Department of Anthropology
310 Eielson Hall
P.O. Box 757720
Fairbanks, AK 99775-7720, USA
Phone: 907-474-6758
Fax: 907-474-7453
ffjpz1@uaf.edu