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MEASURES TO SUPPORT INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN THEIR PLACES OF TRADITIONAL RESIDENCE: EXPERIENCE OF THE YAMALO-NENETS AUTONOMOUS REGION

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The article provides an updated view of measures to support indigenous peoples in places of their traditional residence on the territory of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Region (YNAR). The results of a sociological survey among 10 communities and two (2) small unitary enterprises of the Nents and Khanty has revealed basic problems of the indigenous peoples in such areas as education and the labor market in Yamal. A review of open communities in social networks has also identified a number of acute social and environmental issues that concern the indigenous population of the peninsula.

The purpose of the study is to outline constructive measures for improving both situation and quality of life of indigenous people in Yamal and suggest recommendations focused on a long-term well-being of indigenous peoples in their traditional places of residence. Such recommendations will be useful for other Arctic regions as well as for a wide range of readers.

Keywords: Indigenous peoples of the North, YNAA, communities, surveys, problems

Introduction

The Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Region (YNAR), along with the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) and Krasnoyarsk Territory, is considered an island of growth in the Arctic. The regions create new jobs. According to the forecasts from the Agency for Human Capital Development, by 2030, 7,800 additional jobs are expected to be created in the YNAR. Currently, the situation on the Yamal labour market remains stable. The region maintains the lowest unemployment rate among the subjects of the Urals Federal District and one of the lowest in the country. At the same time, the employment rate of indigenous minorities in Yamal is about 60% [1].

According to the 2010 All-Russian Population Census, the number of indigenous northerners in the YNAR was 41,249 (8% of the district's population), including 29,772 of the Nenets (72%), 9,489 of the Khanty (23%), and 1,988 of the Selkups (5%). Thus, Yamal

ranks first among other subjects of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation (AZRF) in terms of the number of small indigenous minorities, followed by the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) (20,330) and the Chukotka Autonomous Region (16,900). Indigenous peoples are distributed among the municipalities of the YNAR as follows: the Nenets live mainly in the Yamal (9,964 people), Taz (8,871), Priural (3,038) and Purov (3,411) districts, the Khanty - in the Shurushkar (4,381) and Priural (2,405) districts, and the Selkups - in the Krasnoselkup district (1,347 people) [2].

The purpose of the study is to identify the main problems of the YNAR indigenous peoples (in education, labor market, social and environmental areas); to define constructive points related to improving the situation and quality of life of the indigenous population; to offer recommendations focused on the long-term well-being of indigenous minorities in the places of their traditional residence.

The recent situation of indigenous minorities in Yamal can be characterized as follows.

Firstly, 87 % of Yamal indigenous residents have submitted documents to the Register of Indigenous Minorities of the Russian Federation [3]. Having an entry in the register facilitates access to support measures provided for indigenous peoples by federal and regional legislation, simplifies the processing of benefits, in particular, it allows [4]:

- not to provide documents when exercising rights for traditional fishing, hunting and other measures of state support;
- to establish an old-age social pension on the basis of the information contained in the list of persons belonging to small indigenous minorities [5];
- to receive free medical care in densely populated areas;
- to have an opportunity to perform alternative civilian service in the tundra (at a small unitary enterprise, community, agricultural production co-operative or trading post);
- to have targeted places when entering the Institute of the Peoples of the North of the Herzen State Pedagogical University of Russia.

For example, in 2021 there were allocated only 39 targeted places, of which in the direction of training 44.03.01 "Pedagogical Education" - 10; in the direction of training 44.03.05 "Pedagogical Education" (profile "Education in the field of native language and literature of indigenous minorities of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation, Education in the field of Russian language and literature" - 13; in the direction of training 44.03.05 "Pedagogical Education" (profile "Ethnocultural Education, Historical Education" - 16 [6; 7]. According to G. P. Ledkov, in Soviet times, up to 200 targeted places were allocated annually at the Herzen State Pedagogical University for the education of indigenous minorities, and now it is important to resume the practice [8]. According to the order of the President of the Russian Federation No. Pr-71 of 16 January 2020, the Government of the Russian Federation should ensure the organization of targeted training for these individuals and their subsequent employment, primarily in the specialties included in the consolidated groups 44.00.00 "Education and Pedagogical Sciences", 45.00.00 "Linguistics and Literature Studies", 51.00.00 "Cultural Studies and Socio-Cultural Projects" [9].

For example, in the Lovozero district of Murmansk region, the Northern National College has created educational reindeer-herding base, where training is carried out in professions related to the ethnocultural sphere of the indigenous minorities of the North: "Homesteader(s)", "Carver" and "Reindeer herder-operator" [10].

Nevertheless, indigenous minorities have ambiguous attitude towards the federal register. Thus, in [11] shortcomings in its functioning have been noted. It is emphasized that a number of Arctic settlements where representatives of small indigenous minorities live and work have not been included in the original

list of places of traditional residence approved by the Government of the Russian Federation in 2009. It is proposed to expand the list of traditional activities to include auxiliary occupations in the health care and education sectors, since 25 per cent of the representatives of small indigenous minorities of the North are employed in these sectors of the economy. At present, the register includes only persons of indigenous small groups who lead a traditional way of life. This means that native language teachers, children living in villages, retired elderly people and the unemployed cannot be included.

Secondly, in 2020-2022, the Governor of Yamal initiated a number of new provisions of his social policy in terms of support for the district indigenous minorities, in particular:

- Educational certificates introduced in 2020 [12]. With their help, children who missed half a point when entering a certificate competition can be enrolled in the Yamal colleges. The applicants, those who have received educational certificates are enrolled on full state support with free accommodation and meals, provision of clothing and monthly stipend. In 2021, 75 indigenous children benefited from educational certificates. In Yamal, comprehensive support is also provided to indigenous students who enter or study at universities. From 2021, all students can expect support regardless of registration place in Yamal. Previously, only the indigenous peoples of the North registered in the territories of their traditional residence had this opportunity. Reimbursement of expenses to students is provided once a year in the amount of no more than 50 thousand rubles. Based on the results of the 2021 application campaign, 99 students from the indigenous minorities of Yamal have received support.
- In 2021, the YNAR launched a "chum capital" for families with three or more children, including a set of sledges, reindeer skins and poles with a stove worth 580 thousand rubles.
- In 2022, the "nomadic" payments aimed at supporting representatives of indigenous minorities during the difficult economic situation in the country were doubled. This measure is provided for two categories of citizens: elderly northerners (women 55 years and older, men 60 years and older) and families with children under the age of 18. The amount of each payment is currently 5,000 rubles. [13]. Along with nomadic payments, Yamal tundra dwellers are also provided with a regional standard of minimum material support, which includes nyukes (products made of reindeer skins with which nomads cover their tents-chumas), cookers, tarpaulins, chainsaws, electric generators and much more.
- However, the life of the indigenous peoples of the North is burdened by a number of problems. Let us consider the difficulties that concern the indigenous peoples of Yamal, based on the results of an analysis of open groups on social networks and a survey

in communities and small unitary enterprises of the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Region.

Research Methods

1. In 2020 Petrozavodsk State University organized a sociological survey of indigenous small groups of the North in the AZRF subjects. According to the database of the SPARK-Interfax information resource, there are 74 communities of indigenous minorities of the North and 32 small unitary enterprises in the Arctic. In the course of the survey, completed questionnaires were received from 40 indigenous communities (540 employees) and 13 municipal unitary enterprises (1,754 employees) created in areas densely populated by indigenous minorities to support their traditional activities. The main forms of their economic activity in places of compact residence are communities and municipal unitary enterprises.

The survey also took place on the territory of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Region, where there are 25 communities of indigenous minorities, 9 small unitary enterprises [16] and 32 trading posts [17]. The average number of employees in organizations operating in places of traditional residence and traditional economic activities in the YNAR is 113,015 people [18]. This is the third place in Russia – only more in Khabarovsk Territory (335,626) and Tyumen Region (167,469).

The survey involved communities living on the territory of five municipalities of Yamal (Table 1), which is 40% of the communities living on the Yamal Peninsula according to the SPARK database. These are 10 Nenets and Khanty communities and 2 small unitary enterprises.

The survey of communities and small unitary enterprises, including in Yamal, was carried out within the framework of the federal project to develop forecast indicators of the personnel needs of the economy of the Russian Arctic territories for the period until 2035. The survey questionnaire for employers contained questions about the type of economic activity of the organization, territorial location, number and professional qualification of employees, new occupations. All-Russian classifiers of economic activity types OKVED2 and occupations OKDPTTR were used to unify the answers. A total of 963 employers from 352 enterprises/organizations of the real sector of the economy and 611 organizations of the social sphere took part in the survey of enterprises/organizations conducting business activity in municipalities – places of traditional residence of indigenous minorities in the Arctic.

2. Social network analysis is another research method used by the authors to assess the social and environmental problems of indigenous minorities in five Arctic settlements of the YNAA (three Arctic cit-

Table 1. List of indigenous communities and small unitary enterprises of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Region that took part in the 2020 survey.

District	Name (number of employees)	Type of economic activity
Purovsky	Kanevskaya Family and Tribal Community of Indigenous Minorities of the North (1)	03. Fishing and fish farming
Tazovsky	Non-profit organisation «Family and tribal community of indigenous minorities ‘Salyakoptanskaya’» (5) Community of small-numbered peoples of the North «Vane-Parodskaya» (2) Feudal community (2) «Yareykov community (1) Syadei-Yakhinskaya family and clan community of indigenous minorities of the North (1) Municipal Unitary Enterprise «Antipayutinsky State Farm» (1)	03. Fishing and fish breeding 01. Crop and livestock breeding, hunting and provision of related services in these fields
Yamalsky	Territorial-neighborhood community of indigenous minorities of the North «Kharp» (9) Yarsalinskoye Municipal Reindeer Herding Enterprise (9)	01. Crop and livestock breeding, hunting and provision of related services in these fields
Shuryshkarsky	The clan community of the indigenous small-numbered people (Khanty) «Ai voshekh» (3) Territorial-neighborhood community of indigenous minorities of the North «Bolshaya Medveditsa» (4)	03. Fishing and fish farming
Priuralsky	Territorial-neighborhood community of indigenous minorities of the North «Vy-Ter» (44)	01. Crop and livestock breeding, hunting and provision of related services in these fields

ies - Salekhard, Noyabrsk, Novy Urengoy, and two municipal districts - Yamalsky and Tazovsky). The open groups of the social network "VKontakte" for the year from January 2021 were analyzed. About 10 open groups were studied and the main social problems of concern to indigenous Arctic residents were identified.

The identified social problems include weak motivation to study in educational institutions due to the stress caused by the change of traditional way of life, the problem of alcoholism among young people, unwillingness to communicate with each other (communication among the Nenets and Khanty is often concentrated within the ethnic groups). A special issue is the housing allocation for orphans from among indigenous peoples, since the majority is trying to get equivalent to the cost of housing due to the nomadic lifestyle life.

The environmental problems that concern the peninsula indigenous minorities are also highlighted. In the Internet space, the indigenous population has a strong negative attitude to the activities of entrepreneurs in the tundra, which contribute to the reduction of the reindeer population and changes in their migration routes, in particular, they object to such projects as changing the boundaries of the Yamalsky regional nature reserve, laying a gas pipeline along the bottom of the Ob Bay, and others.

At the same time, a number of publications point out that indigenous peoples in the Russian Arctic are not beneficiaries of large industrial projects, which is one of the reasons for the continuing low standard of living of indigenous peoples in the Russian North, while indigenous peoples in Canada often successfully participate in large economic projects of their corporations, receiving both economic benefits and recognition. [14; 15].

Problems of Indigenous Minorities of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Region according to sociological surveys

When analyzing the professional activity of Arctic indigenous peoples, the main issues were the form of participation in labor activity (employment or self-employment), professional qualification level, and the availability of special education or other means of obtaining professional competencies. In the production sphere, while preserving the lifestyle of indigenous peoples, traditional economic activities and professions corresponding to them predominate (hunter, reindeer herder, tent worker), while in the social sphere, the same professions as those of the ordinary local population (teacher, paramedic) prevail in places of compact residence of indigenous minorities.

It is no secret that the problem of education for indigenous people has always been very acute. According to the surveys, the respondents by level of education are distributed as follows: without professional education - 42 %, with higher education - 25 % (chief veterinarian, chief zootechnician, and cultural special-

ist), middle-level specialists – 16.5 %, qualified workers and employees – 16.5 %.

Traditionally, there is also a high dropout rate among indigenous minorities from higher education institutions. For example, in the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Region, only 2 per cent of such students receive higher education, in the Krasnoyarsk Territory - 5 per cent, and in the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Region - 3 per cent. According to surveys of communities in Yamal, among indigenous minorities the most popular groups of specialties are 43.00.00 "Service and tourism", 23.00.00 "Land transport: engineering and technology", 44.00.00 "Education and pedagogical sciences", 15.00.00 "Mechanical engineering", 36.00.00 "Veterinary and zootechnics", 34.00.00 "Nurse business".

According to the respondents, a large number of problems are related to the situation of indigenous minorities in the labor market. In the course of the survey, the top 5 promising/new professions in demand in traditional places of residence have been identified: chum-tent worker, fish processor, smoker, foaming machine operator, and refrigeration equipment maintenance master. At the same time, the professions of chum-worker and refrigeration equipment maintenance master require education, as the profession of chum-worker is equal to a reindeer herder of the third category, other professions do not require education. In 2018, the governor of Yamal took the initiative to include the profession of a chum-worker in the All-Russian Classifier of Occupations, but it was not included there, and the last revision of the classifier was in 2012. Securing the term 'chum-tent-worker' at the legislative level guarantees chum-tent women worker wages in the amount of subsistence minimum and pension savings.

It is interesting to compare the problems identified in the YNAR with other Arctic regions, such as the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) and Taimyr. The researchers provide a list of problems of indigenous minorities in the Arctic territories of Yakutia and Krasnoyarsk Territory: economic (high prices for products, lack of jobs, low income), social (outflow of young people, lack of leisure time), environmental (lack of rubbish collection and recycling system, decline in the number of reindeer and changes in their migration routes) [19; 20].

Conclusion

The study made it possible to identify the problems of indigenous peoples of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Region in the spheres of education and the labor market using the sociological method. The analysis of social networks allowed us to define the main social and environmental problems of the peninsula indigenous peoples.

The measures presented in the article to support indigenous minorities in places of their traditional residence on the territory of the YNAA are related to simplifying the paperwork for representatives of indigenous peoples in exercising their rights to traditional

fishing, hunting, as well as to other measures of state support, establishing a social pension for persons belonging to indigenous minorities, free medical care in places of compact residence, alternative civilian service in the tundra (in a small unitary enterprise), and the provision of free medical care in places of compact residence.

Nevertheless, we believe that a number of additional recommendations will make it possible to better ensure the long-term well-being of the indigenous minorities of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Region.

1. In the near future, this will partly be possible with the support of the Russian Government, which plans to allocate 500 million rubles annually until 2024 to the regions of the Arctic zone to support traditional economic crafts of indigenous minorities of the North. However, this is extremely insufficient. For example, in the Chukotka Autonomous Region, the programme for the development of traditional lifestyles, economic activity and crafts of indigenous minorities envisages the allocation of more than 3 billion rubles, of which 1.3 billion rubles will be allocated to support reindeer breeding [21].

2. At present, there are targeted places for indigenous minorities only at the Herzen Russian State Pedagogical University (St. Petersburg). It is extremely important to increase the number of targeted places in all federal universities, primarily for the most in-demand areas of training and specialties: 43.00.00 "Service and tourism", 23.00.00 "Land transport: engineering and technology", 44.00.00 "Education and pedagogical sciences", 15.00.00 "Mechanical engineering", 36.00.00 "Veterinary and zootechnics", 34.00.00 "Nurse business". In the future, it is necessary to develop and implement curricula in the Yamal educational institutions, in particular, the programmes "Business Administration for Arctic Peoples", "Northern Economy" with double qualification of accountant/veterinarian, "Ethnographic Tourism".

3. It is important to support the employment of indigenous minorities in the traditional sector of the economy: to introduce benefits for the profession of tent worker due to difficult working conditions, as well as to release traditional entrepreneurship from the single social tax if it is based in the territory of traditional natural resource management.

4. Based on the research conducted, the problems of indigenous minorities in five municipalities of the YNAA (Yamalsky, Tazovsky, Purovsky, Shuryshkarsky and Priural'sky districts) have been identified. It is obvious that the new measures to support the indigenous peoples of Yamal adopted by the regional government over the past three years have had a positive impact on the well-being and livelihood of the indigenous population in the municipalities. The positive dynamics of birth rate in the district can be of a good proof: in 2019 - 6,835 people, in 2020 - 7092 people, in 2021 - 6950 people.

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