

A century of nomadic land use

Dedicated to
the late
Yaungad
brothers

Changes and continuities on the Yamal Peninsula, 1908-2008

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Nentsy / Nenets

- 1 of 40 indigenous nationalities inhabiting the Russian Arctic (as of 2000)
- 41302 Nentsy as of 2002 (26435 in YNAO)
- Living in the YNAO, NAO, Krasnoyarsk krai
- Finno Ugrian language group, Samojedic language family

Nenets nomads on Yamal

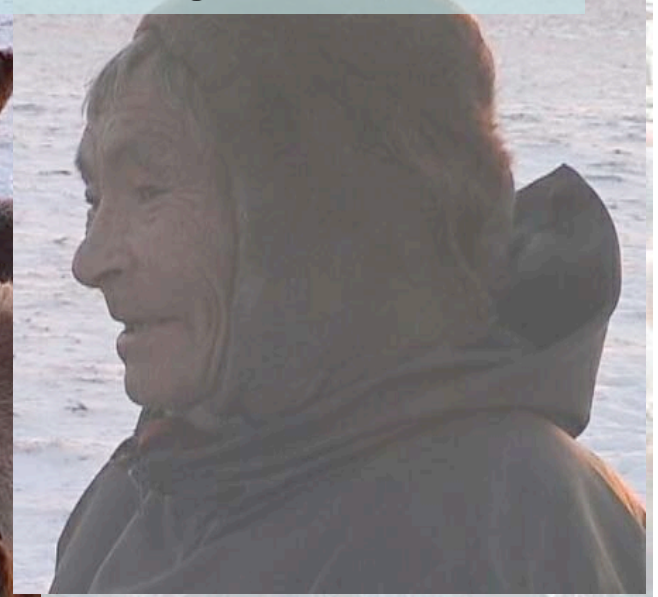
Yaungad Ivan



Yaungad Natasha



Yaungad Mikhail

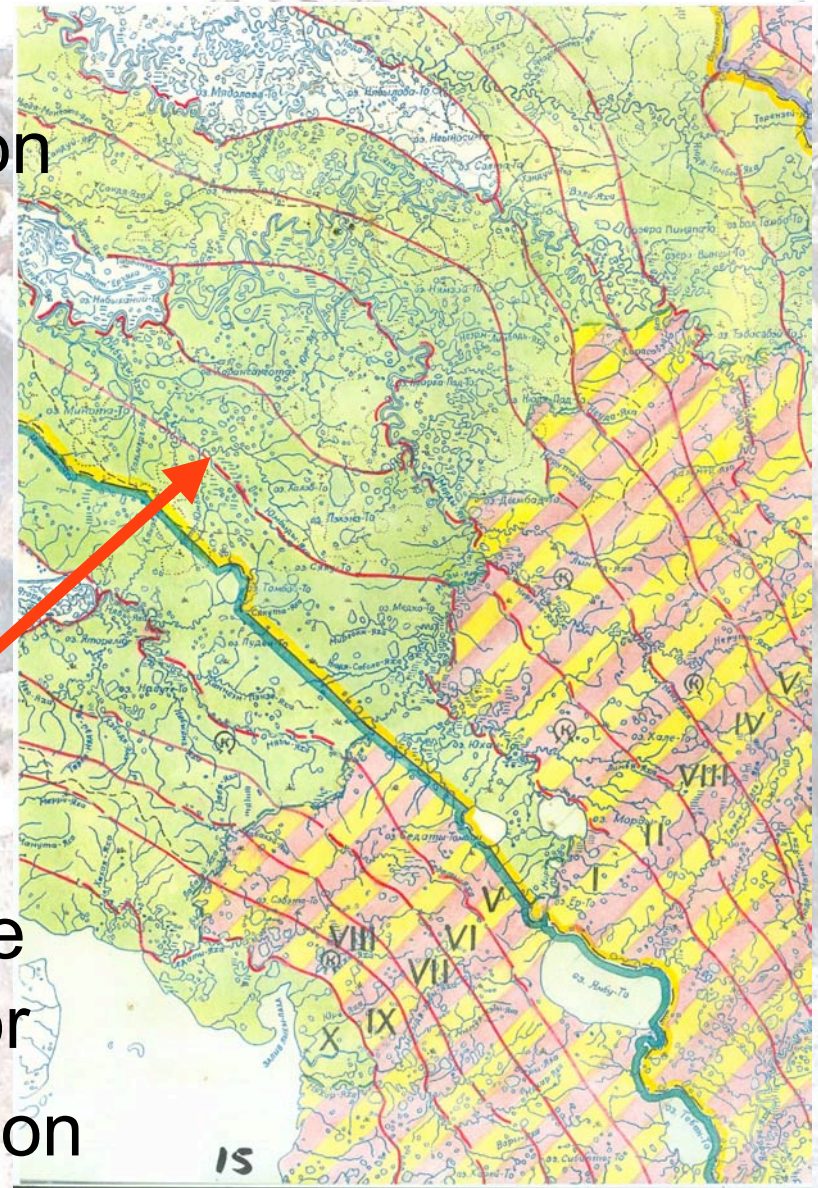
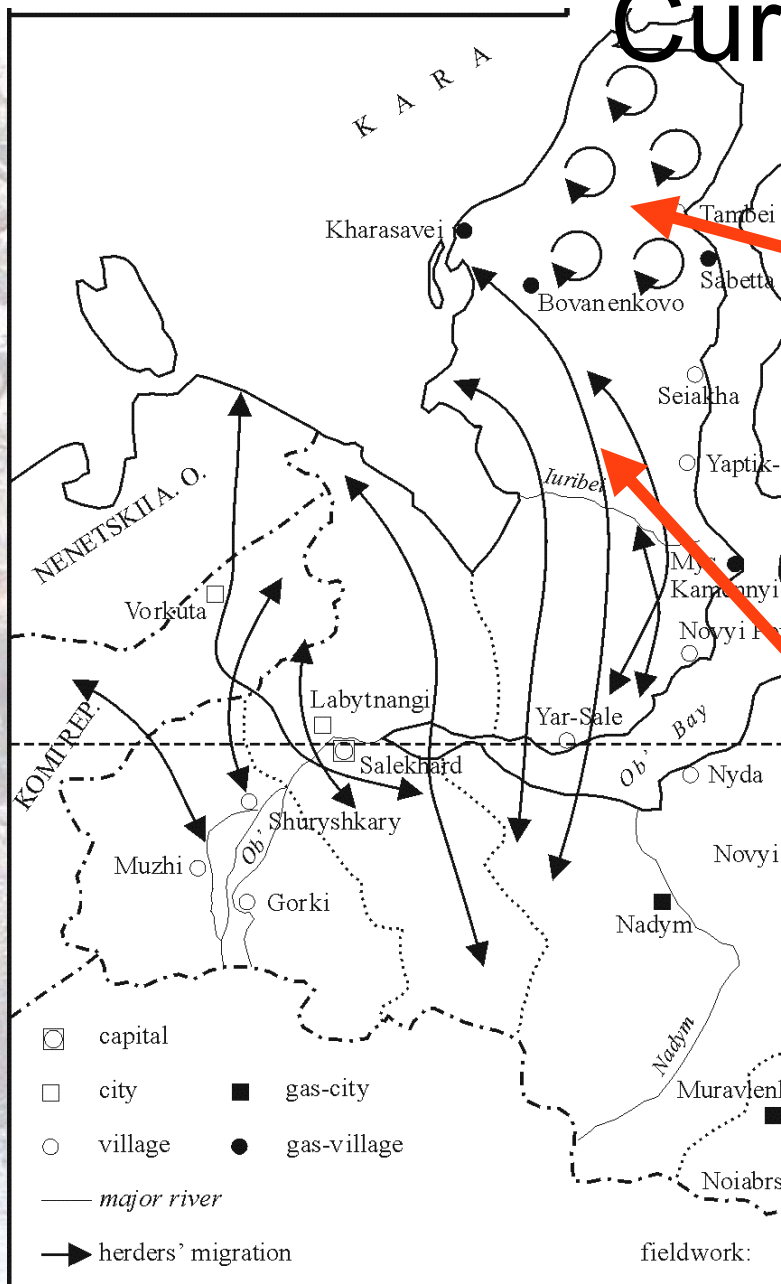


- 50% of Yamal-Nenets leading a fully nomadic way of live
- 50% living in towns of the Peninsula (centre: Yar Sale, app. 4000 inhabitants)
- Tundra population managing app. 300000 reindeer on app. 10 M hectares pastures

Current land use patterns

Local
migration
North
Yamal

North-
south
pasture
corridor
migration



Land categories visualised

'Agricultural land'

Industrial land

No reindeer pastures in law



The principle unit of actual land users

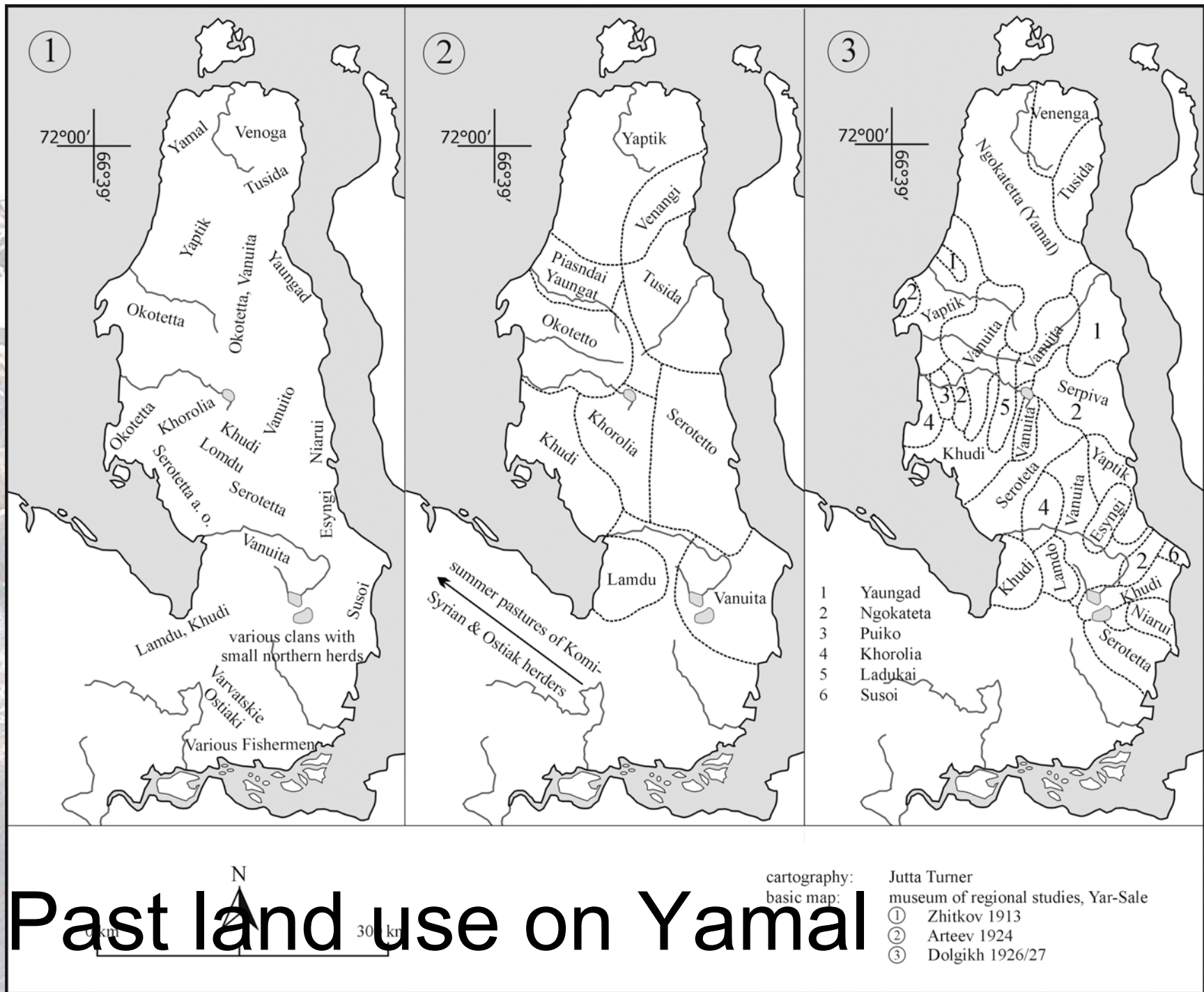
- Soviet & post-soviet BRIGADE
- Work team of 4-12 herders, with their families, living in private *chums* (*myad'*)

In Soviet times:

- herding brigades,
- fishing brigades,
- hunting brigades.

Each brigade has a certain territory allocated. This pattern was discontinued after the Soviet Union. Now: chaos

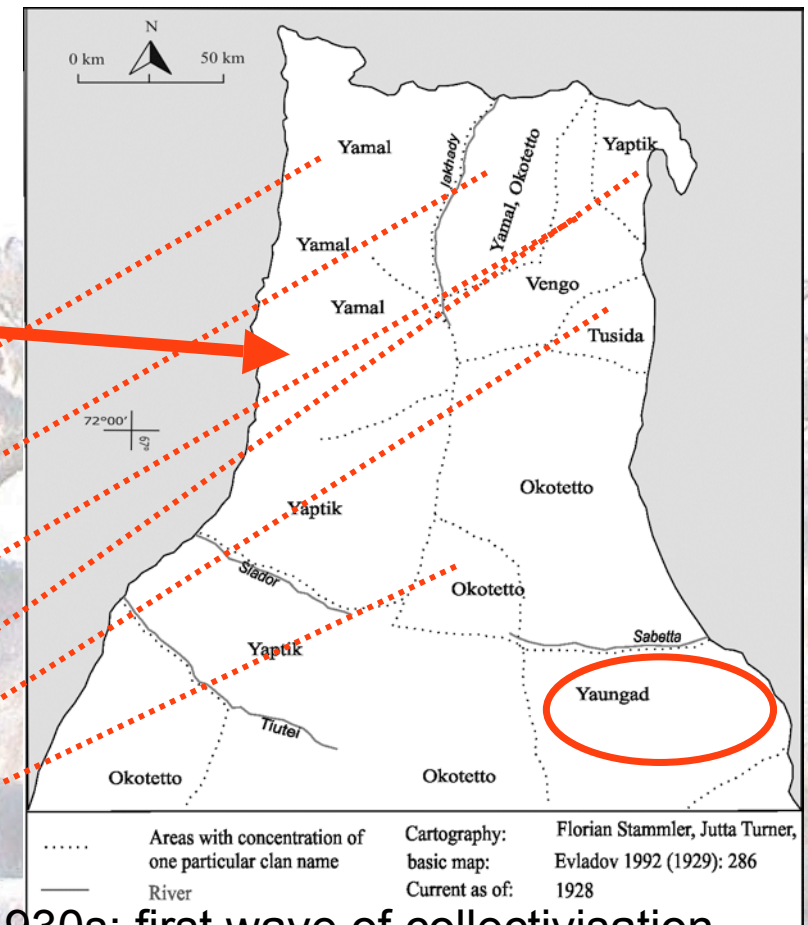
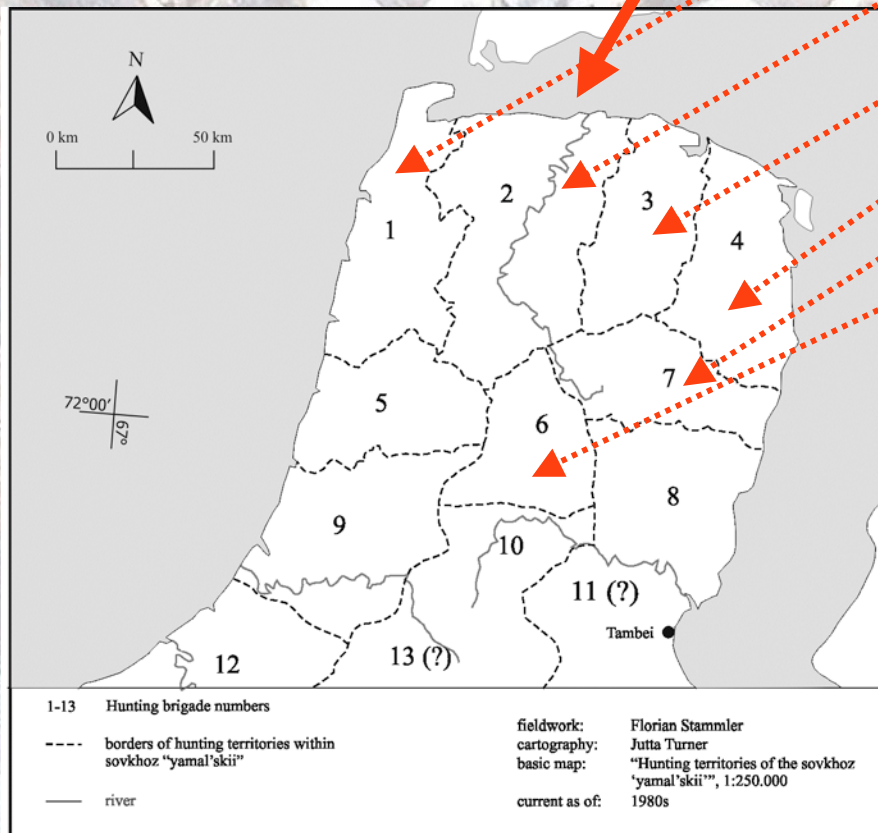




North Yamal: 1929 – 1980s

Distribution of North Yamal Clans, Evladov 1929:286

Soviet hunting brigades of sovkhos Yamal'skii, as of 1980s



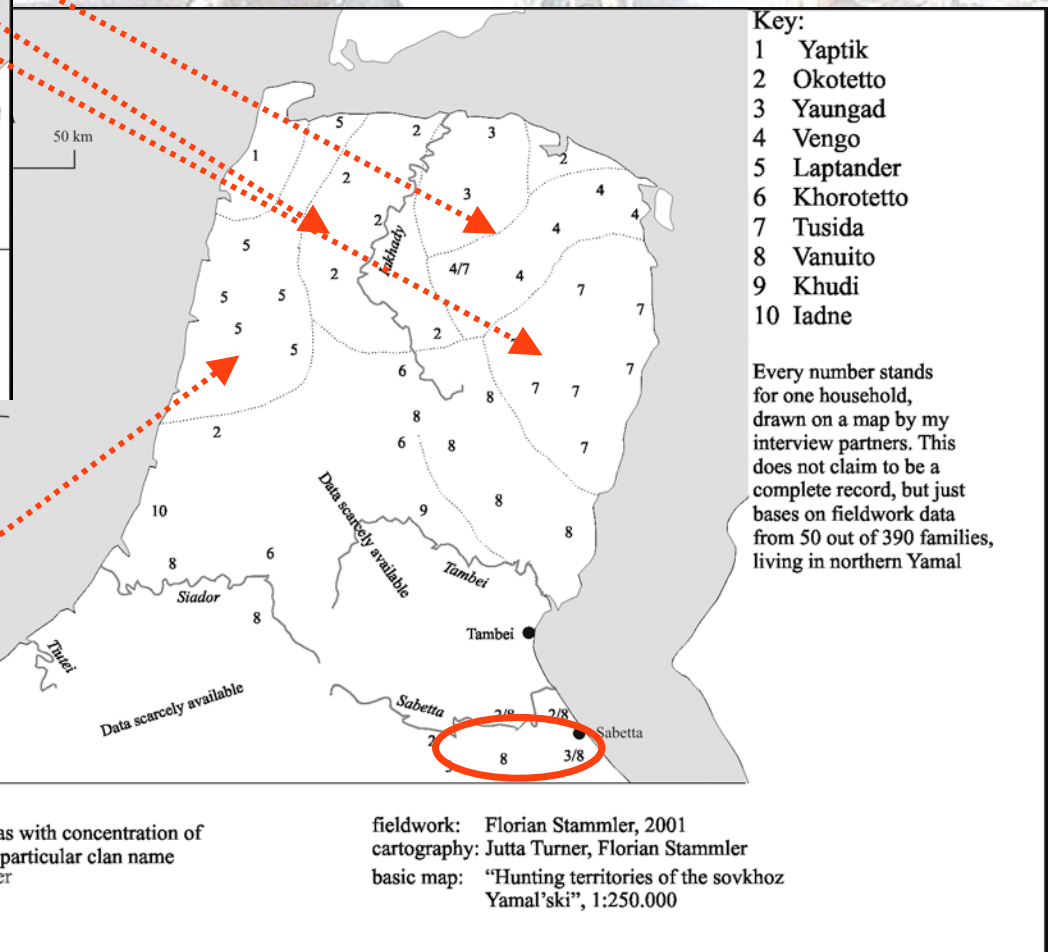
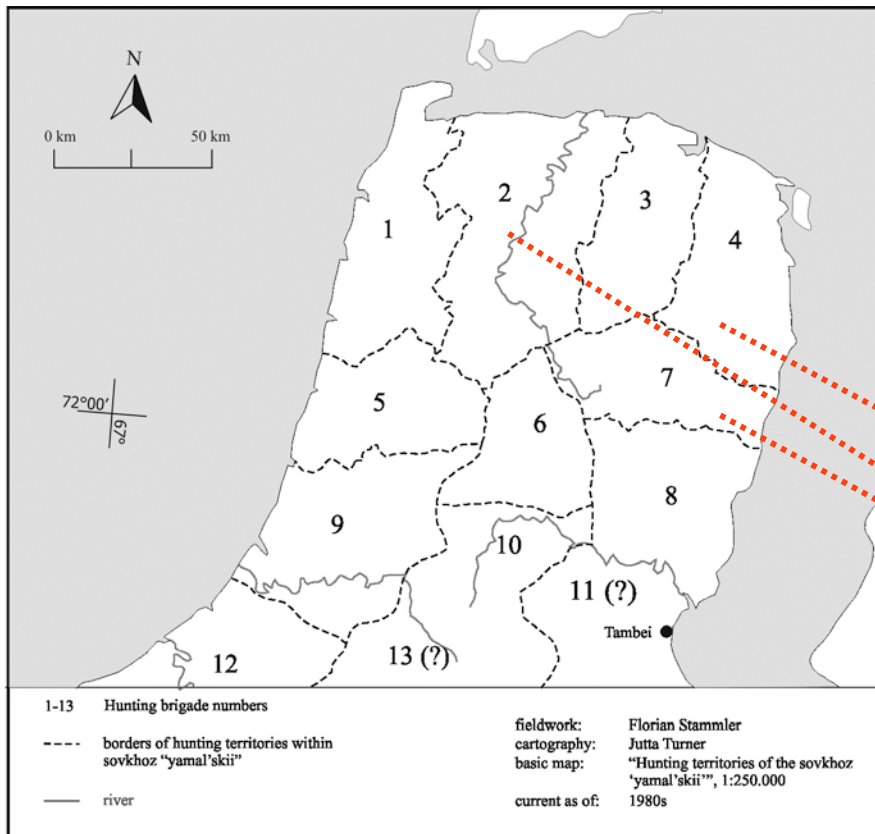
Early 1930s: first wave of collectivisation

1961: all collective farms became soviet state farms (sovkhos), border of North Yamal closed.

Note the parallels:

1 – Yamal, 2 – Yamal/Okotetto, 3 – Vengo
4 – Yaptik/Vengo, 6 – Okotetto, 7 - Tusida

North Yamal, 1980 - 2001



Own fieldwork, 2001: land use pattern very similar. Clan continuity, e.g. Okotetto / Yamal, Tusida, Vengo.

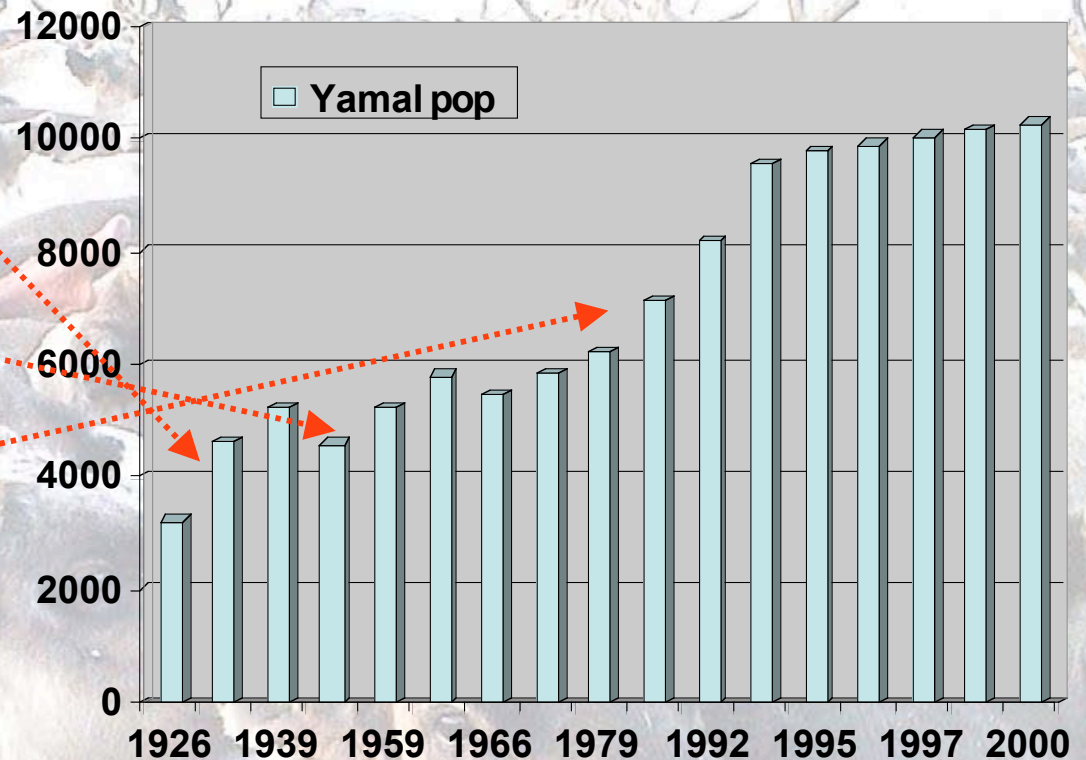
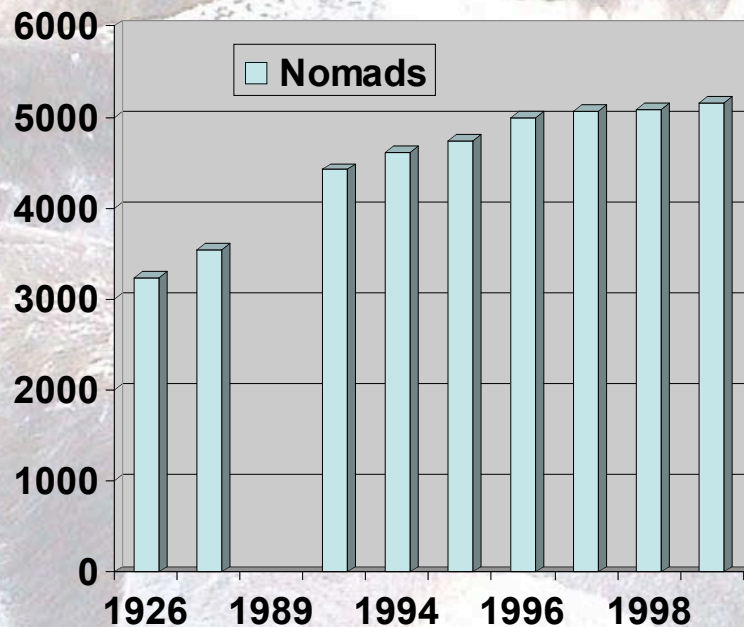
Change: presence of Laptander (no 5). Immigrated from Europe

Increase of humans on Yamal

Euro-Nentsy escape to Yamal, early 1930s,

'Dekulakization' and prosecution of shamans under Stalin

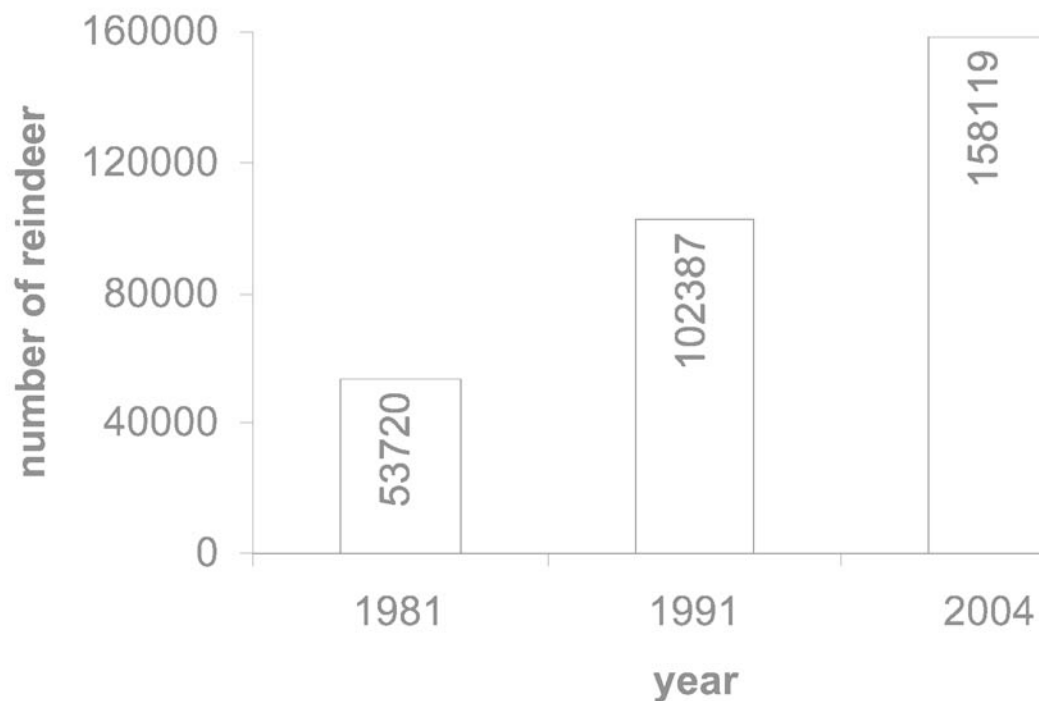
Steady growth after sovkhos system stabilised



Before 1926: no permanent settlements on the Peninsula. Today: Half of Nentsy settled, plus another 5000 non-indigenous residents

Increase of private reindeer

Private reindeer on the Yamal Peninsula



Where do
all these
animals
graze???



Who believes in Carrying capacity?

	Source 1: GOV YNAO, 2001			Source 2: Yuzhakov&M. 2001			Source 3: Shapalin 1965		
Raion	Pasture	Carrcap	excess	Pasture	Carrcap	excess	Pasture	Carrcap	excess
Yamal.	9,619.8	110,446	+91,317	10,601.6	109,365	+92,398	10,294.0	77,000	+30,100
Tazov.	11,454.4	129,282	+39,530	9,772.8	121,780	+47,032	9,556.5	84,600	-6,900
Priural.	5,072.5	55,484	-6,619	4,128.3	40,200	+9,045	4,512.4	40,100	+18,700
Nadym	7,116.1	141,473	-104,137	3,551.4	36,870	+466	4,500.4	45,800	-14,900
Purovs	6,241.2	122,859	-92,690	5,683.8	39,157	-8,988	8,601.4	68,100	-33,100

Sovhozy as only official land users from 1961. Pasture inventories made from 1960s on. (Angarskaia ekspeditsia). Goad: scientifically 'engineering' pasture use, assessing vegetation capacity, allocating territories to brigades, organising 6-season rotation.

Problem: assessment methods?? don't incorporate management decisions, grazing practices, nomads' behaviour, inter-regional migrations.

Note: 2001 figs for Yamal available pastures differ by 1 M hectares, Priural and Nadym assessments of the same year vary unacceptably.

Politics of dominance

- 2001: resolution No 371 by YNAO governor: for family of 5, 385 reindeer are enough for a living
- Implementation of this limit suspended. Up to municipalities
- NB: minimum subsistence limit is different for every region
- 2007: subsidies, increasing meat price, hoping to reduce headcount – leaving out Nenets socio-cultural considerations
- No understanding of nomads' logic by administration
- Herders categorically oppose mandatory regulatory measures. 'These are a return to Soviet policies'



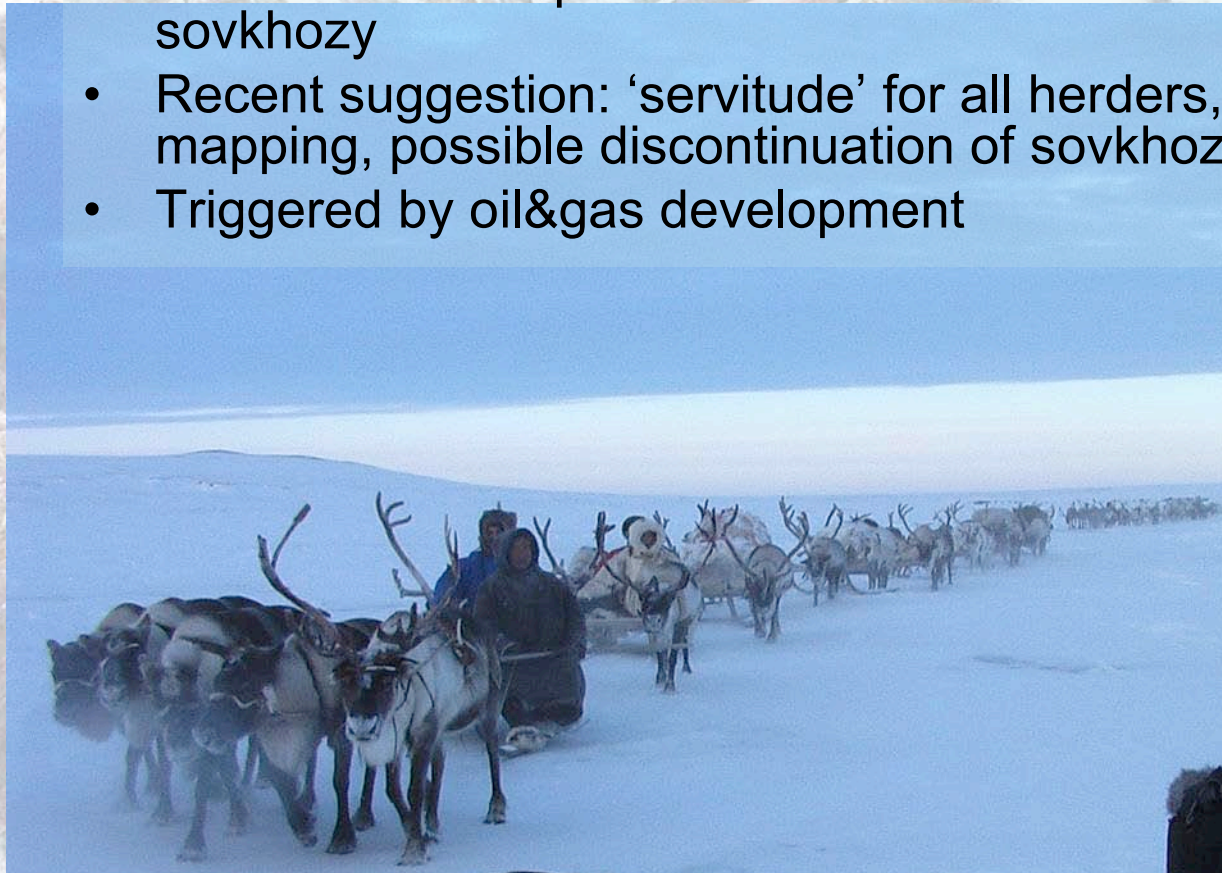
Current land use in legal terms

- 2001: Federal law on territories of traditional nature use
- 2001: new Russian land code authorises privatisation of land
- 2002: law on agricultural land excludes reindeer pastures from privatisation
- As of 2007, land titles on the Peninsula held by successor enterprises of sovkhozy
- Permanent lease free of charge
- Clan-communities (*obshchiny*) in place since 2001, without land titles
- Most of Yamal herders after 1990: from 'virtual hunters' to 'private freelancers'.
- **Problem: how to map their movements?**



‘We graze our herds in the air’

- The backbone of Yamal herding lives without documentation & land titles
- North Yamal: sovkhos herds separately from private – sovkhos crashed & defunct
- Central Yamal – private herders & herds as the backbone of sovkhozy
- Recent suggestion: ‘servitude’ for all herders, individual migration mapping, possible discontinuation of sovkhos land titles.
- Triggered by oil&gas development



Approaching territorial behaviour

- Evladov 1929 fieldwork: 'the land is open for all'
- Own fieldwork, 2001: 'the land belongs to the state and is open for all'
- Expressed Nenets ideology of sharing
- Little domestic interest in discerning territories
- Collaborative coexistence on the land, no major conflicts even though population increased more than 5fold in the last 300 years
- Now increasingly confronted with territorial defence approaches
- Response: buying into it vis a vis outsiders, continue sharing with fellow nomads.
- Scientific & state approach: creating distinct territorial units,
- reindeer herding as part of agriculture
- Theory: economic defendability model
- Only defensive behaviour is territorial behaviour. Cooperative behaviour is a-territorial (or supra-territorial?)
- 'biologistic' approach, derived from Altum 1868: 'an area defended by its holder against intrusion, to ensure food and breeding space'

What future?

- No way Nenets land claims will be settled before gas extraction starts
- Worst case: Dirty industry, constant territorial disputes, unclear competences, industry having torn apart Nenets nomadic society, second wave of relocation, the 'end of nomadism'
- Best case: 'minimal footprint', fenced industrial islands, fruitful coexistence and trading relations with industrial workers. Turn Yamal into world exemplar how to get it done!!
- Wish: a vital nomadic Nenets reindeer herding culture in 2100, when the gas is gone

