

**Reference as:**

Yakovleva N. Land, oil and indigenous people in the Russian North: A case of oil pipeline and Evenki in Aldan. In: Emma Gilberthorpe and Gavin Hilson, Eds. *Natural Resources Extraction and Indigenous Livelihoods: Development Challenges in an Era of Globalization*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2014, pp.147-178.

Accepted book chapter:

## **Land, oil and indigenous people in the Russian North: A case of oil pipeline and Evenki in Aldan**

*Natalia Yakovleva, University of Winchester, UK*

**Introduction**

Regulation of access and use of natural resources including land tenure are central to indigenous peoples' rights, when it comes to the discussion of indigenous peoples' involvement with the large-scale industrial developments such as extractive or infrastructure projects in and around traditional indigenous territories (O'Faircheallaigh and Ali, 2008, Sawyer and Gomez, 2008). Oil and gas projects that enter into territories of indigenous peoples can significantly influence the livelihoods and wellbeing of indigenous communities (Behrends and Schareika, 2010, Ferguson, 2005, Gilberthorpe, 2007, Sawyer and Gomez, 2008). Various guidelines have been developed with an aim to improve the relationship between indigenous peoples and resource projects. These guidelines cover matters of consultation; free prior informed consent; land ownership rights; examination of industry-related impacts on traditional territories; compensation and negotiations (Grover, 2009; UNDG, 2009). Nonetheless, the governance of

indigenous peoples' relations in the context of oil and gas industries is varied due to varying degrees of recognition of indigenous peoples' rights by national governments and project developers (Hipwell et al., 2002; Crawley and Sinclair, 2003; O'Faircheallaigh, 2005; Sawyer and Gomez, 2008; UNDG, 2009).

The extraction and transportation of oil and gas affects various indigenous communities worldwide: from Canada to Peru in America, from Nigeria to Chad in Africa and from North west to Far East in Russia (Agbonifo, 2009, Chance and Andreeva, 1995, Dana et al., 2008, Kojucharov, 2007, Wilson, 2003). Consideration of indigenous peoples' rights and involvement of indigenous peoples in planning and development of hydrocarbon projects and specifically pipeline development is of particular interest in academic circles (Anderson, 2006; Dana et al., 2008). Several studies have explored impacts arising from pipeline development on the natural environment, land use, natural resources and potential negative effects on the livelihoods, culture and socio-economic development of indigenous peoples. there are many new pipeline projects that feature concerns about indigenous peoples' interests during planning, such as the Keystone pipeline in Canada (CBC News, 2011) and the Chinese oil pipeline in Burma (EarthRights International, 2011).

In the circumpolar North, concerns about the impact of oil and gas projects on indigenous people extend to issues of environmental risk, effects on animal migration such as deer and caribou, natural resource use, employment, benefit sharing, assessment of impacts and compensation (Altamirano-Jiménez, 2004; Anderson, 2006; Flanders, 1995; Dana et al., 2008; Sabin, 1995). In Canada, some of these issues are addressed through public regulation: environmental impact assessment, socio-economic impact assessment, and voluntary instruments such as policies which engage indigenous

communities as shareholders in hydrocarbon projects, negotiated impact and benefit agreements between hydrocarbon developers and affected communities. indigenous peoples' interests are often dealt with following the settlement of indigenous peoples' land titles in Canada (Grover, 2009).

In many other countries the outcomes of similar hydrocarbon projects for surrounding indigenous communities are different due to reluctant attitudes of governments and industry towards deliberation, discussion and the search for solutions. Factors that contribute to such differentiated outcomes include: an underdeveloped national legislation that lacks assessment and accountability for impacts on indigenous communities; a low level of civil society engagement; and an unwillingness of extractive companies to engage with indigenous peoples outside legal requirements (Yakovleva, 2011a).

In Russia<sup>1</sup>, whose economy is largely dependent on the oil and gas trade, with 70 per cent of the country's exports coming from oil and gas (economist Intelligence Unit 2011), 50 out of 180 ethnic groups living in the country consider themselves to be indigenous peoples. During the Soviet period (1917–1991) in Russia, the state policies on indigenous peoples' affairs and irresponsible industrial exploitation of oil and gas resources had a detrimental effect on the way of life and traditional activities of indigenous peoples in the Russian North<sup>2</sup> the culture, traditions and livelihoods of many indigenous peoples in the Russian North are closely linked to land and natural resources as many rely on subsistence hunting, fishing, reindeer herding and gathering for their

---

<sup>1</sup> In this paper, I used many terms – Russia, Russian Empire, Soviet Russia, Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR) and the Russian Federation. When I use term Russia I refer to a geographical area of the present Russian Federation and the state.

<sup>2</sup> In this paper, the term Russian North refers to geographical area that include the present North, Siberia and Far East of the Russian Federation – see Figure 1.

livelihoods (Stammler and Wilson, 2006). The political, legal and economic reforms implemented in Russia in the 1990s and 2000s changed the structure of the minerals industry, organization of indigenous peoples' activities, land and property relations, and the relationship between indigenous peoples and industrial developers (Stammler and Peskov, 2008; Uzin, 2005; Vitebsky, 2005).

The concerns are raised about the level of participation by indigenous peoples in government-backed oil and gas projects in the Russian North; how indigenous peoples have adapted to new socio-economic order in Russia; and how private companies deal with indigenous peoples' affairs during the transition to a free market economy (Stammler and Wilson, 2006; Fondahl and Sirina, 2006). In Russia, as in other transition economies, corporate social responsibility (CSR) is still in its infancy. The Russian oil and gas sector is dominated by national companies that raise capital domestically and are significantly influenced by the state; many of these companies base their operations on the legacy of state-owned enterprises. In Russia, indigenous peoples' land still belongs to the state and their future development depends on equitable and regulated relations between them, the state, and industry, particularly concerning access to and use of land and other natural resources in areas of oil and gas projects.

In this chapter I investigate how indigenous peoples in Russia can participate in and influence resource exploitation projects that are developed on their ancestral lands. I examine how state policy considers indigenous peoples' concerns and how indigenous peoples are involved in decision-making processes. The chapter explores the case of the reindeer herder and hunter community of Evenki<sup>3</sup> residing in Aldan district of Yakutia<sup>4</sup>.

---

<sup>3</sup> Evenk is the transliteration of the Russian word for a singular male representative of the Evenki nation, whilst Evenki is a transliteration of Russian plural form of Evenk.

<sup>4</sup> Yakutia is a Russian region located in the north-east of the country. Yakutia or the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) as it is formally known is one of 83 regions or federal subjects that form the Russian Federation

The Evenki are affected by the construction of the Eastern Siberia-Pacific Ocean pipeline (ESPO). The chapter is based on interpretative analysis of semi-structured interviews conducted in 2006–2009 with various groups in Yakutia (i.e. community activists, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), regional government, local municipalities, Evenki communities, and businesses and community organizations).

Throughout the chapter, the terminology relating to indigenous peoples' affairs in Russia is explained by providing the best possible translations from Russian into English. In the absence of equivalent translations, the transliteration of some Russian and Sakha words is given. These words are marked in italics and/or in inverted commas such as 'rodovaya obschina' and 'kolkhoz'.

First, I review the national framework for the protection of indigenous peoples' rights in Russia. Then, I will detail the case study of the pipeline construction in Aldan district, Yakutia. The results section is structured around the analysis of interviews on topics of: land attachment, natural resource use, land rights, compensation and relocation. the discussion focuses on the implementation of the principle of 'free prior informed consent' in Russia and alternative revenue distribution from extractive projects to indigenous communities. the conclusions outline recommendations for improvements of state policy and the oil sector's approach towards indigenous peoples' affairs in Russia.

---

(see Lynn and Fryer 1998, Lynn and Novikov 1997, Balzer and Vinokurova 1996). Yakutia has a territory of 3 million square kilometres and a population of 900,000 people. Yakutia's territory stayed more or less intact from the Tsarist period (from the 17th century to 1917), Soviet period (1917–1991) and present Russia (1992–current). Aldan district is one of 33 administrative subdivisions in Yakutia. Each Russian region has a different administrative division. In Yakutia the division is as follows: Russian Federation – > Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) –> district – > ward.

## **Indigenous Peoples in Russia**

Many territories of present-day Russia were adjoined during the colonization of Siberia by Russian Cossacks in the 16th and 17th centuries (Forsyth 1992). More than 180 ethnic groups reside in Russia today, but the majority, or 80 per cent of the total 142 million population of Russia, are ethnic Russians, an east Slavic ethnic group (SCS, 2012a). About 50 ethnic groups consider themselves indigenous to Siberia, the Russian North and the Russian Far East<sup>5</sup> as their ancestors have lived on these territories before the Russian colonization. The Russian state protects the rights of indigenous peoples in its legislation, but these rights are extended only to indigenous minorities.

The government of the Russian Federation recognizes 47 ethnic groups as indigenous minorities ('korennye malochislennye narody' in Russian, literally 'numerically small indigenous peoples') or as indigenous peoples and protects their rights, providing with special privileges and state support<sup>6</sup> (GRF, 2000; overland 2005; Donahoe et al., 2008). According to the federal legislation, 'indigenous minority' is an independent ethnic group that lives in an area of traditional residence of their ancestors, maintains a traditional lifestyle and economy, and has a population not larger than 50,000 people (RF, 1999). In addition, the federal legislation defines a separate category – 'indigenous minorities of the North, Siberia and Far East' (RF, 2000). Out of 47 indigenous minorities in Russia, 40 are considered to be the latter (GRF, 2006). Some ethnic groups, such as Buryat, Komi, Sakha (also known as Yakut) and Tuvan, are indigenous to Siberia and Russian North, but have populations greater than 50,000

---

<sup>5</sup> For discussion on geography of Siberia, Russian North and Russian Far East see Bradshaw (1995).

<sup>6</sup> 'Indigenous minorities' is a translated version of a Russian term 'korennye malochislennye narody' which has a literal meaning 'numerically small indigenous peoples'. This term is used in Russian regulation concerning the protection of indigenous peoples.

people; they are excluded from the list of indigenous minorities and do not receive state support and privileges (Donahoe et al., 2008; Yakovleva, 2011b).

The majority of indigenous minorities of the North, Siberia and Far east engage in the traditional activities of reindeer herding, hunting and fishing and preserve nomadic lifestyles. The federal state supports their traditional economic activities through subsidies and other policies. according to the 2010 census, the population of indigenous minorities of the North was 250,000 people, which is 0.17 per cent of the total Russian population (SCS, 2012a). Traditionally, these ethnic groups lived across the vast expanses of what is now present Russia and these territories joined the Russian state during the colonization. According to the Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North (RAIPON), ancestral land of present indigenous minorities of the North covers the majority of the Russian territory (RAIPON 2009) (see Figure 1 and Table 1).

-----  
INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE  
-----

-----  
INSERT TABLE 1 HERE  
-----

The regulation of indigenous minorities' affairs in Russia is organised on three levels: federal, regional and municipal. At the federal level (level of the Russian Federation), the regulation consists of federal laws adopted by the national parliament,

the state duma and decrees arising adopted by the federal government (i.e. Government of the Russian Federation). Both federal laws and decrees of the federal government apply to the entire territory of the federation and outline general, overarching principles of the regulation in the country. the federal regulation covers areas of education, army subscription, land relations, resource use and economic activities of indigenous minorities (see Table 1 in Appendix) (Yakovleva 2011b). In addition, the Government of the Russian Federation has ratified several important international documents on indigenous peoples' rights that are in force across the entire territory of the federation (see Table 2 in Appendix). At the regional level (e.g. level of Yakutia), regional parliaments can adopt regional laws within the boundaries set by the federal legislation and regional governments (e.g. Government of Yakutia) can pass decrees which apply within the regional territories. some regions have established extensive regulation on indigenous peoples' affairs, providing additional support for education, arts and traditional economic activities (see Yakovleva, 2011b).

### **Livelihood and Resource Use of Indigenous Minorities of the Russian North**

Before the Great October Revolution of 1917, many indigenous minorities of the North led traditional subsistence activities of hunting, fishing, trapping and reindeer herding, and had nomadic lifestyles, following the seasonal migration of reindeers in small groups formed around extended families or clans (Schindler, 1991; Vitebsky, 2005). Indigenous minorities of the North were the Tsar's subjects and paid taxes that were incurred in fur, such as sables and foxes, which they hunted throughout the year (Forsyth, 1992; Bartels and Bartels, 2006).

After the Revolution, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was formed on territory of the former Russian empire in 1922, consisting of 15 Socialist Republics. The largest, the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic (RSFSR) (which occupied the territory of present Russia), absorbed the territory of the Russian North, Siberia and Russian Far East, where indigenous minorities resided. Soviet administration abolished tsarist fur taxes and led country-wide policies of collectivization, urbanization, industrialization and free compulsory education (Bartels and Bartels, 2006). During the Soviet period (1917–1991), the relationship of indigenous minorities of the North to natural resource use and land use and how they engage in hunting, fishing, trapping and reindeer herding were regulated within the system of collective farms ('kolkhoz' in Russian) (Humphrey, 1983; Overland, 2005).

Collective farms were organized as agricultural production cooperatives that managed land and natural resources and agricultural processes in separate geographical areas. Such collectivization in the 1920s, however, affected the organization of indigenous peoples' traditional economic activities of hunting, fishing and reindeer herding. Indigenous minorities of the North were organized in collective farms and assigned land plots by the state administration as land in the USSR was nationalized and belonged to the state. Collectivization was accompanied by the development of permanent settlements for migrating indigenous communities and the enactment of compulsory school education.

After the breakdown of the USSR in 1991, its 15 constituent republics have become independent states. The Russian Federation was formed in 1992 on the territory of RSFSR; thus, the territory of the North, Siberia and Far East has become part of the Russian Federation. In the 1990s, the collective farm system was abolished; instead small

and medium-size private and municipal enterprises and farms were formed (Osherenko, 1995; Uzin, 2005).

The traditional economic activities continued under a new system of tribal communes. tribal commune ('rodovaya obschina' in Russian) is a new legal form for indigenous minority group organization, which aims to bring back the family approach to their traditional economic activities. it is usually formed around an extended family or clan and registered to conduct reindeer herding, fishing and hunting activities. according to the legislation, tribal commune is not a commercial enterprise and does not pay an income tax (Fondahl et al., 2001; Fondahl and Sirina, 2003; Vitebsky, 2005). Tribal communes receive state support in the form of subsidies for reindeer herding; fur production and hunting are licensed and regulated by the state. any person belonging to an indigenous minority of the North can form a tribal commune. They differ in size; in Yakutia, tribal communes usually include 10 to 15 people with herds ranging from a dozen to hundreds of reindeers (Yakovleva, 2011a).

### *Russian Oil and Indigenous Minorities of the Russian North*

The commercial exploitation of mineral and hydrocarbon reserves in the Russian North is a driving force of the Russian economy (Bond, 1994; Bradshaw 1995; Bradshaw and Lynn, 1998; Tichotsky, 2000; Yakovleva et al., 2000). Industrial-scale exploitation of oil and gas began in the 1950s, and it has been widely documented that oil and gas developments led by the soviet administration, as well as associated transport, pipeline and urban infrastructure, significantly damaged the land and natural resources that support the local economies of indigenous minorities in Komi Republic, Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug and Sakhalin Oblast in the period between the 1950s and 1980s (see

Figure 1) (Osherenko, 1995; Pika and Bogoyavlensky, 1995; Vakhtin, 1998; Wilson, 2003; Yablokov, 2007).

Even in the independent Russia throughout the 1990s and 2000s, the oil and gas sector negatively affected the traditional activities and economies of the indigenous minorities of the North. Stammler and Wilson (2006) reveal that industrial policy at the time lacked consideration for indigenous peoples' rights and interests. Duhaime (2004) noted disparities in living standards and social status between industrial workers and indigenous peoples. Fondahl (1995), Xanthaki (2004) and Overland (2005) observed the degradation of reindeer herding, high levels of unemployment, the destruction of material culture, and poor housing and poor health conditions amongst the indigenous minorities as compared to the general population.

Currently, the state promotes oil and gas exports to china, Japan and Korea through development of oil and gas reserves and infrastructure in the east of the country (Milov et al., 2006). In 2004, the federal government made the decision to construct a pipeline, currently known as the Eastern Siberia-Pacific Ocean pipeline (ESPO), to transport 80 million tonnes of oil per year from oil fields in Western and Eastern Siberia to the Pacific Coast (Buszynski, 2006; Makarov, 2005; Paik, 2005; Sagers, 2006). It extends over 4,400 km and travels through five Russian regions: Irkutsk Oblast, Yakutia, Amur Oblast, Khabarovskii Krai and Primorskii Krai. The first phase of construction (from Taishet to Skovorodino near the Chinese border) was completed by 2009; and the second phase (from Skovorodino to Perevoznaya Bat near Vladivostok) is to be completed by 2015 (see Figure 1). The project is overseen by the Transneft Company, a state-owned pipeline monopoly, and managed by its daughter company, the centre for project Management of Eastern Siberia-Pacific Ocean (CPM ESPO).

In 2004, when the ESPO route was planned within 800 meters of Lake Baikal, environmentalists at regional and national levels protested, leading to the state decision to move the pipeline northwards in 2006<sup>7</sup>. The pipeline route was moved 400 km northwards into the territory of Yakutia. In Yakutia, the pipeline is constructed underground; it stretches for over 1,400 km and crosses 240 rivers and streams, in particular the riverbeds of major regional rivers, Aldan, Amga and Lena.

### **A Case Study of Evenki and ESPO**

Evenki are Tungusic people, one of the largest and most geographically spread indigenous minorities of the North (Fondahl and Sirina, 2006). According to the 2010 census, the total population of Evenki in Russia was 38,396 people. Evenki reside in 14 regions (see Figure 1), with 55 per cent of them living in Yakutia, 12 per cent in Khabarovskii Krai, 11 per cent in Krasnoyarskii Krai and 8 per cent in the Republic of Buryatiya: Amur Oblast (4 per cent), Zabaikalskii Krai (4 per cent); 3 per cent in Irkutsk Oblast and 11 per cent in other regions (SCS, 2012a).

The ESPO oil pipeline passes through Evenki homeland from Irkutsk Oblast to Primorskii Krai. In this chapter I focus specifically on how ESPO affects the Evenki in Aldan district of Yakutia<sup>8</sup> (see Figure 2 and Table 2). Aldan district is a subdivision of Yakutia, which has a territory of 156,800 km<sup>2</sup> and a population of 42,600 people (Administration of Aldan Ulus, 2004; SCS, 2012b). The current population of Evenki in Aldan district is 2,000 people; predominantly residing in the villages of Khatystyr, Kutana

---

<sup>7</sup> Putin orders oil pipeline shifted. BBC News 24, Wednesday 26 April 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/4945998.stm> (accessed 17/10/2007).

<sup>8</sup> Aldan district is a district of Yakutia.

and Ugoyan (SCS, 2012b). During the Soviet period, the Evenki in Aldan district led traditional activities of hunting and reindeer herding within a collective farm named Khatystyrskii (or ‘Kolzhoz Khatystyrskii’ in Russian), which operated in the area of Belletskii ward of Aldan district<sup>9</sup> (see Figure 2). ESPO passes through the lands used by Evenki of Belletskii ward. Specifically, it goes through the territories of four tribal communes and the Khatystyrskii Company Limited, a private enterprise formed after the collective farm Khatystyrskii.

-----  
INSERT FIGURE 2 HERE  
-----

-----  
INSERT TABLE 2 HERE  
-----

Aldan district was formed as a separate administrative subdivision within Yakutia between 1923 and 1926 under the Soviet administration. The marking of its boundaries was linked to state priorities to administer and control the exploitation of the gold mines discovered in the area in the 1920s. In 1858, 22 Evenki clans (3,166 people) lived in southern and eastern parts of Yakutia; 16 of these clans occupied the geographical areas near the rivers of Aldan, Amga and Uchur. these were the predecessors of the Evenki of

---

<sup>9</sup> Yakutia consists of 33 districts (sometimes referred to in Sakha language as ‘ulus’ or in Russian language as ‘raion’). Each district consists of several wards or ‘nasleg’. Each ward (‘nasleg’) is usually a municipality, often part of a larger municipality.

Aldan district (Marfusaloova 2004). During the Tsarist period, Evenki mostly led nomadic lifestyle and practiced fishing and hunting for wild animals, especially for their fur. According to 1906 records, Evenki also harvested cropland for barley and rye, and held reindeers, horses and cattle. In 1924, the population of Evenki in Aldan district was 1,710 people; they formed 7 clans, 340 households and looked after 2,782 reindeers (Marfusaloova 2004).

The Evenki of Belletskii ward have been affected by the large-scale industrial developments since the 1920s, when major gold mines opened in Nizhny Kuranakh, 30 km away from Khatystyr village. Mining activities restricted reindeer herding routes, reduced reindeer pastures, displaced Evenki communities from their ancestral lands around Nizhny Kuranakh and polluted the natural environment in the area (Yakovleva, 2005). From 1920 to 1990, gold mining operations were led by the state-owned enterprise Aldanzoloto, which at its peak employed up to 3,000 people and accounted for 10 per cent of annual gold output in Russia. Although the negative effects of gold mining on Evenki have been recognized by researchers, the socio-economic and cultural effects have not been thoroughly studied (Yakovleva, 2005). The ESPO project further reduces the base for traditional economic activities of Evenki in Aldan district, who may be more affected by the pipeline developments than the rest of the population in Aldan district due to the close link between Evenki livelihoods and the natural environment.

## **Implications of the ESPO Construction for Evenki in Yakutia**

### *Attachment to Land*

Access to land and other natural resources is vital for the survival of the reindeer-herding culture of the Evenki people. The special attachment of indigenous minorities' livelihoods to land, although recognized by the Russian legislation, is not reflected in the processes of planning and assessment. The long-term impacts on indigenous communities arising from industrial projects are not duly considered during the planning process (Yakovleva, 2011b). Although environmental effects may be felt by all members of the local community, many migrant workers leave the area either in retirement or following economic downturns. It is felt by the Evenki community that they are left with the environmental legacy of industrial projects, as expressed by a community member in Aldan:

Ninety per cent of the population in Aldan district is a migrant population. They can leave, if they are not satisfied with the natural environment. Meanwhile, we will stay here for the rest of our lives, and our children and grandchildren will stay here (Interview with a member of Evenki community, 11 December 2007, Aldan).

With the rise of gold mines in Aldan district, thousands of industrial workers from western parts of Russia migrated to the area; but following the industrial decline of the 1990s, many migrant workers left the area. Observing the significant impacts caused by the gold mines on the landscape and the natural environment, the Evenki community in Aldan district fear that the pipeline development will follow the same route.

Following a long period of absence of private land ownership, Russia has re-introduced private ownership for land in the 1990s. Currently, land can be either state owned (owned by federal, regional and municipal governments) or privately owned

(owned privately, but mostly within urban areas). The federal government retained ownership of large tracks of forest land where the indigenous minorities of the North lead their traditional economic activities. currently, indigenous minorities in Russia do not have private ownership of their ancestral lands or the territories where they lead traditional natural resource use.

Some Evenki families were displaced from territories that they used for hunting and reindeer pasturing during the gold rush of the 1920s, and they were not compensated for the loss of land or damage to their activities. Members of Evenki community in Aldan district still remember the impacts caused by the industrial activities, one interviewee expressed regret about the unfair displacement:

You can see how much damaged it [gold mining] caused. We don't receive anything from it [gold mining]. The territory belonged to our ancestors, specifically to my grandfather. He lived there...Yes, our ancestors lived there. Meanwhile, we don't benefit from it [gold mining], although the fifth generation is growing up... I believe it will be the same with the pipeline (Interview with a member of Evenki community, 11 December 2007, Aldan).

In the late 1920s, the Soviet administration established Belletskii ward as a municipal and administrative unit, centred in the village of Khatystyr within assigned territorial boundaries within Aldan district. It then organized Evenki reindeer and hunting activities within a collective farm, Khatystirskii. The state regulated the access of Evenki to land within the boundaries of Belletskii ward and the boundaries of the collective farm Khatystirskii. As examined by Poirier and Ostergren (2002: 340) such displacement had a significant negative effect on indigenous minorities throughout Russia:

In the Soviet Union, land management decisions fulfilled state purposes and disputes were intra-governmental industrial interests took precedent over all other uses. They further note that ethnic Russians adapted their village life to Siberian landscapes and could forego access to the wild forest,

whilst indigenous peoples previously leading reindeer nomadic lifestyles were forced to adapt to villages, relinquishing their lifestyle and access to wild areas.

Furthermore, Poirier and Ostergren (2002: 341) emphasise that ‘the cultural sacrifice for indigenous peoples was much more profound than for European Russians’.

### *Traditional Natural Resource Use*

In the 1990s, regulatory reforms of the newly independent Russia promoted the environmental protection and rights of indigenous minorities. A series of federal laws protected the rights of indigenous minorities and permitted them to continue traditional reindeer herding and hunting activities (see Table A1) (Poirier and Ostergren, 2002). Federal legislation established a concept of ‘traditional natural resource use’ that was supposed to regulate the economic activities of indigenous minorities. tribal commune was conceived as a unit of organization for members of indigenous minorities that would allow them to formalize activities under ‘traditional natural resource use’ and register land for ‘traditional natural resource use’ (RF, 2000). Furthermore, the federal legislation established ‘territories of traditional natural resource use’ that can be used by tribal communes (RF, 2001). However, commercial, industrial and other activities such as pipeline construction or extractive projects are permitted on the ‘territories of traditional natural resource use’ (RF, 2001, article 13).

Although the pipeline is constructed underground, Evenki envisage long-term effects on hunting and reindeer herding due to construction, the building of access roads and the potential rise in poaching as explained by one reindeer herder:

This, for course, will impact on hunting and reindeer herding... on migration of animals, reindeers, elks and sables... there will be a huge impact...many people will arrive...There will a road...

Poaching may rise... For us, who are engaged in hunting and live from it, there may be difficulties due to changes in animal migration. To keep it short, we will hunt less. And there may be a reduction in the numbers of wild animals (interview with a reindeer herder, Aldan, December 2007).

The reindeer herders in Aldan base these predications on their recent experiences with the railway construction and knowledge of animal migration in the area, as revealed in the below conversation (Interview with reindeer herders, Aldan, June 2009):

Interviewer: I understand that the changes in animal migration will affect other communes in the area and not only those communes who are directly located on the pipeline route. The changes in animal migration may occur on a larger scale, not only local to these communes? Am I right?

Interviewee 1: That's right.

Interviewer: Does this mean that communes adjacent to the immediate pipeline area will experience changes in animal migration?

Interviewee 1: Yes, that is correct. We are not experiencing this at the moment. It's only been a year since the forest was cleared. In a year or two, it will be apparent.

Interviewee 2: The changes will start this winter. We will see the results.

Interviewee 1: Only a year has passed. In a year's time there will be changes. How does it happen? Here is the river Aldan... (shows on the map).

Interviewer: Here is the river Amga... (indicates on the map).

Interviewee 1: ...during the summer, animals generally migrate to the river Aldan. Loaches and elks proceed there. Everybody swims there. Later, during the winter, they migrate towards the river Amga, where they spend the winter. The migration goes up the river Aldan, then down the river Amga and then down the river Olekma and this way they return back (shows on the map). Now, we have seen significant changes after they built a railway. Elk migration has sharply declined. In the 1990s, we always had elks near our commune. Now we don't. And the Manchurian deers have suddenly disappeared.

Interviewer: The railway goes through here approximately (shows on the map). There is no passage over the railway, as you say. It cuts the migration routes in two [areas]...

Interviewee 2: The entire area is now divided into four segments. The ESPO will intersect with the railway. Animals migrate down the river Amga, here there is less snow and then they return back. They travel in a circle... We know. All communes communicate by radio... Yes, the animals have passed here and there.

Interviewee 1: There will be changes next year.

The pipeline developers did not conduct social and environmental impact assessments to understand potential impacts on traditional activities in the area. although the federal legislation has introduced such assessment in 'etnologicheskaya ekspertiza' (or ethnological expert review) (RF 1999, article 8), no further guidelines on its implementation have been developed by the government (Murashko, 2006; Yakovleva, 2001a). Without an ethnological expert review, there is no recorded evidence about the impact of the project on traditional activities.

The potential impacts on the natural environment have been assessed by OVOS<sup>10</sup> documents (equivalent to environmental impact assessments) that were later given state approval during the ‘ekologicheskaya ekspertiza’ (or ecological expert review). The Transneft Company has prepared three separate OVOS documents for three sections of the ESPO expansions in Yakutia that went through consecutive public consultations with local communities in the area of planned activities and were subsequently approved by a federal state department, Rostekhnadzor<sup>11</sup>.

However, these environmental assessments did not consider the potential changes in animal migration and subsequent impacts on hunting practices in the area. such assessments do not cover the evaluation of social and economic impacts on indigenous minorities’ livelihoods. developers tend to limit themselves to legislation on the matters of indigenous minorities and no voluntary assessment frameworks developed internationally have been applied in the case of ESPO.

### *Land Rights*

In 1990, the Russian government launched a land-property reform starting with intermediate measures towards full private land ownership – life-long inherited possession and permanent use of land – this was meant to lead to the acquisition of land as private property later on (Kirchik, 2004). The Russian Constitution of 1993 reaffirmed plans for private land ownership in article 36, and it established the rights of Russian citizens to possess and dispose of land plots on the basis of private property (RF, 1993).

---

<sup>10</sup> OVOS is an abbreviation of ‘otsenka vozdeistviya na okruzhayushuyu sredu’, translated as ‘assessment of impact on the natural environment’. These documents are prepared by the developers and submitted for the approval to a state department after consultation with local communities in the area of planned project development during ‘ekologicheskaya ekspertiza’ – ecological expert review.

<sup>11</sup> Rostekhnadzor – an acronym for the Federal Service for Ecological, Technical and Nuclear control.

Following these legal changes, tribal communes registered land plots for life-long inherited possession and permanent use with the hope of acquiring these lands as private property at a future date. however, a ten- year moratorium was introduced to limit the purchase, sale, gift and other deals with land plots (Kirchik, 2004).

When the collective farm in Belletskii ward, kolkhoz Khatystirskii, was disbanded, a number of tribal communes along with a private company named Khatystyrskii Company Limited settled on its territory. These new agricultural organizations divided the land previously managed under the kolkhoz Khatystirskii between them. some tribal communes registered their rights for life-long inherited possession and use in relation to land plots that were given to the communes, as one tribal commune leader explained:

Here a copy of the certificate about the right of possession and use of land with the description of borders and land users... Yes, the right of possession and use of land, that was issued in 1999, for 148,923 hectares, a life-long inherited possession (Interview with a Head of tribal commune, Aldan, June 2009).

Currently, the indigenous minorities of the North do not have private land ownership rights for the territories given to them for ‘traditional natural resource use’. the land plots used by tribal communes can either be state or municipal property and the purchase of the land into private property is not permitted by law (RF 2002, article 10).

The federal government owns the majority of land mass in Russia, including the territories of traditional natural resource users. tribal communes of indigenous minorities are allowed to use the land free of charge (RF 1999, article 8), but they need to register their claim to use the land for traditional natural resource use, and bureaucracy around registration is complex. in order to register an area as a ‘territory of traditional natural

resource use', an applicant needs to conduct a technical land assessment that costs US\$570 per hectare<sup>12</sup>. Tribal communes typically migrate with their herd throughout the year in search of pastures following the cycle of reindeer herding, they usually use substantial areas, up to several thousand hectares. the combined income of a tribal commune (consisting of about 10 people) cannot match the amount required for assessment payments, leading to the failure of many tribal communes to register the lands on which they have lived and worked for several generations in their names<sup>13</sup>.

One of the main reasons for the limited powers of indigenous minorities in Russia to protect their traditional activities, lifestyles and ancestral territories from invasive industrial developments is the absence of full land property rights for the ancestral territories.

### *Compensation and Relocation*

Land that was given to groups of indigenous minorities to lead their traditional activities can be taken away by the state or municipal authorities, depending on whether the land is state or municipal property, and can be used for non-traditional economic activities. in such cases, groups of indigenous minorities are entitled to compensation or may be given alternative land plots (RF, 2001, article 12).

Those tribal communes whose territories were directly on the pipeline route received one-off compensation payments from the Transneft Company for the 'temporary disruption to land use' after signing consent agreements. other tribal communes around the pipeline who may experience negative effects from its construction, for instance via changes in animal migration, were excluded from negotiations and compensation

---

<sup>12</sup> Interview with a tribal commune, Aldan, June 2009.

<sup>13</sup> Interview with a lawyer, Yakutsk, November 2007.

arrangements. in relation to this, regional activists in Yakutia voiced concerns over the way in which the Transneft Company led conversations with tribal communities around the pipeline, excluding municipal and regional authorities from participation in the dialogue. the activists felt that tribal communes were put in a vulnerable position and without the participation of third parties were open to coercion and were forced into accepting compensation payments without extended deliberations. the demands of other tribal communities, whose territories were adjacent to the pipeline, were not met by the Transneft Company.

The payments tribal communes received as part of consent agreements were formulated as a payment for the ‘disruption to land use’ and were not specified as compensation for environmental impact, loss of income or construction noise/ damage. For instance, a single compensation payment of US\$3,800 was paid to a tribal commune consisting of five members, herding 70 reindeer on land directly on the pipeline route. payment was for disruption to use of land during the two years of pipeline construction. the methodology for calculating this sum was not disclosed and no open negotiations were established. the tribal communes whose lands were directly affected by pipeline construction had no opportunities to discuss construction of the pipeline on their lands with the developers. in fear of relocation, tribal communes in Aldan signed consent agreements to support the construction. relocation is unfavoured by tribal communes as explained by a regional expert:

It will cause conflict... There is absolutely no available land in the territory of the Republic... Even if they told us that we will relocate these tribal communes. We do not have an opportunity to relocate these communes. It will not be possible, because no commune will give land to another commune (Interview with a leader of indigenous peoples’ organisation, Yakutsk, December 2007).

In Yakutia, past relocations include the displacement of indigenous communities from settlement areas in Mirny district to make way for the construction of a water reservoir near the Vilyuiskaya hydroelectric station that powers the diamond mines (Yakovleva, 2005). This relocation was poorly managed and disrupted the traditional livelihood of the local indigenous community. The current regulations on the 'territories of traditional natural resource use' of indigenous minorities do not adequately detail relocation procedures as explained by the sector expert:

Indigenous minorities of the North who live and possess large tracks of land... have a totally different lifestyle and a way of thinking. This is not as simple as relocating a person from a house to house... Here is his native land and native rivers. Everything is one's own. Say, he is given a different land where he needs to transfer his reindeers. The transfer will not happen. The reason is simple - he will lose all his reindeers. The reindeers will return to places where the pipes are (Interview with a leader of indigenous peoples' organisation, Yakutsk, December 2007).

## **Discussion**

The analysis of the ESPO case study highlights failures of state and industry policy towards participation of indigenous minorities of the North in project planning and development. These policies need to be updated in line with international guidelines and reformulated to allow indigenous minorities to effectively engage in decisions concerning industrial developments on their traditional lands.

When proposing to conduct economic activities in areas used by indigenous minorities for 'traditional natural resource use', both the state and industry should change their approach to discuss matters of access to land, free prior informed consent, evaluation and compensation, and revenue distribution (see Table 3). The most pressing issues for

indigenous minorities are free prior informed consent and revenue distribution, which are discussed below.

-----  
INSERT TABLE 3 HERE  
-----

### *Free Prior Informed Consent*

If the state or other developers plan to conduct economic activities on territories designated for ‘traditional natural resource use’, they should seek consent from the groups of indigenous minorities of the North whose activities are affected. indeed, prior to pipeline construction in Aldan district, the tribal communities with land plots directly on the pipeline route were asked to consent to temporary disruption. however, the procedure was non-transparent, and no third parties were involved in discussions.

There are no detailed regulations for seeking free prior informed consent in Russia. the existing regulations ignored the indigenous minorities of the North during the in-town planning regulation (RF, 2004) and the environmental impact assessment (RF, 1995). According to ‘ekologicheskaya expertiza’ or ‘ecological expert review’, OVOS documents (or environmental impact statements) prepared by developers need to be presented and discussed in local communities during formal public consultation or public hearing meetings. however, current regulation does not require developers to specifically involve indigenous minorities of the North in consultations over environmental impacts (RF 1995). Instead, indigenous minorities can participate in consultation procedures as local citizens. Only a small number of Evenki participated in the relevant public hearing

meetings in Aldan district; public hearing meetings were not well advertized to Evenki communities and were not held in their rural settlements, but in urban centres of Aldan and Neryungri districts<sup>14</sup>.

From January 2007, new construction projects were required to undergo a unified state assessment that integrated several assessment procedures that were previously performed separately; these review environmental issues, sanitation, cultural heritage, fire safety, industrial safety, nuclear safety, radiation safety and other safety issues (Russian Federation 2004). Rosstroi, the Federal agency for construction, housing and public utilities, authorizes, organizes and conducts this assessment. The unified state assessment is under the unique jurisdiction of the federal government; some projects could be delegated to the regional governments but are controlled by the Rosstroi.

These regulatory novelties may reduce the degree of scrutiny of environmental and social impacts as Rosstroi does not specialize in environmental protection. it was originally conceived to deal with predominantly technical issues. an environmental expert interviewed for this project suggested that technical issues may take priority over environmental protection in the united assessment<sup>15</sup>. The centralization of unified assessment may simplify approval procedures, especially for projects initiated by the federal government, and offer little chance for regional governments to review, input or object to the assessment process. even the relatively new town planning legislation of 2004 does not require developers to assess the impacts on, or consider the views from, indigenous minorities.

---

<sup>14</sup> Interview with an environmental NGO, Yakutsk, November 2007.

<sup>15</sup> Interview with an environmental expert, Yakutsk, November 2007.

The ongoing regulatory updates in Russia have been especially damaging for the traditional activities of indigenous minorities. The Russian indigenous peoples' organization, RAIPON insists that by introducing various legislative changes, the state has deliberately reduced indigenous peoples' rights over natural resources in pursuit of state economic plans for mineral resource exploitation (RAIPON, 2009).

### *Revenue Distribution*

Evenki in Yakutia wanted to partake in sharing project benefits. Aspirations for improved quality of life, local employment and social investment are particularly important to these communities. Although Evenki communities in Aldan district could not offer a qualified workforce during the construction phase, several Evenki took part in clearing the land for pipeline construction. In contrast with international best practice policy developed by extractive companies in Australia and Canada, the pipeline developers made no provisions for training and no future employment opportunities were offered to the Evenki community (see Chapters 1 and 2 in this volume).

The municipal authorities of Belletskii ward approached the pipeline developers on several occasions with requests for social investments, but these were never formally agreed upon. Recognizing the potential impact of the pipeline on traditional activities, the Evenki community in Aldan district has expectations for increased investment in social services, health and education as compensation for the impacts.

Some of the propositions were developed by regional activists and voiced at the pipeline's public hearing meetings in the regional capital Yakutsk but did not receive any attention from the developers. Amongst these were proposals borrowed from best

international practice, such as shareholding offered to members of affected indigenous people, bonus payments paid by developers to the regional government for conducting a project on its territory, and the establishment of a regional fund made up of voluntary contributions from developers towards social causes in the region.

## **Conclusions**

Today, the Russian extractive industry, supported by state policies and underdeveloped regulation, has no incentives to deal with indigenous peoples' concerns in resource extraction projects. little attention is paid to the protection of natural habitat, to the accommodation of indigenous activities, or to the mitigation of impacts on traditional activities such as reindeer herding, fishing or hunting. access to land and questions of community development are within the realm of voluntary action, but unless regional or municipal governments exert sufficient pressure on the companies operating extractive projects, these matters will be (and are) ignored.

Industrial projects continue to disrupt the activities of indigenous minorities within areas specified by the state as 'territories for traditional natural resource use' without proper consultation and adequate compensation. Although legislation is continuously updated, it still does not ensure due consideration of indigenous peoples' interests. No systematic priority to the interests of indigenous minorities in planning is given by the current regulations concerning environmental assessment, land, traditional economic activities and consultation.

Some principles featured in the legislation, are not enforced to support indigenous minorities effectively; these include the ethnological expert review and compensation for

impacts on traditional activities. as this case study shows, the industrial and economic interests of the oil and gas sector override those of indigenous peoples. moreover, federal state interests override regional non- governmental voices and concerns. the future of indigenous minorities living in areas under threat from industrial development is thus uncertain.

Land is the main element of a complex system of indigenous peoples' affairs. until indigenous minorities in Russia are given extended land rights and rights for participation in planning, decision-making concerning their development and rights to exercise effective Free prior informed consent there is little that indigenous minorities can do to influence the course of industrial activities on their traditional lands.

Although the Russian government demonstrates concern for indigenous peoples in various legislative documents and state programmes, the overall leadership and commitment to indigenous peoples' protection is lacking. The state needs to improve procedures for assessing impacts on indigenous minorities and their traditional economic activities in line with international documents concerning indigenous peoples' rights. there is a need to re-examine indigenous peoples' relations to water and forest resources, as well as the systematic provision of indigenous rights in the areas of fishing, hunting and reindeer herding. RAIPON urges the federal government to pay attention to these issues as the appropriate federal laws concerning hunting, fishing and reindeer herding have not yet been adopted (RAIPON, 2009).

As the government plans to expand industrial developments in the Russian North, the state needs to strengthen its policy on the protection of indigenous peoples' livelihoods in accordance with the international documents signed by Russia. The case of Evenki in Aldan shows indigenous peoples' organizations, indigenous communities

themselves and other civil society organizations (such as environmental NGOs) have many ideas of how industry and indigenous communities can coexist or be regulated. however, none of these ideas are systematically incorporated in planning of industrial activities on indigenous territories.

Although, in the case of Aldan, indigenous people recognize the economic objectives and priorities of the state and do not oppose the pipeline construction in principle, they want their views to be considered in a fair and systematic manner. in order to achieve and cement the aspirations of indigenous peoples in the Russian North, the process should start with extending formal support to indigenous peoples to participate in decision-making in all aspects that relate to traditional natural resource use, and cultural and social development. the state and industry fail to rise to the challenge and they ignore objections from civil society and proposals for local level solutions. a platform to discuss and develop solutions to complex indigenous peoples' issues is required in Russia. Moreover, all sectors of the society need to promote greater engagement with indigenous minorities in political processes and a fair system of their representation at different levels of political administration is required. powers and authority of municipal administrations established within the territories of traditional natural resource use of indigenous minorities should be examined further. the municipal administrations should have a stronger voice in decision-making concerning indigenous peoples' development.

## References

- Administration of Aldan Ulus. 2004. *Aldan Ulus: History, culture and folklore*. Bichik: Yakutsk.
- Agbonifo, J. 2009. Oil, insecurity, and subversive patriots in the Niger Delta: The Ogoni as agent of revolutionary change. *Journal of Third World Studies*, 26(2): 71-106.
- Altamirano-Jiménez, I. 2004. Northern American First Peoples: Slipping up into market citizenship? *Citizenship Studies*, 8 (4): 349–365.
- Anderson, D.G. Is Siberian reindeer herding in crisis? Living with reindeer fifteen years after the end of state socialism. *Nomadic Peoples*, 10(2): 87-104.
- Balzer, M.M. and Vinokurova, U.A. 1996. Nationalism, interethnic relations and federalism: the case of the Sakha Republic (Yakutia). *Europe-Asia Studies*, 48(1), 101-120.
- Bartels, D. and Bartels, A.L. 2006. Indigenous peoples of the Russian North and Cold War ideology. *Anthropologica*, 48(2): 265-279.
- Behrends, A., & Schareika, N. 2010. Significations of oil in Africa: what (more) can anthropologists contribute to the study of oil? *Suomen Antropologi: Journal of the Finnish Anthropological Society*, 35(1), 83-86.
- Bond, A.R. 1994. The non-energy mineral industries of post-Soviet Russia. *Post-Soviet Geography*, 35(9), 543-565.
- Bradshaw, M.J. 1995. The Russian North in transition: general information. *Post-Soviet Geography*, 36(4), 195-203.
- Bradshaw, M.J. and Lynn, N.J. 1998. Resource-Based Development in the Russian Far East: Problems and Prospects. *Geoforum*, 29(4), 375-392.

- Buszynski, L. 2006. Oil and territory in Putin's relations with China and Japan. *The Pacific Review*, 19(3), 287-303.
- CBC News. 2011. First Nations leaders join Keystone pipeline protest. *CBC News*, 20 August 2011. Available at:  
<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/story/2011/08/30/indigenous-protest-keystone-pipeline-xl.html> [accessed: 1 May 2012].
- Chance, N.A. and Andreeva, E.N. 1995. Sustainability, equity, and natural resource development in Northwest Siberia and Arctic Alaska. *Human Ecology*, 23(2): 217-240.
- Crawley, A. and Sinclair, A. 2003. Indigenous human resource practices in Australian mining companies: towards an ethical model. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 45(4), 361-373.
- Dana, L.P., Meis-Mason, A., Anderson, R.B. 2008. Oil and gas and the Inuvialuit people of the Western Arctic. *Journal of Enterprising Communities: People and Places in Global Economy*, 2 (2): 151-167.
- Donahoe, B., Habeck J.O., Halemba, A., Sántha, I. 2008. Size and place in the construction of indigeneity in the Russia Federation. *Current Anthropology*, 49(6), 993-1020.
- Duhaime, G. 2004, Economic systems, in *Arctic Human Development Report*, edited by N.Einarsson et al. Akureyri: Steffansson Arctic Institute, 69-84.
- EarthRights International. 2011. *The Burma-China pipelines: Human Rights Violations, Applicable Law, and Revenue Secrecy*. Situation Briefer Number 1. Washington, DC: EarthRights International. Available at:

<http://www.earthrights.org/sites/default/files/documents/the-burma-china-pipelines.pdf> [accessed: 1 May 2012].

- Economist Intelligence Unit. 2011. *Country Commerce: Russia*. New York: The Economist Intelligence Unit.
- Ferguson, J, 2005. Seeing like an oil company: Space, security, and Global Capital in neoliberal Africa. *American Anthropologist*, 107(3): 377–382.
- Flanders, N.E. 1998. Native American sovereignty and natural resource management. *Human Ecology*, 26(3): 42-5-449.
- Fondahl, G. and Sirina, A. 2003. Working borders and shifting identities in the Russian Far North. *Geoforum*, 34(4), 541-556.
- Fondahl, G. and Sirina, A. 2006. Rights and risks: Evenki concerns regarding the proposed Eastern Siberia – Pacific Ocean Pipeline. *Sibirica*, 5 (2), 115-138.
- Fondahl, G., Lazebnik, O., Poelzer, G., Robbek, V. 2001. Native ‘land claims’, Russian style. *The Canadian Geographer*, 45(4), 545-561.
- Fondahl, G.A. 1995. The status of indigenous peoples in the Russian North. *Post-Soviet Geography*, 36(4), 215-224.
- Forsyth, J. 1992. *A History of the Peoples of Siberia: Russia’s North Asian Colony, 1581-1990*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gilberthorpe, E. 2007. Fasu solidarity: A case study of kin networks, land tenure and oil extraction in Kutubu, Papua New Guinea. *American Anthropologist*, 109(1): 109-119.
- Government of the Russian Federation (GRF) 2000. *Decree of the Government of the Russian Federation of 24 March 2000, No. 255 on Unified List of Indigenous*

- Small Numbered Peoples of The Russian Federation*. Available at:  
<http://base.garant.ru/181870/> [accessed: 4 May 2012].
- Government of the Russian Federation (GRF) 2006. *Order of the Government of the Russian Federation of 17 April 2006 No. 536-R on Adoption of the List of Indigenous Numerically Small Peoples of the North, Siberia and Far East of the Russian Federation*. Available at: <http://severcom.ru/law/item24-2.html> [accessed: 4 May 2012].
- Grover, R. 2009. *Voluntary Guidelines for Good Governance In Land And Natural Resource Tenure: Issues From An International Institutional Perspective*. Land Tenure Working Paper 9. Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of The United Nations.
- Hipwell, W., Mamen, K., Weitzner, V., Whiteman, G. 2002. *Aboriginal Peoples and Mining in Canada: Consultation, Participation and Prospect for Change*. Working Discussion Paper. Ottawa: The North-South Institute. Available at: <http://www.nsi-ins.ca/english/pdf/syncanadareport.pdf> [accessed: 31 May 2011].
- Humphrey, C. 1983. *Karl Marx Collective: Economy, Society and Religion in a Siberian Collective Farm*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kirchik, O. 2004. Zemel'naya reforma: 1990-2002 [Land reform: 1990-2002]. *Otechestvennie Zapiski: Zhurnal Dlya Medlennogo Chteniya* [National Records: Journal for Slow Reading]. No 1(15). Available at: <http://www.strana-oz.ru/?article=751&numid=16> [accessed: 6 June 2011].
- Kojucharov, N. 2007. Poverty, petroleum and policy intervention: Lessons from the Chad-Cameroon. *Review of African Political Economy*, 34(113): 477-496.

- Kovalev, N. and Koeppel, J. 2003. Introduction to the environmental impact assessment system and public participation in the Russian Federation. *Journal of Environmental Assessment Policy and Management*, 5(3), 321-338.
- Lynn, N.J. and Fryer, P. 1998. National-territorial change in the republics of the Russian North. *Political Geography*, 17(5): 567-588.
- Lynn, N.J. and Novikov, A.V. 1997. Refederalizing Russia: Debates on the Idea of Federalism in Russia. *Publius*, 27 (2): 187-203.
- Makarov, A. 2005. *Russian Policy for Energy Markets*, Conference MIEC-CGEMP Energy Relations between the European Union and Russia in the Global Context, Paris, France, 18-19 April 2005. Available at: <http://www.dauphine.fr/cgemp/Manifestations/MIEC/MAKAROV.pdf> [accessed: 14 February 2008].
- Marfusalova, A.D. 2004. Indigenous population in Southern Yakutia. In: Administration of Aldan Ulus. 2004. *Aldan Ulus: History, Culture and Folklore*. Bichik: Yakutsk, pp. 29-39.
- Milov, V., Coburn, LL., Danchenko, I. 2006. Russia' energy policy, 1992-2005. *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 47(3), 285-313.
- Murashko, O.A. 2006. What is the Etnologicheskaya Ekspertiza in Russia? *Sibirica*, 5(2), 77-94.
- O'Faircheallaigh, C. 2005. Indigenous participation in environmental management of mining projects: the role of negotiated agreements. *Environmental Politics*, 14(5), 629-647.

- O'Faircheallaigh, C. and Ali, S. (eds). 2008. *Earth Matters: Indigenous Peoples, The Extractive Industries and Corporate Social Responsibility*. Sheffield: Greenleaf Publishing.
- Osherenko, G. 1995. Indigenous political and property rights and economic/environmental reform in Northwest Siberia. *Post-Soviet Geography*, 36(4), 225-237.
- Overland, I. 2005. Poverty and international aid among Russia's indigenous peoples, in *Indigenous Peoples and Poverty: An International Perspective*, edited by R. Eversole et al. London, New York: Zed Books, 108-125.
- Paik, K.-W. 2005. Russia's oil and gas exports to northeast Asia. *Asia-Pacific Review*, 12(2), 58-70.
- Pika, A. and Bogoyavlensky, D. 1995. Yamal peninsula: Oil and gas development and problems of demography and health among indigenous populations. *Arctic Anthropology*, 32(2): 61-74.
- Poirier, R. and Ostergren, D. 2002. People from nature: indigenous land rights and national parks in Australia, Russia, and the United States. *Natural Resources Journal*, 42, 331-351.
- RAIPON. 2009. *RAIPON: Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North*. Available from: <http://www.raipon.org> [accessed: 4 December 2009].
- Russian Federation. 1993. *Constitution of the Russian Federation*, Adopted 12 December 1993, Available at: <http://www.constitution.ru/en/10003000-01.htm> [accessed: 13/10/2010].

- Russian Federation. 1995. *Federal Law on Ecological Expert Review of 23 November 1995, N 174-FZ*. Available at: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/9014668> [accessed: 19 October 2010].
- Russian Federation (RF). 1999. *Federal Law of 30 April 1999 No. 82-FZ on Guarantees of the Rights of Indigenous Minorities of the Russian Federation*. Available at: <http://constitution.garant.ru/act/right/180406/> [accessed: 4 May 2012].
- Russian Federation (RF). 2000. *Federal Law of 20 July 2000 No. 104-FZ on General Principles of Organisation of Communes of Indigenous Minorities of the North, Siberia and Far East of the Russian Federation*. Available at: <http://base.garant.ru/182356/> [accessed: 4 May 2012].
- Russian Federation (RF). 2001. *Federal Law on Territories for Traditional Natural Resources Use of Indigenous Minorities of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation of 7 May 2011 No. 49-FZ*. Available from: <http://base.garant.ru/12122856/> [accessed 8 May 2012].
- Russian Federation. 2004. *City Planning Code of the Russian Federation of 29 December 2004 N 190-FZ*. Available at: <http://www.consultant.ru/popular/gskrf/> (accessed on 18 July 2011).
- Sabin, P. 1995. Voices from the hydrocarbon frontier: Canada's Mackenzie Valley pipeline inquiry (1974-1977). *Environmental History Review*, 19(1): 17-48.
- Sagers, M.J. 2006. The regional dimension of Russian oil production: is a sustained recovery in prospect? *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 47(5), 505-545.
- Sawyer, S. and Gomez, E.T. 2004. *Transnational Governmentality and Resources Extraction: Indigenous Peoples, Multinational Corporations, Multilateral*

- Institutions and the State*. Identities, Conflict and Cohesion Programme Paper Number 13. Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.
- Schindler, D.L. 1991. Theory, policy, and the “Narody Severa”. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 64(2): 68-79.
- Stammler, F. and Peskov, V. 2008. Building a ‘culture of dialogue’ among stakeholders in North-West Russian oil extraction. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 60(5), 831-849.
- Stammler, F. and Wilson, E. 2006. Dialogue for development: An exploration of relations between oil and gas companies, communities and the state. *Sibirica*, 5(2), 1-42.
- State Committee for Statistics (SCS). 2012a. *Information Material on Final Results of the Russian Census of 2010*. Moscow: State Committee for Statistics of the Russian Federation. Available at:  
[http://www.gks.ru/free\\_doc/new\\_site/perepis2010/perepis\\_itogi1612.htm](http://www.gks.ru/free_doc/new_site/perepis2010/perepis_itogi1612.htm)  
[accessed: 4 May 2012].
- State Committee for Statistics (SCS) 2012b. Population of the Russian Federation by cities, urban settlements and regions on the 1<sup>st</sup> January 2010. Moscow: State Committee for Statistics of the Russian Federation. Available at:  
[http://www.gks.ru/bgd/regl/b10\\_109/Main.htm](http://www.gks.ru/bgd/regl/b10_109/Main.htm) [accessed 11 May 2012].
- Tichotsky, J. 2000. *Russia’s Diamond Colony: The Republic of Sakha*. London: Routledge.
- United Nations Development Group (UNDG). 2009. *Guidelines on Indigenous Peoples’ Issues*. New York, Geneva: United Nations. Available at:  
<http://www2.ohchr.org/english/issues/indigenous/docs/guidelines.pdf> [accessed: 19 January 2010].

- Uzin, V. 2005. Large and small business in Russian agriculture: adaptation to market. *Comparative Economic Studies*, 47(1), 85-100.
- Vakhtin, N. B. 1998. Indigenous people of the Russian Far North: Land rights and the environment. *Polar Geography*, 22(2), 79-104.
- Vitebsky, P. 2005. *Reindeer People: Living with Animals and Spirits in Siberia*. London: HarperCollins.
- Wilson, E. 2003. Freedom and loss in a human landscape: multinational oil exploitation and the survival of reindeer herding in north-eastern Sakhalin, the Russian Far East. *Sibirica*, 3(1), 21-47.
- Xanthaki, A. 2004. Indigenous rights in the Russian Federation: the case of numerically small peoples of the Russian North, Siberia and Far East. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 26 (1), 74-105.
- Yablokov, A.B. 2007. *Rossiya: Zdorov'e Prirody I Lyudei* [Russia: Health of the Environment and the Nation]. Moscow: Yabloko.
- Yakovleva, N. 2005. *Corporate Social Responsibility in the Mining Industries*. Burlington, USA and Aldershot, England: Ashgate.
- Yakovleva, N. 2011a. Oil pipeline construction in Eastern Siberia: Implications for indigenous people. *Geoforum*, 42(6), 708-719. Available online 14 July 2011.
- Yakovleva, N. 2011b. Oil sector developments in Russia and indigenous people, *OGEL: Oil, Gas and Energy Law Intelligence*, Special Issue: Indigenous People and Resource Development. 9 (4), 1-28.
- Yakovleva, N. and Munday, M. 2010. *Pipeline Development and Community Participation*. Cardiff: BRASS Research Centre. Available from: <http://www.brass.cf.ac.uk> [accessed 8 May 2012].

Yakovleva, N.P., Alabaster, T. and Petrova, P.G. 2000. Natural resource use in the Russian North: A case study of diamond mining in the Republic of Sakha. *Environmental Management and Health*, 11(4), 318-336.

## Tables and Figures

**Table 1 Regions and indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and Far East of the Russian Federation**

Regions (see Figure 1)	Indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and Far East of the Russian Federation residing in these regions
1. Murmansk Oblast	Nenets (also known as Samoyed), Saami
2. Republic of Karelia	Veps*
3. Arkhangelsk Oblast	Nenets (also known as Samoyed)
4. Komi Republic	Mansi (also known as Vogul)**, Khanty (also known as Ostyak),
5. Nenets Autonomous Okrug	Nenets (also known as Samoyed)
6. Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug	Evenk (also known as Tungus), Ket (also known as Yenisei Ostyak), Khanty (also known as Ostyak), Mansi (also known as Vogul)**, Nenets (also known as Samoyed)
7. Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug	Evenk (also known as Tungus), Khanty (also known as Ostyak), Nenets (also known as Samoyed), Selkup (also known as Ostyak Samoyed)
8. Tyumen Oblast	Evenki, Khanty (also known as Ostyak), Mansi (also known as Vogul), Nenets (also known as Samoyed)
9. Omsk Oblast	Chulym, Evenk (also known as Tungus), Khanty (also known as Ostyak), Selkup (also known as Ostyak Samoyed)
10. Tomsk Oblast	Chulym, Selkup (also known as Ostyak Samoyed)
11. Novosibirsk Oblast	
12. Altaiskii Krai	Teleut
13. Republic of Altai	Chelkancy, Kumandin, Telengit, Teleut, Tubolar
14. Kemerovo Oblast	Shor, Teleut
15. Republic of Khakassia	
16. Tyva Republic	Tuvinian-todjins
17. Krasnoyarskii Kraii (encompassing the territories of number 17a and 17b)	Chulym, Ket (also known as Yenisei Ostyak), Selkup (also known as Ostyak Samoyed)
17a. Evenki Municipal Region of Krasnoyarskii Krai	Evenk (also known as Tungus), Ket (also known as Yenisei Ostyak)
17b. Taimyr (Dolgano-Nenets) Municipal Region of Krasnoyarskii Krai	Dolgan, Enets (also known as Yenisei Samoyed), Evenk (also known as Tungus), Nenets (also known as Samoyed), Nganasan (also known as Taygi Samoyed)
18. Irkutsk Oblast	Evenk (also known as Tungus), Tofalar
19. Republic of Buryatiya	Evenk (also known as Tungus), Soiot
20. Zhabaikal'skii Krai	Evenk (also known as Tungus)
21. Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)	Chukchi, Dolgan, Even (also known as Tungus Lamut), Evenk (also known as Tungus), Yukagir (also known as Oduls)
22. Amur Oblast	Evenk (also known as Tungus)
23. Chukotka Autonomous Okrug	Chukchi, Chuvan (also known as Etel), Eskimos (also known as Inuit), Even (also known as Tungus Lamut), Kerek, Koryak, Yukagir (also known as Oduls)
24. Kamchatskii Kraii (encompassing the territory number 24a)	Aleut (otherwise known as Unangan), Even (also known as Tungus Lamut), Itelmen, Kamchadal, Koryak

24a. Koryak Okrug of Kamchatskii Krai	Aleut (also known as Unangan), Alutory, Chukchi, Even (also known as Tungus Lamut), Itelmen, Kamchadal, Koryak
25. Magadan oblast	Chukchi, Chuvan (also known as Etel), Even (also known as Tungus Lamut), Kamchadal, Yukagir (also known as Oduls
26. Khabarovskii Krai	Even (also known as Tungus Lamut), Evenk (also known as Tungus), Nanai, Negidal, Nivkh (also known as Gilyak), Orochi, Ugede (also known as Ude), Ulchi (also known as Olchi)
27. Sakhalin Oblast	Evenk (also known as Tungus), Nivkh (also known as Gilyak), Orok (also known as Ulta)
28. Primorskii Krai	Evenk (also known as Tungus), Nanai, Orochi, Taz, Ugede (also known as Ude)
29. Jewish Autonomous Oblast	
30. Vologodsk Oblast	Veps
31. Leningrad Oblast	Veps
32. Sverdlovsk Oblast	Mansi (also known as Vogul)

*Notes:*

\* Veps also live in Vologodsk Oblast and Leningrad Oblast – these regions are not considered to be part of the geographical North, Siberia or the Far east of the Russian Federation.

\*\* Mansi (also known as Vogul) also live in Sverdlovsk Oblast – a region that is not considered to be part of the geographical North, Siberia or Russian Far east of the Russian Federation, it is traditionally considered to be part of the Urals.

*Source:* Adapted from RAIPON, 2009.

**Table 2 Major events affecting Evenki in Aldan district of Yakutia**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Event</b>
1632	Yakutia has become part of Russia after Russian Cossaks have established Yakutsk as a fort on the river Lena.
1924	Gold deposits were discovered in the area near the Aldan river.
1924	Establishment of a gold mining enterprise in Aldan. the company was called Aldanzoloto, it was a state-owned enterprise which later became part of a larger company, Yakutzoloto, which united all major gold mining enterprises in Yakutia.
1930	Establishment of Aldan district as an administrative division of Yakutia, then known as Yakutsk Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (YASSR). Aldan district became one of 33 districts in Yakutia.
1930	Collective farm Khatystyrskii (Kolkhoz Khatystyrskii) was formed which led activities on territory of Belletskii ward.
1930	Belletskii ward is established with a centre in village of Khatystyr. Belletskii ward was given a large area where collective farm Khatystyrskii is operating.
1992–1994	Collective farm Khatystyrskii was dissolved. In its place twenty tribal communes as well as private company Khatystyr company limited were formed.
August 2006	Public hearing meetings on environmental impacts of the ESPO extension into Yakutia are held in the cities of Yakutsk, Aldan and Neryungri.
January 2007	Construction of ESPO in Yakutia commenced.

**Table 3 State and industry failures in involving indigenous peoples in project development**

	<b>State</b>	<b>Industry</b>
<i>Access to land and resources</i>	No legal provision for private or communal ownership of land offered to indigenous peoples.	No consideration of traditional ownership of land and no voluntary negotiations over land use.
<i>Evaluation and compensation</i>	No frameworks for social impact assessment and indigenous impact assessment. No recommendations for evaluation of damage and calculation of compensation to land users and indigenous peoples.	No voluntary assessment of impact of projects on indigenous cultures and no negotiation over compensation to land users such as indigenous communities.
<i>Participation</i>	limitation in legally developed frameworks concerning participation of indigenous people in project development.	Lack of voluntary initiative on the part of the industry to involve indigenous people in project planning,
<i>Revenue distribution</i>	No preferential treatment of municipalities formed in the areas where indigenous peoples live in revenue sharing from project development.	No voluntary social investment programme developed by the industry to address local and indigenous community welfare.

**Table A1. Selected Federal Laws and Decrees of the Government of the Russian Federation on indigenous peoples' affairs**

**Decrees of the Government of the Russian Federation**

Government of the Russian Federation (GRF). 2000. *Decree of the Government of the Russian Federation on Single List of Indigenous Small Numbered Peoples of Russian Federation of 24 March 2000 No. 255.*  
 Government of the Russian Federation (GRF). 2000. *Decree of the Government of the Russian Federation on the Concept of State Support for Economic and Social Development of the Regions of the North of 7 March 2000 No. 198.*

Government of the Russian Federation (GRF). 2001. *Decree of the Government of the Russian Federation on Federal Target Programme "Economic and Social Development of Indigenous Minorities of the North" of 27 July 2001 No. 564.*

Government of the Russian Federation (GRF) 2006. *Order of the Government of the Russian Federation on Adoption of the List of Indigenous Numerically Small Peoples of the North, Siberia and Far East of the Russian Federation of 17 April 2006 No. 536-R.*

Government of the Russian Federation (GRF). 2006. *Decree of the Government of the Russian Federation on the Order for Creation and Operation of Basin Committees of 30 November 2006 No. 727.*

**Federal Laws of the Russian Federation**

Russian Federation (RF). 1993. *Constitution of the Russian Federation of 12 December 1993.*

Russian Federation (RF). 1995. *Federal Law on the Animal World of 24 April 1995 No. 52-FZ.*

Russian Federation (RF). 1995. *Federal Law on Agreement for Production Sharing of 30 December 1995 No. 225-FZ.*

Russian Federation (RF). 1996. *Federal Law on National-Cultural Autonomy of 22 May 1996 No. 74-FZ.*

Russian Federation (RF). 1998. *Federal Law on Exclusive Economic Zone of the Russian Federation of 17 December 1998 No. 191-FZ.*

Russian Federation (RF). 1999. *Federal Law on Guarantees of Rights of Indigenous Minorities of the Russian Federation of 30 April 1999 No. 82-FZ.*

Russian Federation (RF). 2000. *Federal Law on General Principles for Organisation of Communes of Indigenous Minorities of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation of 20 July 2000 No. 104-FZ.*

Russian Federation (RF). 2000. *Tax Code of the Russian Federation, Part 1 of 31 July 1998 No. 146-FZ and Part 2 of 5 August 2000 No 117-FZ.*

Russian Federation (RF). 2001. *Federal Law on Territories for Traditional Natural Resource Use of Indigenous Minorities of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation of 7 May 2001 No. 49-FZ.*

Russian Federation (RF). 2001. *Land Code of the Russian Federation of 25 October 2001 N 136-FZ.*

Russian Federation (RF). 2002. *Federal Law on Turnover of Land for Agricultural Purposes of 24 July 2002 No. 101-FZ.*

Russian Federation (RF). 2002. *Federal Law on Main Guarantees of Voting Rights and Rights for Participation in Referendum of Citizens of the Russian Federation of 12 June 2002 No. 67-FZ.*

Russian Federation (RF). 2002. *Federal Law on Alternative Civil Service of 25 July 2002 No. 113-FZ.*

Russian Federation (RF). 2003. *Federal Law on Temporary Measures for Provision of Representativeness of Indigenous Minorities of the Russian Federation in Legislative (Representative) Bodies of the State Power of the Subjects of the Russian Federation of 7 February 2003 No. 21-FZ.*

Russian Federation (RF). 2004. *City Planning Code of the Russian Federation of 29 December 2004 N 190-FZ.*

Russian Federation (RF). 2004. *Federal Law on Fishing and Conservation of Water Biological Resources of 20 December 2004 No. 166-FZ.*

Russian Federation (RF). 2006. *Forest Code of the Russian Federation of 4 December 2006 No. 200-FZ.*

Russian Federation (RF). 2009. *Federal Law on Hunting and Presentation of Hunting Resources and Introduction of Changes in Separate Legal Acts of the Russian Federation of 24 July 2009 No. 209-FZ.*

**Table A2. Application of international documents on indigenous peoples in Russia**

International Document	Applicability to Russia
United Nations international convention on the elimination of all Forms of racial Discrimination (CERD), adopted on 21 December 1965	Ratified on 6 March 1969
United Nations international covenant on economic, social, and cultural rights, adopted on 16 December 1966 - recognizes the rights of 'all peoples' to enjoy their own 'cultural development', and the right to their 'own means of subsistence' (Article 1)	Ratified on 3 January 1976
United Nations international covenant on civil and political rights, adopted on 16 December 1966 – protects the right of 'peoples' to their 'own means of subsistence' (Article 1)	These two covenants were ratified by the presidium of the supreme soviet of the USSR in 1973. Ratified on 23 March 1976
International Labour Organisation (ILO) 169 'concerning indigenous and tribal peoples in independent countries', adopted on 27 June 1989 – declares indigenous peoples' rights 'to decide their own priorities for the process of development as it affects their lives, beliefs, institutions, and spiritual well-being and the lands they occupy or otherwise use, and to exercise control, to the extent possible, over their own economic, social and cultural development.' (Article 7).	ILO 169 has not yet been ratified by the Russian Federation, but is still argued to have authority in the Russian Federation as an international convention that has been adopted by the UN
Agenda 21, adopted June 1992 – recommends the protection of indigenous peoples' lands, and bids governments to set up 'a process to empower indigenous peoples and their communities through... recognition that traditional and direct dependence of renewable resources and ecosystems ... continues to be essential to the cultural, economic and physical well-being of indigenous people and their communities.' (Chapter 26).	Russia participated in the united Nations conference on environment and development in Rio de Janeiro in 1992
United Nations convention on biological diversity, adopted 5 June 1992 – counsels to protect and support the traditional ways of life of indigenous peoples that have significance for the conservation of biodiversity.	Russia ratified on 4 May 1995
The European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages, adopted on 5 November 1992.	The Russian Federation signed the Charter, but not ratified
Council of Europe, Framework Convention for the protection of National minorities, adopted in 1995 – respects the rights of national minorities, aims to combat discrimination, promote equality, preserve and develop the culture and identity of national minorities, guarantee certain freedoms in relation to access to the media, minority languages and education and encourage the participation of national minorities in public life.	The Russian Federation ratified the framework in 1998

<p>Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, adopted on 25 June 1993 – proposes the importance of recognizing indigenous peoples’ identities and cultures. – suggests to ensure the full and free participation of indigenous people in all aspects of society, in particular, in matters of concern to them.</p>	<p>Declaration was adopted by acclamation. Russia participated in this World congress on human rights</p>
<p>UNECE Convention on Access to Information, Public Participation in Decision-making and Access to Justice in Environmental Matters (Aarhus Convention), adopted on 25th June 1998 – focuses on interactions between the public and public authorities in a democratic context, and it is forging a new process for public participation in the negotiation and implementation of international agreements.</p>	<p>The Russian Federation has not ratified the convention</p>
<p>United Nations declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples, adopted by the general assembly on 13 September 2007.</p>	<p>The Russian Federation was amongst those who abstained from voting, although has since agreed with most points of the declaration</p>

*Source:* Adapted from Xanthaki (2004) and Fondahl and Sirina (2006).

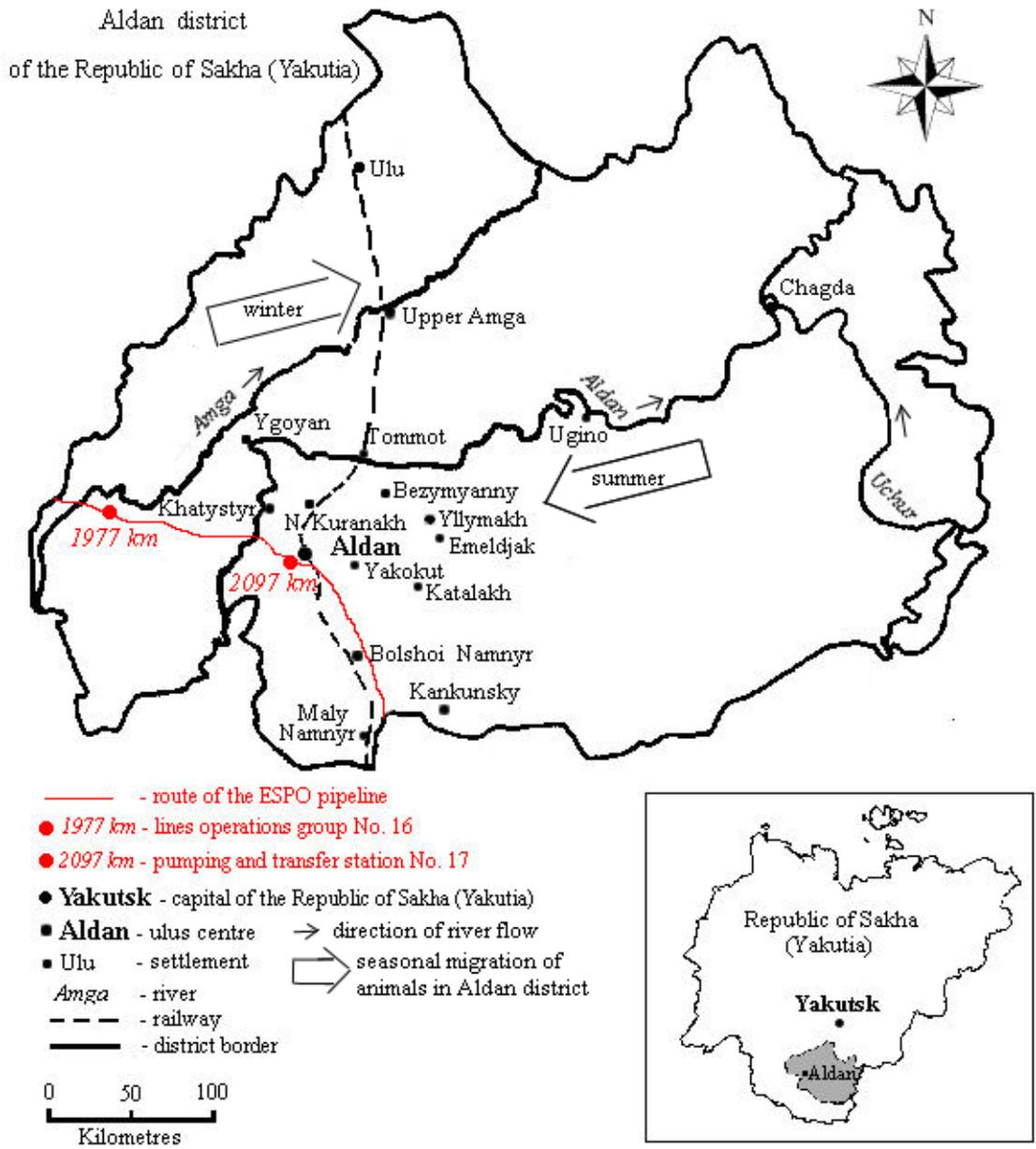
**Figure 1 Map of the North, Siberia and Far East of the Russian Federation**



Source: author's map.

Note: see Table 1 for explanation.

**Figure 2 Map of the Aldan district in the Republic Sakha (Yakutia)**



Source: Author's map.