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Foreign Labour Migration and Local Communities in Chukotka

Maria A. Pitukhina* and **Anastasia D. Belykh**

*Institute of Economics of the Karelian Research Center RAS
Petrozavodsk, Russian Federation*

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Abstract. Article deals with two sociological survey results of foreign labour migrants and indigenous peoples communities in 2020 in Chukotka. Survey results of foreign labour migrants made it possible to update a foreign labour migrant profile in Chukotka. It turned out that Chukotka attracts highly qualified migrants into labour market segment “production and distribution of electricity, gas and water”. Chukotka is also known as the territory of traditional residence of indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North (ISPN). Survey results of indigenous peoples’ communities made it possible to understand labour market perspectives for indigenous peoples. Thus, survey results have shown that indigenous peoples in Chukotka are mainly engaged in traditional occupations for indigenous peoples (75 %), while other 25 % work in occupations of social sector. Survey results also provided information on perspective occupations for indigenous peoples such chum keeper, fish processor, smoker, foam machine operator, and refrigerator service master. Demographic trends analyses also showed that 2 out of 7 municipalities – Pevek and Chukotsky municipality – are facing a serious out-migration while Anadyr is getting more attractive for senior citizens rather than youth. Both survey results as well as statistic data helped us to update picture of both natural (birth rate) and mechanical movements (migration) of people in Chukotka.

Keywords: Chukotka, Russian Arctic, foreign labour migration, human capital, local communities, indigenous peoples

Research area: social science, demography.

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Зарубежная трудовая миграция и местные сообщества на Чукотке

М.А. Питухина, А.Д. Белых

*Институт экономики Карельского научного центра РАН
Российская Федерация, Петрозаводск*

Аннотация. Статья посвящена анализу результатов двух социологических опросов, проведенных в 2020 году на Чукотке, среди зарубежных трудовых мигрантов и общин коренных малочисленных народов. Результаты опроса зарубежных трудовых мигрантов позволили определить профиль трудового мигранта на Чукотке. Оказалось, что Чукотка привлекает высококвалифицированных мигрантов из Украины в ВЭД «производство и распределение электроэнергии, газа и воды».

Чукотка также известна как территория традиционного проживания коренных малочисленных народов Севера (КМНС). Результаты опроса шести общин коренных народов и десяти малых унитарных предприятий позволили оценить перспективы рынка труда для коренных народов Севера. Так, результаты опроса продемонстрировали, что коренные народы Чукотки в основном заняты в традиционных секторах – оленеводство, рыбоводство, охота (75 %), остальные 25 % работают в профессиях социальной сферы – воспитатель, учитель, медицинский персонал. Результаты опроса также предоставили информацию о перспективных профессиях для коренных народов, таких как чумработница, обработчик рыбы, копильщик, оператор пеногенератора и мастер по обслуживанию холодильников. Анализ демографических тенденций также показал, что 2 из 7 муниципальных образований – Певек и Чукотский муниципальный округ – сталкиваются с серьезным оттоком населения, в то время как Анадырь становится всё более привлекательным. И результаты опроса, и статистические данные помогли нам актуализировать картину как естественного (рождаемость), так и механического движения (миграция) населения на Чукотке.

Ключевые слова: Чукотка, российская Арктика, зарубежная трудовая миграция, человеческий капитал, местные сообщества, коренные малочисленные народы.

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Introduction

Arctic zone of the Russian Federation includes nine constituent entities of the Russian Federation, four entities enter Russian Arctic zone fully (Murmansk Oblast, Nenets Autonomous

Okrug, Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug, Chukotka Autonomous District) and five partially (Republic of Komi, Republic of Karelia, Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), Krasnoyarsk Territory, Arkhangelsk Region). Demographic processes

in various Russian Arctic regions include diverse multi-vectoral migration dimensions. On one side, there's an acute depopulation in a number of Russian Arctic territories such as Chukotka Autonomous District, on the other side, there's a high migration tension as for example in Yamalo-Nenetsky Autonomous District.

Research question is dealing with an update of Chukotka demographic profile taking into account both natural (birth rate) and mechanical movements (migration ratio) of people.

Chukotka is perceived as an extraordinary region from human capital perspective. Population of Chukotka amounts to 50288 people in 2020 living on huge territories of 7 municipalities (Chukotsky municipality, Bilibinsky municipality, Anadyrsky municipality, Egvekinot (Iytlinsky municipality was abolished in 2015), Anadyr, Providensky and Pevek). Nowadays Chukotka is facing a number of troublesome demographic trends: restructuring of the population towards less youth share and young adults, ageing decline in labor force for some areas, general depopulation, challenges for sparsely populated areas. Concentration in Anadyr and “dying” of small arctic settlements in Chukotka (for example, Beringovsky) are accompanied by a huge demographical changes and migration volumes increase. Great volumes of out-migration starting with the year 1990 from Chukotka (162 000 in 1991 to 50288 in 2019) resulted in rather pessimistic population projection scenario development for Chukotka

of 49 100 by 2035. Two out of seven municipalities – Pevek and Chukotsky municipality – are especially facing a serious out-migration flow while Anadyr is getting more positive for the last 10 years (Fig.1).

Some researchers do stress this fact, that certain Far East ern regions like Chukotka and Magadanskaya oblast have experienced a severe population outflow (Litvinenko et al., 2020).

Materials and methods

Arctic is traditionally interesting for scientists from the point of view of its development and, as a result, the focus of attention is often transformation of indigenous peoples’ way of life (Stammler et al., 2020; Leksin et al., 2017). Ivanova and Stammler analyze, for example, models of political leadership of persons from among the indigenous small-numbered peoples in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia). Other scientists scrutinize rights’ implementation of indigenous people (Fondahl et al., 2020), leadership potential in Chukotka rural settlements, conflicts between indigenous peoples and businesses enterprises (Schweizer et al., 2019). Thus, Yarzutkina analyzes big men phenomenon of chukchi – heads of rural settlements in Lorino, Novoye Chaplino, Vayegi, Ilirney, Amguema, a very closed local communities (Yarzutkina et al., 2021).

T. Litvinenko and K. Kumo discuss topics of population-dynamics-related differences that have emerged in Chukotka and impacts

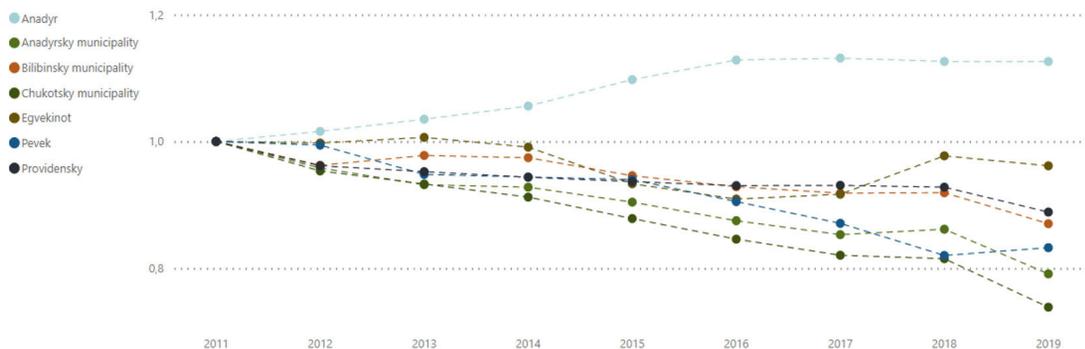


Fig. 1. Arctic Demography Index in Chukotka down to the level of municipalities for age category 0–35 years old, 2011–2019

Source: compiled by authors based on (Federal State Statistic Service)

of these differences on the use of natural resources and the ethnic composition of the population. Through this study, it was shown that changes have tended to be small in local areas where indigenous peoples who have engaged in traditional natural resource use for a large proportion of the population, while changes have been relatively large in areas where the proportion of non-indigenous people is high and the mining industry has developed (Litvinenko et al., 2017).

Recently Russia has published a number of special books devoted to indigenous peoples' rights implementation in the Russian Arctic. Thus, recruitment needs issues as well as human capital development in areas inhabited by indigenous are presented in "The Russian Arctic: Indigenous Peoples and Industrial Development" and "North and northerners. The current situation of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of Russia" edited by Russian Science Academy. More precisely, these works cover issues of Russian Arctic industrial development, social partnerships, interaction between indigenous peoples and industrial companies, some specific issues of economic activities (reindeer breeding, fish farming, hunting, employment in non-traditional economic sectors), programmes to support indigenous peoples, prospects for ethno-tourism etc.

Special attention should be also paid to NarFU book entitled "Ethno-national processes in the Arctic: Trends, Problems and Perspectives". Since it highlights conflict potential between some ethnic groups in different Russian Arctic regions, which is of critical importance given both multi-ethnic composition of the Russian Federation, Arctic remoteness as well as social tension created by the business enterprises operating in the macro-region.

At the same time, despite the importance of this macro-region, the problem of migration to the Arctic has been insufficiently studied. When studying such a complex phenomenon as migration characteristics of the territory are incredibly important. Arctic regions have specific spatial conditions (Efremova et al., 2017). They are characterized by uneven development of urban and rural territories (Rudenko et al.,

2015), sparsely populated areas and geographical isolation of settlements. Therefore, both geographic features and increased importance of the current migration outburst in this regard must be considered (Heleniak, 1999; Heleniak, 2020; Shaparov et al., 2022).

Petrozavodsk State University (Republic of Karelia) organized two types of sociological surveys – of local communities and of foreign labor migrants in some Russian Arctic regions including Chukotka in 2020. Surveys results made it possible both to create an updated profile of a foreign labor migrant working in the Russian Arctic as well as provided information on perspective occupations for indigenous people. Russian Arctic migrant's profile could be portrayed as follows- "a male with secondary vocational education". In Chukotka 100 paper questionnaires were received from migrants of different origins (mainly, Ukraine, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan) of 2 Arctic municipalities (Anadyr and Anadyrsky municipality), that is a half (50 %) of foreign labour migrants according to statistics. The block of questionnaires for migrants included: 1) information about the respondent; 2) migrant in the labour market; 3) quality of life of a migrant; 4) cross-cultural communication; 5) social networks of migrants. It was also possible to evaluate migrants' cross-cultural communication under this survey. Thus, we used some answers of respondents (migrants) to the following questions:

- Do you speak your native language in Russia?
- How often do you communicate in your native language with compatriots?
- In which places do you communicate with compatriots?
- In which places do you communicate with host community?
- Why did you choose this region for work?
- Who helped you with your employment?

Survey of indigenous communities was also carried out by Petrozavodsk State University in 2020 within the framework of a federal project devoted to recruitment needs projection in the Russian Arctic up to the period of 2035. In the course of this survey, completed questionnaires were received from 40 out of 74 commu-

nities of indigenous small-numbered peoples (540 workers), and from 13 out of 32 municipal unitary enterprises (1754 workers) created in places of compact residence of ISPN to support the traditional activities of indigenous peoples. It should be noted here that principal forms of economic activity in places of compact residence of indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North are both ISPN communities and municipal unitary enterprises (MUE). Thus, our questionnaire contained questions on economic activity types, territorial location, employees' numbers, professional qualifications, and perspective occupations. Interviewing ISPN communities caused the greatest difficul-

ty especially in Chukotka since they are characterized by high dispersal, migration mobility and often lack access to the Internet.

According to the database of the information resource SPARK-Interfax there are 9 indigenous communities in Chukotka registered as businesses or legal entities, additionally, 14 municipal unitary enterprises also have a legal status. We received completed questionnaires from 6 indigenous peoples' communities and from 10 municipal unitary enterprises created in places of compact residence of indigenous small-numbered peoples (Table 1).

Territorial-neighboring community of indigenous peoples of Chukotka "Daurkin" is

Table 1. Indigenous peoples communities and municipal unitary agricultural enterprises surveyed in Chukotka (Survey results, 2020)

Name of municipality	Name of community/MUP	Economy sector
Chukotsky municipality	Territorial-neighboring community of indigenous peoples of Chukotka «Daurkin» Territorial-neighboring community of indigenous peoples of the North «Lorino»	01 – Crop and livestock production, hunting and provision of related services in these areas
Egvekinot	Municipal Unitary Agricultural Enterprise «Renaissance» Municipal Unitary Agricultural Enterprise of Iylytinsky Municipality «Pioneer» Municipal Unitary Agricultural Enterprise «Amguema»	01 – Crop and livestock production, hunting and provision of related services in these areas
Providensky	Territorial-neighboring community of indigenous peoples of the North «Enmelen» Territorial-neighboring community of indigenous peoples of the North «Nunligran»	01 – Crop and livestock production, hunting and provision of related services in these areas
Anadyrsky municipality	Tribal community of indigenous peoples of Chukotka «Innekey» (elder brother) Municipal Unitary Agricultural Enterprise «The First Revolutionary Committee of Chukotka» Municipal Unitary Agricultural Enterprise of Anadyrsky municipality «Beringovskoe» Municipal Unitary Agricultural Enterprise of Anadyrsky municipality «Khatyrskoe»	01 – Crop and livestock production, hunting and provision of related services in these areas
Anadyr	Family tribal community of indigenous peoples of the North "ANK'Y" (the sea)	03 – Fishing and fish farming
Bilibinsky municipality	Municipal Unitary Agricultural Enterprise of Bilibinsky municipality «Ozernoye» Municipal Unitary Agricultural Enterprise of Bilibinsky municipality «Oloy» Municipal Unitary Agricultural Enterprise of Bilibinsky municipality «Ostovnoye» Municipal Unitary Enterprise of Bilibinsky municipality «Vegetable factory «Rosinka».	01 – Crop and livestock production, hunting and provision of related services in these areas

Source: compiled by authors

among the biggest indigenous peoples community, with employees numbers of 98 people (without family members). Such a huge indigenous peoples' community can produce up to 193 tons of meat annually for its residents (both employees and family members), and the basis for indigenous peoples diet is meat up to 80 %. Each indigenous community in Chukotka fulfills an important social role – free meal for the whole group of people.

Results and discussion

One should mention here that foreign labour migrants flow is very low in Chukotka, for example, foreign labour migrants amounted to 191 people only in 2020. At the same time number of rotation workers (those coming from other Russian regions to Chukotka) is 20 times higher and amounts to 4293 people. Both gold and coal mining industries such as Beringovskoe, Baimskoe and Kupol attract both foreign labour migrants and rotation workers in Chukotka.

Foreign labor migrants' survey results have showed that rather mature migrants (41–50 years old, and 50+) prefer coming to Chukotka and Republic of Karelia mainly while younger migrants go for work to some other Russian Arctic regions, for example, Murmanskaya region or Republic of Sakha (Yakutia). Most optimal period for a migrant to stay in Chukotka is about 3 years, according to survey respondents, meaning that a standard 1-year patent system is unpopular for Chukotka. Locating both in the Far East and the High North Chukotkai still attracting migrants from Ukraine (51 %), Tajikistan (15 %), Uzbekistan (13 %) as the survey data has shown.

Foreign labour migrants in Chukotka are mainly employed in such labour market segments as “production and distribution of electricity, gas and water” (57,9 %) and “construction” (36,8 %). Such labour market segment as “Production and distribution of electricity, gas and water” is mainly characterized with a high demand of skilled workers as well as longer contracts with employers. Due to high costs of qualified specialists training in this labor market segment, limited numbers of foreign workers with hard skills are coming to Chukotka.

In accordance with a well-known theory of pull/push factors (S. Stouffer, 1940; E. Lee, 1966), the decision to migrate is influenced by limiting factors (distance, cost of transport and housing, etc.) and stimulating factors (high wages, employment, etc.). Survey results of foreign labour migrants have also showed that foreign migrants are satisfied with the quality of life in Chukotka, namely, living conditions (95 %), working conditions (95 %), and wages (90 %). According to the Federal State Statistics Service average salary in Chukotka was about 90,000 rubles in 2018, which is among the highest within Russian Arctic regions. According to foreign labour migrants' survey results, more than 60 % of migrants in Chukotka receive a salary higher than 40 000 rubles.

It also turned out that migrants in Chukotka communicate with compatriots mainly in working place (50 %) and communicate native language every day (85 %). These data support Granovetter's theory of social media importance (Galster, 2012; Chantarar et al., 2012). We found out also that both relatives and friends invited migrants to work in Chukotka (85 %). Generally, information and communication networks (Internet) are increasing their impact on migration as a systemic problem (Iqbal et al., 2020). Social networks (family ties, friendship, common descent, other communications) transfer knowledge and other resources, and the more diverse the network structure, the wider range of available resources is (Cattell, 2012). Networks disseminate information about the availability of jobs, facilitate contacts between the job seeker and the employer, and influence positive feedback about the job seeker. It is not just the interaction of people, but formation of interpersonal economic relations. Diaspora transnational ties allow people to connect through ideas and identity (Pan, 2015; Waite et al., 2017), and reduce risks and costs of migrant movement.

Chukotka is also known as the territory of traditional residence of indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North (ISPN) who was also surveyed. According to the 2010 All-Russian Population Census number of ISPN in the Arctic territories was about 16900 indigenous peoples, one of the highest indigenous peoples shares in Russia – 33,45 %. It should

Table 2. Indigenous peoples in Chukotka down to the level of municipalities, 2020

Indigenous peoples	Chukotka						
	Anadyr	Providensky	Bilibinsky municipality	Anadyrsky municipality	Chukotsky municipality	Egvekinot	Pevek
Chukchi	2479	1703	1326	2156	3377	1226	1031
Eskimo	-	500	-	-	500	500	-
Even	-	-	500	500	-	-	-
Chuvan	-	-	-	944	-	-	-
Ukagir	-	-	50	110	-	-	-
Total	2479	2203	1876	3710	3877	1726	1031

Source: compiled by authors based on (Korennye narody Chukotki)

be noted that the places of compact residence of ISPN are mainly the permafrost zone where natural resources of the Russian Arctic are located. Traditional types of economic activities of ISPN are reindeer farming, fishing, hunting, sea-hunting and those are the basis for the preservation of the traditional way of life, culture and languages of the indigenous peoples.

Among large indigenous peoples groups there are chukchi (13298), eskimo (1500), even (1000), and chuvan (944) (Table 2). Pupils' share of those who study indigenous languages in Chukotka is among the highest in the Russian Arctic and is amounting to 25 % (twice higher than in the Republic of Karelia – 10,3 %), of whom 22 % study Chukchi language, 1.47 % – Even and 1.35 % – Eskimo languages. (Statforma № 76-RIK; Departament CHAO; Ministerstvo obrazovaniya Respubliki Karelia).

Indigenous peoples survey results have also resulted in two lists of both demanded (nowadays) and perspective occupations (for the future) in Chukotka. Both traditional and demanded indigenous peoples' occupations are widely known (reindeer farmer, hunter, coastal fisherman, sea animal handler). At the same time perspective occupations, according to survey results, seem to be interesting – chum-keeper, fish processor, smoker, foam machine operator, refrigerator service master. It also turned out that indigenous peoples in Chukotka are still mainly employed in traditional occupations (75 %), while other 25 % work in social sector occupations demanded in regional labor market such as nurse, teacher etc.

Conclusion

Research results made it possible to draw the following conclusions:

1) Demographic trends in Chukotka have showed recently that two out of seven municipalities – Pevek and Chukotsky municipality – are facing an extremely serious out-migration flow while Anadyr is getting more and more attractive.

2) Foreign labour migrants' survey results have shown that Chukotka attracts highly qualified migrants mainly from Ukraine primarily into such labour market segment as “production and distribution of electricity, gas and water”. It turned out that there are only 0,3 % of foreign labour migrants working in Chukotka, of course, such numbers are invisible for social climate fluctuations in the region.

3) Recently KAZ Minerals (Baimskoe gold-copper deposit) have officially claimed that it won't hire indigenous peoples due to their low qualifications and lack of necessary experience. Our survey results of 6 communities of indigenous small-numbered peoples and 10 municipal unitary enterprises resulted in a list of new perspective occupations for indigenous peoples such as chumkeeper, fish processor, smoker, foam machine operator, refrigerator service master. It became clear that perspective occupations are linked with preserving indigenous peoples' traditional life-style in Chukotka. Survey results have also shown that only 30 % of indigenous peoples have vocational education in Chukotka.

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