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## **Control Over Energy is “Hot” Societies, and Dissolution of Energy “Cold”: the Transformation of Ethnic Cultures in the Northern Regions of Russia in the 18<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>st</sup> Centuries**

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*The article is devoted to the possibility of application of the well-known ethnographers, historians, cultural scientists, sociologists of the concept of binary oppositions of the French scientist Claude Lévy-Strauss (1908–2009) for cross-cultural research of ethnic features of the use of energy by “hot” industrial and “cold” traditional societies in the Russian North in the 18<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>st</sup> centuries. “Hot” societies seek to control energy, constantly increasing its production, consumption, and the amount of information and knowledge associated with these processes. “Cold” societies try to limit themselves to the reproduction of already long-discovered ancestors, established technologies of life support system, preservation of traditional conditions of their original existence. The proximity of the resettlement and indigenous peoples in the Northern regions for several centuries inevitably leads to contacts and mutual exchange of cultural values, including in the field of energy consumption. However, the problem of choosing the optimal way of energy use in severe climatic conditions remains unresolved.*

*Keywords: Northern regions of Russia, 18<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>st</sup> centuries, Claude Lévi-Strauss, binary oppositions, “cold” and “hot” societies, resettlement and indigenous ethnic groups, production and consumption of energy.*

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## **Introduction**

For centuries, the northern regions of Russia are a source of strategic energy and biological resources. A great number of works have been written about the ethnocultural interaction of migrant and indigenous peoples. Estimates of the nature of ethnic contacts are diametrically opposed: from the voluntary entry of indigenous peoples into the Russian Empire to their conquest and forcible accession (Sgibnev, 1869; Iadrintsev, 1892; Golder, 1914; Kolonial'naya politika, 1935; Stepanov, 1937: 213–226; Mirzoev, 1960; Basharin, 1971; Shunkov, 1974; Alekseev, 1982; Ivanov, 1999; Zuev, 1999: 124–136; 2002; 2005; 2009; Golovnev, 2004: 92; Miller, 2009; Ernyhova, 2010; Safronov, 2010; Alekseeva, 2011: 22–23, 25, 44; Rossiiskaya Arktika, 2016; Davydova, 2018: 151–157). There is no consensus due to methodological pluralism, and perhaps it will never be worked out. The results of the impact of European culture on the indigenous peoples of the northern regions differ depending on the particular ethnic group, its social organization, level of military development, economic and cultural type, degree of consolidation, the presence of civilian government, the nature of interaction with Russian authorities, and other ethnic and cultural characteristics.

## **Statement of the problem and theoretical framework**

As a result of ethnic contacts, cultural values are interchanged, including in the production and consumption of energy. The features of this process, based on the concept of Claude Levi-Strauss concerning the differences between traditional “cold” and industrial “hot” societies using energy differently (Levi-Strauss, 1999: 298–299), can be traced by analyzing aspects of development and transformation economy, life, material and spiritual culture of indigenous and migrant ethnic groups of the northern regions in the 18<sup>th</sup>–21<sup>st</sup> centuries. “Hot” societies control the process of a constant increase in energy production and consumption, “cold” are limited to the reproduction of a life support system based on energy technologies already developed by ancestors. Thus, “cold” societies are trying to preserve the traditional conditions of their natural existence, to get rid of innovations as much as possible. This desire for immutability, according to K. Levi-Strauss, remains an important factor in preventing the “cold” education society of innovations and the desire to remain at the primary, stable and familiar stage of its development. In the North, almost all technologies were created and tested hundreds of years ago.

## Discussion

### *Innovations in the food model*

An important consequence of the activity of the alien population was the development of a new type of economy for the northern ethnic groups: agriculture. The pioneers could not exist without bread. The development of agriculture was associated not only with the need to replenish energy due to carbohydrates of cereals, but also with the huge energy costs of delivering grain to the North (Safronov, 1987: 28–30). The few Russians could not master the vast territories in terms of agriculture. In the Kolyma region, even at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century there were 500 Russians, 15,000 across Yakutia. The Kolyma settlers had to switch to reindeer herding, dog breeding, hunting for hoofed and fur animals, fishing, searching and selling mammoth tusks. The Old Believers' communities borrowed reindeer from indigenous peoples, but they used the technology of “beating without reindeer husbandry”, kept animals on fenced pastures, in the winter in stalls, fed with hay, tree leaves and lichen, dried mushrooms, and vegetables. And yet from the 17<sup>th</sup> century began accustoming indigenous peoples to farming, which became most prevalent in the Olekminskii Yakuts culture. In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century a part of the Evenkis of Yakutia became engaged in agriculture (Safronov, 1957: 33, 35–39, 103–113).

### *Changes in the system of traditional crafts*

Traditional crafts of the indigenous peoples of the North are a complex set of folk knowledge about the habits of marine and taiga animals, their migration routes, methods of tracking them and their catch, weather observation methods, field equipment and transport, the philosophy of using pet energy.

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century the technology of using the energy of reindeer, dogs, horses by indigenous and immigrant ethnic groups was almost the same. However, horses brought from the central part of Russia, without the usual pasture, could not withstand the harsh climate in the northeast and died by the thousands (Plenisner, 1765: 33–34). Only Yakut horses, adapted over hundreds of years in the Arctic, could withstand difficult conditions. The technology of using wind energy was the same: indigenous peoples and migrants, despite the differences in the design of the boats themselves, used the sails. The energy of gunpowder, cannons and guns made a strong impression on the Siberian aborigines only at the first contacts with the Russians. The Chukchis ceased to fear the “fiery battle” faster than others and used the moment of reloading guns to attack the Cossacks (Zuev, 2008: 35–43). A very

popular weapon and instrument was the knife on a long wooden handle “palma”, which Russians borrowed from indigenous peoples.

The transformation of the industrial culture of the indigenous peoples of the North was also due to the influence of neighboring hunting and reindeer ethnoses. Chukchis and Yakuts crowded Koryaks and Yukagirs, took deer and pastures from them, and changed the traditional migration routes of wild deer, which Yukagirs hunted. They invaded the hunting territory of Yukagirs and Evens (Yokhelson, 1898: 12–13, 29–30; Vdovin, 1965: 157, 164; Gurvich, 1982: 198, 200–202; Syroechkovskii, 1986: 55, 65). In the 19<sup>th</sup> century Yukagirs started paying tribute money, as the sable was knocked out. They are accustomed to Russian clothes, food, tobacco, borrowed from the Russian technology of making carbas from poplar and log cabins with ice windows. In the fishery, instead of a bow and arrow, they used rifles, the fishing nets were woven not from a willow, but from horsehair and hemp (Yochelson, 1898: 12, 13). As a result of the influence of the Russian culture, by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, all the tools of labor, with the exception of stone scrapers, were metal (Vdovin, 1965: 161–163). Itelmens who lived in Kamchatka did not have domesticated reindeer, they hunted wild animals, fished with stone and bone implements, were actively engaged in gardening than they looked like Russian peasants (Gurvich, 1982: 202, 204, 205, 209, 217, 220). Under the influence of domestic reindeer herding, which constantly requires new pastures, reindeer herders destroyed wild deer. A similar struggle for pastures took place throughout Siberia and the North until the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Only in Taimyr and in some districts of Yakutia, there are areas for migrating herds of “savages” (Syroechkovskii, 1986: 64–65; Mosolov, Fil’, 2010: 4–8, 120–123, 131).

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the tundra and on the Arctic coast, new types of transport appeared: airplanes, snowmobiles, all-terrain vehicles, tractors, but they could not completely replace traditional means of transportation: reindeer and dog teams (Tikhonenko, 1939: 3–4, 6, 9, 17–18).

The global transformation of traditional farming and crafts in Chukotka was associated with the development of cooperation in the late 1920s, when the first artels and partnerships started to appear, provided with whaleboats for marine hunting, the possibility of joint grazing of deer, hunting for land animals and fishing. However, in the society of marine hunters, the collective farms were created without any special difficulties, but the activities on the socialization of deer were completed only in the mid-1950s (Garusov, 1981: 47, 53, 69–70).

Decades in the 20<sup>th</sup> century whaling ships harvested gray whales in the Bering Strait for indigenous peoples, depriving them of the opportunity to engage in this industry themselves. In 1997, at the first congress of sea hunters of Chukotka, the Union of marine hunters was created. In 2008, eight clan communities of marine hunters were organized, which had a fleet, weapons and ammunition. For Chukchis and Eskimos, gray whales listed in the Red Book are not only a traditional craft, but also a way to obtain the vital energy necessary in the Arctic, a mechanism for preserving ethno-cultural identity. The village feeds on food from one whale caught throughout the winter. At the same time, Greenland whale meat is fermented in pits, and the gray one is frozen, as it deteriorates rapidly (Karpov, 2017). In 2018, marine animals of Chukotka, belonging to the “Daurkin”, “Lorino”, and other communities, harvested 120 gray whales, having fully mastered the allocated limit. All large coastal villages of Chukotka are based in the places of the closest approach of the whales to the coast. A study of osteological material in places of former settlements showed that the indigenous peoples of Chukotka hunted even young gray whales (Bogoslovskaja, 2003: 9, 19, 21–25, 32–34). The Chukchis and the Eskimos created a unique fishing system based on gathering and memorizing a huge amount of information: seasonal climate changes, wind direction, wave height, ice movement, wormwood formation sites, whales’ appearance time. This knowledge allows hunters to successfully hunt sea animals in the expected places, including bowhead whales trapped in ice spots. Chukchis and Eskimos love to look at swimming whales, and, spellbound by their energy, fully identify with these sea giants (Bogoslovskaja, 2003: 32, 34, 164–165, 284–288). Nowadays, thanks to sea hunting, Chukchis and Eskimos are fully provided with traditional food that they get themselves, young people also began to show interest in fishing.

#### *Traditional medicine and health care system*

Traditionally, the indigenous peoples of the North and the Far East fought against diseases with the help of medicinal herbs, animal body parts, magic, and shamanic rituals. In the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Uilta treated their children with the vital energy of domestic reindeer: the disease passed from child to animal, which after a while recovered.

The health of the indigenous peoples of Chukotka, Kamchatka, the Okhotsk coast, sanitation and veterinary medicine, the fight against epidemics of people and animals, the authorities began to be seriously interested only from the first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup>

century (Vdovin, 1965: 257). Features of modern Chukchi diseases of the village of Kanchalan were covered by the doctor of the local hospital Z. A. Tynagyrgyna (PMA, 2018). The most dangerous diseases for reindeer herders are tuberculosis, echinococcosis, which reindeer herders become infected by eating raw deer liver, and justifying this by the characteristics of their food model, the need to obtain vital energy from reindeer. A new disease was allergy to pollen, which in the 1980s in the vicinity of the village was not.

At the traditional bear festival of the Orochis, Udegeis and other peoples of the North, the old men used the penis of the killed male to eat to replenish the fertile energy, the bone from the bear phallus was placed on a bark vessel, from which they were watered by women to magically treat infertility (Arsen'ev, 1908–1909: 67–69; 1907: 73–76; Arsen'ev, 1926: 34–35; Ivanov, 1937: 7–8; Berezniitskii, 1999: 83–84, 2003: 227). The genitals of the bear were kept in the barn as the center of fruit-bearing energy. Nivkhis, with the same purpose, attached the penis to the arms of bear buckets (Shternberg, 1933: 299; Ivanov, 1937: 19). Currently, bear holidays are not held.

#### *Energy reindeer camp*

Studies of the reindeer culture of the Evenkis river Selemdzha basin in 2004, the of the Amur Region showed that their reindeer herding was small-grass (600 state-wide for the entire state farm), the livestock was distributed to several brigades. The vast majority of reindeer herders are elderly, as young people consider this profession not prestigious, heavy, with a small salary. The transformation of the reindeer culture complex of this group of Evenkis is associated with the disappearance of long wanderings, with a change in the calendar: the calculation of time instead of cyclic became linear (Berezniitskii, 2004: 54). However, with the reindeer herders who arrived from the village to a reindeer herd, cardinal changes occur: their movements become slow and harmonious, the timbre of the voice changes, especially when turning to deer; butter. After completing the necessary work, the reindeer herders turn on the diesel generator to view the video. But even the fighter cannot break the special energy of the camp. According to the reindeer herders, they are not afraid of any technical innovations, since their host spirits were stronger than the communists, they would help outlining the democrats and liberals.

Chukcha E. M. Tevliankau as a child (in the 1960s and 70s), lived in the tundra and did not want to go to a boarding school: the children, in concert with grandparents, fled to the tundra, and parents responsible for the government caught them with lassoes

(PMA, 2018). Her story represents the concentrated opinion of many modern northerners on the problem of boarding schools. E. M. Tevliankau highlighted an important aspect of life on the tundra, associated with the special energy of the reindeer herding camp, which lies in natural rationalism, in moving from known routes. Yaranga is always installed by the river with running water, delicious grayling, and shrubs for the hearth. Each part of the area is energetically saturated, has its owner. The bright half of the day belongs to the people, the dark half belongs to evil spirits, and therefore the entrance to the yaranga is always closed at night. There is nothing superfluous in the nomadic household, each thing can perform many functions. For example, at the entrance to the yaranga there is a stone that presses the yaranga tire. He is carried along during the migrations, he is also the guardian of the people. At the feast of the young reindeer on it crush the bones and remove the brain. The snow sneaker is also a guard against evil spirits. In modern homes, it is most often located on a hanger in the hallway. Chukcha S. R. Iakunina recalled her grandmother's tales of how a snow sneaker had tricked a simple, evil spirit into walking around the yaranga all night, but could not find the entrance to it.

According to E. M. Tevliankau, it was possible to sew only before lunch, "... because the Chukchis thread, unlike the Russian, is alive, filled with energy, because it is made of reindeer tendons. When sewing, she begins to sing, but this sound is dangerous, as it attracts evil spirits that appear at sunset. ... each tried to do his job well, dissolving into the energy of the tundra. Energy permeates and feeds you, it becomes warm from it and a lot of strength is added."

#### *Chukchis and Eskimos — whose people is “hot”?*

Chukcha E. A. Rul'tyneut has a phenomenal knowledge of the ethnocultural characteristics of the musical culture of the indigenous peoples of the North. For the repertoire of the famous Chukchi-Eskimo ensemble “Ergyron” E. A. Rul'tyneut took labor dances from Eskimos, from Chukchis — jumping, magical and comic. The Eskimo dance, in which every movement is a word, still remains unchanged, and Chukchi is constantly evolving.

Chukcha A. S. Gyrgol'gyrgyna synthesized the differences between Chukchi and Eskimo dances in the context of the above-mentioned K. Levi-Strauss concept of “cold” and “hot” societies. In her opinion, the throat singing of the Canadian Eskimos is a valuable cultural heritage, which not only the Chukchi, but also the Lilac Eskimos cannot decipher. Guttural singing is a complete work, it is not an imitation of the walrus

voice, but an image of the walrus itself. Although A. S. Gyrgol’gyrgyna does not deny that the herders invented reindeer-breeders in order to call deer and marine animals for their commercial needs. The chorcha of the Eskimos and the Eskimos is very different. The Eskimos sing laryngeal and deep, in the Chukchi — the outside. “Chukchis are more than Eskimos susceptible to change, they are hotter than Eskimos. Conservative Eskimos still dance their sedentary dances, therefore, in their traditional semi-Earth dwellers there was no free space and the whole energy of the movement was designed precisely for this space, and in the Chukotka tundra there is a lot of space, therefore, a lot of freedom for the economy and for creativity” (PMA, 2018).

*Survival strategies of indigenous peoples of the North in terms  
of its industrial development*

Nomadic reindeer breeding allows energy savings than wild reindeer hunting. As a result of the centuries-old adaptation to the natural environment, indigenous peoples do not need to improve their tools of labor (Kholodilova, 2009: 92–93). But, despite the peculiarity of their mentality of “cold” societies, they are also characterized by modernization. Informants of the village of Kanchalan told about the problems of modern Chukchi reindeer husbandry, about how much energy should be spent on riding a deer training (PMA, 2018). To do this, we need not only suitable animals, but also people who can do this, make reindeer sledges, harness, etc. Chukotka rides make up only one percent of other types of transport: aviation, all-terrain vehicles and snowmobiles. But it is necessary that the Chukchi remain Chukchi. “The energy of a reindeer breeder can only be saved with a reindeer. After all, when you ride a reindeer, you feel a powerful energy boost, well, like young people, after their drinks, energy drinks.” Young northerners do not want to go to work in the tundra by reindeer herders, and there is no one to teach the old people: “... they don’t want to go to work in the herd because of the nomadic way of life. What sounds like, eh? Chukcha dissatisfied with nomadic life. There is no internet in the tundra! Of course, as our old people lived, the modern youth will no longer live. It is impossible to return fully to the traditional. So, you have to adapt to the young: buy electric generators. But the state must take care. For example, Khabarovsk radio station, which was listened to by the herders, has not been working for several years. Instead, it broadcasts American radio from Alaska in Russian.”

The informant from Anadyr S.R. Yakunina told a legend that is of particular relevance to the disclosure of the topic: “... Chukchi legend about where people on

earth came from. Her mom heard from grandfather Tnetegin and told me. People did not come from monkeys, like you, Russians, teach us, but flew in from space. From the planet from the constellation Eagle. Smart, but evil people lived on this planet. Clever, because they owned powerful technology and developed a powerful weapon. They fought with each other, and it came to the point that they used this terrible weapon. It was so powerful that their entire planet exploded. But these people managed to escape, because they were very smart. And so, people flew to the ground. These were the ancestors of the Chukchi. They got together and began to confer how to live. We agreed to the most important thing: how to prevent such a catastrophe again. And they decided to never develop technology, not to develop technical knowledge, not to build cities, buildings, spaceships, weapons and vehicles. They even decided not to tame a wild reindeer. Because if you tame it ... Yes, and our ancestors flew to the earth temporarily. And if you tame a deer, and then fly into space, then it will not be able to live without people. Therefore, the Chukchi reindeer is not domestic, but semi-wild. If you let him go to the tundra, he will not be lost in it. And since that meeting, the Chukchi are engaged only in traditional crafts: they breed deer, hunt in the tundra and in the sea. And all the tools they have are very old. No change, because Chukchis well remember the consequences of technological progress. If we develop technical knowledge, then again there will be a catastrophe and the earth will explode” (PMA, 2018). This is a very significant example of the dissolution of the indigenous peoples of the North in the energy of nature and the surrounding animal world.

In Yamal, the process of modernization of indigenous peoples differs from changes in the societies of other northern ethnic groups (Alekseeva, 2011). In particular, the Nenets people of Yamal from the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century not only preserved the reindeer culture, but almost doubled the herd population, developed a strategy of interaction with industrial companies that extract natural resources and negatively affect the traditional nomadic economy. Within the Nenets community, there is a continued competition for optimal roaming routes, for lichen pastures, which are being depleted due to the increased number of reindeer. However, as before, the development of the Nenets is based on the movement energy characteristic of nomadic reindeer breeding (Golovnev et al., 2014: 5–8). This energy is created by reindeer, which are grazed and eaten by people in a complex cycle of constant wandering and energy conservation, gender and age division of society (Golovnev, 2004: 39–40; 2009: 345–346). The transfer of reindeer herders to settled life in the settlements led many of them to social apathy, stopping the movement was tantamount to cultural death, led to

a break in the centuries-old experience of the Arctic adaptation of the nomads, which they could share with the representatives of industrial culture, enriching it and instead taking a lot of good for themselves. Improving the economy, comfort, leisure associated with airplanes, helicopters, all-terrain vehicles, snowmobiles, ATVs, motorboats, with communications and geolocation, with electric generators, laptops, DVD-players. From an energy point of view, the Nenets consider a snowmobile more powerful than a reindeer, but a reindeer is considered more reliable and economical, since it does not need to extract gasoline, oil, and spare parts. With the advent of satellite dishes and mobile communication antennas, the Nenets began to adjust their migrations routes, focusing on the territory of the most reliable signal reception (Golovnev et al., 2014: 5–8, 23, 50–52, 89–91, 123).

Northerners should create joint-stock companies, enterprises for the processing of products of reindeer husbandry, the proceeds of which would go to the needs of reindeer herders. The nomads are well aware of the inevitability of the industrial development of their territories, but they are asked not to touch reindeer pastures and nomadic routes. Public organizations of the Nenets cooperate with industrial enterprises, seeking subsidies from them for the development of reindeer herding and social needs. However, many aborigines oppose monetary compensation, referring to the sad experience of Canadian aborigines, see the threat from oil and gas companies in the desire to transfer all reindeer herders to the category of sedentary population, which, losing the energy of movement, loses the foundations of traditional culture and identity (Golovnev et al., 2014: 62, 67, 76.78, 86–88, 99, 103, 106, 125, 138).

## **Conclusion**

In accordance with the two main energy-ecological scenarios of the development of the Arctic civilization, it will either disappear or be revived on the basis of innovative improvement of labor tools (Iakovets, 2011: 2, 6). However, the process of their improvement is not due to the internal energy, but as a result of the inclusion of foreign culture technologies: the harpoon of the marine *Hypericumus* became metallic, the hunter's oppressive trap was replaced by a trap, the place of the knife on a long wooden handle “palma” and the self-gunner took the gun, with which the hunters produce much more field products. Specialists justify the characteristics of the civilization process in the Arctic conditions by the effect of co-evolution of society and nature, which means that human energy activity is directed not at the degradation of the biosphere, but at its development (Iakovets, 2011: 7). At the same time, human energy is dissolved in

the energy of the surrounding nature. However, the high ecological compatibility of the culture of the indigenous peoples of the North is explained not by a humane attitude to nature, but by the lack of high-tech and energy-intensive technologies, which inevitably lead to environmental pollution and environmental degradation. To maintain the necessary physiological state of the organism in the conditions of the North, hunters kill in a sufficient number of whales, walruses, seals, and reindeer. The number of animals harvested does not become uncontrollable due to the lack of energy capacities for transportation, storage and disposal. Cohabitation in the Arctic, in Siberia, in the North, in the Far East of indigenous and migrant peoples continues. The conditions of life in the North are rapidly changing depending on the climate, the foreign and domestic policies of the country, the economy, energy use methods, and ethnic and cultural differences. The peoples of the North continue to engage in trades and farming, using traditional forms of transport, housing, clothing and food. Therefore, newcomers and indigenous peoples in the northern regions will continue to coexist side by side, but, most likely, without mixing and using energy in their own way.

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### **Informant list**

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## **Контроль над энергией «горячих» обществ и растворение в энергии «холодных»: трансформация этнических культур в северных регионах России в XVIII–XXI веках**

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*Статья посвящена рассмотрению возможности применения хорошо известной этнографам, историкам, культурологам, социологам концепции бинарных оппозиций французского ученого Клода Леви-Стросса (1908–2009) для кросс-культурного исследования этнических особенностей использования энергии «горячими» индустриальными и «холодными» традиционными обществами на российском Севере в XVIII–XXI веках. «Горячие» общества стремятся контролировать энергию, постоянно увеличивая ее производство, потребление, а также связанные с этими процессами объемы информации и знаний. «Холодные» общества стараются ограничиться воспроизводством уже давно открытых предками, устоявшихся технологий системы жизнеобеспечения, сохранения традиционных условий своего самобытного существования. Соседство переселенческих и коренных народов в северных регионах на протяжении нескольких веков неизбежно приводит к контактам и взаимнообмену культурными ценностями,*

*в том числе и в сфере потребления энергии. Однако до сих пор остается окончательно нерешенной проблема выбора оптимального пути использования энергии в суровых климатических условиях.*

*Ключевые слова: северные регионы России, XVIII–XXI вв., Клод Леви-Стросс, бинарные оппозиции, «холодные» и «горячие» общества, переселенческие и коренные этносы, производство и потребление энергии.*

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