

ECONOMICS, POLITICAL SCIENCE, SOCIETY AND CULTURE

UDC [323.1+323.2+342.72/.73](985)(045)

DOI: 10.17238/issn2221-2698.2017.29.4

The ethnopolitics of Russia in the Arctic zone: integration, regional multiculturality, and tradition¹



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Abstract. The article is dedicated to the strategic issues of the ethnic policies' development in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation. Nowadays the academic knowledge of constitutional law and political science doesn't demonstrate clear understanding of the Russian ethnic national policy model in the Arctic, there are no comprehensible definitions and criteria, which could be used to estimate the present and desired model satisfying interests of the state and polytechnic society. It is also important to note that the course of certain ethnic processes in Russia and in the Russian Arctic is determined by the state mechanism. Its main instrument is the regulation of public relations with legal and political methods. In this article, the authors tried to understand the political and legal mechanism of the current Russian ethnic policy model in the Arctic. The practical goal is to develop proposals for improving its main components to form a more advanced policy model. The authors identified ten basic elements of the ethnopolitics of Russia in the Arctic zone, embodied in political and legal institutions (including the author's theoretical ideas about conceptual and categorical apparatus), and indicated eight practical proposals for improving this model.

Keywords: *ethnopolitics, AZRF, model, indigenous small-numbered peoples, population, migrants, identity, ethnicity*

"The Arctic ethnopolitics" — one of the trends in public agenda

In his speech at the plenary session of the IV International Arctic Forum "The Arctic — territory of dialogue" held on 30 March 2017, in Arkhangelsk, the Russian President Vladimir Putin said: "Our goal is to provide sustainable development of the Arctic, and the creation of modern infrastructure, development of resources, development of the industrial base, improving the qual-

¹ The article was prepared within the research project supported by the Russian Science Foundation (project No. 15-18-00104 "The Russian Arctic: from conceptualization to effective model of state ethnic policy in the context of sustainable development of regions").

ity of life of the indigenous peoples of the North, preserving their unique culture, their traditions and careful treatment of them by the state”².

In modern Russia’s state-building, regardless of specific areas (economic, social, ethnic, etc.), “project approach” to the social relations prevails. The definition of “project approach” apparently suggests a broader interpretation the public institutions’ role than it is generally understood in the modern political and social science, namely as a program-target method of implementing various aspects of home policy. So, the main characteristic of the “project approach” in ethnic policy is the claim of the state monopoly on the formation of the key characteristics of the ethnic “actors” and processes.

We agree with L.M. Drobizheva and her definition of ethnic policy as coherent state regulation of collective rights of ethnic communities in the territories of their historic residence and the institutionalization of this regulation through the adoption of appropriate legislative acts and the establishment of the state bodies responsible for the ethnic component of the home policy³. However free or rather the arbitrary formation of ethnic institutions, the desire to self-organization and self-regulation of ethnic relations are denied and not recognized. This is due to well-defined geopolitical risk and, of course, “the ethnic issue”, that has been smoldering for centuries, is traditionally a sign of serious social shocks and disasters. However, the question of whether free “ethnic construction” (incl. the institutional aspect) the only reason for ethnic tension, and whether the ill-conceived ethnic policy of the state is equally responsible for these risks, remains a subject of serious discussion.

Historically, models of home ethnic policy or “nation-building” policy are often characterized as paternalistic [1, Troshina T.I., Minchuk O.V., p. 167]. Even in the post-Soviet period, it was characterized by the building a partnership between the state and ethnic communities. But it has been impossible to speak about the leading role of “informal institutions” [2, Zakharov V.V.]⁴ in ethnic processes and political discourse.

² Rech Vladimira Putina na plenarnom zasedanii IV Mezhdunarodnogo Arkticheskogo Forumu “Arktika — Territoriya Dialoga” 30 Marta 2017, Arkhangelsk [The Russian President Vladimir Putin’s speech at the plenary session of the IV International Arctic Forum “The Arctic — territory of dialogue” 30 March 2017, Arkhangelsk]. URL: <https://www.arctic.gov.ru/FilePreview/6bf7cc0d-2c6d-e711-80d2-00155d006312?nodeId=4370391e-a84c-e511-825f-10604b797c23> (Accessed: 19 September 2017) [In Russian]

³ Krjaklina T.F. Etnopolitika kak instrument upravlenija etnopoliticheskimi processami. [Ethnopolitics as an instrument of the management of ethnopolitical processes]. URL: http://pluriversum.org/news/analytics/ethnopolitics_as_a_tool_for_management_of_ethnopolitical_processes/ (Accessed:19 September 2017) [In Russian]

⁴ The neoinstitutionalist interpretation: social practices and rituals are the result of subordination to cultural values and norms.

Studying the Strategy of the State National Policy of Russia⁵ (hereinafter — Strategy 2025), Yu.V. Popkov and V.G. Kostuk pointed that the Strategy recognized the fact of multiethnicity and existence of inter-ethnic relations, but it did not consider peoples of the Russian Federation active subjects of the state ethnic policy [3, Popkov Yu.V. & Kostuk V.G., p. 89]. Probably it relates to the legal and institutional formation of “the single Russian civic nation” started in Russia at the end of 2016⁶.

The objects of the research are specific elements and the institutional structure of the current model of the Arctic ethnic policy of Russia. Also, the authors had an attempt to develop a standardized definition of the designated model.

Institutional structure of the Russian ethnic policy model in the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation

Institutional structure of the Russian ethnic policy model in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation has its specifics, as it is related to the all-Russia integrative model with the elements of multiculturalism and has its own “Northern” component (traditional economy and everyday life of indigenous people and harsh climate).

In our opinion, the specifics of the ethnic policy model could be found in a composition of ten elements embodied in political and legal institutions.

1. Undivided authority when defining the foundations of the home ethnic policy

Present statement is caused by the provisions of the Constitution of the Russian Federation, paragraphs "b" and "e" of Art. 71, which regulate and protect of the rights of national minorities, set up the norm that the foundations of the ethnic policy is the responsibility of the federal bodies.

Part 3, Art. 80 secures the right of the President of Russia to define the main directions of home and foreign policy. Paragraph "m", part 1, Art. 72 of the Constitution: protection of the traditional lands and lifestyle of numerically small ethnic communities is under the joint jurisdiction of the Russian Federation and subjects of the Russian Federation.

2. Balance of responsibilities

A management subsystem of the state ethnic policy is developed in accordance with the federal structure of Russia and traditional institutionalized form of the “vertical of power” and

⁵ Ukaz Prezidenta Rossijskoj Federacii ot 19 dekabrja 2012 g. № 2012 “O Strategii gosudarstvennoj nacio-nalnoj politiki Rossijskoj Federacii na period do 2025 goda” [The decree of the President of the Russian Federation, 19 December 2012, No. 2012 “On the strategy of state national policy of the Russian Federation for the period till 2025”]. URL: <http://kremlin.ru/acts/bank/36512> (Accessed: 19 September 2017) [In Russian]

⁶ Zasedanie Soveta po mezhnacionalnym otnoshenijam ot 31.10.2016, Astrahan [A meeting of the Council for Inter-ethnic Relations, 31 October 2016, Astrakhan]. URL: <http://kremlin.ru/events/president/news/53173> (Accessed: 19 September 2017) [In Russian]

“centralization” established in the 2000s. This is reflected in the character of federalism in Russia, which, as N. Baranov writes, seems to be “asymmetrical” because of the significant “distortions” due to the mixed ethno-territorial nature of the Federation. According to the scholar, federalism in Russia “should be a territorial form of democracy”. It will contribute to the ethnic peace in the future [4, Baranov N.A., pp. 60–63].

Special federal bodies responsible for ethnic policy exist to solve problems of disparities in the management of the regions. Two of them are in the structure of the **Government of the Russian Federation**. The first is the Federal Agency for Nationalities (FADN of Russia) occupied with the development and implementation the state ethnic policy, legal regulation and providing state services in the sphere of ethnic policy. The second important state body is the *State Commission for the Arctic Development* responsible for the coordination of the Arctic policy to provide better living standards for people living or working in the Russian Arctic and protecting indigenous people, their economy and lifestyle as well as cultural heritage.

Two executive bodies for ethnic issues are found among the **presidential commissions and councils**. The first is the *Presidential Council for Interethnic Relations* aimed at working out proposals on the key issues of the state ethnic policy. The second is the Commission on information support of the state ethnic policy of the Presidential Council of the Russian Federation for Interethnic Relations, responsible for building the information space of the state national policy.

At the legislative level (Federal Assembly of Russia), various relevant committees and councils exist. At the level of the “lower chamber” of the Russian Parliament — the State Duma, *The Committee on Nationalities* carries out legislative work on the state national policy, civic identity issues, ethno-cultural development of the peoples of Russia, protection of the rights of indigenous peoples and national minorities, funding of the state national policy, and language policy.

At the level of the “chamber of regions”, one relevant committee and two councils are operating: *The Committee of the Federation Council for Federative Structure, Regional Policy, local government and Northern Affairs*. The function of the Committee is to implement laws on the federal structure of Russia; national and regional policy; state policy in the Arctic, sustainable development of indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East, protection of their traditional lands and way of life, communities and traditional economic activities.

Among the other councils, it is possible to allocate *the Council for the Arctic and Antarctic* under the Federation Council and *the Council for Interethnic Relations and Cooperation with Religious Associations*. The function of the first one is the analysis and improvement of legislation and law enforcement practices on the state policy and national interests of the Russian Federation in

the Arctic and Antarctic. The function of the second council mentioned above is legislative support of federal relations, ethnic and cultural development of peoples and guarantees of social, economic and cultural development of indigenous peoples of Russia, protection of their traditional lifestyle and lands, economy and crafts.

3. *Unified strategic priorities of the Federation and its subjects*

“Adoption of the Strategy of the State National Policy of the Russian Federation until 2025 became the principal landmark event not only in the sphere of interethnic relations, but also in political life of the country in general⁷”. It is impossible not to agree with this statement. For the first time in the history of new Russia, ethnic policy was in a state strategic document, not a conceptual one, defined by a concrete political and ideological aim [5, Mushinskiy M.A., p. 499].

Despite the “Arctic Strategy 2025” mentioned above, Russia adopted the “Arctic Foundations 2020”, “Regional Basics”⁸ and “Cultural Basics”⁹ aimed at being political and legal instruments of the Russian ethnopolitics in the Arctic.

When analyzing the text “Arctic Foundations 2020”, one could conclude: the questions of the ethnic development have a little space in the document. It contains only a small number provisions, which correspond to the existing norms of the federal legislation. Subparagraph “h”, paragraph 7, section 6, Chapter III provides that: “7. The strategic priorities of the state policy of the Russian Federation in the Arctic are: [...] h) to improve the quality of life of the indigenous population and social conditions of the economic activity in the Arctic”; indentions 15–16, subparagraph “a”, paragraph 8, Chapter IV: “the main measures on realization of the state policy in the field of social and economic development of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation are: [...] improvement of educational programs for the indigenous population of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation, especially children adaptation programs for life in the modern society with full development of the skills necessary for living in extreme natural conditions, including equipment of ed-

⁷ Sovetu pri Prezidente Rossijskoj Federacii po mezhnacionalnym otnoshenijam — 5 let. *Bjulleten Komissii po vo-prosam informacionnogo soprovozhdenija gosudarstvennoj nacionalnoj politiki Soveta pri Prezidente RF po mezhnacionalnym otnoshenijam*. Specvypusk. [Council under the President of the Russian Federation on Interethnic Relations - 5 years. *Bulletin of the Commission on Information Support of the State National Policy of the Council under the President of the Russian Federation on Interethnic Relations*. Special Issue]. M., 2017. p. 41. URL: http://sovetnational.ru/Documents/%D0%91%D1%8E%D0%BB%D0%BB%D0%B5%D1%82%D0%B5%D0%BD%D1%8C_%D1%81%D0%BF%D0%B5%D1%86%D0%B2%D1%8B%D0%BF%D1%83%D1%81%D0%BA_5%20%D0%BB%D0%B5%D1%82%20%D0%A1%D0%BE%D0%B2%D0%B5%D1%82%D1%83.pdf (Accessed: 19 September 2017 [In Russian])

⁸ Ukaz Prezidenta RF ot 03 ijunja 1996 g. № 803 “Ob Osnovnyh polozhenijah regionalnoj politiki v Rossijskoj Federacii”. [Decree of the President of the Russian Federation June 3, 1996 No. 803 “On the Basic Provisions of Regional Policy in the Russian Federation”]. URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/444816807> (Accessed: 19 September 2017) [In Russian]

⁹ Ukaz Prezidenta Rossijskoj Federacii ot 24 dekabnja 2014 g. № 808 “Ob utverzhenii Osnov gosudarstvennoj kulturnoj politiki” [Decree of the President of the Russian Federation of December 24, 2014 No. 808 “On the Approval of the Basic Provisions of State Cultural Policy”]. URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/420242192/> (Accessed: 25 September 2017) [In Russian]

educational institutions and distant settlements with means of remote training; ensuring rational use of natural resources and development of environmentally safe forms of tourism in places of residing and traditional managing of indigenous peoples, the preservation of cultural heritage and languages, and national crafts”.

The main vector of the regional ethnic policy of Russia (incl. the Arctic) was laid out in a “Regional basics”. Paragraph 5 of the document: regional policy in the field of ethnic relations, should ensure that two areas of development: 1) state and legislation and 2) spiritual. In relation to state and legislation, it is determined that the federal structure of Russia should combine the current social, economic and political realities with historical experience. The document also contains the necessity of developing the legal and institutional framework for interethnic relations to meet the ethnic and cultural interest of peoples and the resolute struggle against “aggressive nationalism”.

In case of spiritual realm, the document states the need to respect individual rights and freedom; to grant equal rights to the peoples “with any form of self-determination”; to support the cultures of small peoples; to provide their language support and a support for Russian as long as it is a national language and means of communication; to strengthen “national secondary and higher education as an essential condition for the preservation and development of ethnic identity and cultures”; to preserve the historical heritage of the Russian (East Slavic) culture; to develop intercultural communication, especially with Slavs, Caucasian, Finno-Ugric, Mongolian, and other cultures within the framework of a common Eurasian ethno-cultural space”.

An important task for the federal and regional public authorities is the support and development of “national-cultural autonomy”¹⁰.

It has been already mentioned, in addition to the regional policy, ethnic politics, includes “cultural policy”, defined in the “Cultural Basics” as “actions undertaken by the state authorities of the Russian Federation and public institutions to support the preservation and development of all branches of culture, all types of creative activity of citizens of Russia and the formation of the system of values, personality based on the characteristic of the Russian society”. It is noteworthy that in addition to the concept of “cultural policy” the text of the “Cultural Basics” contains such social and philosophical concepts as “spiritual sphere” and “the mentality of the Russian people”. The first concept is defined there as “a system of ideas about the world and man, human society and the relations between people, values and their hierarchies”; the second concept means the “total-

¹⁰ Federalnyj zakon ot 17 ijunja 1996 g. № 74-FZ “O nacionalno-kulturnoj avtonomii” (s izmenenijami na 04 nojabrja 2014 g.) [Federal Law No. 74-FZ, June 17, 1996 “On National and Cultural Autonomy” (as amended on November 4, 2014)]. URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/9018667/> (Accessed: 25 September 2017) [In Russian]

ity of intellectual, emotional, cultural characteristics, value orientations and attitudes inherent in the Russians”.

However, no detailed legal definitions of these concepts have been made, but in an official interview for “Bloomberg”, the Russian President Vladimir Putin said that: “...there is one distinctive feature that all peoples probably have, but it is especially pronounced. It is the pursuit of justice. This is one of the dominant features, I think, in the mentality of Russians and all the Russian people. Another aspect that is typical for the mentality of the Russian person — a commitment to any [ideals]”¹¹.

The most notable moments of the “Cultural Basics” are as follows:

- 1) providing a “civilizational identity” of Russia;
- 2) recognition of the key role of the Russian language and Russian culture;
- 3) recognition of the special role of the Orthodox Christianity;
- 4) recognition of the important role of traditional Russian religions: Islam, Buddhism and Judaism and other religions;
- 5) recognition of the “atomization of society”, that is, the rupture of social ties (friends, family, and neighborhood), growth of individualism, disregard for the rights of other people — one of the major problems of the Russian culture;
- 6) recognition of the importance of revival of the “family education” traditions;
- 7) approval of “traditional family values”, etc.

The importance of “traditional values” for the ethnic development of Russia was reflected in the decision of the Constitutional Court: “the meaning [...] of the constitutional provisions on the family, motherhood and childhood in their traditional, adopted from the ancestors understanding, is that they are the values that ensure continuous change of generations, the condition for the preservation and development of multi-national people of the Russian Federation, and therefore they are in need of special protection by the state”¹². It is important to note that in this context we are talking about “traditional values” of all the Russian society, or “political nation”.

After all, discussed above, now we are moving to the Arctic region which is a home to indigenous peoples with their special lifestyle, traditional family life and religion (however, they are often practicing more than one religion at the same time) [6, Zaikov K., Tamitskiy A., Zadorin M., pp. 125–142].

¹¹ Vladimir Putin: Otlichitel'naja cherta nashego naroda — stremlenie k spravedlivosti i idealam [Vladimir Putin: The distinctive feature of our people — commitment to the justice and ideals]. URL: <http://gosrf.ru/news/24908/> (Accessed: 25 September 2017) [In Russian]

¹² Postanovlenie Konstitucionnogo Suda RF ot 23 sentjabrja 2014 g. № 24-P. [Decision of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation of September 23, 2014 No. 24-P]. URL: <https://rg.ru/2014/10/03/sud-dok.html> (Accessed: 25 September 2017) [In Russian]

The “Concept of sustainable development of numerically small indigenous peoples” 2009¹³ and the adopted plan on its implementation in 2016–2025¹⁴ contain the list of the most promising tasks for ministries and federal agencies (31 — in total), which include, for example, the creation of a “model territories of traditional nature use”, the development of “telemedicine” in remote areas, translation of indigenous literature into the Russian and the issue of “native” registry.

4. Institutional specialization

Ethnic policy in the Arctic is impossible without the use of institutional structures responsible for the protection of human rights and the rights of indigenous peoples.

Authority for the protection of the rights of indigenous communities can be referred to the Commission and the Commissioner for human rights of a region. It is expressly provided in §21, Art. 16.1 of the Federal law “On bodies of the state power of subjects”¹⁵. However, not all lawyers share the enthusiasm about these powers: “it is likely that this will negatively affect the quality of protection of citizens' interests. E.g., the subjects of the Russian Federation with no special enthusiasm for human rights defenders, got the opportunity not to establish the posts of “extra” ombudsmen, and to close all functions of human rights protection in the region to one officer, who will be easier for “fighting back” than three or four separate commissioners”¹⁶. It is also noted that despite the positive developments in cooperation between the Ombudsman on human rights with the territorial federal executive bodies, but the current legislation “does not affect the issues of interaction between the Ombudsmen with the bodies of executive power of subjects of the Russian Federation»¹⁷.

¹³ Rasporjazhenie Pravitelstva Rossijskoj Federacii ot 04 fevralja 2009 goda № 132-r “Ob utverzhdenii Konceptcii ustojchivogo razvitija korennyh malochislennyh narodov Severa, Sibiri i Dalnego Vostoka Rossijskoj Federacii” [Order of the Government of the Russian Federation of February 4, 2009 No. 132-r “On the Approval of the Concept of Sustainable Development of Indigenous Peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation”]. URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/902142304> (Accessed: 25 September 2017) [In Russian]

¹⁴ Rasporjazhenie Pravitelstva Rossijskoj Federacii ot 25 avgusta 2016 g. № 1792-r “Ob utverzhdenii plana meroprijatij po realizacii v 2016–2025 godah Konceptcii ustojchivogo razvitija korennyh malochislennyh narodov Severa, Sibiri i Dalnego Vostoka Rossijskoj Federacii” (s izmenenijami na 04 avgusta 2017 g.). [Order of the Government of the Russian Federation of August 25, 2016 No. 1792-r “On approval of the plan of measures for the implementation of the Concept of Sustainable Development of Indigenous Minorities of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation in 2016-2025” (as amended on August 4, 2017)]. URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/420372893> (Accessed: 25 September 2017) [In Russian]

¹⁵ Federalnyj zakon “Ob obshhix principah organizacii zakonodatelnyh (predstavitelnyh) i ispolnitelnyh organov gosudarstvennoj vlasti subiektov Rossijskoj Federacii” (s izmenenijami na 29 ijulja 2017 g.) (redakcija, dejstvujushhaja s 11 avgusta 2017 g.) [The federal law “On general principles for the organization of legislative (representative) and executive bodies of state power of the subjects of the Russian Federation” (as amended on July 29, 2017) (edition effective August 11, 2017)]. URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/901744603> (Accessed: 25 September 2017) [In Russian]

¹⁶ Upolnomochennye po pravam cheloveka v subiektah RF: novye status i polnomochija. [Human Rights Ombudsmen in the Subjects of the Russian Federation: New Status and Authority] URL: <http://www.garant.ru/article/621669/> (Accessed: 25 September 2017) [In Russian]

¹⁷ Ibid.

Thus, the need for a clear institutional specialization of the Ombudsman and assigning tasks to the regions for the adoption of the relevant laws. Obviously, working with indigenous communities requires knowledge of the specificity, which is usual and ordinary officials cannot cope.

5. Coordination of joint activities of public organizations and regional bodies of state power

A practice of creating councils of indigenous peoples ("aboriginal councils"), ethnic councils under a senior official of the region has developed to ensure the stable interaction of public authorities. "Aboriginal councils" have close contacts with the Association of numerically small indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and Far East of the Russian Federation (RAIPON), which acts as a "mediator". In addition to the "mediation", the Association was also active in the regulatory process at the federal level. E.g., RAIPON together with FADN developed a draft law on "the register of indigenous institutions" which must solve the problem of proving the belonging to the indigenous peoples in courts or public authorities.

The information for the registry was introduced by FADN; its source is the data of the Federal Tax Service and bodies of local self-government. Prior to the adoption of the Federal law, Russia had no unified legal system for defining the ethnicity, and people were forced to prove that they are "indigenous" through the courts, where the judge determined the criteria for the assignment of a person to "indigenous", including querying of archival data of pre-revolutionary "Church books" and old Soviet documents, which contained data on "nationality/ethnicity" (e.g., passports of the USSR citizens), etc. [7, Zadorin M., Klisheva O., Vezhlytseva K., Antufieva D., p. 7].

6. "Tetramorphism" of the state religious policy

In the Preamble of the Federal law "On freedom of conscience"¹⁸, it is recognized the "special role of the Orthodoxy in the Russian history, in the formation and development of its spirituality and culture", as well as respect to Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, Judaism and other religions that are an integral part of the historical heritage of the peoples of Russia". Despite its secular character (Art. 14 of the Constitution¹⁹), the government must consider the multi-religious reality — "the peoples of Russia", their culture and religion. It is vital to prevent religious conflicts and create a favorable climate for coexistence of all traditional religions and mutually beneficial cooperation to strengthen national unity. The question of who are the "people of Russia" in the strictly

¹⁸ Federalnyj zakon ot 26 sentjabrja 1997 g. № 125-FZ "O svobode sovesti i o religioznyh ubezhdenenijah" (s izmenenijami na 06 ijulja 2016 g.) [Federal Law of September 26, 1997 No. 125-FZ "On Freedom of Conscience and on Religious Associations" (as amended on July 6, 2016)]. URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/9040821/> (Accessed: 25 September 2017) [In Russian]

¹⁹ Konstitucija Rossijskoj Federacii [The Constitution of the Russian Federation]. URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/konstitucija-rossijskoj-federacii> (Accessed: 19 September 2017) [In Russian]

legal sense of the word has been raised more than once in the public, political and legal discourse. This issue has not been passed by the officials. So, in the order of the former Ministry for Regional Development, the concept of “indigenous peoples” was understood as “the peoples historically living in the Russian Federation who have contributed to the formation of the Russian state”²⁰.

Thus, if one tries to concretize this concept, it will represent 1) the Russian people as “constituent” ethnic groups; 2) people who are “titular nations” from political (but not legal) perspective; the ethnic groups of national-territorial formations (republics, autonomous districts, autonomous region of Russia); 3) the peoples traditionally living on the territories of regions and in a state of a national minority, and 4) indigenous peoples numbering less than 50 thousand people.

However, this classification is conditional, as the number of the peoples of Russia is more than 160, and the real state support is received by only four traditional religions. Exception — traditional beliefs (animism, shamanism, etc.). “Natives” of the North, Siberia and the Far East of Russia get the state support which is carried out mainly at the regional level, and through the mediation of RAIPON in Moscow. However, due to historical proselytizing of Christianity in the development of the Russian state, many “aboriginal” peoples profess multiple religions: the dominant one and so-called “tribal”, i.e. they have “dual faith”. Moreover, it often turns into a religious syncretism or the blending of the spiritual foundations of traditional monotheism and polytheism. The role of such practices is important for the preservation of the spiritual heritage of the peoples of the Arctic, but due to the small number of its “carriers”, they have no significant impact on the state religious policy.

However, returning to the “state-forming” religions, it is important to note that the Government and the presidential Administration have also developed the necessary operational tool for interaction with believers — official bodies of “traditional” religions, namely: Christianity — Russian Orthodox Church — Moscow Patriarchate (ROC MP), the Islamic Council of Muftis of Russia and Spiritual administration of Muslims of the Russian Federation (DUM RF), the Buddhist traditional Sangha of Russia, and Judaism is represented by the Chief Rabbinate of Russia and the Federation of Jewish Communities of Russia (FJC), etc.

²⁰ Prikaz Minregiona Rossii ot 14 oktjabrja 2013 g. № 444 “Ob utverzhdenii Metodicheskikh rekomendacij dlja organov gosudarstvennoj vlasti subiektov Rossijskoj Federacii o porjadke vyjavlenija formirujushhihsja konfliktov v sfere mezhnacionalnyh otnoshenij, ih preduprezhdenija i dejstviah, napravlennyh na likvidaciju ih posledstvij”. [Order of the Ministry of Regional Development of Russia of October 14, 2013 No. 444 “On the approval of methodological recommendations for public authorities of the subjects of the Russian Federation on the procedure for identifying emerging conflicts in the sphere of interethnic relations, their prevention and actions aimed at eliminating their consequences”]. URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/499066331> (Accessed: 19 September 2017) [In Russian]

Thus, we can say “tetramorphism” of a state religion policy is based on the support of four influential religions that interact with the public authorities. This is reflected in the public educational programs of the Ministries of Education and Science of the Russian Federation and the “Basics of religious cultures and secular ethics” (BRCSE) and “Basics of spiritually-moral culture of the peoples of Russia”²¹.

The state uses the federal law “On extremism”²² to control the most radical ideas, including religious persuasion. If one conducts a review and analysis of the federal list of extremist materials (25 September 2017 — 4 225 titles), it is possible to detect that the greatest share of suspended is for three groups defined by their ideological orientation²³: 1) a radical neo-pagan racial and ethnic superiority ideas; 2) anti-Semitic ideas; 3) radical ideas of the Wahhabi of Islam. Conducting the demarcation line between freedom of speech, conscience and religion on the one hand and inciting ethnic hatred on the other, the state in the political-legal dimension is trying to identify the permissible limits of the law on the implementation of the cultural and spiritual needs of citizens and communities while safeguarding themselves and the society from the “tumor” formation, which will inevitably appear in the process of social transformation due to the challenges of specific time and historical period.

Undoubtedly, due to the constantly changing objective conditions of political life, the state's interest may shift in the directions previously not included in the agenda of the confessions, which also will play a role in the state construction. E.g., the interest of the President of Russia has determined the main directions of the home policy²⁴ towards the Russian Orthodox old believers' Church^{25 26}. Recently, the first for 350 years official visit of the President to the old believers' Church took place. No doubt, it is a momentous and far-reaching event.

²¹ Pismo Minobrnauki Rossii ot 25 maja 2015 g. № 08-761 “Ob izuchenii predmetnyh oblastej: “Osnovy religioznyh kultur i svetskoj jetiki” i “Osnovy duhovno-nravstvennoj kultury narodov Rossii”. [Letter No. 08-761 of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation of May 25, 2015 “On the study of subject areas: “The Basics of Religious Cultures and Secular Ethics” and “The Basics of the Spiritual and Moral Culture of the Peoples of Russia”]. URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/420282547> (Accessed: 19 September 2017) [In Russian]

²² Federalnyj zakon ot 25 ijulja 2002 g. № 114-FZ “O protivodejstvii jekstremistskoj dejatelnosti”. Sajt “Jelektronnyj fond pravovoj i nauchno-tehnicheskoj dokumentacii”. [Federal Law of July 25, 2002, No. 114-FZ “On Counteracting Extremist Activity”. Website “Electronic Fund for Legal and Scientific and Technical Documentation”]. URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/901823502/> (Accessed: 19 September 2017) [In Russian]

²³ Federalnyj spisok jekstremistskih materialov (po sostojaniju na 25.09.2017). [Federal list of extremist materials (as of September 25, 2017)] URL: <http://minjust.ru/ru/node/243787> (Accessed: 25 September 2017)) [In Russian]

²⁴ Part 3 Art. 80, The Constitution of the Russian Federation. Ibid.

²⁵ Vstrecha s Mitropolitom Moskovskim i vseja Rusi Russkoj pravoslavnoj staroobradcheskoj cerkvi Kornilijem. [Meeting with the Metropolitan of Moscow and All Russia of the Russian Orthodox Old Believer Church Cornelius.] URL: <http://kremlin.ru/events/president/news/54054> (Accessed: 19 September 2017) [In Russian]

²⁶ Poseshhenie Rogozhskogo duhovnogo centra Russkoj pravoslavnoj staroobradcheskoj cerkvi. [Visit to the Rogozhsky spiritual center of the Russian Orthodox Old Believer Church] URL: <http://kremlin.ru/events/president/news/54641> (Accessed: 19 September 2017) [In Russian]

However, some scholars are on the anti-clerical positions defend the idea that “Russia needs a model of Church-state relations, focused on a clear consolidation of federal and regional legislation and constitutional principles governing the relationship between the state and re-religious institutions. Such a model should establish the legal limits for the state power and religion. Only this can stop the excessive strengthening of the religious influence on social, political and economic processes on the one hand and state intervention in religious affairs on the other” [8, Ahaev M.J., Kamyshova E.G., pp. 7–15].

It is impossible to agree with this opinion: the fusion of state and leading religious organizations can indeed create conditions for the formation of “synthetic” forms of cooperation between bureaucratic and religious establishment. This is negative both for the state and for the religious institutions which will adopt not only positive but also negative practices from each other, incl. the bureaucratization of the hierarchical relationships. On the other hand, neglecting the spiritual needs of the society, the widespread practices of “atomization” and the domination of individualism will lead to the final loss of cultural roots and ethno-religious identification, or the so-called national “cultural code”²⁷.

Here one more issue arises: the relationship between “individual” and “collective” rights. The priority of “individual rights” is to be found in international relations. It is proved by the §1 Art.29 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948: “1. Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible”.

On the other hand, “collective” rights are the fundamental for the preservation of the identity of any nation (§ 1 Art. 1 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights 1966²⁸), incl. indigenous peoples (Art. 3 of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples 2007²⁹). But “identity” is in the sphere of ethnic policy of the state, where at least three approaches are possible: 1) primordialists (ethnicity as a “biological indicator”), 2) constructivist (ethnicity as “identity”), 3) instrumentalists (ethnicity as a free choice under personal gain or so-called “ethnic entrepreneurship” [9, Bezugly V.F., p. 148]).

The growth of ethnic identity creates both favorable and negative consequences for ethnic policy. On the one hand, there is a strengthening of intra-group interaction within an ethnic group,

²⁷ Sovmestnoe zasedanie Soveta po kulture i iskusstvu i Soveta po russkomu jazyku. [Joint meeting of the Council for Culture and Art and the Council on the Russian language]. URL: <http://kremlin.ru/events/president/news/53389> (Accessed: 19 September 2017) [In Russian]

²⁸ International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights 1966 URL: http://www.un.org/ru/documents/decl_conv/conventions/pactpol.shtml (Accessed: 19 September 2017) [In Russian]

²⁹ The UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples 2007. URL: http://www.un.org/ru/documents/decl_conv/declarations/indigenous_rights.shtml (Accessed: 19 September 2017) [In Russian]

increasing interest in culture and language, strengthen family ties, and the youth wants to live and work in their native land. On the other hand, it can lead to the growth of ethnic nationalism, the cultivation of historical grievances against the state and other neighboring ethnic groups. This inevitably leads to violence and risks of a long-term sustained ethnic conflict. Therefore, in the context of globalization (incl. the growth of individual consciousness through the global and regional human rights institutions, as well as promotion of multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism) and the growth of ethnic identity among small ethnic groups (incl. through the so-called “voluntary segregation”), the government uses the religious factor of proselytistic religions (especially monotheistic) to extinguish undesirable idea of separation of ethnic groups. Bet on Orthodoxy, “traditional Islam”, Judaism and Buddhism is politically adjusted and justified in our case. Religion is a powerful political inhibition tool to radical nationalist ideas, as it is based on the equality of all races and ethnic groups.

Special attention gets the promotion of “traditional Islam”. It is obvious that “traditional Islam” for the government is Islam of the peoples of Russia which incorporates the cultural and religious practices of these peoples and has adopted the principles of peaceful coexistence together with the other faiths. “Traditional Islam” is based on the principle of delimitation of religious and public spaces that is not committed to the Syariah law in the managerial, administrative and criminal matters, and it is limited by the individual spiritual needs of a person and the Islamic “Ummah” (community), support of family traditions and the upbringing of chastity and strong “iman” (faith) among young people. Such painful for the secular consciousness issues, such as polygamy, is not raised within public debate, as it implies that the issue can be resolved without official registration in the system of secular family law (the practice of informal polygamy exist to this day on a voluntary basis in some territories of Russia).

Thus, the “traditional Islam” is a syncretistic form of religion that combines theological doctrine, religious doctrine (e.g., Sunnis of the Volga region and the Sufis of the North Caucasus) and ethno-national traditions (the dress, rituals and practices that are unique to a specific ethnic group and the area). “Traditional Islam” is substantially different from the political “Wahhabi” (Salafism), whose main purpose is political seizure of power by one religious group and domination by the rules of Sharia law without any attention to local traditions and customs, as well as the rights of others ethnic groups. The legal and political level of the issue discussed above is confirmed by the paragraphs 18 and 19 of the Strategy of Counteracting Extremism in Russia³⁰. Moreover, we should not forget about the phenomenon of the “ethnic Muslim”, a man who professes their beliefs only on

³⁰ Strategija protivodejstvija jekstremizmu v Rossijskoj Federaciji do 2025 g. [Strategy of counteraction to extremism in the Russian Federation till 2025]. URL: <http://legalacts.ru/doc/strategija-protivodejstvija-ekstremizmu-v-rossiiskoi-federatsii-do/> (Accessed: 25 September 2017) [In Russian]

the level of compliance with the ceremonial aspects, as it's part of his culture. In the framework of the Ummah they are distinguished from the genuine, "observant" Muslims³¹.

When it comes to the Arctic, the dominant religion is the Orthodox Christianity (it is Patriarch's project "Russian Arctic"³², joint expeditions, e.g., "The Arctic 2012"³³, building of Churches³⁴, and installation of crosses in the northernmost parts of the Arctic³⁵). The state stakes on Orthodoxy when trying to build inter-religious unity.

However, the increasing interest in culture of indigenous communities can shift the vector towards the traditional cults of the peoples of the North, especially since they can serve as a conduit to the support of enterprising initiatives of communities associated with the development of entrepreneurship in traditional economic activities (e.g., souvenirs, cosmetics, "traditional medicine" or cultural events). However, it is important not to focus on such narrow areas and to raise the real reservoir of knowledge about traditional practices and beliefs of indigenous communities which would be able to revive an almost extinct culture that could serve the preservation of the unique "Arctic cultural code", and not to assign "cultural signs and symbols associated with shamanism", by which, in N. Pimenov opinion, "there is a special cultural phenomenon of neoshamanism, which is more a representation of cultural practices of postmodern than pre-modern" [10, Pimenov N.N., pp. 28–66].

Also, the system of "customary law" is extremely important, which is undeservedly forgotten. It can be used in civil matters, incl. the issues of "determining the order of use of common property, enforcement of certain obligations"³⁶. E.g., it may be the reindeer herding and other traditional economic activities of the indigenous peoples of the Arctic. The role of custom is important in marriage and family relations, when, e.g., under part 2, Art. 58 of the Family Code of

³¹ "Jetnicheskie" i "sobljudajushhie". ["Ethnic" and "observant"]. URL: <http://www.islam.ru/content/veroeshenie/45071> (Accessed: 25 September 2017) [In Russian]

³² Predstojatel' Russkoj Cerkvi vstretilsja s uchastnikami Patriarshego proekta "Russkaja Arktika" [Primate of the Russian Church met participants of the Patriarchal project "The Russian Arctic"]. URL: <http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/3585519.html> (Accessed: 25 September 2017) [In Russian]

³³ Osvjashhenie Russkoj Arktiki. Putevye zametki episkopa Narjan-Marskogo i Mezenskogo lakova, stavshego pervym arhierieem, soprovozhdavshim jekspediciju po samym severnym shirotam. [Consecration of the Russian Arctic. Travel notes of the bishop Naryan-Mar and Mezensky Jacob, who became the first bishop to accompany the expedition to the northernmost latitudes]. URL: <http://www.pravoslavie.ru/57024.html> (Accessed: 25 September 2017) [In Russian]

³⁴ V samom severnom gorode RF pojavitsja pravoslavnyj hram [In the most Northern town of Russia an Orthodox church appeared]. URL: <http://www.arctic-info.ru/news/04-04-2016/v-samom-severnom-gorode-rf-poavitsa-pravoslavnii-hram/> (Accessed: 25 September 2017) [In Russian]

³⁵ Na Novoj Zemle i Zemle Franca-Iosifa ustanovjat poklonnye kresty. [Porcine crosses will be installed on the New Earth and Franz Josef Land]. URL: <http://www.pravoslavie.ru/72105.html> (Accessed: 25 September 2017) [In Russian]

³⁶ Postanovlenie Plenuma Verhovnogo Suda RF ot 23 ijunja 2015 g. № 25 "O primenenii sudami nekotoryh polozhenij razdela I chasti pervoj Grazhdanskogo kodeksa Rossijskoj Federacii". [Resolution of the Plenum of the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation of June 23, 2015 No. 25 "On the application of certain provisions of Section I of Part I of the Civil Code of the Russian Federation by courts"]. URL: <http://sudrf.kodeks.ru/rospravo/document/420283668> (Accessed: 25 September 2017) [In Russian]

Russia, the patronymic of the child “is assigned to the name of the father, unless otherwise provided by laws of the subject of the Russian Federation or not based on a national custom”³⁷.

Customary law may harmonize family relationship, strengthen the traditional family institutions³⁸, and to stop the growth of the divorce statistics (in 2014: 1 225 985 marriages and 693 730 divorces [11, Molchanova E.V., p. 619]), unregistered marriages³⁹, and imbalances in the issues of leaving children solely with the mother without regard to the interests of the father (according to the experts, only 5–6% of children remained with their fathers⁴⁰). It may also contribute to the establishment of liability of the spouses for adultery by including it in the category of “a misconduct which may be the grounds for refusal of an alimony”. Currently, courts often understand “misconduct” as “the alcohol or drug abuse, family violence”⁴¹. However, work in this direction has been already underway, as it is evidenced by the position of the Supreme Court of Russia, which “really dwells on the enumeration of all that courts must consider, if it deals with “children's” cases” when “it is necessary to find out the child's attachment to parents, brothers and sisters. The age of the child should be considered as well as the moral qualities of parents, the mode of behavior, opportunity to find time for the child and so forth”⁴². In such cases, customary law could be a litmus test of the mentality and be able to clarify the specifics of the public consciousness of the local group, its representatives and features of family life, private life, etc.

According to Sokolova F.H., “modern policy for revival the culture of indigenous peoples of the Arctic has a profound positive meaning. Being full members of modern societies, the studied ethnic groups will increase their creativity and contribute to the cultural enrichment of the country and the world” [12, Sokolova F.H., p. 57].

³⁷ Семейный кодекс Российской Федерации (с изменениями на 01 мая 2017 г.). [The Family Code of the Russian Federation (with changes on the 01 May 2017)]. URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/9015517> (Accessed: 25 September 2017) [In Russian]

³⁸ Послание Президента Федеральному Собранию 01.12.2016. [The speech of the President to the Federal Assembly]. URL: <http://kremlin.ru/events/president/news/53379> (Accessed: 25 September 2017) [In Russian]

³⁹ В 2016 г. число зарегистрированных браков снизилось на 15%, разводов — на 0,5%. [In 2016 the number of registered marriages decreased by 15%, divorces - by 0.5%]. “*Demoskop Weekly*”. No 715–716, 6–19 February 2017 URL: <http://www.demoscope.ru/weekly/2017/0715/barom04.php> (Accessed: 25 September 2017) [In Russian]

⁴⁰ В России растёт число отцов, которые оставляют у себя детей после развода. [In Russia, the number of fathers, who take their children after a divorce, grows]. “*Demoskop Weekly*”. No 311–312, 26 November – 9 December 2017. URL: <http://www.demoscope.ru/weekly/2007/0311/gazeta019.php> (Accessed: 25 September 2017) [In Russian]

⁴¹ Постановление Пленума Верховного Суда РФ от 25 октября 1996 г. № 9 (в редакции от 16 мая 2017 года) “О применении судами Семейного кодекса Российской Федерации при рассмотрении дел об установлении отцовства и о взыскании алиментов”. [Resolution of the Plenum of the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation of October 25, 1996, No. 9 (as amended on May 16, 2017) “On the application of the Family Code of the Russian Federation by the courts in cases involving the establishment of paternity and the recovery of alimony”]. URL: <http://sudrf.kodeks.ru/rospravo/document/9032391> (Accessed: 25 September 2017) [In Russian]

⁴² Деление неделимого. Верховный суд разъяснил, как надо правильно решать, с кем будет жить ребенок после развода родителей. [To divide indivisible. The Supreme Court clarified with whom should live a child after their parent's divorce]. URL: <https://rg.ru/2014/09/30/sud.html> (Accessed: 25 September 2017) [In Russian]

7. The legitimation of alternative “quasi-security bodies” on the public base

The “conductor of the people's initiative” and the “mediator” in indigenous issue is RAIPON. In inter-ethnic issues harmony and the power of law enforcement by interacting with different ethnic groups is, undoubtedly, relevant to the institution of “Cossacks”. Part 3, Art. 2 of the federal law “On the Cossacks”⁴³: “The Cossack society is a form of self-organization of citizens of the Russian Federation, preserved on the basis of common interests for the purposes of revival of the Russian Cossacks, protection of its rights, preservation of traditional way of life, management and culture of the Russian Cossacks in compliance with federal law (a nonprofit organization) [...]”, which “is created as a farm, village, town, district (Yurt), regional (divisional) or Cossack army society, whose members are committed to keeping the public or other service in the prescribed manner.” Additionally, it is important to note that the establishment and legal registration of Cossack communities in the Russian Arctic appear to be an innovation, as traditionally, they were established to protect the South borders of the Russia, when Russia had no clearly built customs and border system. Currently, the security of the border lies on the FSB of Russia Boundary Service. The Cossack societies often play the role of police, when maintaining public order. In fact, the modern “Cossack societies” are the Russian equivalent of the Soviet “druginnik” — civil people, who helped the police to keep the public order⁴⁴.

8. The leveling of the ethnic factor in the public policy

The main official actors in public policy in Russia with the ability to shape public opinion, to express the will of the citizens and to represent their interests in state authorities and local self-government are political parties. And if various legal forms of public associations and cultural-national autonomy can carry out ethnic specificities, political parties cannot. Thus, § 3 Art. 9 of the federal law “On political parties”⁴⁵ prohibits the establishment of political parties on the grounds of professional, racial, national or religious affiliation.

The federal law refers this norm to the provisions in the Charter and program of a political party. They should not contain statements about protecting professional, racial, national or religious interests and, also it is impossible to reflect these points in the name of the political party.

⁴³ Federalnyj zakon ot 05 dekabnja 2005 g. № 154-FZ “O gosudarstvennoj sluzhbe rossijskogo kazachestva” (s izmenenijami na 01 maja 2017 g.). [Federal Law of December 5, 2005 No. 154-FZ “On the Civil Service of the Russian Cossacks” (as amended on May 1, 2017)]. URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/901958588> (Accessed: 25 September 2017) [In Russian]

⁴⁴ Zaikov K. et al. Ibid.

⁴⁵ Federalnyj zakon ot 11 ijulja 2011 g. № 95-FZ “O politicheskijh partijah” (s izmenenijami na 28 dekabnja 2016 g.) [Federal Law of 11 July 2011 No. 95-FZ “On Political Parties” (as amended on December 28, 2016)]. URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/901792270> (Accessed: 25 September 2017) [In Russian]

The official interpretation of this norm was given in the decision of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation, 15 December 2004 No. 18-P. Overall of the Resolution is that “atypical” political parties would violate the provisions of the Constitution of Russia about the secular nature of the state and priority of all-Russian values. The Constitutional Court also indicated that the creation of parties along ethnic lines could lead to dominance of the large ethnic groups interests in the elected state bodies, and thereby to the violation of the Constitution of the Russian Federation and it’s the principle of legal equality regardless of national affiliation⁴⁶. In addition, competition between parties, formed on ethnic or religious grounds can lead to the stratification of the multi-national people of Russia⁴⁷.

Thus, this legal norm is a kind of the border for the political participation of the ethnic communities. Of course, there are other political and legal mechanisms. E.g., interregional public movement “Komi Voytyr”. In accordance with Art. 75 of the Constitution of the Komi Republic⁴⁸, it has the right of legislative initiative that gives the direct participation in political life on the national level.

9. The uniformity of the graphic component (writing systems) in the language policy

Language policy in the Russian Federation has sufficiently developed legislation designed to solve such tasks as the preservation and maintenance of the balanced language situation; the increase of literacy and proficiency in Russian language; the regulation of migration flows, security of foreign citizens in Russia; realization of geopolitical interests of the state [13, Petrulevich, I.A., Mesropyan, L.M., p. 68].

The Russian law “On languages”⁴⁹ implements the provisions of the Art. 68 of the Constitution. The state language is Russian. Nevertheless, the law allows the presence of other official languages in the regions of Russia. It is also necessary to highlight the peculiarity of the legal status of languages of peoples, namely, the uniformity of the graphical component based on the Cyrillic alphabet (part 6, Art. 3). As it was pointed out by the Constitutional Court in one of its decisions: “[...] Such legislative solution currently provides the interest of preserving national unity — harmonization and balanced functioning of the federal language and the state languages of the re-

⁴⁶Postanovlenie Konstitucionnogo Suda Rossijskoj Federacii ot 15 dekabnja 2004 g. № 18-P. [Decision of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation of December 15, 2004 No. 18-P] URL: <https://rg.ru/2004/12/24/partii-ks-dok.html> (Accessed: 25 September 2017) [In Russian]

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Konstitucija Respubliki Komi. [The Constitution of the Komi Republic]. URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/951600634> (Accessed: 25 September 2017) [In Russian]

⁴⁹Zakon RF ot 25 oktjabrja 1991 g. № 1807-I “O jazykah narodov Rossijskoj Federacii”. [Law of the Russian Federation of October 25, 1991 No. 1807-I “On the languages of the peoples of the Russian Federation”] URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/9003298> (Accessed: 19 September 2017) [In Russian]

publics, aimed at achieving optimum cooperation in the framework of a common linguistic space and not hinder the exercise by citizens of the Russian Federation of the rights and freedoms in the sphere of language, including the right to use their native languages”⁵⁰. This provision implies the possibility to use other graphics frameworks (e.g., Latin), but the implementation of the norms is only possible if it pursues constitutionally significant aims, meets the historical, cultural, social and political realities and the interests of the multinational people of Russia⁵¹. That means the actual unification in the aspect of graphical components in the language policy.

10. The leveling of the ethnic factor in public administration

Continuing the theme of participation of ethnic minorities in political life, it is worth dwelling on issues of “national (ethnic) quotas” in the legislative (executive) bodies of the subjects and the representative bodies of the local self-government. Until 2004 the federal law “On guarantees of the rights of indigenous peoples”⁵² included a provision on the establishment of a quota for the numerically small indigenous peoples in the legislative (representative) bodies of the relevant subjects of the Russian Federation and representatives for the local government. This opportunity was used by the administration of the Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug — Ugra. The quota for representation of indigenous peoples of the North in this subject was three deputies. According to N. A. Filippova, this provision was an exceptional example in the practice of the subjects of the Russian Federation [14, Filippova N.A. pp. 144–145]. Then, the law of the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug — Yugra from December 09, 2015 No. 131-oz “On amendments to the Statute (fundamental law) of the Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug — Ugra” abolished the rule and practice of ethnic quotas in the area.

Thus, the possibility of ethnic minority representation (indigenous peoples of the North) still has not gone beyond the previously identified forms of public participation.

Conclusion

Thus, to summarize, it should be noted that the Arctic ethno-politics of Russia is a system of political and legal measures to strengthen the integration of subjects, the formation of a single regional space by economic and cultural elements, but retaining the regional multi-cultural space and conceptual approval of the revival of traditional social institutions.

The main proposals for improving this model are the following:

⁵⁰ Postanovlenie Konstitucionnogo Suda Rossijskoj Federacii ot 16 nojabrja 2004 g. № 16-P. [Decree of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation of 16 November 2004 No. 16-P]. URL: <https://rg.ru/2004/11/23/tatar-yazyk-dok.html> (Accessed: 01 October 2017) [In Russian]

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Federalnyj zakon ot 30 aprelja 1999 g. № 82-FZ “O garantijah prav korennyh malochislennyh narodov Rossijskoj Federacii”. [Federal Law No. 82-FZ of April 30, 1999 “On Guarantees of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples of the Russian Federation”] URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/901732262> (Accessed: 01 October 2017) [In Russian]

- to raise the question of support for endangered languages of indigenous small peoples according to the interactive Atlas of UNESCO;
- to do monitoring, accounting and systematization of the customs of indigenous peoples in local governance (by analogy with the pre-revolutionary and early Soviet regulation);
- strengthen the role of the “native councils” under regional public authorities;
- to develop a regulatory definition of the “All-Russian civil nation”;
- not to ignore the support of traditional beliefs of indigenous peoples not mentioned in the federal law “On freedom of conscience”, to improve the “regional branding” projects;
- to start training of specialists in the field of ethnoconflictology with the knowledge of indigenous cultures (incl. etiquette, taboo topics, etc.) and skills for the prevention of ethnic conflicts;
- to make a clear institutional specialization of regional ombudsmen;
- to strengthen the state information policy aimed at supporting “traditional values” (with their subject marking list, accounting the prevailing legal/local/social practice) and tolerance of ethnic communities to each other;
- to carry out a full monitoring of the staffing needs of indigenous peoples and their communities.

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