

ISSN 2221-2698

electronic scientific journal
Arctic and North

A & N

Northern (Arctic) Federal University
named after M.V. Lomonosov

No. 34
2019

Arkhangelsk

DOI: [10.17238/issn2221-2698.2019.34](https://doi.org/10.17238/issn2221-2698.2019.34)

ISSN 2221-2698
Arctic and North. 2019. No. 34
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SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

UDC [94(985+943.8+470.11)“18”](045)

DOI: 10.17238/issn2221-2698.2019.34.5

The state and perspectives of development of the domestic shipbuilding in the North in the first half of the 19th century through the eyes of provincial officials (data of the State Archive of the Arkhangelsk region) *

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Abstract. Based on the data from the State Archive of the Arkhangelsk Region, the article assesses the status of merchant and folk Pomor shipbuilding in the North in the 20th century. The key method of the research is the induction method, which is actively used in the historical school of economics, which set as its goal, including the analysis of specific economic situations in a state at a certain stage of its historical development. During the process of research, the analysis has been made of the certain cases and documents of the Arkhangelsk Society for the Study of the Russian North, as well as historical reviews of the Arkhangelsk Governorate Statistical Committee. The conclusion was made overall about the negative perception of regional authorities of the level of development of commodity turnover in the Empire, the absence of high-quality “logistics,” bureaucratic red tape, legal barriers to support shipbuilders, as well as technological advantages of foreign fishing vessels. A constructive reform of the regional authorities in the second half of the 19th century meant the plan for the development of road infrastructure between Arkhangelsk and the town of Povenets in the Olonets Province (Governorate), the development of skipper courses, the creation of a typical improved model of a karbas and a cargo schooner for training future shipbuilders, skippers.

Keywords: *the Russian Arctic, Far North, the Arkhangelsk Province, island spaces, historical geography, political geography, borderlands, shipbuilding.*

Introduction

Back in 2014, the President of Russia voiced the importance of a “shipbuilding cluster.” The development of shipbuilding is of importance: it gives impetus to many related industries, and “it

* For citation:

Zadorin M.Yu., Mitko A.V., Razinkova E.O., Ramseier N.F.L. The state and perspectives of economic development of the domestic shipbuilding in the North in the first half of the 19th century through the eyes of provincial officials (data of the State Archive of the Arkhangelsk region). *Arktika i Sever* [Arctic and North], 2019, no. 34, pp. 4–16. DOI: 10.17238/issn2221-2698.2019.34.5

is of fundamental importance that domestic shipyards should take the lead in the competition for the orders.”¹.

As it was noted by O.V. Lichutina and T.A. Shirokova, in 2013, shipbuilding was among the top five sectors of the economy, making the most significant contribution to the GRP of the Arkhangelsk Oblast [1, Lichutina O. V., Shirokova T.A.]. However, compared to the timber industry, its volumes, transport, logistics, trade, and construction, are inexcusably small: just over 4%.

The importance of supporting shipbuilding was expressed in mid-2018 by the Governor of the Arkhangelsk Oblast in historical context. It was the Solombala shipyard that was the first shipbuilding yard created by order of Emperor Peter I as far back as 1693, and “at the Krasnaya Kuznitsa yard — the heir to the first shipyard still preserves the wooden slips used to launch the first ships.”². It is also noteworthy that the shipyard was closed in 1862, precisely at the time when the activity of foreign fisheries was activated, including in dangerous proximity to the sovereign maritime spaces of the Empire.

Only by the end of the 19th century, domestic industrialists got a steam fleet purchased from abroad (e.g., the Arkhangelsk-Murmansk Shipping Company). Krasavtsev L. B. noted the cost of freight had reached enormous amounts: “[...] having embarked on the path of industrial development later than other European countries and the United States, Russia industrially lagged sharply behind them and did not have the material basis for an active maritime policy. By tonnage and the number of merchant ships in the early 20th century, Russia ranked 10th in the world. Merchant fleet for the transport of goods of foreign trade was not enough. Therefore, foreign vessels were chartered, for which the country paid 125 million rubles annually. The distribution of the merchant fleet across the country's sea basins was extremely uneven. The ships mostly concentrated on the Black, Baltic and Caspian seas” [2, Krasavtsev L.B.]. Krasavtsev L. B. wrote more details about it in his monograph on merchant shipping in the European North of Russia [3, Krasavtsev L.B.].

As it was noted in a large number of letters, circulars, telegrams and other historical documents on marine industries of the Arkhangelsk Society for the Study of the Russian North: in the late 19th — early 20th centuries, the Norwegians had extremely high activity in the coastal areas of Murman within six nautical miles and the fishing of our compatriots dropped significantly³.

¹ Putin podcherknul vazhnost' razvitiya otechestvennogo sudostroeniya [Putin stressed the importance of the domestic shipbuilding development], November 13, 2014, 07:32. Tass. URL: <https://tass.ru/ekonomika/1568966> (Accessed: 16 March 2019). [In Russian]

² Ot karbasa k ledokolu [From a karbas to an icebreaker] June 28, 2018, 09:00. Rossijskaya gazeta. URL: <https://rg.ru/2018/06/28/reg-szfo/v-arhangelskoj-oblasti-vozrodili-mnogovekovoe-nasledie-pomorov.html> (Accessed: 16 March 2019). [In Russian]

³ Delo ob ehkspedicii V.F. Drzheveckogo k Murmanskim beregam. Spisok gubernskih arhivnyh komissij (2 yanv. 1910 g. – 30 iyunya 1910 g.). GAAO. F. 83. Op. 1. D. 20. (na 336 l.). L. 293. [The case of the V.F. Drzhevetsky's expedition to the Murmansk coast. The list of provincial archival commissions (January 2, 1910 — June 30, 1910). GAAO. F. 83. Op. 1. C. 20. (336 pages). P. 293]. [In Russian]

Sometimes this led to diplomatic misunderstandings, expressed in hostile rhetoric from the Norwegian media structures. E.g., in the *Aftenposten* newspaper, any strengthening of the Norwegian industrial activity in the Arctic waters of the Russian Empire was denied, and any unfriendly political statements addressed to the Kingdom by the fishermen or associates of the eastern neighbor were perceived as an attempt to get political points and funding from the central government.

Also, in the collection of the Arkhangelsk Society for the Study of the Russian North, we found a fragment of a translated article published in *Aftenposten* No. 563 September 30, 1909. The author tries to convince readers that the Norwegians had nothing to do with the fishing near Novaya Zemlya and Russian claims are groundless. The author called the findings of the Arkhangelsk Governor's expedition about the expansion of Norwegian industrialists a misunderstanding. Arguments used to prove that: 1) Norwegians were interested in the seal hunting mostly, and it was done in the Arctic Ocean far beyond the Novaya Zemlya archipelago; 2) the Russian patrol vessel "Bakan" did not provide any opportunities for "robbery." So, such statements of the Russian Governor were only an attempt to obtain funding for the development of Novaya Zemlya.⁴

Another noteworthy fact is the message that "northern winds and the lack of bait supply were interfering with fishing"⁵. So, it is not only an increase in the role of foreign fishermen but also the lack of a decent supply for domestic fishers, incl. a lack of technological assets [4, Zaikov K.S., Cherkasov A.A., Gao T., Loukacheva N.V.].

If we compare the level of political tension in the Arctic of the late 19th — early 20th century with the current situation, nothing has fundamentally changed. It is especially true if we are not considering the attempt of the international community to focus on environmental protection (UN CLOS, Art. 234) and a move of the Arctic states to a more moderate position on the development of marine biological and energy resources. Recently, Russia and Norway have settled a dispute over the "gray zone" of the Barents Sea. Still, a certain legal uncertainty is observed when considering the establishment of a "fishing zone" near Svalbard by the Norwegian side [5, Østhaugen A.]. The same situation we see in relation to the "Mountain Code" — an intrastate act on the archipelago [6, Grydehoj A.], the legal regime of which explicitly hints at the free access of all member states to resources while maintaining Norwegian sovereignty, despite all Norway's attempts to extend greater control above this space.

We should not forget about the US diplomatic position related to the legal status of the Northern Sea Route straits, namely the Straits of the Kara Sea, the Laptev and Sannikov Straits, i.e., the statement on the international status of these sea routes [7, Todorov A.A.]. Also, there are

⁴ Fragment gazetnoj stat'i "Norvezhskij razbojnichij promysel na Novoj Zemle" (1909 g.). GAAO. F. 83. Op. 2. D. 2. (na 1 l.). L. 1. [Fragment of the newspaper article "Norwegian robber fishery on Novaya Zemlya" (1909). GAAO. F. 83. Op. 2. C. 2. (1 page). P. 1.]. [In Russian]

⁵ Delo ob ekspedicii V.F. Drzhevckogo k Murmanskim beregam. Spisok gubernskih arhivnyh komissij (2 yanv. 1910 g. — 30 iyunya 1910 g.). GAAO. F. 83. Op. 1. D. 20. (na 336 l.). L. 326. [The case of the V.F. Drzhevetsky's expedition to the Murmansk coast. The list of provincial archival commissions (January 2, 1910 — June 30, 1910). GAAO. F. 83. Op. 1. C. 20. (336 pages). P. 326]. [In Russian]

claims of Russia, Denmark, and Canada to the Lomonosov Ridge, the dispute over the island of Hans between Canada and Denmark [8, Rudnicki J.], and the long-drawn-out dispute between the USA and Canada over the Northwest Passage, the Dixon Entrance and Strait of Juan de Fuca, Beaufort Sea and Machias Seal Island [9, Lalonde S., Lasserre F.], etc.

In this regard, each management decision should be thoroughly ascertained, and the support of domestic industrialists should be based on the historical foundation and experience of previous generations. Developed merchant fleet and infrastructure are not only a locomotive for the economic development of the Russian Arctic but also a factor of geopolitical presence.

Shipbuilding evolution in the Arkhangelsk Province: from dawn to sunset

The second half of the 18th — early 19th centuries of Russian science have traditionally considered the golden age of Russian Arctic navigation. The enthusiasm of hunters and fishermen from the Pomor land, who went to sea fishing, is reflected in the numerous writings and archival documents. As a vivid example, one can cite “Historical description of the journey to Svalbard of four Mezen sailors: Alexei and Ivan Khimkovs, Stepan Sharapov and Fyodor Virugin, 1743—1749”:

“[...] and they were most surprised when the unfortunates began to speak Russian. The co-worker saw that they were natural Russians and learned from them that they had lived on a desert island for more than six years. The ship sailed from Arkhangelsk to West Spitsbergen to catch whales, but with a nasty wind, it was brought to the eastern Spitsbergen.

The shipbuilder agreed to bring three Robin zones with all their property to Russia for eight-ten rubles. Their “jewels” consisted of 2,000 pounds of deer oil, 200 deer horns, ten bear skins and various skins of white and blue foxes accounted for 80 rubles. He still pledged to support them during the whole trip at his expense.”⁶

As can be seen from the description, the profit that domestic animal and fish hunters had significantly strengthened their motivation in developing the sea and island spaces of the Empire, even despite the enormous risks and harsh climatic conditions. The “Russian Arctic” collection [10, Russian Arctic] provides more details on this story.

However, Arkhangelsk officials sometimes did not appreciate the contribution of the local population to the development of productive forces, and shipbuilding. A somewhat dismissive tone about the “Pomors” appears in the rhetoric of P. Bogoslovsky’s corresponding member of the Arkhangelsk Statistical Committee:

“In 1428, during the reign of Basil the Dark, some Pomors were also mentioned that they lived at the mouth of the river Niva and along the shores of the Kandalaksha Bay, engaged in animal husbandry and fishery. But all these legends are unsatisfactory, dark. Of course, the occupation of the maritime industry gives knowledge about the existence of ships, but it is unknown what

⁶ Istoricheskoe opisanie puteshestviya na SHpicbergen chetyrekh mezenskih matrosov: Alekseya i Ivana Himkovyh, Stepana SHarapova i Fedora Virugina, s 1743 po 1749 gg. GAAO. F. 6. Op. 17. D. 1. (na 8 l.). L. 7, 8. [Historical description of the trip to Svalbard of four Mezen sailors: Alexey and Ivan Khimkovs, Stepan Sharapov and Fyodor Virugin, 1743-1749. GAAO. F. 6. Op. 17. D. 1. (8 pages). P. 7, 8.]. [In Russian]

kind of ships they were, where and how they were built; and it would be in vain to look for something positive or real about this — a series of assumptions and arbitrary conjectures would not reveal the truth”⁷.

But not only enthusiasm but also economic protectionism (coupled with the absence of substantial bureaucratic costs at the initial stage) played its role in strengthening Russia's industrial and commercial presence in the Northwest. Moreover, some testimonies spoke directly about the unique character of the coast, which distinguishes it favorably from the inhabitants of central Russia:

“While residents of Russia's inner Gubernias, gifted with a less severe climate, sweat the land, hoping for a bountiful harvest of bread, the inhabitants of the Arkhangelsk Pomor land, deprived of this gift of nature, find the means of life in sea hunting, fishing and in work for imported bread. Of course, this field of the industry requires not only great methods for its cultivation but also courage and self-denial to extract its fruit; but this fruit is always enough for the existence of an enterprising Pomor. Since childhood, he has become akin to his life at sea and his troubles, accustomed to and loved her, he is satisfied, happy with his fate; and firmly tolerates the severity of the climate of its Pomor region. The sea is the source of its wealth — it replaces a healthy environment with fat soil, and our sea-coast lives not only more miserable but even more prosperous than the inhabitants of the grace-rich areas of Russia.”⁸

However, the eulogies end at a point that concerns the further progressive development of shipbuilding for the needs of the state, when the Pomors, by inertia and thanks to the method of building ships that have developed over the centuries, used outdated technologies and did not seek to expand fishing expansion significantly. The statesmen are not shy about the assessment of the “Pomorsky koch” and “shnyak,” designating it as “clumsy”:

“The White Sea Shipbuilding and Navigation are ancient. Their beginning coincides with the arrival of Novgorod residents, whose briskly adventurous and intelligent mind once guessed and grasped that the Normandy koch was the surest fairy horse with which to win the golden bottom of the northern Ponte. More than four hundred years have passed since then; but shipbuilding and navigation, one might say, did not move forward a single step: careless sea-coast still swims in the same clumsy Norman koch or Chudsky shnyak, and now the Grumant and Novaya Zemlya are closing up the ancient arena of Orthodox fixtures”⁹.

However, officials spoke rather sharply and critically about the motivation of the population, its abilities to develop. They were concluding that the Pomors had become “slaves of cus-

⁷ Istoricheskij obzor. O sudostroenii v Arhangel'skoj gubernii s 1813–1853 gg. GAAO. F. 6. Op. 17. D. 3. (na 12 l.). L. 1. [Historical overview. About shipbuilding in the Arkhangelsk province from 1813-1853. GAAO. F. 6. Op. 17. C. 3. (12 pages). L. 1.]. [In Russian]

⁸ Istoricheskij obzor o Belomorskom sudostroenii; o chisle lic, zanimayushchihsia moreplavaniem; o chisle mor-skih zverolovov i rybolovov, 1859 g. GAAO. F. 6. Op. 17. D. 25. (na 3 l.). L. 1. [Historical review of the White Sea shipbuilding; about the number of persons engaged in navigation; on the number of sea hunters and fishermen, 1859. GAAO. F. 6. Op. 17. C. 25. (3 pages). P. 1.]. [In Russian]

⁹ Ibid. P. 2.

tom,” believing that no benefits and government support would be an incentive for the development of shipbuilding:

“We believe, however, that in the encouragement of the Pomor industrial fleet alone, it is not yet possible and should not be seen as a direct and faithful road to the revival of the White sea merchant fleet — Pomors, speaking relatively, are still children in mind and poor, therefore, they are still weak and meaningful self-development is not suitable for them; no matter what benefits they get, they do not cherish them; and while a weak ray of enlightenment will not touch and will not break through their moral callousness, until they remain routines, slaves of custom, and they will not come out of their passive life.”¹⁰.

Researchers emphasize the deliberate “archaization” of the commercial activity of the Pomors [11, Troshina T.A., Avdonina N.S., Zadorin M.Yu.], which in many respects influenced the gradual extinction of this ethnic-local group of the Russian population.

Again, the conservatism in the construction of new ships inherent in the Pomors (e.g., varzuzhans) was due, at a minimum, to the lack of economic feasibility, when no large cargoes needed shipping and the received supplies fitted the needs of the family:

“Further, after my questions about the seafaring of ships, Varzuzhanin explained that they only built Pomor sailing and rowing vessels, but small amount; masters-builders are not local, but come from the Kem villages; that in the whole village they have no more than 5 vessels of this kind; and they don’t need to have more, because they don’t have large cargoes, but they are sent to Arkhangelsk or back — that is, salmon, fat, /:blubber:/ bread, then pay only 3 kopecks for pood; no need for more ships; to Arkhangelsk by sea, it is considered up to 300 versts; the passing is done with a good wind, on the average of two-three days; make two and three flights in the summer, depending on need; grain and other supplies brought from Arkhangelsk are sold in nearby places, or are consumed by themselves. It is far to sail to Murman for catching cod: wage workers cannot get there on time. However, they recognize it advantageous to go to Murman, on their ships, to buy fish there to resell it in Arkhangelsk, and for this purpose, some, more sufficiently, have intended to build ships already. Last summer (1860) at Murman, cod was bought locally for 15 kopecks pood and brought to Arkhangelsk, where it was sold for 70 kopecks. It also had happened in other years.”¹¹.

While complaining about the historically established strengthening of the role of the Baltic Sea — an important trade and transport hub, as well as military and political events at sea at the beginning of the 18th century, a regional official concludes that hereditary inertia of the Russian trade:

¹⁰ Istoricheskij obzor. O sudostroenii v Arhangel'skoj gubernii, 1859 g. GAAO. F. 6. Op. 7. D. 24. (na 9 l.). L. 7. [Historical review. About shipbuilding in the Arkhangelsk province, 1859. GAAO. F. 6. Op. 7. C. 24. (9 pages). P. 7.]. [In Russian]

¹¹ Istoricheskoe opisanie o domashnem byte i promyslah Varzuzhan, 1856 g. GAAO. F. 6. Op. 17. D. 21. (na 5 l.). L. 3, 4. [Historical description of the domestic life and crafts of Varzuzhans, 1856 GAAO. F. 6. Op. 17. C. 21. (5 pages). P. 3, 4.]. [In Russian]

“In the second half of the 17th and the 18th century, in the time of privilege, reviving trade in the White Sea, as if for a moment the dawn of the revival of the Russian merchant fleet flashed. Dozens of Russian White Sea ships, built at domestic shipyards with domestic goods, appeared to be near the European ports. But the development and strengthening of the Russian trade on the Baltic Sea, the earnings at the Onega sawmills, and free harvesting pine resin, took the best sailors from the sea up to 17/t; finally, the sea wars of the eighties, which had responded to the White Sea by the British defeating the northern industries — all this finally decided the fate of the White Sea shipbuilding and navigation, having concluded them in that firm frame, in which the general inertia of the Russian trade of recent years still exist.”¹²

The golden year of the Arkhangelsk shipbuilding

As noted in archival sources, the first quarter of the 19th century was most favorable for the Arkhangelsk shipbuilding:

“The year 1810 was the most pleasing and flourishing for the Arkhangelsk trade, so the old-timers call it the American golden year. According to the curious information that has been preserved and reached us, it is clear that commercial ships were built in the Arkhangelsk province that year: at the Bykovskaya shipyard of merchant V. Popov and M. Kunitsyn, boats with a keel length of 100 feet 3 inches — three; 90 feet — one; 75 feet — one. Maimaksa Shipyard of S. Fanbrin built ships with 90 feet keel — two; in the villages: in Nizhneladinskaya village, peasant Dublennyi built ships with 90 feet keel — two; in Kecht, at a sawmill, merchant S. Fanbrin constructed a boats with 90 feet keel — two; in the Kholmogorsky district in the villages: Rovidina Gora, peasant Kochnev completed an 80 feet keel boat — one and 90 feet keel — one; in the village of Chukhcherem, merchant Kulakov got a 75 feet keel boat — one; in Pindysh, against Emetsky village, peasant V. Yermolin made a 90 feet keel ship — one, 100 feet — one, and 101 feet — one. In the city of Kem, peasant Yermolin got a 75 feet keel boat — one. in total, during 1810, in the Arkhangelsk Province, seaworthy merchant ships were built — 19.”¹³

After 1815, a gradual decline in shipbuilding occurred. In the first half of the 1830s Russia finally lost its position among the leaders of the sea development in the Arctic:

“The change of circumstances, when the participation of Russian merchants in foreign trade had been weakening little by little, and the business passed into the hands of sensible foreigners, shipbuilding, which had always been almost exclusively Russian, since 1815, also went to decline. In 1831, it almost stopped; only at Maimaksa shipyards, it was maintained until 1818 by its last Russian owner, merchant Popov. Merchant Metropolov had storage at the same place. He

¹² Istoricheskij obzor o Belomorskom sudostroenii; o chisle lic, zanimayushchihsya moreplavaniem; o chisle mor-skih zverolovov i rybolovov, 1859 g. GAAO. F. 6. Op. 17. D. 25. (na 3 l.). L. 2. [Historical review of the White Sea shipbuilding; about the number of persons engaged in navigation; on the number of sea hunters and fishermen, 1859. GAAO. F. 6. Op. 17. C. 25. (3 pages). P. 2.]. [In Russian]

¹³ Istoricheskij obzor. O sudostroenii v Arhangel'skoj gubernii s 1813 po 1853 g. GAAO. F. 6. Op. 17. D. 3. (na 12 l.). L. 11. [Historical review. About shipbuilding in the Arkhangelsk province, 1813–1853. GAAO. F. 6. Op. 17. C. 3. (12 pages). P. 11.]. [In Russian]

built his vessels in the Vologda province, near the mouth of the Kochenga river, which flows into the river Sukhona. There, in Kochenskaya settlement, there was a shipyard, or an establishment, the traces of which are still visible today. At this shipyard, there was a water sawmill and other constructs. Later Maimaksa shipyard was sold to merchant Brant, who built 23 ships there. Brant died in 1832, and the existed shipbuilding disappeared. His heirs did not construct ships in Maimaksa, and only supported the old ones, correcting them by repair.”¹⁴

Statistics show the number of maritime merchant ships built in 24 years, starting in 1811: “70 seaworthy merchant ships built at the Arkhangelsk shipyards from 1811 to 1835.”¹⁵

Statistical data on the number of built ships, e.g., for the period from 1851 to 1859, demonstrate the presence of only small-sized ships that could hardly compete with their western counterparts: karabas, bots, osinovkas, chelnovkas, and scows¹⁶. Wealthier households had schooners and sailing and rowing vessels. They also had opportunities to overcome administrative-fiscal and documentary difficulties:

“Ships of the following type are built: schooners, kochmars, sailing and rowing vessels, shpyaks, karbases, and boats. Shipbuilders are usually the owners of these ships. Wood for the construction of ships is pine and spruce, used with a half duty against the rest of the province, or completely duty-free, due to the Forestry Code 1857 T. VIII. The cheapness construction of seagoing vessels here constitutes a glorious premium for shipowners, e.g., the construction of a schooner and a cargo boat with a load of 4,000 to 6,000 poods each and armaments costs 1.200 — 1.700 rubles; kochmars and sailing and rowing vessels with the load of 8.00 pood each and weapons costs 230 and 260 rubles; shnyaks with a capacity of 400–500 poods with armaments cost 140–150 rubles”¹⁷.

About the reasons for the decline of the merchant shipbuilding and maritime trade shipping in the Province

When analyzing documents, one gets a feeling about an inevitable confusion of the nineteenth-century provincial administration regarding the methods and means by which it would be possible to revive the “merchant fleet.” At the same time, an attempt is made to identify obstacles to the strategic goals, among which officials include the lack of road and maritime infrastructure, excessive patronage of foreign traders, and, of course, inert and excessive legal regulation that does not meet the needs of merchant entrepreneurs:

¹⁴ Istoricheskij obzor. O sudostroenii v Arhangel'skoj gubernii s 1813 po 1853 g. GAAO. F. 6. Op. 17. D. 3. (na 12 l.). L. 12. [Historical review. About shipbuilding in the Arkhangelsk province, 1813–1853. GAAO. F. 6. Op. 17. C. 3. (12 pages). P. 12.]. [In Russian]

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Istoricheskij obzor. O sudostroenii v Arhangel'skoj gubernii, 1859 g. GAAO. F. 6. Op. 7. D. 24. (na 9 l.). L. 9. [Historical review. About shipbuilding in the Arkhangelsk province, 1859. GAAO. F. 6. Op. 7. C. 24. (9 pages). P. 9.]. [In Russian]

¹⁷ Istoricheskij obzor o Belomorskom sudostroenii; o chisle lic, zanimayushchihsia moreplavaniem; o chisle mor-skih zverolovov i rybolovov, 1859 g. GAAO. F. 6. Op. 7. D. 25. (na 3 l.). L. 3. [Historical review of the White Sea shipbuilding; about the number of persons engaged in navigation; on the number of sea hunters and fishermen, 1859. GAAO. F. 6. Op. 7. C. 25. (3 pages). P. 3.]. [In Russian]

“The merchant fleet is a free, or it is a legal consequence of the flourishing industry and commerce, and not their cause, not a separate beginning in them. In fact, look at Europe: there, on arched and prepared soil, every commercial enterprise is taken quickly and develops briskly; there, capitals and private credit institutions are, of course, essential and significant, and represent the creative force from which, as if by magic, plants, and factories are created, great ways and communications are formed, merchant fleets are born and revive. But is the soil of Russian industry and commerce like that? Is it prepared so much so that she could fertilize the grains of commercial enterprises at the request of ours and give the harvest we want to demand from it? ... I repeat no; and with capital alone, without another, more important, and for the sake of means and benefits, we cannot create our merchant fleet. Let's set up, we will establish the Company for the maritime property and the promotion of navigation; let's set up ships and steamboats, what will they do? What will be fed by and live? Generally speaking, we still have neither a network of roads, a decent vastness and geographical position of the Empire, nor decent marinas and harbors with a situation that is decent for the needs and requirements of merchant fleets; and therefore these ships will not always find warehouses ready for demand, little of this, in our blood, Russian commercial head, in our foreign-Russian consular protectorate they will not find either clever and experienced leadership, nor means to develop the voyage line, nor sufficient support, nor beneficial and heartfelt patronage; and our ancient German Customs Regulations? And statutes on bankruptcies, guilds, and passports? And the very act of legal proceedings and consequences, where it is not uncommon for the samovar and the ship to be sequestered? All — these are not yet rounded banks in the sea of our administration and our institutions, between which you do not melt!”¹⁸

The bureaucratic inertia and the lack of right order for Pomors when obtaining benefits for woodcut to construct a vessel is also called one of the reasons for shipbuilding degradation. The timeframe for getting quotas is hugely formal. The quota does not account the annual cycle of fisheries and, in fact, acts only since receiving official permission, and not after the construction of the vessel is completed:

“Residents of the Primorsky counties of the Arkhangelsk Province, are legally granted tax-free privileges for shipbuilding; it would seem, it is better!? No, pathetic formalism becomes a hindrance to the cause, and, paralyzing the beneficial spirit of the law, takes away from the goal: to obtain, by this way, a permission for woodcutting; if not — Pomors do not dare to proceed with the construction of the ship; and these permissions, as it is known, are issued out of time; and time for the local operator is precious. Pomors must have time to build and launch the vessel immediately after the navigation start because its costs are the construction and equipment, as well as the means of his family life during the nearly eight-month winter. Pomors must hurry to pay

¹⁸ Istoricheskij obzor. O sudostroenii v Arhangel'skoj gubernii, 1859 g. GAAO. F. 6. Op. 7. D. 24. (na 9 l.). L. 1,2. [Historical review. About shipbuilding in the Arkhangelsk province, 1859. GAAO. F. 6. Op. 7. C. 24. (9 pages). P. 1, 2.]. [In Russian]

back and save by the largest possible number of voyages to a sea, which is barely three months open for career and earnings.”¹⁹

As for the merchants, here, that times, there were curious cases related to a complicated foreign policy situation, when due to false rumors about the sale of a military ship to an international customer, an entrepreneur could lose his freedom or his life:

“It is remarkable that in 1828, 66 guns were built by the merchant Amosov at the Bykovskaya shipyard. The ship “Kola” sold to the British and subsequently entered the Egyptian fleet of Pasha” [...] Note to quotation [29]: “This circumstance gave rise to a monstrous, but no less rather a considerable gossip: in St. Petersburg, they said that in Arkh. Admiralty a naval frigate was quietly built and sold to British. The conversation got off, finally, so loud, so believable that the Maritime Administration there found it necessary to send a detective instructed to investigate the case. The matter, of course, was soon explained, but the mountain gave birth to a mouse.”²⁰

Provincial officials negatively assessed the background of foreign and domestic trade in the Empire, when the lack of road and sea infrastructure made the construction of large commercial ships useless²¹.

About positive actions of the Province administration

Indeed, some positive steps at the level of the province administration were visible. It was the construction of a transport link to the Olonets territory (now — areas of the Republic of Karelia) and the creation of a typical improved model of a karbas and a cargo schooner for future shipbuilders:

“Recently, according to the surveys and considerations of G. Chief of the Arkhangelsk Province, His Excellency N.N. Arandarenko, two proposals were made that are important and lasting in the future destinations of the White Sea. It is the construction of a road from Pomor land to Povenets and Olonets territories, and the sale of state-owned free lands and water areas to privates. Also, the Arkhangelsk Shkiper Courses introduced German language course, necessary for the local sailors, due to their trade relations with Norway. To spread more reliable information on shipbuilding among Pomors, they are called every year to Arkhangelsk and taken to the Port for a visual examination of cases. In Arkhangelsk, the karbas of an improved design for the sea post road in Pomor land was completed and sent there as a model, according to which the future post keepers should build this kind of vessels. For the same purpose of visual study of shipbuilding, a collapsible, on a large scale, a model of a cargo schooner, adapted to the conditions of local wa-

¹⁹ Ibid. P. 6.

²⁰ Istoricheskij obzor. O sudostroenii v Arhangel'skoj gubernii s 1813 po 1853 g. GAAO. F. 6. Op. 17. D. 3. (na 12 l.). L. 11-12. [Historical review. About shipbuilding in the Arkhangelsk province, 1813–1853. GAAO. F. 6. Op. 17. C. 3. (12 pages). P. 11-12.]. [In Russian]

²¹ Istoricheskij obzor o Belomorskom sudostroenii; o chisle lic, zanimayushchihsya moreplavaniem; o chisle mor-skih zverolovov i rybolovov, 1859 g. GAAO. F. 6. Op. 7. D. 25. (na 3 l.). L. 2-3. [Historical review of the White Sea shipbuilding; about the number of persons engaged in navigation; on the number of sea hunters and fishermen, 1859. GAAO. F. 6. Op. 7. C. 25. (3 pages). P.2-3.]. [In Russian]

ters, is being prepared. It is supposed to be completed in Kem'. Finally, the sell abroad of all types and sizes of wood has been increased in an amount of up to 75/ton units."²²

However, the most advanced seems to be the proposal to endow all the privileges of the "entire trading estate of the Province," incl. unhindered access to the forest fund without any restrictions (except for larch species):

"Therefore, why not to extend the mentioned flattering benefits to the entire trading estate of the Arkhangelsk Province to get the successful achievement of the goal? In this class or category of people, of course, rather, there will be skills and money in order to take advantage of the business in a more decent and durable size — here they will not stop on a boat or schooner, but of course they will take it for a brig or a ship; and they are not satisfied with hereditary mountings in Finmark and back, and probably will float away. At the same time, those who want to build sailing ships for themselves, and not for sale, you can safely give up all the wood/except for larch/growing in the northern areas of the Arkhangelsk and Vologda provinces, bounded by the Sev. Dvina and Vychegda rivers; the pine there also does not grow to the size of an important ship tree, therefore the Government has nothing to value these forests, and it should not: it is a sin not to put a feasible gift piece of this material into the basis of the Russian Belomorsk merchant fleet, when we generously, almost for nothing, give it to foreigners. However, as far as we know, with prudent economic use of the local forests, regarding the determination of the place and size of the felling, they will be enough for that and the other."²³

Unfortunately, further initiatives and proposed changes did not receive a logical continuation in the form of legal regulation and advanced management decisions.

Conclusion

The archival data created the ground for several conclusions related to the gradual extinction of the Russian merchants and Pomor shipbuilding at the shipyards of the Arkhangelsk Province in the 19th century:

- lack of high-quality logistics and infrastructure for transportation of goods and services, which resulted in the uselessness of building large merchant ships, due to the enormous costs for their maintenance and the lack of modern port infrastructure;
- lack of a long term understanding of needs of local shipbuilders, as well as a bureaucratic red tape with obtaining permits for the quota for woodcutting;
- the openly dismissive attitude of officials to the local population, which seemed inert and, for some reason, was not seeking to establish at its own expense for the introduction of modern shipbuilding for the needs of the state;
- activation of foreign (primarily Norwegian) fishers in the North-West Arctic (not only in the Murman area, Varangerfjord, and Spitsbergen), but also on Novaya Zemlya, incl. at the expense of technological advantages;

²² Istoricheskij obzor. O sudostroenii v Arhangel'skoj gubernii, 1859 g. GAAO. F. 6. Op. 7. D. 24. (na 9 l.). L. 3-4. [Historical review. About shipbuilding in the Arkhangelsk province, 1859. GAAO. F. 6. Op. 7. C. 24. (9 pages). P. 3-4]. [In Russian]

²³ Ibid. P. 7.

- legal barriers due to many establishments that hinder the coherent and rapid provision of conditions for the formation of an initiative class of effective owners;
- to a certain extent, the archaization of the commercial activity of the Pomeranian population.

Constructive reforms of the local authorities in the second half of the 19th century for the authors are the plan for the development of the road from Arkhangelsk to the town of Povenets of the Olonets province (near Onega lake), the development of skipper courses, and the creation of an improved model of karbas and a cargo schooner for training future shipbuilders, skippers, etc.

The last decades of the 19th century are associated with the progressive development of merchant shipping through the active purchase of foreign steam vessels, dredging in the port of Arkhangelsk and the construction of the railway Moscow — Arkhangelsk.

Acknowledgments and funding

The article was prepared within the framework of the grant of the President of the Russian Federation for state support of young Russian scientists (project MK-6382.2018.6 “Reconstruction of symbolic and political boundaries of marine and island spaces of the Western sector of the Russian Arctic in the 19th — early 20th centuries”, agreement No. 075-02-2018-149).

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UDC [378+316.334.3](98)(045)

DOI: 10.17238/issn2221-2698.2019.34.20

The “third mission” in the Arctic universities’ development strategies *

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Abstract. Currently, applying the “third mission” at universities is of relevance, since it also forms the basis of universities' activities along with education and science. Scientific understanding of this issue had been carried out by Russian and foreign scientists. The main components of the “third mission” are the commercialization of intellectual property, technology transfer, and innovation, the development of a university as an entrepreneurial structure, continuous education, social involvement, support for the development of regions, participation in the life of the local community, etc. The article analyzes the experience of applying the “third mission” on the example of universities located in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation and some foreign Arctic universities. For this purpose, the documents defining the strategic development of two Russian (Northern (Arctic) Federal University named after M.V. Lomonosov and Murmansk Arctic State University) and five foreign Arctic universities (University of Copenhagen (Denmark), University of Oulu (Finland), the University of Iceland (Iceland), the University of Umeå (Sweden), and the Luleå University of Technology (Sweden). Specific forms and mechanisms used by universities are also analyzed. They contribute to the assessment of nature, characteristics, the degree of the “third mission” application carried out by universities.

Keywords: *mission, university, universities’ third mission, region, the Arctic, regional development.*

Introduction

The challenges of modern society pose new challenges to traditional social institutions that are under transformation, the search for new forms of activity and ways of interacting to achieve their development goals.

These institutions include universities that have become the subject of scientific discussions about new approaches to defining the mission of their existence.

Recognized experts in the field of strategic management M. Meskon, M. Albert and F. Hedouri define the purpose of the organization as “a clearly expressed reason for its existence” [1, Meskon M., p. 25]. P. Drucker clarifies that “the mission is complex, includes both external and internal guidelines for the company, expresses the essence of the business success to which it seeks” [2, P. Drucker, p. 31]. I. Ansoff says that “the mission embodies the philosophy and mission of the organization, the first — to determine the values, beliefs, principles that guide the team; and the second — the actions to be carried out to acquire the intended appearance” [3, Ansoff I., p. 44]. Vikhansky O.S. sees the organization’s mission in a broad and narrow sense. In a broad sense, this is

* For citation:

Kudryashova E.V., Sorokin S.E. “The third mission” in the Arctic universities’ development strategies. *Arktika i Sever* [Arctic and North], 2019, no. 34, pp. 17–34. DOI: 10.17238/issn2221-2698.2019.34.20

a philosophy and a purpose, the meaning of the organization's existence, and in a narrow sense, a formulated statement as to why or for what reason an organization exists [4, Vikhansky O.S., p. 39].

However, according to most researchers, the mission of universities has its characteristics that must be considered when determining it. At the present stage, there is a search and description of new models of universities that are adequate to the current social, economic and political conditions.

These include the concepts of a research university, a university as a local scientific, educational, and cultural complex (a local university), a passionate university, an entrepreneurial university, and some others. Depending on the model of the university, its mission is understood differently.

E.g., the main task of a research university is the production of fundamental and applied research, the results of which lead to significant discoveries and the development of technology. The internal organization of these universities stems from the tasks of research and development, and science is in the first place in the priority of the activities (and the educational functions do not completely disappear).

The idea of an "entrepreneurial university", expressed by B. Clarke in his work "Co-building an entrepreneurial university: organizational ways of transformation" refers to its features strengthening of the control core; diversification of the financial basis of the university; expansion of the periphery of the university; stimulation of the academic core; wide dissemination and approval in the university community of entrepreneurial beliefs and values [5, Clark B., p. 57]. In their activities, business universities combine educational, research, and innovative and entrepreneurial activities. Professor at Stanford University, Henry Itskovitz, and Professor at the University of Amsterdam, Loiet Leydesdorf, proposed the concept of the Triple Helix, in which they included the state, the university, and business [6, Itskovitz G., p. 49]. According to the authors, universities play a leading role in this model, since they have the potential to produce new knowledge and research. In this regard, universities have another critical mission of entrepreneurship, incubation and the creation of companies.

The work of A. Delbanco [7], M. Barber, C. Donnelly, S. Rizvi [8], A. Cohen, K. Kisker [9], M.Keller [10], G. Rozowski [11], J. Salmi [12] and others is devoted to understanding the mission, goals and objectives of universities at the present stage. Discussions about the place and role of universities in current socio-economic conditions somehow lead to the understanding that in addition to the two "classical" missions of the university — educational and scientific, there is also a "third" one connected with the role of universities in the development of society.

The concept of the "third mission"

The definition of the "third mission" and its characteristics are also the subject of scientific disputes. Marhl M. and Pausist A. in their work "Methodology of the Third Mission of Universities" defines it as "a set of specific services based on actions and opportunities serving for the good of so-

ciety" [13, Marhl M., Pausist A., p. 7]. This definition, despite its rather general nature, it is possible to take as a basis for further analysis.

In the system of recognition of elements related to the "third mission" proposed by the PRIME OUE Project, eight criteria are singled out: human resources, intellectual property, commercialization of the results of individual and group research, production contracts, contracts with government agencies, participation in the decision-making process, involvement in social and cultural life, the results of knowledge transfer to society. Each criterion got formulated focus, fundamental indicators, and descriptors.

Montesinos, Carot, Martinez, and Mora identify three factors that underlie the "third mission": social, entrepreneurial, and innovative [14, Montesinos, Carot, Martinez, Mora, p. 26]. The social factor is an area in which it is not supposed to be a profit motive or an economic effect. It is an area of social services, university participation in the development of urban spaces, interaction with the local community, cultural environment, student activity. The business factor is associated with research under contracts with the state and business, commercialization of intellectual property, paid educational programs, and the use of university facilities on a commercial basis. The innovation factor involves the introduction of scientific developments of universities, consulting government agencies and government organizations.

The E3M project network specialists proposed a system of parameters that reflect the specifics of the "third mission" and relate it to types of activity, namely, "continuing education," "technology transfer and innovation," and "social involvement." "Continuing education" is an opportunity to get education for people of all ages during life, "technology transfer and innovation" implies the exchange of knowledge and technology, and "social involvement" associated with the non-profit interaction of the university and the regional (local) community.

The following characteristics of the "third mission" of the university are also highlighted by various authors: the generation, practical application of knowledge, and the gaining of resources (facilities, equipment) outside the academic environment¹; the development of a university as an entrepreneurial structure within the framework of the "triple helix" concept [15]; commercial application of research, patents, technology transfer, and in a broad sense — any activity in the direction of society [16]. It must be said that the understanding of the "third mission" is also connected with new approaches to understanding the essence of scientific knowledge. A group of authors proposed the concept of the "second type" of knowledge production (Mode 2 knowledge production): M. Gibbons, C. Limoges, H. Novotny, S. Schwartzman, P. Scott, M. Trow in "New Knowledge Production: Dynamics of Science and research in modern societies "[17].

A greater openness characterizes the science of the "second kind" (mode-2 science) concerning the changes taking place in society, more active participation in the production of knowledge of external actors, primarily business and the state. It strengthens the contextual dependence of scien-

¹ Jongbloed B. Seven Indicators for Mapping University regional Interactions. ENID PRIME Indicators Conference in Oslo, 26 28 May 2008. 9. Thorn, K., & Soo, M. (2006).

tific research and training programs and brings to a new level the contradiction between the scientific and social functions of the modern university [18].

When focusing on the social aspect of the “third mission” of the university, it is necessary to speak, first, about the problem of social involvement in the development of the area. Charles D. says that the assessment of the role of the university in the development of the local community is both philosophical and methodological. Universities are not institutions that are separately organized from a social system: they represent the interacting elements of a system, localized in space. From this point of view, universities are an integral part of local, national and global public systems, forming part of what is commonly called society [19, Charles D., c. 51]. Perfilyeva O.V. wrote about the forms of participation in public life, which belong to the “third mission” of universities. She identified the following [20, Perfilyeva O., p. 49]:

- participation through the provision of public access to their resources: museums, libraries, sports events;
- participation through the organization of “social services” for the population;
- participation through the organization of social and cultural events by research departments of universities, such as, e.g., holding exhibitions and expositions of urban development projects and other social projects;
- participation through the organization of training programs and training seminars for socially vulnerable groups;
- participation in the development and implementation of urban environmental development projects.

The scholar also examines several social forms of university activity, such as “examination of the socio-economic development of the region,” “interaction with trade union organizations,” “interaction within the framework of educational and social work.” V.A. Smirnov, L.A. Fadeeva, K.A. Pulinina, S.V. Golubev analyze various approaches to the integration of higher educational institutions into regional processes [21, p. 11]. The first one is the university as a platform for training specialists for the economy. In this case, the role of the university appears to be limited, dependent on the needs of the regional economy [for the labor resources of the Russian Arctic regions, see: 22, Zaikov K.S., Kondratov N.A., pp. 184–201]. The second one is based on the concept of lifelong learning university engagement. Here, universities act as a center of gravity for the local community, a place where a person comes at different stages of his life, to get a specialty or additional education, to take advanced training courses. The third one is based on the “entrepreneurial university” model, which involves the dynamic interaction of the university with the regional business community and the authorities in implementing joint economic and social projects. The fourth model is the concept of a “university involved in regional development” (regionally engaged university). It examines universities in connection to their regions, allows to sort the diversity of interactions of universities with the regional, local community, depending on external conditions, to identify and characterize the local environment of the university. The fifth model is based on the idea of the “third” (social) function of the university, formulated by D. Charles. Universities are an integral part of the society itself

and cannot exist separately from it; moreover, the universities themselves in the course of their activities form what can be called “the regional community.”

If we generalize and systematize various approaches to determining the role of universities in the development of regions, we can single out the following key areas:

- The University is a significant employer who provides jobs for residents of the region, pays taxes, solves social problems of residents (e.g., it provides kindergarten with places).
- The University trains personnel for the economy of the area. At the same time, if the area can formulate a state order for training specialists, the university can adjust the structure, content, and technology of implementing educational programs, considering the requirements of employers, the forecast of the labor market, and trends in socio-cultural and economic development. It will also be a mechanism for securing personnel in the region since such specialists will be able to find the necessary work quickly.
- The scientific and human potential of universities allows them to become a center for strategic planning of regional development, an expert platform for developing critical activities for sectors of the economy and the social sphere, and specific management decisions.
- The University as a center for innovative and technological development of the region has the potential of commercializing the results of intellectual activity of scientists, which may be useful for the regional economy, enterprises, and organizations. It can also manifest itself in technology transfer, the creation of science parks, incubators, the development of a system of patenting inventions.
- As part of the urban environment, the university becomes a participant in the transformation process, erecting new buildings and structures, ennobling the campus, as well as the surrounding area, county, or city.
- The university can become a center of social and cultural life in the region, holding significant events and events on its platform, becoming a point of attraction and meeting the educational and cultural needs of local communities, interacting with non-profit public organizations, developing a volunteer movement.
- The University provides social services to residents of the region, including within the framework of the concept of “lifelong education,” implementing educational programs, refresher courses, organizing legal, financial, and other consultations for people of all ages, from preschoolers to senior citizens.
- The University is an essential tool for the socialization of young people and, as a result, forms the worldview, value orientations and norms of behavior of the inhabitants of the region. University graduates, being at critical managerial positions in regional authorities, economic sectors, business, and social spheres, in their activities rely in large part on those business and human relations models that were laid down during their university studies. Universities shape the shape of the future regional elite.

At the same time, an efficiently organized interaction with the region enhances the potential of the university itself — it allows it to attract additional material resources at the expense of income from educational and scientific activities, increases the prestige of the university among residents of the region, which later gives an influx of additional applicants, allows to produce specialists who are better prepared for work in the economy of the area, thereby increasing the “quality” of the diploma.

Of course, each university has its approach to defining its role in regional development. It is impossible not to consider the realities of the modern system of higher education, which presup-

poses the existence of educational institutions of higher education of national, federal, national research universities and supporting universities.

For the first group, the priority is to address the strategic objectives of the development of macroregions or the state, and their activities are not directed to a specific subject of the Federation. On the one hand, this creates a contradiction, and on the other hand, it allows participating in the development of the region in which the university is geographically located, at a higher level.

In our study, we consider the experience of implementing the “third mission” at the example of universities located in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation and several foreign universities in the Arctic.

The specific geographic location and the specific educational, scientific tasks that unite these universities determine the need for their participation in solving global and regional problems related to the Arctic region, and dynamic interaction with the local community and authorities.

According to Presidential Decree No. 296 “On Land Territories of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation”, territories of the 4 subjects of the Russian Federation were fully included in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation: the Murmansk region, the Nenets, the Yamalo-Nenets and the Chukotka autonomous districts, and 16 municipalities, including 5 urban districts and 11 municipalities at the district level from the Arkhangelsk region².

Educational institutions of higher education, such as the Northern (Arctic) Federal University named after M.V. Lomonosov, Northern State Medical University, Murmansk Arctic State University, Murmansk State Technical University.

In addition to Russia, the United States, Canada, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, and Iceland are also among the subarctic (circumpolar) states. The Arctic universities of these countries of the circumpolar region are 32 universities and colleges.³ The importance of educational and scientific institutions for the economic development of the northern and Arctic territories was in the focus of the studies by A.M. Gorokhov, K.S. Zaikov and others [23, Gorokhov A.M., Zaikov K.S. et al, pp. 485–497; 24, Zaikov K.S., Kalinina M.R. et al., pp. 59-77].

For our study, two Russian and five foreign universities were selected, information from open sources (university websites) was analyzed, program documents (strategies and development programs) of educational institutions were studied.

The experience of the implementation of the "third mission" at the Arctic universities

Northern (Arctic) Federal University Lomonosov was created by decree of the President of the Russian Federation on October 21, 2009, and today has more than 15,000 students.

The mission of the university is to create an innovative scientific and personnel base for the intellectual development of the North of Russia and the Arctic. The University's Development Pro-

² О сухопутных территориях Арктической зоны Российской Федерации / Указ Президента Российской Федерации от 02.05.2014 г. № 296 [Presidential Decree No. 296 “On Land Territories of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation” 02 May 2014]. URL: <http://kremlin.ru/acts/bank/38377> (Accessed: 04 October 2018). [In Russian]

³ The University of the Arctic. URL: <https://www.uarctic.org/> (Accessed: 03 October 2018).

gram for 2010–2020, approved by a decree of the Government of the Russian Federation on August 19, 2015, designated “scientific and personal support for the protection of Russia's geopolitical interests in the Arctic” a strategic goal, “forming an intellectual center that promotes development of the Arctic territories of the Russian Federation”⁴. In this case, the mechanism for its implementation is the “integration of education, science, and production, strategic partnership with business and the international community.”

Another strategic task in the context of the “third mission” is “educating patriotic youth ready for the development of the Arctic territories, understanding the importance and role of the Russian Federation in the history and development of the Arctic and global prospects for the development of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation.”

Thus, the sphere of social responsibility of the university is not only the area of its location but also the vast territory of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation [25, Bougaenko O.D., Vorozhtsova L.A., etc.].

The university has united the most extensive educational organizations of the Arkhangelsk Oblast, becoming the center of education and science in the area. Now it builds cooperation relations with government, industry, and business, non-profit organizations and the local community.

In 2011, the Arkhangelsk Regional Assembly adopted the law “On state support of the Northern (Arctic) Federal University.” Its purpose is “research and staffing of the socio-economic development of the Arkhangelsk Oblast, solving strategic tasks on the growth and development of the Arctic.”

In this case, the mechanism for its implementation is the “integration of education, science, and production, strategic partnership with business and the international community.”

Another strategic task in the context of the “third mission” of the university is “educating patriotic youth ready for the development of the Arctic territories, understanding the importance and role of the Russian Federation in the history and development of the Arctic and global prospects for the development of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation”.

Thus, the sphere of social responsibility of the university is not only the region of its location but also the more extensive territory of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation [25, Bougaenko O.D., Vorozhtsova L.A., et al.].

The university has united the largest educational organizations of the Arkhangelsk region, becoming the key center of education and science in the region, now it builds cooperation relations with government authorities, industry and business, non-profit organizations and the local community.

In 2011, the Arkhangelsk Regional Assembly adopted the law “On state support of the Northern (Arctic) Federal University,” the purpose of which is “research and staffing of the socio-

⁴ Programma razvitiya FGAOU VO “Severnyj (Arkticheskij) federal'nyj universitet imeni M.V. Lomonosova” na 2010-2020 gg. [The program of development of the Federal state educational institution “Northern (Arctic) Federal University named after M. V. Lomonosov” for 2010-2020]. URL: https://narfu.ru/upload/medialibrary/df9/1604_r_programma-razvitiya-safu.pdf (Accessed: 03 October 2018). [In Russian]

economic development of the Arkhangelsk region, solving strategic tasks on the development and development of the Arctic.

The university is an important actor in the social development of the area, while the main driver of this development is student youth. Student groups and volunteers take an active part in local community affairs.

Thus, annually during the “Polar Desant” event, participants provide labor assistance to socially unprotected residents of remote municipalities. The volunteer center of NArFU has programs for various social groups. E.g., it deals with consultations on social and legal issues for orphans and children left without parental care, and young families as well as assistance to orphanages, war and labor veterans.

The University’s social infrastructure, such as the “Zorenka” kindergarten, the “Burevestnik” Stadium, the Intellectual Center, etc. provide social services to the residents of Arkhangelsk. E.g., the university kindergarten solves an important social problem of providing services for preschool education for 190 children. Also, the Resource Center for Inclusive Education, the University’s Museum of Entertaining Sciences, and a “legal clinic” provide socially essential services.

Since 2016, the University has launched a project “People’s University of Silver Age,” with courses on financial, legal, housing, computer literacy for elderly people for their inclusion in an active social life. The university participates in the program “Improving the financial literacy of the population and the development of financial education in the Arkhangelsk Oblast in 2014–2019”.

In 2016, the university became the winner of the competition for the creation of university centers of innovation, technological and social development. In this application, key initiatives are: development of new and modernization of existing successful educational programs, modules, resources in priority areas of economic development of the area and the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation; creation of a comfortable and developing spatial and socio-cultural learning environment, creative activities; innovative technological production; formation of competencies in social and technological entrepreneurship; assistance for talented students; programs of continuing education; improving information, financial and legal literacy of citizens by expanding the range of additional professional education programs.

Murmansk Arctic State University was founded on October 13, 2015, by renaming the FSBEI HE “Murmansk State Humanitarian University” and is currently training about 6,000 students. In April 2017, it received the status of a local support university, thereby denoting a priority task of assisting the socio-economic development of the Murmansk Oblast.

The University’s Development Strategy until 2025 reflects several tasks related to the “third mission.” It is, in particular, “to become a regional development driver that actively influences the economic situation in the territory and the quality of local community due to the repro-

duction of the creative class and the direct creation of innovative businesses.”⁵ The document also reflects such aspects of the “third mission” as lifelong education, commercialization of scientific research, the creation of small and medium-sized innovative enterprises and organizations, the provision of consulting services and expert support on the problems of the innovative development of the social-educational environment.

The university plans to develop local communities, which consist in the social design of the urban environment, the positioning of the university as one of the centers of the youth social and cultural life of the region, and the participation of the university in shaping the brand of the Murmansk region.

In the context of the functions of the reference university, MASU seeks to take the position of a regional expert on territorial development, the focus of organizing effective interaction between educational and cultural institutions, the administration, local enterprises, the professional community and residents of the region.

In addition, creative, cultural and health centers of the university can be used not only by its students and staff but also by representatives of regional communities, due to which informal interpersonal communications will be maintained, a favorable image of MAGU will be formed as a center of social and cultural processes in the city and region.

It is planned to create a cluster of northern design — a professional network of interdisciplinary teams (association of designers, innovative territorial cluster based on the university, business), as well as the Center for Innovative Business Ideas and Social Initiatives (Coworking-51), whose goal is to help inventors and novice entrepreneurs in the implementation of the project in production.

Today, the university has established partnerships with industrial enterprises of the region: PJSC Novatek, Kirov branch Apatit JSC, TGC-1 PJSC, AtomEnergoRemont JSC, PodzemSpetsmontazh LLC, and others. Cooperation is carried out in the field of scientific research, education, vocational guidance activities within the framework of framework agreements, agreements on the conduct of practices, economic agreements.

Cooperation in the socio-humanitarian sphere is implemented in the form of scientific and practical developments, creative projects to create and develop a comfortable environment. MAGU is a member of the tourism and recreation cluster under the Ministry of Industry and Entrepreneurship Development of the Murmansk region.

The University is actively involved in the formation of regional development programs. MAGU representatives are members of the project office for the development of a program for the development of the Kola support zone of the Russian Arctic, the Economic Council under the Governor of the Murmansk Region, and the relevant coordination and expert councils of the OIV

⁵ Strategiya razvitiya FGBOU VO “Murmanskij arkticheskij gosudarstvennyj universitet” do 2025 goda. [The development strategy of the “Arctic Murmansk state University” until 2025}. URL: <http://www.masu.edu.ru/files/admin/strategiya-razvitiya-masu.pdf> (Accessed: 03 October 2018).

Murmansk Region. The university is a member of the North Chamber of Commerce and the Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs of the Murmansk region.

The university has a youth center for technological and social entrepreneurship, a counseling center for socially-oriented non-profit organizations, and a center for health protection that provides services, including for residents of the region.

The University of Copenhagen (Denmark), founded in 1479, currently trains more than 39,000 students.

University development strategy “Talent and cooperation. Strategy 2023” (“Talent and collaboration. Strategy 2023”) provides a fairly wide range of areas related to the “third mission.” The document states that “cooperation between the university and the society, for example, between education and practice, and between research and employers, is of equal importance.”⁶ One of the essential tasks of the university is the need to “carry knowledge for the benefit of society, the complex development issues of which constantly challenge us.” The University is responsible for providing the necessary solutions for the development of society. Based on its active scientific communities, the university seeks to use its academic resources to solve the problems of Denmark, Europe, and the Arctic region.

As one of the goals of the university’s strategic development, “cooperation and public commitment at the national and global level” is indicated. The activities of the university should bring tangible benefits to society in solving problems in migration, health care, and lifestyle, demography, climate, and global conflicts, as well as major social problems identified in the “UN Goals sustainable development. The university seeks to influence social trends, as well as to form a culture, to take part in public debates, to involve the population in scientific research. Also, the university plans to develop a “learning throughout life” system.

Another direction of the implementation of the “third mission” of the University of Copenhagen is the commercialization of research and technology transfer. The university and external partners enter into licensing agreements based on inventions made at the University. It is a way to ensure that these inventions will benefit society in the best possible way. This work is carried out by the Technology Transfer Bureau, which organizes the interaction between the inventors of technology and interested parties. On the university website, you can find a catalog of inventions that have been made at the university lately.

The university cooperates with external partners in the field of scientific research, while it can be of two types: joint research funding and customized research. The University of Copenhagen provides researchers and companies with offices, specialized equipment, labs, databases, and test facilities.

E.g., you can get access to the Biobank database of the University of Copenhagen for experimental research, labs of nanotechnology, stable isotopes in the soil, plants, and air, tissue culture, and some others. Entrepreneurs and small businesses can rent offices or lab facilities at a universi-

⁶ University of Copenhagen. URL: <https://www.ku.dk/english/> (Accessed: 02 October 2018).

ty for a limited time. Small startups that come out of the university's research environment can locate next to their respective core sites and research partners. Associations, organizations, institutions, and companies can rent premises for events, seminars or conferences on an hourly basis. The event should be non-profit and have a connection with the activities of the university.

The Finnish University of Oulu was founded in 1958. The university has about 16,000 students, and in its Strategy 2016–2020 (“University of Oulu Strategy 2016–2020”) it also pays considerable attention to the “third mission.” Emphasis is placed on “contributing to the solution of some of the most severe global problems, incl. the sustainable use of resources, responsible business, human well-being and health throughout life, the development and development of intelligent systems and services, environmental threats.”⁷

At the same time, the focus is on the problems of the Arctic region (mineral resources, fresh water, global warming, climate change, the residence of small indigenous peoples, etc.), including the Arctic Ocean.

Also, as one of the priorities is the promotion of innovation and the culture of start-ups based on research. Entrepreneurial training programs are in university curricula, and the university seeks to improve the interaction between external stakeholders, companies and the community to commercialize scientific study carried out in the university.

The University of Oulu is one of the most prominent innovative universities in Finland, as evidenced by more than 60 inventions and 60 companies that emerge from research projects every year. In its research and educational activities, the university contributes to the development of entrepreneurship and the creation of research and research business. As an example of such startups, Cerenion, who developed a practical method for measuring brain function in patients with intensive therapy, Chain Antimicrobials, developed a medical device (catheter) for the treatment of nosocomial infections, KNL Networks, advanced communication systems using high-frequency ground radio, e.g., for shipping. The University also offers technologies that can be licensed and subsequently applied in various industries.

To stimulate innovation, the university organized a creative space for Tellus Innovation Arena, as well as an entrepreneurial center for Business Kitchen, which is a co-working space for activating action and opening new opportunities in business and life. It provides programs, activities, and tools to support entrepreneurship and business development, and promotes networking and collaboration between students and companies. Students can earn loans by participating in Business Kitchen programs such as the Avanto Accelerator to create new businesses, Demola to jointly create innovations with companies, and the International Business Corridor to help companies enter new markets.

The “third mission” is widely represented in the Strategy of the University of Iceland for 2016–2021. (“Strategy of the University of Iceland 2016–2021”), founded in 1911 and teaching more than 13,000 students.

⁷ University of Oulu. URL: <http://www oulu fi / university /> (Accessed: 02 October 2018).

The Strategy states that “the University of Iceland plays a crucial role in the development of Iceland as a knowledge-based society.”⁸ The university is a responsible member of a society that promotes equality, diversity, and sustainability. Research and training programs address the complex challenges facing the world today, and that the university actively participates in the life of Icelandic society and culture.

The creation of new knowledge and its application are vital to improving the quality of life and supporting a prosperous society. The University of Iceland is keen to play an active role in society, industry, and culture. Special attention is paid to disseminating research and innovation results in various ways, promoting a shared understanding of science, using expert knowledge to solve problems of the 21st century, and facilitating the discussion of current social issues.

According to the Strategy, the University is a platform for developing new ideas and active collaboration between researchers, students, industry, institutions, and society.

The importance of using scientific mass media to encourage interest in and understanding of science, support its application and stimulates diverse scientific cooperation. Icelandic University is in favor of an ongoing dialogue with the public and experts on topical social issues.

An example of a joint work of the university and local authorities is the Science Park of the University of Iceland, which is 94.6% owned by the university, and by 5.4% — the municipality of Reykjavik. It was created to strengthen cooperation with companies, research institutes on innovation, as well as to create conditions for innovators.

The university has established the Institute of Research Centers, which is a place of cooperation of the university with local authorities, institutions, enterprises, and individuals in rural areas of the country. Its objectives are to meet the demand for research and education in Iceland, to provide convenience to research projects related to local environmental and social problems, to increase access to education in rural areas. Currently, there are seven such centers in different parts of the country. They have a positive impact on the local society, encouraging young researchers and allowing them to make a research career outside the capital, directing research activities and funding to rural areas.

The university implements a wide range of programs aimed at meeting the needs of the local community, provides its opportunities for joint projects with active citizens and organizations. Examples: the Biophilia project (an interdisciplinary project in natural sciences, art and technology aimed at attracting children's creativity), the Reykjavik Children's Culture Festival, the design and programming competition for elementary school students, the First Lego League, the Knowledge Train (acquaintance young people with science through a diverse program for the whole family), etc.

Another example of the University performing its “third mission” is the annual series of lectures called “University in Society.” The purpose of the lectures is to attract the public and specialists to discuss current social issues. A wide range of topics is considered, incl. the well-being of

⁸ University of Iceland. URL: <https://english.hi.is/> (Accessed: 02 October 2018).

children and young people, anxiety and psychological health, the role of upbringing and positive communication in the development of children. Lectures are intended for the general public, parents, young people and children, as well as for professionals, politicians at the municipal and national levels, students and university staff. In this way, the university seeks to ensure that the experience of teachers can be used to support Icelandic families and society, as well as to increase public confidence in the university and awareness of the various scientific work carried out at the University.

Umeå University (Sweden) has a history since 1965 and has more than 28,000 students. In the program document of the university “Umeå University 2020 Vision and objectives”, “the third mission” is the development and renewal, on the one hand, of “a stable democratic society through its social obligations,” on the other — “competitive industry and commerce.” The university emphasizes the adherence to the principles of social responsibility and the importance of cooperation with industry and commerce, the public sector.” Lifelong learning and promoting the spread of knowledge in society are also highlighted as priorities.

Interaction between the university and partners from industry and public structures led to the creation of the Uminova Innovation AB division. Its main goal is to organize the technology transfer, the introduction of innovations developed at the university into production and business, and the promotion of the exchange of knowledge, ideas, and experience between the university and industries.

In this division, an assessment of research results from commercial viability takes place, and the researcher is assisted in passing the necessary procedures for implementing or creating his/her own company.

In a somewhat similar way, the “third mission” is designated at another Swedish university located in the Arctic zone — the Luleå University of Technology, founded in 1997 and training more than 6,500 students. In its program “Strategy and vision 2020”, it says that the university is working to “build an attractive, sustainable society,” participates in public debates and actively contributes to the formation of a knowledge base for political decision-making.

The university provides opportunities to use its infrastructure in the interests of the local community. Thus, the research infrastructure, as well as the consultations of technical experts can be used for research and development, prototyping and pilot production, calculation of the economic justification of projects, obtaining licenses and patents.

For business and industry, the university offers various options for cooperation: analyzing the needs of the company and the possibility of meeting them using the resources of the university, searching for talented students willing to work in the company, solving specific production problems by students and university staff, expert business process assessment.

Conclusion

The analysis allows us to draw the following conclusions. The issues of the “third mission” are visible in the strategic documents of most universities in the Russian Federation and foreign countries in the Arctic. A summary table of the reflection of the “third mission” in the university’s strategic documents is in the Appendix. The main directions of the implementation of the “third mission” of the Arctic universities are to contribute to solving global and regional problems, incl. the problems of the development of the Arctic; promoting regional development; lifelong education; commercialization of research and technology transfer; providing university opportunities for the needs of the local community; increasing the level of knowledge in society.

The main mechanisms for the implementation of the “third mission” of the Arctic universities are the conclusion of cooperation agreements with regional and municipal authorities; conclusion of cooperation agreements with enterprises and organizations of the region; the provision of facilities and infrastructure of the university for conducting scientific research, social and cultural events for organizations and representatives of the local community; consulting and support of innovation and business projects by university specialists; participation in public debates on the most critical issues of the life of the region and the country; social projects by students and staff.

Assessing the scope of efforts to implement the “third mission,” it can be noted that universities in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation are more focused on solving specific problems of the development of the Arctic, while most foreign universities see their task in solving global problems.

Also, Russian universities, as a rule, formalize their relations with regional authorities, enterprises, and organizations by signing relevant agreements. In foreign universities, interaction with the residents of the municipality is more developed — the location of the university, which can use the university infrastructure (incl. the scientific one) directly, without the mediation of any organizations.

It may be noted that there is a developed system of technology transfer and the commercialization of scientific research in foreign Arctic universities, while in Russia this aspect of the “third mission” is in its infancy.

The characteristics of the “third mission” activities at the Arctic universities are the expansion of social responsibility to the wider borders of the Arctic macro-region and the presence of specific areas for the “third mission” activities, such as participation in joint projects on environmental safety in the Arctic, preservation of indigenous peoples of the North, health-saving programs.

Thus, it is possible to note the tendency to expand and diversify the directions of implementation by both Russian and foreign Arctic universities of their “third mission,” increasing the importance of effective interaction with the main stakeholders (government, business, local community, etc.), social responsibility development of the Arctic macro-region.

Appendix

University (country)	Reflection of the “third mission” in the university’s strategic documents		
	Name of the document	Directions of the “third mission” activities, reflected in the document and their forms	Main mechanism for the “third mission” activities
Northern (Arctic) Federal University Lomonosov (Russian Federation)	“The development program of FSAEI of HE “Northern (Arctic) Federal University named after M.V. Lomonosov” for 2010-2020”.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contribute to the solution of global and regional problems, including the problems of Arctic exploration • Promoting regional development • Lifelong education • Commercialization of research and technology transfer • Providing university’s opportunities for the needs of the local community. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • cooperation agreements with regional and municipal authorities; • cooperation agreements with enterprises and organizations of the area; • use of premises and infrastructure of the university for scientific research, social and cultural events by organizations and representatives of the local community; • consultation and support of innovation and business projects by university specialists; • participation in public debates on the most important issues of the life of the area and the country; • social projects of students and staff.
Murmansk Arctic State University (Russian Federation)	“Development Strategy of the FSBEI of HE “Murmansk Arctic State University”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contribute to the solution of global and regional problems, including the issues of the development of the Arctic • Promoting regional development • Providing university facilities for the local community • Lifelong education • Commercialization of research and technology transfer. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • conclusion of cooperation agreements with regional and municipal authorities; • conclusion of cooperation agreements with enterprises and organizations of the region; • provision of premises and infrastructure of the university for conducting scientific research, social and cultural events for organizations and representatives of the local community; • consultation and support of innovation and business projects by university specialists; • participation in public debates on the most critical issues of the life of the region and the country; • implementation of social projects by students and staff.
University of Copenhagen (Denmark)	“ <i>Talent and collaboration. Strategy 2023</i> ”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contribute to the solution of global and regional problems, including the difficulties of Arctic exploration • Lifelong education • Increase knowledge in society • Commercialization of research and technology transfer • Providing university opportunities for the needs of the local 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the provision of facilities and infrastructure of the university for scientific research, social and cultural events for organizations and representatives of the local community; • consultation and support of innovation and business projects by university specialists; • participation in public debates on the most critical issues of the life of the region and the country.

		community.	
University of Oulu (Finland)	<i>"University of Oulu Strategy 2016–2020"</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contribute to the solution of global and regional problems, including the difficulties of Arctic exploration; • Innovation and entrepreneurship; • Commercialization of research and technology transfer. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • consulting and support of innovative and business projects by university specialists; • participation in public debates on the most critical issues of life in the region and country.
University of Iceland (Iceland)	<i>"Strategy of The University of Iceland 2016-2021"</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promoting regional development • Providing university opportunities for the needs of the local community • Increase knowledge in society. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • providing university premises and infrastructure for conducting scientific research, social and cultural activities for organizations and representatives of the local community; • consultation and support of innovation and business projects by university specialists; • participation in public debates on the most critical issues of the life of the region and the country; • social projects of students and staff.
Umeå University (Sweden)	<i>"Umeå University 2020 Vision and objectives"</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promoting regional development, including the Arctic • Lifelong education • Innovation • Interaction with industry, trade, public sector • Increase knowledge in society. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the provision of facilities and infrastructure of the university for scientific research, social and cultural events for organizations and representatives of the local community; • consulting and support of innovation and business projects by university specialists
Luleå University of Technology (Sweden)	<i>"Strategy and vision 2020"</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contribute to addressing global and regional issues • Providing university opportunities for the local community. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the provision of facilities and infrastructure of the university for scientific research, social and cultural events for organizations and representatives of the local community; • consulting and support of innovation and business projects by university specialists.

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UDC [338.48(=511.1):572.028](47+57)(48)(045)

DOI: 10.17238/issn2221-2698.2019.34.44

Indigenous tourism and the Barents Euro-Arctic Region (BEAR) *

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Abstract. In this article, it is argued that indigenous tourism must be understood as shaped by European ideas of the Other, as well as a more recent development in global politics. Such broad and increasingly global structures frame those heterogeneous populations that are labeled and label themselves indigenous. Furthermore, the current situation of these peoples is also shaped by their relationships to surrounding majorities and nation states. Therefore, definitions of indigenous tourism should rather be built on minorities' degree of control of tourism activities than by ideas of emblematic cultural features. The growth in the tourism industry in many parts of the Barents Euro-Arctic Region also represents an opportunity for representing and maintaining cultural features among minorities. Nevertheless, minorities might also face challenges by being relegated to a position in the tourism industry where other more powerful actors define a rather narrow field of what indigenous tourism is. This article is based on literary studies of contemporary research on indigeneity, tourism, and Sámi tourism and draws upon the author's extensive previous research on Sámi tourism in Norway.

Keywords: *indigenous peoples, the Barents Euro-Arctic Region, tourism, Sámi, authenticity.*

Introduction. The Other in a Western tradition

We are saying we are a distinct people, a nation of people, and we must have a special right within Canada. We are distinct in that it will not be easy for us to be brought into your system because we are different. We have our own system, our own way of life, our own culture and traditions. We have our own languages, our own laws, and a system of justice (Robert Andre, Arctic Red River) [1, Brody H., p. vii]

As claimed by Robert Andre, indigenous peoples are different, but from whom are they different and how is this difference ontologically constructed? One can assume that this form of a difference does not originate from a distinct tradition among people settled around Arctic Red River themselves. Even if they have had ideas of differences among those people settled in this area. Nevertheless, these ideas of difference presented above is a result of the colonial encounter between European colonizers and those multitudes of populations from the 16th century should become the colonized. The great voyages of the Europeans in the 16th century and their often-violent encounters with new populations around the world — and their following subordination — necessitated an ontological reorientation in Western thought.

Put very shortly and crudely, this reorientation caused a necessary classification of the, for the Europeans, unknown peoples, relied on the antiquated ideas of the Barbarians as a contrast to the civilized. In this case, the European civilization thereby legitimized their domination. In the eyes of colonizers, the encountered peoples lack a familiar societal organization and the material

* For citation:

Olsen K. Indigenous tourism and the Barents Euro-Arctic Region (BEAR). *Arktika i Sever* [Arctic and North], 2019, no. 34, pp. 35–45. DOI: 10.17238/issn2221-2698.2019.34.44

— as well as the intangible European culture, also made it possible to evoke the idea of the Noble Savage; a state where the man lived at ease in the Garden of Eden. This duality; the Barbarian and the Noble Savage was paired with new European ideas of human evolution, from a child-like origin to a mature civilization that added to the possibility of regarding some humans as the Other. These ideas of radical difference are still around in indigenous tourism and shape tourists' motivation as well as putting demands on the peoples visited. Both the idea of the Barbarian and the Noble Savage that might exist simultaneously demands a kind of radical alterity among those labeled indigenous.

Indigenous as a political concept

As stated above, indigenous is a concept that in Western thought is used on populations that have a way of living, a culture, which contrasts with what is regarded as modern ways of life. In this way, "indigenous peoples" in popular everyday use, is a term that is applied to what from a various modern point of views is seen as traditional ways of living. This use of the concept "indigenous" connects the concept to other concepts such as traditional, tribal, primitive, pre-modern or aboriginal, all concepts that have been in use on peoples that appear as radically different from what appears as modernity. Since the 1950s "indigenous" has also been used as a political concept. The UN organization, the International Labour Organisation's (ILO) convention C169 — Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989 (No. 169) is meant to secure the rights of indigenous populations living inside the border of a nation state. In the ILO 169 convention article 1, indigenous is defined in the following way:

1. This Convention applies to:

- (a) tribal peoples in independent countries whose social, cultural and economic conditions distinguish them from other sections of the national community, and whose status is regulated wholly or partially by their customs or traditions or by special laws or regulations;
- (b) peoples in independent countries who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the population which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonization or the establishment of present state boundaries and who, irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions.¹

Indigenous has proved to be a concept that is difficult to define in legal and scholarly terms. Hence, certain characteristics that being cultural distinct from the majority population in the nation-state, with important exceptions in Latin America where indigenous peoples sometimes make up the majority, have occupied areas that have been conquered or colonized by other groups culturally different from the original inhabitants, and self-identification as indigenous and being recognized as such by other indigenous populations. An attempt was made by Erica-Irene

¹ C169 — Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989 (No. 169). URL: http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_ILO_CODE:C169 (Accessed: 12 January 2019).

Daes in 1997 to become the foundation for the common use of the concept in international contexts. Daes emphasizes four aspects:

- (a) Priority in time, concerning the occupation and use of a specific territory;
- (b) The voluntary perpetuation of cultural distinctiveness, which may include the aspects of language, social organization, religion, and spiritual values, modes of production, laws, and institutions;
- (c) Self-identification, as well as recognition by other groups, or by State authorities, as a distinct collectivity; and
- (d) An experience of subjugation, marginalization, dispossession, exclusion or discrimination, whether or not these conditions persist.²

As we see, indigenous is not an easy political concept, and it covers a huge number of different peoples that do not have much in common except regarding themselves and being regarded by others, as indigenous [2, Joonas J.]. It might also be said about the indigenous population in the BEAR that the Barents Euro-Arctic Council estimates to a rather vague approximation of 85,000 Sámi in Finland, Norway, Sweden and Russia, and 7,000 Nenets and 6,000 Veps in Russia.³ Nevertheless, the international work for indigenous rights also has an impact in the Barents Euro-Arctic Region. The cooperation between Sámi in four different countries, the Nenets and the Veps within the Barents Euro-Arctic Regional Council, was initiated in 1993. From 1995 the Working Group of Indigenous Peoples (WGIP) was established permanently. In many ways, this indigenous cooperation in the BEAR is founded because of a global indigenous movement that adapts to changing political contexts. The complexity of the concept of indigenous is additionally complicated by the common sense use of indigenous that in a long-standing Western-European tradition, usually attaches the concept to all populations that appear as traditional and radically different from what we regard as modern.

Therefore, the latter emphasis on radical difference, a traditional appearance and being a minority and not the state-bearing group of a nation, is much of what makes up the foundation for attaching the label Indigenous Tourism. In this way, the motivation for indigenous tourism can be understood by general theories in tourism research. For example, Dean MacCannell in his seminal work *The Tourist* ascribes the motivation for tourism in the alienating forces of modernity that by its differentiating processes creates a longing for authenticity, something that modern man does not find in her or his own life. "Modern man is condemned to look elsewhere, everywhere, for his authenticity, to see if he can catch a glimpse of it reflected in the simplicity, poverty, chastity or purity of others" [3, MacCannell D., p. 41]. Consequently, the assumed simplicity of people regarded as traditional, and less developed than the modern tourist becomes worth seeing. Analogous, John Urry in his influential book *The Tourist Gaze* downplays a search for authenticity, but rather ascribes the motivation for tourism in a longing for difference, a contrast to one's ordinary

² Daes E.-I. Working Group on Indigenous Populations — Working Paper — Digest [1997] AUIndigLawRpr 22; (1997) 2(1) Australian Indigenous Law Reporter 162. URL: <http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/journals/AILR/1997/22.html#Heading4> (Accessed: 13 January 2019).

³ Indigenous peoples in the Barents region. URL: <https://www.barentscooperation.org/en/About/Indigenous-Peoples> (Accessed: 13 January 2019).

life: “It, therefore, seems incorrect that a search for authenticity is the basis for the organization of tourism. Rather, one key feature would seem to be that there is a difference between one’s normal place of residence/work and the object of the tourist gaze. Now it may be that seeking for what we take to be authentic elements is an important component here, but that is because there is in some sense a contrast with everyday experiences” [4, Urry J., p. 12].

Nevertheless, our Western-European ideas of the Other, the indigenous, fulfills a notion of difference from our regular everyday experiences as well as being considered as having a more authentic life than modern man.

The Norwegian Sámi in the tourism industry

The Nenets, Vespians, and Sámi, the indigenous peoples inside what now is the BEAR have just as many differences as similarities, both compared with each other as well as internally. What they have in common is as minorities inside the frames of changing state formations, their culture and history have been shaped by the changing policies of the different states where they are located [5, Pietikäinen S. et. al.]. As Pietikäinen et al. puts it: “For indigenous and minority people living in the North Calotte area, the consequences of these redefinitions were drastic, as the new borders did not follow the settled, long-existing divisions of language communities or local livelihoods “[5, Pietikäinen s, et al., p. 4].

A precursor for tourism in Europe was the exhibition of exotic peoples in major European cities. Briefly describing some Norwegian Sámi’s involvement in this industry might also explain some of the ideas that lurk behind our concept of indigenous tourism. Early on the Sámi acquired an image as ‘the last nomads of Europe.’ Several scientific expeditions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries studied them and made descriptions of their way of life. The Sámi also played an early role in the flourishing trade of exhibiting ‘primitive’ peoples all over Europe. In 1822 William Bullock exhibited a Sámi family in the Egyptian Hall in London. The Southern Sámi family were put on display, together with live reindeer, and became a quite popular attraction [6, Altick R., p. 273]. It was probably the start of a tradition of exhibiting living Sámi that continued at least until 1930, when thirty-two Norwegian, Swedish, and Finnish Sámi toured Germany during the summer and autumn of that year. On this tour, they brought with them a fully equipped Sámi camp, dogs and fifty reindeer [7, Hætta O.].

For the 1822 exhibit, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett writes, ‘[t]he Laplanders had been brought to care for the reindeer, who, it was hoped, could be introduced into England, but when this proved impractical, the Laplanders were recycled as ethnographic exhibits’ [8, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett B., p. 45]. In this recycling, the Sámi had to adapt to an ethnographic tradition. Already Bullock’s first exhibit introduced a persistent tradition that also became a feature of the Lapp camps set up to serve the growing tourism in Northern Norway in the last part of the nineteenth century. This was a tradition that probably paid more attention to an ethnographic tradition than to the Sámi performers’ ideas of entertainment. In the poster made for the exhibit in the Egyptian Hall, there is a

marked difference between the 'primitive' objects and the modern spectators. Framed by a tableau of the sublime natural beauty of Northern Norway — an area that the exhibited Holm family had probably never visited, the exhibited Sámi make a striking contrast to the visiting Londoners. Their nomadic-style shelter, their clothing, and the exhibited utensils present a sharp contrast to the modern way of life at the time.

The poster is attractive in several ways. Firstly, it exhibits the Sámi in a way that is still common today. Most of the features found in the poster advertising the 1822 London exhibit can be found in tourist brochures today. Only two elements are seldom found in contemporary images of the Sámi. One of the features that have vanished are the spectators, who have disappeared from contemporary pictures in the tourism industry. The second is the reindeer sledge, which is no longer such a prominent marker. The tremendous sense of speed this transport gave at that time no longer makes an impression.

Secondly, the poster relates to the tradition of regarding 'the Other' as a Noble Savage, people who are closer to a pre-modern state of innocence of humanity.

Mathisen [9, Mathisen S., p. 8] points out that the way the Sámi were exhibited in the Egyptian Hall was rooted in a European scholarly tradition. According to Altick [6, Altick, R., p. 273], Bullock engaged the author Thomas Dibdin to make a 'play' that the Sámi would perform in. In his autobiography Dibdin describes his 'actors':

... a little, greasy, round man who looked like an oil barrel [...] his correspondingly beautiful wife, in dimensions like a half anker [wine cask]; and their son, about the height of a Dutch cheese, with a hat on: this trio sang, danced, played the fiddle, and displayed their several accomplishments so as to puzzle me amazingly on this point — how I could turn them to any stage account. However, the piece was written: my leader, Mr. Erskine,[], composed overture, songs, melodramatic music, dances, etc. — the scenes were painted; the dances rehearsed at the Haymarket, [...]; all the dresses made from authorities furnished and models kindly lent by Mr. Bullock; and when all subordinate matters were arranged, the performers were summoned the hear me read the piece of "The Laplanders," at my apartment in the Surrey Theatre [10, Dibdin T., pp. 195–196].

The Laplanders never showed up at Mr. Dibdin's apartment because '... eight of the reindeers had run themselves out of breath' [10, Dibdin T., p. 196]. While waiting for new reindeer, 'the little round man, wife, and child were, in the meantime, to drive their rapid sledge around the spacious plains of the Egyptian-hall' [10, Dibdin T., p. 197]. It became what probably was the first exhibit of Sámi outside the Northern area.

Even if Dibdin did not manage to set up his play in full scale, as Mathisen [9, Mathisen S., p. 8] writes, the Sámi's ideas of entertainment were turned down, probably in favor of a more proper ethnographic account compiled by Dibdin. Still song, dance and playing the fiddle do not have a part in Sámi attractions. Dibdin's idea of how the Sámi could become a stage play endures and is also found in indigenous tourism today even if there have been changes.

From the start of tourism in Northern Norway in the second half of the nineteenth century, the Sámi were integrated as attractions. Typical of this exposure were the so-called Lapp Camps

set up by reindeer-herders summering in the pastures on the coast. The reindeer-herders became the Sámi marker in tourism, and only seldom did the settled coastal Sámi enter this occupation. It may be explained by the fact that tourism fitted nicely as a niche for the reindeer-herders, who could produce handicraft during the winter and sell it to the tourists in the summer months spent on the coast. Another explanation is that the semi-nomadic herders fit the idea of the Noble Savage much better than the coastal Sámi. The multicultural coastal areas did not show such a radical difference, and Norwegian authorities usually considered the coastal Sámi culture to be vanishing [11, Olsen K.]. That some parts of indigenous culture are emphasized in tourism might be explained by the ideas that connect indigeneity to traditions. Nevertheless, as embedded in different nation-states' national political traditions, the difference in contemporary rights, the general type of tourism in the area, and the groups own agency creates discrepancies in how indigenous populations might be represented [12, Keskitalo E. & Nuttall M.; 11, Olsen K.; 13, Kelly-Holmes H. & Pietikäinen S.].

Even if indigenous peoples are regarded as potential tourist attractions because of their supposed traditional way of living, this opposition between tradition and modernity cannot always be upheld when integrated into modern state formations like those found in the BEAR. An analysis of Sámi tourist brochures in Norway reveals that Sámi people are portrayed as modern in fields like outdoor life and sports like snowmobile competitions. A third field in which the dichotomy is no longer upheld is in artistic expression [14, Olsen K.]. It seems that some fields enable 'others' to express their version of modernity without contesting the necessary difference between tourists and themselves [13, Kelly-Holmes & Pietikäinen S.; 14, Olsen K.; 15, Pietikäinen S.]. As Thuen [16, Thuen T., p. 262] argues, when he considers the possibility of developing what will be regarded as a modern Sámi cultural expression, this is most probably in the realm of art.

Still, the main impression is given by tourist brochures — and in this case, booklets published by regional and local authorities where contemporary Sámi culture is most prominent — is that the old tradition of representing the Sámi as radically different continues. It may partly explain the impression received by visiting tourists, who regard the Sámi as traditional and characterized by markers such as reindeer, reindeer-herding, nomadic lifestyle, indigenesness, a different culture and way of living, traditions, traditional costume, the landscape and nature [17, Viken A., p. 29]. It is not to say that such features do not play a part in modern Sámi culture. A picture of an old lady with a dog and reindeer standing in the wilderness is both a tourist cliché and a part of modern Sámi society.

It was pointed out by a Sámi student, who simultaneously could see 'the othering' of the Sámi as a people and that this was part of the everyday life of her aunt portrayed in such a picture. For many Sámi there is no dichotomy between what, from an outsider's perspective, can be apprehended as belonging to the two distinct categories of tradition and modernity. From an insider perspective, this all exists in the present within the framework of a Sámi contemporary modern culture. As others point out, autoethnography and cultural displays are typically heterogeneous,

on the receiving end as well as from the perspective of the insider. In the case of pictures, knowledge of regional and local differences in Sámi costume can give a lot of information even without knowledge of the persons portrayed or the purpose of such representations. For the tourist audience, such pictures probably fulfill their idea of traditional people even if most locals will notice contemporaries.

Indigenous tourism — definitions

Maybe the most influential definition of indigenous tourism is made by Hinch and Butler who claims that indigenous tourism can be understood as: "Tourism activity in which indigenous people are directly involved either through control and/or by having their culture serve as the essence of the attraction" [18, Butler R. & Hinch T., p. 9]. In this definition, it is possible to integrate the politico-juridical definition of indigenous peoples as well as self-recognition and the recognition by others.

Additionally, by introducing control as an essential element, it is also possible to bring indigenous tourism out of the trap the Holm family were set in 1822. It implies that tourist product sold by indigenous peoples can be sold as indigenous products even if they — like the Holm family's singing, dancing and playing the fiddle — do not fit in with European ideas of what is the real indigenous, and usually traditional, culture.

		INDIGENOUS CONTROL	
		<i>Low Degree of Control</i>	<i>High Degree of Control</i>
INDIGENOUS THEME	<i>Indigenous Theme Present</i>	A Culture Dispossessed	B Culture Controlled
	<i>Indigenous Theme Absent</i>	C Non-Indigenous Tourism	D Diversified Indigenous

Fig 1. Indigenous theme representation and control.

The model provided by Hinch and Butler [18, Butler R. & Hinch T., p. 10] makes it possible to place indigenous tourism products in different relations to the two parameters *Degree of Control* and *Indigenous Theme*. Category A, *Culture Dispossessed*, relates to those situations where artifacts and/or cultural performances are exhibited by companies with no relations to the indigenous population whose culture is under the display. Like in Bullock's exhibit in London in 1822. In Northern Scandinavia, Sámi culture has for a long time been used on such displays without the consent of the Sámi. E.g., the use of images of Sámis in traditional clothing with reindeer or at a campfire in a Lavvou, are standard views in advertising. However, the acceptance of such use of

Sámi culture in tourism without the approval of Sámi might differ in different countries [19, Rout-sala H.]. It is a matter that relates to indigenous control, and the political acknowledgment of the use of culture. E.g., in Norway, it would be inappropriate for Norwegians to dress up in traditional Sámi costume in a tourism context, and occasions, where companies have used features of Sámi traditional clothing in events, have been thoroughly criticized. Category B, *Culture Controlled*, points to those occasions where Sámi people themselves present cultural elements in their own companies. The sale stalls along the roads set up by Sámi reindeer herders have a long tradition in Norway and is an example of such use of *Indigenous Themes* and *Indigenous Control*. The C, *Non-Indigenous Tourism*, covers those occasions where no indigenous theme is present, and the control is by non-indigenous. While the last, D, *Diversified Indigenous*, will include for example a hotel or a transport company run by a Sámi owner.

This definition raises, in my opinion, at least three problems. First, it is a problem to say who is Sámi and who is not! Among the Sámi in the different countries we will find people that according to national laws are excluded from enrolment in the Electoral roles for the different Sámi Parliaments, but still claim to be Sámi [2, Joona J.]. Secondly, many Sámi who could register have not done that, and further demonstrates the problem of delimiting an indigenous population and thereby the question of who should be in control. Thirdly and finally, the issue of *Indigenous Theme* seems to imply that it is the agreement of a single indigenous culture. The reality is that there often are several local traditions that sometimes are difficult to delimit to a unique tradition. Often, as in the case of the exhibit in London in 1822, what appears as The Indigenous Theme is often imposed from outside in historical processes.

To additionally complicate this by a socio-geographic dimension, in many small communities in the BEAR indigenous people who run a small tourism business will cooperate and/or compete with non-indigenous neighbors who run rather identical businesses. One way of getting rid of the problem of delimiting who is what and who is not in ethnical terms might be to apply definitions of indigenous tourism like finding among Māori organizations in New Zealand. Increasingly Māori tourism has been defined as tourism in terms of what is contemporary Māori tradition. E.g., in the guidelines for teachers using Māori business as an example from the New Zealand Ministry of Education:

Māori businesses are businesses or enterprises that are:

- owned by Māori, and/or
- fully or substantially controlled by Māori, and/or
- operated according to traditional and/or contemporary Māori culture and values.

Some Māori companies are owner-operated, and some employ people of Māori descent. Others may employ people of diverse ethnicities.⁴ In this way, the relevant stakeholders define what are the principles for how an indigenous tourism business should be run, and thereby opens up for inclusion those companies in the area who obey the principles.

⁴ Māori business. URL: <http://seniorsecondary.tki.org.nz/Social-sciences/Business-studies/Maori-business#values> (Accessed: 13 January 2019).

The problem of authenticity

As explained at the beginning of this chapter; tourism theory often ascribes the motivation for Indigenous Tourism to the differences these peoples are assumed to represent in contrast to modern man. What has been argued is that this position as The Other is a historical construct in Western-European thought that lumps many different peoples into a single category. This category has additionally been reinforced by becoming a political-juridical concept for political rights that have been important for the development of a sense of commonness among these peoples. By being recognized as indigenous, and regarding themselves as indigenous, people from the northern area face many of the same problems in tourism as other indigenous populations around the world.

One of these is the matter of authenticity. Western-European thinking has regarded such peoples as traditional and pre-modern, and it is often in this respect that they become tourist attractions. Many indigenous peoples, and the Sámi in Northern Scandinavia have been fully integrated into the modern nation-states, and seldom demonstrate the radical differences from modern life that tourist often looks for. It creates danger of that only those elements that are supposed to be old and pre-modern — what is regarded as authentic Sámi — are what we consider as the Sámi element in tourism. It is not a view found only among tourists. In a study of the Sámis, who have mainly become tourist attractions in themselves — primarily elder women in the interior of Finnmark who wear traditional costume in their everyday life — Gaino [20, Gaino L.] demonstrates how the respondents in this category are well aware of the touristic quest for authenticity, or rather expressed as the real culture. This is an understanding gained from both their everyday life as well as their own practice as tourists. Several of the respondents pointed out that the tourists' interest in Sámi culture had for them been a point of pride in their youth when a Sámi identity was more stigmatized than today. They also criticized the use of what they regarded as fake Sámi culture and stressed the need to promote what they felt was the real traditional Sámi culture.

Tourism as a source of pride and as something that demands authenticity is a common feature of Indigenous Tourism. What is the problem is that indigenous peoples are contemporaries, and many of them live lives that on the surface do not seem to differ from the majority population. It often restrains what is developed as Indigenous Tourism and leads to discussions about what is traditional or not. Rather than discussions of the past it seems more fertile to bring indigenous ways of doing things into contemporary businesses that on the surface seem to belong to a non-indigenous sphere.

Conclusion

In this article, I have argued that indigenous tourism must be understood as shaped by European ideas of the Other, as well as a more recent development in global politics. Such broad and increasingly global structures frame those heterogeneous populations that are labeled and label themselves indigenous. Even if indigenous increasingly has become a political concept, the Euro-

pean cultural ideas of indigenous as linked to being culturally different and more traditional than the modern cultures of the tourist, still flourish in the tourism industry. Thus, being in danger of relegating indigenous minorities to certain product niches in contemporary tourism. In this article, it has been demonstrated that this view on indigenous peoples as being radically different from the modern, as in the case of the Sámi, has a long tradition in Europe.

Furthermore, the current situation of these peoples is also shaped by their relationships to surrounding majorities and nation states. Until the early nineteenth century, the area that is now the BEAR was, from the perspective of the current majority communities, a political undefined area. The borders between the state formations in the area were respectively laid down in 1751 and 1826, and Finland became a part of the Russian empire in 1809. One drastic consequence of these redefinitions was that the most western settled Siida of the four Skolt Sámi siidas, became Norwegians despite their Orthodox belief and historical connection to Russia, thereby becoming a minority in Norway as well as among Norwegian Sámi. In this way, the political changes in what is now the BEAR, have added to the heterogeneity among the indigenous populations in the area. How borders were laid down, national policies for assimilation as well as policies that pointed out who should remain traditional Nobel Savages, are all historical facts that add to the heterogeneity that has always existed. Nevertheless, the global recognition of indigenous rights and new political structures framing the BEAR will probably increase the different indigenous peoples' possibilities for shaping their position in the global industry of tourism.

Finally, what seems to be a booming tourism industry many parts in BEAR where increasingly new tourism markets have become interested in the North and the Arctic, might give some opportunities as well as challenges for indigenous peoples. The most obvious is the potential for economic growth and new jobs in an industry where indigenous cultures can present a cultural difference that is interesting for many of the visitors. Indigenous peoples might also seize the opportunity of developing new products, that fits into modern tourism were doing things had become more important than previously when 'the tourist gaze' was more prominent. Nevertheless, the growth in tourism also creates some challenges since most tourists coming to BEAR do not regard the indigenous peoples as the main attractions that make them come to the area. Natural phenomenon like the Aurora Borealis, the Midnight sun, and the Arctic nature are among those attractions that are most prominent and make that the tourism industry use new areas and, at least seasonally, are crowding certain places. A result might be a competition on land use and problems for local communities, where indigenous peoples' interests might lose in competition with powerful economic interests and the tourist industry. But still, at the time of writing, there are few places in the BEAR that such a development is dominant.

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UDC [911.3:33](98)(045)

DOI: 10.17238/issn2221-2698.2019.34.57

Development of the North 2.0: challenges of making a new theory *

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Abstract. It is proposed to create a new theory of economic development of the North on three primary sources — the Soviet development school, the European school of regional studies, the North American school of frontier studies. Each of these schools relies on a broad conceptual foundation (location of productive forces, endogenous economic growth, innovative search), the fusion of which is capable of radically and positively transforming the theory of modern time. Comparison of the nature of the development process today and in the Soviet times reveals significant differences: an increase in spatial and temporal irregularity (polarization), multiactorism, glocalization, and the role of the grassroots “design” level. Numerous projects of new development implemented in the Russian Arctic and the North have common features in the form of an experimental nature, pilot-clone schemes for saving on experience, a plurality of equal status supply and training bases, etc. Large resource corporations that lead the world are directing actors of the territorial structure of the process of new development, and it depends on the internal organizational and institutional structure of the company itself.

Keywords: *the North and the Arctic development, glocality, Soviet theory of colonization, frontier theory, endogenous economic growth.*

Introduction

The first approaches to a new theory of the economic development of the Arctic and North of Russia appeared in the 1990s. Even then, using the example of pioneer development of gold deposits in the Magadan area (primary Kubaki in the North-Evensk territory), it became evident that some other, new (compared to the previous state model) patterns of economic development operated there. However, some aspects were unclear to us at that time. What were the peculiarities of the new territorial development structures? What were the differences between the current pioneer area of development from the old ones? What new economic effects were acting there? How did the specific investment project of resource development form the general laws of economic growth? Now, almost 30 years after the transition to the state-corporate model of the Arctic and North development, we see an opportunity to generalize the new reality that has shaped more substantively and conceptually.

It was previously difficult to do because of objective reasons: the crisis of the 1990s confused the scientific community — Is it possible to keep the centuries-old research tradition of the Russian developmental school created by the efforts of historians, geographers, sociologists, demographers, economics? But now, after almost 30 years of the new Russian economy, we fill con-

*For citation:

Pilyasov A.N., Zamyatina N.Yu. Development of the North 2.0: challenges of making a new theory. *Arktika i Sever* [Arctic and North], 2019, no. 34, pp. 46–62. DOI: 10.17238/issn2221-2698.2019.34.57

confidence that no reforms and political upheavals can cancel the underlying themes of studying the Russian space as being primarily mastered and developed by the efforts of millions of Russians. But this means that there is a social order for a new theory of development, and it must be implemented considering the new realities of the last three decades and the latest achievements of the world, domestic and regional science.

Three sources and three component parts of the new development theory

The fundamental task of creating a new theory of economic development can be solved by using three primary sources: The Soviet development school, the European school of regional science and the North American school of the frontier. Each of them provides a broad conceptual foundation that can enrich the new theory of development.

An outstanding achievement of the Soviet school was the ability to see the process of mastering as an integral part of a general operation of the new (industrial) distribution of the country's productive forces. The fact that the Soviet researchers used a comprehensive methodology (we are talking primarily about the famous triad “location of productive forces — economic zoning — territorial-production complexes”), undoubtedly, was their strength.

It is what S.V. Slavin postulated as “Mastering the North as a whole follows from the immediate tasks of developing the national economy of the USSR” [1, Slavin S.V., pp. 191–192].

An important feature (and merit) of the Soviet theory of economic development was that it was built into the vast and maximally applied Soviet doctrine of the distribution of productive forces, because the very location of productive forces in an actively industrialized country meant the economic development of new, previously not industrialized spaces and resources.

It is precisely by relying on the theory of the distribution of productive forces that the Soviet theory of development provided consideration of this process by its best authors (Slavin S.V., Kosmacheva K.P., Bandman M.K. [2–4], etc.). It is a system, with its inherent spatial and temporal structure (development zones, stages, development cycles, etc.). If we consider the development process an autonomous, separate from the development of the country, the theory of development will lose integrity features. And the incorporation of the development theory into the general theoretical platform of the new placement of the productive forces of the country naturally follows from the features of the vastness of the industrially transformed northern spaces of the USSR, unprecedented for the world.

It was for this areal scale that the concepts, methodology, and methods of studying economic development were developed.

Within the late Soviet-era development school, two methodological approaches were distinguished. They are characterized by different perceptions of the development space (Table 1). The first — economic-geographical — used by the leading scholars (Dergachev V.A., Saushkin Yu.G. [5–6], etc.); it was explained with a heightened sense of space and was understood as internally heterogeneous, with a landscape and ethnic structure.

Table 1

Comparison of two approaches to the study of the economic development in the late Soviet era

	Economic and geographic approach	Regional economic approach
The new development of space perception	Diversified by landscape and ethnics (heterogeneous)	Uniformly abstract (“dot”)
Dominant study method	Cartographic analysis, various types of natural resource zoning	Spatial econometrics (macroeconomic models applied to areas of new development)
Theoretical and methodological foundation	The allocation of productive forces theory	Optimal allocation of resources in the contour of the country (the theory of exogenous economic growth)
Key research plots	Territorial development structures (routes, bases, and settlement system)	Economic efficiency, cost reduction, economies of scale in the development of new areas

On the other hand, the second — regional economic approach (Granberg A.G., Bandman M.K., and others) by perceiving the development space as uniformly abstract, which was an inevitable simplification for TPC macroeconomic modeling areas of pioneer development and growth on the territories of new development.

After the breakthrough works of economic geographers of the 1960s, space had become a real participant in the development. It explains the quantitative increase in the development research in the 1970s — 1980s. It was primarily due to research devoted to the purely economic problems of the new development areas — cost, efficiency, economic growth, but not the properties of the mastered space itself. Space ceased to be an active participant in studying them.

Another source of new development theory is the impressive conceptual baggage of European regional science. The leading theoretical platform for the representatives of regional studies is the concept of endogenous economic growth and its main factors, decorated with a system of models and their qualitative interpretation [7–8]. In the postwar period, the models of exogenous economic growth dominated many decades. They emphasized the distribution of primary material resources across industries and space. In contrast to it, new development models emphasize the creative “packaging” of critical resources and growth factors, a localized site effect and positive externalities on the close interaction of economic actors, which generates new knowledge.

The properties of a specific localized site where the pairing of resources, energy, and efforts of the participants in the development process occurs, play a significant role. We can say that in the theory of endogenous growth, space becomes a real and active factor in economic development, as it was the case of economic geographers — representatives of the Soviet development school after the WWII. It acquires the properties of marginal heterogeneity, as our European colleagues write, and becomes diversified and relational [9].

Endogenous growth in the development space means the marginal localization of this process, the formation of enclaves, platform, island economic development sites (as they would say in Soviet times, by limiting its intensification). It directly implies the adequacy of the theory of localized growth poles for understanding new economic effects arising here: the suitability of the cluster approach for the study of material and institutional relations arising within the island sites of

the new economic development; a sharp unevenness (according to the center-peripheral algorithm) of development of the territories where the growth poles of a new development occur; and the need to search for places of application of the agglomeration effect (where and how it arises) at the sites of new development (e.g., in rotational settlements).

The North American frontier theory gives an idea of the innovative search for new opportunities for economic development in the newly developed territory. It is understood here absolutely in the Schumpeterian sense — as creative destruction with the creation of a revolutionary new. The development frontier is an advanced technological frontier. Slavin S.V. defined it as “the need to apply the most advanced technology in the process of developing and operating natural resources.”

Comparing the nature of the old and the new development process

Summarizing, one can imagine the development of the last 80 years as three successively developing schemes (in this case, of course, in real life it was a layering of the new system on the still existing one, that is, the boundaries between them are non-rigid — Table 2).

Table 2

Comparison of three historical development models

	The scheme of the development model of integrated plants (1930–1950s) — early industrial	The scheme of the Soviet departments' development (1960–1980s) — late industrial	Corporate development scheme (1990–2010s) - postindustrial
The main areas involved are the Russian North and the Arctic	The Magadan Oblast The Murmansk Oblast The Komi Republic The Norilsk industrial area The Arkhangelsk Oblast	Chukotka Autonomous Okrug Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug The Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)	Nenets Autonomous Okrug North of Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug Arctic territories of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) Pechora Sea Shelf
Nature of development	All industrial development is pioneering, from a clean slate, on a layer of agro-industrial development of the indigenous peoples of the North	Industrial development from a clean slate, on a layer of agricultural development of the indigenous peoples of the North	Differentiation of postindustrial (“smart”) and industrial (type) development, incl. from a clean sheet and to the previously created industrial layer
Territorial development structures	Fine dispersion network. Integrated transport network	Linear frame Cut-off transport network	Center-Peripheral Network. Network of temporary, seasonal land roads and river (sea) routes
The dominant type of development	Mining	Oil & Gas Mining	Oil and gas, mining
Key development actor and principles of its spatial behavior	Integrated plant, the maximum possible self-sufficiency in energy, building materials, and food	Industry departments, trusts, etc. Delivery of all the necessary nomenclature of logistics, construction materials and food from the outside	Resource corporations. Cost savings and reliance on temporary, seasonal life support and resettlement schemes. Localization of the spatial contour of economic development
Key managing institution	Action plan of the labor camp management	State development program	Investment project

The development of new spaces in the USSR took place in the ideology of a uniform, “balanced and planned,” as they said, distribution of productive forces. The idea of this model was the absolute homogeneity (uniformity) of the new industrialized territories of the North and the Arctic in terms of economic development.

On the other hand, non-uniformity, center-peripherality, the polarization of space is immanently embedded in the new model. Extremely relatedly, more than ever before in Soviet times, the effects of concentration of economic development — its localization (“thickening”) — on minimal areas of economic activity manifest themselves. E.g., today a third of the priority projects of the Russian Arctic is for Yamal: the Yamal LNG and Arctic-LNG-2 plants, the seaport in the Sabetta village, the Northern Latitudinal Railway main line, etc.

It is no coincidence that the theory of growth poles is again gaining popularity to explain the extreme polarization (intensification) of the new development of the North and the Arctic. In the USSR, it was simply impossible, because the entire orientation of the economic development of the Soviet time was on a planned (“fair”), equal, coordinated development of old and young territories of the industrial age.

The idea of the “polarities” and development in the USSR was completely rejected by the idea of full-scale and balanced development, which the party and economic governing bodies aspired to as the ideal. Now the “sharp world” is visible to the naked eye not only in the high-density environment of urban agglomerations of industrialized territories for a long time, it is vividly manifested in the North and the Arctic: e.g., the satellite city of Reykjavik Kopavogdur agglomeration has overtaken Akureyri in the north and became the second most populated city of Iceland.

In the former regional or regional development model, local areas were neglected; they were of little importance for economic development. But in the new model, the contour of the new economic territory — the enclave, the island, the platform — is extremely localized. Slavin S.V. discussed the phenomenon of a focal, oasis-like type of development.

Previously, the main economic effects were generated in a regional, areal spatial contour the size of an administrative region or several districts. Now the main economic impact is provided in a localized shape of a separate investment project, to which a shift camp is dedicated, a segregated port (without a permanent land highway) and others. New technologies make it possible to tighten processing facilities to the production sites, which paradoxically violates the fundamental postulate of the Soviet dimension. In the North, there are only pre-bypass production, and processing in the central or southern regions of the country, where production costs are lower.

Previously, the main economic effects in the areas of new development were ensured by economies of scale in the activities of the large Soviet plants, united in the vast regions of technologically associated territorial-industrial complexes. Now, however, increasing returns are provided by limiting compactness, island isolation of new development objects (localized clusters), which mitigate the effect of northern prices, transportation and energy costs. E.g., Norway has a state legislative encouragement of the maximum approximation of localization processes of advanced

equipment and services for oil and gas fields of the shelf directly to the production sites: this ensured the unprecedented growth of Stavanger and its transformation into a first-class center of production services for hydrocarbon production on the shelf [10].

In the former “areal” model of economic development, the issues of distribution of scarce economic and material resources for “shock construction projects” were absolutely priority. The rates of the development process directly depended on them. But in the development of a concrete project from the local production system, the material, and technical resources immediately rely on distributed ones, and the process of their delivery is said to be “patter.” The process of development begins from the moment of their delivery, and their concentration on the locality goes on. How to creatively “roll up,” “pack” on the localized site of a new development is the main topic, and the main economic effects are related to it (i.e., localization and concentration). And this is the reason for discussion as well as the issues of external delivery. Delivery of industrial goods does not have the same meaning (Table 3).

Table 3

The nature of the development in the Soviet industrial and new Russian models

	Soviet industrial model	Russian model
Nature of the development	Pioneering as a principle, almost no redevelopment	The presence of both the development of a clean slate (for example, offshore) and on the infrastructure foundation of the past development
The dynamics of the development	The scheme of uniform growth with polycentric elements of settlement (“growth belt,” development in breadth)	The pattern of sharply uneven growth of the center-peripheral (“Growth pole,” development into the deep)
The dominant type of development	Mining	Oil & Gas
Main actor	State super-organization (main board, trust, etc.)	TNK as a superctor of new development: the relationship of its territorial, organizational and institutional structure
System effects	Operate in the district and regional contour in the form of TPC and other regional production and territorial combinations	Due to the multi-factorization of the development process, systemic effects on the regional and regional contours do not work — only in the localized contour
Increasing returns at the expense of	effects of regional / regional integration (TPK, industrial complex) (economies of scale)	effects of localized concentration — cluster, industrial area (savings on localization)
Development cycles	District / regional scale	The local rhythm of a separate project
Time	Linear, homogeneous	Nonlinear, sharply heterogeneous in phases of development. Ability to interrupt the process at any stage
Stationarity / non-stationarity	Regularity and stability	Natural, economic turbulence, and instability. Ability to interrupt the development process at any stage
Territorial development structures	Trails, bases, permanent single-industry settlements	Cities and rotational settlements
Methods	Zoning	Microdistricting
Ultimate dynamism in infrastructure development	Transport linear-nodal	Communication network
Control	Development programs	New development projects
Technology system	“Production in the North, processing in the South.”	The emergence of a new scheme “integrated mining and processing in the North.”

Inside the new economic development, it is possible to isolate the development option from a "clean sheet" development in the ideology of a state-corporate partnership and on the foundation of the infrastructure created in the state-owned period of Soviet growth (Table 4). At the same time, it is critically essential in which epoch of development the pioneering infrastructure was created: one thing — in the era of integrated GULAG combines, another thing — in the age of dominance of sectoral departments and trusts. The form of the created infrastructural framework (continuous linear-node or discontinuous cut-off) and, in general, the strength of the Jack London effect [11] — the dependence of the new development on past economic activity will depend on this. In the second case, a localized cluster is based on the regional TPK, created in the former industrial model, with the simultaneous alteration of previously existing local development structures.

Table 4

Comparison of two different algorithms for new (localized) economic development

	The algorithm "from scratch."	The algorithm "on the infrastructure of the former development."
Example	Sabetta: Yamal LNG	The development of hydrocarbon resources in the territories along the route of gas pipelines of the Republic of Komi
Main effect	Pioneering infrastructure arrangement — effects of localized clustering (integration of mining, processing, energy, transport support)	The effect of Jack London: past economic activity affects modern investment decisions and the structure of economic entities (TNCs)
Effect depending on the path	Does not work	It is important in which economic epoch the initial infrastructural framework of development was laid.
Territorial structures	Associated with winter roads, seasonal river, and sea routes	Allocation to single-industry cities and districts — local bases of new development

Within the limits of the regional or district contour of the recent industrial development or in the new spaces of a "clean sheet" of economic development, localized areas are deliberately allocated, where the effects of economic concentration occur. The localized area of space acquires an active role in the development as a result of its institutionalization — registration in the form of a separate area, enclave territory, or economic "island."

Earlier the main development effects were provided by inter-industry, technological conjugation of efforts of several large state-owned enterprises of the region or regional TLC. Now, it is due to the extremely localized clustering of production facilities at the site of a separate economic enclave, where the resource corporation conducts an experimental, pilot testing of new technological, organizational and institutional solutions. The desire to save on the costs of obtaining new knowledge determines the temporal rhythm and spatial structure of the new economic development.

What has been said, of course, does not mean that all the modern development of resources and spaces of the North and the Arctic suddenly becomes "acute" — insular and enclaved.

At the same time, the patterns of the past industrial (areal) development continue to exist, and new development zones are being formed.

E.g., the development of new and technogenic deposits of the Upper Kolyma basin is still going on “in full”; areal forest industry development continues in the Irkutsk Oblast, the Republic of Karelia, and the Krasnoyarsk Territory. But here there are laws of the spatial distribution of productive forces inherited from the previous economic epoch. They are critical for a significant part of the North and the Arctic territories.

At the same time, new gold development projects of the Magadan Oblast and the Chukotka Autonomous District, new oil and gas development projects of Yamal, Ugra, and Yakutia show us new postindustrial development patterns begin to work on the Arctic shelf. They provide significant concentration and the intellectualization of economic enclaves, the formation of new high-tech support development bases, which take on unprecedented significance and usually accommodated in the nearest research and educational centers.

E.g., a new round of gold mining in the Magadan Oblast accompanied a radical change in the locations of the key exploration expeditions. Earlier some of them were very close to mining sites. Even at the cost, highly qualified personnel are not ready to live in Nexicana, Ust-Omchuga or Yagodny settlements and local centers along the Kolyma highway. Geologists who perform routine, but not exploratory, geological surveying, as a rule, work there. All the remaining geologic expeditions end in the local center — Magadan. All the available qualified personnel concentrate there. Intellectual support of mining and industrial development reveals that the center-peripheral model replaces the former “uniform”: all the knowledge concentrates in a large scientific and educational center, and the former intellectual service functions of the “peripheral” centers and specialized geological settlements are washed away.

It turns out that the “harder” and forcedly smarter (more unique and experimental) is the new development project, the more concentrated is its spatial configuration. It provides new technological solutions, modular assembly, rotational methods and work organization, the use of advanced practices and technology from around the world. And the more typical the project is, the more routine and the more traditional the distribution of its means of production and labor resources is. Often it is the old mono-production town or local administrative center. Experience shows that hybrid schemes can also be implemented. The new project on intellectual stuffing relies on the already existing base but gives it a more rational character due to the placement of a high-tech service, new construction and transport sites, etc. (Rosneft “Vankor” project in Igarka and Gazprom project “Novyi Port” in Novyi Port).

The modern development of the resources in the North and the Arctic makes two realities closely coexist. It is the former industrial one, reproduced in new projects launched by the old algorithm and the new post-industrial one that has already generated an entirely new approach, associated with the intellectualization and laws most clearly manifested in the new shelf projects developed without the influence of inheritance factors.

Resource corporations as the local and global integrators in the new development

Transnational companies [12, McCann et al.] and resource corporations of Russia are a vivid and substantive embodiment of the globalization, that is, the simultaneous operation of the effects of localization and globalization in developing the North and the Arctic areas. On the one hand, companies receive their main resource product from the fields of the North and the Arctic, form localized production clusters there, and form the core of the local production system (the so-called “towns and areas of presence”), actively contacting domestic small production and technology companies, service, transport and logistics and other economic structures. On the other hand, they carry out the delivery and promotion of the ultimate resource to the global markets.

In the North and Arctic Russia, more than a dozen resource corporations are operating. The activities of many of them are global; i.e., they are TNCs. If we use the share of the primary resource product mined, then the most “Arctic” among them are Gazprom, Norilsk Nickel, and Novatek. Each of these companies has more than 90% of the production volume confined to the Arctic.

If before, the specific territorial configuration of the new development process was determined by the decisions of the central departments and regional super-organizations, now it is an integral part of the spatial structure of resource corporations. Their spatial “handwriting” forms new territorial development structures (departmental roads and winter roads, locations for rotational camps, heliports, aircraft platforms; external, input and internal supply and training bases). It is created not only under the influence of the deployment of deposits but also the internal institutional and organizational structure of the company [13, Dunning]. Already established is the network of resettlement of the territory of presence with its account: e.g., Igarka. It became basic for the “Vankor” project and the village of Novyi Port — to Gazpromneft. The assimilation process “manifests” as it were, reveals what is deeply hidden inside the company — e.g., the hierarchy of the internal decision-making process.

In turn, the formed territorial structure of the corporation determines the incentives for technological and economic innovation (whether they arise or not before it).

Let us consider the use the experience of the oil and gas companies of Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug — Ugra: how the location / spatial structure of corporate development and the internal management structure of these companies are linked (Fig. 1).

At one extreme we see Surgutneftegaz, which until recently had the most consistent territorial structure of field sites, mainly in the Surgut area. And it was naturally combined with the unprecedented centralization of the entire decision-making process. Surgutneftegaz has a small headquarters in Surgut. It does not have local development bases that would play the role of “jump” sites to the nearest industrial plots, could participate in testing new drilling methods, impact on the reservoir and other experiments. On the one hand, this centralization provides the necessary speed of decision making without bureaucratic red tape or individual decision making. On the other hand, it also significantly limits the company in innovation.

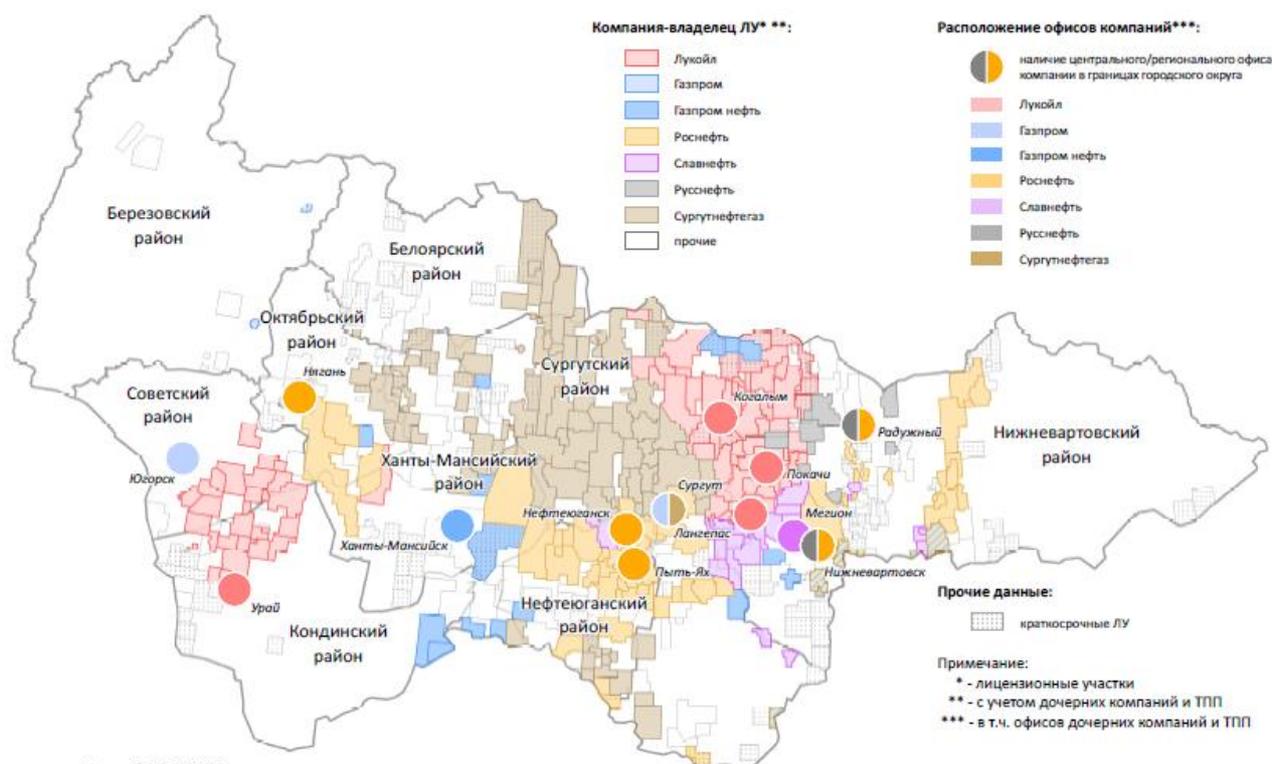


Fig. 1. Corporate space of Ugra (by Cand. Sci. (Geogr.) Goncharov R.V.).

Each color stands for a separate license owner, for example Rosneft or Gazprom.

Colored circles show presence of central or regional offices of some enterprise within a city district.

At the other extreme — Gazpromneft with a very fragmented, territorial structure of the commercial areas of the new district or new development areas in different geological conditions areas. And such a territorial structure corresponds with a substantial decentralization of the decision-making process in the company. Therefore, the headquarters structure of the company is geographically dispersed. In Khanty-Mansiysk, they placed a representative office of the company, established due to its metropolitan nature and the proximity of several small deposits of the Khanty-Mansiysk district — Megion and Nizhnevartovsk with small areas of the company nearby. The system of local bases allows the Gazpromneft to gain a foothold quickly, to root in the district, and it can potentially ensure the development of new fields and schemes for their development — even before the experimental production in some nearby areas.

Gazpromneft came to the district for mainly distributed natural assets. Therefore, it had to be an innovator, develop those areas of new development than the other companies, because of the complexity of working conditions. The more fragmented the spatial structure of a company is, the more heterogeneous the exploration and production conditions are, the more demanded are production, technology, and innovations.

Between these “poles” are Lukoil and Rosneft, with their peculiarities of a new oil industry development. The spatial structure of the Lukoil mining has always been relatively evenly distributed across several centers, and the very name of the company meant its ideology and philosophy: e.g., Langepas-Urai-Kogalym = Lukoil.

Today, Kogalym-Langepas form a virtually unified single zone of oil-field activity of the company, and Urai marks the second major area of oil industries of Lukoil on the border of the So-

viet and Kondinsky districts. Now the company is expanding within the framework of “linking” license areas into a single area, filling in the existing free spaces. The company has a relatively diversified structure of representative offices in the towns of its presence: Langepas, Urai, Kogalym, and Pokachi. It reflects a lower degree of centralization in managerial decision making compared to Surgutneftegaz.

Unlike Surgutneftegaz and Lukoil, Rosneft does not have large contiguous areas of commercial activity anywhere in the district: it now has five small territories. The first one is near the border areas of the Oktyabrskiy and Khanty-Mansiysk territories, right to Nyagan and in the direction to Khanty-Mansiysk (there are still opportunities for internal clamping / wedging of the sections due to “voids” and “cavities”). The second — on the borders of the Khanty-Mansiysk, Nefteyugansk and Surgut territories (there are also small opportunities for internal closure / wedging of the plots). The third one — near Nizhnevartovsk (Samotlor). The fourth — in the Nizhnevartovsk district in the form of a vertical “wall” — a narrow chain of licensed sites from north to south along the entire length of the territory. And the last one — tiny license areas in the south of Nefteyugansk district, on the border with the Tyumen Oblast.

The structure of offices in the district is extremely diversified, but not at the expense of some features of modern decentralized management. Since the company was formed as the assembly of assets of Yukos, TNK and British Petroleum, each had its offices in the district's oil towns, and Rosneft inherited all of them in Nyagan, Nefteyugansk, Pytyakh, Nizhnevartovsk, and Raduzhny.

Lukoil in the Nenets Autonomous District is a key player that provides about a third of the oil produced there. It has several geographically dispersed supporting blocks of closed sections (Fig. 2). That is, the situation of the territorial structure of the company in Ugra is repeated to a certain degree. On the other hand, Rosneft has both separate blocks of large and small license areas located in the east of the NAD.

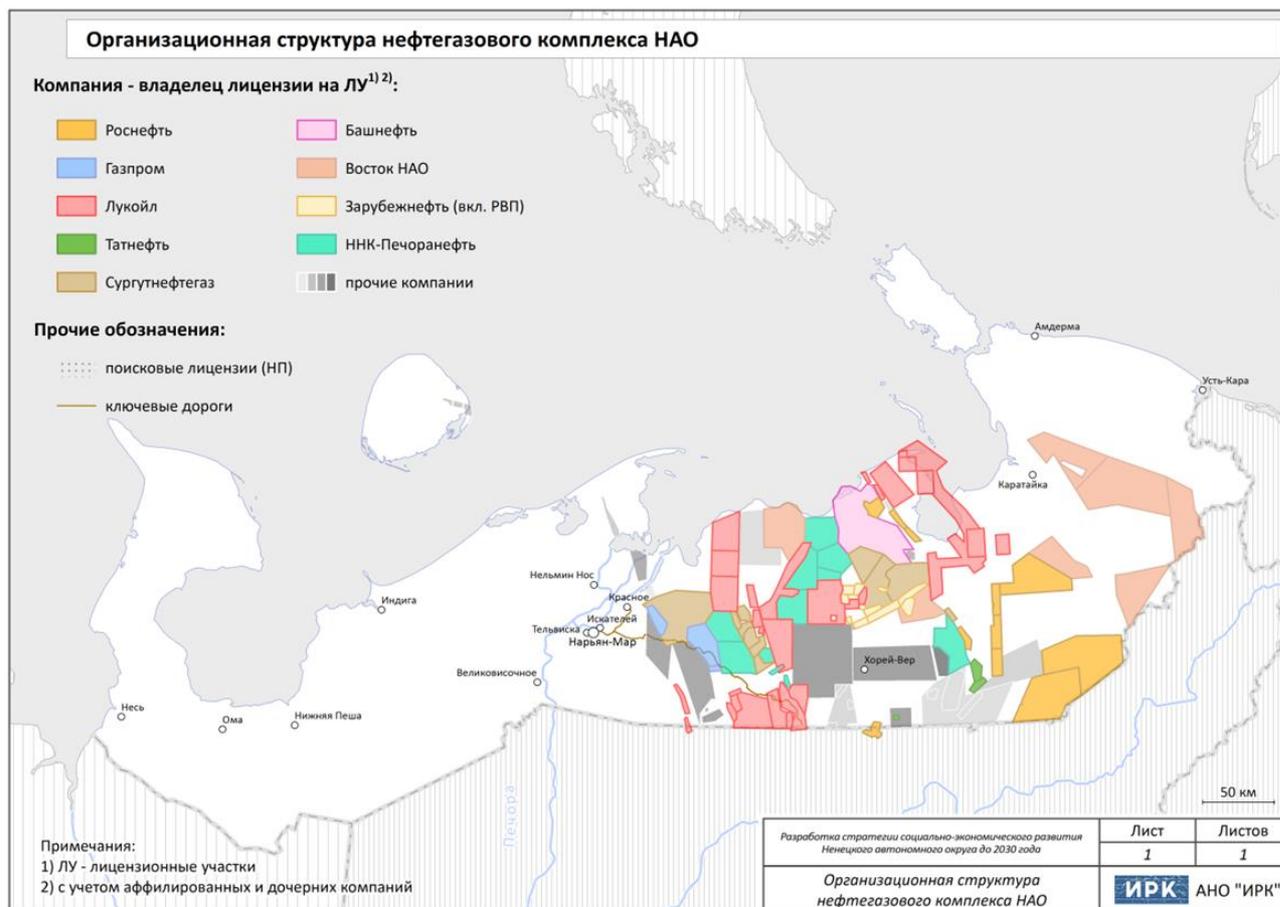


Fig. 2. Corporate space of the NAD (by Cand. Sci. (Geogr.) Goncharov R.V.).
Each color stands for a separate license owner, for example Rosneft or Gazprom.

A new problem, unknown in the Soviet period of development, is the interaction of neighboring resource companies in the area of presence. E.g., it is the communication of Lukoil and Gazpromneft regarding the development of offshore and alien hydrocarbon deposits in the Varandey area in the Nenets Autonomous District. Another example is the interaction of Lukoil and Rosneft regarding the transportation of oil to the markets by the northern or southern route in the Nenets Autonomous District, or it is the interaction of Surgutneftegaz and Alrosa regarding the choice of the base for the development of Talakansky place of birth — Lensk or Mirny. Practice shows that the formation of overlapping transport infrastructure (pipeline, road, and communication) is wasteful from the perspective of the territory's interests, but it often takes place. It is easily explained by the desire of companies to retain control and reduce the risks of uncertainty when communicating with any other resource corporation operating in the same area.

In the past 15 years, resource corporations in Russia have launched several completely new projects in the North and the Arctic. E.g., it is the construction and operation of the Prirazlomnaya platform for the extraction of hydrocarbons on the shelf of the Pechora Sea. Another example is the Varandey terminal for the shipment of oil from the nearby fields and the southern regions of the Timan-Pechora province. It is essential to mention the development of the Novo-Portovskoye field, the oil and gas fields of Evenkia, the pilot development of coal in the Taimyr basin, and the

Pavlovskoye lead-zinc ore deposit at Novaya Zemlya. One more exciting project is an industrial complex from the Yamal LNG plant and seaport in the village of Sabetta and others. These new development projects combine the global conjuncture of commodity markets and local mining and are significantly different from the previous Soviet megaprojects (Table 5). The main novelty is to turn them into innovative learning platforms, accumulating new experience and knowledge. Experience and knowledge gained in the pilot project, then "scaled" on projects-clones. All the fastening elements of the new development process are especially deployed to ensure the effectiveness of this experimental search. The Prirazlomnaya project became an innovative platform for developing new technologies for offshore oil production for Gazpromneft; the Yamal LNG project in Sabetta first relied on experimental flights of gas carriers that later became regular; experimental transit flights along the Northern Sea Route have been carried out over the years to develop the necessary competencies and best practices amendments to existing technical regulations and legal regulation of intercontinental high-latitude navigation, etc.

All this is a general new pattern that has emerged and exists in the form of experimentation, testing and fumbling rooted in modern development. The development space is "selected" sometimes in such a way as to ensure savings on training, savings on the rapid acquisition of experience, new knowledge and mining practices in unprecedentedly new and challenging conditions: drilling on the shelf, horizontal drilling on land, super deep drilling in promising Paleozoic strata, extraction of gold from ore by modern technological methods. E.g., means of heap leaching, previously impossible precisely because of difficulties in preventing the danger of spreading cyanides, and now due to the extreme localization of the development technologically, it is possible and environmentally safe.

Table 5

Comparison of typical projects of the industrial and post-industrial era

	Industrial development projects	Projects
Nature of the resource project	The project is immersed in the context of the local/regional economic area of new development, connected with its objects by a permanent ground road network (a single regional TPK-industrial district)	Post-industrial development
	TPK-shaped combination of projects among themselves on a vast area of new development	The project is an enclave island isolated from the outside world, a platform, a localized site, which is connected to the outside world by seasonal routes (localized cluster)
Nature of the infrastructure project	Consolidation of infrastructure projects (highway)	Inside the localized site of the project, the entire integration cycle of extraction and processing is located
Spatial system	The ideology of tight conjugation of the production, transport and energy subsystems in the district / regional circuit	The "preciseness" of infrastructure projects and the possibility of separate combinatorics of each site with the environment and its territorial structures
Actors	State Super Organizations	The network of platforms: the ideology of replication of piloted found advanced technological, organizational, institutional practices for other analog projects

		(clones)
Placement	Stationary single-industry city	TNK
Support system	The hierarchical system of supporting development bases — rear, outpost, local	Shift camp
Communication with suppliers and consumers	Monopoly supplier and monopoly consumer of project products domestically (vertical integration)	A network of equal bases of supply, training, transport
Production Strategy of Key Actor Development	Uniform resource products the entire life cycle of the project	Dozens of suppliers and consumers from around the world (network)

Previously, the state-funded area, the front, the route of new development, and now a corporation-funded pilot project and a clone project that perceives the best practices of the pioneer project, as we see in the examples of Yamal LNG-Arctic-LNG-2. It is curious that similar logic can be observed in the implementation of current infrastructure projects: they are now always divided into sections, and each section exists as a separate and autonomous (modular) project, which can be separately combined with the existing road network.

E.g., in such a “divisional” logic, a project for the construction of the Northern Latitudinal Railway is being implemented, which will connect the Obskaya station of the Northern Railway with the Korotchaevo station of the Sverdlovsk Railway. The highway will include the Obskaya-Salekhard railway section, the Salekhard-Nadym section, the combined crossings of the Ob and Nadym rivers, and the Nadym-Pangody, Pangody-Novy Urengoy, New Urengoy — Korotchaevo⁵ railway sections to be completed.

The more complex and intelligent is the new project, the more it relies on external development bases. In the former industrial model performed mainly supply-distribution functions, and now their intelligence services are very significant: in addition to the traditional staffing, supply means of production, building materials, etc. And the number of such external support bases becomes multiply large: “What to do with the base for offshore projects? Mining in the Arctic requires a powerful infrastructure — the two bases are not enough. It should be a whole set of supply bases, meteorological, and research stations,” — said A. Shishkin, Vice-President of Rosneft.⁶

Sometimes such bases are human-made, like artificial islands in the Kola Bay, where the Center for the Construction of Large Offshore structures of the NovaTEK affiliated company Kola Shipyard will be located. The company will manufacture marine complexes for the extraction, storage, and shipment of liquefied natural gas in the Murmansk Oblast, as well as repair and maintenance of marine equipment⁷. After manufacturing and assembling modular gas liquefaction production lines on an exclusive platform, it will be transported to the Gulf of Ob, where only communications should be connected, and commissioning works for the Arctic -LNG-2 project⁸.

⁵ URL: <https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/3156565> (Accessed: 20 February 2019).

⁶ https://www.korabel.ru/news/comments/chto_nuzhno_arktike_ot_flota.html (Accessed: 14 December 2018).

⁷ <http://24ri.ru/down/open/v-barencevom-more-sozdadut-chetyre-iskusstvennyh-ostrova.html> (Accessed: 14 December 2018).

⁸ <https://thebarentsobserver.com/ru/promyshlennost-i-energiya/2017/08/novatek-prolivaet-svet-na-novyy-krupnyy-arkticheskiy-proekt> (Accessed: 14 December 2018).

In Soviet times, many more open fields with a complex genesis that required an individual (“experimental”) approach to working out became projects only now. E.g., the Novoportovskoye oil and gas field was discovered as far back as 1964. Due to its “capricious” (inhomogeneous, heterogeneous) nature, where Soviet production plants did not fit well, they were determined to get a saving effect on the scale of production of a homogeneous oil fluid or gas mixture of the gas-oil or gas condensate fields, and a complex of local oil lenses, not very clearly associated with each other, with the presence of a powerful gas deposit⁹. Its operation began half a century later, only in 2014. We have dozens of such examples throughout the Russian North.

Another feature of the Novoportov project was the “strange,” “anti-Soviet” (for significant variability) scheme for exporting the extracted products: in summer and autumn along the Northern Sea Route, in winter along winter roads to Pyuta station, then by rail. But for the company “Gazpromneft-Yamal,” it was the most economical. For the same reason, the corporation abandoned the idea of building an autonomous local development base but decided to form it practically right next to the village of Novyi Port.

Conclusion

An ambitious attempt has been made to create a new theory of economic development on three primary sources: The Soviet development school, the European school of regional science, and the North American school of the frontier. The tradition of linking the development process with the placement of productive forces is taken from the Soviet school. The European regional science gave us the idea that any social process in the regions is a subject to general laws in the spirit of the new theory of economic growth and researchers cannot be free from it. Extremely wide in the range of areas in which it manifests itself, the theory of endogenous economic growth provides a methodological substantiation of the process of localizing the development and obtaining effects on localization in the space of new economic development.

It directly implies the adequacy of the theory of localized growth poles for understanding the new economic effects arising here. The suitability of the cluster approach for the study of material and institutional relations occurred within the “island” areas of the new economic development. A sharp unevenness (according to the center-peripheral algorithm) of the development of the areas where poles of new development exist. The need to search for places of application of the agglomeration effect (where and how it arises) at the sites of new development (e.g., in rotational settlements). The North American frontier theory contains an idea of the innovative search for new opportunities for economic development in the newly developed territory. It is understood in the Schumpeterian sense — as creative destruction with the creation of a revolutionary new.

For the first time, ideas were formulated that in the development school of the last Soviet

⁹ Perspektivy zapolyar'ya: «Gazprom» nachal peredachu neftnyanyh aktivov “Gazprom nefti”. [Perspectives of the polar region: Gazprom began transferring the oil assets of Gazprom Neft] URL: <https://www.gazprom-neft.ru/press-center/sibneft-online/archive/2010-february/1104400/> (Accessed: 14 december 2018). [In Russian]

decades, in fact, there were two approaches: economic and geographical, and the development space was understood and analyzed as diversified-relational (i.e., internally heterogeneous), and economic, in which, for the convenience of econometric modeling, the area was perceived as homogeneous-abstract, homogeneous (as a point).

A comparison was made for the nature of the development process then and now. And it was concluded that today there are fundamentally different economic effects than in the Soviet industrial time. In general, modern economic development is characterized by a substantially higher spatial unevenness, center-peripherality, multifactorial. The unique role of TNC-resource corporations is agents of glocalization. The heterogeneity of time in the stages of the development process (expressed significantly weaker in the planned administrative-command model of the new development) and the enormous role of project management (project financing, project legislation, tailored for a specific project of a new resource development). The peculiarity of modern development is that it implies the coexistence of two schemes — mastering from a clean sheet and on the foundation of the recent infrastructure development, which has different effects and regularities on territorial structures, development cycles, etc.

Using the example of new development projects that combine the global conjuncture and local production processes, we considered their “new” nature and the differences from the Soviet megaprojects. The experimental, training and spatially localized nature of the pilot project revealed. The effects of cascading from the pilot project to the “clone projects” is visible. Using the properties and configurations of the space for saving on experience is observed. Multiplicity (polycentricity) of the supply and training bases for new projects is usual now.

Acknowledgments and funding

The article presented the results of the study supported by the grant of the Russian Foundation for Basic Research 18-05-00600 a “New Theory for the Development of the Arctic and the North: Polyscale Interdisciplinary Synthesis.” The authors would love to thank their colleagues in the project, Dr. Sci. (Hist). M.G. Agapov and Cand Sci. (Hist) D.F. Korandey for intellectual support of the study.

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UDC 330.322, 332.14, 338.23 (320.322+332.14+338.23)(985)"2008-2017"(045)

DOI: 10.17238/issn2221-2698.2019.34.77

Key trends of investment development in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation in 2008–2017 *

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Abstract. This article is devoted to the study of the investments and their transformation in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation in the conditions of the crisis of the last decade. Current studies indicate the occurred as a result of economic shocks aimed at the implementation of the state Arctic policy, as well as the need for financial and technological constraints that require a retrospective analysis of investment activity in the Arctic zone. The study of investments in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation in 2008–2017 has four stages identified: 2008–2010; 2011–2012; 2013–2014; 2015–2017. One may see that investments in the Russian Federation are due to quite sharp fluctuations and their uneven distribution across regions. The most significant volumes of Russian investments in the first phase were typical for regions partially located in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation, and now — for entirely Arctic areas. The same situation was until 2014 with foreign investments in the Arctic. However, after the start of the "sanctions war," we observed a turning point. Foreign investments in the Arctic areas of the Russian Federation significantly decreased. The decline continues to this day. Predicted options for further investment development in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation have an adverse scenario for the national economy.

Keywords: *the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation, state Arctic policy, priority investment projects, crisis, international sanctions, investment processes.*

Introduction

The Arctic is one of the most resource-rich regions in the world, incl. hydrocarbons, which is of fundamental importance for the world community in the context of the gradual exhaustion of the continental resources. According to geologists, the Arctic disposes of about a quarter of global oil and natural gas reserves. Almost 75% of them are on the shelf of the Arctic Ocean [1, Gautier D.L., Bird K.J., et al.]. At the same time, the Russian Federation enjoys the most significant resource potential in the Arctic. The principal reserves of which are on the Arctic continental shelf (mainly in the waters of the Barents, Pechora and Kara seas). According to Russian scientists, "the reserves of oil, natural gas, and gas condensate in the Russian Arctic basin are comparable to the hydrocarbon provinces of the Middle East and Western Siberia and are more than 280 billion tons" [2, Kontorovich A.E.]. Also, the Arctic is rich with the other natural resources: the largest deposits of tin, nickel, lead, manganese, diamonds, etc.

* For citation:

Serova N.A., Gutov S.V. Key trends of the investment development in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation in 2008–2017. *Arktika i Sever* [Arctic and North], 2019, no. 34, pp. 63–72. DOI: 10.17238/issn2221-2698.2019.34.77

Intensive reduction of sea ice, significantly accelerated over the past 30 years [3, Mokhov I.I.; 4, Barber D., Lukovich J. et al.; 5, Carr J., Stokes C., Vieli A.; 6, Winski D., Osterberg E., et al.; 7, Zheng W., Pritchard M. et al.] has opened up new opportunities for offshore mining and navigation development along the main Arctic transport corridors: the Northern Sea Route and the Northwest Passage. Thus, according to forecasts of American researchers from the University of California L. Smith and S. Stephenson, “due to the melting of an unprecedented amount of Arctic ice, the transport corridors in the Arctic Ocean will become more accessible by 2020, and shipping will be year-round by 2050” [8, Smith L., Stephenson S.].

Thus, the new resource and logistical opportunities opening in the Arctic were the immediate cause of a surge in interest worldwide for this unique macro-region and naturally led to increased international competition for the development of the Arctic. It has led to the urgent need to develop a fundamentally new state policy of Russia concerning its Arctic territories.

The main directions of the new state policy of Russia in the Arctic

The most active settlement and industrial development of the Russian North and the Arctic territories was carried out in 1920–1980. However, the collapse of the centralized Soviet system and the sharp deterioration of the socio-economic situation in the country led to the closure of the northern programs, cuts in benefits and guarantees for citizens living and working in the North, reducing funds for certain sectors of the economy [9, Ponomarev I.A.], mass migration and, the collapse of the social infrastructure [10, Korchak E.A.]. In 1998–2000, the authorities tried to exercise the state Arctic policy (e.g., the draft law “On the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation” and the first edition of “Fundamentals of the state policy of Russia in the Arctic”), but they were unsuccessful.

Increased international competition for the development of the Arctic marked the beginning of a new stage in Russia's state Arctic policy. In 2008, the “Fundamentals of the state policy of the Russian Federation in the Arctic for the period up to 2020 and beyond” were adopted. The main goal of the new Arctic policy was “integrated socio-economic development of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation through the use of the Northern Sea Route as a single national transport route of the country and the expansion of the resource base to meet the country's needs for hydrocarbons and other types of strategic raw materials.” Later, the Strategy for the Development of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation and Ensuring National Security for the Period up to 2020 was approved, the land areas of the Russian Arctic were defined, and the State Program for the Socio-Economic Development of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation was adopted. 2020 (from now on — the Program), with the adoption of which the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation was allocated as an independent object of government and socio-economic development.

The principal mechanism for the implementation of the Program is the supporting development zones, based on the existing administrative and territorial division of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation (Fig. 1). In the support areas, it is planned to implement complex invest-

ment projects that ensure the interconnection of measures for the development of the Arctic transport system, energy infrastructure, industrial facilities, etc.



Fig. 1. The Northern Sea Route and the placement scheme for the support zones in the Arctic (shown as numbers).

The majority (about 40%) of the 145 projects completed or planned for the Arctic are associated with the extraction and processing of mineral resources, primarily hydrocarbons. 18% of the projects are related to the modernization and development of the Arctic transport system, incl. the Northern Sea Route — a connecting element of all eight support zones. We also note the special significance of projects for the development of industry and energy (more than 10%). Extreme natural and climatic conditions of the Arctic make the reliable and uninterrupted operation of heating systems essential [11, Bejan A.V.; 12, Pobedonostsev V.V., Pobedonostsev G.M.]. Today we can highlight several priority projects (“anchor” project) of intersectoral and interterritorial nature and capable of having an impact not only on the development of specific Arctic territories but also on the entire Arctic zone of the Russian Federation (the cost of these projects is at least 100 billion rubles). These projects have two global interrelated directions that determine the strategic priorities of the state Arctic policy [13; 14, Balobanov A.E., Vorotnikov A.M., Mayorov S.V.; 15, Serova N.A., Serova V.A.; 16, Biev A.A.]:

- creation of large mineral resource centers. It is planned: to complete the Yamal LNG and Arctic- LNG-2 projects (Yamalo-Nenets support zone); to develop the minefields of the Usinsk coal deposits (Vorkuta support zone); to create new hydrocarbon production centers (Chukotka support zone); to construct a mining and enrichment plant for the extraction and processing of lead-zinc ores of the Pavlovskoye deposit (Pavlovskoye project) (Arkhangelsk support zone); to create a coastal support base for offshore projects in the Barents, Kara and Pechora seas (Kola support zone), etc.
- modernization and integrated development of the Arctic transport system, incl. service support for the Arctic marine economy. It is planned to complete a transcontinental project for the development of the Northern Sea Route — a connecting element of all eight reference zones; a complex of interregional infrastructure projects for the creation

of new transport corridors of the Northern latitudinal way (Yamalo-Nenets support zone) and Belkomur (Arkhangelsk and Vorkuta support zones), the Murmansk transport hub project (Kola support zone), construction and modernization projects for the seaports of Sabetta, Murmansk, Arkhangelsk, Indiga, Tiksi and others, airport, road and rail infrastructure of the Arctic regions.

However, the external negative phenomena of the last decade, which have had a significant impact on the entire Russian economy, can significantly slow down or suspend the ambitious development plans, but the most difficult for the development of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation. The crises of 2008 and 2014 showed the vulnerability of the domestic economy due to its export orientation and a strong dependence on foreign financial resources and international markets, causing not only a vast outflow of capital, but also a drop in demand for almost all Russian commodity exports [17, Andreeva E.S.; 18, Tetushkin V.A.; 19, Safina R.S., Kurzina I.M.]. These circumstances predetermined the need to study investment trends in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation, whose economy is mostly based on export-oriented extraction industries.

Investments in the Russian Arctic territories in 2008–2017

The heterogeneity of the socio-economic space of the Arctic causes the extreme unevenness of investments in the Arctic territories, which has been repeatedly noted in many works of Russian scientists [20–24]. Significant amounts of Russian and foreign investments, as a rule, fall on highly developed industrial centers. A typical example is the territory of commodity specialization — the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous District, where, despite the economic turmoil of recent years, investments account for about 40% of the total investment in the Russian Arctic (e.g., in 2017 investments in the district made up 39.7% of all investment in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation) (Table 1).

Table 1

The share of domestic investment in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation in the total Russian investments, %¹⁰

Territories of the AZRF	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Territories that are fully included in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation										
Nenets AD	1.0	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.8	0.6	0.9
Murmansk Oblast	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.6	0.7
Yamalo-Nenets AD	4.6	4.3	4.2	4.3	4.6	4.5	5.4	5.6	7.4	6.8
Chukotka AD	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Territories that are partly included in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation										
Republic of Karelia	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3
Komi Republic	1.0	1.4	1.2	1.8	1.8	1.5	1.4	1.2	1.4	0.8
Arkhangelsk Oblast	1.7	0.8	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.2	1.1	1.2	1.1	1.5
Krasnoyarsk Oblast	2.3	3.1	2.9	2.8	3.0	2.8	2.6	2.9	2.9	2.7
Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)	1.8	4.4	1.4	1.7	1.6	1.4	1.3	1.4	1.9	2.4
<i>Average in the AZRF</i>	<i>13.2</i>	<i>15.4</i>	<i>12.1</i>	<i>13.2</i>	<i>13.9</i>	<i>12.7</i>	<i>13.4</i>	<i>14.2</i>	<i>16.2</i>	<i>16.1</i>

¹⁰ Calculated by the author according to the data provided by the Federal State Statistics Service. URL: www.gks.ru (Accessed: 23 November 2018).

Development of investments in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation in 2008–2017 took place in a volatile foreign policy and economic environment. Therefore, the dynamics of total Russian investments in the Arctic was unpredictable (Fig. 2).

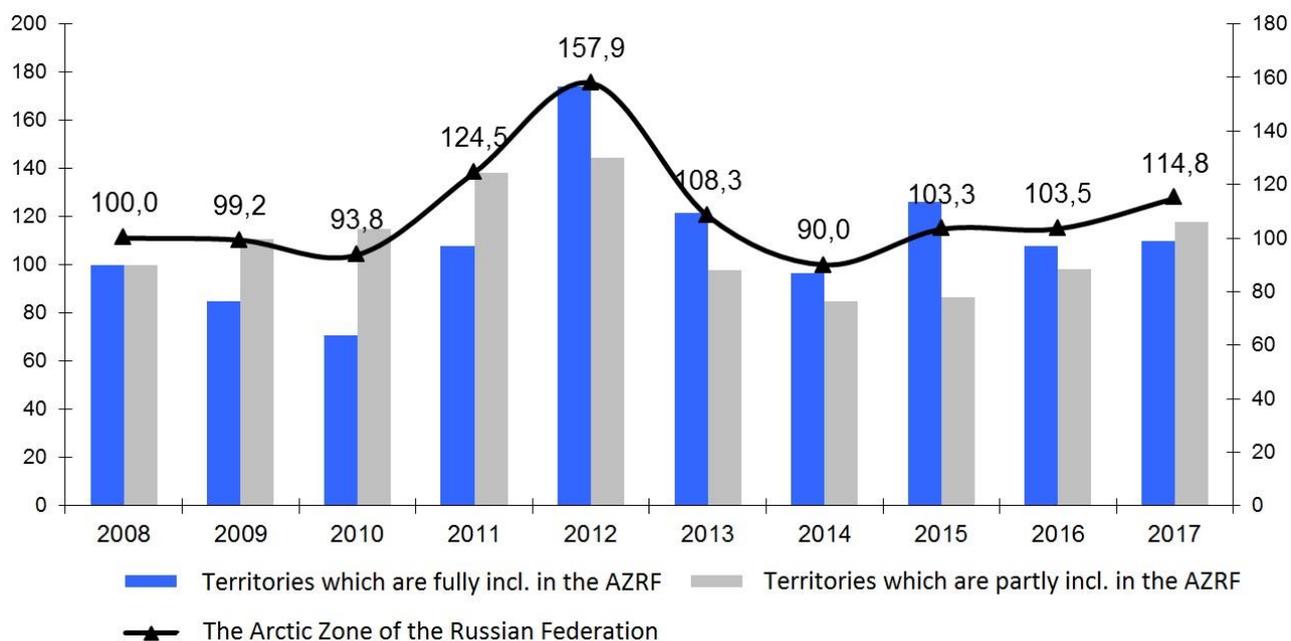


Fig. 2. Dynamics of investments in fixed assets in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation, comparable prices, % to 2008.

In the development of investments 2008–2017, four phases are identified: 1) investment decline 2008–2010 (the beginning of the global financial crisis); 2) investment growth 2011–2012 (recovery period after the global financial crisis); investment decline in 2013–2014 (stagnation of the Russian economy); investment surge 2015–2017 (the beginning of a local crisis of the Russian economy and the “sanctions war”). Let us consider them in detail:

1) in 2008–2010, the beginning of the global economic crisis and the sharp fall in world energy prices, investments declined, both in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation and the country. On average, in the Arctic, the investment decline amounted to 96.9% (95.1% in Russia). The most profound manifestations occurred in the Arkhangelsk Oblast, the Nenets and Chukotka Autonomous Districts (Table 2). The increase in investment was recorded only in the Krasnoyarsk Territory and the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia). It happened due to the ongoing projects and, accordingly, financing of large investment projects in these areas. E.g., in Yakutia, they have the plan for the construction of the Eastern Siberia-Pacific Ocean oil pipeline (ESPO), intended for transporting Siberian oil to the Asia-Pacific region (the project has been running since 2004). In 2009, the first stage ESPO-1 oil pipeline system was completed. In the Krasnoyarsk Territory, the Vankor project aimed at the development of a gas and oil field in the Turukhansk area (since 2006), made it possible to build more than 200 km of oil pipelines and gas pipelines, 700 km of power lines, about 100 km of roads, 117 oil wells, etc.

Table 2

Growth rates of investments in fixed capital in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation, comparable prices, in 2008 = 100%²

Territories of the AZRF	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Territories that are fully included in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation									
Nenets AD	36.4	40.8	39.7	49.5	51.5	62.9	80.4	66.4	109.3
Murmansk Oblast	80.9	69.7	96.6	117.2	108.7	131.6	133.9	103.3	132.2
Yamalo-Nenets AD	88.0	87.8	98.9	115.4	114.6	135.8	118.7	144.9	139.4
Chukotka AD	134.5	45.6	77.6	135.3	89.7	57.5	89.8	74.4	69.9
Territories that are partly included in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation									
Republic of Karelia	68.1	80.0	100.3	106.8	99.8	92.7	85.1	82.8	92.0
Komi Republic	123.5	123.4	206.9	217.0	173.8	169.3	126.3	142.3	89.8
Arkhangelsk Oblast	44.3	56.0	68.3	75.5	68.1	65.6	63.9	59.1	85.7
Krasnoyarsk Oblast	117.8	130.5	150.0	175.8	168.9	156.9	151.3	155.2	151.3
Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)	199.5	127.3	174.2	179.5	161.9	148.6	147.7	190.5	258.0

2) in the second phase (2011–2012), a rapid increase in investment in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation occurred (the average growth rate was 125.8%, in Russia — 108.8%), due to an unprecedented increase in oil prices and exports of oil and petroleum products. Thus, in 2011, “Russian exports, for the first time, crossed the 500 billion mark, with more than half of export revenue received through the sale of oil and petroleum products” [25, Aganbegyan A.G.]. The highest growth rates were in Chukotka AD (the average growth rate of 172.3%), the Republic of Komi (136.3%) and the Murmansk Oblast (129.9%).

3) in the third phase (2013–2014), investments in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation experienced a significant decline (the average growth rate was 95.0%, in Russia — 99.7%). The negative growth rate was due to both own insufficient funds and the completion of major investment projects in some territories, and the so-called “base effect.” E.g., in Chukotka, the investment decline was most pronounced. In 2012, the reconstruction of the runway of Anadyr airport was completed, and it affected the growth rate of investments in the following years. Investment growth was observed in the Murmansk Oblast (106.9%), Nenets AD (113.2%) and Yamal-Nenets AD (108.9%). Thus, the main factor of a significant investment inflow in the Murmansk Oblast was the complex development project of the Murmansk transport hub (the cost — 139.02 billion rubles; running since 2014). The project aims to create a year-round deep-sea hub — the center for processing of oil cargoes, transshipment of coal and mineral fertilizers, integrated into the international transport corridors “North-South” and “East — West.” The project includes the construction of new coal, oil, and container terminals, as well as railway entrances (the railway line Vihodnoy — Lavna), reconstruction and modernization of the port of Murmansk and the existing road infrastructure, incl. the reconstruction of the road R-21 “Kola.”

4) in 2015–2017, despite the ongoing investment decline in the country caused by the geopolitical situation and economic sanctions against Russia, a gradual intensification of investment activity began in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation (the average growth rate was 106.2%, in Russia — 98.0%). In 2015 the growth of investments was noted only in the Arctic

² Calculated by the author.

territories. It is associated with the significant investment projects in the Arctic (e.g., the construction of the 15-kilometer Usinsk — Naryan-Mar highway in the Nenets Autonomous District, the growth of capital investments in the construction of the Omolon — Anadyr highway in Chukotka, etc.). Other Arctic territories of Russia got positive rates of investment growth only in 2016. Thus, in 2016, the highest rise in investment activity was observed in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) due to the construction of the diamond mining enterprise of ALROSA at the Verkhne-Munsky field with a total investment of 62.98 billion rubles. The project is completed at the expense of the company's funds with the involvement of state support (8.5 billion rubles), i.e., a subsidy for compensating the cost of creating transport infrastructure facilities under the target program "Development of the Far East and the Baikal area until 2018." Investment growth in 2016 in Karelia happened due to the construction of two hydroelectric power plants (Beloporozhskaya HPP-1 and HPP Beloporozhskaya-2). The plants were a part of the project "Reconstruction and construction of small hydropower plants on the territory of the Republic of Karelia." One more important project — modernization of Segezha pulp and paper mill (investments amounted to 8.5 billion rubles) in the framework of the project "Reconstruction and modernization of enterprises of timber industry complex" of the "Sokol" Group. In the Republic of Komi, the growth of investments was due to the increase in capital investments in the extraction of fuel and energy minerals and the development of pipeline transport (projects for the construction of the system of main gas pipelines "Bovanenkovo — Ukhta" and "Ukhta — Torzhok").

In the studied period, the growth of investments in fixed assets was observed in the republics of Sakha (Yakutia) and Komi (average growth rates for 2008-2017 amounted to 163.8% and 141.7%, respectively), the Krasnoyarsk Territory (144.0%), as well as the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous District (112.7%) and the Murmansk Oblast (105.2%). At the same time, since 2014, high rates of investment growth were typical only for the Arctic areas. The territories partly included in the AZRF began to reach favorable rates of investment growth only in 2016.

Thus, it is possible to say that investments in the Russian Arctic, despite the negative impact of external factors, has a relatively positive trend (in 2008-2017, the average growth rate of investments amounted to 107.2%, for Russia — 101.1%). Both economic crises made the volume of investments in the economy of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation fell to a lesser extent than the national average. Expenditures increased faster in the post-crisis periods, due to the large-scale investment projects in some Arctic territories.

At the same time, the dynamics of foreign investments in the Russian Arctic experienced rather sharp fluctuations and a tendency to decrease (Fig. 3).

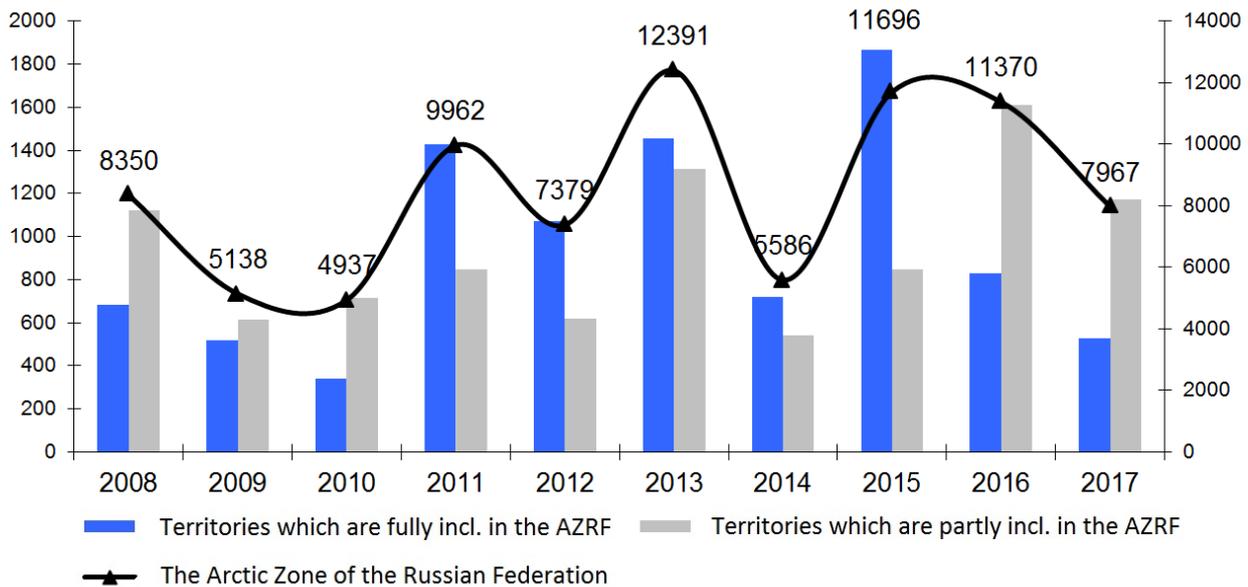


Fig. 3. Foreign direct investment, mln. US dollars

The negative impact of the economic shocks of recent years caused the current economic situation. Thus, with the onset of the global financial crisis, along with the fall in world prices for raw materials, the investment opportunities of the Arctic territories declined sharply. The new round of the economic crisis and the introduction of Western sanctions negatively impact on investments in the Arctic. The sanctions implied a ban on the supply to Russia of specialized equipment and technologies of offshore mining. Many foreign companies were forced to suspend or significantly limit participation in the projects on the Arctic shelf.

Despite it, international cooperation in the Arctic continues. Russian-Chinese Arctic partnership notably increased, as evidenced by the active development of the joint Yamal LNG gas project (the Chinese National Oil and Gas Corporation (CNPC) has a 20% share in the project) [26, Rabiya K.]. Besides, China is also interested in Arctic logistics, primarily the Northern Sea Route. It is proposed to link the Chinese megaproject "Arctic Silk Road" to the T&IK development projects. It suggests that in the medium-term investment activity in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation will remain at its current level. An adverse scenario of the national economy development, the possibility of the Arctic projects with the participation of European and American investments will significantly reduce (however, this will not affect China's investments). In addition, the volume of budgetary investments in large infrastructure projects and co-financing regional investment development programs in the Arctic regions will be reduced, which will lead to a reduction in the volume and / or postponement of the planned financing of investment projects in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation sold at the expense of the federal budget.

Conclusion

Investments in the Arctic has always been extraordinarily uneven and unstable. They are directly related to large-scale projects for the extraction and processing of hydrocarbons. In the future, this leads to an investment recession after such projects or their suspension due to exter-

nal negative phenomena, incl. stricter sanctions against Russian oil and gas sector. It follows that a balanced investment development of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation requires large-scale institutional changes in the state Arctic policy and investment policy that will help attract resources and promote their practical use.

Acknowledgments and funding

The article includes the materials prepared in the framework of the state assignment FRC Kola Scientific Center RAS No. 0226-2019-0027.

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POLITICAL PROCESSES AND INSTITUTIONS

UDC 341.225(98)(045)

DOI: 10.17238/issn2221-2698.2019.34.90

Future work of the International Seabed Authority in the context of the Arctic governance *

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Abstract. The article studies the history, legal framework of the International Seabed Authority, its functions, structure and current work. The analysis focuses on potential fields of ISA activity in the Arctic. Despite the ongoing expert discussions, the author is of the view that Part XI of the 1982 Law of the Sea Convention, setting out the legal basis for the governance of the Area resources and the work of ISA, applies to the Arctic Ocean like to any other part of the world ocean. The primary function of ISA is to regulate exploration and exploitation of deep seabed non-living resources beyond national jurisdiction. Apart from that, ISA will be engaged in other issues — implementation of the UNCLOS provisions on the payments by the coastal states concerning the exploitation of non-living resources on the outer continental shelf, coordination of marine scientific research in the Area, dissemination of its results, etc. Moreover, in the future, ISA could play a significant role in the integrated cross-border and cross-sectoral ecosystem governance of the Arctic Ocean.

Keywords: *International Seabed Authority, the Arctic, area, mineral resources, international cooperation, UN Convention on the Law of the Sea 1982, continental shelf, maritime areas beyond national jurisdiction.*

Introduction

Discussing the prospects for the work of the International Seabed Authority (ISA) in the Arctic is not an easy task. First of all, it is due to the political implications of the issue and media dissemination of the topic “wars for arctic resources”, potential conflicts due to extended continental shelf applications and calls to “divide” the seabed of the Arctic Ocean between the coastal states, leaving no room for the formation of seabed areas subject to regulation of the international organization. Russian experts often say that our state should not recognize the applicability to the Arctic of the “common heritage of mankind” regime provided by the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea 1982 (the Convention 1982) in relation to the seabed areas beyond continental shelf. On the other hand, experts and politicians from different countries expressed the need to extend such a regime to the Arctic Ocean, following the example of the Antarctic legal regime. Also, one might note some concerns about the emergence of contradictions between the Arctic coastal states interested in expanding their continental shelf at the expense of the Arctic seabed Area [1, Ujvari B., p. 4]. The same is fair for non-Arctic countries, which will benefit from the expansion of deep-sea areas that fall under the concept of the “common heritage of mankind.”

At the same time, only a few significant scientific publications tackling the issue of the ISA in the Arctic could be found. Possible reasons for this are the unfinished process of delineation of

* For citation:

Todorov A.A. Future work of the International Seabed Authority in the context of the Arctic governance. *Arktika i Sever* [Arctic and North], 2019, no. 34, pp. 73–89. DOI: 10.17238/issn2221-2698.2019.34.90

the seabed beyond the limits of national jurisdictions and lack of scientific data on the mineral resources of the deep seafloor in the Arctic. The purpose of this article are to study the mechanism of ISA activities, to consider the ISA history and the prospects for its activities in the Arctic, as well as review the criticism of the “common heritage mankind” concept.

General information on ISA

The development of mineral resources in the deep-sea areas has recently become extremely important. Consumption of metals in the world is steadily increasing. It is especially true for high-tech industries that are deficient in rare and rare-earth metals. At the same time, the reserves of non-ferrous metal ores on land are rapidly depleting. The buildup of significant quantities of strategically important minerals (e.g., nickel, cobalt, manganese, copper, rare-earth metals like lanthanum, scandium, yttrium, etc.) due to the discovery of new deposits on the continent becomes less and less likely [2, Lodge M., p. 1]. Under these conditions, the mineral resources of the deep-sea areas of the World Ocean become a vital source of the principal and rare elements necessary for the sustainable development and ensuring the raw material strategic reserves of states.

The limits of the deep-sea areas beyond the continental shelf of coastal states (hereinafter — the Area) contain vast reserves of mineral resources. However, today, only three types of resources of the Area are of commercial interest for states: ferromanganese nodules, cobalt-rich crusts, and polymetallic sulfides. Consequently, at present, ISA is focused only on these three types of resources. Now, only exploration activity is carried out. Although industrial mining in the Area has not yet begun, the Canadian company *Nautilus Minerals Inc.* announced the start of the first mining operations in the deep-water areas in deep-sea areas off the coast of Papua New Guinea in 2019 with the use of giant remote-controlled robots¹¹.

The concept of the Area as a common heritage of mankind was developed in the 1960s — 1970s. At first it competed with the concept of *res nullius*, i.e., the idea that the resources of the deep seabed beyond national jurisdiction did not initially belong to anyone, but to states that could establish the right to use them through unilateral “occupation.” To some extent, the latter meant that the mining in the Area should be declared as one of the freedoms of the high seas. In contrast, the concept of common heritage eliminates the possibility of unilateral actions on the acquisition of an object and implies joint and regulated management of it. At the same time, the concept of the Area as *res nullius* was supported by some developed countries, whereas the idea of common heritage reflected to a greater extent the interests of the developing [3, Egede E., pp. 55–58].

The first official document declaring the resources of the deep seabed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction to be common heritage of mankind was the UN Declaration of Principles

¹¹ World's First Deep Sea Mining Venture Set to Launch in 2019. URL: <https://www.seeker.com/worlds-first-deep-sea-mining-venture-set-to-launch-in-2019-2327856967.html> (Accessed: 08 June 2018).

Governing the Seabed and the Ocean Floor, and the Subsoil Thereof, beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction, adopted in 1970¹². Part XI of the UNCLOS and the Agreement 1994 on the implementation of Part IX were aimed at developing the concept of Area and establishing an institution to govern the Area on behalf of the mankind.

Following Art. 1 of the 1982 Convention, “Area” means the seabed and ocean floor and subsoil thereof, beyond the limits of national jurisdiction (in fact, beyond the outer limits of the continental shelf of states). Art 133 declares the Area and its resources the common heritage of mankind. It means that no country has the right to claim sovereignty or sovereign rights or exercise them in respect of any part of the Area or its resources. States, individuals or legal entities may acquire or exercise mineral rights in the Area only under the Convention.

In the Area, activities are carried out for the benefit of all mankind, regardless of the geographic location of the states, both coastal and landlocked (Art 140, § 1). According to Art. 156, an international organization responsible for the management of activities in the Area is established — the International Seabed Authority. States can search for, explore, and extract resources of the Area only through the ISA and the mechanisms within its framework. Financial and other economic benefits from activities in the Area are also equitably shared through the Authority (§ 2, Art 140). Several articles of the Convention contain provisions on the need to consider the interests of developing countries (when conducting scientific research, transfer of technology and scientific knowledge, encouraging the participation of developing countries in activities in the Area, etc.).

Art. 158–170 of the UNCLOS regulate the activities of the ISA main structures: The Assembly, the Council, and the Secretariat. Also, an Enterprise is established — a division of the Authority directly involved in the development of the resources of the Area. The Assembly is the highest body of the ISA and consists of all members of the organization. The most important function of the Assembly is the review and approval of the norms, rules and procedures of the Authority adopted by the Council (Art. 160).

ISA Council is the executive body that is entrusted by the Convention with the primary responsibility for formulating ISA’s management policies of activities in the Area. The Council approves the applicants' exploration and development work plans after they have been reviewed by the Council’s Legal and Technical Commission, reserves seabed areas for the Authority, controls the activities of contractors in the Area, develops and adopts rules of exploration and development (that are afterwards approved by the Assambley). The Council consists of 36 members elected by the Assembly into four groups of states (Art. 161). Each member of the Council is elected for a term of four years. The Russian Federation is almost permanently presented in the Group A of the Council, which consists of four member states of the Authority which are the largest importers and consumers of mineral resources, with the obligatory participation of an Eastern European country with the largest economy.

¹²UN GA Declaration of Principles Governing the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor, and the Subsoil Thereof, beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction. URL: <http://www.un-documents.net/a25r2749.htm> (Accessed: 08 June 2018).

The Secretariat of the Authority consists of the Secretary-General (since 2016 it is M. Lodge from the UK), his deputy, as well as a staff of professional and technical staff.

The regime of search, exploration and development activities in the Area is mostly the same for different types of mineral resources. The differences is the size of the area in which applicants plan to carry out activities for the exploration and development of resources and results from the physical parameters of various types of resources. Under the ISA rules of exploration and development¹³ there are three types of activities in the Area: prospecting, exploration, and mining (development). Prospecting is a search for deposits, without exclusive rights. Prospecting is carried out with the notification of the ISA Secretary-General (a contract with the ISA is not required). Exploration is a more complicated type of work compared to prospecting. It includes the analysis of such deposits, the use and testing of recovery systems and equipment, etc. Exploration is carried out in a specific part of the Area defined in the plan of work with exclusive rights, which are drawn up by a contract between the applicant and the Authority. The contract is concluded after the approval by the Council of the plan of exploration work of the applicant.

Under Annex III of the Convention 1982, when applying for an explorational contract, the applicant has the right to choose the conditions for future activities in the Area. It means that if the applicant is to carry out activities independently, it must describe two commercially equivalent sites in the application for the subsequent transfer of one of them to the Authority (the so-called reserved area option). If the applicant chooses to act within the framework of a joint venture with the Authority to develop one site, only one site must be described in the application¹⁴. The main purpose of such system is the opportunity for the Authority to obtain areas of potential commercial value for developing resources without carrying out the necessary prospecting and exploration, while applicants (states, enterprises and companies) conduct prospecting at their own expense not only for themselves but also for the Authority since it represents the interests of mankind.

Exploration contracts are concluded for a term of 15 years¹⁵. Several years (varies depending on the resource type) prior to expiration of the exploration contract, the contractor is obliged to choose a part of the exploration site assigned to him, relinquishing the remaining sites¹⁶. The

¹³See, e.g., *Pravila poiska i razvedki kobal'tonosnyh zhelezomargancevyh korok v Rajone*. [Regulations on prospecting and exploration for cobalt-rich ferromanganese crusts in the Area]. URL: https://www.isa.org.jm/sites/default/files/files/documents/isba-18a-11_3.pdf (Accessed: 08 June 2018). [In Russian]

¹⁴ Art. 8–11 Annex III UNCLOS 1982

¹⁵*Soglashenie ob osushchestvlenii Chasti XI Konvencii Organizacii Ob"edinyonnyh Nacij po morskomu pravu ot 10 dekabrya 1982 goda*. [Agreement relating to the implementation of Part XI of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea]. URL: http://www.un.org/ru/documents/decl_conv/conventions/agreement_impl_lawsea.shtml (Accessed: 08 June 2018). [In Russian]

¹⁶ See: *Pravilo 27 Pravil poiska i razvedki polimetallicheskikh sulfidov v Rajone* [Regulation 27, Regulations on Prospecting and Exploration for Polymetallic Sulphides in the Area] URL: https://www.isa.org.jm/sites/default/files/files/documents/isba-16a-12rev1_1_1.pdf (Accessed: 08 June 2018). [In Russian] and *Pravilo 25 Pravil poiska i razvedki polimetallicheskikh sulfidov v Rajone*. [Regulation 25, Regulations on Prospecting and Exploration for Polymetallic Sulphides in the Area] URL: https://www.isa.org.jm/sites/default/files/files/documents/isba-19c-17_1_1.pdf (Accessed: 08 June 2018). [In Russian]

relinquished sites are transferred to ISA's fund. Upon expiration of the exploration contract, the contractor applies to the exploitation (mining) work plan in the remaining area. Exploitation is recovery for commercial purposes of resources of the Area and the extraction of minerals therefrom. The exploitation is also be carried out on the terms of relevant contract.

Under Art. 4 of Annex III of UNCLOS, the applicant for exploration and exploitation can be a state or an individual and legal entities if the state of their citizenship grants sponsorship for them. Exploration and development activities may also be carried out by the ISA through its Enterprise.

Today, the rules for prospecting and exploration in respect of all the mentioned types of resources are approved. The next step for the ISA is to work out the regulations for exploitation of the resources of the Area, starting with ferromanganese nodules. Also, the ISA is developing the rules regarding environmental management issues. The final task for ISA is the establishment of a management of all types of activities in the Area. The result should be a "Mining Code," which is expected to bring together all the regulations worked out by the ISA to implement the Convention 1984 and the Agreement 1994¹⁷.

Today, the ISA has exploration contracts with 27 applicants. Russian representatives are among them. Most of the contracts are valid for the Clarion-Clipperton Zone in the Pacific Ocean. Exploration also occurs in the Indian and Atlantic oceans. The Arctic Ocean is not yet among the areas where states are active in the search and exploration of resources.

Criticism of Part XI of the Convention 1982

Part XI and the common heritage concept are considered one of the key innovations in international maritime law, introduced by the UNCLOS. Previously, not any international agreement contained the concept of common heritage in relation to maritime areas.

On the other hand, it was Part XI on which states had severe disagreements while elaborating the provisions of the Convention 1982. At the III UN Conference on the Law of the Sea (1973–1982), many developed countries revealed their disagreement with the provisions of Part XI and unwillingness to sign the Convention [4, Guntrip E., p. 9]. The US delegation expressed its discontent most actively. The R.W. Reagan's administration believed that some provisions of Part XI would undermine the future industry of deep-sea seabed mining industry. The US considered the provisions on ISA structure and activities infringing on their interests since they suggested the possibility of taking decisions without due regard to the position of a single state. Americans objected to the mechanism establishing technology transfer to developing countries.

Moreover, during the III UN Conference on the Law of the Sea, the US adopted a national act on the regulation of deep seabed minerals resources (Deep Seabed Hard Minerals Resources

¹⁷Doklad General'nogo sekretarya Mezhdunarodnogo organa po morskomu dnu, predusmotrennyj punktom 4 stat'i 166 Konvencii Organizacii Ob"edinyonnyh Nacij po morskomu pravu. [Report of the Secretary-General of the International Seabed Authority provided for in paragraph 4 of Article 166 of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea]. URL: https://www.isa.org.jm/sites/default/files/files/documents/isba-23a-2_4.pdf (Accessed: 08 June 2018). [In Russian]

Act). The law established procedures for obtaining licenses bypassing the regime discussed under the UNCLOS. France, Italy, Japan, and some other developed countries followed the US [4, Guntrip E., p. 9].

The adoption of the Agreement relating to the implementation of Part XI of the Convention in 1994 resolved most of the problems that arose during the discussion of Part XI [5, Lodge M., p. 736]. The agreement eliminated all objections of developed countries to the specific conditions for the common heritage regime of the Area.

The US signed the Agreement 1994 but did not ratify it. Besides, the US are still not a party to the UNCLOS. However, it would be wrong to assume that Washington is opposed to the concept of “the common heritage of mankind.” In 1970, the US approved the UN General Assembly Resolution 2749 (XXV), which proclaimed the seabed and the resources of the deep-water areas of the ocean as a common heritage of mankind [6, Zagorsky A.V., p. 69]¹⁸. Most of the representatives of the American scientific expert community, the political and military leadership, and the business elite are leaning in favor of ratifying the Convention.¹⁹ The need for this step is emphasized in the US national Arctic strategy²⁰. However, all attempts of successive presidential administrations since 1994 to pass a law on ratification of the UNCLOS through the US Congress failed. The arguments of opponents of ratification, represented mainly by a group of US Senate members remain the same as those expressed by the US delegation at the III UN Conference on the Law of the Sea and boil down to the decision making process of ISA and the possibility of circumventing the US position [7, Guedev P., p. 51].

Nevertheless, the USA, while not being a party to UNCLOS recognizes most of its provisions as reflecting the norms of customary international law, i.e., general practice accepted as law²¹. Accordingly, those provisions of the Convention, which have become innovations in international maritime law, are not recognized by Americans. Most experts agree that Part XI did not acquire the status of customary international law. ISA Secretary-General an authoritative British lawyer M. Lodge shares this opinion [5, Lodge M., p. 734].

Applicability of the Area regime to the Arctic

The question of the applicability of the Area’s regime to the Arctic inevitably leads to a discussion of the general applicability of the UNCLOS to the Arctic region and its implications for the limits of the continental shelf of the coastal Arctic states. In Russia, there is a rather common position, according to which our country took the wrong way and gave away its rights for the signifi-

¹⁸ For more see: Gubanov A.I. *Razgranichenie kontinental'nogo shel'fa v Arktike: Mezhdunarodno-pravovye problemy i per-spektivy* [The delimitation of the continental shelf in the Arctic: International legal problems and prospects] M.: Zerkalo-M, 2015. pp. 108–109. [In Russian]

¹⁹ See, e.g., Erickson, Karen (2010): “Arctic Resources up for grabs; Are U.S. hands tied?”. URL: http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:9ygtkkzdKQJ:www.fosters.com/article/20100124/GJOPINI_ON_0102/701249951+&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=ru&client=opera (Accessed: 25 July 2018).

²⁰ US National Strategy For The Arctic Region. URL: https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/default/files/docs/nat_arctic_strategy.pdf p. 9 (Accessed: 08 June 2018).

²¹ Ibid, p. 10.

cant part of the Arctic Ocean by ratifying the UNCLOS and recognizing its applicability to the Arctic by submitting a claim to UN Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf (CLCS)²² [8, Vylegzhanin A.N., Dudykina I.P., p. 284]. This approach called “sectoral” suggests that the UNCLOS is not the main framework for managing the Arctic Ocean, but it is only one of the sources applicable to the the Arctic. It is argued that in the 1920s, a system of sectoral division of the Arctic by the five coastal states was established. The boundaries of the Arctic sectors were determined by the meridian lines converging at the North Pole. It is concluded that “the five Arctic states have the right to delimit among themselves all seabed areas of the semi-enclosed Arctic Ocean as their continental shelf” [9, Ivanov I.S., p. 31]. In this case, in the Arctic, no seabed areas will be formed that fall into the category of the common heritage subject to Part XI of the Convention 1982 (since it is not part of customary international law). Also, the allegedly more favorable position of the US which are not member of the Convention and not obliged to recognize the Area and ISA in the Arctic, is presented as an argument [8, Vylegzhanin A.N., Dudykina I.P., p. 286].

However, as A.V. Zagorsky correctly notes [6, p. 65], the “sectoral” theory of the Arctic shelf delimitation has been thoroughly reviewed and refuted, in the Russian scholalry literature . The purpose of this article is not to criticize the “sectoral” approach. We will mention only one argument confirming the applicability of the UNCLOS to the Arctic: in 2008, at the meeting in Ilulissat (Greenland), the foreign ministers of the five coastal states declared that the “extensive international legal framework” applied to the Arctic Ocean” [9, Ivanov I.S., p. 31]. It is evident that the Ilulissat Declaration does not expressly mention the UNCLOS because one of the five states (the United States) is not a party to the Convention. However, later all the coastal states, incl. Russia and the US, repeatedly confirmed that they referred to it in the Declaration [6, Zagorsky A.V., p. 23].

Moreover, three of the five coastal states — Russia, Norway, and Denmark — have already submitted their applications to the CSCS regarding their extended continental shelf in the Arctic, and Canada is preparing to do so soon.²³ It also suggests that coastal states have taken the path of recognizing the applicability of the provisions of the UNCLOS to the Arctic and have already taken concrete actions following it. Under these conditions, speculations about the need to use the “sectoral principle”, bypassing the provisions of the Convention 1982, could increase conflicts in the Arctic region.

For this reason, there is no doubt about the correctness of ISA General Secretary M. Lodge's statement that the Arctic Ocean, as well as all other parts of the World Ocean (with some exceptions: e.g., the area around the Antarctic), is governed by the UNCLOS and the Agreement 1994. It implies that the seabed areas beyond the outer limits of the continental shelf will be con-

²² The CLCS, as well as the ISA, is a new phenomenon in international maritime law, introduced by the Convention 1982, and it does not apply to customary international law.

²³ Canada to submit Arctic continental shelf claim in 2018. URL: <https://thebarentsobserver.com/en/arctic/2016/05/canada-submit-arctic-continental-shelf-claim-2018>(Accessed: 08 June 2018).

sidered as the Area, and the development of resources in such areas will be conducted under ISA regulations [10, Lodge M., p. 178].

However, the answer to the question about the limits of the Area in the Arctic will not be given soon. The geomorphic characteristics of the AO suggest that most of its seabed will form the continental shelf of coastal states [10, Lodge M., p. 179]. The specific coordinates of the Area will depend on the limits of the extended continental shelf of the states established by them after receiving the recommendations of the CLCS. At the same time, the CLCS has made recommendations only in relation to the Norwegian application (in 2009). The Russian application submitted in 2001 and revised in 2015, like the Danish submission in 2014, is under consideration by the Commission. The United States will be able to submit its application only after the ratification of the Convention. Moreover, processing of applications may be delayed for many years due to the enormous amount of work the Commission has to complete.²⁴ According to some studies, from two to four separate sites of the Area can be formed in the Arctic Ocean.²⁵ They may contain seabed areas on the Gakkel Ridge, not included in the applications of Russia, Norway, and Denmark, as well as the Canadian Basin (see Fig. 1).



Fig. 1. Possible areas of the Area are highlighted in white. Source: Durham University.

²⁴Tulupov. D. Uroki zanimatel'noj delimitacii: kak pravil'no razdelit' arkticheskij shel'f? [The lessons of entertaining delimitation: how to properly divide the Arctic shelf?] *Oficial'nyj sajt RSMD*. URL: http://russiancouncil.ru/inner/?id_4=5583#top-content (Accessed: 08 June 2018). [In Russian]

²⁵ Non-Living Resources of The Continental Shelf Beyond 200 Nautical Miles: Speculations On The Implementation Of Article 82 Of The United Nations Convention On The Law Of The Sea. *ISA Technical Study Series*. ISA Technical Study: no. 5. P. 20. URL: <https://www.isa.org.jm/sites/default/files/files/documents/techstudy5.pdf> (Accessed: 08 June 2018).

ISA future activities in the Arctic

1. Regulation of the Area's resource exploration in the Arctic

The primary and most obvious function of ISA will be to review and approve exploration contracts and production of deep seabed resources beyond the limits of national jurisdiction in the Arctic, following the mechanism described above.

The key question is: what are the mineral resources of the future Arctic? It should be noted that today the world community does not have any exact data on this subject [10, Lodge M., p. 181]. Former Ambassador of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation on Arctic Issues A.V. Vasiliev referred to Danish experts. They indicated that 95–97% of the explored reserves of “hydrocarbons and other minerals” at the seabed of the Arctic were within 200 nautical miles of coastal states. It means the location in those areas where countries have indisputable sovereign rights to exploration under the UNCLOS [11, Vasilyev A.V., p. 15]. Other scientists usually skeptically assess hydrocarbon reserves beyond 200 miles from the coast of the Arctic states²⁶.

According to the United States Geological Survey 2008²⁷, “The common continental shelf of the Arctic may be the world's largest location of unexplored reserves of oil and gas resources.” However, accounting the central part of the Arctic Ocean (areas of the Eurasian Basin and Makarov basins, see Fig. 2 and Table. 1 “EB” and “LM”), a part of which will presumably form the Area, total oil and gas reserves, in accordance with the same study, may amount to approximately 7.6 billion b.un.e. It is just 1–2% of the undiscovered resources of the Arctic.

As for other mineral resources, several hydrothermal deposits were discovered on the Gakkel Ridge in the area between Greenland and Norway with the prospect of finding deposits of sulfides. The presence of similar stocks on other ridges of the Arctic Ocean is also possible [12, Byers M., pp. 193–194].

However, today, exploration and extraction of resources of the deep-sea seabed of the Arctic is a task almost impossible to solve. Mining at depths of over 60 meters in ice conditions will require technologies that will not be available in the world in the near and medium term [13, Chuprov V.A., p. 13]. The resources for exploration are currently underway in the Area (crusts, nodules, and sulfides) at depths of 400 to 5,000 meters²⁸.

²⁶ Non-Living Resources Of The Continental Shelf Beyond 200 Nautical Miles: Speculations On The Implementation Of Article 82 Of The United Nations Convention On The Law Of The Sea. *ISA Technical Study Series*. ISA Technical Study: no. 5. P. 20. URL: <https://www.isa.org.jm/sites/default/files/files/documents/techstudy5.pdf> (Accessed: 08 June 2018).

²⁷ Circum-Arctic Resource Appraisal: Estimates of Undiscovered Oil and Gas North of the Arctic Circle // The U.S. Geological Survey. URL: <https://pubs.usgs.gov/fs/2008/3049/fs2008-3049.pdf> (Accessed: 08 June 2018).

²⁸ Morskije mineral'nye resursy [Marine mineral resources] *Broshyura MOMD*. p. 2. URL: https://www.isa.org.jm/sites/default/files/files/documents/ia6_rus.pdf (Accessed: 08 June 2018). [In Russian]

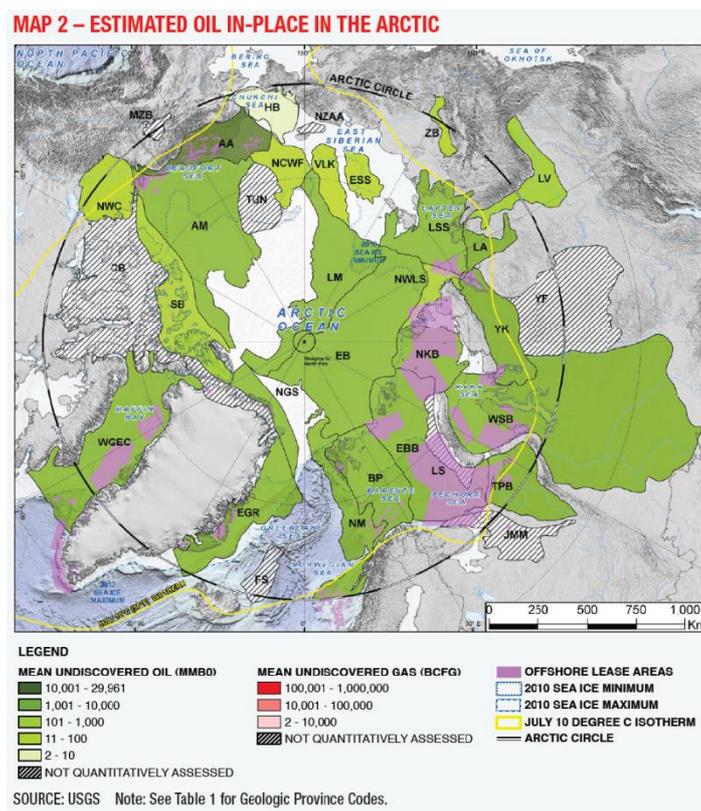


Fig. 2. The USGS' estimates of Arctic oil and gas reserves.

2. Contributions for the mineral resource development on the shelf beyond 200 miles.

Another issue that the ISA in the Arctic will take up and which will arise earlier than others is the implementation of the provisions of art. 82 of the UNCLOS reduce the potential Area²⁹. According to it, the coastal state makes payment or “contributions in kind” in connection with the development of non-living resources of the continental shelf beyond 200 nautical miles. The fee is made annually after the first five years of production. The amount for the sixth year is 1% of the value or volume of output and increases by 1% each year until the end of the 12th year and then remains at the level of 7%.

According to the Convention, ISA plays a vital role in this process: payments are made through the Authority, which distributes them among the other states — parties to the Convention, considering the interests and needs of developing countries, especially the least developed and landlocked (§4, Art. 84). Responsibility for the implementation of the provisions of Art. 82 are jointly carried by coastal states that develop the resources of the extended shelf, and ISA, which distributes contributions and payments from such activities. Until now, Art. 82 has not been applied although some countries (incl. the Arctic states — the USA and Canada³⁰) got the permissions for exploration and extraction of their continental shelf resources beyond the 200 nautical miles.

²⁹ Issues Associated with the Implementation of Article 82 of the United Nations Convention on The Law of The Sea. *International Seabed Authority's technical study*. URL: <https://www.isa.org/jm/sites/default/files/files/documents/tstudy4.pdf> (Accessed: 08 June 2018).

³⁰ *Ibid*

Table 1

The USGS' estimates of Arctic oil and gas reserves

TABLE 1 – ESTIMATED OIL & GAS IN-PLACE IN THE ARCTIC					
Sorted from largest to smallest prize in MMBOE for each geological province					
PROVINCE CODE	GEOLOGICAL PROVINCE	OIL (MMBO)	TOTAL GAS (BCFG)	NGL (MMBNGL)	BOE (MMBOE)
WSB	West Siberian Basin	3,659.88	651,498.56	20,328.69	132,571.66
AA	Arctic Alaska	29,960.94	221,397.60	5,904.97	72,765.52
EBB	East Barents Basin	7,406.49	317,557.97	1,422.28	61,755.10
EGR	East Greenland Rift Basins	8,902.13	86,180.06	8,121.57	31,387.04
YK	Yenisey-Khatanga Basin	5,583.74	99,964.26	2,675.15	24,919.61
AM	Amerasia Basin	9,723.58	56,891.21	541.69	19,747.14
WGEC	West Greenland-East Canada	7,274.40	51,818.16	1,152.59	17,063.35
LSS	Laptev Sea Shelf	3,115.57	32,562.84	867.16	9,409.87
NM	Norwegian Margin	1,437.29	32,281.01	504.73	7,322.19
BP	Barents Platform	2,055.51	26,218.67	278.71	6,704.00
EB	Eurasia Basin	1,342.15	19,475.43	520.26	5,108.31
NKB	North Kara Basins and Platforms	1,807.26	14,973.58	390.22	4,693.07
TPB	Timan-Pechora Basin	1,667.21	9,062.59	202.80	3,380.44
NGS	North Greenland Sheared Margin	1,349.80	10,207.24	273.09	3,324.09
LM	Lomonosov-Makarov	1,106.78	7,156.25	191.55	2,491.04
SB	Sverdrup Basin	851.11	8,596.36	191.20	2,475.04
LA	Lena-Anabar Basin	1,912.89	2,106.75	56.41	2,320.43
NCWF	North Chukchi-Wrangell Foreland Basin	85.99	6,065.76	106.57	1,203.52
VLK	Vilkitskii Basin	98.03	5,741.87	101.63	1,156.63
NWLS	Northwest Laptev Sea Shelf	172.24	4,488.12	119.63	1,039.90
LV	Lena-Vilyui Basin	376.86	1,335.20	35.66	635.06
ZB	Zyryanka Basin	47.82	1,505.99	40.14	338.95
ESS	East Siberian Sea Basin	19.73	618.83	10.91	133.78
HB	Hope Basin	2.47	648.17	11.37	121.87
NWC	Northwest Canada Interior Basins	23.34	305.34	15.24	89.47
MZB	Mezen' Basin	NQA ⁽¹⁾	NQA	NQA	NQA
NZAA	Novaya Zemlya Basins and Admiralty Arch	NQA	NQA	NQA	NQA
TUN	Tunguska Basin	NQA	NQA	NQA	NQA
CB	Chukchi Borderland	NQA	NQA	NQA	NQA
YF	Yukon Flats (part of Central Alaska Province)	NQA	NQA	NQA	NQA
LS	Long Strait	NQA	NQA	NQA	NQA
JMM	Jan Mayen Microcontinent	NQA	NQA	NQA	NQA
FS	Franklinian Shelf	NQA	NQA	NQA	NQA
Totals		89,983.21	1,668,657.84	44,064.24	412,157.09

SOURCE: USGS (<http://pubs.usgs.gov/fs/2008/3049/>) Note: 1) NQA - Not Quantitatively Assessed

Despite its brevity, Art. 82, partly because of its innovative nature, contains many ambiguities regarding concepts and mechanisms of implementation. In particular, the notion of “volume of extracted products” (raw material or “pure product”?) requires clarification. How its cost should be calculated? What is meant by “natural contribution”? And who will bear the cost of delivering such contributions to the Authority?

Also, the taxation of payments from transboundary fields (located on the border of the shelf of different states beyond 200 n. miles or between the continental shelf and the Area) should

be worked out. Also, no clear criteria for the distribution of payments by ISA among developing countries exist³¹.

To clarify these and other issues related to the implementation of Article 82 of the UNCLOS, round tables and expert meetings have been held since 2009 on the initiative of the Authority and the British Royal Institute of International Relations (Chatham House)³². As for the Arctic, the recommendation made at one of such sessions is of interest — the Authority and the producing states could conclude special agreements to implement the provisions of Art. 82. It was proposed that the Authority could develop a form and standards for such an agreement [10, Lodge M., p. 183].

3. Marine scientific research in the Arctic

Under the UNCLOS, all states have the right to conduct marine scientific research (Art. 238). The Convention contains special provisions for research in the Area. According to Art. 256, all states (what is important — not only states — parties), irrespective of their geographical location, have the right for scientific research in the Area under Part XI. Part XI (Art. 143) states that marine scientific research in the Area is carried out exclusively for peaceful purposes and the benefit of all mankind. ISA may also carry out such activities in the Area and enter into contracts for this purpose. The role of the Authority is to promote and encourage research in the Area, their coordination and dissemination of results. Further, the states — parties to the UNCLOS (not all states, as it is in Art. 256) are obliged to encourage international cooperation in marine scientific research. It means participation in international scientific programs, dissemination of scientific results through the Authority or other international organizations, as well as through program development, to support developing countries, strengthen their research capacity and train their staff.

The Arctic has a long history of international scientific research. Given the current climate change, the role of the scientific study of the North is becoming more and more crucial. It is in particular underlined by the international agreement of 8 Arctic states on scientific cooperation concluded in 2017³³. In light of the aforementioned provisions of the UNCLOS, significant responsibility for the actions aimed at strengthening scientific cooperation lies with regional intergovernmental organizations and institutions: first of all, the Arctic Council and International Arctic Scientific Committee (IASC) — mediators in establishing interaction with the Authority and distribution of the scientific results [10, Lodge M., p. 186]. Naturally, this should consider the difference in scientific research. E.g., the collection of data on the nature of the seabed to prove its continental origin for the Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf should not fall under the provisions on the dissemination of research results. Another thing is scientific research to improve the

³¹ Ibid

³² See.: The ISA technical study. URL: <https://www.isa.org.jm/sites/default/files/files/documents/tstudy4.pdf>; https://www.isa.org.jm/sites/default/files/files/documents/ts15-web_0.pdf; <https://www.isa.org.jm/sites/default/files/files/documents/ts12-web.pdf> (Accessed: 08 June 2018).

³³ Agreement on Enhancing International Arctic Scientific Cooperation. URL: <https://oaarchive.arctic-council.org/handle/11374/1916> (Accessed: 08 June 2018).

understanding of the processes occurring in the Arctic. It is where the broad international cooperation and facilitating activities of the Authority should be directed since obtaining such knowledge is in the interest of all states.

The role of ISA in the integrated ecosystem-based marine management in the Arctic

Currently, global regulation of maritime activities is subject to specific changes that should be considered in case of the Arctic. Environmental issues come to the fore in the world agenda concerning the marine management [14, Gudev P.A., p. 100]. At the global and regional levels, integrated cross-border (i.e., covering all legal categories of marine spaces, incl. the Area and the high seas) measures to protect the marine environment from the adverse effects of human activities are discussed.

The Arctic does not remain aloof from these trends. Environmental issues have always been the focus of the Arctic Council³⁴. Recently, the problem of integrated cross-border marine management has emerged as a separate line of work of the AC. Since 2015, the Task Force on the Arctic Marine Cooperation has been functioning within its framework. Its current mandate is to assess the need to create a potential new body for integrated ecosystem-based management of the Arctic marine areas, as well as to improve existing AC mechanisms for the same purpose³⁵.

However, the creation of such a mechanism implies the successful solution of several existing problems. One of them is the sectoral nature of the existing system of regulation of maritime activities [15, Molenaar E.J., Elferink A.G., p. 10]. Even if any of the existing global mechanisms have authority in cross-border protection of the marine environment, the measures it takes are related to a strictly defined type of human activity. E.g., the International Maritime Organization (IMO), designed to regulate shipping safety, has the right to consider the creation of special areas and marine areas with particular vulnerability (Particularly Sensitive Sea Areas), incl. beyond national jurisdiction, which have stricter shipping rules that limit or prohibit certain activities to protect the marine environment³⁶.

The fisheries activities are regulated through the global mechanism in the form of the Agreement on the implementation of the provisions of the UNCLOS (hereinafter — the Agreement 1995³⁷), which concerns conservation of straddling and highly migratory fish stocks. Under the Agreement 1995, there is a network of regional fisheries managing organizations (RFMOs) in the world, with significant powers to protect fish stocks across borders, incl. the creation of sea areas

³⁴Official web-site of the Arctic Council. URL: <http://www.arctic-council.org/index.php/ru/about-us> (Accessed: 08 June 2018).

³⁵Report to Ministers of the Task Force on Arctic Marine Cooperation (TFAMC). Arctic Council. URL: <https://oarchive.arctic-council.org/bitstream/handle/11374/1923/2017-04-30-Edocs-4079-v3-TFAMC-report-to-ministers-with-cover-and-colophon.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y> (Accessed: 08 June 2018).

³⁶About local and global mechanisms, see. Protecting the marine environment in areas beyond national jurisdiction. *Foundation for International Environmental Law and Development*. URL: http://www.lighthouse-foundation.org/fileadmin/LHF/PDF/field_mpas_guide_april_2012.pdf (Accessed: 08 June 2018).

³⁷Agreement on the implementation of the provisions of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea of December 10, 1982, relating to the conservation and management of straddling fish stocks and stocks of migratory fish.

that are closed to fishing. Also, the International Food and Agriculture Organization is entitled to take regulatory measures for fisheries.

ISA belongs to global mechanisms that have sectoral powers to protect the marine environment from damage caused by a specific type of activity — exploration and mining of the mineral resources of the Area. To this end, the Authority may, among other things, establish marine protected areas (areas of special ecological interest) where exploration and development of resources are prohibited. E.g., in 2012, the ISM approved an environmental management plan for the Clarion-Clipperton Zone, which provides for the creation of 9 areas of environmental interest³⁸.

There are some other types of global sectoral mechanisms, but there is still no universal tool for integrated ecosystem marine management worldwide. Nevertheless, attempts to create it are undertaken. For example, currently there is ongoing work to adopt an agreement supplementing the UNCLOS on conservation and sustainable use of marine biodiversity in areas beyond national jurisdiction. It is accompanied by a decision of the General Assembly to establish a special conference on the preparation of an agreement³⁹.

In the absence of a single global cross-sectoral mechanism, the initiative has shifted to the regional level. There is a significant number of regional organizations for the protection of the marine environment. However, the regional ecosystem regulation of maritime activities implies need of active involvement of countries not participating in the regional mechanism (third states) in the implementation of measures developed for areas beyond national jurisdiction. The starting point of international law: the freedoms of the high seas apply in the high seas, and vessels are subject to the flag state jurisdiction. It is evident that the countries of the region can agree to change the regime and restrict the freedoms established by the UNCLOS among themselves and persons under their jurisdiction. However, they have no right to limit the rights of third states [15, Molenaar E.J., Elferink A.G., p. 18].

According to the UNEP report 2017⁴⁰, currently, areas outside national jurisdiction are somehow included in the geographic areas of the five regional mechanisms: the OSPAR Commission (Commission for the Protection of the Marine Environment of the North-East Atlantic), the Commission for the Conservation of Antarctic Marine Living Resources (CCAMLR), the Barcelona Convention for the Protection of the Mediterranean Sea against Pollution, the Convention for the Protection of the Natural Resources of the South Pacific and the Convention for the Protection of the Marine Environment and the Coastal Zone of the South-East Pacific.

³⁸Council Decision on the Environmental Management Plan for the Clarion-Clipperton Zone. International Seabed Authority. URL: https://www.isa.org.jm/sites/default/files/documents/isba-18c-22_1_1.pdf (Accessed: 08 June 2018).

³⁹Resolution 72/249 approved by the UN General Assembly 24 December 2017. URL: <http://undocs.org/ru/a/res/72/249> (Accessed: 08 June 2018).

⁴⁰Regional Seas programs covering Areas Beyond National Jurisdictions. UNEP. URL: http://www.un.org/Depts/los/biodiversityworkinggroup/Regional_seas_programmes_ABNJ.pdf (Accessed: 08 June 2018).

In the process of developing integrated ecosystem-based marine management for the Arctic Ocean, the Arctic states will have to solve the key challenges: how to overcome the sectoral nature of regulation and how to involve third states to comply with measures in areas beyond national jurisdiction. In our opinion, the experience of the OSPAR Commission is useful for the Arctic. OSPAR member states have taken the path of coordinating their activities with sectoral global organizations regulating maritime activities. E.g., in 2014, OSPAR and NEAFC — the regional RFMO in the North-East Atlantic, operating within the framework of the Agreement 1995 — signed an agreement on joint activities, incl. in areas beyond national jurisdiction. OSPAR is also actively trying to coordinate its efforts with IMO and ISA, as well as other organizations. However, as follows from the latest OSPAR reports, its activities are limited to non-binding documents. Memorandum of Understanding was signed with ISA⁴¹.

Coordination with the RFMOs, IMO, ISA and other global organizations can provide certain advantages for a regional organization. First, the legitimacy of establishing measures to protect the marine environment, especially beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, is strengthened. No one disputes the competence of organizations such as IMO and ISA to limit certain types of activities at sea. Secondly, due to the involvement of various sectoral mechanisms, the effect of synergy is created, solving the problem of sectorality. Achieving the synergy effect can be facilitated by the establishment of a common source of scientific data for all organizations (such a source could be, e.g., the ICES). Finally, thirdly, in this way a wide range of other states is involved in the compliance with ecosystem measures. It is evident that the representation of countries in global international organizations such as IMO and ISA is much higher than in any regional institution. In this sense, coordination with them gives the regional organization the possibility of indirect (direct impact will be a violation of international maritime law) impact on third countries that are not participating in these regional regulations.

The flip side of the coin is the difficulty of coordinating actions of states that are members of different international organizations if the decisions of the organizations are not correlated with each other. The study of Molenaar E.J. and Elferink A.G. gives such a hypothetical situation: should a state, being a party to the UNCLOS and at the same time a member of a regional institution that established a marine protected area on the seabed beyond national jurisdiction, vote in the ISA for approval of exploratory drilling, in accordance with the provisions of the UNCLOS and the rules of the Authority, in the same area? [15, Molenaar E.J., Elferink A.G., p. 19]

As a global mechanism for regulating the development of the resources of the Area and having the authority to protect ecosystems from the adverse effects of this type of activity, ISA will undoubtedly be involved in the creation of an integrated cross-border mechanism for the ecosystem management of the Arctic Ocean. Although there is a lot of time left before the formation of the boundaries of the Area in the Arctic, it is already evident that, along with other industry-specific

⁴¹ 2016 Status Report on the OSPAR Network of Marine Protected Areas. OSPAR. URL: <https://www.ospar.org/documents?v=37521> (Accessed: 08 June 2018).

global organizations, the Authority can make a significant contribution to this process. Since the leading platform for international cooperation in the Arctic is the Arctic Council, it is likely that in the future it will bear the primary responsibility for coordinating the efforts of the Arctic states with ISA and other international organizations. Perhaps, following the example of OSPAR, it is worth considering the option of concluding a memorandum of understanding or agreements with them.

Conclusion

The concept of the Area as a common heritage and ISA as an organization through which states implement the development of the resources of the Area is one of the key innovations of the Convention 1982. Despite the ongoing debate about the applicability of the provisions of Part XI of the UNCLOS that defines the framework for ISA's activities, it is evident today that all the coastal states in the Arctic have expressed their commitment to the UNCLOS. At the same time, four of the five countries (except the US) have already taken real action to the establishment of the outer limits of the extended continental shelf and its delineation with the Area in the manner prescribed by the Convention. In this situation, deviation from the conventional order will be associated with significant risks of an increase of conflicts in the Arctic.

Even though the limits of the Area in the Arctic have not yet been determined and its time horizon of its final form may stretch for decades, certain fields of the Authority's future activities in the High North can be traced. The role of ISA in the Arctic will be multifaceted. Its primary function is to regulate the exploration and exploitation of seabed mineral resources beyond the limits of national jurisdiction. However, scientific data on the reserves of the Arctic resources of the potential Area is currently scarce. Besides, current technologies do not allow extracting resources from deep-sea seabed areas in the harsh ice conditions of the Arctic.

Also, the Authority will be involved in the solution of other tasks. This concerns the implementation of the provisions of the UNCLOS on the development of resources of the continental shelf beyond 200 nautical miles, participation in establishing international scientific cooperation, distribution of scientific data, etc. Besides, in the mid-term, an important task of ISA is to participate in integrated cross-border and cross-sectoral ecosystem marine management in the Arctic.

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NORTHERN AND ARCTIC SOCIETIES

UDC [323.1:316.334.56](985)(045)

DOI: 10.17238/issn2221-2698.2019.34.110

Ethnic and confessional factors of comfort of the urban space in the Russian Arctic*

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Abstract. The article deals with the influence of the ethnic and religious structure of the population of large cities of the Russian Arctic on the comfort of the urban space. The authors highlight the basic requirements for the urban area by social groups, based on their ethnic and religious affiliation. The main urban objects and spaces naturally and historically created for the needs of ethnic and religious groups are determined. The study used methods of social mapping, observation, analysis of statistical data. On the example of large cities in the regions of the Russian Arctic, the authors show the unsystematic nature of meeting ethnic and religious needs in the creation of comfortable urban space. According to the authors, this is primarily due to the diverse history of urban settlements in the Arctic zone, as well as the functional purpose of settlements, which differ in number and composition of residents. Based on this differentiation, the corresponding types of urban settlements are distinguished. Based on the relatively successful example of the policy of the capital region, the article makes recommendations for improving the proper administration of the urban municipalities of the Russian Arctic. Attention is drawn to the possible features of such a policy, considering the specifics of the Arctic cities and migration processes taking place in the region.

Keywords: *ethno-cultural diversity, ethno-confessional composition of the population, the comfort of the urban space, the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation.*

Introduction

The formation of comfortable urban space is now a very relevant topic. The town dweller fills himself in the post-industrial era and understands that his space cannot be formed only from residential, commercial and industrial zones. He has a lot of needs, incl. spiritual ones that he would like to meet in the urban space. The administration of the municipality must also understand this, not to make mistakes in the implementation of its management activities. It must communicate with the urban community to know how to develop the urban landscape. But it would be mistaken to be limited to roads and park areas — the comfort of urban space is influenced by many factors, including ethnic-confessional nature.

Religious buildings initially determined the logic of the development of the urban settlement. According to G.L. Golts, “the creation of a network of temple structures in the regions and large spatial-cultural communities of people <...> played an important role in the development of urbanized structures, the appearance of which brought to life the patterns of their functioning” [1, Golts G.L., p. 49]. Domestic cities suffered partly in architectural terms from the Soviet era (alt-

* For citation:

Vereschagin I.F., Maksimov A.M. Ethnic and confessional factors of comfort of the urban space in the Russian Arctic. *Arktika i Sever* [Arctic and North], 2019, no. 34, pp. 90–109. DOI: 10.17238/issn2221-2698.2019.34.110

though they were largely acquired): many places of worship were destroyed or redeveloped. In the past decade, they have been restored. It is important because “the heritage carries the cultural and civilizational codes of the nation; it bases on the identity of both individual urban societies and the nation; the loss of heritage inevitably leads to the fact that society loses its support and roots, without which no development is possible” [2, Gorodkov A.V., p. 10]. Shepelev N.P., Shumilov M.S. noted that “modern town planners do not have experience in building systems of religious buildings, and simply transferring previous experience and traditions will not always be able to give positive results in terms of the functioning of a modern high-rise town and buildings rushing up” [3, Shepelev N.P., Shumilov M.S., p. 23]. The authors believed that it was necessary to develop programs for urban religious systems, considering the choice of location and room capacity. In this regard, town planners and municipalities should be guided by the opinion of the leaders of ethnic-confessional groups, who should develop their documents of recommendatory and methodological nature. Kataeva Yu.V. draws attention to the fact that due to unregulated migration and changes in the ethnic-social composition of citizens, there are problems of coexistence of representatives of ethnic groups, the interaction of ethnonational cultures and settling religious differences [4, Kataeva Yu.V., p. 133]. These problems should be solved at the municipality level. Kopytova Y.K. believes that “the basis of urban planning should be the idea of multiculturalism, which allows to reduce social tension and ensure the integration of the visiting population into the town” [5, Kopytova Ya.K., p. 45]. Probably, this should be expressed in the creation of ethnocultural objects in the urban environment.

But the government does not seek to clarify the policies of municipalities regarding the ethnic-confessional factors of the comfort of urban space. According to the Code of Rules SP 42.13330.2011 “Urban planning. Planning and development of urban and rural settlements”, adopted by the Ministry of Regional Development of the Russian Federation, the planning structure of urban settlements should be formed, providing, among other things, “a comprehensive accounting of architectural and town-planning traditions, climatic, historical-cultural, ethnographic and other local features.”¹ The document states that religious buildings can be in residential and public business areas. In the annex to the rules — “Standards for calculating institutions and service enterprises and the size of their land plots,” the category “Institutes of religious purposes” is indicated, while this refers exclusively to Orthodox institutions: 7.5 churches per 1,000 Orthodox believers; accommodation involves coordination with the local diocese. But in general, the rules do not say anything about ethnic-confessional institutions in the urban environment.

The federal priority project “Formation of a comfortable urban environment” 2017–2020 does not consider ethnic-confessional factors of comfort. It discusses necessary and priority measures, e.g., improvement of yard areas, development of mass recreation places, the arrange-

¹ SP 42.13330.2011 “Gradostroitel'stvo. Planirovka i zastrojka gorodskih i sel'skih poselenij”. [The Code of Rules SP 42.13330.2011 “Urban planning. Planning and development of urban and rural settlements”]. URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/1200084712> (Accessed: 11 October 2018). [In Russian]

ment of infrastructure facilities for accessibility of the urban environment among people with limited mobility, creation of sports infrastructure, improvement of popular trade zones, etc.² Ethno-confessional objects can be approached only under the event "the formation of the cultural value (identity) of the town." But in general, the government does not pay attention to such factors, while leaving a wide field for the possibilities at the regional level. We cannot fail to recognize that officially our state is free from preferences both in ethnonational and confessional terms, and all ethnic groups and denominations are equidistant from it. However, still, in our opinion, to preserve inter-ethnic and inter-religious peace, it is necessary to keep in mind ethnic-confessional factors in the management of municipalities.

Today, a crucial issue of the comfort of urban space is being raised in the Arctic towns in connection with a no less relevant topic of development of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation. Researchers point out the uneven economic development of the Russian Arctic. The Russian Arctic has a mono-profile resource-raw economy, contrast of the western and eastern sectors. But at the same time, the Arctic territories are not deprived of innovative possibilities [6, Zaikov K.S., Kalinina M.R., Kondratov N.A., Tamitskii A.M.]. However, the Arctic territories (especially their cities) are severely affected by migration.

On the one hand, immigration from other territories (from the post-Soviet areas as well) is to those areas that are economically attractive (e.g., the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous District). But on the other hand, the youth of the Arctic often does not seek to link their future with their native area. For the western sector of the Russian Arctic, this is more typical than for the eastern sector [7, Zaikov K.S., Katorin I.V., Tamitskii A.M., p. 236].

Of course, serious attention is paid today to the ethnic-confessional situation in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation. The state pursues a multifaceted policy in the Arctic, affecting the preservation of inter-ethnic peace, a special relationship to indigenous minorities, support for four traditional religions of Russia (Orthodoxy, Islam, Judaism, and Buddhism), and migration policy [8, Zaikov K., Tamitskiy A., Zadorin M.]. But at the beginning of the article, we should discuss an important point, namely the difficulty of determining the ethnic-confessional composition of the town in the Russian Arctic. First, we have data on the ethnic composition of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation due to the 2010 All-Russian Population Census and various ethnic-sociological studies. But in both cases, the ethnic identification of the individual occurs from his/her words, and it brings a certain proportion of convention into the statistics. E.g., children and even grandchildren from inter-ethnic marriages, which were enough in the Soviet times in the Arctic, cannot be unambiguously assigned to an ethnic group; they identify themselves with more attractive ethnicity. Secondly, severe emigration flows, and immigration should be considered, incl. those not fixed by statistics and research. Temporary and seasonal migrations also affect ethnonational composition.

² Strategicheskoe napravlenie razvitiya "ZHKKH i gorodskaya sreda". Ministroy Rossii. [The strategic direction of development of "utilities and the urban environment." Ministry of Construction of Russia] URL: <http://www.minstroyrf.ru/trades/zhishno-kommunalnoe-hozyajstvo/strategicheskoe-napravlenie-razvitiya-zhkkh-i-gorodskaya-sreda/> (Accessed: 11 October 2018). [In Russian]

However, we must base on official data, e.g., the dynamics of the ethnonational structure of the population of the Russian Arctic traced by F. Kh. Sokolova [9]. The census of 2010 gives us an idea of the size of the largest ethnic groups and the share of the urban population in each territory of the Russian Arctic (Table 1). At the same time, as a rule, representatives of indigenous minorities of the Far North, Siberia, and the Far East do not live in towns.

Table 1

The population size of the most numerous ethnic groups by territories of the Russian Arctic and the share of the urban population according to the 2010 census³

	The Murmansk Oblast	The Republic of Karelia	The Arkhangelsk Oblast	Nenets AD	The Komi Republic	Yamal-Nenets AD	Krasnoyarsk Krai	The Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)	Chukotsky AD
Azerbaijanis	3,841	1,793	2,605	157	4,858	9,291	16,341	2,040	107
Bashkirs	914	162	394	49	2,333	8,297	2,955	1,819	125
Belarusians	12,050	23,345	5,810	283	8,859	6,480	9,900	2,527	364
Veps	82	3423	18	-	23	3	7	4	-
Karels	1,376	45,570	180	2	180	23	68	17	3
Komi	1,649	182	4,583	3623	202,348	5,141	159	32	7
Komi-Izhemtsy	472	-	1	1	5,725	108	3	-	-
Germans	725	490	848	10	5,441		22,363	1,540	108
Nenets	149	4	8020	7504	503	29772	3,633	23	22
Russians	642,310	50,7654	1,148,821	26648	555,963	312,019	2,490,730	353,649	25,068
Tatars	5,624	1888	2,335	209	10,779	28509	34,828	8122	451
Ukrainians	34,268	12,677	16,976	987	36,082	48985	38,012	20341	2,869
Finns	273	8,577	69	-	112	78	303	126	1
Khanty	9	6	9	1	48	9489	14	5	1
Chuvansy	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	3	897
Chuvashi	1,782	867	1,357	75	5,077	3,471	11,036	123	166
Chukchi	3	3	1	-	2	2	9	670	12,772
Evenki	5	2	14	13	6	42	4,372	21,008	18
Eveny	3	2	-	-	-	2	27	15,071	1,392
Eskimos	1	-	-	-	-	-	10	11	1,529
Yakuts	16	15	18	3	15	10	1468	466,492	62
Urban population (%)	92.8	78	75.7	67.8	76.9	84.7	76.3	64.1	64.8

With the definition of confessional composition, the situation is even more complicated. The 2010 all-Russian census did not include the issue of confessional affiliation; therefore, it is possible to argue about the confessional composition only based on sociological research. Personal research is periodically conducted in the territories; a nationally representative survey was conducted in 2012 by the request of the "Sreda" service, the Public Opinion Foundation. No more rel-

³ Vserossiyskaya perepis' naseleniya 2010 goda. Tom 11-1. Sootnoshenie gorodskogo i sel'skogo naseleniya po sub'ektam Rossijskoj Federacii (v procentah k obshchej chislennosti naseleniya). Tom 11-4. CHislennost' naseleniya naibolee mnogochislennykh nacional'nostej po sub'ektam Rossijskoj Federacii. [National Census of 2010. Volume 11-1. The ratio of the urban and rural population by territories of the Russian Federation (as a percentage of the total population). Volume 11-4. The population size of the most numerous nationalities by territories of the Russian Federation]. URL: http://www.gks.ru/free_doc/new_site/perepis2010/croc/perepis_itogi1612.htm (Accessed: 11 October 2018). [In Russian]

evant and extensive research in this area has been completed, but the survey did not cover the Nenets and Chukotka Autonomous Districts. The result is presented in table 2.

Table 2
Attitude to the faith of citizens by territories of the Russian Arctic (the most frequent answers, %)⁴

	The Murmansk Oblast	The Republic of Karelia	The Arkhangelsk Oblast	Nenets AD	The Komi Republic	Yamal-Nenets AD	Krasnoyarsk Krai	The Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)
ROC	42	27	29	62.4	30	42	30	38
believe in God but do not profess a particular religion	28	44	32	6.2	41	14	35	17
don't believe in god	12	18	16	25.1	14	8	15	26
profess the traditional religion of their ancestors, worship the gods and the forces of nature	<1	<1	1	1	1	1	<1	13
Islam	<1	<1	<1	<1	1	18	<1	2
Protestantism	<1	1	<1	<1	<1	<1	<1	<1

Nevertheless, based on the figures of statistics, one can imagine the size of ethnic and confessional groups, which will make it possible to determine their needs of a ceremonial and cultural nature in an urban environment.

Ethnic and confessional requirements of a town

First, it is necessary to single out the ethnic-confessional requirements that determine the comfort of the urban space. And, to determine whether their application is possible in principle.

A believer who needs to implement some divine service practice, as a rule regularly, needs accommodation. Basically, in various confessions, worship is a public event in which all members of a religious community should take part. Therefore, this requires a separate architectural structure, which will accommodate all comers. In the case of religious holidays, it may be necessary not only to accommodate but also the territory adjacent to the church of a denomination (e.g., for religious processions). The object that attracts various believers can be not only a temple but also one or another symbol, a pendulum (e.g., a worship cross). Because of this, the question of how comfortable it will be for believing citizens to perform the necessary religious activities arises within the framework of urban space. It consists of at least two components: 1) how convenient is the object relative to the areas of residence (is it comfortable to reach it); 2) how convenient is the object relative to neighboring buildings (can you conduct rituals).

This question (and sub-questions) should be looked at not only from the position of the believer but also from the position of people who are not a part of a religious community (those of different faiths or atheists). The location of a cult structure close to other similar buildings can lead

⁴ Project "Sreda". URL: <http://sreda.org/arena> (Accessed: 11 October 2018). [In Russian]; Nenets Autonomous Okrug. URL: <http://smi.adm-nao.ru/otnosheniya-v-nao/sociologicheskoe-issledovanie-obshestvennogo-mneniya-po-voprosam-toler/> (Accessed: 11 October 2018). [In Russian]

to all sorts of misunderstandings and conflicts. Although in our country conflicts on religious grounds are extremely rare. But for a secular person who does not identify himself with a confession or faith, the presence of a religious building or religious symbol can be an annoying factor. The Orthodox procession of the cross, blocking the streets nearest to the temple, calls for prayers of Muslims announced to the surrounding neighborhoods, the toll of Christian churches or the public offering of sacrifices in Islam can all determine discomfort in the urban environment. Sometimes such irritation leads to hatred on religious grounds and the desecration of temples, as in Murmansk⁵, and demolition of monuments, as in Arkhangelsk⁶.

Thus, the presence and location of the necessary confessional institutions and religious symbols, of course, is a factor in the comfort of urban space. The same can be said about not only temples or prayer rooms but also the location of the community. However, as a rule, in this case, we have in mind the address to which a religious organization is legally registered, and this is important not so much for believers as for the controlling authorities.

Another factor is the ability to practice their ethnonational traditions and customs. In the 21st century in a state of post-industrial society, a significant part of urbanized ethnic groups (Russians, Ukrainians, Tatars, and others) cease to need this. They are already in many ways part of a unified sociocultural space that began to form in the Soviet era. Ethnonational traditions are strong in rural areas, for example, among indigenous peoples. For town dwellers, due to a different lifestyle, the traditions of their people often remain within the framework of folklore. Sometimes a particular association of ethnos and denomination is held (e.g., Russian “means” Orthodox, Tatar — Muslim, Jew — Jew, etc.). Even a confession sometimes becomes a way of ethnic, rather than religious identification⁷; in this case, ethnic traditions are replaced by confessional. Because of this, the center of attraction of citizens seeking to realize their ethnonational traditions again becomes the temple of the corresponding denomination (church, mosque, synagogue, etc.). But apart from him, of course, it is necessary to single out various national centers (premises of national-cultural autonomies, diasporas, etc.) in which representatives of certain ethnic groups gather to maintain communication and preserve traditions. But, as a rule, these objects are in offices, in business buildings located in the town center. This situation cannot be called comfortably, but not every ethnonational association can afford a separate building. Therefore, it is logical that often the functions of such an institution are combined with religious services within the same building.

Also, various monuments and memorable places in the town refer to objects of ethnonational significance. It can be not only sculptures depicting famous life bearers but also ethnic ceme-

⁵ V Murmanske oskvernen Hram Spasa na vodah. [Church of the Savior on Waters desecrated in Murmansk] URL: <https://credo.press/58311/> (Accessed: 11 October 2018). [In Russian]

⁶ Vandaly snova spilili poklonnyj krest v Arhangel'ske. [Vandals again cut down the worship cross in Arkhangelsk] URL: <https://www.pravmir.ru/vandalyi-snova-spilili-poklonnyiy-krest-v-arhangel'ske/> (Accessed: 11 October 2018). [In Russian]

⁷ 30% pravoslavnyh schitayut, chto Boga net. [30% of Orthodox believe that there is no God] URL: <https://takiedela.ru/2017/04/takaya-rossiya-cerkov/> (Accessed: 11 October 2018). [In Russian]

teries. Unfortunately, such objects can also become annoying for foreigners. In the Arctic, xenophobia and conflicts on ethnic grounds are not typical, but still, exceptions, e.g., anti-Semitism, are possible. Thus, the satisfaction of ethnonational needs is also a factor in the comfort of urban space.

The administration of any town in its urban planning policy must consider these factors. In Russia, the openness of spatial movements of representatives of various ethnonational and confessional groups makes one think about the prospects for the development of the town. Renovation of old urban spaces should assume not only the construction of new residential or public business zones but also objects of religious and ritual purposes, based on the needs of citizens. Of course, this is not done at the expense of the municipality, territory or state. The same applies to new built-up areas space should be provided for the placement of ethnic-confessional objects. Competent administration monitors the mood of citizens, their ethnic and confessional composition of the districts of the town, and therefore it is ready for such challenges. In meeting the needs of ethnonational and confessional groups, the administration coordinates the construction policy with their legitimate representatives. E.g., requests of national-cultural autonomies should be satisfied by the administration as far as possible. The choice of the place of construction of religious buildings should also be made considering the opinion of the leaders of the respective denominations. It is through the communication of the municipal administration with ethnic-religious groups that one can succeed in the development of urban space.

One of the examples of Russian towns where ethnic-confessional needs are most successfully meeting within the urban environment is Moscow. The dynamically developing metropolis, where representatives of all the main denominations of Russia live, thought beforehand not only about the preservation and dissemination of park zones, laying of socially relevant communications, building magic centers, but also creating a whole network of religious institutions. In the towns, temples of Orthodox (incl. Old Believers), Catholics, Protestants, Muslims, Jews, Buddhists, and others are presented in different proportions. The Russian Orthodox Church is traditionally the largest religious association. It also owns a large-scale, ambitious project "Program-200" implemented by the Foundation "Support for the construction of churches in the city of Moscow" with the participation of the Government of Moscow. Under this program, it is planned to build two hundred new right-renowned churches on the territory of all districts of the city so that they are within the so-called walking distance (about 1 km). The construction fund is financed only by the charity. The Moscow mayor's office only allocates land plots for construction for free and helps with the construction of communications.

A similar project in 2010 was argued. In the early 1990s, in the capital, there were 254 temples and chapels, in 2000 — 519 (mainly due to the restoration of old ones)⁸. When creating the construction fund, Patriarch Kirill noted that to achieve an average value of temples for Russia

⁸ Programma "200 hramov" – fakty i cifry. [The program "200 temples" — facts and figures]. URL: <https://www.pravmir.ru/programma-200-hramov-faktyi-i-tsifry/> (Accessed: 11 October 2018). [In Russian]

(11.2 thousand people per parish), 591 churches must be constructed in Moscow⁹. But the program still proposed the construction of a little more than two hundred. It is supposed to put into operation ten churches a year, although in eight years only 45 were built under the program¹⁰.

The program caused fierce discussions about the need for such construction. At a minimum, because there is simply no reliable data on the number of church-related believers in Moscow (and indeed throughout Russia), and sociological polls often sin with discrepancies in figures. But even if we cannot assert that there are today a sufficient number of Orthodox in need of churches, it can be recognized that the ROC is proactive mainly, knowing that the Catechism of the population, carried out every day, should (in the sense of the target) lead to the same number of believers. However fierce discussions in Moscow more than once led to clashes over the construction of a temple in the middle of the park. The brightest example was in the park "Torfyanka" in 2015–2016¹¹.

Nevertheless, if we consider "Program-200" from the position of meeting religious needs, then we should recognize its positive effect. In the case of unconditional problems with the choice of places for construction, which causes controversy, the very idea of creating a network of Orthodox churches plays a positive role in creating a comfortable urban environment.

The situation is different with other confessions, which mostly resign to a small number of churches in Moscow. However, a significant problem is still the shortage of mosques in the city. Today there are five mosques in Moscow, but they belong to different Islamic organizations (the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of the Russian Federation, the Central Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Russia and the Shiites). The annual influx of migrants increases the need for these religious institutions. More than once during essential holidays, Muslims were forced to pray on the street, blocking movement. But even more significant irritation of the citizens caused a sacrifice in the streets¹². In part, these problems were removed, incl. reconstruction Cathedral-Mosque in Moscow in 2011–2015. But it is quite likely that Moscow will soon need a program to build mosques, like the plan of the Russian Orthodox Church.

Thus, we see that Moscow is not an ideal city from the perspective of satisfying ethnic-confessional needs within the urban environment. However, there are actual processes that allow us to compare such a situation in the towns of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation of interest to us.

⁹ Programma stroitel'stva pravoslavnyh hramov v Moskve. [The program of Orthodox churches construction in Moscow]. URL: http://www.200hramov.ru/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=269&Itemid=2 (Accessed: 11 October 2018). [In Russian]

¹⁰ V Moskve poyavitsya 21 novyj hramovyj kompleks. [21 new temple complex will appear in Moscow]. URL: <https://www.pravmir.ru/v-moskve-poyavitsya-21-novyyiy-hramovyyiy-kompleks/> (Accessed: 11 October 2018). [In Russian]

¹¹ Hramostroj uvyaz v "Torfyanke". [Khramostroi is stuck in the Torfianka]. URL: http://www.ng.ru/facts/2015-07-01/1_temples.html (Accessed: 11 October 2018). [In Russian]

¹² U musul'man prazdnik zhertvoprinosheniya. [Muslims have a feast of sacrifice]. URL: <https://faith.pravda.ru/religions/islam/15-11-2010/1057535-kurban-0/> (Accessed: 11 October 2018). [In Russian]

Towns of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation

The modern ethnocultural space of the Russian Arctic includes representatives of more than one hundred ethnic groups with different beliefs and traditions. In addition to the size and composition of the indigenous peoples in these territories, one should consider the dynamics of migration of representatives of various ethnic groups to the most attractive, dynamically developing territories (Nenets and Yamal-Nenets ADs, the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) and the Krasnoyarsk Territory). Representatives of indigenous minorities mainly live in rural areas (82.2%), and in the towns, the new settlement population is concentrated [10, Ethnonational, pp. 84–85, 122]. Recently, there has been a tendency of growth in the number of immigrants from Central Asia and the Transcaucasus, which, of course, in the future may change the socio-cultural space of towns. Nearly 2 million people live in towns and urban-type settlements of the Russian Arctic (89.3%), and about 250,000 people (10.7%) live in rural areas [11, Fauzer V.V., Lytkina T.S., Fouser G.N., p. 128]. Such a geodemographic situation is understandable — in the challenging conditions of the Far North, and with the traditional way of life of a significant part of the representatives of the indigenous people, the population could not but concentrate in the towns. At the same time, of course, the construction and development of towns in the Arctic zone are influenced by various factors: geographical location, climatic conditions, the natural resource potential of the adjacent territories, economic specialization and administrative functions [10, Ethnonacionalniy, pp. 84–85, 130]. In total, AZRF has 41 settlements with the official status of the town. They are distributed over the territory of the Russian Arctic, of course, unevenly (Fig. 1): the highest concentration is in the Murmansk region.

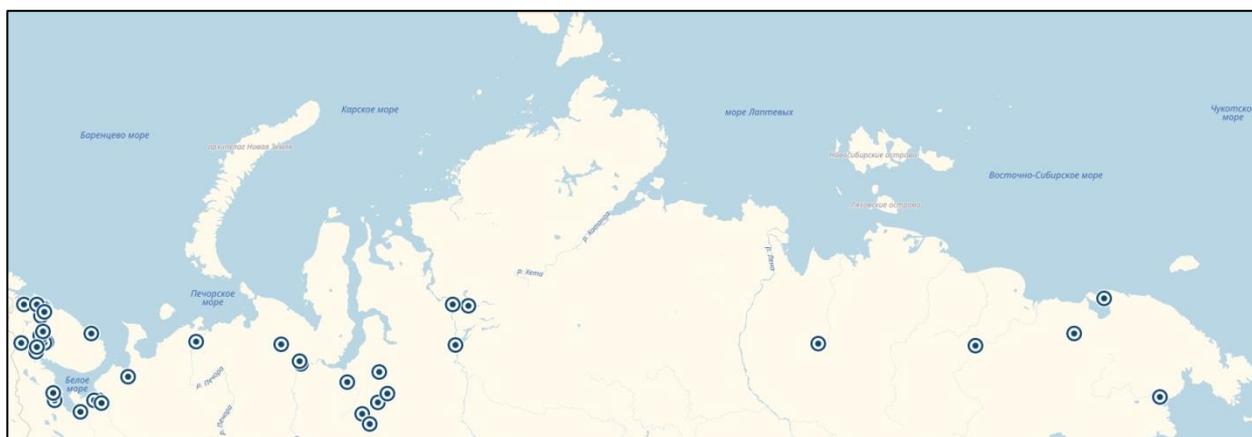


Fig. 1. Distribution of towns on the territory of the Russian Arctic.

Various criteria can distinguish urban settlements in the Arctic zone. First, it could be done by population and agreed to the Code of Rules SP 42.13330.2011 “Urban planning. Planning and development of urban and rural settlements”, in Russia there is a formal division of settlements into the largest (over 1 million people), large (from 250 thousand to 1 million people), large (from 100 to 250 thousand people), medium (from 50 to 100 thousand people) and small (up to 50

thousand people)¹³. As it can be seen from table 3, there are no major towns on the territory of the Russian Arctic, which is related to the difficult climatic conditions for living, as well as problems of transport communication in the conditions of the Far North. Major towns are only Murmansk and Arkhangelsk. Most towns are small. However, here it is necessary to make a reservation that the status of the city is sometimes very conditional since some urban-type settlements have long overtaken the “town” in terms of population. E.g., the population of the town of Nickel (Murmansk Oblast) is 11,437 people, and the town of Mezen (Arkhangelsk Oblast) is 3,267 people.

Table 3

Information about the types of towns in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation¹⁴

Territory	The largest	Large	Large	Medium	Small
Murmansk Oblast	0	1	0	2	13
The Republic of Karelia	0	0	0	0	2
Arkhangelsk Oblast	0	1	1	0	3
Nenets Autonomous District	0	0	0	0	1
The Komi Republic	0	0	0	1	0
Yamal-Nenets Autonomous District	0	0	2	0	6
Krasnoyarsk Territory	0	0	1	0	2
The Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)	0	0	0	0	2
Chukotka Autonomous District	0	0	0	0	3
Total	0	2	4	3	32

Towns of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation also differ based on their different purposes, which also determines the composition of the urban population. Allocate the reference city (Arkhangelsk and Murmansk), which are the bases for the development of the Arctic space, and because of the most numerous and multi-tasking. There are also cities that perform a variety of administrative, cultural, transport and other functions [12, Fauser V. V., Lytkina T. S., Fauser G. N., p. 43]. The legacy of the Soviet past is industrial (often mono-profile) towns and closed administrative-territorial formations. These types have experienced and are experiencing various effects of migration processes, incl. migration of representatives of other socio-cultural space. E.g., Arkhangelsk is now taking in the first-place intraregional migration, although for various reasons representatives of different regions of the country with their cultural peculiarities flocked here during the 20th century. And the towns of the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous district continue to host the interregional migration flows: this is mainly a seasonal migration of workers, i.e., shift workers, but there is no return migration.

It is hardly possible to distinguish the towns of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation according to the ethnic-confessional criteria, since the absolute majority of the population is related to the Russian ethnic group, which traditionally tends to official Orthodoxy in its confessional preferences (the problems of determining the ethnic-confessional group are mentioned in the in-

¹³ SP 42.13330.2011 Gradostroitel'stvo. Planirovka i zastrojka gorodskih i sel'skih poselenij. [SP 42.13330.2011 Urban planning. Planning and development of urban and rural settlements] URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/1200084712> (Accessed: 11 October 2018). [In Russian]

¹⁴ CHislennost' naseleniya Rossijskoj Federacii po municipal'nym obrazovaniyam na 1 yanvarya 2018 goda. [The population of the Russian Federation by municipalities as of January 1, 2018]. URL: http://www.gks.ru/free_doc/doc_2018/bul_dr/mun_obr2018.rar (Accessed: 11 October 2018). [In Russian]

roduction of the article). In extreme cases, you can differentiate the town by the number of representatives of an ethnic group or denomination.

History also provides a basis for the typology of Arctic cities. Only a small part of them was founded by various colonizers (settlers, monks, Cossacks, and others) in ancient times (e.g., Arkhangelsk, Kem, Kandalaksha, Salekhard, Srednekolymsk and others). Some towns were founded in the late 19th — early 20th centuries, which was associated with the emergence of public interest in the development of extreme North and, accordingly, with organized migration to the newly created settlements (e.g., Murmansk, Polar, Anadyr, and others). More than half of the Arctic towns were created in Soviet times from scratch, often on the site of mining. Moreover, it is even worth dividing them into cities founded in the pre-war period, when prisoners (e.g., Vorkuta) were often involved in the construction of the point and worked in it, and towns founded in the post-war period, when the development of populated locations was subordinated to the enthusiasm of geologists (e.g., Novy Urengoy).

These historical and cultural features of creating a network of towns in the Arctic determine the degree of satisfaction of ethnic and religious needs in the urban environment. In the old towns (even if in pre-revolutionary time they were only small settlements) naturally prevailed Russian population. Even in Siberia and the Far East, towns only occasionally attracted representatives of small indigenous peoples, especially if they were nomadic. Because of this, it is natural that in confessional terms, in the old towns, the official rule prevailed. It was expressed in the presence of one or more churches, which, of course, were perceived as necessary in ethnic and confessional terms for a comfortable life in the city. In younger towns created before the revolution 1917, too, as a rule, managed to build a Church: e.g., in Aleksandrovsk (now Polyarny). But it is obvious that not all pre-revolutionary confessional structures were able to survive the years of the Soviet struggle against religion. At best, the buildings were converted to the needs of the national economy and Soviet power. There are rare examples of churches that have retained the opportunity to conduct worship.

Naturally, in such conditions, it was not possible to create confessional institutions and structures in young towns of the Soviet Arctic. But then there was no need for them. But a new era in 1990 caused a surge of interest in religion. It was due to the appeal to their roots (not only in Russian), and the search for ideological guidelines in a state of social anomie, and the desire to atone for the sins of the past, and, of course, with elementary fashion. In the end, in the old towns gradually begin the restoration of ruined churches marked the restitution of religious property preserved. Both in the old and the new cities, the construction of religious buildings is unfolding, while it is important to note that sometimes even more activity is shown by representatives of Islam and Protestant denominations rather than official Orthodoxy. As a rule, the creation of such objects of the urban environment is a response to the request of the population. But what we have now, looks quite chaotic.

As a rule, in small towns of the Arctic, there must be one or two Orthodox churches, and in most cases, there is a religious institution of one of the Protestant denominations. If the town belongs to the old settlements, there are cases when the Orthodox Church is an original pre-revolutionary structure (or restored in the last 20-25 years in the same place). It means that it is in the heart of the city, accessible to the needs of the local population. At the founding of the settlement in Russia, whether in the 17th century or the 19th century, its center has always been considered one or another institution of public purpose, and, of course, the Church was the place of attraction of parishioners, it had to converge convenient ways. Therefore, in such towns and the Church is in a convenient location to meet the needs of religious citizens, which also makes the urban space comfortable. E.g., in Mezen (Arkhangelsk Oblast) the old Cathedral (though slowly rebuilt) is located on the main avenue of the town, which allows holding ceremonies with the participation of everyone.

In young town, churches were built and are being built in places available for construction. And if in the center of the free space, due to the solid construction of the Soviet time, no longer, the temple must be located on the outskirts. E.g., in Tarko-Sal (Yamal-Nenets Autonomous District), churches are located far from most residential buildings. There are, of course, exceptions. E.g., in Pevek (Chukotka Autonomous District), an abandoned building, a former residential building in the center of the town, was converted into a Church.

As for Protestant organizations, in a significant number of cases, they are registered in residential premises of apartment buildings. Registration in residential premises is also typical among Orthodox and Muslim organizations¹⁵. But they usually have their own separate, roomy buildings for comfortable participation in the divine services of citizens. The prayer rooms of the Protestant denomination of nations are in the same residential premises (sometimes in private houses). Of course, this is primarily due to the small size and fragmentation of the Protestant communities, as well as the lack of support from the municipalities (often Protestant denominations are perceived by the public alert¹⁶). At first, it is possible for believers to gather in the apartment of the presbyter conveniently. But when expanding the community, it is necessary to build its special facility. At the same time, there is also a place for it in the suburbs of the town (e.g., a Baptist church in Apatity, the Murmansk Oblast) or, at best, in a promising area for development (e.g., a Lutheran church in Kemi, the Republic of Karelia). Of course, there might be exceptions. E.g., in Kandalaksha (the Murmansk Oblast), the Evangelicals and Adventists are located much closer to the center of the town than the Orthodox church.

¹⁵ Informaciya o zaregistrovannyh nekommercheskih organizacijah. Informacionnyj portal Ministerstva yusticii Rossijskoj Federacii. [Information about registered non-profit organizations. Information portal of the Ministry of Justice of the Russian Federation]. URL: <http://unro.minjust.ru/NKOs.aspx> (Accessed: 11 October 2018). [In Russian]

¹⁶ E.g.: Religioznaya konkista v Arktike. [Religious conquest in the Arctic] URL: <http://rusnord.ru/life/37969-religioznaya-konkista-v-arktike-otvet-arhangelskogo-sektoveda-neneckomu-pravozaschitniku-borisu-dulnevu.html> (Accessed: 11 October 2018). [In Russian]

A special situation arises concerning representatives of other faiths. Catholics are registered as a community only in Arkhangelsk, Norilsk, and Murmansk, and there is only one church in the latter. Buddhists are only in Arkhangelsk and Severodvinsk, but they do not even have their temples there. Judaism is represented in the organizations of Murmansk, Norilsk, Severodvinsk, and Arkhangelsk, where its temple has recently appeared. Islam is developing more successfully in terms of creating its objects. Today, the mosques are in ten towns of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation, six of which belong to the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous District. At first, this may be surprising, because the Nenets, the Selkups, and the Khanty are considered indigenous to this territory and they are not Muslims.

Also, the area has a harsh climate, and therefore it is not attractive for migration. But the determining factor for immigration in this area is, of course, the economic situation and mining industry. Today, among the population of the area: 5.6% — Tatars, 1.7% — Bashkirs, and 7% represent peoples of the Caucasus and Central Asia. Since the beginning of the 2000s, there was an increase in the number of the last 1.4 times. The share of Muslims in the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous District increased from 1.7% to 12% [10, Ethnonacionalniy, pp. 132, 228]. These people live in towns mostly. At the same time, we should not forget about the shift workers, who may also need spiritual practices in mosques. Since the towns of the area were mainly built in the Soviet era, when it was impossible to even think about creating religious buildings, mosques were built where conditions allowed, and therefore they are mostly located on the outskirts. The Noyabrsk (Yamal-Nenets Autonomous District) has both Orthodox churches, Protestant churches, and a mosque and they are relatively close. It seems to be the most successful variant of the placement of religious institutions (Fig 2).

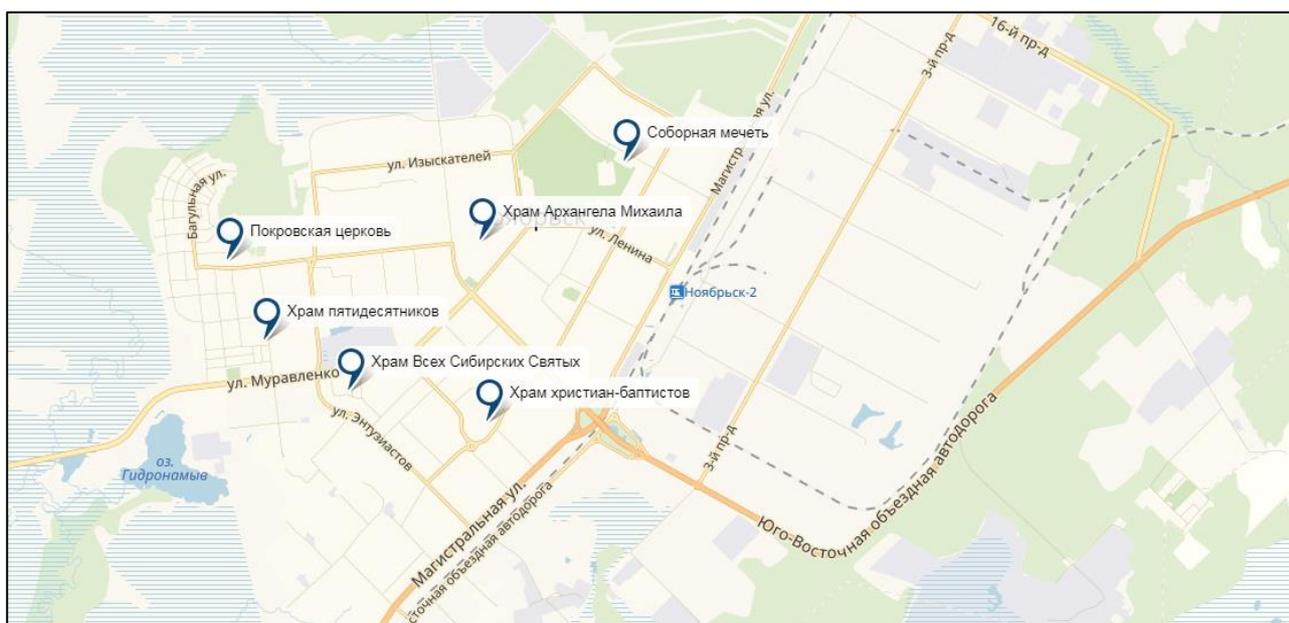


Fig.2. Location of religious objects in Noyabrsk.

The capacity of the temples is different, but it is also important that the adjacent territory, as a rule, is enough for comfortable accommodation of believers during holidays and on the streets. This is a significant factor in the comfort of urban space.

Cases of reference towns in the Russian Arctic

It is important to consider the cases of the two reference cities of the AZRF: Arkhangelsk and Murmansk separately. In terms of population, both cities are large cities but differ in their origin.

Arkhangelsk is an old city, which began at the end of the 16th century. It was created near the religious buildings of the Archangel Michael Monastery. Later, when the monastery was moved to the outskirts, Orthodox religious buildings still defined the logic of the development of the city. Several central streets began at one or another of the temples (and had the appropriate names), so it is logical that the residents of these "neighborhoods" became parishioners of these temples. Since Arkhangelsk was created for the tasks of international trade, it is not surprising that in the 17th-18th centuries, representatives of European nations began to settle here, incl. those that professed Catholicism and Protestantism. They had their church and church, which were for them a center for the preservation of national traditions. By the beginning of the 20th century, Jewish and Tatar communities also formed in Arkhangelsk, which had a synagogue and a mosque, respectively. Of course, they were no longer located on the main avenues (Embankment and Troitsky), but still not in the outskirts.

In Soviet times, much of the religious buildings were either destroyed (such as the Trinity Cathedral, the Assumption and the Annunciation churches, the Catholic church, etc.) or redeveloped for the needs of the Soviet authorities (e.g., the Holy Trinity Church), church, mosque). In Soviet times, the cemetery Ilyinsky church, which for a long time was the cathedral church of the diocese, was practically not closed.

After the USSR, all the surviving buildings of religious purposes began to be gradually transferred to the jurisdiction of the respective denominations. The Orthodox church not only received back and restored part of its temples, but also launched the planned construction of churches in various districts of the city. Today, each district has its center of attraction for believers, but the capacity of these structures is not always satisfactory. Their location is also not still convenient; some citizens must get to their parishes on city buses. Placement of temples rarely allows worship in the street, including religious processions. The most convenient adjoining territory is the new Church of Alexander Nevsky, it will enable it to become a socially significant object, to hold events, including those not related to religious activities. Restored at the same place, the Assumption Church at the expense of the graceful exit to the river and the promenade attracts newlyweds. Ilyinsky temple is extremely inconvenient in many respects because it was initially a cemetery church. In exchange for it, for several years now, a large cathedral in the name of Archangel Michael is built in the very center of the city, where the traffic interchange is located. The temple is situated on a spacious area, which is supposed to be reconstructed, considering religious needs¹⁷.

¹⁷ V Arhangel'ske obsuzhdayut novyj vid ploshchadi Profsoyuzov. [In Arkhangelsk, a new look of the Square of Trade Unions is being discussed] URL: <http://dvinatoday.ru/city/v-arkhangelske-obsuzhdayut-novyy-vid-ploshchadi-profsoyuzov/> (Accessed: 11 October 2018). [In Russian].

Even though the state in Russia is officially equidistant from all denominations, it is logical that the Russian Orthodox Church received this territory for the construction of religious buildings. Orthodoxy is considered traditional for these places and therefore may well support the needs of a significant number of citizens.

Similarly, the local diocese is negotiating with the municipality about the prospects for the construction of new churches. So, e.g., the worship cross marked the place for the future construction of the temple on a small site in the very center of Arkhangelsk (not far from the mosque!). Mayor Godzish I.V. frankly declares that "it is necessary to reserve land plots for future temples and Sunday schools, in order not to encounter any further situation when this kind of object is essential for the population, and it has to be wedged into the existing building."¹⁸ It is separately discussed that the territories around the temples will be landscaped, which is of no small importance in the implementation of the program "Formation of a comfortable urban environment."

Other denominations are also gradually recovering their positions. At the beginning of 2018, a mosque was restored, which in the new historical conditions turned out to be in the geographic center of Arkhangelsk.¹⁹ Although this is the restoration of historical justice, it is necessary to recognize that the mosque is sandwiched between the houses. Its area and the surrounding area are minimal for the construction of festive worship services. The streets where the mosque is located are quite narrow, and there are no free spaces around. Given the migration flows from the Muslim areas (although not as significant as in the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous District), it must be assumed that the need for a mosque will increase. Consequently, now we need to think about building new Muslim objects in promising districts of the town (especially in those where Islamic peoples can concentrate).

Also, at the end of 2018, a synagogue was opened in Arkhangelsk²⁰. It was not a restoration, but construction in a new place. Although geographically, the synagogue is in the center of the town, in a very inconvenient place, away from the road, near construction sites and technical areas. But the building itself is positioned not just like a synagogue; it has a multifunctional character: religious purpose, public space, a teaching audience, a cafe and so on. For a small Jewish population, this building is a place of preservation of national traditions.

Protestant denominations are also widely represented in Arkhangelsk, some of their prayer rooms are in apartments or private houses (e.g., the New Apostolic Church in the very center of the town, next to the mosque). These spaces are quite enough to accommodate a small number of believers of the corresponding Protestant denominations. Among others, Seventh-day Adventists,

¹⁸ V okruge Majskaya gorka postroyat hram, voskresnuyu shkolu i pravoslavnyj detskij sad. [A temple, a Sunday school and an Orthodox kindergarten will be built in the May Hill district]. URL: <http://arhcity.ru/?page=0/45602> (Accessed: 11 October 2018). [In Russian]

¹⁹ Minaret iz breven. [Log minaret]. URL: <https://rg.ru/2018/02/03/reg-szfo/v-arhangelske-otkrylas-samaia-severnaia-mechet-v-rossii.html> (Accessed: 11 October 2018). [In Russian]

²⁰ Sinagoga "Zvezda Severa" otkrylas' v Arhangel'ske. [Synagogue "Star of the North" opened in Arkhangelsk]. URL: <http://arhcity.ru/?page=0/48105> (Accessed: 11 October 2018). [In Russian]

who acquired the territory in the most promising district of Arkhangelsk and built their brick building with an adjacent territory, stand out among others. Now, this is a very convenient place for parishioners, and the temple fits into the urban landscape.

As a result, it can be said that Arkhangelsk fully satisfies the diverse needs of citizens in the administration of worship. But the location of specific religious constructions is sometimes inconvenient. In the intensive development of the central districts, there is no room for the prospective creation of large ethnic-confessional objects. In marginal areas, especially promising for residential development, it is necessary to provide places for the possible construction of Orthodox churches, mosques and other religious institutions.

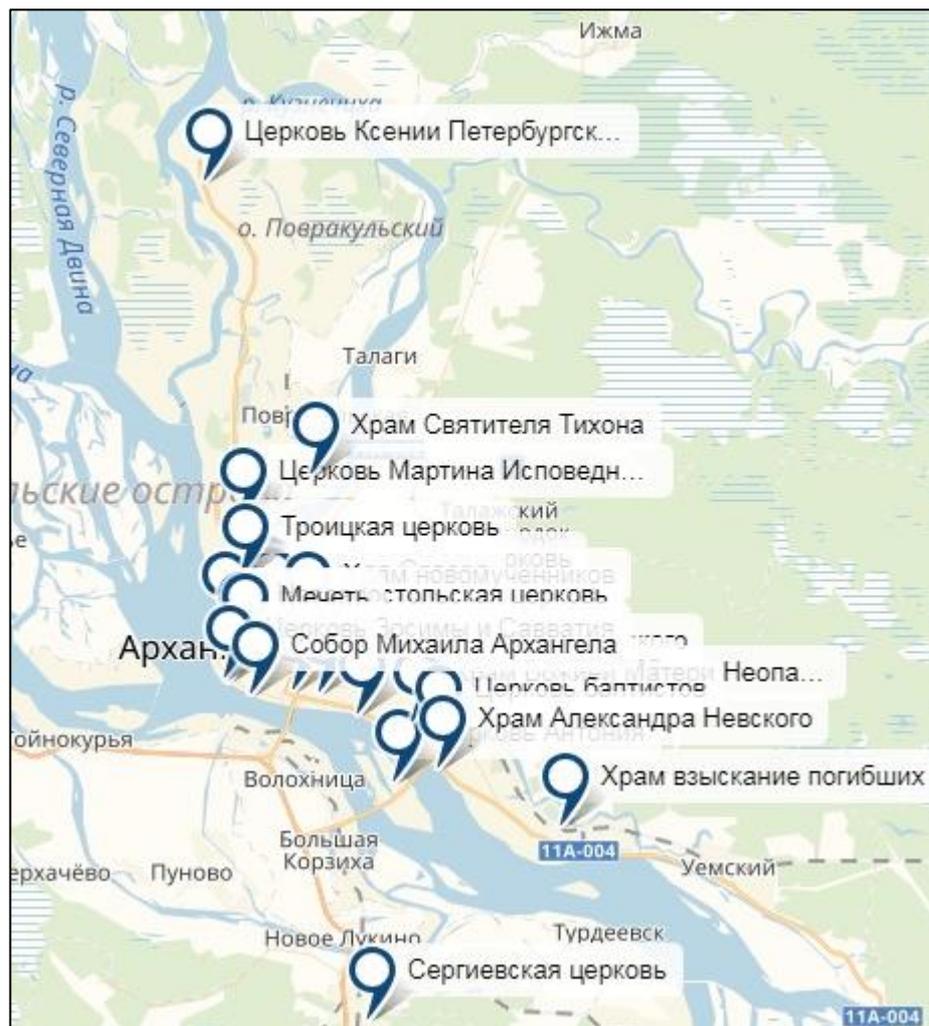


Fig. 3. Location of religious objects in Arkhangelsk.

Murmansk is a relatively young town. It was founded last in the Russian Empire. And, as it was customary, the beginning of the town was the construction of an Orthodox church (Nicholas the Wonderworker church). But because of the revolution, this temple was never completed, its place is occupied by the Palace of Culture (very symbolic for the Soviet era). Subsequently, at the end of the Soviet era, the temple was still built, only in a completely different place: on the southern outskirts of the town. At the same time, the church of Trifon of Pechengsky was also built. The

main construction was launched at the turn of the 20th-21st centuries. Particularly active in making decisions about the construction of various religious buildings was the year 2004²¹.

Murmansk, like Arkhangelsk, has Orthodox churches in almost every district of the city. However, in the very center of the town (both geographically and publicly, politically and culturally), the Orthodox have only a chapel in the name of St. Nicholas the Wonderworker near the unfinished building site of the first church. It is not surprising: with the dense development in the Soviet period, each space of the city had a specific purpose. And now, although the green areas in the city center have been preserved. It does not mean that they are empty. It is impossible to fit even a small church there not only by technical standards but also by considerations of public resonance. The majestic Church of the Savior of the Hand-to-hand Image (Sea Temple) is located on the semi-periphery of the town. Space is quite convenient: apartment buildings are nearby, while the temple itself stands in open space. The construction of a new Spaso-Preobrazhensky maritime cathedral assembly is planned at this place²². Also, 13 churches have already been completed: three Orthodox churches have based on premises assigned for worship, and the other ten — for donations.

Catholics in Murmansk are since the beginning of the town, and they even received permission to build a church, which, however, did not take place because of the revolution.²³ Local Catholics found their temples only in the modern era. The majestic catholic church of St. Michael, though located on the outskirts of the town, at the same time in a park area with wide spaces. The Catholic Church of Saint Helena is also far from traffic interchanges, but not far from it are the buildings of Murmansk State Technical University. The new building, the evangelists, the Baptists have their territory and from scratch built a large building. Their communities are mainly distributed along the outskirts of the city, which is quite logical and promising for the development of the town. Muslims of Murmansk also have their own multifunctional prayer house on the outskirts of the city²⁴. Nearby in the two-story house is the Murmansk Branch of the Society for Krishna Consciousness.

Like Arkhangelsk, Murmansk is a city stretched along with the water space from north to south, which determines the inaccessibility of social and cultural facilities for all residents of the town. But the geographical landscape of Murmansk brings additional features. The location of objects is often inconvenient, which limits the satisfaction of ethnic and religious needs in an urban environment. At the same time, the city is relatively young and promising; therefore, it is already

²¹ V Murmanske postroyat desyat' novyh hramov. [Ten new temples will be built in Murmansk]. URL: <https://www.murmansk.kp.ru/daily/23453/217779/> (Accessed: 11 October 2018). [In Russian]

²² Kamen' vo glave ugla. [Stone at the head of the corner]. URL: <https://rg.ru/2017/08/17/murmanskij-morskoj-sobor-zhdet-svoego-mecenata.html> (Accessed: 11 October 2018). [In Russian]

²³ Istoriya prihoda v gorode Murmansk. [The history of the parish in the city of Murmansk]. URL: <http://cathmos.ru/content/ru/section-2009-10-30-12-24-44> (Accessed: 11 October 2018). [In Russian]

²⁴ Centralizovannaya religioznaya organizaciya obshchina musul'man g. Murmansk. [Centralized religious organization — Muslim community of Murmansk]. URL: <http://murm.nordumma.ru/news/> (Accessed: 11 October 2018). [In Russian]

necessary to think that in the north, east and south of the town, it is worth planning the possible sites for the construction of these religious objects.

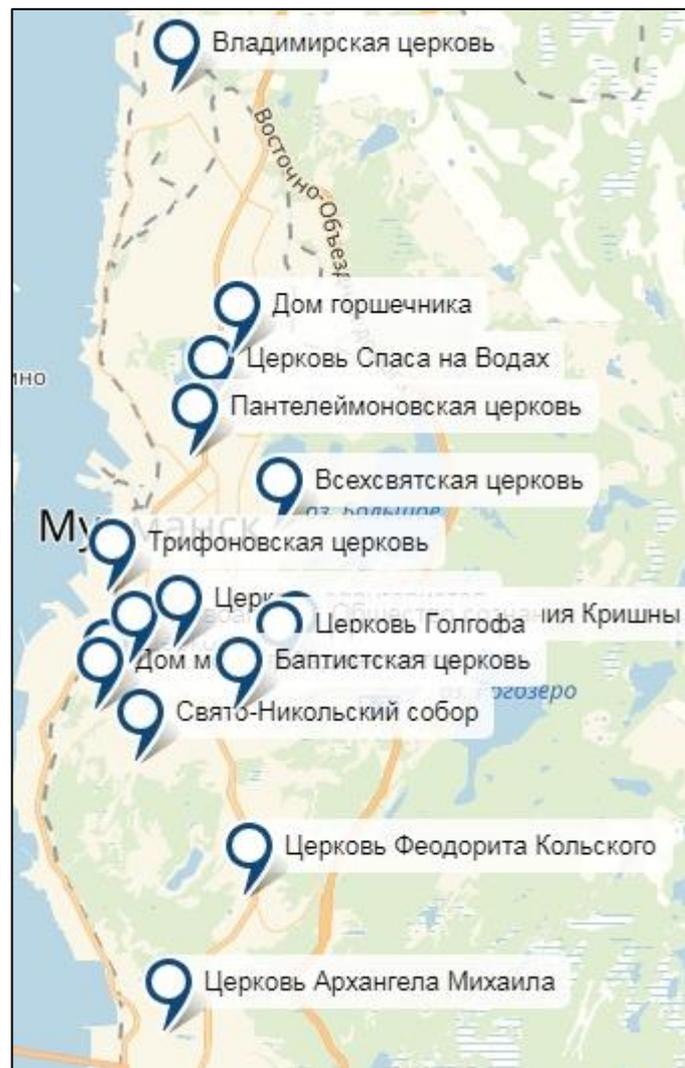


Fig. 4. Location of religious places in Murmansk.

Conclusion

Thus, it becomes evident that the formation of a comfortable urban environment is impossible without considering ethnic-confessional factors. The location and functional possibilities of ethnic-confessional institutions or objects are of great importance in the life of urban communities. An example of Russia's most significant metropolis in Moscow shows how to create a comfortable urban environment. This experience should be considered in the towns of the Russian Arctic, formed mainly in the Soviet time without attention to ethnic-confessional factors. Since the 1990s, religious and ethnonational structures and objects were chaotically created in these municipalities. As a result, the unsystematic nature of their placement is evident today. The current ethnic-confessional and migration situation in the Russian Arctic establishes the need to revise the attitude of the regions and municipalities to the idea of comfort in the urban environment. Although in the large, reference towns of the area — Arkhangelsk and Murmansk — a significant spectrum of ethnic-confessional groups is represented, not all of them are sufficiently satisfied

with the location of their religious and ethnonational institutions. Large, medium and small towns of the Russian Arctic probably still must face ethnic-confessional factors of forming a comfortable urban environment.

Based on the previous, we would like to give a few recommendations to the municipal administrations. Since the construction of new cities in the Russian Arctic shortly is unlikely, these recommendations apply not only to the existing towns but also to urban-type settlements, which may soon officially acquire the status of towns. Sarvut T.O. notes that it is necessary not only to provide urban residents of the Arctic regions with a decent level of comfort but also to create socio-cultural objects. It should consider the historically established principles of organization of both the indigenous and permanent population [13, Sarvut T.O., pp. 170–171]. We believe this to be correct; however, since the state (represented by state and municipal authorities) in Russia is separated from ethnic and religious preferences, the administration cannot independently participate in the creation of such objects. The municipal authorities need to regularly monitor public opinion, as well as the ethnic-confessional composition of the urban population. Public hearings, often held formally, do not reveal the whole range of views and needs of the residents of the municipality. Based on the beliefs and interests of citizens, it is necessary to plan the renovation of the former town zones and prospective development. When designing new urban areas, it is essential to systematically allocate spaces for the creation of objects of ethnic or cultural purposes. It does not mean that the town administration will invest in construction. It would be better to bring to the public discussion of the creation of such sites. If the population needs to create an ethnic-confessional object, the city administration will have to agree on a plan for further actions with the leaders or organizations of the relevant ethnic group or denomination. The future facility should be integrated into the urban landscape and contribute to the formation of comfortable urban space.

Acknowledgments and funding

The article is a part of a study supported by a grant from the Russian Foundation for Basic Research — Project No. 18-411-290010 “Models of communicative management in the development of urban space (case of the Arkhangelsk Oblast)”.

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UDC 94:[323.1+316.42](985)(045)

DOI: 10.17238/issn2221-2698.2019.34.133

Strategic priorities and forms of the applying ethnopolitics in the Arctic areas of the Russian Federation *

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Abstract. The article is dealing with the process of evolution of strategic priorities and practical forms of the realization of the ethnic policy in Russia on the example of the Arctic regions in the post-Soviet period. It is proved that the ethnopolitics of each Arctic region of the Russian Federation has its distinctive features, due to the complex of the reasons of its climatic, socio-economic, political and cultural nature. The differentiation of regional, national practices was more clearly manifested in the 1990s when in the Arctic regions, as well as in the whole country, the processes of sovereignty and politicization of ethnicity were observed. With the normalization of relations between the Federal center and regions, the separation of powers between the center and the entities of the Russian Federation at the turn of XX-XXI centuries, the Arctic regions are starting to build their ethnonational policy according to the strategic vision of the center. However, in the first decade of the XXI century, the ethnopolitics of the Arctic regions was more focused on the demonstration of ethnocultural diversity to the detriment of the ideas of consolidation of Russian society, which created the basis for ethnocultural mobilization and ethnic-egoism. The Strategy of the national policy of the Russian Federation 2012, contains conceptual foundations of nation-building and is biased in favor of the strengthening the unity of the multiethnic people and the state on the principles of civil solidarity. The policy of the Arctic regions begins to integrate into the all-Russian logic of the normalization of inter-ethnic relations. Ethnicity-related issues in the contemporary agenda are intimately connected with the security ones. The results of the sociological surveys and monitoring of the interethnic tensions suggest that regional authorities can control the current situation. Arctic territories are considered as the regions with the low and meager rate of ethnic tensions. However, contradictions between local people and migrants, old-timers and new settlers, Russian ethnic groups and indigenous peoples for similar rights and privileges are in the latent stage.

Keywords: *interethnic relations, regional ethnopolitics, the Russian Arctic, ethnicity.*

Introduction

In multiethnic Russia, throughout its historical development, the ethnic issue was one of the vital problems. As a rule, interethnic relations exacerbated during fundamental social transformation and weakening of the central government. The politicization of ethnicity was typical for the revolutionary events of 1917 and again manifested itself in the 1990s. On the one hand, the

* For citation:

Sokolova F.Kh., Zolotarev O.V., Maksimova L.A., Sibiriyakov I.V. Strategic priorities and forms of the applying ethnopolitics in the Arctic areas of the Russian Federation. *Arktika i Sever* [Arctic and North], 2019, no. 34, pp. 110–133. DOI: 10.17238/issn2221-2698.2019.34.133

actualization of the ethnic issue conditioned the historically established model of interaction between the center and territories on the principles of centralization.

On the other hand, it is a consequence of the socio-economic crisis, ethnic inequality, miscalculations and mistakes of the ethnopolitics. On the third, it is due to a subjective component, namely, the desire of ethnopolitical leaders to expand their power and possession of resources, especially in regions with significant economic potential. At times, the national intelligentsia unwittingly makes its contribution to the mobilization of ethnicity, which systematically actualizes the preserving and reviving the culture of the ancestors. In the modern world, global trends, in particular, the expansion of cross-border relations, the intensification of migration processes and intercultural contacts, are a powerful tool for interethnic conflicts and contradictions. The interaction of peoples with significant differences in behavior patterns and worldviews carries the threat of worsening of interethnic relations and xenophobic attitudes.

In the political practice of the Arctic region, the ethnic component is determined by a combination of external and internal factors, global, national, regional and local trends. The ethnocultural landscape of the Arctic region is represented by almost all the peoples of Russia, residents of neighboring countries, the Asia-Pacific region, and Europe (especially its Northern part). Here there is a significant representation of autochthonous ethnic groups, as evidenced by the constitutional and legal status of territorial entities. Note that 6 out of 9 Arctic territories of Russia are created considering the ethnic component: The Republic of Karelia, the Komi Republic and the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), Nenets, Yamal-Nenets and Chukotka Autonomous Districts. The Arctic is the territory of Karelians, Komi, Yakuts, and other smaller indigenous peoples. 18 of the 47 indigenous peoples of Russia live there: Veps, Dolgan, Kerek, Kets, Mansi, Nganasans, Nenets, Saami, Selkup, Khanty, Chuvan, Chukchi, Chulym, Evenki, Evens, Enets, Eskimos, and Yukagurs. Environmental factors should include the actualization of the problem of ensuring the rights and guarantees of the indigenous peoples of the world by the world community. In particular, the Convention of the International Labor Organization No. 169 of June 27, 1989 "On Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries" initiated the rejection of the assimilation policy concerning these peoples. Indigenous peoples were recognized with fundamental human rights and freedoms, incl. the independent choice of priorities for economic and cultural development.¹

In the context of global trends to prevent environmental catastrophes, the destruction of traditional areas by the industrial development of the Arctic, the issues of indigenous peoples, and their rights and freedoms became a priority in the activities of regional organizations — the Arctic Council and the Barents Euro-Arctic Region.

Attempts to comprehend the deep foundations of ethnicity, the origins and laws of ethnic and cultural development, intercultural interaction and the development of effective models of

¹ "О коренных народов и народов, ведущих племенной образ жизни в независимых странах". Конвенция Международной организации труда от 27.06.1989, № 169. [ILO 169: Convention concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries]. URL: http://www.un.org/ru/documents/decl_conv/conventions/iol169.shtm. (Accessed: 14 December 2018). [In Russian]

ethnonational state politics have caused a considerable array of research on the problem. A long research tradition has a conceptual justification for the main categories of ethnopolitics. In particular, the subject of sharp scientific discussions is the interpretation of the concepts of “ethnos” and “nation”, which are interpreted oppositely by supporters of primordialism and instrumental-constructivist approach [1, 2, 3, 4, 5]. A significant body of scientific literature is devoted to the analysis of state mechanisms for settling relations with specific objects of national policy: indigenous and small indigenous peoples of the country, migrants, etc. [6, 7]. In recent years, the ethnic policy of modern Russia has become the object of scientific attention [8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13].

A severe methodological base for the study of *ethnopolitical processes* was formed abroad (the concept of “ethnopolitics” in foreign studies is synonymous with the concept of “national policy” in Soviet/Russian science). A small number of foreign studies is devoted to the analysis of ethnopolitical processes in the post-Soviet space since they were mainly studied in the context of the political system of Russia. Moreover, since the end of the 1950s, leading foreign universities got specialized centers of “Russian” (“Slavic”) research². It was their scientific developments that formed the basis of the foreign historiography of the ethnopolitics of the Russian Federation.

The idea of the ethnopolitics of Russia as neo-imperialist was and remained the dominant concept in foreign historiography. According to supporters of this approach, imperialistic tendencies in Russian politics are manifested in relations with post-Soviet states, as well as in relationships of the federal government of the Russian Federation with its non-Russian population [14, 15]. The manifestation of neo-imperialism is considered to be Russia's leading role in resolving inter-ethnic conflicts in the post-Soviet space and concern for compatriots who find themselves abroad after the collapse of the USSR, who constitute, according to researchers, the “fifth column” of Russia abroad [16]. However, the neo-imperialistic approach to the study of Russian ethnopolitics is criticized by several foreign researchers. They convincingly argue that many conflicts that took place in Russia and the post-Soviet space in the 1990s did not have an ethnic political nature but reflected a clash of interests of regional elites and the Russian authorities never sought to mobilize Russians abroad [17].

In general, among the advantages of foreign historiography of ethnopolitics of Russia, it is possible to mention the extensive use of comparative and interdisciplinary research methods. Among the shortcomings is the use of the “imperial mentality” axioms of ethnic Russians and “double standards” in the study of various ethnic groups of Russia. It is important to note that in the conditions of modern societies that formed in the post-Soviet space, with their inherent high level of interethnic tension, the study of ethnic political processes, in addition to the increment of theoretical knowledge, has a pronounced practical significance. It consists of the elaboration of a state national policy adequate to the external and internal challenges facing Russia; politicians able to ensure sustainable development, peace and inter-ethnic harmony.

² Such centers existed at Harvard, Columbia and California universities in the United States, the School of Slavic and East European Studies of the University of London, and the University of Cambridge in the United Kingdom.

The regional section of historiography is represented by an array of ethnographic works on the analysis of the origins of ethnicity and the culture of small indigenous peoples. In recent years, attempts to comprehend ethnic-social processes and inter-ethnic relations in the Arctic territories of the Russian Federation [18, 19, 20, 21] have intensified. The legal and political foundations of federal and local legislation are subjected to analysis in a comparative context [22]. Scientific achievements are visible in the study of the ethnopolitics of the Arctic territories and its implementation [23, 24].

However, the territorial limits of studies performed, as a rule, by the example of specific subjects or a group of territories, actualizes a holistic vision and understanding of local models of ethnonational politics, their evolution in the post-Soviet period of Russian history. Without pretending to complete coverage within the article, we will try to identify the features of the formation and implementation of the ethnonational policy of the Arctic subjects of the Russian Federation in the post-Soviet period.

The theoretical basis of the study is a synthesis of the achievements of primordial and constructivist approaches. The detailed author's substantiation of the methodological approach and the essence of the concepts of "ethnos" and "nation" in the work of A.M. Maximov and F.Kh. Sokolova [25, p. 136]. In our opinion, the combination of two research paradigms in the analysis of ethnicity is due to its multidimensionality. In this sense, interdisciplinarity does not turn existing approaches into eclectics but tends to their mutual enrichment.

The source of the research is the charters of the national-territorial formations of the Arctic Russia, strategies and concepts of ethnic policy, which define the local priorities of ethnopolitics, legal norms, organizational, managerial and financial mechanisms for their implementation. The degree of the local effectiveness of settling interethnic relations was revealed as a comparison of plans and reports on the implementation of ethnic policy strategies. We used data from sociological studies carried out by independent organizations to identify the level of international tensions.

According to the Decree of the RF President of May 2, 2014 No. 296, the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation consists of the area of the four Arctic territories of Russia (the Murmansk Oblast, the Nenets, the Chukotka and the Yamal-Nenets autonomous districts), partly Arctic areas of the Arkhangelsk Oblast, the Krasnoyarsk Territory, the Komi Republic and the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), and number of islands located in the Arctic Ocean³. In 2017, by the amendments made to the decree, the list of land areas was supplemented by three municipalities of the Republic of Karelia⁴. In the context of the importance of an integrated approach to the study of the problem, it

³ "O suhoputnyh territoriyah Arkticheskoy zony Rossijskoj Federacii" Ukaz Prezidenta Rossijskoj Federacii ot 02.05.2014 g. № 296. ["On the Land Territories of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation" Decree of the President of the Russian Federation of 02.05.2014 No. 296]. URL: <http://graph.document.kremlin.ru/page.aspx?3631997> (Accessed: 14 December 2018). [In Russian]

⁴ "O vnesenii izmenenij v Ukaz Prezidenta Rossijskoj Federacii ot 2 maya 2014 goda "O suhoputnyh territoriyah Arkticheskoy zony Rossijskoj Federacii". Ukaz Prezidenta RF № 287 ot 29 iyunya 2019. ["On Amendments to the Decree of the President of the Russian Federation of May 2, 2014" On the Land Territories of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Fed-

seems illegal to draw demarcation lines within the Arctic territories of the Russian Federation, which are integral subsystems where the policies and practices of the municipal and territorial levels are closely interrelated and interdependent. In this regard, the area of the study will be expanded to 9 Arctic territories of the Russian Federation.

Ethnic politics of the Arctic territories of Russia in the 1990s

As of January 1, 2018, the total population of the Arctic territories of the Russian Federation was 7,800 thousand people⁵; it is 23% less than in 1989⁶. Among the leading ethnic-social tendencies should be noted: negative migration balance, the intensity of migration exchange, due to the widespread use of shift work methods, positive demographic dynamics — mainly among the Yakuts and the indigenous peoples of the Arctic. As a result of the indicated processes, the ethnonational structure of the population significantly changed during the period under study. In particular, the total number of Russians decreased by 23.2%, their share among the population as a whole in the Russian Arctic decreased from 77.5% to 75.8%, which is 5.1% lower than the average Russian values. In the Chukotka Autonomous Region and the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), they already make up less than 50% of the population: 49.6% and 36.9%, respectively. In Nenets and Yamal-Nenets, the Komi Republic, the proportion of Russians barely exceeds 60%. Among the emerging trends is a significant increase in the proportion of indigenous peoples in the territories of their traditional residence. In the Nenets and Yamal-Nenets autonomous districts, the share of the Nenets increased by 5.9% and by 1.3%, respectively, and amounted to 17.8% and 5.7% of the population of the territory. In their historic homeland, the proportion of the Chukchi increased from 7.6% to 25.3%. In Yakutia, the percentage of Yakuts, Evens, and Evens among the population increased by 16.6% and reached 52.5% [26, pp. 160–161].

It should be noted that both demographic and non-demographic factors provided the growth dynamics of the indigenous peoples of the Arctic. Among them: a higher birth rate with a specific decrease in the mortality rate, the acceleration of the processes of ethnic identity, socio-economic considerations, when against the background of state-adopted regulations on the guarantees of the rights of indigenous minorities, it became advantageous to belong to these ethnic groups.

During the study period, there was a tendency of migration outflow of immigrants from the European part of the post-Soviet space (Ukrainians, Belarusians, Moldovans) and former autonomous republics (Tatars, Bashkirs, Chuvash, etc.). Their numbers decreased by 3.5 and 1.5 times,

eration". Presidential Decree No. 287 of June 29, 2019]. URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/42021> (Accessed: 07 December 2018). [In Russian]

⁵ Calculated by authors: Regions of Russia. Socio-economic indicators. 2018. URL: http://www.gks.ru/bgd/regl/b18_14p/Main.htm (Accessed: 14 December 2018). [In Russian].

⁶ Podschitano po: Vsesoyuznaya perepis' naseleniya 1989 g. CHislennost' naseleniya SSSR, RSFSR i eyo territori-al'nyh edinic po polu. Demoskop Weekly 2015. № 651-652. [Calculated by: All-Union census of 1989. The population of the USSR, the RSFSR and its territorial units by sex. Demoscope Weekly 2015. No. 651-652]. URL: http://demoscope.ru/weekly/ssp/rus89_reg1.php (Accessed: 14 December 2018). [In Russian]

respectively. At the same time, the representation of immigrants from several former Central Asian and Transcaucasian republics (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan) increased by 1.5–4 times. Dynamically developing regions are especially attractive for them: the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous District, the Krasnoyarsk Territory, the Sakha Republic (Yakutiya), although their growth is observed in almost all Arctic territories [26, p. 161]. As in the whole country, the national policy of the Arctic area evolved. Conventionally, it can be divided into three periods. The first stage comes in the 1990s when in conditions of radical social transformations in the Arctic territories the processes of ethnic mobilization and ethno-political self-determination prevailed. Federal laws of October 6, 1999 "On the general principles of the organization of legislative (representative) and executive bodies of state power of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation" and of May 7, 2002 "On amending the Federal Law" On general principles of the organization of legislative (representative) and executive bodies of state power of the subjects of the Russian Federation" established the principle of unity of state power. The emphasis shifted towards ethnocultural self-determination and development⁷. In 2012, the adoption of the "Strategy of the state national policy of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2025" launched a new period.⁸ Its characteristic feature is the beginning of the integration of ethnopolitics of the Arctic into the logic of the Russian civic nation based on ethnocultural diversity.

Against the background of the collapse of the USSR and the "parade of sovereignties" in the 1990s, in the Arctic territories, the ethnic self-organization and ethno-political self-determination intensified. Ethnocentric ideologies that were often cultivated by the regional authorities themselves to gain more political independence or to receive additional federal subsidies became widespread.

Inter-ethnic tensions were often fueled by indigenous peoples from foreign countries, who called on their relatives for ethnic consolidation and the joint struggle for their rights. At first glance, the seemingly innocent and natural processes of ethnic consolidation and expansion of international cooperation of nations in conditions of weak interregional coordination and consolidation of efforts of Arctic territories for the joint regulation of interethnic relations, the cultivation of

⁷ "Ob obshchih principah organizacii zakonodatel'nyh (predstavitel'nyh) i ispolnitel'nyh organov gosudarstvennoj vlasti sub"ektov Rossijskoj Federacii". FZ RF №184-FZ ot 06.10.1999 g. ["On the general principles of the organization of legislative (representative) and executive bodies of state power of the subjects of the Russian Federation". Federal Law of the Russian Federation №184-FZ 06.10. 1999]. URL: http://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_14058/ (Accessed: 27 December 2018). [In Russian]; O vnesenii izmenenij v Federal'nyj zakon "Ob obshchih principah organizacii zakonodatel'nyh (predstavitel'nyh) i ispolnitel'nyh organov gosudarstvennoj vlasti sub"ektov Rossijskoj Federacii". FZ RF №47-FZ ot 07.05.2002. [On Amendments to the Federal Law "On General Principles of Legislative (Representative) and Executive Authorities of the Subjects of the Russian Federation". Federal Law of the Russian Federation №47-FZ 07.05.2002]. URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/901817319> (Accessed: 07 December 2018). [In Russian]

⁸ «O Strategii gosudarstvennoj nacional'noj politiki Rossijskoj Federacii na period do 2025 goda» Ukaz Prezidenta Rossijskoj Federacii ot 19.12.2012 g. № 1666 ["On the Strategy of the State National Policy of the Russian Federation for the Period until 2025" Decree of the President of the Russian Federation dated December 19, 2012 No. 1666]. *Sobranie zakonodatel'stva RF*. 2012. № 52. St. 74–77. [In Russian]

ideas of interethnic differences in the country, concealed the threat of disintegration processes in country and region.

A potential increase in tension in relations between small indigenous peoples and other ethnic and social groups, which, against the background of privileges and preferences for ethnic minorities, have been disadvantaged in their rights, was a potential conflict factor. Evidence of this is the effective dissemination of the Pomor theme in the 1990s, attempts to achieve the status of indigenous minorities for them. The statement of Shabayev Yu.P. that the short-sighted federal policy, namely the ban on the occupation of the maritime industry for the Pomors, the sharp restriction on fishing quotas, unlike the ethnic groups that received the status of "indigenous small peoples," aggravated their economic situation and exacerbated inter-ethnic tensions. [13, p. 43-44]. The socio-economic crisis, aggravated in the predominantly subsidized Arctic regions against the background of the transition to a market economy, harbored the potential for an increase in interethnic tensions. It is true that I.V. Karabash, that "interethnic tensions imply competition and ethnic conflicts for various resources and domination of ethnic elites in a particular socio-cultural environment" [27, p. 154].

In the 1990s — early 2000s, in the Arctic, the subject matter of competence and the powers of the regions were determined, a vision was formed on the political, economic, and cultural development of the peoples living there. The identified aspects are reflected in the fundamental laws (charters and constitutions) of the northern circumpolar areas, which generally indicate the desire of the local elites to contribute to the development of ethnic groups within the country's integrity.

Somewhat dissonant in this regard, the Fundamental Law of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), 2002, indicated that the Republic transfers a part of the rights belonging to it voluntarily and due to federal and other treaties, for a certain period, to the authorities of the Russian Federation. The Republic retains the right to self-determination in the free will of the people. According to the document, the Republic retained the right to raise the issue of suspending or revoking federal laws and other regulatory legal acts of the Russian Federation in the event that they violate a federal or other agreement, or are adopted in violation of powers and objects the conduct of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia). In line with the primordial interpretations of the nation as an ethnos that dominated the country and reached the highest stage of development, such formulations allowed the republic's ethnopolitical leaders to declare their right to secede from the Russian Federation subsequently. At the same time, The Republic keeps the right to secession from the Russian Federation, and it also planned to suppress any attempt to assassinate its territorial integrity strictly. Article 4.2. of the Fundamental Law secures the prosecution for the violent overthrow of the constitutional system and the violation of the territorial integrity of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)⁹.

⁹ Konstituciya (Osnovnoj zakon) Respubliki Saha (Yakutiya). Utverzhden Zakonom RS(YA) ot 17.10.2002 54-Z N 445-II s dopolneniyami i izmeneniyami. [Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia). Approved by the

In this context, the idea expressed by L.A. Musayelyan is quite applicable to the analysis of the ethnopolitical situation. He wrote that by the end of perestroika the political and economic elite of the national republics of the USSR actively exploited the Marxist principle of the right of nations to political self-determination, but after the collapse of the country, they “categorically denied this right to other peoples who once were in the will of the authorities” [10, p. 36]. Experts of the Center for the Study of National Conflict noted that in Yakutia in the 1990s ethnic conflicts took place, the formation of local ethnocracies and the squeezing of the Russian population was observed, and many decisions were made through the prism of interethnic relations¹⁰.

Due to the fact that the Arctic is the territory of predominant residence of small indigenous peoples (their proportion among the Arctic population of Russia exceeds 4%, and in a number of territories reaches 10-25%), in the charter documents special attention was paid to protecting their rights and interests [28, p. 58]. In turn, in the charter of the Arkhangelsk Oblast, an application was made for obtaining the status of indigenous minority for Pomors. It was noted that on the territory of the area “the traditions of the Russian Pomors are kept and supported.”¹¹

In the 1990s, the conceptual vision of the ethnic policy was documented only in several Arctic territories of Russia: The Republics of Komi and Sakha (Yakutia), the Krasnoyarsk Territory.

The Arctic territories with republican status prioritized their federal policy priorities in the field of ethnic politics. The Komi Republic approved its concept of ethnic policy two months ahead of Moscow¹², and the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) — in 1995¹³. Both documents are identical in terms of recognizing the need to achieve civil peace and interethnic harmony on the territories of their republics. They recognized the rights of individuals to free ethnic self-determination and the satisfaction of interests and requests related to ethnic identity. However, in the Concept of the national policy of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) 1995, long before the introduction of the “Russian nation” concept to designate the multiethnic people of the Russian Federation (see the Strategy of the National Policy of the Russian Federation 2012), the term “Yakutyans” appeared. It was used by local leaders to call the multiethnic community of the Republic, actualizing thereby the problem of the civic consolidation of the peoples of the Republic and the formation of local identity. The recognition of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia),

Law of the RS (Y) 17.10. 2002 54-3 N 445-II with additions and changes]. URL: <http://iltumen.ru/content/konstitutsiya-osnovnoi-zakon-respubliki-sakha-yakutiya> (Accessed: 18 December 2018). [In Russian]

¹⁰ CINK. Grozd'ya gneva. Rejting mezhetnicheskoj napryazhennosti v regionah Rossii. Vesna-osen' 2014 gg. [ZINC. The Grapes of Wrath. Rating of interethnic tension in the regions of Russia. Spring-Autumn 2014]. URL: <http://club-rf.ru/thegrapesofwrath/02/#analiz> (Lnfn j,hfotybz 14/12/2018) (Accessed: 18 December 2018). [In Russian]

¹¹ Ustav Arhangel'skoj oblasti ot 20.03.2001 N 104 s dopolneniyami i izmeneniyami. [Charter of the Arkhangelsk Region of March 20, 2001, No. 104, as amended and supplemented]. URL <http://www.dvinaland.ru/-erf95d3u> (Accessed: 18 December 2018). [In Russian]

¹² O Konceptii gosudarstvennoj nacional'noj politiki Respubliki Komi. Ukaz Glavy respubliki Komi ot 24.04.1996 №118. [About the Concept of the state national policy of the Republic of Komi. Decree of the Head of the Republic of Komi, 24.04.1996 №118] URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/473200813> (Accessed: 19 December 2018). [In Russian]

¹³ Konceptiya gosudarstvennoj nacional'noj politiki Respubliki Saha (Yakutiya). odobrena Postanovleniem Pravitel'stva RS(YA) ot 13.10.1995. №446. [The concept of the state national policy of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia). Approved by the Decree of the Government of the RS (Y) dated October 13, 1995. No. 446]. URL: <http://www.dfoportal.info/area05x/partiehu/article-xyzdbm5.htm> (Accessed: 19 December 2018). [In Russian]

respect for the history, traditions, culture, language and national dignity of the peoples of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) are among the fundamental principles of ethnic policy.

The concept of the ethnic policy of the Krasnoyarsk Territory was adopted by the Legislative Assembly on January 21, 1999. The main provisions of the document generally correspond to the provisions of the Concept of the state national policy of the Russian Federation, 1996. At the same time, as the centrifugal tendencies in the country intensified, the document made a special emphasis on the need to preserve the "territorial integrity and the centuries-old multi-ethnic unity of Russia and the area". It is noteworthy that in the context of a surge of ethnicity and accusations against the Russians, who allegedly imposed their culture on other peoples, the Concept of the Krasnoyarsk Territory addresses the problem of reviving and preserving the culture of the Russian ethnos, which "had no opportunity for development due to the substitution of Russian culture for supranational "Universal" culture, the lack of comprehensive programs for its development."¹⁴

In the territories with republican status, the institutional basis of local ethnopolitics begins to take shape. In 1991, the Committee on National Politics and Interethnic Relations was established under the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Karelia, in 1993 — the State Committee on Nationalities in the structure of the Komi government, in 1994 the Department of Peoples Affairs and Federal Relations of the Sakha (Yakutia) [23, p. 104].

In the early 1990s, the ethnopolitics of the country and the Arctic territories was significantly influenced by the ethnic mobilization and self-organization. Thus, the 1991 congresses of representatives of the Karelian and Komi peoples initiated the settlement of the relationship between regional bodies and established ethnic associations for improving national legislation¹⁵. The federal law "On the Languages of the Peoples of the Russian Federation" responded to ethnic demands of the population and granted territories with republican status the right to establish their state languages¹⁶. In 1992, state languages were secured in the Komi Republic and the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)¹⁷.

¹⁴ "O Konceptii regional'noj nacional'noj politiki Krasnoyarskogo kraya". postanovlenie Zakonodatel'nogo sobraniya Krasnoyarskogo kraya ot 21.01.1999 №5-263P. ["On the Concept of the Regional National Policy of the Krasnoyarsk Territory". Resolution of the Legislative Assembly of the Krasnoyarsk Territory of January 21, 1999 No. 5-263П]. URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/985501757> (Accessed: 19 December 2018). [In Russian]

¹⁵ Kareliya oficial'naya. Oficial'nyj internet-portal Respubliki Kareliya. V s"ezd karelov. [Karelia is official. Official Internet portal of the Republic of Karelia. V congress of Karelians]. URL: http://gov.karelia.ru/Power/Committee/National/karel_congr.html (Accessed: 28 February 2019). [In Russian]; Respublika komi. Oficial'nyj portal. S"ezd komi naroda. [The Komi Republic. The official portal. Congress of the Komi people]. URL: http://rkomi.ru/left/fu_mir/sjezd/ (Accessed: 28 February 2019). [In Russian]

¹⁶ "O yazykah Rossijskoj Federacii" FZ RF ot 25 okt. 1991 g. № 1807-1. ["On the languages of the Russian Federation" Federal Law of October 25, 1991, No. 1807-1]. URL: http://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_15524/ (Accessed: 07 August 2017). [In Russian]

¹⁷ O gosudarstvennyh yazykah Respubliki Komi: zakon Resp. Komi ot 28 maya 1992 g. [On the state languages of the Republic of Komi: the law of the Rep. Komi on May 28, 1992]. URL: <http://minnats.rkomi.ru/left/doc/normrk/> (Accessed: 07 August 2017). [In Russian]. O yazykah Respubliki Saha (Yakutiya): zakon RS(YA) ot 16 okt. 1992 g. № 1170-XII. [On the languages of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia): RS (Y) law dated October 16, 1992 No. 1170-XII]. URL: <https://www.sakha.gov.ru/obschestvo/jazykovaya-politika/normativnye-pravovye-akty/zakony-respubliki-saha-jakutija-yazikovoi-sovet/zakon-respubliki-saha-jakutija-o-jazykah-v-respublike-saha-jakutija> (Accessed: 07 August 2017). [In Russian]

In general, in the 1990s — early 2000s, in the Arctic territories, the policy of interethnic relations had not yet acquired conceptual harmony. A rare exception was the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), which was the first in the country to develop and approve a methodologically adjusted ethnic policy strategy. In most territories, the regulation of interethnic relations was carried out inertly, rather in the context of responding to the ethnic demands of society and the problems that arose. The process of institutional and legal registration of ethnic policy was in its infancy. The critical issues on the agenda were the designation of the ethnic status and the expansion of the ethnopolitical independence of the territories. The federal laws of the second half of the 1990s, e.g., “On National-Cultural Autonomy” of 17 June 1996 No. 74-FZ and “On the Guarantees of the Rights of Indigenous Minorities of the Russian Federation” of April 30, 1999 No. 82-FZ and others, were significant for settling inter-ethnic relations and supporting civic initiatives for preservation and revival of ethnic cultures. But they did not get the proper response¹⁸.

The ethnic and cultural practice of the local policy

As V.Yu. Zorin rightly notes, the settlement of federative relations at the turn of the 20th–21st centuries, the separation of powers of the center and territories, the gradual strengthening of the power vertical laid the foundations for weakening the politicization of ethnic groups and contributed to the formation of the ethnocultural doctrine of ethnopolitics [29, pp. 144–145]. An analysis of the ethnic practice of Arctic territories confirms this statement. In the Arctic, in the first decade of the 20th century, the basic provisions of the 1996 Conception of the State National Policy of the Russian Federation and federal laws aimed at settling inter-ethnic relations on the basis of the principles of unity and integrity of Russia begin to be implemented, taking into account and coordinating with the ethnocultural needs of the peoples.

In the regions under study, the legal framework of ethnopolitics is being formalized and expanding; regional targeted programs are being implemented, aimed at various objects of ethnic policy¹⁹. The analysis of documentary sources indicates that the main activities of local bodies in this area were: creating conditions for the national and cultural self-determination of peoples,

¹⁸ “O nacional'no-kul'turnyh avtonomiyah” FZ RF. №74-FZ ot 17.06.1996. [“On the national-cultural autonomies” Federal Law. No. 74-FZ 17. 06.1996]. URL: <http://base.garant.ru/135765/> (Accessed: 28 February 2019). [In Russian]; “O garantiyah prav korennyh malochislennyh narodov Rossijskoj Federacii” FZ RF №82-FZ ot 30.04. 1999 g. [“On guarantees of the rights of indigenous minorities of the Russian Federation” Federal Law No. 82-FZ April 30. 1999]. URL: <http://base.garant.ru/180406/> (Accessed: 28 February 2019). [In Russian]

¹⁹ Ob utverzhenii Konceptii gosudarstvennoj nacional'noj politiki v Arhangel'skoj oblasti. postanovlenie Pravitel'stva Arhangel'skoj oblasti ot 9.04.2007 № 67-pa. [On approval of the Concept of state national policy in the Arkhangelsk region. Resolution of the Government of the Arkhangelsk Region of April 9, 2007 No. 67-pa]. URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/462608824> (Accessed: 18 December 2018). [In Russian]; “Regional'naya celevaya programma “Garmonizaciya nacional'nyh i konfessional'nyh otnoshenij, formirovaniye grazhdanskogo soglasiya v Respublike Kareliya na 2007–2011 gody” (“Kareliya — territoriya soglasiya”). Rasporyazhenie Pravitel'stva Respubliki Kareliya ot 25.01.2007 g. № 22r-P i postanovlenie Zakonodatel'nogo Sobraniya Respubliki Kareliya ot 22.02.2007 g. № 245-IV ZS. [“Regional target program “Harmonization of national and confessional relations, formation of civil accord in the Republic of Karelia for 2007–2011” (“Karelia is a territory of accord”). Decree of the Government of the Republic of Karelia of January 25, 2007 No. 22r-P and Resolution of the Legislative Assembly of the Republic of Karelia of February 22, 2007 No. 245-IV of the Law. URL: <http://www.gov.karelia.ru/Power/Committee/National/archives.html> (Accessed: 28 February 2019). [In Russian]

preserving and reviving the culture and languages of the territory; ensuring the rights of indigenous peoples.

Ethnocultural public associations are developing. Only in 2000–2011, in the Arctic, more than 150 cultural-national autonomies (NGOs) and fraternities were created²⁰. Thus, according to the law “On Cultural-National Autonomies of the Komi Republic” of 2005, ethnocultural associations received the right to address issues of preserving identity, language development, education, and national culture based on voluntary self-organization. To ensure a dialogue between the authorities and ethnic communities, the Advisory Council for National-Cultural Autonomy, which included representatives of the leading Republican NGOs, was created under the Ministry of National Policy (until 2007, the State Committee on Nationalities)²¹. The Council received the right to submit proposals to state authorities on issues of national and cultural development and to participate in the development of republican target programs for the development of national languages and culture. A similar council, but only for the representatives of Karelians, Veps, and Finns were created under the Head of the Republic of Karelia²². To ensure the coordination and interaction of regional and local ethnocultural and public associations between themselves and the authorities, Councils of Nationalities are being created (Arkhangelsk, 2007), Civil Assembly (Krasnoyarsk Territory, 2011).

A powerful impetus in the Arctic in these years was received by the policy of supporting native languages (especially the state languages of the republics) and the development of the national school. In the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) in 2001, the Concept of School-Language Education was approved. In 2005–2007 the State target program of language construction was being implemented [30, p. 454]. In the Komi Republic, several targeted republican programs for the development and preservation of the state languages of the Komi Republic were developed and implemented. In Karelia, there is the republican program “Finno-Ugric School of the Republic of Karelia” (2000–2002) and “Ethnocultural Education in the Republic of Karelia for 2003–2005”, aimed at improving the opportunities for studying the native languages and culture of Karelians, Veps and Finns at all levels of education and the formation of the system of education and upbringing of children and young people in the ethnocultural traditions²³.

²⁰ Informacionnyj portal Minyusta RF. O deyatel'nosti nekommercheskih organizacij. [Information portal of the Ministry of Justice of the Russian Federation. On the activities of non-profit organizations]. URL: <http://unro.minjust.ru/NKAs.aspx> (Accessed: 28 February 2019). [In Russian]

²¹ “O nacional'no-kul'turnoj avtonomii v Respubliki Komi” Zakon Respubliki Komi ot 28.06.2005 goda № 58-RZ. [“On National-Cultural Autonomy in the Komi Republic” Law of the Komi Republic of June 28, 2005 No. 58-RZ]. URL: <http://minnats.rkomi.ru/left/doc/normrk/> (Accessed: 28 February 2019). [In Russian]

²² Nacional'naya politika po razvitiyu kul'tur pribaltijsko-finskih narodov v Respublike Kareliya. [National policy for the development of cultures of the Baltic-Finnish peoples in the Republic of Karelia]. URL: <http://www.gov.karelia.ru/Power/Committee/National/040225.html> (Accessed: 28 February 2019). [In Russian]

²³ Meropriyatiya po nacional'nomu razvitiyu i mezhnacional'nomu sotrudnichestvu narodov, prozhivayushchih v Respublike Kareliya, na 2002-2005 gody [Events on national development and inter-ethnic cooperation of the peoples living in the Republic of Karelia for 2002-2005]. URL: <http://www.gov.karelia.ru/Power/Committee/National/inform.html> (Accessed: 09 August 2017). [In Russian]; Otchet o rabote Gosudarstvennogo komiteta Respubliki Kareliya po delam nacional'noj politiki v 2003 godu. [Report on the work of the State Committee of the Republic of Karelia on Na-

However, in the absence of a clear legal regulation of the state language statuses in the Russian Federation and the languages of the republics, delimiting the scope of the federal and national-regional components of curricula and content of the latter, the culture and language were often studied to the detriment of the federal part of the curriculum. The consequence of this was the autonomization of the local (national-regional) component, the establishment of its priority compared to the federal one, the lowering proficiency in Russian. So, according to the All-Russian census 2010, the lowest percentage of proficiency in Russian was among Yakuts (89.6%).²⁴ Often ethnocultural educational institutions turned into an instrument of ethnic mobilization. Interest in the study of native languages and culture is often artificially fueled by ethnic intelligentsia without real needs of the population. The analysis of statistical data indicates that the surge in interest in the study of native languages, observed in the 1990s, began to fade in the first decade of the 20th century. So, by 2000, the total number of Komi studying their native language increased 6.6 times, Yakuts — 1.7 times. [31, pp. 117–118]. By 2011, the positive dynamics remained only in Yakutia (twice more). The different dynamics were outlined in the Komi Republic (a reduction of 1.2 times), which led to the discussion about the compulsory study of the state language of the republics by all children without exception.

In the 2000s, indigenous peoples of the Arctic become an independent object of national policy. The local legislation of this period is represented by regulatory documents aimed at ensuring the rights and guarantees of minority peoples following federal regulations²⁵.

tional Politics in 2003. URL: <http://www.gov.karelia.ru/Power/Committee/National/archives.html> (Accessed: 09 August 2017). [In Russian]

²⁴ Vserossijskaya perepis' naseleniya 2010 g. Nacional'nyj sostav i vladenie yazykami, grazhdanstvo. Tom. 4. [National Population Census 2010 National composition and language proficiency, citizenship. Tom. Four] URL: http://www.gks.ru/free_doc/new_site/perepis2010/croc/perepis_itogi1612.htm (Accessed: 28 February 2019). [In Russian].

²⁵ "Osnovy pravovyh garantij korennyh malochislennyh narodov severa krasnoyarskogo kraja" Zakon Krasnoyarsko-go kraja №7-1215 ot 01.06.2003 ["Basics of legal guarantees for indigenous minorities of the north of the Krasnoyarsk Territory" Krasnoyarsk Territory Law No. 7-1215 of June 01, 2003.] URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/985006116> (Accessed: 03 February 2019). [In Russian]; "O zashchite iskonnoj srede obitaniya i tradicionnogo obraza zhizni korennyh malochislennyh narodov Krasnoyarskogo kraja». Zakon Krasnoyarskogo kraja №11-5343 ot 25.10.2010 ["On the protection of the original habitat and the traditional way of life of the indigenous peoples of the Krasnoyarsk Territory". Law of the Krasnoyarsk Territory No. 11-5343 25.10.2010]. URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/985020863> (Accessed: 03 February 2019). [In Russian]; "O social'noj podderzhke grazhdan, prozhivayushchih v Tajmyrskom Dolgano-Neneckom municipal'nom rajone Krasnoyarskogo kraja" Zakon Krasnoyarskogo kraja №7-2660 ot 18.12.2008. ["On social support of citizens living in the Taimyr Dolgan-Nenets Municipal District of the Krasnoyarsk Territory" Law of the Krasnoyarsk Territory No. 7-2660 of 12/18/2008.] URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/985014971> (Accessed: 03 February 2019). [In Russian]; "O gosudarstvennoj podderzhke korennyh malochislennyh narodov Severa v Murmanskoj oblasti, osushchestvlyayushchih vidy tradicionnoj hozyajstvennoj deyatel'nosti" Zakon Murmanskoj oblasti № 984-01-ZMO ot 30.06.2008 ["On state support of indigenous minorities of the North in the Murmansk region, engaged in the types of traditional economic activities" Law of the Murmansk region No. 984-01-ZMO June 30, 2008]. URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/913513909> (Accessed: 02 March 2019). [In Russian]; "O perechne trudnodostupnyh i otdalennyh mestnostej i territorijah kompaktnogo prozhivaniya korennyh malochislennogo naroda Severa Rossijskoj Federacii v Murmanskoj oblasti" Zakon Murmanskoj oblasti № 447-01-ZMO ot 04.12.2003 ["On the list of remote and remote locations and territories of compact residence of the indigenous people of the North of the Russian Federation in the Murmansk region" Law of the Murmansk region No. 447-01-3MO 04.12.2003] (Accessed: 03 February 2019). [In Russian]; "On state support of traditional types of economic and industrial activities of the indigenous minorities of the North in the Nenets Autonomous District". Law of the NAO of January 1, 2008 No. 1-OZ URL:

In particular, the places of their traditional residence and economic activity were legally formalized. The problem of protecting indigenous lands is becoming more urgent. Measures to support traditional lifestyle and improve the social status of small peoples are identified. Legal guarantees were provided in the field of protecting the languages of indigenous peoples, preserving and reviving their culture. In the territories, action plans are being developed. They are aimed at the implementation of the "Concept for the Sustainable Development of Indigenous Minorities of the North, Siberia and the Far East."²⁶ The Institute of ombudsmen for the rights of indigenous peoples begins to take shape (Krasnoyarsk Territory)²⁷.

<http://docs.cntd.ru/document/819035883> (Accessed: 03 February 2019). [In Russian]; "O gosudarstvennoj podderzhke tradicionnyh vidov hozyajstvovaniya i promyslov korennyh malochislennyh narodov Severa na territorii Neneckogo avtonomnogo okruga". Zakon NAO ot 28.01.2008 № 1-OZ ["On the communities of the indigenous peoples of the North in the Nenets Autonomous District". Law of the NAO of 01.10.2008 No. 58-03]. URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/819067552> (Accessed: 03 January 2019). [In Russian]; "Ob obshchinh korennyh malochislennyh narodov Severa v Neneckom avtonomnom okruge". Zakon NAO ot 01.10.2008 № 58-03. ["On reindeer herding in the Nenets Autonomous District". Law of the NAO of 15.03.2002 No. 341-03] URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/800300987> (Accessed: 03 January 2019). [In Russian]; "Ob olenevodstve v Neneckom avtonomnom okruge". Zakon NAO ot 15.03.2002 № 341-03

["On the territory of compact residence of the indigenous peoples of the North in the Nenets Autonomous District". Law of the NAO of 21.05.2007 No. 65-03]. URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/819003685> (Accessed: 28 February 2019). [In Russian]; "O gosudarstvennom regulirovanii razvitiya morskogo zverobojnogo promysla v Chukot-skom avtonomnom okruge" Zakon Chukotskogo avtonomnogo okruga ot 09.02.1999 № 09-OZ. ["On state regulation of the development of marine hunting in the Chukotka Autonomous Region" The law of the Chukotka Autonomous Region dated February 02, 1999 No. 09-OZ.] URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/805044029>. (Accessed: 28 February 2019). [In Russian]; "O gosudarstvennom regulirovanii i gosudarstvennoj podderzhke razvitiya severnogo olenevodstva v Chukotskom avtonomnom okruge". Zakon Chukot-skogo avtonomnogo okruga ot 08.06.2007 № 57-OZ.

["On state regulation and state support for the development of northern reindeer husbandry in the Chukotka Autonomous Region". Law of the Chukotka Autonomous Region of June 08, 2007 No. 57-OZ]. URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/819012491>. (Accessed: 28 February 2019). [In Russian]; "O zashchite iskonnoj sredy obitaniya i tradicionnogo obraza zhizni korennyh malochislennyh narodov Severa v YAmalo-Neneckom avtonomnom okruge" Zakon YANAO ot 06.10.2006 N 49-ZAO ["On the protection of the original habitat and traditional way of life of the indigenous peoples of the North in the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous District" Law of the YNAO dated October 6, 2006 No. 49-ZAO]. URL: <https://dkmns.yanao.ru/about/500/> (Accessed: 28 February 2019). [In Russian]; "O gosudarstvennoj podderzhke obshchin korennyh malochislennyh narodov Severa i organizacij, osushchestvlyayushchih vidy tradicionnoj hozyajstvennoj deya-tel'nosti na territorii YAmalo-Neneckogo avtonomnogo okruga" Zakon YANAO ot 28.12.2005 N 114-ZAO. ["On state support of communities of indigenous peoples of the North and organizations engaged in the types of traditional economic activities on the territory of the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous District" Law of the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous District No. 114-ZAO dated December 28, 2005]. URL: <https://dkmns.yanao.ru/about/500/> (Accessed: 28 February 2019). [In Russian].; "O Konceptii ustojchivogo razvitiya korennyh malochislennyh narodov Severa YAmalo-Neneckogo avtonomnogo okruga" Postanovlenie Zakonodatel'nogo So-braniya YANAO ot 09.12.2009 N 1996. ["On the Concept of Sustainable Development of Indigenous Minorities of the North of the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous District" Decree of the Legislative Assembly of the YNAO December 9, 2009 No. 1996]. URL: <http://www.dkmns.ru/departament/normativno-pravovye-akty/> (Accessed: 28 February 2019). [In Russian].

²⁶ "O koncepcii ustojchivogo razvitiya korennyh malochislennyh narodov Severa, Sibiri i Dal'nego Vostoka" Rasporyazhenie Pravitel'stva RF №132-r ot 04.02.2009. ["On the concept of sustainable development of indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East" Order of the Government of the Russian Federation No. 132-p dated February 4, 2009]. URL: <http://www.garant.ru/products/ipo/prime/doc/94908/> (Accessed: 28 February 2019). [In Russian].

²⁷ "Ob upolnomochennom po pravam cheloveka v Krasnoyarskom krae" Zakon Krasnoyarskogo kraja. ["On the Commissioner for Human Rights in the Krasnoyarsk Territory" Law of the Krasnoyarsk Territory]. URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/985011867> (Accessed: 28 February 2019). [In Russian].

The official status of the languages of indigenous minorities begins to be clear.²⁸ Conditions are created for the development of their languages and national schools. So, in 2010, more than 50% of children of indigenous peoples of the Arctic studied their native language at school²⁹. A system of successively interconnected teaching of native languages in pre-school institutions, primary and secondary schools are being formed.

It was during these years that the development of media and literature in the languages of the indigenous peoples began. The network of cultural and educational institutions is expanding (centers and houses of folklore and traditional crafts, or ethnographic museums). Days of national cultures and ethnic, cultural events are widely practiced.

Summing up, it should be noted that in the first decade of the 21st century, Russian Arctic territories form and develop the legal basis of local policy. The foundations are laid for ensuring interaction and a balance of interests of all subjects of the ethnopolitics (federal center, regional governing bodies, ethnic public associations). Target republican and local programs begin to be practiced among the specific mechanisms for the implementation of the settlement of inter-ethnic relations.

However, in the context of a financial shortage, many intentions (e.g., overcoming the socio-economic differentiation of regions, improving the social status of small indigenous peoples, etc.) turned out to be more like declarations. A powerful impetus was given to the revival and development of ethnic cultures and the ethnocultural mobilization. At the same time, a broad demonstration of cultural differences created the ground for ethnic egoism and barriers in inter-ethnic interaction.

The ethnocultural development of peoples was often carried out to the detriment of the ideas of achieving inter-ethnic harmony and strengthening the unity of the Russian statehood on the principles of civic solidarity. A rare exception is the Republic of Karelia, where, against the background of inter-ethnic conflicts, in 2006, the regional target program "Harmonization of national and religious relations, the formation of civil consent in the Republic of Karelia for 2007–2011" was approved and started). As rightly noted by Yu.P. Shabaev, "the population of individual regions and Russian society in general were not considered by politicians and various entrepreneurs (incl. ethnic entrepreneurs) as integral civilian communities, but presented only as a certain sum of ethnic groups with different historical fates and specific cultural values" [23, p. 93]. To

²⁸ "O statuse yazykov korennyh malochislennyh narodov Severa Respubliki Saha (Yakutiya)" zakon RS(YA) ot 20 fevr. 2004 g. № 243-III. ["On the status of languages of indigenous small peoples of the North of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)" the law of the RS (Y) of 20 February. 2004 № 243-III]. URL: <https://www.sakha.gov.ru/obschestvo/jazykovaya-politika/normativnye-pravovye-akty/zakony-respubliki-saha-jakutija-yazykovoivo-voet/zakon-respubliki-saha-jakutija-20-fevralja-2004-goda-111-z-n-243-iii-o-statuse-jazykov-korennyh-malochislennyh-narodov-severa-respubliki-saha-jakutija> (Accessed: 02 March 2019) [In Russian]; "O rodnym yazykah korennyh malochislennyh narodov Severa na territorii YAmalo-Neneckogo avtonomnogo okruga" Zakon YANAO ot 05.04.2010 N 48-ZAO. ["On the native languages of the indigenous minorities of the North in the territory of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Region"]. URL: <https://dkmns.yanao.ru/about/500/> (Accessed: 02 March 2019) [In Russian].

²⁹ Sostavleno po: Ekonomicheskie i social'nye pokazateli rajonov prozhivaniya korennyh malochislennyh narodov Severa — 2010 god. [Compiled by: Economic and social indicators of areas inhabited by indigenous minorities of the North — 2010]. URL: http://www.gks.ru/bgd/regl/b10_23/Main.htm (Accessed: 28 February 2019). [In Russian].

overcome the emerging negative tendencies, taking urgent measures to strengthen the unity of the country, the Presidential Decree on Ensuring Inter-Ethnic Accord dated May 7, 2012, was sent, following which the Presidential Administration together with the government was tasked to develop a new concept of the country's national policy³⁰.

The way to strengthen solidarity and civil identity foundations

A new stage of state national policy aimed at strengthening the unity and spiritual community of the peoples of Russia, the principles of nation-building on the principles of citizenship while simultaneously supporting ethnic and cultural diversity was laid in 2012 by approving the Strategy of the State National Policy of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2025³¹.

The adoption of the Strategy gave impetus to local lawmaking, which was reflected in the Arctic ethnic policy strategies approved in recent years, plans for their implementation and local programs³².

³⁰ "On ensuring interethnic consent" Decree of the President of the Russian Federation dated May 7, 2012 №602. Resource center in the field of national relations). ["Ob obespechenii mezhnacional'nogo soglasiya" Ukaz Prezidenta RF ot 7 maya 2012 g. №602. Resursnyj centr v sfere nacional'nyh otnoshenij)]. URL: <http://xn---8sbnatxcctbeddbtj9c2e.xn--p1ai/russian-federation/about> (Accessed: 02 March 2019). [In Russian]

³¹ Ukaz Prezidenta Rossijskoj Federacii "O Strategii gosudarstvennoj nacional'noj politiki Rossijskoj Federacii na period do 2025 god" ot 19.12.2012 g. № 1666. [Decree of the President of the Russian Federation "On the Strategy of state national policy of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2025" dated 19.12.2012 № 1666]. *Assembly of legislation of the Russian Federation*. – 2012. – № 52. – St. 7477 [In Russian]

³² "Ob utverzhenii regional'noj strategii gosudarstvennoj nacional'noj politiki v Arhangel'skoj oblasti na period do 2025 goda": postanovlenie Pravitel'stva Arhangel'skoj oblasti ot 27.05.2014 №222-pp s izmene-niyami na 18.11.2014. ["On approval of the regional strategy of the state national policy in the Arkhangelsk region for the period until 2025": Decree of the Government of the Arkhangelsk region dated 05.27.2014 No. 222-pp with amendments as of 18.11.2014]. URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/462608824> (Accessed: 25 December 2018). [In Russian]; "O Konceptcii gosudarstvennoj nacional'noj politiki Respubliki Komi": ukaz Glavy respubliki Komi ot 24.04.1996 №118. ["On the Concept of the State National Policy of the Komi Republic": Decree of the Head of the Komi Republic 24.04.1996 No. 118]. URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/473200813> (Accessed: 25 December 2018). [In Russian]; "Ob utverzhenii Strategii nacional'noj politiki v Respublike Komi na period do 2025 goda": rasporyazhenie Pravitel'stva Respubliki Komi ot 15.04.2015 g. № 133-r. ["On approval of the National Policy Strategy in the Komi Republic for the period up to 2025": order of the Government of the Komi Republic of April 15, 2015 No. 133-p]. URL: <http://minnats.rkomi.ru/left/doc/normrk/> (Accessed: 25 December 2018). [In Russian]; "O strategii gosudarstvennoj nacional'noj politiki v Neneckom avtonomnom okruge na period do 2015 goda": postanovlenie gubernatora NAO ot 10.02.2016. №5-pg. ["On the strategy of the state national policy in the Nenets Autonomous District for the period up to 2015": the decree of the governor of the NAO dated 02/10/2016. №5-pg]. URL: <http://smi.adm-nao.ru/otnosheniya-v-nao/normativnye-pravovye-akty-v-sfere-nacionalnoj-politiki/> (Accessed: 27 December 2018). [In Russian]; "Ob utverzhenii Konceptcii gosudarstvennoj nacional'noj politiki YAmalo-Neneckogo avtonomnogo okruga": postanovlenie Pra-vitel'stva YAmalo-Neneckogo avtonomnogo okruga ot 03.08.2012 goda № 630 ["On the Approval of the Conception of the State National Policy of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous District": Resolution of the Government of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous District of 03.08.2012 No. 630-P]. URL: http://xn--80aealotwbjpid2k.xn--80aze9d.xn--p1ai/power/iov/information_politics_dep/normative_legal_acts/#bc (Accessed: 27 December 2018). [In Russian]; "Ob utverzhenii plana meropriyatij po realizacii v Krasnoyarskom krae v 2016–2018 godah Strategii gosudarstvennoj nacional'noj politiki Rossijskoj Federacii na period do 2025 godah": rasporyazhenie Gubernatora Krasnoyarskogo kraja ot 29.03.2016. ["On approval of the action plan for implementation in the Krasnoyarsk Territory in 2016–2018 of the Strategy of the state national policy of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2025": order of the Governor of the Krasnoyarsk Territory dated March 29, 2016]. URL: <http://www.zakon.krskstate.ru/0/doc/31285> (Accessed: 27 December 2018). [In Russian]; "O plane meropriyatij po realizacii v 2016-2018 godah Strategii gosudarstvennoj nacional'noj politiki Rossijskoj Federacii na period do 2025 goda v Murmanskoy oblasti": postanovlenie Pravitel'stva Murmanskoy oblasti ot 9.11.2015 N 498-PP ["On the action plan for the implementation in 2016-2018 of the Strategy of the state national policy of the

At present, almost all Arctic territories have implemented state and local programs to strengthen the unity of the Russian nation and harmonize inter-ethnic relations, to support the ethnocultural development of the peoples living in the area. In the Arkhangelsk Oblast, the Krasnoyarsk Territory, the Nenets, and Yamal-Nenets ADs within the framework of the Federal Target Program “Strengthening the Unity of the Russian Nation and the Ethnocultural Development of the Peoples of Russia (2014–2020)”, programs or subprograms of the same name are implemented³³. The Murmansk Oblast performs the subprogram “Strengthening ethnocultural diversity, civic self-awareness, and patriotism in the Murmansk Oblast” within the framework of the state program “Government and Civil Society”.³⁴ The Republic of Karelia in the framework of the state program “Development of civil society institutions and development of local self-government, protection of human and civil rights and freedoms” for 2014–2020 implements the subprogram “Preservation of the unity of the peoples and ethnic communities of Karelia.”³⁵

Russian Federation for the period up to 2025 in the Murmansk region”: Resolution of the Government of the Murmansk region of 9.11.2015 N 498-pp]. URL: <http://mvpmk.gov-murman.ru/documents/npa/npa/> (Accessed: 27 December 2018). [In Russian]

³³ “Ob utverzhdenii gosudarstvennoj programmy Arhangel'skoj oblasti “Razvitie mestnogo samoupravleniya v Arhangel'skoj oblasti i gosudarstvennaya podderzhka social'no-orientirovannyh nekommercheskih organizacij (201402020 godov)”: postanovlenie Pravitel'stva Arhangel'skoj oblasti ot 08.10.2013. №464-pp. [“On approval of the state program of the Arkhangelsk region”. Development of local self-government in the Arkhangelsk region and state support of socially-oriented non-profit organizations (201402020)”: Decree of the Government of the Arkhangelsk region dated 08.10.2013. №464-PP]. URL: <http://dvinaland.ru/-6a4uab4u> (Accessed: 05 January 2019). [In Russian]; “Ob utverzhdenii gosudarstvennoj programmy Krasnoyarskogo kraja “Ukreplenie edinstva rossijskoj nacii i etnokul'turnoe razvitie narodov Krasnoyarsko-go kraja”: postanovlenie Pravitel'stva Krasnoyarskogo kraja ot 30.09.2014 №442-p. [“On the approval of the state program of the Krasnoyarsk Territory” Strengthening the unity of the Russian nation and the ethnocultural development of the peoples of the Krasnoyarsk Territory”: Resolution of the Government of the Krasnoyarsk Territory of September 30, 2014 No. 442-p]. URL: http://www.zakon.krskstate.ru/dat/bin/docs_attach/33388_442_p.pdf (Accessed: 05 January 2019). [In Russian]; “Ob utverzhdenii gosudarstvennoj programmy Neneckogo Avtonomnogo okruga “Realizaciya regional'noj politiki Neneckogo avtonomnogo okruga v sfere mezhdunarodnyh, mezhhregional'nyh i mezhnacional'nyh otnoshenij, razvitiya grazhdanskogo obshchestva i informacii”: postanovlenie administracii NAO ot 30.12.2014 № 537-p. [“On Approval of the State Program of the Nenets Autonomous District” Implementation of the Regional Policy of the Nenets Autonomous District in the Sphere of International, Interregional and Interethnic Relations, Development of Civil Society and Information”]: Decree of the NAO administration dated December 30, 2014 No. 537-p]. URL: <http://www.consultant.ru/law/review/reg/rlaw/rlaw9132014-11-21.html> (Accessed: 07 January 2019). [In Russian]; “Ob utverzhdenii kompleksnoj programmy “Ukreplenie edinstva rossijskoj nacii i etnokul'turnoe razvitie narodov Rosii v Yamalo-Neneckom avtonomnom okruge na 2014 — 2020 gody”: postanovlenie Pravitel'stva Yamalo-Neneckogo avtonomnogo okruga ot 20.11.2014 № 929-p.

[“On approval of the integrated program “Strengthening the unity of the Russian nation and the ethno-cultural development of the peoples of Russia in the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous District for 2014–2020”: Resolution of the Government of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous District of 20.11.2014 No. 929-P]. URL: http://xn--80aealotwbjpid2k.xn--80aze9d.xn--p1ai/documents/postions/detail/72810/?Sphrase_id=140289 (Accessed: 07 January 2019). [In Russian]

³⁴ “Ob utverzhdenii Gosudarstvennoj programmy Murmanskoj oblasti “Gosudarstvennoe upravlenie i grazhdanskoe obshchestvo”: postanovlenie Pravitel'stva Murmanskoj oblasti ot 30.09.2013 № 555-PP. [“On approval of the State program of the Murmansk region” State administration and civil society”: Resolution of the Government of the Murmansk region dated September 30, 2013 No. 555-PP]. URL: [http://property.gov-murman.ru/upload/iblock/e4c/gospogramma .pdf](http://property.gov-murman.ru/upload/iblock/e4c/gospogramma.pdf) (Accessed: 08 January 2019). [In Russian]

³⁵ Gosudarstvennaya programma Respubliki Kareliya “Razvitie institutov grazhdanskogo obshchestva i razvitie mestnogo samoupravleniya, zashchita prav i svobod cheloveka i grazhdanina” na 2014-2020 gody: postanovlenie Pravitel'stva Respubliki Kareliya ot 19 dekabrya 2013 goda № 365-P. [The state program of the Republic of Karelia “Development of civil society institutions and development of local self-government, protection of human and civil rights and freedoms” for 2014-2020: Decree of the Government of the Republic of Karelia of December 19, 2013 No.

The Komi Republic adopted a regional program “Komi Republic — the territory of inter-ethnic peace and accord (2014–2020).”³⁶ In the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), the state program “Harmonization of interethnic relations in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) for 2012–2017” provides for measures to strengthen interethnic and interreligious relations, as well as support for indigenous minorities of the North³⁷. At the same time, the state program “Implementation of Family, Demographic and Youth Policies in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) 2014–2017” is implementing the subprogram “Patriotic education of youth”, which aims at civic education and patriotic education of the younger generation, promoting the formation of legal, cultural and moral values among youth, strengthening the unity of the multinational people of the Russian Federation (Russian nation)³⁸. In the Chukotka Autonomous District in 2014–2015, the state program “Strengthening the unity of the Russian nation, the ethnocultural development of the peoples of Russia and the state support of socially oriented non-profit organizations” was implemented, but its operation was suspended in January 2016³⁹. Currently, a set of measures aimed at strengthening interethnic relations and creating a single cultural space is carried out in the framework of the state program “De-

365-P]. URL: <http://www.gov.karelia.ru/gov/Legislation/lawbase.html?lid=11243> (Accessed: 11 January 2019). [In Russian]

³⁶ “Ob utverzhenii regional'noj programmy Respubliki Komi po ukrepleniyu edinstva rossijskoj narii i etnokul'turnomu razvitiyu narodov Rossii “Respublika Komi – territoriya mezhnacional'nogo mira i soglasiya (2014-2020 gody)”: postanovlenie Pravitel'stva Respubliki Komi ot 19.12.2013 N 514. [“On approval of the regional program of the Komi Republic on strengthening the unity of the Russian nation and the ethnocultural development of the peoples of Russia” The Komi Republic is the territory of interethnic peace and harmony (2014-2020)”: Resolution of the Government of the Komi Republic of December 19, 2013 N 514]. URL: <http://minnats.rkomi.ru/content/4298/%D0%9F%D0%BE%D1%81%D1%82%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%BE%D0%B2%D0%BB%D0%B5%D0%BD%D0%B8%D0%B5%20%D0%BE%D1%82%2019.12.2013%20%D0%B3.%20%E2%84%96%20514.pdf> (Accessed: 11 January 2019). [In Russian]

³⁷ Gosudarstvennaya programma Respubliki Saha (Yakutiya) “Garmonizaciya mezhetnicheskikh otnoshenij v respublike Saha (Yakutiya) na 2012-2017 gody”: v red. Ukazov Prezidenta RS(YA) ot 14.03.2013. №1931, ot 12.11. 2013 №2301, Ukazov Glavy RS(YA) ot 29.08.2014 №2845, ot 30.03.2015. №384. [State program of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) “Harmonization of inter-ethnic relations in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)” for 2012-2017 ”: in the editorship of the Presidential Decree of the RS (Y) on March 14, 2013, No. 1931, of November 12, 2013, No. 2301, of the Head Decree RS (Y) dated 08.29.2014 No. 2845, 03.30.2015. No. 384. URL: <http://old.sakha.gov.ru/node/17712> (Accessed: 12 January 2019). [In Russian]

³⁸ “O gosudarstvennoj programme Respublika Saha (Yakutiya) “Realizaciya semejnoy, demograficheskoy i molo-dezhnoj politiki v respublike Saha (Yakutiya) na 2014-2017 gody”: v redakcii Ukazov Glavy Respubliki Saha (Yakutiya) ot 06.10.2014 N 15, ot 27.01.2015 N 300, ot 20.07.2015 N 616, ot 11.04.2016 N 1079). [“On the state program Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) “Implementation of family, demographic and youth policy in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) for 2014-2017 ”: as amended by decrees of the Head of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) of 06.10.2014 N 15, from 27.01.2015 N 300, of 07/20/2015 N 616, of 11.04.2016 N 1079)]. URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/424027933> (Accessed: 12 December 2018). [In Russian]

³⁹ “Ob utverzhenii gosudarstvennoj programmy “Ukreplenie edinstva rossijskoj narii, etnokul'turnoe raz-vitie narod-ov Rossii i gosudarstvennaya podderzhka social'no-orientirovannyh nekommercheskikh organizacij v CHukotskom avtonomnom okruge na 2014-2020 gody”: postanovlenie Pravitel'stva CHukotskogo avtonomnogo okruga ot 20.12.2013 N 516. [“On the approval of the state program “ Strengthening the unity of the Russian nation, the ethnocultural development of the peoples of Russia and the state support of socially-oriented non-profit organizations in the Chukotka Autonomous Region for 2014-2020 ”: Decree of the Government of the Chukotka Autonomous Region of 20.12.2013 N 516]. URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/460216505> (Accessed: 11 December 2018). [In Russian]

velopment of education, culture and Youth policy of the Chukotka Autonomous District" in 2014-2018"⁴⁰.

The complex of events declared in regional program documents and efficiency indicators, in general, correspond to the general federal principles. However, it should be noted that the Arctic territories, as well as the federal center, are characterized by a passion for demonstrating the ethnocultural diversity to the detriment of the formation of all-Russian values and attitudes. The subjects of the Russian Arctic are remarkably differentiated in terms of financial support for the programs being implemented, which, on the one hand, is due to their capabilities, and on the other, to the priorities chosen. Thus, the republics of Komi and Sakha (Yakutia) allocate more than 120 million rubles annually to the implementation of programs aimed at harmonizing inter-ethnic relations, the Murmansk Oblast is more than 40 million rubles, while the Arkhangelsk Oblast is only 1–2 million rubles⁴¹. Accordingly, the expected effects will be different. Regions with less financial opportunities are limited, as a rule, to a narrow circle of activities.

On the other hand, the volume of funding of various directions allows us to identify the preferences of areas in the field of interethnic relations. Thus, the Nenets Autonomous District allocated 1.4 million rubles for measures aimed at strengthening the unity of the Russian nation and the ethnocultural development of the peoples of Russia in 2015; whereas the program "Preservation and Development of Indigenous Minorities of the North in the Nenets Autonomous

⁴⁰ "Ob utverzhenii Gosudarstvennoj programmy "Razvitie obrazovaniya, kul'tury, sporta, turizma i molodezh-noj politiki CHukotskogo avtonomnogo okruga na 2016-2020 gody": postanovlenie Pravitel'stva CHukotskogo avtonomnogo okruga ot 29.12.2015 №658. ["On Approval of the State Program "Development of Education, Culture, Sports, Tourism and Youth Policy of the Chukotka Autonomous Region for 2016-2020 ": Decree of the Government of the Chukotka Autonomous Region dated December 29, 2015 No. 658]. URL: http://xn--80atapud1a.xn--p1ai/power/priority_areas/open-budget/government-programs/development-education-2016-2020.php (Accessed: 12 December 2018). [In Russian]

⁴¹ Otchet ob ispolnenii gosudarstvennoj programmy Respubliki Saha (Yakutiya) "Garmonizaciya mezhetnicheskikh otnoshenij v Respublike Saha (Yakutiya) na 2012-2017 gody" [Report on the implementation of the state program of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) "Harmonization of inter-ethnic relations in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) for 2012-2017"]. URL: <https://www.sakha.gov.ru/files/front/download/id/1336498> (Accessed: 11 December 2018). [In Russian]; "Ob utverzhenii regio-nal'noj programmy Respubliki Komi po ukrepliyu edinstva rossijskoj nacii i etnokul'turnomu razvitiyu narodov Rossii «Respublika Komi – territoriya mezhnacional'nogo mira i soglasiya (2014-2020 gody)": posta-novlenie Pravitel'stva Respubliki Komi ot 19.12. 2013 N 514. ["On approval of the regional program of the Komi Republic to strengthen the unity of the Russian nation and the ethnocultural development of the peoples of Russia "The Komi Republic is the territory of interethnic peace and harmony (2014-2020)": Resolution of the Government of the Komi Republic 19.12. 2013 No 514]. URL: <http://minnats.rkomi.ru/content/4298/%D0%9F%D0%BE%D1%81%D1%82%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%BE%D0%B2%D0%BB%D0%B5%D0%BD%D0%B8%D0%B5%20%D0%BE%D1%82%2019.12.2013%20%D0%B3.%20E2%84%96%20514.pdf> (Accessed: 13 November 2018). [In Russian]; "Ob utverzhenii Gosudarstvennoj programmy Murmanskoy oblasti "Gosudarstvennoe upravlenie i grazhdanskoe obshchestvo": postanovlenie Pravitel'stva Murmanskoy oblasti ot 30.09.2013 № 555-PP. ["On Approval of the State Program of the Murmansk Region" Public Administration and Civil Society: Resolution of the Government of the Murmansk Region dated September 30, 2013 No. 555-PP]. URL: <http://property.government.murman.ru/upload/iblock/e4c/gosprogramma.pdf> (Accessed: 05 November 2018). [In Russian]; "Razvitie mestnogo samoupravleniya v Arhangel'skoj oblasti i gosudarstvennaya podderzhka social'no orien-tirovannyh nekommercheskikh organizacij (2014–2020 gody)": rasporyazhenie Pravitel'stva Arhangel'skoj oblasti ot 29.03.2016 № 101-gr. ["Development of local self-government in the Arkhangelsk region and state support for socially oriented non-profit organizations (2014–2020)": Order of the Government of the Arkhangelsk Region of March 29, 2016 No. 101-gr]. URL: <http://portal.dvinaland.ru/upload/iblock/ee3/101-rp.pdf> (Accessed: 05 November 2018). [In Russian].

District” — more than 40 million rubles⁴². In the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), more than 120 million rubles were allocated for the implementation of the program to harmonize interethnic relations in 2015, while measures aimed at strengthening the unity of the multinational people of the Russian Federation under the program 2014–2017 to the Sakha (Yakutia) Republic, — 5 times less: about 26 million rubles⁴³.

Conclusion

In general, an analysis of the ethnic policy in the Arctic territories in the post-Soviet period shows that they are beginning to build their activities following the strategic vision of the federal center and due to the national composition of the territories and the ethnic-political situation in a particular subject. In 8 out of 9 Arctic territories are the areas of indigenous minorities. A wide range of measures is being implemented aimed at preserving and reviving traditional lifestyle, improving the quality of life and developing the traditional culture of ethnic minorities. In the areas attractive for labor migrants (the Republic of Komi and Sakha (Yakutia), the Krasnoyarsk Territory, the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous District), the system of social and cultural adaptation of international migrants is updated and shaped. In the Arkhangelsk Oblast, where more than 93% of the population — Russian-speaking and the migration flow is insignificant, the focus is on strengthening the unity of the Russian nation and the ethnocultural development of the peoples of Russia.

Over the study period, an extensive legal and regulatory framework has been created in the Arctic territory, regulating various aspects of national relations, designed to provide specific mechanisms for the implementation of citizens' constitutional rights to freely use and develop their native languages, preserve ethnocultural identity and traditional lifestyle of indigenous peo-

⁴² Godovoj otchyot o hode realizacii i ocnke effektivnosti gosudarstvennoj programmy Neneckogo avtonomnogo okruga “Realizaciya regional'noj politiki Neneckogo avtonomnogo okruga v sfere mezhdunarodnyh, mezhrefional'nyh i mezhnacional'nyh otnoshenij, razvitiya grazhdanskogo obshchestva i informacii” za 2015 god. [Annual report on the implementation and assessment of the effectiveness of the state program of the Nenets Autonomous District “Implementation of the regional policy of the Nenets Autonomous District in the field of international, interregional and international relations, development of civil society and information” 2015]. URL: <http://smi.adm-nao.ru/informaciya-ob-uchastii-v-gosudarstvennyh-i-inyh-programmah/godovye-otchety-o-vypolnenii-gosudarstvennyh-programm/> (Accessed: 05 January 2019). [In Russian]; Godovoj otchet o hode realizacii i ocnke effektivnosti gosudarstvennoj programmy Neneckogo avtonomnogo okruga “Sohranenie i razvitie korenyh malochislennyh narodov Severa v Neneckom avtonomnom okruge” za 2015 god. [Annual report on the implementation and evaluation of the effectiveness of the state program of the Nenets Autonomous District “Preservation and Development of Indigenous Peoples of the North in the Nenets Autonomous District” for 2015]. URL: <http://smi.adm-nao.ru/informaciya-ob-uchastii-v-gosudarstvennyh-i-inyh-programmah/godovye-otchety-o-vypolnenii-gosudarstvennyh-programm/> (Accessed: 12 June 2017). [In Russian].

⁴³ Otchyot ob ispolnenii gosudarstvennoj programmy Respubliki Saha (Yakutiya) “Garmonizaciya mezhetnicheskikh otnoshenij v Respublike Saha (Yakutiya) na 2012-2017 gody”. [Report on the implementation of the state program of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) “Harmonization of inter-ethnic relations in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) for 2012-2017”]. URL: <https://www.sakha.gov.ru/files/front/download/id/1336498> (Accessed: 15 July 2018). [In Russian].; “O gosudarstvennoj programme Respublika Saha (Yakutiya)”. Realizaciya semejnoy, demograficheskoy i molo-dezhnoj politiki v respublike Saha (Yakutiya) na 2014-2017 gody: v redakcii Ukazov Glavy Respubliki Saha (Yakutiya) ot 06.10.2014 N 15, ot 27.01.2015 N 300, ot 20.07.2015 N 616, ot 11.04.2016 N 1079) [“On the state program Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)”. The implementation of family, demographic and youth policy in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) for 2014-2017: as amended by decrees of the Head of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) of 06.10.2014 N 15, 01/27/2015 N 300, of 07/20/2015 N 616, of 11.04.2016 N 1079]. URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/424027933> (Accessed: 13 December 2018). [In Russian].

ples. The institutional design of the national policy and relevant structures were created in all local management bodies (ministries of ethnic policy, departments of the peoples of the North, agencies for interethnic relations, agencies for the development of northern territories and support of small indigenous peoples, etc.). Currently, about 400 ethnic public associations operate in the Arctic, incl. local branches of the Association of Small Indigenous Peoples of Russia, and national-cultural autonomies. An extensive network of coordination and public councils has been created to ensure the interaction of regional authorities with civil society institutions under the heads of regions and executive authorities. It includes representatives of national-cultural autonomies, ethnic and social organizations.

The implementation of the state national policy is carried out with a program-target approach. Local programs have been adopted and implemented to harmonize interethnic relations, to strengthen the unity of the Russian nation and the ethnocultural development of the peoples of Russia. They also aimed at the sustainable socio-economic and cultural development of small indigenous peoples, to assist the voluntary resettlement of compatriots living abroad to the Russian Federation. On a competitive basis, socially-oriented non-profit organizations receive support for projects aimed at harmonizing inter-national relations.

An extensive ethnocultural infrastructure, a network of cultural centers has been created. Every year in the Arctic, many ethnocultural events are held international forums, conferences, round tables, seminars, master classes, festivals, contests, and thematic exhibitions, folk and art contests, etc. It contributed to the positive ethnic and regional identity, strengthening the unity of the peoples of the country.

All nine territories of the Russian Arctic are areas with low and very low inter-ethnic tensions⁴⁴. However, in autumn 2013 — autumn 2014, there was a worsening of the situation in the Krasnoyarsk Territory, the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) and the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous District. They moved from the category of the areas with very low inter-ethnic tensions moved into the category of territories with low inter-ethnic tensions in six months. In our opinion, this is due to several factors: the outflow of the old-time residents adapted to the local conditions and at the same time an increase in the number of migrants. In the areas under study, there is an inflow of labor migrants from other territories of the country, who, as a rule, work on a rotational basis, stay in the area temporarily and do not need adaptation to local conditions.

A high social and property differentiation aggravates the situation. The difference in wages complicates the situation. Migrants, who often settle in industrialized areas, receive higher salaries compared to the indigenous population. Thus, with an average monthly nominal wage in the

⁴⁴ CINK. Grozd'ya gneva. Rejting mezhetnicheskoj napryazhennosti v regionah Rossii: osen' 2013 — vesna 2014 goda. [ZINC. The Grapes of Wrath. Inter-ethnic tensions rating in the regions of Russia: autumn 2013 — spring 2014]. URL: <http://club-rf.ru/thegrapesofwrath/01/> (Accessed: 15 December 2018). [In Russian]; CINK. Grozd'ya gneva. Rejting mezhetnicheskoj napryazhennosti v regionah Rossii: vesna — osen' 2014 goda. [ZINC. The Grapes of Wrath. Rating of ethnic tensions in the regions of Russia: spring — autumn 2014]. URL: <http://club-rf.ru/thegrapesofwrath/02/> (Accessed: 15 December 2018). [In Russian].

Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) at 55,128 rubles, and in the Chukotka Autonomous Region at 77,874 rubles, the average salary of indigenous peoples working in traditional industries barely exceeds 23 thousand rubles⁴⁵. Inter-ethnic tensions in the Sakha Republic (Yakutia) may worsen due to the deterioration of the ethnic well-being of the Russians, who find themselves in a situation of an ethnic minority in the Republic. According to the all-Russian census of 2010, the proportion of Russians among the population of Yakutia was 36.9%⁴⁶. A similar trend is in the republican authorities, where, according to the former head of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), Borisov E.A., the ratio of 60% to 40% in favor of the Yakuts is observed⁴⁷. In our opinion, in the Arctic territories, relations with title ethnic groups/indigenous peoples may be exacerbated, where the former, unlike the latter, are limited in quotas for traditional economic activities.

A focus of tension is created by the ethnic intelligentsia, which expresses dissatisfaction with the current national policy of the Russian Federation, aimed at strengthening the unity of the Russian people and nation-building on the principles of civil unity and solidarity. This installation of the federal center was subjected to sharp criticism by participants of the All-Russian Scientific and Practical Conference "Culture and Politics of Interethnic and Interfaith Relations" held by the Yakut Scientific Center of the Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences in cooperation with the Government of the Sakha Republic (Yakutia) on October 29, 2015⁴⁸. The conference participants supported the adoption of the federal target program "Strengthening the Unity of the Russian Nation and the Ethnocultural Development of the Peoples of Russia (2014–2020)". However, the term "Russian nation" and its use for the multiethnic population of the Russian Federation was considered unsuccessful. Among the arguments, it was noted that, in contrast to the Western Europe, where nation-states were created under the conditions of mono-ethnicity, Russia was formed as a union of independent peoples, originally living on the territory of the state. It was recognized that theoretically, a civic nation contradicts the existence of ethnic nations of Russia, which are the Tatars (Tatar nation), Chuvash (Chuvash nation), Bashkirs (Bashkir nation), Chechens (Chechen nation), Yakuts (Yakut nation), etc. Representatives of the local ethnic and political elites expressed concern about the change of priorities in the ethnic policy of Russia, associated with a gradual departure from the strategy of sponsoring ethnic and cultural diversity.

In our opinion, the intelligentsia of national-territorial associations, renouncing Soviet practice, cannot yet abandon the Marxist concept of nation-building and interpreting the nation as eth-

⁴⁵ Novosti Yakutii. 16.12.2015. [News of Yakutia. 16.12.2015]. URL: <http://news.ykt.ru/article/38161> (Accessed: 17 June 2018). [In Russian]

⁴⁶ Counted by the authors using: All-Russian Population Census 2010. Population by nationality and proficiency in Russian by region of the Russian Federation. Tom. 04-04. URL: http://www.gks.ru/free_doc/new_site/perepis2010/croc/perepis_itogi1612.htm (Accessed: 15 January 2019). [In Russian]

⁴⁷ Interv'yu Prezidenta Respubliki Saha (Yakutiya) Borisova E.A. gazete "Yakutiya". [Interview of the President of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) Borisov E.A. the newspaper "Yakutia"]. 15.11.2013. URL: <http://old.gazetayakutia.ru/index.php/archive/item/7948-egor-borisov-o-patriotizme-i-natsionalizme> (Accessed: 15 February 2019). [In Russian]

⁴⁸ Obsuzhdenie problem mezhetnicheskikh otnoshenij na Vserossijskoj konferencii v Yakutske. [Discussion of the problems of inter-ethnic relations at the All-Russian Conference in Yakutsk]. URL: http://national-mentalities.ru/news/obsuzhdenie_problem_mezhetnicheskikh_otnoshenij_na_vserossijskoj_konferencii_v_yakutske/ (Accessed: 15 August 2018). [In Russian].

nic-nation, which often contradicts the real interests and needs of citizens. According to the amendments of December 6, 2018, introduced into the Strategy of the National Policy of the Russian Federation, the term “Russian nation” received meaningful content: “The multinational people of the Russian Federation (Russian nation) are a community of free, equal citizens of the Russian Federation with different ethnic, religious, social and other affiliation, with a civil identity”⁴⁹.

In general, with the intensification of interethnic interactions, the incorporation of ethnic minorities into stronger cultures is inevitable. These tendencies are manifested not only on the national scale but also at the local level. Thus, according to the All-Russian Census 2010, 65.3% of Evens, 81.2% of Evenks, 94% of Dolgans living in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), considered Yakut as their native language. For comparison: in the Krasnoyarsk Territory: 81.3% of the Dolgans and 41.3% of the Evenks continued to maintain their ethnic identity⁵⁰. In this situation, it is hardly legitimate to forcibly revive ethnicity, when, e.g., it will be compulsory to study the state languages of the republics at schools.

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⁴⁹ “O vnesenii popravok v Strategiyu nacional'noj politiki Rossijskoj Federacii na period do 2015, utver-zhdennuyu Ukazom Prezidenta RF ot 19 dekabrya 2012 g. №1666”. Ukaz Prezidenta RF ot 06.12.2018 g. №703. [On amending the Strategy of the national policy of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2015, approved by the Decree of the President of the Russian Federation dated December 19, 2012 No. 1666”. Presidential Decree of 06.12.2018 №703]. URL: <http://kremlin.ru/acts/news/59348> (Accessed: 15 February 2019).

⁵⁰ Counted by the authors using: All-Russian Population Census 2010. National composition and language proficiency, citizenship. T. 4. URL: http://www.gks.ru/free_doc/new_site/perepis2010/croc/perepis_itogi1612.htm (Accessed: 11 August 2017).

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REVIEWS AND REPORTS

UDC [32:070](98+739.8)(045)

DOI: 10.17238/issn2221-2698.2019.34.159

The problems of the Arctic region in modern international journalism: examples and features *

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Abstract. The article is devoted to the review of problems of the Arctic region presented in modern international journalism on the example of the travel essay by the international journalist S. Pashkevich "Letters from the Edge of the World. Traveling to Russian America" and the TV program "30 days in the Arctic with Ville Haapasalo". These works are selected as examples of international journalists covering the problems of the Arctic region in different formats (print and tv) and the longterm perspective. As a result of the analysis, we can conclude on the general topic of chosen journalism works — the way of life of residents. The choice of problems is determined by the genre features of the texts presented: if Pashkevich's letters are more of a lyrical journalism work whose purpose is to show the life of "Russian" Alaskans with an emphasis on general Russian-American history; Ville Haapasalo's TV program combines entertainment and information components, and to a certain extent entertaining component (stories about hunting, fishing, participation of the facilitator in these classes) is balanced by the presentation of various problems from which residents of the Arctic region of Russia.

Keywords: *the Arctic, print journalism, television journalism, Alaska, infotainment, international journalism, indigenous people.*

One of the main tasks of international journalism is the coverage of international politics. On the one hand, this information is necessary for politicians, on the other hand, as Armen Oganessian, the editor-in-chief of the magazine "Mezhdunarodnoe Obozrenie," says, "In each of us lives a citizen of the world, and this is a pledge of inescapable interest in the new."¹ The genre space of international journalism consists of all known journalistic forms.

The purpose of this article is to review the coverage of the problems of the Arctic region in print and television journalism by the example of a travel essay by international journalist S. Pashkevich "Letters from the World's End. Journey to Russian America" and the TV program "30 days in the Arctic with Villa Haapasalo". "Letters from the edge of the world. Travel to Russian America" represents a travel essay in the epistolary genre. The program "30 days in the Arctic with

* For citation:

Avdonina N.S., Vodyannikova O.I., Zhukova A.A. The problems of the Arctic region in modern international journalism: examples and features. *Arktika i Sever* [Arctic and North], 2019, no. 34, pp. 134–138. DOI: 10.17238/issn2221-2698.2019.34.159

¹ Mezhdunarodnaya zhurnalistika – mneniya [International Journalism – Opinions]. URL: <https://interaffairs.ru/news/show/8218> (Accessed: 06 September 2018).

Ville Haapasalo” is an example of a television project in the style of infotainment, that is, a combination of entertainment and information components. Since most people have limited experience of staying in different countries, the idea of foreign countries is formed at the expense of various informational actors, including the media [1, Aalberg T., p. 388]. To study the presentation of international news, researchers use the theory of the agenda, the essence of which is as follows: the more the media pay attention to specific topics, the more they become essential for the audience [2, Wanta W., p. 367]. The theory of the agenda can be applied not only in the content analysis of an array of media texts of various media but also within the study of a specific work, which will be shown in this article.

The main heroes of the travel notes of Pashkevich are priests, fishermen and crab hunters, dog drivers, indigenous people, and museum staff. The main topics of the “Letters from the End of the World” include the following: the lifestyle of ordinary Americans, Alaskans, ethnic cuisine, the life of Indian tribes, the history of Alaska. Throughout all the reporting letters, the author turns to historical facts, for example, talks about the founders of Alaska: “But Sitka appeared as a place open to all the winds and the world, facing the ocean. It was here two hundred years ago that Alexander Baranov founded Novo-Arkhangelsk, the capital of colonial Russian America.”² In “Letter One,” there is a fragment about the discovery of Alaska by the Russians. Note that in each letter there are historical facts, so the work of Pashkevich can be compared with a documentary film, which has frames of the present moment and retrospective filming.

The example of Pashkevich’s interlocutors shows the Alaskan way of life. The author uses the concept of “a man of heroic destiny” — a person with a non-standard biography, a special type of activity, possessing special character traits. And then he says: “We are fortunate enough to communicate with such people,” that is, with this phrase Pashkevich refers all the people he met in Russian Alaska to the category of “people of heroic destiny.”³ Such people include all Alaskan Alaskans who were met along the way: Porshkevich of Alaska Coast Guard in Alaska (“Dear male profession, which is done by tough — guys in the best sense of the word”), the same father Michael, who “... was once ... Californian hippie. He then turned to Orthodoxy, after which he decided to go on the road of service.”⁴

Pashkevich, describing the way of life of his interlocutors, always emphasizes that many of them are descendants of Russian travelers, discoverers of Alaska or ordinary citizens, although they became part of the “melting pot”: “Russian America is a part of our common history with the United States. It no longer exists, and those who lived here when the Russian tricolor developed over Alaska long gone. However, Russian America continues to live in names on geographical maps. There are a lot of them, and they are scattered throughout Alaska!”⁵

² Pashkevich S. Pis'ma s kraya sveta. Puteshestvie v Russkuyu Ameriku. [Letters from the edge of the world. Travel to Russian America] URL: <https://www.proza.ru/2012/10/16/1255> (Accessed: 06 September 2018). [In Russian]

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

In Pashkevich's work, the negative aspects are practically not affected, on the contrary, these travel notes are a rare example of real journalism aimed at finding a dialogue between countries and cultures based on a collective historical past. The author emphasizes that Alaska is a distinctive land edge, but the essential thing is Alaska's gold is not natural wealth, but people thanks to whom this state has kept its history. Without them, Alaska would not have continued its development, so the final letter is called "Genuine Alaskan Gold": "The most crucial thing in Alaska is not beautiful nature, not fish in the ocean, not oil, and not gold. The most important thing here, the most authentic Alaskan gold is its people. They came here and made Alaska what it is. They saved this majestic northern nature — so that moose can be found right in Anchorage, and the sea lions rookery is located directly in the bay of Kodiak. They discovered natural resources here — the very legendary gold and oil. They built highways, airports, and marinas. They circled this vast land in single-engine airplanes — and they also traveled the whole of Alaska up and down. These people have preserved here the memory of the Russian past of Alaska, which has become their past. And they turned Alaska, this end of the world, into a fantastic place where you want to live and where you want to return."⁶ Another format is the TV program "30 days in the Arctic with Ville Haapasalo".

On the one hand, this is a TV project about a Finn who loves and honors Russian traditions. With each trip, the presenter gains experience, new skills, meeting interesting people, learn recipes of traditional dishes, tastes local products and shares his impressions with the audience.

On the other hand, these are stories about people and their destinies. Each issue depicts the daily life of people, their life and cares. The guide is usually a resident, telling him about the mysteries and mysteries of the visited place. He shares local legends and bikes with Ville, and at the end of the program, they can prepare a local dish together.

Despite the positive and entertaining aspects, which is typical for the info-equipment, the program also tells residents about difficulties: openly and suggesting their solutions. Based on the interview with the presenters of the program's characters, one can identify the main problems that concern the population of the Arctic region.

In Murmansk, urban residents are concerned about the outflow of the population: they are migrating both to central Russia and neighboring countries. One of the problems affecting migration is the difficulty of doing business. An urgent task is the need to preserve the originality of the indigenous peoples of the Kola Peninsula (Sami).

On the Yamal Peninsula, precious natural resources pose a real threat to the normal life of the indigenous people — the Nenets. The peninsula is conditionally divided into two parts; the first belongs to the Nenets, the second to large oil refineries. Now the industry is concentrated in the north of the peninsula, modern technologies of arrangement and exploitation of oil and gas fields are used, which allow minimizing environmental risks and damage to the economic activity of the tundra population leading a nomadic lifestyle.

⁶ Ibid.

Norilsk residents are concerned about the environmental problem: "there are many exhausts into the atmosphere that are immediately felt to the visitor," and many people are not satisfied with the climate, which is very difficult to get used to as non-local. Many are concerned about the issue of employment: "stable work is only at the mine, there is no other alternative, and this work is quite dangerous." On the Taimyr Peninsula, there is an acute question of the vital activity of indigenous peoples, which has been preserved since the times of the Soviet Union. Since that time, the local indigenous people — the Nganasans — began to pay more attention. Programs have been developed aimed at sustainable development and the creation of favorable and comfortable conditions in the province for the aboriginal population and traditional management. Such programs exist now, but the problem is that the implementation does not always consider the original culture and spiritual values of indigenous peoples. Also, locals point out the influence of Norilsk Nickel on the migration of deer and fur animals.

In Tiksi (Republic of Sakha), the problem of alcoholism is separate, which local people associate with the harsh natural and weather conditions.

In the program "30 days with Ville Haapasalo" there are always several main characters: the host himself and the accompanying locals. E.g., in issue number 5, devoted to the way of life of the Nenets, leading through dialogues with residents shows their life.⁷ It is worth noting that Haapasalo does not merely set forth clear facts about a given nationality. He penetrates the originality of the Nenets, lives for several days in a camp where three kindred families live. Only from the dialogue between the author and the leading member of the family, the viewer learns about the details: patriarchy prevails in Nenets families, women are engaged only in the decoration of the plague, parents themselves teach reindeer breeding to children through a special nomadic school, parents also send children to a regular secondary school, and bring children to the period of holidays to the tundra. The spectators see that the Nenets are nomadic, but it becomes clear not from the moderator's story, but because the program shows the nomadic process, where the peculiarity of the people is manifested: the ability to work together, respect for the guest and care for him, the communion of children to work from early childhood, the preservation of peace and decent conditions for the older generation.

The general theme of the analyzed journalistic works — the lifestyle of residents. The choice of S. Pashkevich heroes was evident — people of simple professions. The choice of heroes of Haapasalo is also predictable — these are residents who are experiencing life problems in an area. As for the problematic, it is worth noting that the selection of the issues discussed is due to the genre features of the analyzed works: if Pashkevich's letters are more like a lyrical journalistic composition written to show the life of "Russian" Alaskans with an emphasis on common Russian-American history, the Ville Haapasalo TV program combines entertainment and information components, and to a certain extent the entertainment component (stories about hunting, fishing,

⁷ "30 days in the Arctic with Ville Haapasalo. Movie 5". URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gsQhgxRo-eg> ((Accessed: 06 September 2018)).

participation of the leader in these classes) is balanced by a focus the viewer on the various problems faced by the inhabitants of the Arctic region of Russia.

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UDC [32:070](98+739.8)(045)

DOI: 10.17238/issn2221-2698.2019.34.165

Arts unite: The Third International Snow Festival in Tromsø *

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Abstract. The article is a brief overview of the Third International Snow Festival in Tromsø, January 23–26, 2019, from the perspective of international cooperation in northern Europe in the context of the world culture integration and cross-cultural dialogue.

Keywords: *Tromsø International Snow festival, international cooperation, culture, Norway*

Intercultural dialogue is essential for peaceful inter-community relations and joint efforts, to foster and promote cultural exchanges, are crucial. Through processes of dialogue and exchange, through knowledge and education, a new cultural dimension can be formed, where differences among all cultures and sub-cultures of the world's regions are accepted and strengthened, where cultural diversity becomes beneficial to an innovative international community.

Participating in this process of dialogue in a cross-cultural perspective means encouraging an approach to cultural diversity, based on the concept of “unity in diversity.”

A small, but no less significant contribution to the international cultural cooperation was made by the **Third International Snow Festival**, held in the main square of the northern Norwegian city of Tromsø, January 23–26, 2019. Along with its intercultural significance, the Tromsø International Snow Festival is an event that helps spread and strengthen the knowledge of the Arctic and attracts a multitude of tourists. This year, art and the Arctic have brought together many snow sculptors from different parts of Eurasia, allowing them to exchange ideas and experiences in a friendly multicultural atmosphere. Eight teams of professional sculptors took part in the event. The participating countries were Finland, Germany, Italy, Norway, Russia, Thailand, Ukraine, and the United Kingdom. The snow masterpieces ranged from a tempting “Arctic cupcake,” created by the Finnish team, to the “Arctic friendship” Thai sculpture, representing a magical bond between a dragon and a polar bear. The Arctic fauna inspired the creations of the British, German and Russian team. The Ukrainian team sculpture represented the nature of human existence with an Arctic twist. The northern lights and an Arctic romance inspired the Italian and Norwegian masterpieces, respectively.

Art brings communities together, erasing any difference, breaking down language and cultural barriers. The result is an exciting international festival and a friendly atmosphere. Some old friends had the chance to meet again, and many new bonds of friendship were created. The festival is seen as an opportunity to socialize, to share experiences and make new plans for future projects.

The first Tromsø International Snow Festival was held in January 2014. Five teams from different countries took part in the event: Germany, Italy, Norway, Russia, and Thailand.

* For citation:

Gianesin E. Arts unite: The Third International Snow Festival in Tromsø. *Arktika i Sever* [Arctic and North], 2019, no. 34, pp. 139–144. DOI: 10.17238/issn2221-2698.2019.34.165

As the festival grows from year to year, it attracts more and more visitors and the participation requests are sent by teams worldwide. The festival organizers are already receiving applications for the next edition, even from Latin America.

The snow sculpture event takes place every two years. This year edition was held with the help and financial support of the Tromsø Kommune, the Royal Thai Embassy in Oslo, the Tourism Authority of Thailand -Stockholm Office-, Tromsø Sentrum AS and the Barents Secretariat.

The founder of the event is Mrs Wanna Helnes, president of the Thai Tromsø Association and also employee at the Polar Museum in Tromsø, which is now one of the four exhibition venues, part of the Arctic University Museum of Norway. Mrs Helnes has been working for many years to promote polar history and culture, as well as organizing different multicultural events. Interaction with teams and organizational issues management are some of the responsibilities of the project manager, Mrs Elena Gianesin, who is assisted by an extraordinary group of volunteers from the participating countries.

Workshops for schools and kindergartens were planned and organized during the first and second edition of the Tromsø International Snow Festival. The purpose of this activity was to let the children learn how to create their little snow artworks. Some members of the teams were not only professional sculptors, but also art teachers.

Thus, the festival has not only become a platform for intercultural dialogue, developing and strengthening cultural relations among Northern Norway and several other countries by sharing experiences, ideas and creating new lasting bonds of friendship, but it also offers the opportunity to get closer to the art of snow sculpting.



Fig.1 Thailand. "An Arctic friendship": the sculpture represents an improbable and magical friendship among a dragon, a polar bear and her cub, born in the cold and solitary lands of the Arctic. Photo: Wanna Helnes



Fig.2 Italy. "Dreaming Aurora": the sculpture represents a woman sailing in rough Arctic waters, with an origami boat, catching an aurora. Photo: Wanna Helnes



Fig. 3 Finland. "Arctic Cupcake": the sculpture represents an Arctic cupcake to celebrate this polar land. Designed to serve one person. Eat it, before it's too late! Photo: Wanna Helnes



Fig.4 Russia. "Winter Fairytale": the sculpture represents a northern winter forest with frosty ice patterns. The trunks of trees are columns that nature itself has created. Every fairy forest has residents. Photo: Wanna Helnes



Fig.5 Ukraine. "Lifetime": the sculpture shows how complex, unexpected and changeable the life can be. It can take a direction at first, but suddenly change the way it goes. It can rise, fall, go up, down and sideways...

The sculpture consists of a spiral-shaped faceted form, turning around like a whirlpool and a sitting human figure. The whole composition is based on the outline of an iceberg. The spiral-shaped form has many engravings, showing some scenes from the Arctic life. Photo: Wanna Helnes



Fig.6 Germany. "Hygge Spot": the sculpture represents a group of some funny and chubby seals lying together on an iceberg. "Hygge" is a Danish and Norwegian word for a mood of coziness and comfortable conviviality, with feelings of wellness and contentment. Photo: Wanna Helnes



Fig.7 United Kingdom. "Playing with your food": the sculpture represents a killer whale in the sea, with a seal in its mouth. The whale is in the process of throwing the seal up in the air, as they do in the wild. It is meant to be realistic, but also humorous, appealing to the Norwegian sense of humor. Photo: Wanna Helnes



Fig.8 Norway. "All that is left is a snowman's heart": a big snowman falls in love with the town of Tromsø and loses his heart to the city. As spring comes nearer, he melts down becoming a little pond of water. During the spring, two swans come flying by and decide to stay in the pond to raise their little swans.
Photo: Wanna Helnes

SUMMARY

Authors, titles, abstracts, and keywords

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

ЗАДОРИН М.Ю., МИТЬКО А.В., РАЗИНКОВА Е.О., РАМЗЕЙЕР Н.Ф.Л. Состояние и перспективы развития отечественного судостроения на Севере в первой половине XIX в. глазами губернских чиновников (по данным государственного архива Архангельской области)

ZADORIN M.Yu., MITKO A.V., RAZINKOVA E.O., RAMSEIER N.F.L. The state and perspectives of development of the domestic shipbuilding in the North in the first half of the 19th century through the eyes of provincial officials (data of the State Archive of the Arkhangelsk region)

Аннотация. На основе данных Государственного архива Архангельской области дается оценка состояния купеческого и народного поморского судостроения на Севере в XIX в. Ключевым методом исследования является метод индукции, активно используемый в исторической школе экономической науки, ставящей своей целью, в том числе анализ конкретных экономических ситуаций в конкретном государстве на определённом этапе его исторического развития. В ходе работы был проведён анализ дел и документов Архангельского общества изучения Русского Севера, а также исторических обзоров Архангельского губернского статистического комитета. Сделан вывод в целом о негативном восприятии региональных властей уровня развития товарооборота в Империи, отсутствии качественной «логистики», бюрократической волоките, юридических барьерах по поддержке кораблестроителей, а также технологических преимуществах иностранных рыболовных судов. В качестве конструктивных реформ региональных властей во второй половине XIX в. отмечен план по развитию дорожной инфраструктуры от Архангельска до г. Повенец Олонецкой губернии, развитие шкиперских курсов, создание типовой усовершенствованной модели карбаса и грузовой шхуны для обучения будущих кораблестроителей, шкиперов.

Ключевые слова: *российская Арктика, Крайний Север, Архангельская губерния, островные пространства, историческая география, политическая география, пограничье, кораблестроение.*

КУДРЯШОВА Е.В., СОРОКИН С.Э. «Третья миссия» в стратегиях развития арктических университетов
KUDRYASHOVA E.V., SOROKIN S.E. “The third mission” in the Arctic universities’ development strategies

Аннотация. В настоящее время особую актуаль-

Abstract. Based on the data from the State Archive of the Arkhangelsk Region, the article assessed the status of merchant and folk Pomor shipbuilding in the North in the 19th century. The key method of the research is the induction method, which is actively used in the historical school of economics, which set as its goal, including the analysis of specific economic situations in a state at a certain stage of its historical development. During the process of research the analysis has being made of the certain cases and documents of the Arkhangelsk Society for the Study of the Russian North (1836–1919, fund 83, Inventory No. 1, Case No. 20; Inventory No. 2, case No. 2), as well as historical reviews of the Arkhangelsk Governorate Statistical Committee (fund 6, Inventory No. 7, Case No. 24; Inventory No. 17, Case No. 1, 3, 21, 25). The conclusion was made overall about the negative perception of regional authorities of the level of development of commodity turnover in the Empire, the absence of high-quality “logistics,” bureaucratic red tape, legal barriers to support shipbuilders, as well as technological advantages of foreign fishing vessels. A constructive reform of the regional authorities in the second half of the 19th century meant the plan for the development of road infrastructure between Arkhangelsk and the town of Povenets in the Olonets Province (Governorate), the development of skipper courses, the creation of a typical improved model of a karbas and a cargo schooner for training future shipbuilders, skippers.

Keywords: *the Russian Arctic, Far North, the Arkhangelsk Province, island spaces, historical geography, political geography, borderlands, shipbuilding.*

Abstract. Currently, applying the “third mission” at

ность приобретает реализация университетами «третьей миссии», которая наряду с образовательной и научной также составляет основу деятельности университетов. Научное осмысление этого вопроса осуществляется российскими и зарубежными учёными. Основными составляющими «третьей миссии» выступают коммерциализация интеллектуальной собственности, трансфер технологий и инновации, становление университета как предпринимательской структуры, непрерывное образование, социальная вовлечённость, поддержка развития регионов, участие в жизни местного сообщества и другие. В статье проводится анализ опыта реализации «третьей миссии» на примере университетов, расположенных в арктической зоне Российской Федерации и ряда зарубежных арктических университетов. Для этого исследуются документы, определяющие стратегическое развитие двух российских (Северный (Арктический) федеральный университет имени М.В. Ломоносова и Мурманский арктический государственный университет) и пяти зарубежных арктических университетов (Университета Копенгагена (Дания), Университета Оулу (Финляндия), Университета Исландии (Исландия), Университета Умео (Швеция) и Технологического университета Лулео (Швеция)). Также анализируются конкретные формы и механизмы, которые применяются университетами в практической работе по данному направлению и делаются выводы, позволяющие оценить характер, особенности, степень освоения университетами основных направлений реализации «третьей миссии».

Ключевые слова: миссия, университет, третья миссия университета, регион, Арктика, региональное развитие.

ОЛСЕН К. Этнотуризм и Баренцев/Евроарктический регион (БЕАР)

OLSEN K. Indigenous tourism and the Barents Euro-Arctic Region (BEAR)

Аннотация. В данной статье утверждается, что этнотуризм следует понимать как сформированный европейскими представлениями о «других», а также более поздним развитием мировой политической мысли. Такие широкие структуры формируют гетерогенные народы, которые обозначены и обозначают себя коренными народами. Кроме того, нынешнее положение этих народов также определяется их отношениями с окружающим их большинством и национальными государствами. Поэтому определения этнотуризма должны основываться скорее на степени контроля меньшинств за туристической деятельностью, чем на идеях о

universities is of relevance, since it also forms the basis of universities' activities along with education and science. Scientific understanding of this issue had been carried out by Russian and foreign scientists. The main components of the "third mission" are the commercialization of intellectual property, technology transfer, and innovation, the development of a university as an entrepreneurial structure, continuous education, social involvement, support for the development of regions, participation in the life of the local community, etc. The article analyzes the experience of applying the "third mission" on the example of universities located in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation and some foreign Arctic universities. For this purpose, the documents defining the strategic development of two Russian (Northern (Arctic) Federal University named after M.V. Lomonosov and Murmansk Arctic State University) and five foreign Arctic universities (University of Copenhagen (Denmark), University Oulu (Finland), the University of Iceland (Iceland), the University of Umeå (Sweden), and the Luleå University of Technology (Sweden)). Specific forms and mechanisms used by universities are also analyzed. They contribute to the assessment of nature, characteristics, the degree of the "third mission" application carried out by universities.

Keywords: mission, university, universities' third mission, region, the Arctic, regional development.

Abstract. In this article, it is argued that indigenous tourism must be understood as shaped by European ideas of the Other, as well as more recent development in global politics. Such broad and increasingly global structures frame those heterogeneous populations that are labelled and label themselves indigenous. Furthermore, the current situation of these peoples is also shaped by their relationships to surrounding majorities and nation states. Therefore, definitions of indigenous tourism should rather be built on minorities' degree of control of tourism activities than by ideas of emblematic cultural features. The growth in the tourism industry in many parts of the Barents Euro-Arctic

символических культурных особенностях. Рост туризма во многих областях Баренцева / Евроарктического региона предоставляет возможность для сохранения культурных особенностей этнических меньшинств. Тем не менее, они могут сталкиваться с проблемами, поскольку им отводится такое положение в индустрии туризма, при котором другие, более влиятельные субъекты определяют довольно узкую область того, чем является этнотуризм. Данная статья написана на основе современного литературного исследования индигенности, туризма и туризма на территории саамов и опирается на предыдущие исследования о саамах и туризме в Норвегии.

Ключевые слова: коренные народы, Баренц / Евроарктический регион, туризм, саамы, аутентичность.

Region also represents an opportunity for representing and maintaining cultural features among minorities. Nevertheless, minorities might also face challenges by being relegated to a position in the tourism industry where other more powerful actors define a rather narrow field of what indigenous tourism is. This article is based on literary studies of contemporary research on indigeneity, tourism, and Sámi tourism and draws upon the author's extensive previous research on Sámi tourism in Norway.

Keywords: indigenous peoples, the Barents Euro-Arctic Region, tourism, Sámi, authenticity.

ПИЛЯСОВ А.Н., ЗАМЯТИНА Н.Ю. Освоение Севера 2.0: вызовы формирования новой теории
PILYASOV A.N., ZAMYATINA N.Yu. Development of the North 2.0: challenges of making a new theory

Аннотация. Предлагается создать новую теорию хозяйственного освоения на трёх основных источниках: советской освоенческой школе, европейской школе региональной науки и североамериканской школе фронта. Каждая из этих школ опирается на широкий концептуальный фундамент (размещение производительных сил, эндогенный экономический рост, инновационный поиск), сплав которых способен радикально и позитивно преобразить теорию освоения индустриального времени. Сравнение природы освоенческого процесса сегодня и в советское время обнаруживает существенные отличия: нарастание пространственной и временной неравномерности (поляризованности), многоакторности, глокализации, роли низового «проектного» уровня. Многочисленные реализуемые в российской Арктике и на Севере проекты нового освоения имеют общие черты в виде экспериментального характера, схемы «пилот-клоны» для экономии на опыте, множественности равностатусных баз снабжения и обучения и др. Ведущими акторами глокальности повсеместно выступают крупные ресурсные корпорации, которые задают территориальную структуру процесса нового освоения, а она зависит от внутренней организационной и институциональной структуры самой компании.

Ключевые слова: освоенческий процесс, природа хозяйственного освоения, советская теория освоения, теория фронта, концепция эндогенного экономического роста.

Abstract. It is proposed to create a new theory of economic development of the North on three primary sources — the Soviet development school, the European school of regional studies, the North American school of frontier studies. Each of these schools relies on a broad conceptual foundation (location of productive forces, endogenous economic growth, innovative search), the fusion of which is capable of radically and positively transforming the theory of modern time. Comparison of the nature of the development process today and in the Soviet times reveals significant differences: an increase in spatial and temporal irregularity (polarization), multiactorism, glocalization, and the role of the grassroots “design” level. Numerous projects of new development implemented in the Russian Arctic and the North have common features in the form of an experimental nature, pilot-clone schemes for saving on experience, a plurality of equal status supply and training bases, etc. Large resource corporations that lead the world are directing actors of the territorial structure of the process of new development, and it depends on the internal organizational and institutional structure of the company itself.

Keywords: the North and the Arctic development, glocality, Soviet theory of colonization, frontier theory, endogenous economic growth.

СЕРОВА Н.А., ГУТОВ С.В. Ключевые тенденции развития инвестиционных процессов в Арктической зоне РФ в 2008–2017 гг.

SEROVA N.A., GUTOV S.V. Key trends of investment development in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation in 2008–2017

Аннотация. Статья посвящена изучению трансформаций инвестиционных процессов в Арктической зоне Российской Федерации в условиях кризисов последнего десятилетия. Актуальность исследования определяется тем, что последствиями произошедших экономических потрясений для реализации государственной арктической политики России явились не только финансовые, но и технологические ограничения, что требует проведения ретроспективного анализа инвестиционной активности в Арктической зоне РФ и определения альтернативных вариантов развития инвестиционной сферы в условиях крайне неустойчивой внешнеполитической обстановки. Проведён анализ инвестиционных процессов в Арктической зоне РФ в 2008–2017 гг. и выделены четыре фазы, определившие их развитие: 2008–2010 гг.; 2011–2012 гг.; 2013–2014 гг.; 2015–2017 гг. Выявлено, что инвестиционные процессы в российской Арктике за рассматриваемый период характеризовались довольно резкими колебаниями и неравномерностью распределения инвестиций по регионам. Наибольшие объёмы российских инвестиций в первой фазе были характерны для регионов частично входящих в Арктическую зону РФ, в остальных фазах — для полностью арктических регионов. Такая же ситуация вплоть до 2014 г. была характерна и для иностранных вложений в Арктику, однако с началом «санкционной войны» приток инвестиций из-за рубежа как в полностью арктические регионы, так и Арктическую зону РФ в целом, значительно снизился, и это падение продолжается до сих пор. Представлены прогнозные варианты дальнейшего развития инвестиционных процессов в Арктической зоне РФ при негативном сценарии развития национальной экономики.

Ключевые слова: Арктическая зона РФ, государственная арктическая политика, приоритетные инвестиционные проекты, кризис, международные санкции, инвестиционные процессы.

Abstract. This article is devoted to the study of the investments and their transformation in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation in the conditions of the crisis of the last decade. Current studies indicate the occurred as a result of economic shocks aimed at the implementation of the state Arctic policy, as well as the need for financial and technological constraints that require a retrospective analysis of investment activity in the Arctic zone. The study of investments in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation in 2008–2017 has four stages identified: 2008–2010; 2011–2012; 2013–2014; 2015–2017. One may see that investments in the Russian Federation are due to quite sharp fluctuations and their uneven distribution across regions. The most significant volumes of Russian investments in the first phase were typical for regions partially located in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation, and now — for entirely Arctic areas. The same situation was until 2014 with foreign investments in the Arctic. However, after the start of the “sanctions war,” we observed a turning point. Foreign investments in the Arctic areas of the Russian Federation significantly decreased. The decline continues to this day. Predicted options for further investment development in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation have an adverse scenario for the national economy.

Keywords: the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation, state Arctic policy, priority investment projects, crisis, international sanctions, investment processes.

POLITICAL PROCESSES AND INSTITUTIONS

ТОДОРОВ А.А. Перспективы деятельности Международного органа по морскому дну в контексте управления Арктикой

TODOROV A.A. Future work of the International Seabed Authority in the context of the Arctic governance

Аннотация. В статье рассматриваются история создания, правовые основы деятельности Международного органа по морскому дну, его функции, структура, направления его актуальной работы, а также анализируются возможные сферы применения механизмов МОМД в Арктике. Несмотря на продолжающиеся в экспертной среде споры, автор полагает, что Часть XI Конвенции 1982 г. по морскому праву, определяющая основы управления ресурсами Района и деятельности МОМД, применяется к акваториям Арктики точно так же, как и ко всем другим регионам Мирового океана. Основная функция МОМД — регулирование разведки и добычи минеральных ресурсов дна за пределами национальной юрисдикции. Помимо этого Орган будет задействован в решении других задач: реализации положений Конвенции 1982 г. об отчислениях прибрежных государств за освоение ресурсов континентального шельфа за пределами 200 морских миль, участия в налаживании международного сотрудничества в области морских научных исследований в Районе, распределении их результатов и др. Кроме того, в перспективе важное место МОМД видится в участии в комплексном трансграничном и межотраслевом экосистемном управлении акваториями Арктики.

Ключевые слова: *Международный орган по морскому дну, Арктика, Район, минеральные ресурсы, международное сотрудничество, Конвенция по морскому праву 1982 г., континентальный шельф, акватории за пределами национальной юрисдикции.*

Abstract. The article studies the history, legal framework of the International Seabed Authority, its functions, structure and current work. The analysis focuses on potential fields of ISA activity in the Arctic. Despite the ongoing expert discussions, the author is of the view that Part XI of the 1982 Law of the Sea Convention, setting out the legal basis for the governance of the Area resources and the work of ISA, applies to the Arctic Ocean like to any other part of the world ocean. The primary function of ISA is to regulate exploration and exploitation of deep seabed non-living resources beyond national jurisdiction. Apart from that, ISA will be engaged in other issues — implementation of the UNCLOS provisions on the payments by the coastal states concerning the exploitation of non-living resources on the outer continental shelf, coordination of marine scientific research in the Area, dissemination of its results, etc. Moreover, in the future, ISA could play a significant role in the integrated cross-border and cross-sectoral ecosystem governance of the Arctic Ocean.

Keywords: *International Seabed Authority, the Arctic, Area, mineral resources, international cooperation, UN Convention on the Law of the Sea 1982, continental shelf, maritime areas beyond national jurisdiction.*

NORTHERN AND ARCTIC SOCIETIES

ВЕРЕЩАГИН И.Ф., МАКСИМОВ А.М. Этноконфессиональные факторы комфортности городского пространства в АЗРФ

VERESCHAGIN I.F., MAKSIMOV A.M. Ethnic and confessional factors of comfort of the urban space in the Russian Arctic

Аннотация. В статье рассматривается влияние этнической и конфессиональной структуры населения крупных городов АЗРФ на комфортность городского пространства. Авторы выделяют основные требования, предъявляемые к городскому пространству социальными группами, исходя из их этнической и конфессиональной принадлежности. Определяются основные городские объекты и пространства, естественно-исторически создаваемые для нужд этнических и конфессиональных групп. В исследовании применены методы социального картографирования, наблюдения, анализа статистических дан-

Abstract. The article deals with the influence of the ethnic and religious structure of the population of large cities of the Russian Arctic on the comfort of the urban space. The authors highlight the basic requirements for the urban space by social groups, based on their ethnic and religious affiliation. The main urban objects and spaces naturally and historically created for the needs of ethnic and religious groups are determined. The study used methods of social mapping, observation, analysis of statistical data. On the example of large cities in the regions of the Russian Arctic, the authors show the unsystematic nature of meeting ethnic and religious needs in

ных. На примере крупных городов регионов АЗРФ авторы показывают бессистемный характер удовлетворения этноконфессиональных потребностей в сфере создания комфортного городского пространства. Это связано в первую очередь с разнообразной историей возникновения городских поселений в Арктической зоне, а также функциональным назначением населённых пунктов, которые различаются по численности и составу жителей. Исходя из данной дифференциации, выделяются соответствующие типы городских поселений. Основываясь на относительно успешном примере политики столичного региона, в статье выдвигаются рекомендации по совершенствованию соответствующей политики городских муниципалитетов АЗРФ. Обращается внимание на возможные особенности подобной политики, учитывая специфику арктических городов и миграционных процессов, происходящих в данном регионе.

Ключевые слова: этнокультурное разнообразие, этноконфессиональный состав населения, комфортность городского пространства, Арктическая зона РФ.

the creation of comfortable urban space. According to the authors, this is primarily due to the diverse history of urban settlements in the Arctic zone, as well as the functional purpose of settlements, which differ in number and composition of residents. Based on this differentiation, the corresponding types of urban settlements are distinguished. Based on the relatively successful example of the policy of the capital region, the article makes recommendations for improving the proper administration of the urban municipalities of the Russian Arctic. Attention is drawn to the possible features of such a policy, considering the specifics of the Arctic cities and migration processes taking place in the region.

Keywords: *ethno-cultural diversity, ethno-confessional composition of the population, the comfort of the urban space, the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation.*

СОКОЛОВА Ф.Х., ЗОЛОТАРЕВ О.В., МАКСИМОВА Л.А., СИБИРЯКОВ И.В. Стратегические приоритеты и практические формы реализации этнополитики в арктических субъектах Российской Федерации
SOKOLOVA F.Kh., ZOLOTAREV O.V., MAKSIMOVA L.A., SIBIRYAKOV I.V. Strategic priorities and forms of the applying ethnopolitics in the Arctic areas of the Russian Federation

Аннотация. В статье на основе комплексного анализа источников представлена эволюция стратегических приоритетов и практических форм реализации этнополитики в российских регионах на примере арктических субъектов Российской Федерации в постсоветский период. Доказано, что этнополитика каждого арктического субъекта РФ имеет свои отличительные особенности, обусловленные комплексом причин объективного и субъективного характера. Более отчетливо дифференциация региональных национальных практик проявлялась в 1990-х гг., когда в регионе, как и в стране в целом, наблюдались процессы суверенизации и политизации этничности. С урегулированием федеративных отношений, разграничением полномочий между центром и субъектами РФ на рубеже XX-XXI вв. арктические регионы начинают выстраивать свою этнополитику в соответствии со стратегическим видением центра. Однако этнополитика исследуемых субъектов первого десятилетия XXI вв. была больше направлена на демонстрацию этнокультурного многообразия в ущерб идеям консолидации российского общества, что созда-

Abstract. The article is dealing with the process of evolution of strategic priorities and practical forms of the realization of the ethnic policy in Russia on the example of the Arctic regions in the post-Soviet period. It is proved that the ethnopolitics of each Arctic region of the Russian Federation has its distinctive features, due to the complex of the reasons of its climatic, socio-economic, political and cultural nature. The differentiation of regional, national practices was more clearly manifested in the 1990s when in the Arctic regions, as well as in the whole country, the processes of sovereignty and politicization of ethnicity were observed. With the normalization of relations between the Federal center and regions, the separation of powers between the center and the entities of the Russian Federation at the turn of XX-XXI centuries, the Arctic regions are starting to build their ethnonational policy according to the strategic vision of the center. However, in the first decade of the XXI century, the ethnopolitics of the Arctic regions was more focused on the demonstration of ethnocultural diversity to the detriment of the ideas of consolidation of Russian society, which created the basis for ethnocultural mobiliza-

вало почву для этнокультурной мобилизации и этноэгоизма. С принятием Стратегии национальной политики РФ 2012 года, в которой концептуальные основы нациестроительства были смещены в пользу укрепления единства многонационального народа и государства на принципах общегражданской солидарности, политика арктических регионов начинает встраиваться в общероссийскую логику урегулирования межэтнических отношений. Вопросы этничности в современной федеральной повестке дня тесно увязаны с проблемами безопасности. Данные социологических исследований и мониторингов межнациональной напряженности свидетельствуют, что региональные власти арктических субъектов контролируют ситуацию в области межэтнических отношений. Арктические субъекты относятся к регионам с низкой и очень низкой межэтнической напряженностью. Вместе с тем в латентной фазе находятся противоречия между местным населением и мигрантами, старожилами и новопоселенцами, рядом русских субэтносов и коренными малочисленными народами за равенство прав и привилегий.

Ключевые слова: Арктика, медиадискурс, арктический медиадискурс, геополитическая проблематика, американские СМИ, информационная политика.

tion and ethnic-egoism. The Strategy of the national policy of the Russian Federation 2012, contains conceptual foundations of nation-building and is biased in favor of the strengthening the unity of the multi-ethnic people and the state on the principles of civil solidarity. The policy of the Arctic regions begins to integrate into the all-Russian logic of the normalization of inter-ethnic relations. Ethnicity-related issues in the contemporary agenda are intimately connected with the security ones. The results of the sociological surveys and monitoring of the inter-ethnic tensions suggest that regional authorities can control the current situation. Arctic territories are considered as the regions with the low and meager rate of ethnic tensions. However, contradictions between local people and migrants, old-timers and new settlers, Russian ethnic groups and indigenous peoples for similar rights and privileges are in the latent stage.

Keywords: the Arctic, media discourse, Arctic media discourse, geopolitical problems, American mass media, informational policy.

REVIEWS AND REPORTS

АВДОНИНА Н.С., ВОДЯНИКОВА О.И., ЖУКОВА А.А. Освещение проблем Арктического региона в современной международной журналистике: примеры и особенности

AVDONINA N.S., VODYANNIKOVA O.I., ZHUKOVA A.A. The problems of the Arctic region in modern international journalism: examples and features

Аннотация. Статья посвящена обзору проблем Арктического региона, представленных в современной международной журналистике на примере путевого очерка международного журналиста С. Пашкевича «Письма с края света. Путешествие в Русскую Америку» и телепрограммы «30 дней в Арктике с Вилле Хаапасало». Данные информационные источники выбраны как образцы международной журналистики, освещающей проблемы Арктического региона в разных форматах (печать и телевидение) и в долгосрочной перспективе. В результате проведенного анализа можно отметить общую тематику журналистских произведений — образ жизни местных жителей. Выбор проблематики обусловлен жанровыми особенностями представленных текстов: если письма Пашкевича представляют собой скорее лирическое журналистское сочинение, целью которого является демонстрация жизни «рус-

Abstract. The article is devoted to the review of problems of the Arctic region presented in modern international journalism on the example of the travel essay by the international journalist S. Pashkevich “Letters from the Edge of the World. Traveling to Russian America” and the TV program “30 days in the Arctic with Ville Haapasalo”. These works are selected as examples of international journalists covering the problems of the Arctic region in different formats (print and tv) and the longterm perspective. As a result of the analysis, we can conclude on the general topic of chosen journalism works — the way of life of residents. The choice of problems is determined by the genre features of the texts presented: if Pashkevich's letters are more of a lyrical journalism work whose purpose is to show the life of “Russian” Alaskans with an emphasis on general Russian-American history; Ville Haapasalo's TV program combines entertainment and information

ских» аляскинцев с акцентом на общей русско-американской истории, то телепрограмма Вилле Хаапасало сочетает в себе развлекательный и информационный компоненты, и в определённой степени развлекательная составляющая (рассказы об охоте, рыбалке, участие ведущего в этих занятиях) уравнивается акцентированием внимания зрителя на различных проблемах, с которыми сталкиваются жители Арктического региона России.

Ключевые слова: Арктика, печатная журналистика, телевизионная журналистика, Аляска, инфотейнмент, международная журналистика, коренные народы.

ДЖАНЕСИН Э. Искусство объединяет: Третий международный фестиваль снежных скульптур в г. Тромсё

GIANESIN E. Arts unite: The Third International Snow Festival in Tromsø

Аннотация. Настоящая статья представляет собой краткий обзор Третьего международного фестиваля снежных скульптур в г. Тромсё, который прошёл 23–26 января 2019 г. Мероприятие показано с точки зрения международного сотрудничества на севере Европы в условиях интеграции мировой культуры и кросс-культурного диалога.

Ключевые слова: Фестиваль снежных скульптур в Тромсё, международное сотрудничество, культура, Норвегия

components, and to a certain extent entertaining component (stories about hunting, fishing, participation of the facilitator in these classes) is balanced by the presentation of various problems from which residents of the Arctic region of Russia.

Keywords: the Arctic, print journalism, television journalism, Alaska, infotainment, international journalism, indigenous people.

Abstract. The article is a brief overview of the Third International Snow Festival in Tromsø, January 23–26, 2019, from the perspective of international cooperation in northern Europe in the context of the world culture integration and cross-cultural dialogue.

Keywords: Tromsø International Snow festival, international cooperation, culture, Norway

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Approved at the meeting of the “Arctic and North” Editorial Office
March 30, 2018

Online:

http://www.arcticandnorth.ru/en/editorial_board.php

Output data

ARCTIC and NORTH, 2019, no. 34

DOI: 10.17238/issn2221-2698.2019.34

Editor-in-chief — Kudryashova E.V.

Executive secretary — Shepelev E.A. E-mail: e.shepelev@narfu.ru

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Placement on the webpage by E.A. Shepelev.

Registration certificate EI № FS77-42809 from November 26, 2010

Founder — Northern (Arctic) Federal University named after M.V. Lomonosov

Address of the founder: 17, Northern Dvina Embankment, Arkhangelsk, Russia, 163002

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Signed for placement on the webpage <http://www.arcticandnorth.ru/> on 29.03.2019