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We will be glad to see you among the authors of "Arctic and North"!

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What the USA will bring to its chairmanship of the Arctic Council



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Abstract. The results of Canada's chairmanship of the Arctic Council (2013-2015) and the Iqaluit declaration signed on the 24th of April 2015 are analyzed in the present article. The author is convinced that the United States intend to use their Arctic Council chairmanship (2015—2017) to solve the US internal problems related to the Arctic areas. The

program for the US Chairmanship has three focus areas: improving the economic and living conditions of the Arctic communities; Arctic Ocean safety, security and stewardship and the impacts of the climate change. The United States hope for constructive cooperation with Russia aimed at solving these problems.

Keywords: *Arctic Council, chairmanship, Canada, Iqaluit declaration, program and policy of the US, sanctions, Russia's position*

Summing up the Canada's chairmanship of the Arctic Council

In 2013-2015 the Arctic Council (AC) was chaired by Canada¹. Much has been done to expand and revitalize the organization. The Permanent Secretariat of the Arctic Council was established, all the issues necessary for its operation (personnel, finances and management) were agreed. A further expansion of the AC activities occurred and a wide range of actions, including some issues related to mining revealed. The AC concluded the second in its history international agreement on the prevention of oil spills, and the measures against the possible consequences. An agreement was signed on the establishment of a new meeting platform — the Arctic Economic Council. A decision was made on a collective fund aimed at co-financing environmental projects. Expanding of the number of the AC observer countries on the basis of pre-developed criteria for

¹ The Arctic states change each other at the AC Chair every two years. The first AC Chair was Canada (1996—1998). AC was chaired by the USA, Finland, Iceland, Russia, Norway, Denmark and Sweden. Second round for chairmanship has begun with the Canada's chairmanship in 2013- 2015. Now Canada's replaced by the USA.

the admission of new members as permanent observers has also contributed to changes. The second report on the human dimension of the Arctic policy has become very important for the development of socio-economic policy in the Arctic region and for protecting the interests of indigenous people. In general, the interaction of the Arctic states has been developed constructively.

However, in connection with the Canada's AC chairmanship, the comments of the Russian Foreign Ministry issued on April 27, 2015 noted the Canada's attempts to involve issues not related to the Arctic in the activities of the AC, to politicize the debate and make it dependent on issues that do not contribute to the cause. Such a tendency was especially evident before and at the meeting in Iqaluit. However, Canada's approach got no support from the Arctic states and indigenous organizations of the North, which noted the inadmissibility of a confrontational agenda in the AC's work.

Iqaluit Declaration 2015

In 2015 the AC Chairmanship has passed to the USA². In the Northern Canada in Iqaluit on the 24th of April 2015 the AC ministers' meeting took place. Russian delegation was headed by the Minister of natural resources and ecology of the Russian Federation S.E. Donskoy. Minister of foreign affairs S.V. Lavrov didn't attend the meeting due to the complicated international relations caused by the crisis in Ukraine. It should be noted that all the previous meetings were attended by him and he was one of the most active participants. At the meeting in 2015 Iqaluit declaration was signed and it summarized Canada's AC Chairmanship³.

Iqaluit Declaration reaffirms the commitment of the Arctic states to peace, stability and cooperation in the Arctic and it consists of steps planned for the further development of international cooperation. A number of political documents within the intergovernmental framework was adopted aimed at collaboration in preventing the pollution of marine areas in the Arctic caused by the oil and gas activities and shipping. The plan contains a list of measures to prevent pollution caused by the oil and gas activities in the Arctic, as well as a list of measures to prevent pollution of the Arctic marine environment caused by the maritime industry. The plan also provides the exchange of information among its members on regulations, policies and practices related to the prevention of pollution of the Arctic marine environment. Participants intend to assess risks and

² An attempt to make forecasts on the USA AC Chairmanship based on the major concepts of the USA Arctic policy and analysis of public speeches of the US Department of State officials, representatives of the National Commission for the Arctic Research, scientists and businessmen in 2014-2015 was made in the article by P.V. Zhuravel and N.M. Antushina [1]

³ Iqaluit Declaration 2015. The 9th Ministerial Session of the Arctic Council. URL: <http://www.arctic-council.org/index.php/en/document-archive/category/604-declaration-sao-report?download=2746:iqaluit-declaration-russian> (Accessed: 10 September 2015).

environmental impact of oil and gas activities and shipping that may lead to contamination of the Arctic marine environment by oil. At the meeting a AC framework document on reduction of black carbon and methane emissions was adopted, as well as the Strategic Plan for the Arctic seas 2015—2025.

The Iqaluit session left the issue of EU observer status undecided, despite the fact that in the fall of 2014 Canada withdrew its objections which had been the main obstacle for a positive decision two years ago. No doubts, in terms of the EU sanctions against Russia, Moscow had not been set out to open the doors for the EU and its participation in the Arctic Council. Nevertheless, it was an elegant decision made — all applications, not just the application of the EU, for the status of observers were postponed to the next session of the Council to be held two years later in the United States.

The USA chairmanship of the Arctic Council begins (2015—2017)

After the Ministerial meeting the chairmanship was passed to the USA that came out with the slogan “United Arctic: common challenges, opportunities and responsibility”. Areas of the AC work we also defined for the USA chairmanship (2015—2017) ⁴.

Now the U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry is a Chair for the Arctic Council. The US officials responsible for the Arctic issues: admiral Robert J. Papp, Jr. — the US Special Representative for the Arctic (was assigned in June 2014, former Head of the US Coast Guard), Fran Ulmer — Special Advisor to the U.S. Secretary of State on Arctic Science and Policy.



Picture 1. Team for US chairmanship 2015—2017 of the Arctic Council:
John Kerry, Robert J. Papp, Jr., Fran Ulmer

⁴ Information about the US chairmanship of the AC could be found here: URL: <http://www.arctic-council.org/index.php/ru/#> (Accessed: 02 September 2015)

The US Arctic team also includes ambassador David Balton — Chair of the Senior Arctic Officials, Julia Gourley — U.S. Senior Arctic Official and others⁵.

The US chairmanship program represents three key areas:

- a) Improving economics and living standards for northern communities;
- b) Arctic Ocean Safety, Security & Stewardship;
- c) Addressing the Impacts of Climate⁶.

The USA are focused on the target group work on Arctic marine cooperation (TFAMC), telecommunications (TFTIA) and science (SCTF). The way the work of these groups is going to be done is unknown as well as the preferences of Americans related to that.

The USA did not pay enough attention to the Arctic

The analysis shows that the United States acknowledged that the country paid not enough attention to the Arctic and was left behind Russia, Norway, and Canada and even behind some of the AC observer states. The fact that Barack Obama was the first US president visited the Arctic Circle area and met its residents, is a case in point.

A special place in the American debates is devoted to the development of domestic ice-breaking fleet. Currently, the US has three icebreakers capable of operating in the Arctic; two of them are in use. In addition, according to environmentalists, the existing icebreakers cannot quickly and effectively help to deal with the possible accidents caused by the oil industry in the Arctic Ocean. The US president made the decision to construct one heavier icebreaker, worth up to 1 billion dollars, and put it into operation two years earlier than it had been planned. "It is important to be ready — whether it is about the reasons of national security or commercial reasons — to ensure that we will have a lot more opportunities than it is now," — said the president of the United States on the 3rd of September 2015⁷.

At the same time Russia has six nuclear icebreakers, four of them are in operation — "Yamal", "50 Let Pobedy", "Taimyr", "Vaigach" and two are in reserve, on a planned repair. Russian shipyards are now actively building atomic icebreakers "Arktika", "Siberia" and "Ural". According to General Director of "Atomflot" V. Ruksha, construction of one icebreaker costs an average of 40 billion rubles.

⁵ Team for US chairmanship 2015–2017 of the Arctic Council. URL: <http://www.arctic-council.org/index.php/en/about-us/arctic-council/u-s-chairmanship> (Accessed: 02 September 2015)

⁶ U.S. Chairmanship 2015-2017. URL: <http://www.arctic-council.org/index.php/en/about-us/arctic-council/u-s-chairmanship> (Accessed: 10 September 2015).

⁷ SShA postroyat novye ledokoly dlya usileniya pozitsij v Arktike. URL: <http://www.arctic-info.ru/news/04-09-2015/ssha-postroit-novie-ledokoli-dlya-usileniya-pozitsii-v-arktike> (Accessed: 04 September 2015)

The US officials also noted that Alaska needed a deep-water port in the west of the state, a reconstruction of the airport in Barrow, on the north coast, and the appropriate infrastructure to respond to the oil spill in the Chukchi Sea and the Beaufort Sea. Several experts draw their attention to the need to update the maps of those areas in order to develop new ship routes and to resume the exploration of the Arctic shelf.

For many years the US politicians speak about the importance of strengthening the interest of citizens to polar affairs, their greater awareness of the “Arctic status” of the USA. It is primarily about the signing the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (1982). Non-participation of the US harms its image and creates inconsistency of the US and its AC partner’s position and the potential for changes in the state's position on Arctic issues. It should be noted that the UNCLOS was signed by more than 140 countries. Moreover, the US Arctic coast is small. It is mainly northern Alaska and is considerably smaller than that of another contender for the possession of the rights to the Arctic wealth — Canada. Therefore, the position of the United States in a dispute over Alaska with the other Nordic countries is not that strong [2]. However, the analysis shows signing the UNCLOS through the Senate procedures will be done only by an American president with a strong majority vote in Congress.

How the USA intend to use their chairmanship of the AC

In the context of many unresolved issues, the US intends to use their chairmanship to solve their own Arctic problems. The USA intends to search for consensus between Alaska and the federal government. The Arctic has been a zone of interests of the State of Alaska. However, this state has only one seat in the House of Representatives and enjoys a little influence on the policy of the federal authorities. In addition, more than 80% of the land in Alaska is under the federal administration. This leads to conflicts between the state and the federal government (for example, the conflict caused by the oil drilling in the Arctic National Park «Arctic National Wildlife Refuge»). In 2015 US President Barack Obama recommended to extend the Arctic National Park and add 12 million acres [3]. Thus, some of the territories of the nature reserve, recognized as the areas not possible to be a subject to the development of mineral resources, have been classified as potentially oil-rich areas along the US coast of the Arctic Ocean. Senators from Alaska opposed the decision, since, in their view, it undermines the prospects for economic development of the state. Obama's proposal exacerbated the gap in the views of residents of Alaska and the federal government's policy in the region. The Commission of the State of Alaska for the Arctic policy expressed a concern that the US government was not paying enough attention to representatives of the State in determining the priorities of the Arctic Council chairmanship. In particular, the Com-

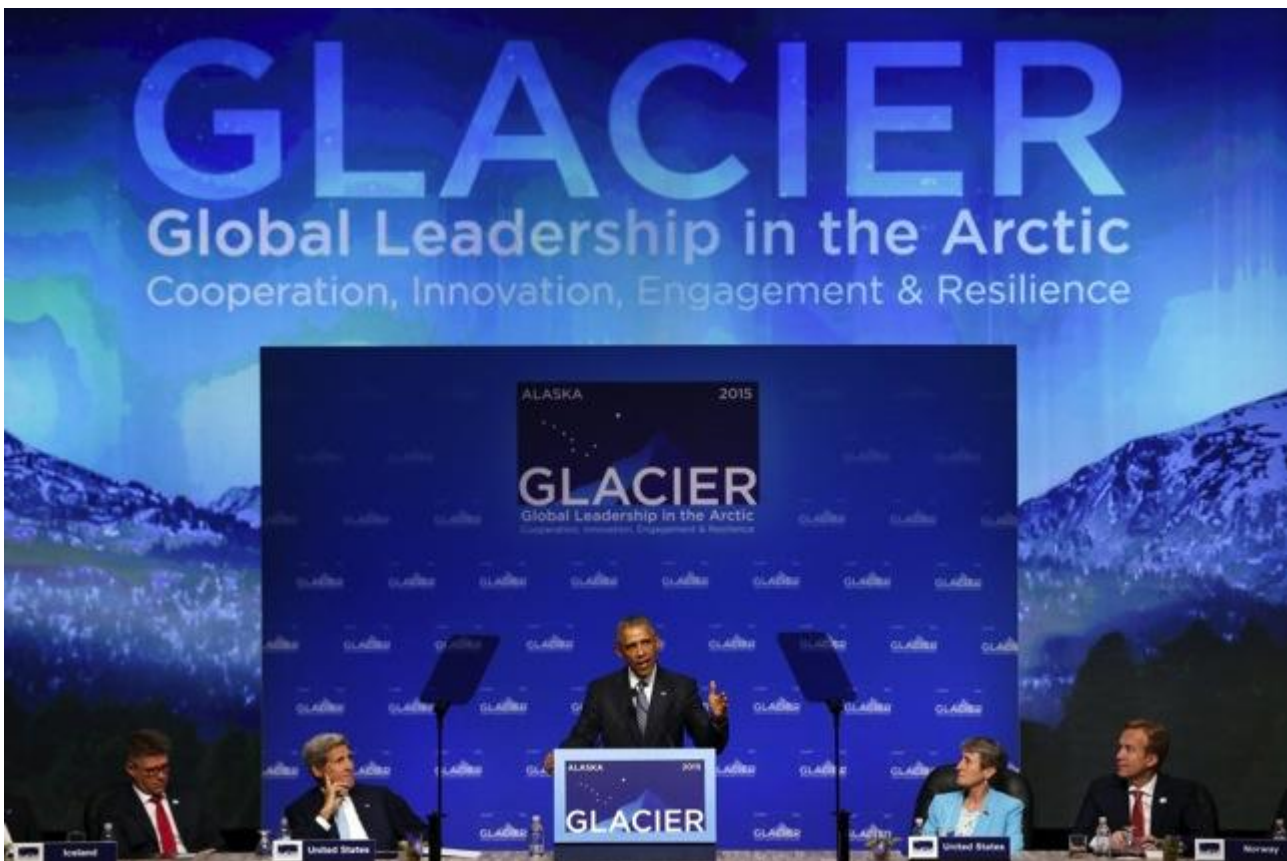
mission considered that in the chairmanship program little attention was paid to mining and creation of new jobs. The Commission also stressed that it did not support the allocation of additional areas with potential mineral reserves in the “wildlife” category, because it believes that people of Alaska should have access to these areas. Thus, the Commission would have preferred, and the majority of Alaska citizens, in the opinion of its members, would have agreed to it. They saw the AC chairmanship as a way to promote the economic development, rather than issues of climate change and environmental protection [3].

In our view, the United States will be actively engaged in solving the economic problems of the Arctic when near their shores the volume of maritime traffic will gradually increase and the cost of oil on the shelf will decrease or when they feel the dependence on imported oil, which may jeopardize the competitiveness and influence of the country at the global level. The media expressed the view that in the context of international challenges the United States faced in recent years (a conflict in Syria, Iran's nuclear program or promotion of an "Islamic state", crisis in Ukraine and etc.), the Arctic is clearly losing due to the low level of conflicts [3].

As the first months of the US chairmanship show, the US gives priority to climate issues. On the 1st of September 2015 President Obama was speaking at an international conference on cooperation in the Arctic held in Anchorage (Alaska): “I have come here today as the leader of the world's largest economy and the second largest country-air pollutant to state that the United States recognize their role in creating the problem and our responsibility for its solution-set”⁸. Catastrophically changing climate leads to disasters and loss of settlements. It is planned to reduce harmful air emissions by a third by 2030, despite the planned increase in production and would consumption. “The United States, of course, an Arctic nation. This year we are chairing the Arctic Council. We yearn to continue cooperation with all Arctic nations. Facing the problems, you should know that we cannot solve them alone, we can only solve them together”, — said Barack Obama⁹.

⁸ Obama prizval k nemedlennym dejstviyam dlya obuzdaniya klimaticheskikh izmenenij. URL: <http://globalural.com/?p=68310> (Accessed: 10 October 2015)

⁹ Obama za Polyarnym krugom. URL: <http://topwar.ru/81617-obama-za-polyarnym-krugom.html> (Accessed: 05 September 2015)



Picture 2. B. Obama's speech. URL: http://cdn.topwar.ru/uploads/posts/2015-09/1441159517_2015-09-01t012922z_01_was922_rtridsp_3_usa-obama-alaska.jpg

He recalled the need for signing of the "Agreement on reduction of harmful emissions into the atmosphere" at a conference in Paris in December 2015, where each country should submit a plan of action to overcome the environmental crisis, to take measures to reduce the negative impact in the Arctic.

Prognosis assessment of cooperation between the USA and Russia in the Arctic

Solving the Arctic issues the USA hope for cooperation with Russia, despite the complicated international relations. The US Special Representative for the Arctic admiral Papp speaks a lot about that and asks Finland to be a mediator in relation to Russian.

The USA understands inability to reach all the tasks and held all the planned meeting using just the efforts of the AC members and especially Russia. Without the cooperation with Russia it seems to be difficult to provide the implementation of air and maritime search and rescue agreements in the Arctic (2011)¹⁰ and the cooperation aimed at response to oil pollution at the Arctic sea (2013)¹¹. Without the participation of Russia large-scale projects in the Arctic will be, at least,

¹⁰ Soglasenie o sotrudnichestve v aviacionnom i morskoy poiske i spasanii v Arktike (2011). URL: [http:// library.arcticportal.org/1474/3/Arctic_SAR_Agreement_RUS_FINAL_for_signataure_21-Apr-2011.pdf](http://library.arcticportal.org/1474/3/Arctic_SAR_Agreement_RUS_FINAL_for_signataure_21-Apr-2011.pdf) (Accessed: 04 November 2015)

¹¹ Soglasenie o sotrudnichestve v sfere gotovnosti i reagirovaniya na zagryazneniya morya neftyu v Arktike (2013).

inferior. Moreover, in order to promote complex issues, such as environmental protection and climate change, the Arctic should remain stable and peaceful region. The AC activity shows that to solve the problem of the introduction of new long-term priorities there is a need for consensus, which would be difficult to achieve in an atmosphere of distrust and tension.

Under these conditions, in our opinion, before taking a step towards the United States, Russia should consider and assess the hard sanctions the US impose against our country.

On the 16th of July 2014 United States imposed economic sanctions against Russia in connection with the events in Ukraine. The sanctions list, along with the largest Russian defense enterprises, includes energy companies "Rosneft", "Novatek" and the Association of Suppliers for Oil and Gas Industry "Sozvezdie"¹². On the 6th of August 2014 Bureau of Industry and Security, responsible for export control, United States Department of Commerce added United Shipbuilding Corporation to sanctions lists and established rules for the export, re-export and transfer of drilling rigs, spare parts, software, pumps, drilling pipes and other equipment intended directly or indirectly for the exploration and production of deepwater oil and gas (over 500 feet), the Arctic shelf, shale projects with potential for mining¹³. On the 12th of September 2014 the United States tightened the export regulations for Russian gas projects. Different US sanctions export lists included Russian energy company "Rosneft", "Novatek", "Transneft", "Gazprom", "Gazprom Neft", "Lukoil" and "Surgutneftegas"¹⁴.

The EU joined the US sanctions immediately; closed European markets for Russian companies included in sanctions lists and refused to give credits, cheaper than the ones in Russia. European sanctions were also aimed at stopping "the services necessary for the deep-water exploration and production of oil in the Arctic and the shale oil, including drilling services and testing, as well as geophysical research". The list of equipment, required prior approval, included 30 kinds of products for the oil and gas industry [4].

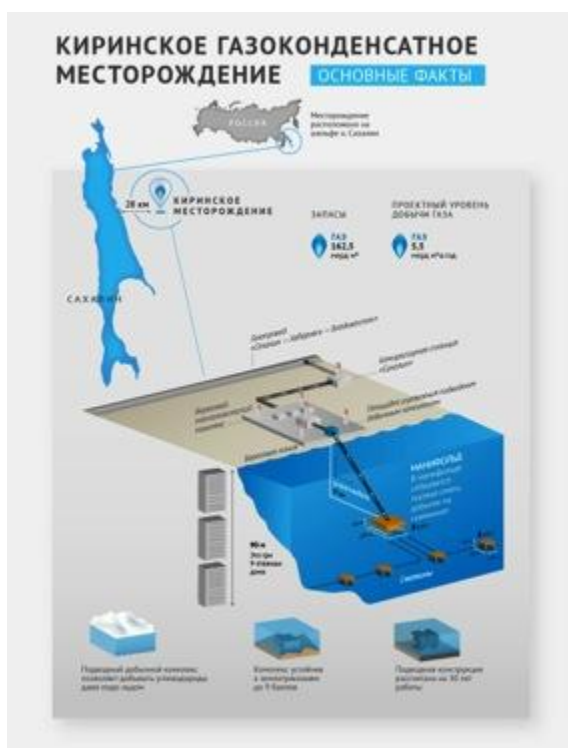
URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/499065181> (Accessed: 04 November 2015)

¹² Sankcii protiv RF 16 iyulya 2014. URL: <http://news-kapital.ru/sankcii-protiv-rf-16-iyulya-2014/> (Accessed: 04 November 2015)

¹³ Russian Oil Industry Sanctions and Addition of Person to the Entity List. A Rule by the Industry and Security Bureau on 08/06/2014. URL: <https://www.federalregister.gov/articles/2014/08/06/2014-18579/russian-oil-industry-sanctions-and-addition-of-person-to-the-entity-list#h-18> (Accessed: 04 November 2015)

¹⁴ Alert Memorandum. September 14, 2014. URL: <http://www.cgsh.com/files/Publication/e0ee14b2-8d80-44bf-8c99-424ee5cb8638/Presentation/PublicationAttachment/c1b18d10-5257-4099-bec4-43939412beb8/Ukraine-related%20Sanctions%20Expanded%20U.S.%20Sanctions%20Against%20Russian%20Financial,%20Ener.pdf> (Accessed: 04 November 2015)

In 2015, all sorts of US sanctions have been extended, expanded and affected not only the majority of Russian oil companies, but also the gas sector of the Russian economy, including de-



posits on the continental shelf of Russia. On the 8th of July 2015 the US Bureau of Industry and Security has identified the sanctions against some Russian energy projects¹⁵. The sanctions lists were replenished by the Uzhno Kirinskoye oil and gas field on the shelf of the Okhotsk Sea, a part of the “Sakhalin-3” project. Under the impact of the sanctions was the gas sector, “Gazprom” — a buyer of equipment for the Uzhno Kirinskoye field. Targeted sanctions against the Uzhno Kirinskoye field damaged the cooperation between “Gazprom” and “Shell” that announced its possible entry in the “Sakhalin-3” project in August (four offshore blocks in the Sea of Okhotsk — Kirinskiy,

Veninsky, Aiyashskiy and Vostochno-Odoptinskiy). Sanctions against the Uzhno Kirinskoye field made the ambitious project of “Gazprom” to increase the project “Sakhalin-2” by 5 million tons of LNG plant problematic¹⁶.

The US and EU sanctions undoubtedly limit the timing of projects, hydrocarbon exploration and production on the Arctic shelf of Russia, pose threats and risks for Russian companies. At the same time the Russian economy opened new opportunities for import substitution. The famous scientist, academician Laverov N.P. rightly believes that “sanctions on supplies and technologies for deep-water drilling, introduced by Western countries are not critical for the development of the Russian Arctic shelf” [5]. The Kara Sea, its shelf zone is at depths not exceeding 150—200 meters, so we should explore the small depth first. When we get to the greater depths, we’ll have our own supplies, own technology and consistent development. Therefore Laverov N.P. underlines that no urgent need for deep-water drilling is existing now. The oil and gas reserves we have are enough for us to move forward. “I am a supporter of a balanced approach, and I hope that we will not be rushed while deciding of the most complicated problems of the Arctic development”, — he said [5].

¹⁵ Russian Sanctions: Addition to the Entity List To Prevent Violations of Russian Industry Sector Sanctions. A Rule by the Industry and Security Bureau on 08/07/2015. URL: <https://www.federalregister.gov/articles/2015/08/07/2015-19274/russian-sanctions-addition-to-the-entity-list-to-prevent-violations-of-russian-industry-sector> (Accessed: 04 November 2015)

¹⁶ Sankcii SSHA seryozno udarili po Gazpromu. 10.08.2015. URL: <http://minprom.ua/articles/190561.html> (Accessed: 06 November 2015)

Conclusion

Despite the existing issues, it was important to ensure that the Arctic remained peaceful and stable region free from global conflicts' impact during the USA AC chairmanship.

At the same time, one needs a clear understanding of the current situation and its complexity, while analyzing the economic and environmental problems in the Arctic region. The geopolitical situation develops in such a way that we should not expect the USA sanctions cancellation soon. Moreover, the Russian authorities should be prepared to the new sanctions, which may change the situation in the domestic oil and gas industry and affect other sectors of the Russian economy. It is important to take advantage of the moment, to create our own competitive technologies and to reduce dependence on other countries in the future development of the resources in the Arctic.

It should also be noted that the real opportunities for closer cooperation on climate change exist and the USA are interested in it for the development of green economy in the Arctic.

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Maneuvering between icebergs: ethnic policy models in Norway¹



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Abstract. Norway is considered one of the countries with a successful ethnic policy towards both indigenous people and migrant groups. The article is devoted to the analysis of the modern ethnic policy model in Norway. Norwegian experience in moderating ethnic interaction seems to be interesting for Russia and its northern and Arctic areas. The author is convinced that modern Norwegian ethnic

policy grounded on multiculturalism is in transition towards so-called “diversity model”. Such a transition is caused by the intensification of migration and a threat of radicalization of particular social groups and ideologies.

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Keywords: *ethnic policy models, multiculturalism, cultural diversity, indigenous people, migrants*

Introduction

Until the middle of the 20th century in Norway or abroad no one could think that the ethnic policy would become so relevant. Changes in the Norwegian economy after the WWII made the state able to receive sufficient financial capacity to implement the dreams of its citizens on the stability and prosperity. So that’s how a welfare state was established and the Norwegian social system became attractive for migrants from all over the world. The end of 1970s brought a change to Norwegian policy, especially in regard to the indigenous population — Sami people, whose culture, traditions and identity in the course of centuries, was ignored or oppressed. Such situation could not be called unique. It was a sad tendency of the time, common for many indigenous peoples all over the world. Today, the Norwegian Sami are successfully working on the preservation and development of their culture, and are solving a set of issues of political representation and the rights of the Sami in Norway. In 1989 the Sami Parliament was established to provide greater influence of indigenous people on cultural, social and political issues.

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Norwegian experience in solving cultural and ethnic conflicts and moderation of ethnic interaction is useful for Russia to some extent. Both Russia and Norway have been confronting with problems related to indigenous peoples and migrants from Asian countries, in the north as well. Ethnic aspects of Russia's domestic policy are more difficult in view of the fact that our country is more diverse in cultural and ethnical terms. However, the situation in the northern regions has a lot of similarities, especially when it comes to indigenous peoples of the North (IPN), the preservation and development of their culture. Regarding migrants, Norway has accumulated decades of experience and it has established an integration policy of people with different cultural and religious background. It seems to be extremely relevant for Russia in term of development of its northern territories.

The article is focused on the model of Norwegian ethnic policy in its relation to indigenous and migrant groups. Discussing the ethnic policy models it is also important to analyze the circumstances that changed the government policy and the effectiveness of political responses in terms of moderation of ethnic tension. Norway — a country with a relatively homogeneous population, but a growing migration, today turned out to be, for that matter, together with the other European countries, in a difficult situation with Syrian refugees, comparable to the events of the mid-1990s, when Norway welcomed more than 11 thousand of Bosnians.

In addition, concerns that the emergence of thousands of Syrians might cause a negative reaction in a tolerant Norwegian society have some background. That concerns are primarily related to the terrorist attack on the 22nd of July 2011 and subsequent statements of its originator A. Breivik that his actions aimed at drawing attention to Islamization of Europe and speaking out against multiculturalism [1]. Thus, in 2011 it became clear that multiculturalism was not successful and Norwegian society had some anti-immigrant and anti-Islamic sentiments. The next four years of debates and discussions led to the transformation of the system and shift towards the so-called “model of cultural diversity”. Its effectiveness will be verified by the present situation and Syrian refugees’ issue as well.

Ethnic policy models in the Northern: historical perspective

Ethnic politics in the North of Norway has a long tradition of learning. Modern theories and scientific approaches to the study of the state ethnic policy in the North is really large due to the process of decolonization and the Sami cultural revitalization that had began several decades ago, intensive migration and sad events of 2011 in Oslo. In recent decades, a huge number of scientific articles and books devoted to culture, political representation and rights of indigenous peoples, their education, health, gender equality and discrimination was published. In Northern Norway,

the Arctic research is mostly done by the employees of the University of Tromsø, its Sami Center, and representatives of the Sami College in Kautokeino. The research that had become classic for studies of indigenous peoples was made by the Norwegian anthropologist F. Bart [2], a researcher from New Zealand L.T. Smith, who developed decolonization methodology of indigenous cultures research [3], a political philosopher from Canada W. Kymlicka known for his contribution to the liberal theory of multiculturalism [4], B. Anderson and his research on nationalism [5] and etc.

Migrant issues are permanently on the pages of scientific publications and in the press, as well as the ongoing scientific debate on the concepts of tolerance, equality and solidarity, paramount for the Norwegian society. In terms of ethnic politics interesting research is done by Migration Policy Institute and specialists from the University of Oslo for the Norwegian Directorate of Migration (UDI) aimed at assessing the effectiveness of ethnic politics in Norway, potential problems, ways of development and improvement the ethnic situation in Norway [6, 7, 8].

Historical and political context of ethnic politics in Norway should be considered in the framework of four major policy models developed by a Norwegian researcher Einar Niemi and discussed in his books and articles on the history of the ethnic groups in Northern Norway [9]: acculturation, segregation, assimilation and multiculturalism that is questioned today [10].

Acculturation, as one of the models of national policy means a contact between different ethnic groups, accompanied by the diffusion of cultural elements: each group involved in the interaction takes over the elements of the culture of the “others” and vice versa. Acculturation unites, enriches and changes the culture; it creates common elements, reflected in language, religion, customs and so forth. The manifestations of acculturation are evident from the socio-cultural and psychological standpoint; in addition, it also means a psychological adaptation to living in close contact with the other cultures. Acculturation is vividly apparent in the border areas. Its echoes could be found, for example, in “Russenorsk” — a language Russian and Norwegian traders used to communicate in the 17th—20th centuries.

The study of acculturation began by American cultural anthropologists of the 20th century — R. Redfield, R. Linton, Herskovits M. and etc. In political terms, acculturation is primarily related to the preservation of culture, while enabling a particular culture to another. This is what had happened to Norwegian Sami when Norwegians appear on their land in 14th century. Archive sources indicate that in 12th—13th centuries the interests of the Scandinavian countries in the Sami lands were limited to taxes [11]. At the same time the first attempts at Christianization of the Sami people took place [12]. Contacts made the absorption of cultural elements a reality. For example, under the influence of neighboring cultures Sami had become Christians. However, the situation

of the Sami had several difficulties in view of the fact that they resided in four countries (Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia) and did not recognize state borders. So, Sami were often involved in international conflicts. In 1751 a special Sami Code for Norwegian and Swedish Sami was developed and approved. The document was issued in addition to the border treaty signed by the Danish and Swedish kingdoms. The Code did not only introduce rules restricting reindeer herding on the territory of other states, but it secured number of traditional rights the indigenous population of the border areas could enjoy.

Norwegian written records contain references to the 15th century and mention the Finnish population — Kvens. According to various estimates the number of Kven people in Norway today is 25 thousand [13, 254]. A separate ethnic politics towards Kven people did not exist for a long time. They were a subject to the common law, as well as other ethnic groups in Norway that time.

Acculturation as a political model in Norway existed until the end of the 18th century and affected the culture itself. Cultural processes were supplemented by power relations based on economic feasibility with no particular ethnic motivation.

Assimilation, the next model of ethnic policy towards Sami means that one culture is completely displacing the other and it is often violently. In the 19th century Norway was creating a nation-state after Constitution 1814. Unification trends were gaining momentum in the political life of the country and assimilation policies intensified. The main conductor of assimilation was the education system. Its goal was to replace the other languages and cultures and to provide complete “Norwegianization”. The changes primarily affected the Sami population. School education had become mandatory for all. Sami children were forced to leave their families and stay in boarding schools. Often all this happened by force and became a tragedy for the Sami families. In addition, in 1880s state laws restricted and then completely prohibited the use of the Sami language.

Assimilative model was lined up on the basis of the most rapid, large-scale and therefore effective methods based on coercion and maximum use of state resources. Assimilation was not something unique and designed only for Norway. A similar process could be observed in history of almost all states at the time of building up their national identities rooted in the culture of the majority. In the Northern Norway the use of the assimilation meant a loss of a considerable part of Sami culture by the middle of the 20th century and traditional way of life was associated with backwardness and regarded as something outdated, old-fashioned and not needed for the Sami people who preferred to associate themselves with the Norwegian culture. Traditions, language, lifestyle and identity were denied by the media and associated with “uncivilized” savagery and barbarism. From the point of view of the Norwegian state, assimilation had been as a positive

phenomenon that time. It was “bringing civilization” to the “backward” Sami community. Assimilation contributed to the growth of national consciousness based on Norwegian culture, which after years of living within the Danish and Swedish states had to be “reinvented” as well and pass the collecting of its own cultural crumbs over the decades of the 19th century.

Segregation is often aligned with the assimilation model, which was used by the Norwegian State to treat Kvens after the government had established a legal framework for the separation of this ethnic group from the others. The scope of restrictions was visible in employment, as well as in the choice of place of residence and the purchase of land. Assimilation of Kvens was caused by the same reasons as the assimilation of Sami. Segregation elements had largely been justified by the fact that Kvens were living in the border areas. Norwegian authorities had seen them as a threat to national security, especially in the first half of the 20th century. Segregation policy model in Norway was partly used against the Jews, especially hard — during the Nazi occupation of the country. Rigid was the policy of the Norwegian State towards the Roma people, who in 1890 were not allowed to stay on the territory of the country, to get a passport and had to reside legally.

The political model of assimilation existed for over a century and had led, on the one hand, to the growth of national consciousness, based on the symbols of Norwegian culture, and, on the other hand, to the disappearance of cultural elements of the other ethnic groups in Norway, especially the Sami people. Assimilation as a model of ethnic politics was a response to the challenges of nation-building and represented one of the key elements of newly established national culture and identity. Also, military and emergency circumstances explain the segregation of the Jewish population in the 1940s. In relation to certain ethnic groups the government applied a mixed model of assimilation and segregation.

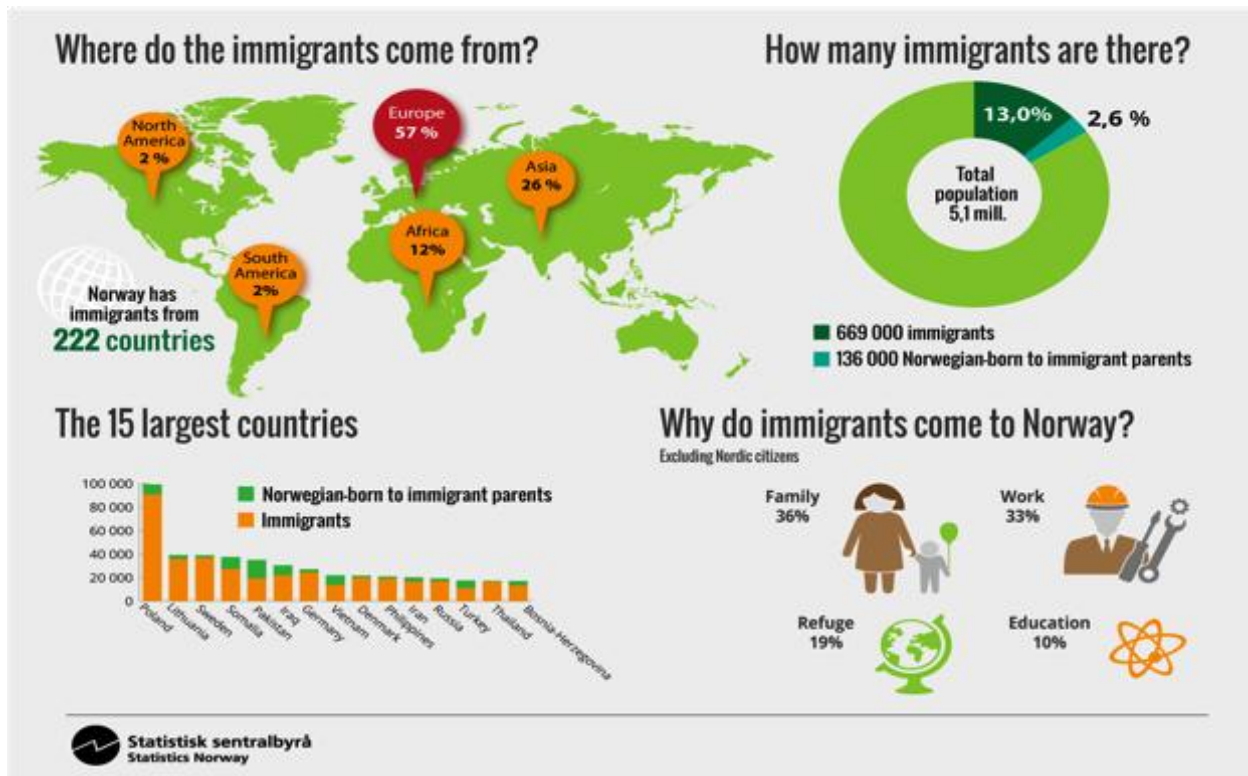
The middle of the 20th century, the end of the Second World War, the Nuremberg trials, the condemnation of racism, anti-Semitism and other forms of discrimination, discussions about human rights and European liberalism caused the revision of the assimilation policy in Norway. In the middle of the 20th century Sami regain their language, almost lost traditions and culture, which often had to be “reinvented”. Sami became a special object of domestic policy in Norway and gradually strengthened their position. In many ways, the cooperation between the Sami communities in the Nordic countries contributed to this process. The first international Sami organizations appeared, and in 1975 the World Council of Indigenous Peoples (WCIP) established. And still Norwegian Sami are its active participants and they are supported by the Norwegian state. Linking indigenous issues with the general discussion on human rights, saying that loudly at the international level, the Norwegian Sami manage to be supported by Norwegian state. The situation had been

changing even more in 1979, after protests against the construction of hydroelectric power stations on the Alta River. Sami got their Parliament, several committees in the national Parliament concerned with Sami culture and finally Sami got the same rights as Norwegians.

Around the same time the era multiculturalism begins. Multiculturalism represents a political model, based on the recognition of equality of cultures and aims at creation of favorable conditions for their existence and equitable development. The model of multiculturalism appears as the result of rethinking a wide range of issues of human rights, equality, and its existence became possible due to the triumph of European liberalism. Practical implementation of multiculturalism in Norway was the decision for, on the one hand, problems with the country's indigenous population, who demanded redress for years of assimilation, on the other — the rapidly growing rates of migration to the country since the 1980s. By this time, the state had been able to finance the establishment and operation of the relevant social institutions and non-governmental organizations contributed to the development of migrant cultures and their representation in the political life of the country.

Potential conflicts and ethnic policy transformation

Norwegian welfare state looked attractive to the large number of migrants from all over the world, as evidenced by statistics (Picture 1). The very existence of a wide variety of ethnic and religious groups objectively implies a potential conflict. Despite the fact that tolerance, equality and solidarity still are the fundamentals of Norwegian society, not everything is so rosy. Treatment of migrants is largely influenced by stereotypes, political images of the state migrants are associated with and sometimes by the historical and cultural aspects of interaction between ethnic groups, such as in the case of migrants from the Middle East and Israel. Problems could reveal themselves not only in relations between migrant groups and Norwegians, indigenous people and Norwegians or immigrants, but also between particular migrant groups.



Picture 1. Migrants in Norway (01.01.2015) / Statistic Norway.
URL: <http://www.ssb.no/innvandring-og-innvandrere/nokkeltall>

Over the last decade the total number of immigrants in Norway has increased by 3 times and is now more than 800 000 people (Picture 1). If we consider that the country's population is slightly more than 5 million people, the proportion of migrants is equal to 15.6% and it looks rather high compared to the total number of people living in Norway.

Norwegian Statistical Office predicts a further increase in the number of migrants, especially in the capital of Norway — Oslo. The largest group of immigrants in Norway: Swedes, Latvians and Poles, however, the term “migrant” is rarely associated with them, typically the term refers to “non-Europeans”, usually — Muslims [14, 4].

Deciding economic problems and fulfilling all sectors of the economy with skilled labor and universities with diligent students from around the world, the state creates additional difficulties. A country with nearly homogeneous population gets a huge number of migrants from a completely different cultural background, often without the knowledge of not only Norwegian, but also English, with no education (Table 1), without the knowledge of local traditions and culture, but willing to get all the benefits of the welfare state at the expense of honest taxpayers.

Table 1

***Migrants (over 16 years) and their educational level
(01.01.2015)***

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Educated	475 036	520 162	565 326	605 254	644 923
Without education	8 164	8 601	9 293	9 353	12 216
Primary school	123 242	131 769	140 759	148 869	189 571
Secondary school	118 880	130 005	140 198	142 284	203 277
University or college short courses	84 762	94 822	104 742	106 796	143 196
University or college education	45 667	52 892	60 607	63 207	95 427
Unknown	94 321	102 073	109 727	134 745	1 236

Source: Statistic Norway. URL: <https://www.ssb.no/statistikkbanken/SelectVarVal/saveselections.asp>

Modern Norwegian policy represents maneuvering between equality and diversity, unity and diversity, an attempt to integrate the “old” citizens and “new” ones with a foreign background. Multiculturalism implies the existence of ethnic communities and the policy built up with respect to their cultural and religious characteristics. Among all ethnic groups in Norway despite Norwegians themselves, the largest representation is provided for the indigenous people: the equality of languages, the policy of self-determination, collective and individual land rights, the Sami Parliament, support and development of the traditional lifestyle, training and studies in Sami language, Sami organizations. Norwegian Sami peoples have become leaders of the global movement for the rights of indigenous peoples and their organizations are actively participating in regional cooperation in the North and in the Arctic.

Multiculturalism is somewhat different for migrant groups of Norwegian society. It involves the preservation of their culture with the knowledge and acceptance of the fundamental norms of Norwegian society, namely tolerance, equality and solidarity. Thus, Norway seeks to adapt, and then integrate these groups of migrants. It is primarily done through the education and social support systems. State finances courses in Norwegian language and training programs. They are compulsory and are required in case of obtaining a long-term residence permit or work in Norway. Adaptation is carried out through various organizations that help migrants to settle down in the country, to find a job and new friends.

The model of a multicultural society implies that migrants could maintain their culture. The state encourages various cultural organizations and associations, which play a significant role in the life of communities. A striking example is the activity of Thai association in Tromsø. For many years it has been organizing a number of regular festivals there and it participates in all city events and festivals.

In Norway, one can easily get an education in a native language. Several dozens of such schools are opened in Oslo - Norway's most multicultural city. Special programs of adaptation and social integration are introduced in the communities with a significant number of migrants and refugees. These programs are established within the laws on migrants, as well as the state plan against discrimination and racism. The number of participants in such programs is increasing, and hence increases the number of potential "new" Norwegians (table 2).

Table 2

Participants of the introduction programs (01.01.2015)

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Men	5 956	6 541	6 612	6 756	7 456
Women	5 889	6 253	6 532	6 925	7 223

Source: Statistic Norway. Introduction programs for immigrants URL: <https://www.ssb.no/en/utdanning>

In practice the problems exist, despite a serious state support. The North of Norway is still not able to resolve disagreements in a relationship with indigenous population, which is not satisfied with the current situation and insists on expanding the indigenous rights and demands control over the use of resources on their territories. A certain tension exists in case of Roma people in Norway. In the 1930s, the Roma people were subjected to forced assimilation, as well as other ethnic minorities. Assimilation policy continued until the 1980s, and the Department for the development of the Roma was closed only in 1990. The policy towards Roma and their culture has changed for the better, but a significant number of Roma children do not attend school as before. The problem of integration of the Roma still remains open.

In Norway, there is another ethnic group that has an ambiguous attitude — the Jews. Anti-Semitism in Norway is not an issue, except for the period of Nazi occupation [14]. However, the Jews do not enjoy the "approval" in Norway (Norwegian — Godkjennelse or anerkjennelsen). The reason for all the fact that the country has increased number of Muslims, and the Norwegian government repeatedly states its sympathy for Palestine [14].

In recent years, researchers are writing about the inequality of ethnic groups in Norway [6, 8]. Inequality manifests itself in the field of employment, where the total share of employment among immigrants or people with foreign background is lower than among Norwegians [8]. That's why the Confederation of Norwegian companies (NHO) has repeatedly called its members to hire immigrants and Norwegians with a foreign background. Statistics shows that the percentage of unemployment among immigrants is 3 times higher than among non-immigrants (tab. 3).

Table 3

Registered unemployment rates among immigrants, 15-74 years (%)

	2014 K1*	2014 K2	2014 K3	2014 K4	2015 K1	2015 K2
Non-immigrants	2,1	1,9	2,2	1,9	2,2	2,0
Immigrants	7,4	7,0	7,2	6,7	7,6	7,1

*K1 – sign for the quarter of the year

Source: Statistic Norway. URL: <https://www.ssb.no/statistikkbanken/selectvarval/saveselections.asp>

Inequality could be seen in the choice of areas for living, allegations of crime, gender equality and religion. For example, in Oslo, migrants prefer to live in the eastern part of the city, and Norwegians — in the western. The media and press often contains of debates on the connection between migration and crime [15]. Muslim women wearing the hijab are often a part of the public debate on the equality [16]. Cartoons of the Prophet Mohammad in a Danish newspaper were reprinted by a Norwegian magazine [14, 10]. In addition, the Norwegian society got signs of Islamophobia. All those statements could be supported by statistical data of the parliamentary elections and the increasing number of votes for the Progress Party (Fremskrittspartiet) and its negative sentiments toward Muslims and Islam in Norway. In 2013 the Party won 29 seats in Parliament and joined the government for the first time [17].

Focusing on the negative aspects of the ethnic politics in Norway, we should not forget that multiculturalism solved the most urgent problems of ethnic relations so that they are not turned into an open confrontation, as had happened in other European countries. The tragic exception was the year 2011 that made Norwegian society and officials to draw more attention to the shortcomings of multiculturalism and correct the model of ethnic politics. Multiculturalism in Norway was a natural phenomenon and it fit perfectly to the fundamental values of Norwegian society, with its high level of tolerance and openness. After 2011, and victory of the Conservative repre-

sentative Erna Solberg the situation has been changing. The fact that at the elections 2013 the center-right party formed an alliance with Norwegian Progress Party, did not foretell the further liberalization of the Norwegian ethnic politics. However, anti-migrant rhetoric of the Progress Party has diminished a little.



Picture 2. Norway accepts immigrants that bicycle via its border with Russia ².

Some changes have affected the interests of the migrants. Now, in Norway it is more difficult to get a refugee status, and the Norwegian state is stricter with social guarantees and privileges for migrants. Oil prices are falling and unemployment in certain sectors of Norwegian economy is growing. The country is interested in skilled workers in areas where they will not compete with its citizens. Back in 2013 E. Solberg said that highly skilled workers would receive a visa on an accelerated scheme [18]. In addition, Norway firmly made it clear for the European community

² URL: http://www.tv21.ru/img/newsimages/20151103/5_b5cd1fe03b5d.jpg; <http://s1.n1.by/sites/default/files/imagecache/full/news/10/23/892450/1445615413.jpg>; http://www.tv21.ru/img/newsimages/20151109/5_e37f702c3291.jpg

that the country would not accept more migrants than its quota. In relation to indigenous peoples and ethnic minorities Erna Solberg continues the policy of predecessors. Not long ago, the press reported that Prime Minister apologized for the assimilation policy against Roma people and agreed to pay compensation [19].

Conclusion

Norwegian ethnic policy in a historical perspective is a change of political models of acculturation, assimilation, elements of segregation of certain ethnic groups, and the model of multiculturalism which could be called a model of cultural diversity after T. Eriksen's articles [6]. For a long time, Sami people and a small migrant population were a subject to the state ethnic policy. Initially, the policy of the state was formed on the basis of economic feasibility. Later, the establishment of the nation-state, national culture and identity changed the model and caused the strengthening of assimilation and use of the certain elements of segregation policy. The second half of the 20th was marked by a triumph of multiculturalism as a response to globalization, intensive migration and the emergence of a multi-ethnic and multi-religious Norwegian society. Recent debates and critics of multiculturalism, as well as the acts of terrorism, not only in Norway but also in other European countries and global economic crisis transformed the public mood and led to the revision of the ethnic policy model. Norway remains faithful to the basic principles of multiculturalism, but trends towards the transformation of its ethnic policy, greater control over migration, budget, programs for the integration of migrants and their efficiency is noticeable. All these does not mean the desire of the Norwegian state to hold a soft assimilation, but rather appears as an attempt of incorporating different cultures into its own.

Maneuvering between the public interests, ethnic policy model is getting clearer. Gradually blurred background of liberal multiculturalism is getting a concrete shape of cultural diversity, united in a single state and civic identity. From a distance, this model resembles the attempts of the Soviet government in Russia to form a unity in diversity of cultures and nationalities, to build up a "supra-national" civic identity and thereby to avoid differences on the ethnic, national and religious grounds.

Regarding the applicability of the model of ethnic politics in Norway to harmonize ethnic relations in the North of Russia and in the Russian Arctic, it could be argued that it is necessary to look at the experience of Norway in respect of indigenous cultures, and social support of the population of the Far North. The advantage of the Norwegian system is that it is attractive to indigenous peoples and migrants. Indigenous peoples shall have the support and recognition of their cultures, as well as the opportunity to participate in decision-making that directly affects their lifestyle, culture

and traditions. For Russia, the issue of supporting indigenous cultures often rests on the finances. Questions of political representation and rights of indigenous peoples are rather often viewed as matters of separatism. Economic feasibility of the development of natural resources of the North make the issue more complicated and therefore it requires a special adaptation to the Russian circumstances.

Within the Norwegian ethnic policy model, migrants feel welcomed and have no negative feelings about their ethnic or confessional background which gets one more up-level of Norwegian civil identity incorporated with the fundamentals of Norwegian culture. Combining all these processed with the power of social integration, Norway gets a society with low levels of ethnic and confessional conflicts. This mechanism could be used in the case of migration to the North of Russia. However, this aspect is not relevant due to the negative demographic trends in the Northern and Arctic areas of Russia.

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Priorities and opportunities of cooperation between Russia and the Asian-Pacific states



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Abstract. Potential role and significance of the Arctic and North of Russia, Siberia and Far East for integration in the Asian-Pacific region (APR) are undoubtedly increasing. A need for defining the priorities of the North-East areas of our country emerges. Development of the infrastructure, resource use effectiveness and attractiveness for investors is a significant issue that contributes to the competitive abilities of the Russian economy and mutually beneficial international trade in the APR.

Keywords: *Asian-Pacific region, integration, the Arctic and North of Russia, Siberia, Far East, infrastructure, Northern Sea Route, Trans-Pacific partnership*

Arctic and Far Eastern Russian macro-regions are key links of regional integration of Russia and its cooperation with Asia-Pacific countries. In the Asia-Pacific region includes countries located around the Pacific Ocean. It is more than 50 states with a population of about 3.5 billion people and fast growing economies.

It is the Asian-Pacific region that forms a dynamic pole of world economic growth. High growth rates, especially among East Asian countries holding an effective economic policy, aimed at increasing exports and attracting investments.

Development of the modern world, especially in neighboring areas, their economic, demographic and political processes and the increasing role of the Asia-Pacific region in the global

economy; increase the importance of the North, Siberia and the Russian Far East as the contact area. Its unique geographical location, the Northern Sea Route, the high latitudinal transport systems of the Trans-Siberian and Baikal-Amur mainline railways to the ports of the Far East and Eurasia contribute to the integration of the Russian regions in the world economy, which is particularly important for the strengthening of the geopolitical position of the Russian Federation in the Asia-Pacific region.

Natural resources of the Russian North (including the Russian Arctic), Siberia and Far East are the global geopolitical resources suitable to solve many geo-strategic and geo-economic challenges of Russia [1]. For example, the coastal territory of the Russian Arctic and Far East is not just a concentration of marine economic activities considered for the coastal area. It's the territory of a complex structural organization with a combination of objective disparity in the territorial-sectoral, production and resource potential. Each part of the area has its domestic, inter-regional and international economic and global factors of development. Its natural resources and the territory of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation, the North, Siberia and the Far East of Russia, have always been a subject of global economic and geo-strategic interests of the world community. Improvement of the territorial economy of macro-regions' coastal areas, and strengthening their competitive position are strongly correlated with the development of an innovative economic scenario. But innovations require the fullest use of the competitive advantages of the region, its natural resources and the transit potential, as well as the modernization of transport and energy infrastructure.

The Northern Sea Route goes along the northern coast of the Russian Far East. The resumption of regular shipping there could significantly increase the volume of transit from Europe to Asia-Pacific countries and vice versa. Also this might ensure the northern delivery and the further development of the Russian Arctic. This is an area for maritime transport communication between the Pacific Ocean and the North Atlantic and in the future it might make a successful competition to international trade routes via the Indian Ocean, the Suez, Gibraltar and the Mediterranean Sea. The development of Northern coastal areas is aimed at both the increase in the transit in the Russian Arctic and Far East and increase in the opportunities of the macro-regions of Russia to supply its products for export.

Investment projects and integrated development of the Russian Arctic and Far East is impossible without the implementation of measures to remove governmental restrictions. The decision of social and economic problems and well-being depends on the entire country. And if you do not take serious and drastic measures aimed at developing the regional transport system that ensures *the ongoing processes of international economic integration*, the alignment of the living

standards of population and conditions for business in these macro-regions, it seems to be senseless to talk about effective integration of the Russian economy in the Asia-Pacific economic area. The dominant position is devoted to the logic of partnership and closer economic interaction of Russia and the Asia-Pacific countries for sustainable and mutually beneficial cooperation. However, the absence of transport network along the Russian coast, the short navigation period in the Russian Arctic and undeveloped coastal trade causes great difficulties in communication between the particular areas of the Russian Arctic and Far East Russia.

Benefits of a large area, geographic position between the dynamic regions of the world economy should be accompanied by the development of modern transport infrastructure. *Its insufficient level becomes an important factor that slows down the economic development and reduces its competitiveness in the global market.* According to calculations made by the specialists from the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development published in the Russian economic review in January 2014, 10% increase in the efficiency of transport-sector would lead to 0.7% increase of GDP¹. Modernization and efficiency of the transport in Russia is very serious and costly. According to the World Economic Forum, Russia is 93th among 148 countries in the rating of global competitiveness. Especially weak position demonstrates the quality of the road network — 136th place in the rating. The quality of airports — 102nd place, seaports — 88th, and only the development of railways got a higher rate — 31st.

The beginning of 21st century, which will probably go down in history as the “age of the ocean”, was marked by an increased interest of the international community to the development of the marine areas in its geopolitical and geo-economic aspects. Past 15 years of the 21st century had become truly iconic for the Russian Arctic. Modernization, proposed in the state development program for the Russian Arctic³, has become an innovative way to overcome the heterogeneity of northern coastal economy areas through geo-sustainability and macro-projection. The major strategic decisions and concepts are grounded on “green” economy, energy efficiency and sustainable development. These elements allow the leveling of socio-economic differences and make the federal authorities be focused on support of the regional development, which should become “an en-

¹ Ekonomicheskij obzor. Rossijskaya Federaciya. URL: http://www.oecd.org/eco/surveys/Overview_RUSSIARus_2013.pdf (Accessed: 30 September 2015).

² Rejting Globalnoj konkurentosposobnosti 2013—2014. URL: http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GlobalCompetitivenessReport_2013-14.pdf (Accessed: 30 September 2015).

³ Gosudarstvennaya programma Rossijskoj Federacii “Socialno-ekonomicheskoe razvitie Arkticheskoy zony Rossijskoj Federacii na period do 2020 goda”. Utverzhdena Postanovleniem Pravitelstva Rossijskoj Federacii ot 21 aprelya 2014 g. N 366 g. Moskva.

gine of growth”⁴. Northern areas have all the prospects for launching the innovative development, which requires the building of complex of facilities for the processing of natural resources, introduction of a number of innovative technologies along the entire added value chain. Speaking about natural resources, we primarily mean hydrocarbons of the continental shelf and adjacent land areas. Of course, attracting foreign businessmen from Asia-Pacific countries is largely determined by the presence of oil and gas deposits in the Sea of Okhotsk. This opens up new opportunities for the development of the market of petroleum products: domestic ones (supply of petroleum products for Russian consumers) and external ones (large-scale transit traffic). These opportunities could ensure the most productive integration of Russia into the Asian markets, finance system, labor, technology and information space.

Economic development of the Russian Arctic, the North, Siberia and the Russian Far East mineral sector was actively involved in the ongoing processes of the international economic integration. Mineral resources have been the object of investment interests of large national and international companies that use mining and oil and gas deposits as the stable supplier for export. Management of socio-economic processes in this area requires different target indicators for the effective implementation of the tasks. Therefore, the formation of stable economic relations and allocation of industrial areas in the Russian Arctic, the North, Siberia and Far East with the Asian market participants is a major issue of a nationwide scale. Its decision is possible only due to the stabilization of the current economic situation and new strategy of economic growth of Russia.

A key indicator for the expansion of foreign economic relations and international cooperation is the availability of transport. The federal program “Economic and social development of the Far East and the Baikal region for the period until 2018” indicates the following: 1) widening the highways and road infrastructure by 681.2 km; 2) increase of port capacity by 15.65 million tons; 3) opening the reconstructed airport facilities and 40 landing sites for regional and local airlines; 4) 48 new railway junctions of the Baikal-Amur Railway; 5) The turnover of goods on the East Transrange and Baikal-Amur railways will increase up to 587.6 billion tons-km per year⁵.

The tasks, indicated below, currently remain uncertain. However, it is clear that Russia needs to develop transport infrastructure, to maximize the use of Russian-Chinese regional transport cooperation. It also means construction of an energy bridge to supply China, North Ko-

⁴ A number of governmental programs were developed for this purpose: fundamental of the State Arctic Policy, Strategy for marine activity development, Development Concept for fishery, Energy strategy and etc. Moreover, every subject of the Russian Federation has a long term Strategy for social and economic development.

⁵ GP “Socialno-ekonomicheskoe razvitie Dalnego Vostoka i Bajkalskogo regiona” URL: http://minvostokrazvitia.ru/upload/iblock/b0e/gp_mvr_visual.pdf (Accessed: 10 September 2015).

rea and South Korea with electricity and the development of a Russia's major transport terminal that may associate the European part of Russia with the countries of the Asia-Pacific region, whose share in the exports and imports of goods is significant.

Globalization necessitates infrastructure projects, construction of roads, railways and transport systems for the mineral resource deposits and plants. This will be an impulse for exploration and development of deposits, increasing their economic value, will give a significant push to the social and economic development and will provide all year round access to natural resources in the North-East part of the Russian Arctic, Siberia and the Far East.

Development of port infrastructure provides an increase in turnover and reduces the costs of loading/unloading the vessels; it also provides cost savings for the construction of facilities and investment projects. Latest fishery projects aimed at creating specialized competitive industries, establishing the marine culture farms, artificial fish farming and waste free processing of seafood based on new technologies. Use of fish in biopharmaceutical products means reducing the losses of fishing industry resources for 55% and a positive environmental effect.

Further development of the Asian-Pacific countries requires more resources. So, they are interested in using Russian resources concentrated in the North (Russian Arctic), in Siberia and the Russian Far East. First of all, these are resources that have not yet played the main role in Russian energy exports. The richest resource potential of the North-East Russia makes it possible to take an advantage of growing resource demand in Asia, to modernize Russian economy and to provide North-East Russia with a new economic specialization and source of income.

Interests of Asia-Pacific countries are not limited by gaining the access to the Russian energy and minerals. Japan, Republic of Korea, Malaysia, Singapore willing to participate in the modernization and development of the timber industry, which could be a determining factor in the industrial growth of the North Russia. The establishment of industries based on foreign investments looks promising. One of the innovative and high-tech projects with Asia-Pacific countries is the cosmodrome "Vostochnyi" in the Amur area. The project might push the establishment of a cluster of space-oriented Far Eastern enterprises, mechanical, engineering and instrument production.

Food markets of China, Japan and Korea are transforming now and the growing demand for agricultural products there makes it necessary to develop cooperation in this field as well. Russia could become a supplier of ecological food and make it a brand of the Eastern part of the country.

Asian countries: China, India, Indonesia, Philippines, Vietnam and others are key drivers of the global economy. However, the situation in the Asia-Pacific region is complicated at the moment. The Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) includes 12 countries: Australia, Brunei, Vietnam, Cana-

da, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Peru, Singapore, United States, Chile and Japan. A part of the TTP is a so-called “free trade zone” with almost 40% of the world GDP and a quarter of world trade. TTP certainly has a geopolitical dimension. The USA establish their own rules for world trade, providing global leadership and growth in exports, eliminating more than 18,000 of taxes and trade barriers to the US products in 11 countries⁶. President B. Obama considers the USA, not China, a leader of the TTP and the USA use it for changing the economic situation and isolating China and Russia. 17 secret documents on negotiation between the USA, other TTP countries, EU and 23 members of the WTO⁷ were published. Countries signed the TTP agreement let the TTP control a part of their economies. TTP also able to influence the social sphere, services (incl. water and energy supply), transport, banks, insurance, telecommunications and transport.

Conclusion

Only by using the whole set of management, institutional and financial instrument it seems to be possible to establish conditions for strengthening the economy of the country, to promote effective integration of Russia with the other Asia-Pacific countries and use objective benefits of the North, the Arctic, Siberia and the Russian Far East. A need in the dramatic changes of the existing economy is important. Cooperation with Asia-Pacific countries, use of free trade area of the Trans-Pacific Partnership would allow the government, business, and organizations to invite TTP countries for a new mutually beneficial cooperation aimed at stimulating the investment and economic growth in the North-East of Russia, taking into account the current situation. Now our country has a unique opportunity to give new push to the development of the North-East areas of the country due to the mutually beneficial cooperation and trade and the growing capacity of the Asian countries a. And this opportunity should not be missed by Russia.

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⁶ The Trans-Pacific Partnership. URL: <https://ustr.gov/tpp/> (Accessed: 13 October 2015).

⁷ GP «Socialno-ekonomicheskoe razvitie Dalnego Vostoka i Bajkalskogo regiona URL: http://minvostokrazvitia.ru/upload/iblock/b0e/gp_mvr_visual.pdf (Accessed: 10 September 2015).

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Specifics of the migratory processes in the north of Europe (case of the Kingdom of Denmark)¹



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Abstract. Migration processes and policies of the northern European countries are studied with the focus on the Kingdom of Denmark. The area of the study got a sufficient attention, but the Denmark has not been considered as a carrier of a specific migration model. The model is characterized by relatively low share of migrants from non-European countries, strict immigration laws and policy of limiting the migration. Studying the case of Denmark, it is important to examine the effect the migration has on the ethno-cultural and economic situation in the Arctic countries, including Russia and its areas with an extensive transnational and cross-border communication. Comparative analysis and synthesis, mathematical and statistical methods were used to do so.

Keywords: *Migratory processes, model, migratory politics, Northern Europe, the Kingdom of Denmark*

Introduction

Nowadays the problem of migration is not only one of the major themes of political debate, but also an important issue for the European Union (the EU), which is facing massive waves of illegal migration from the Middle East and Africa, where the military conflicts occur. Nordic countries, which are also the countries of the Arctic region, are not an exception and have to accept a great number of migrants. This makes the studies of migration policies extremely important and relevant as well as the discussions on the effective models of ethno-social policies and management of demographic processes in the Russian Arctic. Currently such a research is being done

¹ The article is a part of the research, supported by the Russian Scientific Foundation — project № 15-18-00104 “Russian Arctic: from conceptualization towards an effective model of the state ethnic and national policy in the context of sustainable development of the regions”.

by the employees and researchers at NArFU named after M.V. Lomonosov who are working on the RNF project N 15-18-00104.

The 21st century migration has taken a global dimension, significantly affecting the global processes and trends of our time. On the one hand, it contributes to labor migration and provides economic and political support to countries that need it. On the other hand, migration exists in illegal forms and has a negative impact on various regions of the world now. Considering the enormity of migration, it is now threatening the national security of European states and their citizens. The article is aimed at determining the characteristics and trends of contemporary migration processes in the Nordic countries on the example of the Kingdom of Denmark.

Theoretical foundations of the study of migration and immigration policy are presented by theoretical implications of T.N. Yudina, who compiled a dictionary of key terms related to migration [1]; L.L. Rybakovskii, who studied the theoretical aspects of migration [2]; and V.I. Perevedentsev's studies of migration in historical perspective [3]. Statistical methods in demographic security were studied by N.D. Epstein, EA Egorov and other researchers [4]. Methodological questions of statistical research on demographic security and migration. [4] M.B. Denisenko and A.N Sukhov's research is devoted to immigration in Russia and Europe [5,6]. The contribution of foreign scientists to the development of the issue of migration is represented by the works of such scholars as P. Pederson and N. Smith, who discussed the integration of foreigners into the labor market in Denmark [7]. M. Tawat explored the cultural dimension of migration policy in Denmark from 1960 to 2006 [8] and M. Jorgensen analyzed the integration policy of Denmark [9]. L. Orgad explored the impact of cultural differences of migrants arriving in Denmark, on its society [10]. In general, it can be concluded that the theme is widely researched, but Northern Europe has not been considered as a carrier of a specific migration patterns before.

Sources of the study presented in this article are mainly statistical, IOM (The International Organization for Migration) documents, as well as periodicals. The study is done with the use of comparative analysis and synthesis.

Migration flows in Northern Europe

The current international migration has clearly expressed trends: globalization of migration flows and a change in the character of migration. The changes we observe now appeared after the establishment of the European Free Trade Association in 1960 and the European Union in 1992—1993. Migration flows to European countries increased by a multiple. Migration has become a key component of population change, ethnic and social composition in the Arctic region.

So far, European countries are only slightly inferior to the absolute world leader in the number of migrant workers - the United States.

Examples of countries where migration flow increases every year are the Nordic countries. This region includes the following states: Finland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Iceland. These countries share a common historical past and they have strong geographical, cultural and political connections. Northern Europe is one of the leading regions in terms of living standards. As an economically developed state, they are characterized by developed industry, economy, social sphere, a high level of participation in public life. Residents of the Northern European region recognized as one of the happiest nations in the world annually. The social and economic attractiveness of countries, high living standards make these areas attractive for migrants. The countries themselves are interested in migrants to a certain degree. It is associated with a reduction in the rate of population growth, a decrease in the proportion of the working population that is generating the problem of manpower shortage. All these factors contribute to the fact that Northern Europe is more and more attractive for migrants.

Migration in Denmark

Migration processes are similar in Northern European countries. Therefore, for a deeper analysis, the authors focus on the situation in one of these countries - the Kingdom of Denmark. Denmark is an economically developed country, attracting immigrants from around the world. According to its ethnic composition, Denmark, like other Nordic countries, is a homogeneous state (Danish people make up 88.4% of the total population) and holds one of the strictest immigration policies in Europe.

The objectives of the immigration policy in Denmark have been reflected in the tightening of the requirements for foreigners and limiting their number, as well as in the acceleration of the integration of migrants living in the Kingdom. The 21st century brought the amendments to the immigration laws of Denmark and they really influenced the tightening of immigration regulations². Thus, a foreign person may be permanently expelled for any offense, regardless of whether he or she has a residence permanent or property in the country. If a migrant has lived in the country for less than 9 years, he or she may be deported because of committing a crime which punishment is assumed six months or more in prison. In the case where a migrant has lived in the country for more than 9 years, he or she may be expelled from the country because of a serious crime

² Pankratov S. Daniya izbavlyaetsya ot «nezhelatelnih inostrancev». URL: http://radiovesti.ru/article/show/article_id/14261 (Accessed: 21 September 2015)

related to drugs or violence. This law also applies to EU citizens. The population of the Nordic countries is small and the rigid migration policies of governments there look quite reasonable.

An analysis of the indicators of migration is important in order to understand the impact that migration has on the life of the host countries, as well as to indicate the trends and consequences of territorial displacement in the future. On the 1st of January 2015 Denmark's population was 5 633 782 people. It increased compared to the 1st of January 2001 by 274 999 people. The total growth of the Danish population fluctuated from 0.36% as of January 1, 2001; 0.59% as of 1 January 2008 to 0.25% on January 1, 2015³.

The upward trend is caused by a minimum of natural increase (the number of births exceeds the number of deaths) and by the emerging migration balance, when the number of immigrants is more than the number of people who emigrated from Denmark. In 2014 natural population growth amounted to 562 people in Denmark and the migratory population growth — 13 543 people. On the 1st of January 2015 the number of migrants and their descendants amounted to approximately 11.6% of the total population, while, for example, in Germany, this category of the population had more than 20%. Immigrants of European origin in Denmark are about 53% of the total population⁴. In 2015, the daily migration growth in Denmark was projected to an average of 37 people a day (in Finland — 9 people, 43 — in Sweden, 24 — in Norway), while in Germany the figure is 118 people and in France — 267 people⁵.

Currently, Denmark has faced a problem with immigrants from those countries which have strong cultural differences from the Danes. One of the reasons, why people change their place of residence, is labor and forced migration, when people move from the zone of armed conflicts in the Middle East and North Africa. Foreigners come to Denmark in search of a peaceful life, better jobs and higher wages. Government adopts anti-migration measures to reduce the inflow of certain categories of foreigners, primarily immigrants from Muslim countries. At the beginning of 2015 the number of people seeking asylum in Denmark was 3 359 people. Most of the refugees arrived in Denmark from Syria (1 720 people), Somalia (126 people), Iran (63 people), Russia (56 people) and Afghanistan (55 people). In 2014 2 070 people arrived to Denmark for a family reunion reasons⁶.

³ Naselenie Danii. URL: <http://countrymeters.info/ru/Denmark> (Accessed: 06 November 2015)

⁴ Statistical Yearbook 2015. Copenhagen: Denmark Statistic, 2015

⁵ URL: <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/products/indwm/default.htm> (Accessed: 21 September 2015). The data represents projected indicators. It is obvious that the indicators will increase due to extremely intensive migration in 2015.

⁶ URL: <http://www.statbank.dk/statbank5a/selectvarval/define.asp?PLanguage=1&subword=tabsel&MainTable=FOLK1&PXSID=146522&tablestyle=&ST=SD&buttons=0> (Accessed: 21 September 2015).

At a time when the EU holds back the onslaught of powerful migration waves, comparable to the times after the World War II, Denmark announced that it did not intend to join the common European policy on migrants and did not support the idea of quotas for asylum-seekers. In contrast, Denmark tightens immigration laws and reduces benefits for refugees, as it was said in the Lebanese newspapers' paid advertisements. For example, among 300 refugees from Syria and Iraq, arrived in Denmark from Germany only 100 people had applied for asylum in September 2015, and the rest went on to Finland and Sweden⁷.

In general it can be noted that currently in Denmark there is a lack of qualified professionals. This led to the fact that in 2014 the unemployment rate was about 6%. "The Copenhagen Post" noted that Denmark was paying benefits for too many Danes and so they did not want to do "black" work. They do not want to be in low-paid jobs and be engaged in a low-skilled labor. Such work, in the opinion of citizens, should be done by foreigners.

About 80% of jobs in the restaurant and hospitality industries are occupied by immigrants. Approximately the same number of seats is occupied by foreigners in the service (food service, registration and etc.). About 30% of foreign people are working in the cleaning sector and kindergartens. During the growth of welfare Danes could choose better positions⁸. This left the other jobs for migrants. According to the Danish Agency on support of labor and international recruitment, in 2014 there was a shortage of qualified specialists in the following areas: engineering, medicine, IT and telecommunications, construction, education and social services. Therefore, migrants who apply for positions in these areas were provided with a work permit faster than in other cases⁹. For some position there must be authorization, means that it is necessary to get a confirmation that a particular profession is really in demand in Denmark. However, despite the fact that most Danes speak English, the Government requires knowledge of the Danish language for migrants. It argues that improving the knowledge of Danish is necessary for migrants from non-Western countries and means their first step towards independence¹⁰.

Unambiguous is people's attitude towards migrants in Denmark. Older people treat them dismissively because they believe that migrants do not want to learn the Danish language and are not interested in Danish history, traditions and culture. The younger generation is largely neutral

⁷ Daniya uzhestochaet pravila dlya migrantov i chestno obyavlyayet ob etom. URL: <http://ru.euronews.com/2015/09/08/denmark-launches-anti-migrant-ad-campaign/> (дата обращения: 21.09. 2015). (Accessed: 21 September 2015).

⁸ Statistical Yearbook 2015. Copenhagen: Denmark Statistic, 2015

⁹ Deficitnye professii v Danii. URL: <http://www.evrokatalog.eu/articles/19072013-1533/дефицитные-профессии-в-дании> (Accessed: 21 September 2015).

¹⁰ Ministers: Learn Danish or lose unemployment benefits. URL: <http://cphpost.dk/news/ministers-learn-danish-or-lose-unemployment-benefits.4554.html> (Accessed: 21 September 2015).

to foreigners. However, many Danes are closed and reluctant to communicate with migrants. The main thing for them is family and personal life. To a large extent the negative attitude Danish citizens have for Muslim migrants. They often condemn voluntary manners of Danes. The Danes themselves are a “free society” that does not like Muslims. A large number of government spending goes to the payment of various allowances to foreigners from Muslim countries. Many migrants do not want to work and take into account the traditions of the North of the country and the level of crimes committed by them is constantly growing. The consequences are constant conflicts between the local population and Muslims.

In Denmark, the problem of illegal migration is not felt so keenly as in many of the Western European states. According to the police, the country has 20 - 50 thousand illegal migrants, representing about 5% of the total number of migrants¹¹. This is due to the fact that Denmark has strict laws and immigration policy. Since 2002 they canceled status of “refugee de facto” and asylum in Denmark could be granted only for those who meet the criteria of the 1951 Geneva Convention. For those who already have the status of refugees, the demands are high. If the Danish Immigration Service makes a positive decision, the foreigner needs to undergo a program of integration which has been prepared by the local authorities. Among the measures aimed at the adaptation of migrants are: Danish language training; employment of immigrants and refugees; raising the level of education through training at the workplace; increased activity of immigrants in the political and cultural life of the country. At the same time, immigrants with a permanent residence permit have limited political rights, for example, they cannot participate in elections. If a person with refugee status has lived in Denmark for seven years and passed the exam on knowledge of the Danish language, passed an integration program and has no criminal records, he or she can apply for a permanent residence permit [5].

Forced migrants can be deported from Denmark if they visited the country of release. Also, you can lose refugee status if the situation in the country of release turned out to be normal. Former Minister for Refugees, Immigration and Integration Affairs Birthe Rennes Hornbeck noted that the measures would help to reduce the influx of migrants in order to direct all efforts on the integration of those who had already been living in the country¹².

Migration policy of Denmark differs from the one of other Nordic countries. Finland, Sweden and Norway are pursuing a policy of multiculturalism, preserving cultural differences. Den-

¹¹ Daniya za nedelyu: 50 tys. nelegalov i shantazh mera Kopengagena. URL: <http://www.news-balt.ru/detail/?ID=3975> (Accessed: 21 September 2015).

¹² The good, the bad and the immigrant. URL: <http://cphpost.dk/news/the-good-the-bad-and-the-immigrant.7987.html> (Accessed: 21 September 2015).

mark does not support such a policy. As noted above, the flow of immigrants from non-Western countries has increased significantly in the Kingdom. As a rule, their cultural characteristics, traditions and behavior are different from the standards established by the Danish society. However, the Kingdom continues to be one-nation state with domination of one culture. Therefore, the attitude of Danes to immigrants from non-Western countries is quite negative.

Features of migratory flows in Northern Europe

Migration processes in northern Europe have their own characteristics that differentiate them from other regions in Europe. *First*, in Western and Southern Europe, it is particularly acute at the moment that there is the problem with migrants from Africa and the Middle East: Syria, Iraq, Libya, Afghanistan and Pakistan that pass via the Mediterranean Sea. Getting on the European continent, they mostly settle in the countries of the region, primarily in the richest and most “welcoming” countries in Europe — Germany and France. However, at the moment, when Europe is in a severe situation of “migration crisis”, the situation is different. The flow of migrants is so great that the Northern European countries also feel it. The migrants are trying to get to Sweden and then to Finland through Denmark and Oresund Bridge bypassing European laws¹³. Most likely, this situation is temporary and it won’t influence the overall dynamics of migration flows in the north of Europe in the longer term perspective.

Second, in Northern Europe the migration processes occur between the countries of the region: Finland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Iceland. Migrants from other European regions are trying to move to other parts of the world.

Third, the migration policies of the Nordic countries are different from the policies in the rest of Europe. Denmark has the strictest immigration policies in Europe, aimed at reducing migration flows into the country, which is, in general, common for the other Nordic countries. The Government of Norway, for example, in the autumn 2015 made a decision not to accept Syrian refugees arriving from Russia. Since the beginning of 2015 about 1200 Syrian citizens have arrived to Norway via border with Russia. In 2014 there were not more than a dozen¹⁴.

Conclusion

Thus, considering the features discussed above, one can conclude that a specific model of migration processes exists in the region and it is characterized by relatively low share of migrants from non-European countries, strict immigration laws and the movement of citizens within the

¹³ Danes defying laws and transporting migrants to Sweden. URL: <http://cphpost.dk/news/danes-defying-laws-and-transporting-migrants-to-sweden.html> (Accessed: 21 September 2015).

¹⁴ Norvegiya vernet obratno pribyvshix iz Rossii bezhencev. URL: <http://www.forbes.ru/news/303011-norvegiya-vernet-obratno-pribyvshikh-iz-rossii-bezhentsev> (Accessed: 15 October 2015).

Nordic region. Currently, the migration situation in the countries of the Arctic region is complicated. On the one hand, it is so due to the objective processes of globalization. On the other, it is caused by the modern international political situation. Migration flows affect the relationship between the hosting nation and other ethnic groups.

In this context, it is important to study the influence of migration processes on the ethno-cultural and economic situation in the Arctic countries, including in Russia, as its regions have an extensive network of transnational and cross-border connections. Studying the experience of Denmark and the implementation of the migration policy could be used by the Russian authorities, primarily in case of labor migration and reducing the number of foreign citizens engaged in unskilled or illegal work.

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Implications of the use of liquefied natural gas for marine transportation in the Arctic



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Abstract. The transition from the use of bunker fuel to the use of the liquefied natural gas (LNG) for the Arctic marine transportation has various consequences. The author is interested to present the issue in the political, economic, environmental, marine legal perspectives. Implementing the regime efficiency and niche selection approach as well as the Environmental Kuznets Curve, the paper demonstrates poten-

tial benign interdependence of the Arctic countries after they have transferred their vessels to LNG. In such circumstances, Norway, Canada and the US are shown as the most benefiting nations. The second part of the article is devoted to the significant environmental improvement after the transition with a particular attention to the dramatic decrease of black carbon (soot) which leads to increase of albedo. Finally, the paper examines the existing legal provisions regulating the transition to LNG and modulates a further development scenario based on the theory of the lifecycle of a norm.

Keywords: *Liquefied natural gas, Environmental Kuznets Curve, arctic amplification, albedo, black carbon, benign interdependence, UNCLOS, Norway, the USA*

Introduction

Even though there are both proponents and opponents of the global warming concept observations show us that in the past decades ice coverage in the Arctic happened to be less intense when compared to the preceding decades. According to the National Snow and Ice Data Center (NSIDC) [1, 2012] in 2012 the sea ice extent in the Arctic reached its historical minimum from the first satellite record in 1979. In such circumstances global shipping industries are enthusiastically considering Northern Sea Route (NSR) and Northwest Passage (NWP) as more economically attractive alternatives to the traditional transportation ways through the Suez and Panama Canals since, in the opinion of such researchers as Schøyen and Bråthen [2, 2011], it has more than doubling effect on the vessels' energy efficiency performance. Even though Ragner [3, 2008] and Humpert [4, 2013] are rather skeptical about the prognoses for both passages to gain extreme popularity

capable of replacing old transportation corridors greatly because of shipping seasonality and current dilution of the Chinese and Indian exports and imports with non-European venues (e.g. Africa, Latin America etc.), the Arctic marine transportation statistics provided by the Northern Sea Route Information Office shows that the number of vessels in the NSR in 2013 almost doubled that of 2011¹.

Apart from potentially positive economic impact on coastal states increased maritime traffic in the region bears a number of challenges with environmental concerns to be among the most vivid ones: Namely, greater number of vessels poses more substantial threat of environmental pollution. In addition to that, the very use of residual oil as a propellant for the marine transportation mode in general, and heavy fuel oil as the most commonly used one, in particular, stimulates Arctic amplification because of the great amount of greenhouse gases and other pollutants discharged on the way (e.g. sulfur and nitrogen oxides, soot etc.). According to the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) [5, 2015], maritime transportation is the cause of about ten percent of global emissions of sulfuric acid. In this connection significant attempts have been made to replace residual oil with more environmentally-friendly alternatives with liquefied natural gas (LNG) being one of the most promising ones.

Implications

This paper *aims* at representing multifaceted consequences of the ultimate transition from bunker fuel to LNG as the main transportation fuel in the Arctic. According to the WWF [5, 2015], this will have tremendously positive effect on environment cutting overall pollution almost by ninety percent. Apart from that, it will definitely influence economic and political environments of the coastal and flag states. Finally, such a transition may potentially have repercussions for the Law of the Sea. Thus, the objectives of the current paper are to investigate and view the consequences of the researched transition from the political, environmental and legal perspectives.

As most of the scholars covering LNG use for marine transportation focus either on the economic effect of this issue or its environmental ramifications, this research will implement Environmental Kuznets Curve (EKC) to illustrate the relationship between environmental quality and economic development of the Arctic nations with respect to the use of LNG technology for maritime transport. Since this illustration reveals certain stratification in the economic development of the engaged states the concepts of *regime effectiveness* and *regional niche selection* mentioned by Stokke [6, 2013] are applied to modulate benign interdependence between them in the future

¹ Northern Sea Route Information Office (NSRIO). Transit Statistics. Available at: http://www.arctic-lro.com/nsr_transits (Accessed: 20 July 2015).

as they help to explain cooperation policies of the coastal states in implementing LNG transportation technology through the prism of economic rationale.

Part 2. covering natural science focuses on environmental constituent of the EKC showing evidence of affirmative environmental impact of the researched transition. Here, the statistics provided by various institutions and illustrating pollution by different substances associated with bunker fuel shows how Arctic shipping is influencing the regional environment. The respective comparative indicators of LNG-related maritime transportation show the affirmative change that could have been achieved after the transition. Apart from comparing nitrogen and sulfur oxides specific attention is drawn to black carbon (soot) as the main contributor to the reduced albedo and Arctic amplification.

Finally, adapting ship-building industry to LNG standards may have important repercussions for legal regulations of the maritime transport in the Arctic. This paper examines the already-existent provisions of the international law of the sea for their applicability to the researched change in the core marine fuel. Apart from that, the author implements the concept of international norm dynamics and political change (the so-called 'norm life cycle') introduced by Finnemore and Sikkink [7, 1998] to illustrate the tendencies taking place in marine fuel industry.

Implications for politics and economics

A number of writers have already assessed the issue of the development of national hydrocarbon industries and environmental conditions accompanying such development. For example, Saboori and Sulaiman [8, 2013] viewing the example of Malaysia bind oil production to environmental degradation whereas natural gas development — to the mitigation of these consequences. According to the authors, this also coincides with per capita income in the country which perfectly goes in line with the EKC.

In their research Peters et al [9, 2011] modulate future emissions from shipping in the Arctic presupposing increase in marine traffic within the conditions of retreating Arctic ice. Quite predictably, the researchers assume greater emission of CO₂, soot, sulfuric and nitrogen acids to escort this increase. At the same time, they do not mention potential switch to new forms of marine fuel such as LNG. In this connection Æsøy and Stenersen [10, 2013] provide evidence supporting the idea that gas-propelled vessels may decrease the overall pollution by at least 25 per cent. In that sense, LNG use can be associated with environmental revival, whereas implementation of residual oil — with environmental decay.

Recent national data on the launch of LNG-propelled Arctic vessels supports this idea illustrating another interesting trend: LNG use for marine transportation purposes is instigated by the

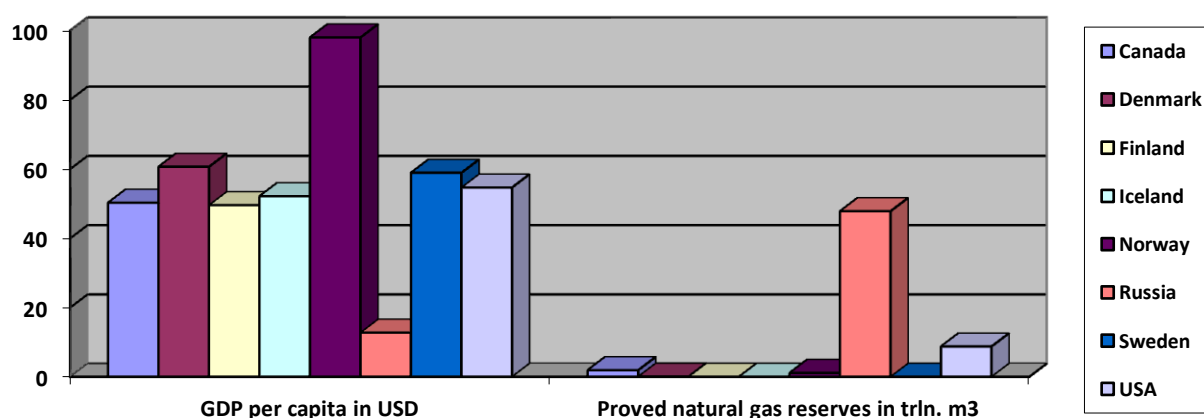
countries with greatest income per capita rather than the ones solely relying on the abundance of domestic deposits of natural gas. For example, apart from Norway — an Arctic country with significant natural gas reserves that launched LNG-propelled shipbuilding — Brennrø, Garcia Agis and Thirion [11, 2013] mention Finland and Canada. Quite surprisingly, Russia — the country with the greatest natural gas reserves — is not in the list of LNG enthusiasts.

Illustration of the coastal states' interest in marine LNG fuel initiatives paralleled with their natural gas deposits and GDP per capita gives us the following picture:

Table 1

Arctic states	GDP per capita in USD	Proved natural gas reserves in m ³	Expressed interest in LNG-propelled maritime vessels
Canada	50,231	1,889,000,000,000	Significant interest for internal and internal transportation purposes
Denmark	60,634	43,010,000,000	Firm interest with governmental support, but potential technology importer
Finland	49,541	0	Own shipbuilding projects for LNG-propelled vessels (with key industry pioneering companies — e.g. Wärtsilä) — potential technology exporter
Iceland	52,111	0	Expressed interest, but absence of technology
Norway	97,963	2,090,000,000,000	Extremely high interest with own technologies and projects
Russia	12,735	47,800,000,000,000	No expressed interest and absence of technology
Sweden	58,887	0	Interest in building LNG infrastructure, but potential technology importer
USA	54,629	8,734,000,000,000	Sound business interest
Sources	<i>World Bank² [13, 2014])</i>	<i>CIA [14, 2014]³</i>	<i>Brennrø, Garcia Agis & Thirion [12, 2013]</i>

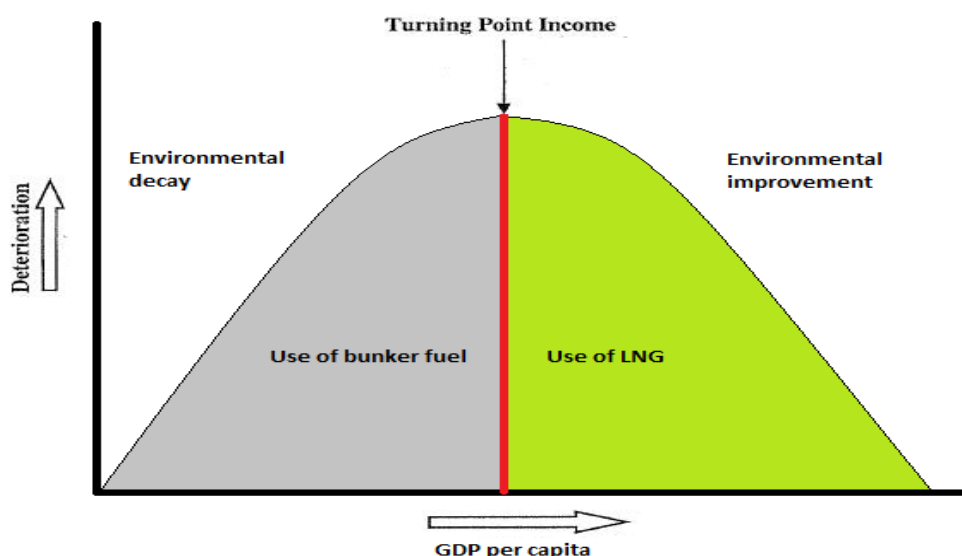
In graphic terms this could be represented as follows:



² The World Bank. Available at: <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD> (Accessed: 26 July 2015).

³ Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) The World Factbook: Proved reserves of natural gas by country (2014). Available at: https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rank_order/2253rank.html (Accessed: 26 July 2015).

As we see on the example of the Arctic nations, there is strong discrepancy between the amount of natural gas reserves in such countries as Russia and their interest in transition to LNG, whereas high GDP per capita almost necessarily means LNG enthusiasm. Applicably to the EKC this could be represented as follows:



Picture 1. Use the Environmental Kuznets Curve

At the same time, however, GDP per capita does not necessarily need to be the only driver of LNG popularity: e.g. Finland with lower per capita income in comparison to Iceland happens to be more progressive in this respect. Here, in the opinion of author, technology availability should be mentioned as a supplementary factor.

In this connection, regional niche selection principle mentioned by Stokke [6, 2013] could be applied to the future prognosis of the situation in the region. Here, such countries as Norway and Finland being most technologically advanced could play the role of technology suppliers to such nations as e.g. Russia, whereas the latter ones can be regarded as fuel suppliers. Such affirmative cooperation illustrates potential *benign interdependence* as Finnish and Norwegian companies will presumably be interested in coming to Russia with immense LNG potential. With the 'traffic light system' indicating resource- and technology-recipients with 'red', technology/resource suppliers — with 'yellow' and the suppliers of both resources and technology — with 'green', we could represent the overall future prognosis in the following way:

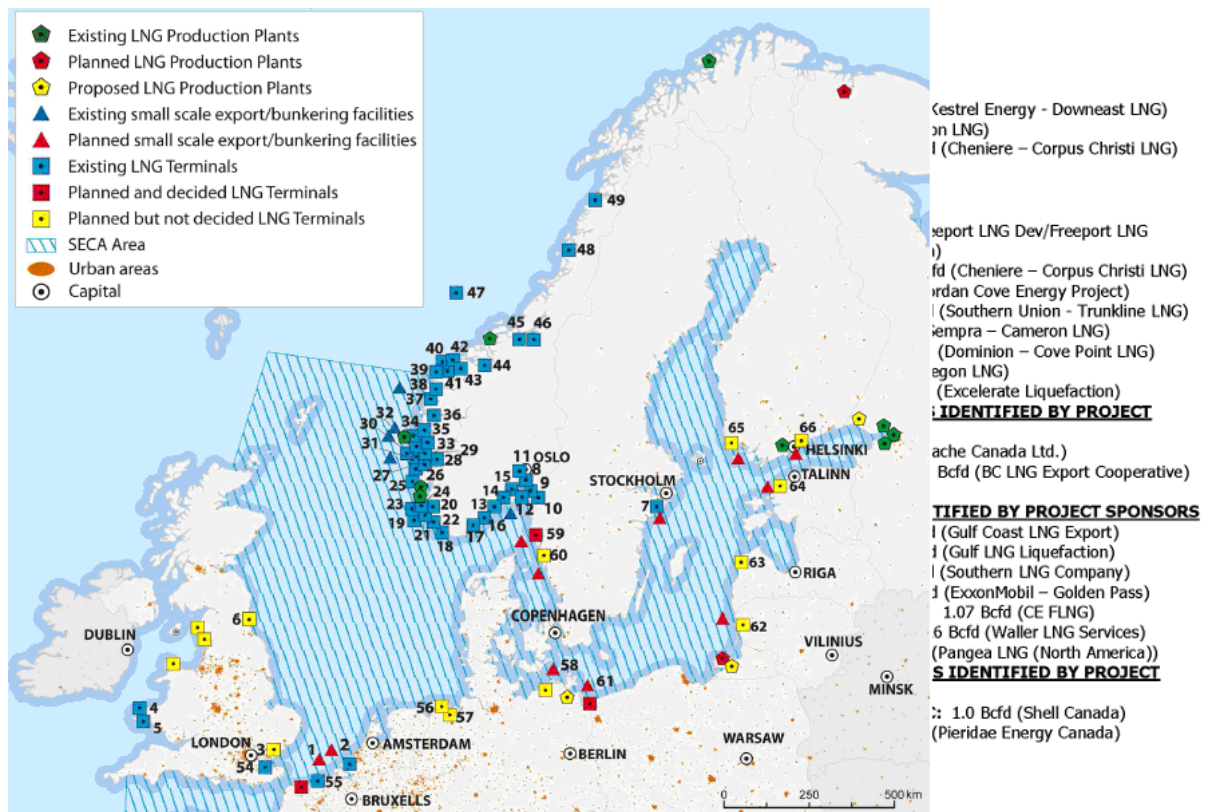
Table 2

Country	Potential niche in the future	Argumentation	Source
Canada	Probable stake in both technology- and resource-supplying niches.	Already launched own LNG-propelled vessels and infrastructure building projects (round 15 LNG terminals in British Columbia)	ABC ⁴
Denmark	LNG-bunkering terminal – technology-supply niche	Absence of resource with developing infrastructure	Danish Maritime Authority ⁵
Finland	Technology-supplier for building both LNG-propelled vessels and bunker terminals	Well-developed infrastructure and industry with absence of resource	
Iceland	Technology and fuel recipient	Absence of resources and technology	Jónsdóttir [12, 2013]
Norway	Both technology- and fuel-exporter because	Great number of natural gas deposits, available technology for building LNG-driven vessels and LNG-bunkering terminal	Danish Maritime Authority
Russia	Resource-supplier	Abundance of natural gas, but absence of technologies	Paltsev [13, 2014]
Sweden	Potential supplier of technology	Relative development of infrastructure and technology	Danish Maritime Authority
USA	Potential supplier of both resource and technology	Point Nikiski LNG terminal for bunkering in Alaska and a number of launched LNG-propelled vessels	ABC

As we see from the table, all the Arctic countries except from Iceland could take either the technology/resource supplier niche (e.g. Denmark, Finland, Russia and Sweden) or the one of relative self-sufficiency in this respect supporting themselves and others with both resources and technology (Canada, Norway and the United States). This future trend can be proved by the current situation with LNG industry in Europe (pic. 2).

⁴ ABS (2015). Bunkering of Liquefied Natural Gas-fueled Marine Vessels in North America. Available at: <http://ww2.eagle.org/content/dam/eagle/publications/2014/LNG%20Bunkering.pdf> (Accessed: 28 July 2015).

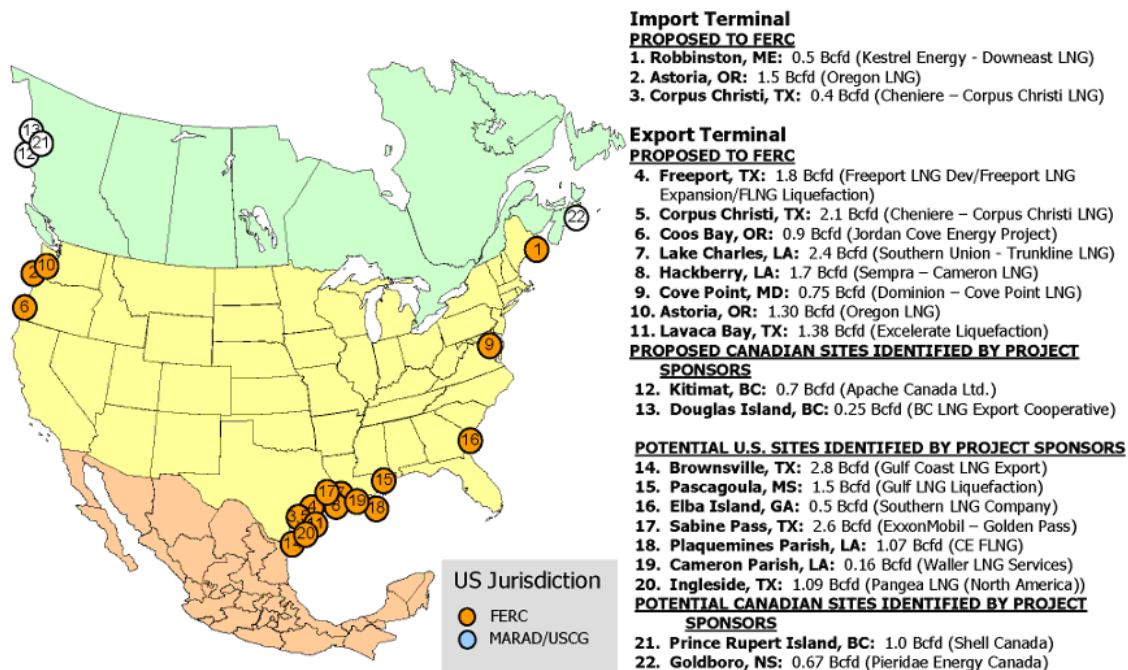
⁵ Danish Maritime Authority North European LNG Infrastructure Project: A feasibility study for an LNG filling station infrastructure and test of recommendations, 2014. Available from: http://www.dma.dk/themes/LNGinfrastructureproject/Documents/Final%20Report/LNG_Full_report_Mgg_2012_04_02_1.pdf (Accessed: 28 July 2015).



source: [16, 2014]

Picture 2. LNG industry in Europe

Similarly, the situation in North America could be represented as follows (pic 3).



source: [29, 2012]

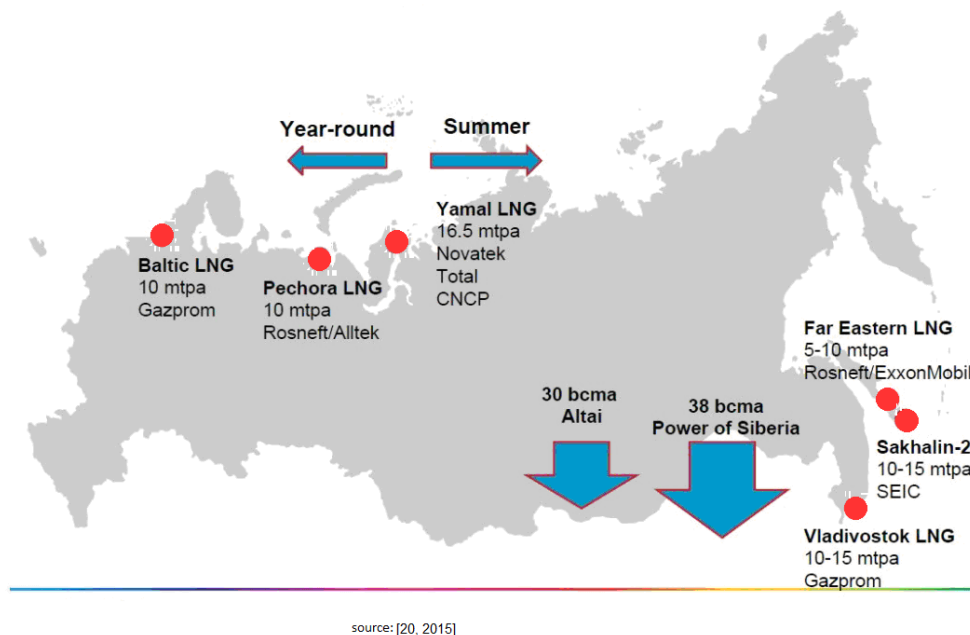
Picture 3. LNG industry in the USA

According to the United States Energy Information Administration⁶, the situation in Alaska is as follows (pic 4.).



Picture 4. LNG map of Alaska

As we see, no significant LNG projects have been launched in the Canadian Arctic while the US has only one LNG plant in Alaska. According to the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada (APFC) [14, 2015], the situation in Russia looks quite similar (pic. 5.).



Picture 5. LNG industry in Russia

⁶ United States Energy Information Administration (2014) *Alaska*. Available at: <http://www.eia.gov/state/analysis.cfm?sid=AK> (Accessed: 28 July 2015).

Here on the map only Baltic, Vladivostok and Sakhalin-2 projects have been completed leaving the Russian Arctic out of the infrastructure coverage [14, 2015].

In such circumstances only Norway happens to be a true 'versatile performer' possessing all the important factors for the future dominance in the LNG-propelled maritime transportation and the highest level of regime effectiveness: natural gas, vessel- and plant-building technology and already developed infrastructure.

Implications for the environment

According to Æsøy and Stenersen [10, 2013], the use of LNG as a main transportation fuel will have a tremendously positive environmental effects not only in terms of CO₂ reductions, but also in terms of almost complete elimination of nitrogen and sulfur acids. Since this research focuses on the ecological implications for shipping in the high Arctic, no fishing activities are examined. Instead, the NSR and NWP are taken as examples to demonstrate the effect of fuel transition.

Since the International Chamber of Shipping (ICS) estimates average oil tanker to produce 5,9 grams of CO₂ per tonne-km and a bulk carrier — 7,9 grams of CO₂ per tonne-km⁷, we can calculate the mean average emission of such vessels operation in the Arctic, which is 6.9 grams of CO₂ per tonne-km:

$$(5,9 + 7,9)/2 = 6.9.$$

As the ICS (2014) indicates the average carrier vessel to carry between 10,000 and 120,000 dwt, the mean average deadweight tonnage of such vessels would be 65,000 dwt:

$$(10,000 + 120,000)/2 = 65,000.$$

In a similar way we can calculate the average distance of the NSR, knowing that the distance from Yokohama, Japan to Kirkenes, Norway is 5,750 n.m. and the distance from Shanghai, China to Kirkenes, Norway is 6,500 n.m. [5, 2015]:

$$(5,750 + 6,500)/2 = 6,125.$$

6,125 n.m. equals to 11343,5 km.

When it comes to the NWP, the Enciclopædia Britannica indicates its distance to range between 6,500 and 7,500 n.m.⁸. which means that the average one is as follows:

$$(6,500 + 7,500)/2 = 7,000.$$

This equals to 12,964 km.

⁷ International Chamber of Shipping (ICS) (2012) Shipping, world trade and the reduction of CO₂ emissions. Available at: <http://www.ics-shipping.org/docs/default-source/resources/environmental-protection/shipping-world-trade-and-the-reduction-of-co2-emissions.pdf?sfvrsn=6> (Accessed: 28 July 2015).

⁸ Enciclopædia Britannica (2015) *Northwest passage*. Available at: <http://global.britannica.com/place/Northwest-Passage-trade-route> (Accessed: 29 July 2015).

Now, knowing the annual number of vessels using each of the routes we can calculate the average annual CO2 emission for each of them:

$$\text{CO2 emissions in tonnes for the NSR} = \frac{\text{Annual number of ship cruises} \times 6.9 \text{ gr/tkm} \times 11,343.5 \text{ km} \times 65,000 \text{ dwt}}{1,000,000 \text{ gr}}$$

$$\text{CO2 emissions in tonnes for the NWP} = \frac{\text{Annual number of ship cruises} \times 6.9 \text{ gr/tkm} \times 12,964 \text{ km} \times 65,000 \text{ dwt}}{1,000,000 \text{ gr}}$$

From 2011 till 2013 the situation looks in the following way⁹ (table.3.).

Table 3

Year	Number of NSR cruises	Number of NWP cruises	Average total CO2 emissions for the NSR (in tonnes)	Average total CO2 emissions for the NWP (in tonnes)	Average total CO2 emissions for both routes
2011	41	7	208,589.95	40,700.48	249,290.43
2012	46	9	234,027.75	52,329.19	286,356.94
2013	71	8	361,216.74	46,514.83	407,731.57
Sources	NSRIO	McFarlane [15,] Headland [16]	Calculations conducted by the author using the formulas represented above		

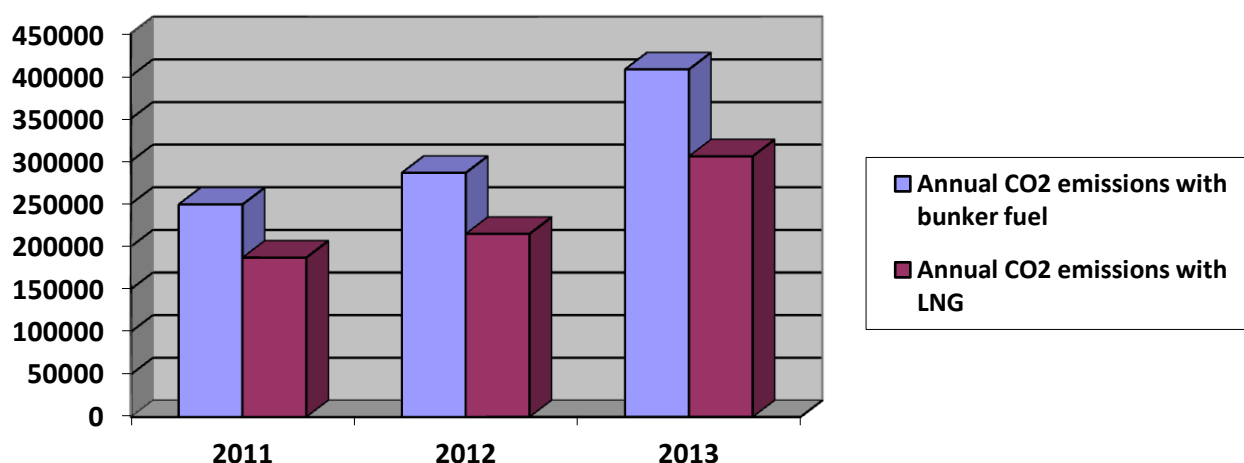
* - yachts are not included in the calculation as they are partially propelled by sails.

At this moment, knowing the average annual CO2 emissions of vessels in the Arctic and the percentage of CO2 emission reduction through the use of LNG-propelled ships we can illustrate the impact of such transition assuming all the carriers were transformed into LNG-driven ones. Since according to Æsøy and Stenersen [11, 2013], the CO2 emissions are reduced by 25 percent in such a case, the comparative Arctic transit shipping using two different fuels could be represented as follows:

Table 4

Years	Annual CO2 emissions with the bunker fuel (in tonnes)	Annual CO2 emissions with LNG (in tonnes)
2011	249,290.43	186,967.82
2012	286,356.94	214,767.71
2013	407,731.57	305,798.68
Sources	Calculations conducted by the author and represented in the previous table	Calculations conducted by the author with the values representing 25 percent of the ones shown in the columns on the left side

⁹ Not included because they are partly moved by the sails



Even though we observe quite a significant reduction of carbon dioxide, Peters et al [9, 2011] provide quantitative evidence that the CO₂ emissions in the Arctic are only a minor contributor to the thawing ice in the region and global warming, in general. In the opinion of the authors, this is primarily due to the fact that Arctic shipping constitutes only less than 5 percent of the global maritime transportation. Thus, even though regional traffic is growing mid- and low-latitude shipping is assumed to have a greater impact on high latitudes because of the Arctic amplification factor and oceanic oscillation¹⁰.

Similarly, nitrogen and sulfur oxides and soot emitted by vessels using bunker fuel are greatly reduced after the transition to LNG. In particular, *Æsøy* and Stenersen [10, 2013] provide evidence of 90-percent reduction of NO_x and 95-percent reduction of SO_x and black carbon (BC). As Winther et al [17, 2014] represent statistic data showing the emissions of each ship type of vessels per kg fuel, we can calculate the approximate annual emission for the high Arctic knowing the fuel consumption per day and the average distance of NSR and NWP in days:

According to NSRIO, it may take between 10 and 35 days to cross the NSR. Similarly, MacFarlane [15, 2013] mentions 15—35 days to cross the NSR. Thus, the average number of days used for crossing the NSR is 22.5, and the one for the NWP — 25.

According to *Æsøy* and Stenersen [10, 2013], the average emission of NO_x per average shipping vessel is 96.2 g/kg fuel, whereas the emission of SO_x — 31,5 g/kg fuel, and soot — 0.35 g/kg fuel.

Finally, average ship operating in the Arctic uses between 150 and 225 tonnes of fuel per day, making the average consumption 187.5 t/day.

¹⁰ Lat.. amplification — expansion, distribution. The phenomenon of the Arctic amplification refers to a higher rate of warming in the Arctic as compared to the southern area. This phenomenon was associated with strong cooling, that has experienced in recent years by Europe and North America. However, a new study by Dr. James Screen (University of Exeter) has shown that Arctic amplification actually reduces the risk of cold Extrema in all the large areas of the northern hemisphere. URL: <http://www.ecosibir.ru/news/4847/>. — Editors' note.

Knowing these results we can calculate the average annual emission of each component using the following formulas:

NOx emissions in kg for the NSR	=	Annual number of ship cruises	✗ 187.5 t/day	✗ 22.5	✗ 1000	✗ 96.2 g/kg fuel
SOx emissions in kg for the NSR	=	Annual number of ship cruises	✗ 187.5 t/day	✗ 22.5	✗ 1000	✗ 31.5 g/kg fuel
BC emissions in kg for the NSR	=	Annual number of ship cruises	✗ 187.5 t/day	✗ 22.5	✗ 1000	✗ 0.35 g/kg fuel
NOx emissions in kg for the NWP	=	Annual number of ship cruises	✗ 187.5 t/day	✗ 25	✗ 1000	✗ 96.2 g/kg fuel
SOx emissions in kg for the NWP	=	Annual number of ship cruises	✗ 187.5 t/day	✗ 25	✗ 1000	✗ 31.5 g/kg fuel
BC emissions in kg for the NWP	=	Annual number of ship cruises	✗ 187.5 t/day	✗ 25	✗ 1000	✗ 0.35 g/kg fuel

Table 5

Years	Average annual emissions for the NSR (in kg)			Average annual emissions for the NWP (in kg)		
	NOx	SOx	BC	NOx	SOx	BC
2011	16,639,593,750	5,448,515,625	60,539,062.5	3,156,562,500	1,033,593,750	11,484,375
2012	18,668,812,500	6,112,968,750	67,921,875	4,058,437,500	1,328,906,250	14,765,625
2013	28,814,906,250	9,435,234,375	104,835,937.5	3,607,500,000	1,181,250,000	13,125,000
Source	Calculations conducted by the author using the formulas represented above					

Now, knowing the annual emissions for each route, we can deduce the joint one for the high Arctic (table 6).

Table 6

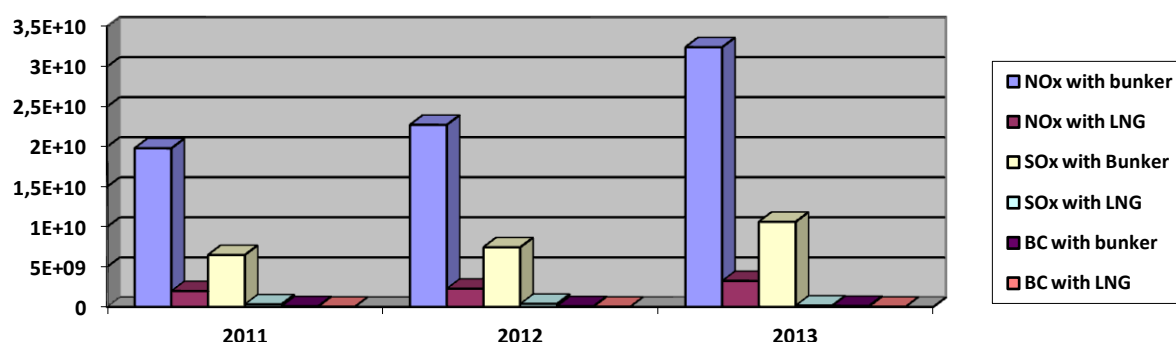
Years	Average annual emissions for both routes (the NSR and the NWP) (in kg)		
	NOx	SOx	BC
2011	19,796,156,250	6,482,109,375	72,023,437.5
2012	22,727,250,000	7,441,875,000	82,687,500
2013	32,422,406,250	10,616,484,375	117,960,937.5
Source	Calculations conducted by the author represent a sum of annual emissions of each component for both routes		

As Æsøy and Stenersen [10, 2013] provide percentage of emission decrease for each pollutant, we can now represent the difference between using the bunker fuel and LNG (table 7).

Table 7

Years	Average annual emissions for both routes with the use of residual oil (in kg)			Average annual emissions for both routes with the use of LNG (in kg)		
	NOx	SOx	BC	NOx	SOx	BC
2011	19,796,156,250	6,482,109,375	72,023,437.5	1,979,615,625	324,105,468.75	3,601,171.875
2012	22,727,250,000	7,441,875,000	82,687,500	2,272,725,000	372,093,750	4,134,375
2013	32,422,406,250	10,616,484,375	117,960,937.5	3,242,240,625	1,621,120,312.5	5,898,046.875
Source	Calculations of the average annual emissions for both routes with the use of LNG are conducted by the author through the deduction of the percentage of emission decrease in each pollutant represented by Æsøy and Stenersen [10, 2013]					

Graphically, the emission reduction through the use of LNG (represented in kg/year) is vivid:



As we see, complete eradication of the bunker-fueled vessels and their replacement on the LNG-driven ones could have significantly influenced the environment. According to Peters et al [9, 2011], when mixing with seawater, carbon dioxide, nitrogen and sulfur oxides lower the pH diminishing the carbon-storage capacity. In the opinion of Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution (WHOI)¹¹, this not only leads to the acidification of the Arctic waters, but influences the aquatic life. Here, the plankton happens to be the most vulnerable species as the exoskeletons are not able to gain required hardness. In the Barents Sea lost survivability of plankton may lead to temporary increased stock of capelin spurring the breeding of herring and cod. In consecutive years, however, this may lead to the dramatic decrease in population of all of them.

At the same time, however, Peters et al [9, 2011] indicate sulfur and nitrogen oxides' dispatch in the Arctic to be of minor importance because of the overall comparative insignificance of the current Arctic shipping. In this case black carbon in a form of soot happens to be the most crucial substance stimulating Arctic change. In particular, Sand et al [18, 2013], provide empirical evidence showing gradually decreasing albedo due to the sunlight attracted by soot dispersed on ice and snow. In this connection, increased marine traffic using conventional fuels will cause further ice and snow melt enhancing Arctic amplification.

Nevertheless, transition from residual oil to LNG solely for the Arctic transportation purposes is not sufficient for the overall win over warming Arctic — this is possible only if all other transportation vessels use this fuel on stable basis.

Implications for the Law of the Sea

United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea of 1982 (UNCLOS) does not specifically regulate the issue of transition from bunker fuel to LNG. At the same time, however, Article 194 obligates all the states to prevent, reduce and control pollution of any source. More precisely, paragraph 3 of Article 194 urges the States to take measures in order to minimize 'the release of

¹¹ Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution (WHOI) (2007) Acid rain has a disproportionate impact on coastal waters. Available at: <http://www.whoi.edu/main/news-releases/2007?Tid=3622&cid=31286> (Accessed: 29 July 2015).

toxic, harmful or noxious substances...’, and also ‘pollution from vessels...’ so that fragile and rare ecosystems can be preserved. This also relates to the design, construction and operation of maritime vessels. In this connection, transition from a less environmentally-friendly fuel (residual oil) to a more environmentally-friendly one (LNG) complies with the provisions of the basic document regulating maritime activity in the Arctic.

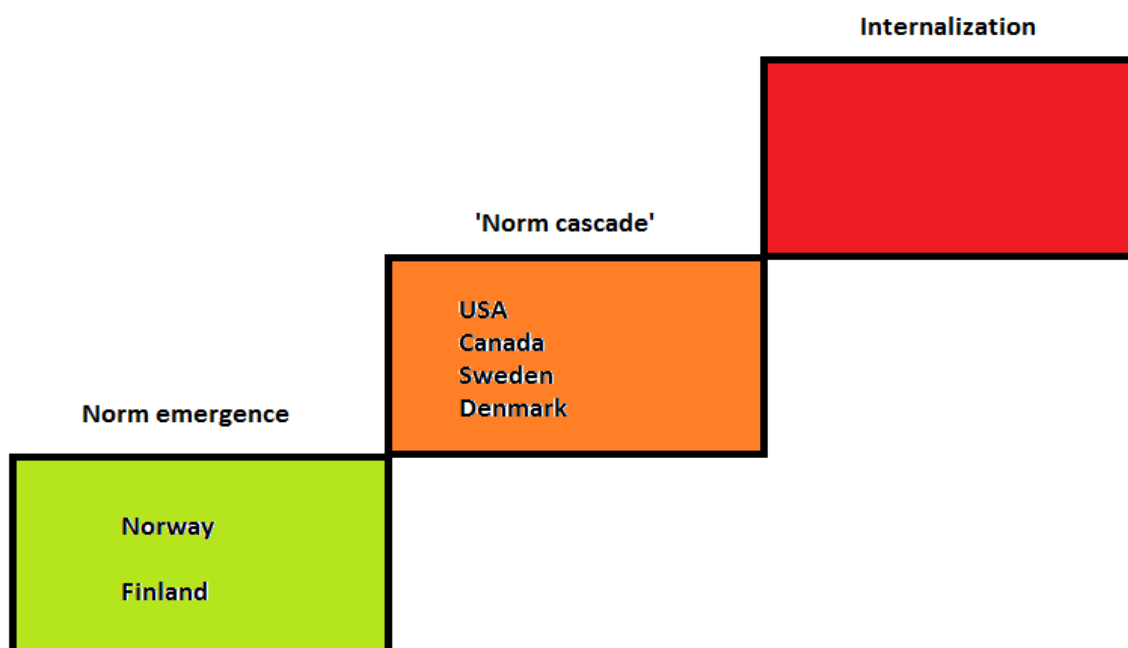
With respect to the attempts of addressing plausible Arctic pollution incidents, Jensen [19, 2008] refers to the International Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea to which specific amendments were proposed after the infamous case of Exxon Valdez. Even though these legal inclusions relate primarily to the hull-strengthening construction of the vessels operating in inhospitable waters the basic idea was transferred to the International Code for Ships Operating in polar Waters (Polar Code) adopted by the International Maritime Organization (IMO) ¹². Polar Code demonstrates succession from the UNCLOS since Section 8 of the latter relates to the ice-covered areas. In this sense Polar Code is a more specified document dealing with the Arctic maritime traffic as Article 234 of the UNCLOS only indicate the right of the coastal States to ‘adopt and enforce non-discriminatory laws and regulations from the prevention, reduction and control of marine pollution from vessels’.

Even though Polar Code was specifically designed to address the issues related to the Arctic shipping, it does not cover transition from bunker fuel to LNG. At the same time, however, Chapter 1 of the section called Pollution Prevention Measures indicates that any discharge of ‘oil or oily mixtures from any ship should be prevented’. This contingently stimulates flag States to LNG-propelled vessels because of their greater safety in this respect. Besides, Chapter 6 of the Polar Code urges all the machinery of the ships operating in the region to be capable of dealing with ice and snow acceleration. In this connection, *Æsøy* and Stenersen [10, 2013] mention specific features of LNG utilization such as cold temperatures which are favorable for its transportation etc. Hence, new fuel of such characteristics could be specifically suitable for the Arctic.

In sum, none of the currently existent international legal frameworks is capable of regulating global transition from residual oil to LNG. At the same time, however, such countries as Norway and Finland actively promoting this new propellant may cause a precedent urging new countries to follow the trend. With already-existent regulations of 17 July 2002 No. 644 on cargo ships with natural gas fueled internal combustion engines and of 9 September 2005 No. 1218 concerning construction and operation of gas-fueled passenger ships, Norway appears to be the leader in this trade.

¹² An International Code of Safety for Ships operating in Polar Waters (Polar Code) was adopted by the IMO in November 2014 (1st part) and May 2015 (2nd part). The Code is going to be reinforced on the 1st of January 2017. Polar waters mean arctic and antarctic waters. — Editors’ note.

If we represent the life cycle of this norm that might potentially become international in compliance with the concept of Finnemore and Sikkink [7, 1998], current interest of such countries as the US and Canada in building LNG-propelled vessels and relevant infrastructure (see: II.1. Implications for politics and economics) can be viewed as a start of ‘cascading’ before the final stage of ‘internalization’:



Nevertheless, ultimate transition from bunker fuel to LNG for marine transportation in the Arctic does not seem to be possible without universal recognition of this propellant as the only one (perhaps apart from the nuclear fuel in case of icebreakers) eligible for utilization in the region — i.e. the final ‘internalization’ stage of the ‘norm lifecycle’. In the opinion of the author, in the current conditions of increasing Arctic shipping this can only become possible after the overall transition of the majority of maritime nations to the LNG-driven vessels so that norm becomes inherent to the local legal tradition. With relative scarcity of natural gas and its greatest deposits located in Russia — a country currently under the international sanctions — such ‘internalization’ does not seem to be a matter of the foreseeable future.

Conclusion

The current paper represented the attempt to examine plausible consequences of transition from bunker fuel — the main maritime propellant — to the LNG for marine transportation in the Arctic.

As it might reasonably seem, affirmative environmental effects happen to be some of the most important consequences. In particular, the transition from residual oil to gas will almost totally eliminate NO_x and SO_x as well as soot. Since the latter pollutant is assumed to be among the

core hazards to the albedo in the Arctic, eradication of black carbon will significantly slow down Arctic amplification. In addition to that, CO₂ emissions will also decrease by some considerable percent which is presupposed to be round a quarter of the current amount of carbon dioxide emissions faced in the region these days.

At the same time, however, black carbon is assumed to be the key substance the elimination of which will have its significant say in terms of improving Arctic environment to some important extent since the remaining substances (CO₂, NO_x and SO_x) do not have that fast ecologic effect in the region because of their lesser comparative amount being dispersed in the atmosphere over there. Indeed, comprehensive move from bunker fuel to LNG seems to be the only means to get a global impact on that problem as ocean waters and air masses can transport these pollutants from lower latitude towards the Arctic much more effectively than e.g. soot.

Apart from predictable positive effects on environment, such a shift may also have significant consequences for political and legal spheres:

In particular, through the implementation of the EKC the study demonstrated the key interest groups of the Arctic states benefiting from such a transition. Here, the concept of regime effectiveness and benign interdependence augmented niche-selection approach. As the research demonstrates, Norway — the resource-, technology-, and infrastructure-possessing party happens to be the country taking the greatest advantages from the transition to LNG than the rest of the Arctic nations. For example, Iceland and Russia currently developing their infrastructure and experiencing technology insufficiencies may greatly benefit when following the path of Norway even when this path does not seem to be completely feasible for the former. On the other hand, however, Canada and the US appear to be the runners-up gradually building-up their technology and infrastructure potential and definitely possessing sufficient resources.

In general, the situation when some countries boast technological know-how ready to be exported whereas others are eager to sell resources is ideal for the formation of benign interdependence when mutually-beneficial cooperation drives the progress of each of the participants. Here, Norwegian technological support could potentially augment Russian to-be-built LNG industry. At the same time, however, in the current conditions of international tensions between Russia and the West, such a benign interdependence does not seem to be possible at the moment.

Finally, the legal dimension of the transition from bunker fuel to LNG does not happen to be elaborated to the extent directly regulating this process and all its implications. In particular, neither UNCLOS nor Polar Code — i.e. none of the core documents addressing marine transportation in the Arctic — deals with any specific fuel-related prescriptions that could be potentially in-

terpreted as those relating to the use of LNG. On contrary, partially covering fuel and environmental safety issues they address the problems of spills basically viewing residual oil as the main propellant. In this connection, newly-elaborated and adopted international norms will have to view pollution not related to spills in greater detail. Apart from that, the very specific type of LNG-fuelled vessels should get its reflection in the international law. In this context, Norway being the pioneer in adopting legal documents regulating LNG-fuelled vessels with its regulations No. 644 and No. 1218 may serve as an example and instigator for the consecutive 'norm cascade' and 'internalization' by the remaining Arctic nations and the rest of the world.

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The new economic crisis: a regional projection

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Abstract. The economic situation in Russia continues to worsen because of multiple factors. Analysis of the economic situation of the Arkhangelsk region 1999—2015 reveals an earlier manifestation of the negative effects of economic recession. Currently, the crisis is manifesting itself in the reduction of investment, increase in unemployment rates, fluctuations of prices for some industrial products. The forecast for the end of the year 2015 and for 2016 is not encouraging also.

Keywords: *economy, crisis, Arkhangelsk region, the processing industry, the prices, the dynamics of trade, investments*

Introduction

The economic situation in Russia remains tense. Several reasons cause the economic crisis and lead to its consequences. Low oil prices in the world market, the declining exchange rate of the ruble against the major currencies, the economic sanctions of the West and the response of the Russian food embargo, falling stocks of leading Russian companies on the stock exchange, the credit policy of the Central Bank of the Russian Federation, the political conflict between Russia and Ukraine and other determinants exacerbate ongoing recession. But is the economic situation in the country and in its regions so heavy and what might be called a crisis situation?

The relevance of this topic has been identified an objective of the study, which is the analysis of the current state of the economy of the Arkhangelsk region. In this article we will look at the economic situation in the Arkhangelsk region, operating the actual data over a long period, since 1999. Also we intend to present a more detailed analysis of statistical indicators of recent years (2009-2015), because it is the time of an economic recovery between the last crisis periods.

The object of study is the economy of the Arkhangelsk region, which is a key area for mathematical methods of analysis, based on accurate baseline data, measurement and evaluation.

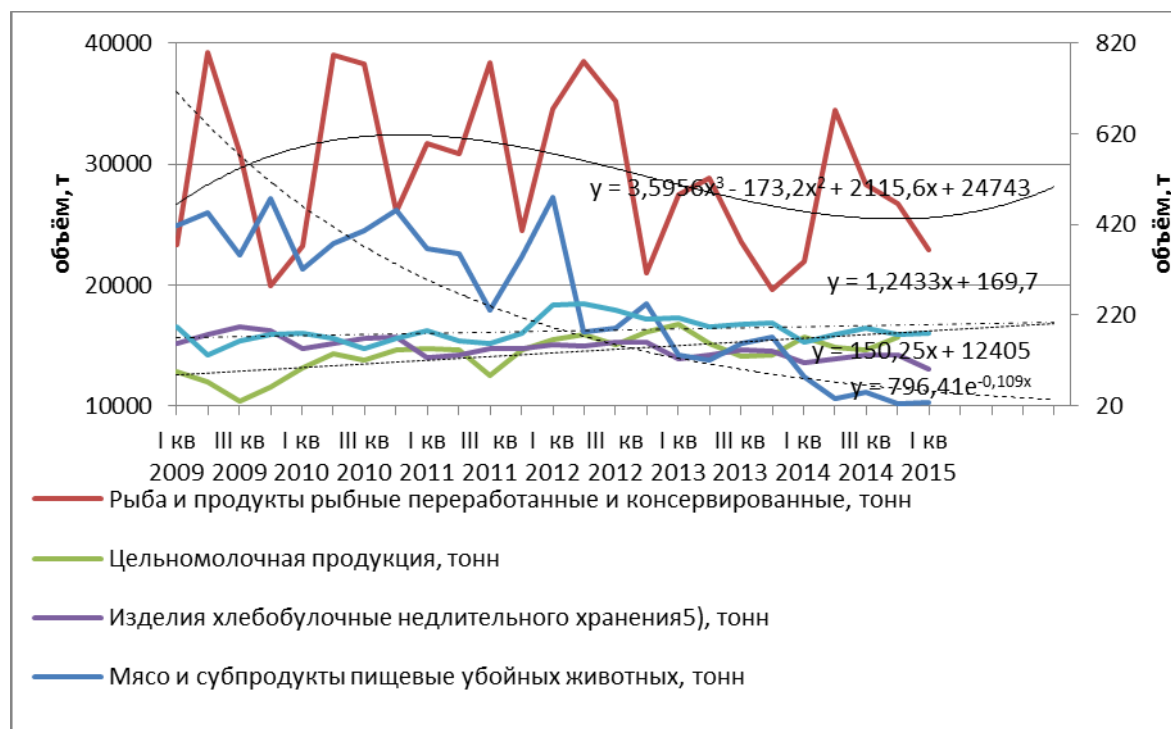
Results of the study

Let's start with the fact that the economic situation does not develop according to the rules, which were common for the past crises of 1998 and 2008—2009, when the impact on the economy was strong, but relatively short. First of all, the crisis has a negative impact on the development of the industry, and the volume of production in key sectors. The opposite effect was observed during the crisis in 2014, when industrial production in Russia grew by 1.7%. This growth was ensured by the release of manufacturing industries, which helped the devaluation and the empowerment of import substitution. But if Russia's industrial production has a positive dynamics, the Arkhangelsk region and its manufacturing sector has opposite dynamics (Pictures 1 and 2). Thus, the production of building materials and products for machine-building industry has a positive trend dynamics of production from 2009 to the first quarter of 2015. The situation is different in the wood industry where the output began to slow even before the last crisis. In 2012 the output fell by 7% compared to 2011. On the contrary, in 2014 the volume of manufacture of timber was growing in comparison to 2013.



Picture1. Quarterly dynamics of industrial production combined with a projection for 4 quarters in Arkhangelsk region URL: <http://arhangelskstat.gks.ru/> (Accessed: 02 June 2015).

The same dynamics is in food industry.



Picture 2. Quarterly dynamics of food production combined with a projection for 4 quarters in Arkhangelsk region URL: <http://arhangelskstat.gks.ru/> (Accessed: 02 June 2015).

The increase in output in 2014 is observed in the milk production (+ 1.2% compared to 2013) and fishing (+ 12.1%). Release of bread and bakery production in 2014 was by 4%, but this decrease was observed in 2013 (5%) as well and it cannot be linked to the causes of the crisis 2014—2015. Sad is the situation with the production of meat (Table 1), where the decline in output is taking place during the last six years. In 2013, the output of meat processing industry fell by almost 2 times in comparison with 2012, and in 2014 — by 3 times to the level of 2013.

Table 1

Food production in Arkhangelsk region

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Meat and sub-products, tons	1 695	1 557	1 302	1 100	580	195
Fish and fish products, tons	113 551	126 663	125 486	129 281	99 542	111 614
Milk products, tons	46 867	55 811	56 439	62 650	60 149	60 878
Bread and bakery products of a long term storage, tons	63 822	61 208	57 609	60 470	571 334	55 951
Bread and bakery products of a short term storage, tons	665	665	688	929	813	707

Source: Arkhangelsk Regional Statistic Service.

The trend dynamics of prices for industrial products and food industries, observed since 1999, shows periodic fluctuations, but the overall trend component is negative and shows a significant increase in producer prices in 2014—2015¹ (Pic. 3).



Picture 3. Dynamics of prices for processing industry and food industry products in Arkhangelsk Region 1999—2015 URL: <http://arhangelskstat.gks.ru/> (Accessed: 02 June 2015).

Most likely, a significant increase in prices in 2015 will be fixed in the final product in the trading industry and products in a subsequent period if the economy continues to stagnate. But the outlook for inflation done by the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Economic Development is very positive and diverge slightly (10—11.5% and 11.9%, respectively). In contrast, producer prices and consumer prices increased significantly in 2014. Thus, in December 2014 the index of food prices was 119.9%, non-food products — 108.7%, services — 110.8%².

During the 2013—2015 business of the Arkhangelsk region had a positive dynamics of development in spite of the crisis and strengthening stagnation of the Russian economy. In 2014 retail trade turnover increased by 3.2% compared to 2013 and was 200,5 billion rub. The favorable situation is important for the regional economy, as the share of the trade in the structure of the gross regional product of the region and it is 11.7%³. At the same time the financial position of the majority of enterprises remains stable. Approximation of data on the volume of trade in the Arkhangelsk region shows a positive trend for the next year.

¹ Socialno-ekonomicheskoe polozhenie Arhangelskoj oblasti bez Neneckogo avtonomnogo okruga za yanvar-mart 2015 goda. URL: <http://arhangelskstat.gks.ru/> (Accessed: 02 June 2015)

² Pravitelstvo Arhangelskoj oblasti. URL: <http://dvinaland.ru/economics/-5c79agd9> (Accessed: 02 June 2015)

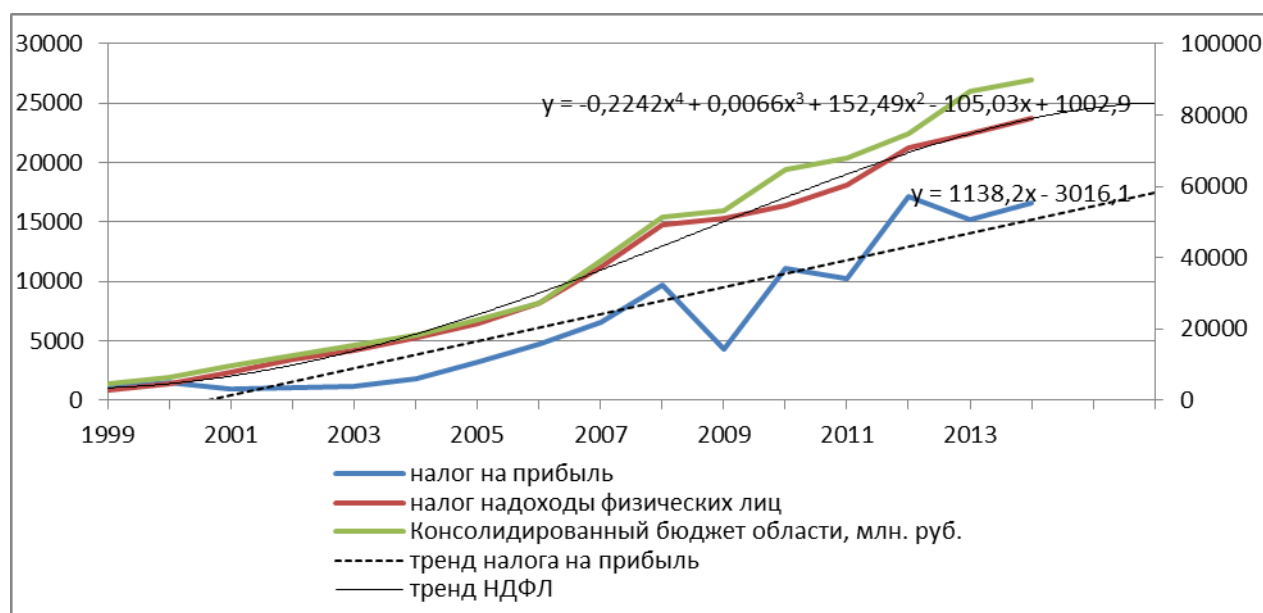
³ Ibid.

Thus, in general we can speak about the absence of the catastrophic situation in the industry of the Arkhangelsk region in 2014-2015 and an earlier manifestation of the negative effects of the recession. One could enjoy the results established in the industrial production output, growth of trade turnover, small fluctuations in prices for products of various industries, but all are interested in what should be expected in the short term. The food industry and export of raw materials will benefit from the devaluation, the fall may occur, but it will be more moderate. It is much harder to have less competitive sectors, particularly engineering, agriculture and innovative industry that will suffer more as it had happened in 2008 [1]. As for keeping the positive results or the negative correction position, investments and technologies continue to decline or remain inaccessible, and the demand for the products is compressed due to falling incomes, which will inevitably lead to a decrease in consumption.

We summarize that “proper crisis” is characterized by reduced capital investment, budget and incomes. Statistics also show that a new crisis 2014 did not cause a global impact on the money of the region: the budget, investments and income. It is typical for the Arkhangelsk region, but for the other regions of Russia the situation is different. Economic situation in areas of Russia is different due to a number of objective reasons [2, p. 221]. In those regions a destabilization of the budget, and it should be noted, began not in the past crisis year, but in 2012—2013, when profits of tax revenues and federal transfers had reduced. Therefore, in 2013 the deficit of regional budgets came up to 642 billion rub or almost three times, and “by the end of December 2014 the total regional debt was 2.1 trillion rubles⁴ and reached 1/3 of profits of the regions (without transfers). A half of the regions has more debts — 50—130% of their profits. Only the richest regions (Moscow, Tumen and Sakhalin regions, oil extraction autonomous districts) are able to provide a balanced budget policy” [3]

Analyzing the economic results of the Arkhangelsk region in 2014, we see a different situation: the increase in tax revenues from the organizations by 9% compared with 2013, and from individuals by 6% (Pic. 4). But if the dynamics of income from taxes of individuals in 1999 is positive, the companies paid taxes evenly. The strong decline occurred there in 2013 (11% compared with 2012).

⁴ Ministry of Finance of the Russian Federation URL: www.minfin.ru/ (Accessed: 12 June 2015)



Picture 4. Arkhangelsk Regional budget 1999—2015.

URL: <http://arhangelskstat.gks.ru/> (Accessed: 02 June 2015).

The investments in fixed capital, which is essential for intensive and extensive economic growth, got a decline since 2013 manifested in stagnation before the impact of the latest crisis factors. So, in 2013, the decline in investment was 3% compared with the previous period, and in 2014 — 6% (Table 2). According to macroeconomic analysts, the decline in investment in the Russian economy will grow ⁵, and, therefore, the national industry will continue to go on reduction of output and productivity.

Table 2

Investments in fixed capital of the Arkhangelsk Region⁶

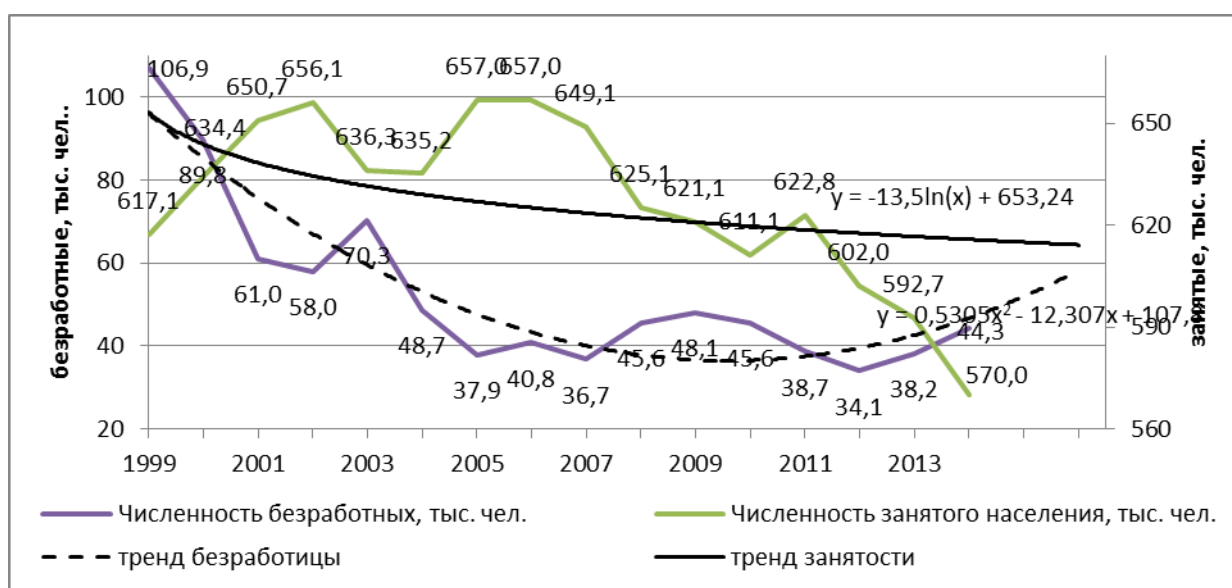
Year	Investments in fixed capital, mln. rub.	Changes to the previous period, %	Year	Investments in fixed capital, mln. rub.	Changes to the previous period, %
1999	4 018		2007	130 642	147,8
2000	10 471	260,6	2008	145 622	111,5
2001	15 114	144,3	2009	74 284	51,0
2002	23 809	157,5	2010	99 686	134,2
2003	28 629	120,2	2011	134 722	135,1
2004	32 657	114,1	2012	162 514	120,6
2005	47 710	146,1	2013	157 276	96,8
2006	88 413	185,3	2014	148 129	94,2

Source: Arkhangelsk Regional Statistic Service.

⁵ RosBiznesKonsalting. URL: <http://rbc.ru/> (Accessed: 12 June 2015).⁶ Socialno-ekonomicheskoe polozhenie Arhangelskoj oblasti bez Neneckogo avtonomnogo okruga za yanvar-mart 2015 goda. URL: <http://arhangelskstat.gks.ru/> (Accessed: 12 June 2015).

And first of all it will affect regions with low investment attractiveness. Arkhangelsk region has a low investment grade rating, which means that we should expect an even greater decline in investment, followed by the decline in industrial production.

Crisis in the economy is always accompanied by rising unemployment and poverty. So in crisis years 1998 and 2008 the unemployment rates grew up by 2 times⁷. Contemporary crisis employment and unemployment may not be clearly revealed in statistics due to demographic situation. Reduction of the workforce in Russia could be invisible for a long time due to declining birth rates and a growing population of retirement age, leveled migratory influx and cheap labor from the CIS countries. The labor market of the Arkhangelsk region is characterized by long-term negative trends, increase in the unemployment rate, which emerged much earlier than the effects of the crisis. Reducing the number of employed people in our area has been observed since 2006. The unemployment rate, after its minimum in 2012, is constantly increasing, and in 2014 it had reached 44.3 thousand people (Pic. 5). Thus, the unemployment rate in the Arkhangelsk region in 2014 exceeded the value of 7%, which is significantly higher than the average unemployment rate in Russia (4.8%)⁸.



Picture.5. Employed and unemployed people in the Arkhangelsk Region 1999 - 2015
URL: <http://arhangelskstat.gks.ru/> (Accessed: 02 June 2015).

Conclusion

The statistical analysis showed the expectation of a strong downturn in the economy of the Arkhangelsk region in 2014-2015 years had failed to materialize, although there had been tension in the investment development of the region.

⁷ Crisis 2015. URL: <http://www.krizis-2015.ru/krizis-2014-2015> (Accessed: 02 June 2015).

⁸ Rosstat. URL: <http://arhangelskstat.gks.ru/> (Accessed: 02 June 2015).

Reduction of the number of employed population in the region continues over the past fifteen years and it is not associated with a new economic crisis. The present economic crisis is of a different character, it is going to be slow and long.

Studying the economic dynamics of the region 1999—2015, we see that the causes of economic stagnation are much deeper. Overlay of numerous factors and their impact on institutional changes in the economy may lead to more negative effects of the crisis with a deferred time lag.

Therefore, an innovative program of economic transformation aimed at the development of modern infrastructure (technology parks, industrial platforms, and clusters), the introduction of tax holidays for less competitive and protected from imports industries and special conditions for the regions are in demand.

However, the positive changes in the dynamics of the main determinants of the crisis have not yet been seen. Consequently, economic growth and the positive economic and social development in the 2015-2016 should not be expected. Some weakening in the development of the crisis is possible by the end of 2015 and it is well seen in slowing rates of inflation and reduced consumption.

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The Arctic Region as a Space for Trans-disciplinary, Resilience and Peace



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Abstract. The article is based on report of Professor Lassi Heininen at the international conference "Ensuring security and sustainable development of the Arctic region, the preservation of ecosystems and traditional lifestyles of indigenous peoples of the Arctic", which was held in the framework of the V International meeting of representatives of the Member States of the Arctic Council, observer States and foreign scientific public on 15—16 September 2015 in the city of Arkhangelsk¹. During the period in after the Cold War has been carried out successfully transition from military confrontation to the Political stability and increasing international cooperation. New circumstances and uncertainty may jeopardize the stability of the existing. Lassi Heininen believes that none of us would like to open a new front in the Arctic — we are experienced and wise enough not to do so.

Keywords: *Arctic, peace, conflict, security, threat, "Arctic paradox", the absence of open conflict, the possibilities*

¹ It was organized under the auspices of the Russian Federation Security Council in cooperation with the Northern (Arctic) Federal University, NArFU.

How come have not the prognoses of emerging conflicts in, or a 'scramble' for, the Arctic been, yet, materialized? And why is the achieved, man-made Arctic stability so resilient? An answer lies on the fact that the stable and cooperative Arctic is so valuable for its states and peoples in the era of globalization. The post-Cold War has been a successful due to the shift from military confrontation into political stability and growing international cooperation — there are only winners [1]. This is seen how the Kingdom of Denmark and Russia play according to the rules of the United Nations' Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), when they submitted their proposals on the Arctic Ocean's shelves to the UN's Commission — the proposals compete, the states cooperate within the Arctic Council.

This also shows the power of immaterial values, such as peace, human capital and that of cumulative, 'soft' methods in politics and governance [2,3]. They have made possible the creativity of the Arctic region, as the following examples show:

- a. first, new kind of environmental governance by the international Polar Bear Agreement;
- b. second, self-determination and self-governing of indigenous peoples (e.g. the Home Rule of Greenland);
- c. third, devolution, welfare state and peace based on the Nordic model (e.g., The Nordic Peace 2003)[4];
- d. fourth, traditional environmental knowledge for example, by the Sami Council;
- e. fifth, cooperation on environmental protection by the Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy (AEPS);
- f. sixth, policy-shaping in the structures of the Arctic Council;
- g. seventh, new knowledge on climate change by the Arctic Climate Impact Assessment (ACIA) report and learned lessons by the success stories of the Arctic Human Development Report (AHDR);
- h. eighth, the University of the Arctic;
- i. ninth, 'para-diplomacy' in Greenland and the Russian Arctic (e.g., Ackren 2014)[5];
- j. tenth, implementation of the interplay between science and politics by the Northern Research Forum;
- k. eleventh, an online platform for academic and other dialogue via the Arctic Yearbook, an international and interdisciplinary peer-viewed on-line publication (see: www.arcticyearbook.com).

Now the post-Cold War era has come to a close in the Arctic in many ways. *A new Arctic* security and political agenda is emerging. It is more demanding due to the reflections of regional wars, the constant warfare against international terror, and flows of globalization. As well as due to 'Grand challenges' as main drivers, such as long-range pollution and climate change, and ethical

questions concerning the mass-scale utilization. Finally, that the Anthropocene is at play in the Arctic — it is the most recent stage of geological evolution, where industrial civilization has itself become a geological force, as well as a potential tipping point for the global EarthSystem [6]. Here the Arctic states and their state-owned enterprises much influence future development by choosing either to prioritize business activities only, or have more holistic approach by taking into consideration the peoples and the environment, for example by focusing on clean technology.

In the GlobalArctic Project (see: www.globalarctic.org) we consider the Arctic region in the 2010s to have become part and parcel of global political, economic, technological and environmental, as well as societal, changes. The future of the region is not any more in the hands of Arctic actors alone. Correspondingly, what happens in the Arctic has significant implications worldwide. Indeed, there is a growing pressure from outside the region by the AC observer countries in Asia and Europe, and TNCs as global actors. The Arctic has seen as one of the global commons, but misinterpreted to mean a permission to share the resources by outsiders, when this should mean to take care of the Arctic and its unique ecosystem and climate > the Arctic region with its rich biodiversity and diversity of culture is for its nations, as well as the humankind.

Why to try to find old solutions for this situation of grand challenges. Since the Anthropocene has already created the '*Arctic Paradox*' — the faster we use fossil fuels, the sooner we get access to new hydrocarbons, they contribute to climate warming which in turn makes the Arctic sea-ice melt and new oil and gas recourses available [7] — the answer cannot be more mass-scale utilization by extractive industries. Arctic actors have shown being able to be innovative and resilient. We will continue on this track, if the Arctic states are patient to implement their commitment to the well-being of the inhabitants, the protection of the Arctic environment and sustainability, as they affirmed when establishing the Arctic Council in 1996 [8]. These commitments have earned legitimacy among the people(s) and civil societies of the Arctic region.

One of the criteria of science is its social relevance, i.e. that science is more than labs and theories, it is people, societies, the environment — this is recently also called science diplomacy. This include the interplay between science, politics and economics, and its implementation, as it was done in the very international meeting of the Arctic Council member states. I'm a political scientist, as well as I'm a citizen, and my role, even a duty, is to distribute my research findings to the public and share my knowledge, as well as thoughts, with my own civil society and the global community. Even when they are not along the mainstream, or not at the first stage supported by most of the decision-makers.

In the Arctic context this means that I cannot admit — and have not admitted — that there are emerging conflicts between the Arctic states due to recent regional conflicts and the sanctions between the USA / the EU and Russia, if I cannot identify them. The intergovernmental cooperation under the auspices of the Arctic Council continues, and the scientific cooperation in Arctic research is stronger than ever. According to the Toyama Conference Statement (at the ICARP III and ASSW 2015 in April 2015 in Toyoma, Japan) “[T]he Arctic remains a region of geopolitical stability which is a precondition for sustaining Arctic research”².

The Arctic states and nations, including the Russian Federation and the USA, have too much at stake, if they will lose the high stability of the Arctic and the solid foundation for international cooperation there. I believe that none of us would like to open a new front in the Arctic — we are experienced and wise enough not to do so. This was also the message of our scientific report, *Russian Strategies in the Arctic: Avoiding a New Cold War* [9].

Of course, bad things can happen, and the new situation with challenges and uncertainty has put the stability into the first real test. If the Arctic states and the existing structures — supported by the civil societies — will pass the test, we reach new experiences and gain credibility to face the real challenges of the 21st century: global environmental problems, such as long-range pollution, climate change; and the so-called ‘wicked’ problems, such as the greedy global financing system, growing inequality, a new geopolitical disorder and (new) wave of terrorism due to the unstable Middle East, wars in Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria, and the ISIS. Finally, that new ethical questions have emerged in future development - loss of biodiversity, the mass-scale offshore exploitation in a fragile ecosystem - raises the question of an ‘ultimate price’ that will be accepted to be paid in the Arctic and globally, if the current development will be continued [10].

Even more, in the front of us there will be new opportunities to find solutions for these ‘grand challenges’, or even wicked problems, i.e. whether ‘industrial civilization’ is capable and willing to slow down and eventually cease fossil fuel-based development. The current state of Arctic stability and deep cooperation together with rapid transformations occurring in the region and affecting the entire Earth System, and the new economic interests in the Arctic have established the region as a larger player in world politics and the global economy. This makes the Arctic — with its high stability, innovations, human capital and the ‘unity-in-diversity’ approach — a potentially interesting case study for further studies on the environment, climate change, stability- and peace-building in IR, and new forms of shaping regional and global governance.

² Integrating Arctic research: a roadmap for the future /Arctic Science Summit Week 2015 (ASSW), Toyama conference statement. 30 April 2015. URL: <http://ru.uarctic.org/media/1113830/assw---conference---statement---final.pdf> (Accessed: 21November 2015).

Briefly to conclude the Arctic, not overtly plagued by conflicts, can be seen an exception in international politics, as is the International Space Station. It might, as well as Iran after the nuclear deal, become a new metaphor for 'Exceptionalism' and taken as an example how to shape alternative premises of security and politics. Here to maintain and further develop the interplay between science and politics, that between scientific knowledge and traditional/local knowledge, as well as trans-disciplinarily, is critical.

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The value of the Arctic for Russia's national security, China may become the Arctic Power

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Abstract. Consider the value of the Arctic for Russia's national security and strategic aspects of the Arctic itself. At the moment, the military-political situation in the Arctic seems not to be dangerous for Russia. Investigated the effects of reduced ice cover, which allows US Navy warships — aircraft carriers and cruisers and destroyers equipped with the “Aegis” system — to enter the Arctic waters. In this article possible scenarios of conflict and prospects of the geopolitical situation in the Arctic are examined. In future, China could purchase one of the islands of Iceland. Such a possession would automatically make China an Arctic Power.

Keywords: Arctic, missile defense, aircraft defense, navy, Northern fleet, Russia, USA, China



Introduction

Russian Arctic occupies a vast territory between the meridians 32 ° 04'35 WL and 168 ° 58'49 NL, i.e. nearly 160 ° of the 360 ° of latitude. The length of Russia's Arctic coast is 22.6 thousand km (38.8 thousand km of the Russian coastline). Land territory of the Russian Federation in the Arctic is 3.7 million km² (the population — 2.5 million people). Thus, they hold 21.6% of the entire territory of the Russian Federation with only 1.7% of the population. From a military perspective, the value of the Arctic for the Russian national security has strategic and actual aspects.

The strategic importance of the Arctic region for ensuring the defense capability of Russia

The strategic importance of the Arctic region for the defense of the country is determined by the fact that it is traversed by the shortest air routes from North America to Eurasia and back. A hypothetical missile exchange between Russia and the United States could be done through the air-space of the Arctic and the near space above it. Since 1950s such attacks could be applied only in the nuclear option and in the 21st century there is possibility of a non-nuclear strike pursuing the objectives of a strategic nature.

The Arctic has become the front line of a missile and air defense. The BMD is currently located in the European part of the Russian Arctic — two radar stations of the missile attack warning (early warning radar station) in Olenegorsk (Murmansk region) and in Pechora (Komi Republic). The

first of them, “Dnestr-M” type (modernized variant of “Dnepr”), is the oldest of the existing early warning radar station (since 1971), the second — a newer type of “Daryal”, established in 1984. Location of these two radar systems in Russia made them the “last in line” to be replaced with new radar type “Voronezh”, as the first new radars were constructed to replace those that appeared to be outside of Russia after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Construction of the radar type “Voronezh” in Olenegorsk will be launched no earlier than 2017 and in Pechora —even later. In the Asian part of the Russian Arctic (Siberia and Far East) there are no plans for radar construction.

Approximately the same is the situation with the Air Defense system (means the struggle with aerodynamic objects). In the European part of the Russian Arctic, there are three anti-aircraft missiles complexes equipped with anti-aircraft missile system (ZRS) S-300P: Severodvinsk (Arkhangelsk Region), Olenegorsk and Polyarny (Murmansk Region), the latter got also latest S-400 system. In Monchegorsk (Murmansk region) a mixed air regiment is located and interceptors MiG-31 as well. It is theoretically possible to widen the air group and transfer aircrafts from the other areas of the Russian Federation. In the Asian part of the Russian Arctic ground air defense and fighter aircraft are missing. In the Far East some means of ground air defenses are available only in the Primorsky and Khabarovsk Territories and on the Kamchatka Peninsula. The rest of its huge territory from Arctic to the border with Mongolia and China is fully open to possible enemies.

However, as mentioned above, in recent years there was threat of a preemptive strike against a non-nuclear Russian strategic nuclear forces (SNF) using cruise missiles, sea and air (SLCM and ALCM) [1, 2, 3]. Such a blow could to solve strategic tasks without ecological disaster which is inevitable in the case of a massive nuclear strike (even if it remains unanswered). We can assume that the main role in disarming will have to be played by the US nuclear-powered submarines (SSNs types “Los Angeles” or “Virginia” and SSGN like “Ohio”). Their mission is facilitated by the fact that even during the peak of its combat power (in 1970 s-19 80s) Soviet Navy solved the problems of the anti-submarine warfare (ASW) with very low efficiency [4]. In particular, Soviet Navy time tracking for foreign submarines did not exceed 0.3% of the time they stayed in the patrol areas [5]. Now the Russian Navy is able to do it effectively only in the immediate vicinity of their bases. The rest of the Russian territorial waters and, especially, outside the US submarines are able to operate almost unhindered if the intend to do so. The situation is even worse because of the fact that in the Arctic coastal area and near the edge of the ice a level of natural acoustic noise is high and it contributes to the stealth action of submarines [6]. In this regard, it is clear that the construction of the air defense system in the Arctic, able to detect and destroy SLCM and ALCM shortly after the start, is very diffi-

cult and expensive, but still much simpler and cheaper than building ASW system covering the Arctic.

Reduced ice cover in the Arctic and its consequences for the RF national security

A well-known natural phenomenon of a sharp reduction of the Arctic Ocean's ice cover (until its almost complete melting in the summer) is not just important, but, in fact, the only reason for a significant increase in interest in the exploration of the Arctic, not only in the countries of the region, but in many countries that are geographically not relevant to the Arctic. That natural phenomenon in the Arctic may lead to the full economic and military activities. In particular, the absence of ice facilitates the actions of SSGN submarines of the enemy in the Arctic Ocean. On the other hand, the ASW's tasks are also facilitated. In addition, the lack of solid ice cover allows the US warships — aircraft carriers and cruisers and destroyers with the "Aegis" system, which can carry both SLCM and anti-aircraft missiles (SAMs) global missile defense system, to enter the Arctic waters surface¹. In this regard, cruisers and destroyers of the US Navy also address strategic challenges, both offensive (SLCM hit targets on the territory of the Russian Federation) and defense (AWS) [8]. However, the actions of surface ships are hampered by the fact that it is almost impossible to ensure their secrecy.

The phenomenon of the reduction of the ice cover itself generates arctic aspect of the national security of the Russian Federation and the need for the Armed Forces in case of military conflicts in the Arctic territories and waters.

The basis of the RF armed forces in the Arctic region is Northern Fleet. It (without nuclear submarines belonging to the SNF) 7 ANS (1 pr. 885, 2 pr. 949A, 1 pr. 971, 1 pr. 945A, 2 pr. 671RTMK), 3 submarines (1 pr. 677, 2 pr. 877), aircraft carrier pr. 11435, nuclear missile cruiser prospect. 1144, destroyer ave. 956, 3 BOD pr. 1155, 6 IPC 1124M, 2 MRK 1234.1, 10 minesweepers, 3 BDK 775. In addition, a significant number of submarines and surface ships are being repaired. Naval aviation is represented by more than 70 aircrafts and 40 helicopters. On the Kola Peninsula three brigades are located: 61th Marines, 80th Arctic, 200th motorized rifle brigade. As is the case with air defense, the entire group located in the western part of the Russian Arctic. Moreover, the Northern Fleet has so far been largely focused on the actions in the Atlantic Ocean, not in the Arctic waters. In the Asian part of the Russian Arctic only 99th task force group is located on the New Siberian Islands and its capacity is limited. It involves the formation of the Arctic

¹ "Aegis" system is a multifunctional combat information control system (MCICS) of an integrated network of sensors and computers, as well as shock-fighting agents in the form of interceptor missiles of first generation Standard missile 2 (SM-2) and more advanced Standard missile 3 (SM-3), the launching of which is carried out by means of universal installations Mk 41 located below the main deck of cruisers and destroyers [7].

brigade in the Salekhard area. Thus, beyond the capacity of the Kola Peninsula, the Russian Armed Forces is currently negligible in the Arctic.

It should be understood that even in case of further global warming, the Arctic won't be suitable for mass for the population for a long time. In addition, none of the current Arctic countries has an overpopulation problem. Everywhere, except the United States, there is a problem of depopulation. Accordingly, the potential redistribution of the Arctic may be of purely economic motives.

Possible scenarios of an armed conflict

The most popular theoretical scenario of the armed conflict in the Arctic is a struggle for hydrocarbon deposits on the Arctic shelf. However, we must bear in mind that the oil and gas from the ocean floor under the presence of even a temporary ice yet nobody ever truly extracted (at least — on a large scale). Accordingly, technological and financial risks are very high and they make the profitability of the project unobvious. Because of this, no oil or gas company will go for the implementation of such a project in case of unresolved legal risks of political and, especially, of a military nature. Nobody starts to “spur of the moment” and to extract oil and gas in the offshore areas, since such a project would be unprofitable. Moreover, no insurance company will insure such a project (or the price of the insurance would be unacceptably high). Accordingly, this scenario could be considered a conflict of a completely illusory nature. Especially if we consider the fact that among all of the existing oil and gas fields only 3% have undetermined owners.

Probably a conflict in the form of side collision of Navy forces might occur because of unsolved problems of navigation in the Arctic, provided by its release from the ice for an extended period. That issue remains unresolved, entailing the need for escort merchant ships by warships across the Arctic. But this greatly increases the cost of transport and eliminates the economic benefit from the reduction of the route.

The current “battle for the Arctic” is still rather on the level of political rhetoric than action. In particular, until now there have been no signs of a real military confrontation in the region. Armed forces of the Arctic countries have almost never come into contact with each other and have not had the practical ability to influence each other without serious additional measures that cannot be overlooked for the reconnaissance of other countries. Moreover, Canadian and Danish armed forces in the Arctic are negligible, Iceland has no armed forces, and Sweden and Finland have no access to the Arctic Ocean. This is virtually eliminating them from the “struggle for the Arctic” (because this term means redistribution of waters, but not territories). Accordingly, military terms, theoretically and practically in such a struggle is possible for Russia, the US and Nor-

way. It is necessary to admit that it is possible to be more theoretically than practically. Currently, the activities of the armed forces in the Arctic region are only defensive [9, 10].

It can be stated that the armed forces of Canada, Norway and Denmark are not able to carry out any serious active military impact in relation to the Arctic territories of the Russian Federation due to the general weakness of military capabilities. On the other hand, the United States, even using the forces stationed in Alaska (Airborne Brigade, the brigade “Stryker”, two Wings) could easily take Chukotka, where there are no Russian Armed Forces at all. At the same time Russia won't be able to use the heavy compounds because of the significant distances. The nearest to Chukotka motorized infantry brigade is located in Kamchatka, some more — in the Khabarovsk and Primorsky regions. The heavy machinery airlift is impossible, and by the sea — it will take a considerable amount of time and, what is more important, it will be blocked by the US Navy in the Pacific, which is much stronger than the Russian Navy. Russia has the opportunity to transfer only part of the Airborne Forces and the Air Force to Chukotka. However, this would make it quite difficult because of the US Air Force.

At the same time, however, it is not clear that the United States could have such an operation in political and military terms. It does not give them any apparent benefit, and carries the threat of escalation of the conflict up to the full-scale nuclear exchange. And such a scenario is getting the more possible, if Russia will lose its potential opportunity to liberate its territory by conventional forces in case of war. It is easy to understand that Chukotka is not a value for the United States to capture it and damage the existence of their country. This applies even more to other parts of the Russian Arctic coast, as the United States might get in a significantly complicated situation solving the issues of logistics and air defense (due to longer distances) and for Russia, both of these tasks, respectively, would be simplified.

Russia has already started working out troop transport in the Arctic from West to East, as well as deployment of the Airborne Forces there. In September 2013, it carried out an operation to restore the airfield “Temp” on the island of Kotelny. The operation involved the icebreaker “50 Let Pobedi”, “Vaigach”, “Taimyr” and “Yamal”, and the missile cruiser “Petr Veliky”. This operation led to the creation of the above-mentioned 99th tactical group. In March 2015, in the framework of the exercises, the Armed Forces of sudden division of the 98th Airborne Division of the Ivanovo region were transferred to the Arctic (Novaya Zemlya and Franz Josef Land, and then — the Kola Peninsula). In August 2015, the units of the 80th Arctic brigade were deployed by the “Georgy Pobedonosets” and “Kondopoga” to Dudinka, where they had exercises on guarding and defense of “Norilsk Nickel” together with two airborne groups delivered to Norilsk by six IL-76 aircrafts.

These exercises show a significantly increased capacity of the RF Armed Forces of power projection within its own territory, even in its most remote regions. Apparently, the transfer of troops to Chukotka (even without the involvement of the Pacific Fleet) could be a completely solved problem.

However, the transfer of troops from the European part of the Arctic and other regions of the country is not always a suitable option compare to the permanent troops in this part of Russia. Creating a 5th Joint Command of the Armed Forces of the strategic-base of the Northern Fleet (which is removed from the Western Military District), the formation of the Arctic crews, and the establishment of military groups on the Arctic Islands are not only justified but absolutely necessary. On the Kotelny and Wrangel Islands, Cape Schmidt, the East coast of Chukotka, and the Kurils modern military bases are constructed. By the years 2016-2017, according to the plans of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation, six Arctic airfields are going to be reconstructed. Arctic group of the RF Armed Forces will be fully completed by the 2018, according to S.K. Shoigu ².

China might become an Arctic power

In the longer perspective, countries geographically not related to the Arctic may influence the situation in the Arctic. Many countries in the South, Southeast, and especially East Asia have a very an economic interest in the Arctic in terms of access to its natural resources and communications, a considerably short route from Europe to Asia. At the same time, however, even the

strongest of them (India, Japan, Republic of Korea) cannot provide a military presence in the Arctic, because they are very far away from the region and do not have opportunities to create military bases there.

At the moment, the same is true for China. However, this country with a large economy and population is the most interested in access to the Arctic in the framework of external expansion, without which it would be extremely difficult to solve internal problems of China [11]. At the same time its economic and military capabilities are significantly higher than in all of the Asian countries.

Therefore, China has made very significant efforts to get an access to the Arctic.

Beijing initially operated in the Arctic through Norway, placing its polar icebreaker and a research station on Svalbard. In 2008, using the advantage of the economic crisis, China suffered a ma-



² Sozdanie arkticheskoy gruppirovki vojsk RF zavershitsya k 2018 godu, soobshhil 22 oktyabrya ministr oborony Rossii Sergej Shoigu. URL: <http://tass.ru/armiya-i-opk/2368965> (Accessed: 22 October 2015)

jor effort to Iceland. In 2012, China and Iceland signed a free trade agreement — the first such agreement China signed with European countries. After that, the President of Iceland Ólafur Ragnar Grímsson said that China should enter the Arctic Council on a permanent basis, as the Arctic “ceased to be a regional, and has become a global theme”³. Moreover, the President of Iceland, apparently with the filing of Beijing, announced the creation of “Arctic Circle” — a new international organization for the Arctic. Any country or organization could be a member. Thus, it was intended to give the Arctic the same international status that Antarctica has. This appears to be completely unlawful. Antarctica is a desert continent and its international status is natural. The Arctic is mainly the Arctic Ocean’s coast which belongs to particular countries. Its delimitation is carried out with the help of maritime law and other international legislation. However, it is China via Iceland carries the idea of “the internationalization of the Arctic”, with a certain support of the the United States ⁴.

Some evidences that China intends to buy Iceland's northernmost island (or rather — a rock) — Kolbeynsi. Its area is 90 m². And it, of course, does not allow China to have any economic or military activities there. However, this island is located north of the Arctic Circle, so possession would automatically make China one of the Arctic countries and China would claim a place in the Arctic Council, pursuing its interests there. In particular, China stands for the internationalization of the Northern Sea Route and the Northwest Passage. This position coincides with the position of the US and is opposed by Russia and Canada. It is unclear whether the sale will take place. In the post-war era there were no precedents like that. In any case, the idea of internationalization of the Arctic shelf will create more problems for Russia than the current military activities of other Arctic countries combined.

The constant presence of Chinese submarines and ships in the Arctic will be possible if China get a naval base in the Atlantic Ocean (in the countries of Africa or Latin America). Such a development seems to be possible as long as China has economic and political influence on these continents. Apparently, Namibia will become the first of these countries. Chinese naval base on its territory may appear before the year 2020.

Conclusion

Thus, at present military-political situation in the Arctic is not dangerous for Russia. The probability of even a very limited military confrontation in the Arctic is close to zero. However, it

³ Aziya rvyotsya v Arktiku. URL: <http://news.21.by/other-news/2013/05/23/768093.html> (Accessed: 08 November 2015)

⁴ Establishment of a new organization was announced by the President of Iceland Ólafur Grímsson on the 16th of April 2013 in Washington DC during his visit to the USA. The first Assembly of the Arctic Circle was attended by the representatives of 40 countries on the 12th —14th of October 2013. — Editors’ note

should be understood that the only reason for that is Russian military superiority in the region and strengthening of the Arctic Group of the RF Armed Forces. However, if the warming would not be replaced by a sharp cold snap and reducing ice cover, the Arctic importance to national security will inevitably increase in strategic and Arctic aspects. The geopolitical situation can change radically China, who plays for the internationalization of the Arctic and has the opportunity to become a full-fledged Arctic Power, acquiring one of the arctic islands.

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Ethnic policy of Russia in the Arctic: basic approaches and principles¹



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Abstract. The need to account the regional specific of the ethnic policy making and its practice in the AZRF is grounded on 2 contrary

management approaches: economic- technocratic approach and political-humanitarian approach. Indigenous peoples are considered to be the subject and the object of the state ethnic policy of Russia. 2 issues are analyzed: 1) conditions for the preservation and development of indigenous peoples, historically living in the area; contributions to their cultural diversity; improvement of the living standards; 2) social integration of internal and external migrants. It is noted that there are three imperative approaches to the state policy towards small-numbered ethnic groups of the North: the state-paternalistic, liberal market and neo-traditionalist approaches. Prospects of mutually-interacting state and indigenous peoples discussed in the context of supra-ethnic identity — indigenous peoples, "local" people.

Keywords: *Arctic, North, state, ethnos, ethnic integration policy, indigenous people, indigenism*

Introduction

Arctic zone of the Russian Federation (Russian Arctic) covers the territories of different ethnic and religious composition, economic specialization and regional forms of political power. A huge sparsely populated territory, harsh climate and location at the crossroads of different cultures determined the complexity of ethno-social processes in the Arctic. The colonization of the northern lands is the essence of migration processes in historical perspective. Great Russian historian V.O. Klyuchevsky considered colonization a fundamental process of the Russian history: "The

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history of Russia is the history of a country that has been colonizing itself. The area of colonization was expanding together with its state territory" [1, p. 50]. An important feature of the Russian colonization is its focus on the development of unpopulated or economically undeveloped areas. One should distinguish between the terms "colonization" and "colonialism". The qualitative difference of the definitions was indicated by Professor L.L. Rybakovsky [2, p. 128]. According to him, the policy of colonization pursued by Russia excluded such phenomena as the slavery and the destruction of the native population, typical for Spain, Portugal, Great Britain and other countries, resulted in enslavement and plunder of the peoples of the New World and the transformation the territories they live in colonies of the developed countries. The term "colonization", in our view, more accurately reveals the essence of the process of resettlement, focusing on targeted influence, on the state processes in the Russian context. Russia, being the foundation of the Eurasian world, historically developed as a system that combines multiple ethnic groups and thus gives them a new quality of the future. And the prospects for the existence and development have been opened not only for the ordinary people, but also for the elite of the ethnic groups, which were included in Russian elite. A great number the small ethnic groups members enjoyed the upward social mobility within the Russian state.

Thus, the mixed and dispersed resettlement of peoples, economic structures and differences in value systems, a large state role in the colonization of the northern lands were historical factors of regionalization of the Arctic area of Russia. Despite the existing different ethnic and religious groups, the Russian Arctic should be considered as a single macro-region, as part of Russia, due to the absolute predominance of Russians there, as well as the predominance of all-Russian identity over ethnic and regional ones among the majority of the Northerners in the Russian Federation.

Nation and ethnic groups in the Russian Arctic

Developing an effective state ethnic policy is becoming increasingly important due to the issue of the development of the Arctic. Its relevance is due to complex reasons: increased attention of the government that has accepted the strategic documents on the development of the Russian Arctic, the growing global competition for resources, an important geo-economic and geopolitical importance of the region. Of particular note is the need for the formation of regional models of ethnic policy, which experts say [3, 2013]. The complexity of the regional models of ethno-national policy of Russia is, on the one hand, related to the need to incorporate the features of ethno-social processes taking place in the regions of different socio-economic development,

various inter-ethnic relations, the dynamics of migration processes and, on the other hand, it is related to the fact that it is mandatory to have unified approaches of public policy in this area.

Before proceeding to the analysis of value characteristics of national ethnic policy, it is necessary to define the meaning of terms “ethnicity” and “nation”. A certain lack of consensus among foreign and Russian scientists on this issue, its complexity and politicization occur. According to J.M. Bromley, ethnicity is “... historically rooted in the territory stable intergenerational group of people who not only have similarities, but also have relatively stable features of culture (including language) and psyche, as well as awareness of their unity and difference from all other similar entities (self-awareness), fixed in the self-name (ethnonym)” [4, p. 58]. So, ethnicity acts as a socio-cultural community. In contrast to the ethnic group, nation is a political and supra-ethnic; it includes different ethnic groups. British anthropologist from the London School of Economics E. Smith defines nation as a political and cultural community that is aware of its autonomy, unity and self-interest: “... a nation we can call the population with its historical territory, common myths and historical memories, mass and popular culture, common economy and common legal rights and obligations for its members” [5, p. 57]. Note that E. Smith emphasizes the political nature of the nation, taking as criteria “legal rights and obligations”. In modern societies, only the state has the sovereign right to adopt Constitution and laws, and to establish the rights and obligations of citizens on their territory. Concept of nation presented by E. Smith is a classic one, as it is between two extreme points of view on the origin of nations: instrumentalist and constructivist theories — on one side and ideas about nation as an imaginary phenomenon (B. Anderson [6, 1983], E. Gellner, E. Hobsbawm, L.M. Drobizheva [7], V.A. Tishkov [8]), or primordialist concept that considers the nation a biosocial phenomenon (P. van den Berg, C. Geertz, D. Armstrong) — on the other side.

Thus, saying “nation” we mean the entire population of Russia, falling under the above criteria — long-term residents of the territory, sharing common myths, traditions, common historical memory with legal rights and duties. Among the objectives of the national policy of Russia listed in the Strategy of the state national policy of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2025 (approved by Presidential Decree on the 19th of December 2012, N 1666) the first place is occupied by the issues of consolidation and nationwide civic consciousness, spiritual unity of the multinational people of the Russian Federation (Russian nation).

A special place among the population of the Russian Arctic is occupied by indigenous peoples of the North. This is an important point in the context of this article, as the theme of ethno-national policy of Russia in the Arctic includes public policy for the entire population of the Russian Arctic. At the same time, indigenous peoples of the North serve as a special object of public policy.

The Russian Arctic represents an area with low population density and its level of urbanization is one of the highest in the country — about 80% [9, p. 38]. A significant part of the urban population lives in large industrial centers — Arkhangelsk, Severodvinsk, Murmansk (over 100,000 people) and in the 30 towns with a population of over 5000 people. The rest of the population lives in predominantly gated communities, which have a “detachment” from the “mainland”. We discuss the existence of geographic, climatic and economic specific of Northern communities that should be taken into account in the formation of a national policy towards ethnic groups of the Russian Arctic.

Management approach to the development of the Russian Arctic

The collapse of the Soviet Union caused the degradation of economic, transport and social infrastructure, significant migration outflow of the population of the northern territories, the destruction of the health system, especially in rural areas, the outflow of specialists. In the post-Soviet era, northern regions had a negative migration balance. The main reason for the outflow of people from the northern regions was the changing role of government in the economy, reduction of large-scale development projects in the North, Siberia and the Far East. In 1990 - 2011 the population of the North of Russia decreased from 9807 thousand people to 7967 thousand people. The total loss of population was 1 million 840 000 people [10, p. 71]. The negative balance is still relevant for the North of Russia.

Russian state policy in the Arctic had changed after 2007. In recent years there have been several important documents: in 2013 - the Development Strategy for the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation and the national security for the period up to 2020; in 2014 — the state program “Socio-economic development of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation for the period till 2020” and a Decree of the President on the establishment of the Commission on the development of the Arctic.

The author believes that modern Russia has developed two opposing management approach to the state policy on development of the territories of the Far North. Conditionally denote them as the economic and technocratic, political and humanitarian.

The ideological basis of economic and technocratic approach is the liberal values professed by the representatives of the economic bloc of the government: competition, equality of opportunities, modern versions of the laissez-faire principle. This approach takes into account the specifics of the minimum economic development of the northern territories. Along with the economic and technocratic approach “rotational” method has become popular. “Rotational” method is now seen in the activity of public and private oil and gas companies. Its supporters appeal to the need to re-

duce costs, to maintain infrastructure in the harsh climatic conditions, to use the cost optimization and other cost-reasoned opinions, designed to increase the efficiency of the use of state and companies' funds. This approach uses the concepts of "Arctic" and "North" as opposite and it seems to be typical for legal and political activities of the past decade. The idea is that "Arctic" means areas that have access to the Arctic Ocean. "North" has wider meaning of areas with severe climate [11, p. 155-191]. It would seem that such a differentiation is made due geographical and logical reasons. However, the opposition of these terms is an absolute priority of Arctic projects related to the development of the Northern Sea Route and limitations for gaining the state funding for northern territories that are not part of the Russian Arctic ².

Thus, the Arctic and the North are not allocated as a strategic object of public policy. Securing the tendency to increase the role of the Arctic but not North in the Russian legislation is negatively perceived by the expert community. Authorities of some of the northern regions are coming out with proposals to expand the Arctic zone. A similar opinion is shared by the experts. According to Professor Y. Lukin, if the subject of the Russian Federation or a part of its territory goes to the Arctic coastline, the whole territory of subject should be included in the Arctic zone [12, p. 170]. In October 2014 the media reported, citing the head of the Russian Ministry of Labor M. Topilin, about the possible removal of regional coefficients used in wages in the Far North and equivalent areas. The Ministry of Labour disavowed this message later [11, 2014]. It got a backlash in public opinion.

The second, the political and humanitarian approach, is behind the need for integrated development of the North, the creation of comfortable living conditions for the population. We are talking about an expanded interpretation of the Russian Arctic, including most of the northern areas, and the need for a purposeful state policy in the Arctic and the North, in particular, the development of the legal framework, consisting of a special law on the Arctic. An important task of the state policy is the reindustrialization of the Russian Arctic through the establishment of so-called "areas of priority development". Reindustrialization of the economy of the Russian Arctic should become a basis for the development of social infrastructure, medicine, education and the labor market of North. Similar deliberate policy that takes into account the specifics of the territories should be developed in relation to Siberia and the Far East. In our opinion, the solution of demographic problems, securing the population, especially the labor force on the territories of the Far North is an important task of the state, especially relevant in today's geopolitical situation. Depopulation of the northern territories, of course, does not threaten the state sovereignty. Howev-

² The Order of the RF President, 2 May 2014, defined the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation: territory of 4 subjects of the Russian Federation and parts of the territory of 4 subjects of the Russian Federation — 16 municipalities.

er, this might raise serious problems of geo-economic and geopolitical nature. Indigenous people, in addition to adaptation to climatic conditions, have a sense of Motherland (Homeland), the perception of territory as “their”, which involves a wide range of socio-humanitarian characteristics: respect for the Arctic environment (small Homeland) and awareness of the unity of their destiny with great Motherland — Russia. Desertification of the Russian Arctic will mean dismantling the centuries of civilization efforts of the Russian people for the colonization of the North.

Experts noted the absence of a common mandatory approach to the legal regulation of relations in the Russian Arctic, reflecting the specificity of this macro-region. According to the director of the Center North and the Arctic economy professor A. Pilyasov, the federal law on the Arctic zone should be a focus on security issues in their extended treatment, including both national security issues and the security problems of human life, environmental safety and security of local communities [13, p. 27]. This point of view is justified in terms of regulation of interethnic relations in the Arctic.

The Russian ethno-national policy should take into account regional specifics of interethnic relations: the replacement of old residents as a result of migratory exchange, the inflow of people non-adapted to the northern conditions and not aimed at long-term residence, entails the risk of ethnic tensions. On the one hand, uncontrolled migration, lobbied by unscrupulous employers, is negatively affecting international relations. Government efforts for social adaptation of migrant workers do not solve problems such as the ongoing drug trafficking from Central Asian states, the high crime rate among immigrants, especially illegal immigrants, conflicts between migrant workers, the expansion of the shadow economy. Especially significant are these impacts in terms of socio-economic crisis.

On the other hand, the migration setups of residents have a decisive influence of comfort and security in the region. According to the results of sociological research made in 2008-2010 in Komi (RK) by the Ministry of National Policy of the RK: the main reasons for departure from the North are: “the desire to change a place of residence” — 29.3%; “The municipality, which is inhabited and there is no future, because it does not develop any production there” — 25.0%; “There is no possibility to provide my family with financial support’ — 14.9% [14, p. 113]. The survey respondents indicated what is causing ethnic conflicts. For three years, the respondents usually named: 1) the “bad manners, lack of culture, stupidity, lack of restraint of people, the result of misunderstanding” (48.9%); 2) “too many immigrants, their defiance behavior, oppression of indigenous people” (42.5%); 3) “poverty, disorder in life, a large gap between rich and poor, the envy for those who are richer” (33.2% in 2010) [14, p. 118].

Thus, the outflow of old residents and its replacement by temporary migrants and the loss of the population of the Far North and the nation-state identity are the key processes for understanding the situation.

Expansion of radical Islamists seems to be a greater threat to the security of Russia's population. Experts point to an existence of Islamic fundamentalists in the non-Muslim regions of Russia, who are using various forms of recruitment of supporters, especially among the youth. If the efforts of the authorities won't be able to break down the radical Islamists, the issues of radical Islam are a matter of time in the regions of the Russian Arctic.

The author considers ethno-national policy of Russia in the Arctic and its sustainable development to be provided through the following issues: the first is to create conditions for the preservation and development of peoples, traditionally living in the region, promote their cultural diversity and improvement of living standards. Achievement of the ethno-political stability, inter-ethnic, inter-religious tolerance are possible in case of effective interaction between public authorities, local governments and non-governmental organizations, and, most importantly, in case of economic growth.

The second issue here is the integration of internal and external migrant workers who moved from the regions and countries with different ethnic and cultural, religious or linguistic background.

Both national and Russian migration policy should be based on the principle of civilizational unity. Under the "civilizational unity", we understand the level of consciousness shared cultural values, norms, rules of social life, defining behavioral patterns inherent in individuals as representatives of large and small groups with long-term historical ties and experience sharing. An important feature of the internal unity of civilization is the availability of self-identification of the individual with country of residence, identification of their future and their children's future with the future of the country, they perceived as the Motherland. Important external sign of the civilizational unity is the individual language, laws, traditions, history and culture of the country of residence, willingness to serve in its armed forces. The secondary role is played by such factors as ethnicity, presence of relatives in the country of residence or amount of years of residence. It should be noted that belonging to ethnic groups, historically associated with the country of residence is an important prerequisite of the civilizational unity. In this sense, it is justified and necessary to give preferences for Russian compatriots — Russians and representatives of indigenous peoples of Russia, who have no statehood abroad. At the same time, emphasizing ethnicity as a dominant factor of the civilizational unity is counterproductive because it entails a threat of na-

tionalism and separatism. Natural and climatic conditions largely determined the unifying tendency in Russia.

Attracting of manpower is a significant part of the state migration policy in the Russian Arctic. The effectiveness of migration policy should be determined by its effect on ethnic and religious tension.

Thus, the implementation of economic and technocratic approach in Russian state Arctic policy, in our view, can achieve temporary effects, but in a long term perspective it creates significant risks and threats of a geopolitical nature. Sustainable development of the Russian Arctic is only possible to be provided when the interests of their population will be included in the program-policy documents and their implementation in the Russian Arctic.

***The indigenous peoples of the North as a subject of the state
ethno-national policy of Russia***

An important task of the state ethnic policy in the Arctic is to develop and implement a system of measures to support the indigenous peoples, their traditional lifestyles and economy. Particular attention, both at the federal and regional level, should be paid to solving the problems of indigenous peoples of the North (the phrase “small peoples of the North” is a common Russian expression that means indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Russian Far East).

The state policy on the development of the territories of the Far North, Siberia and the Far East during the Soviet period, with its positive achievements had a negative impact. Economic growth in 1930s-1950s led to a forcible transfer to a sedentary life and damaged traditional lifestyle of indigenous population. According to experts, school education for indigenous youth consisted of the mechanism of their disadaptation to the environment, reflected in the growth of alcoholism, crime, endangering the traditional economy. It should be noted that these tendencies were combines with the growth of the environmental problems caused by the expansion of industry in the North.

At the end of the twentieth century, the rise of ethnic consciousness in the Soviet Union (Russia) contributed to the establishment of the Associations of Indigenous Peoples. The most famous of them is the Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North (RAIPON), established in 1990. The Association brought together representatives of 26 ethnic groups and by now their number has increased to 41. Not all of the ethnic groups residing on the territory of the Russian Arctic could be called indigenous.

International terms regarding the indigenous people are: aboriginal, autochthonous, indigenous populations [15, p. 24]. Indigenous Peoples are featured as people with the historical connections (continuity) to the territory of their present residence, compact areas of settlement; self-

identification; own language, culture, traditions and other social, economic and political institutions; the desire to preserve their land and ethnic identity [15, p. 47—48]. It should be noted that the definition of ethnicity and the statistical account of the indigenous groups are very different from country to country.

In Russia the share of indigenous ethnic groups with respect to the total population residing in the Arctic region is insignificant. According to the calculations of Professor F.H. Sokolova, the total number of indigenous peoples in the Arctic regions at the beginning of the 21st century was 8.0—8.5% of the population. In Alaska, the proportion of indigenous people is 14.9%, in Arctic Canada — 50.8%, in the Taimyr District of Krasnoyarsk Territory — 24.8%, in the Nenets and Chukotka Autonomous Districts of the Russian Arctic — 18.7% and 31.3%, respectively [16]. This quality distinguishes the situation of the indigenous peoples of the same in the United States, Denmark and especially in Canada. No coincidence that the United States and Canada in 1960s—1970s secured special rights of autochthonous ethnic groups on Arctic lands.

In the second half of the 20th century the growth of ethnic identity of indigenous peoples made them politically active. In case of the northern peoples a land rights issue emerged. Industrial development of the northern territories of the United States and Canada threatened the traditional Inuit way of life. In the first half of the 20th century, the Inuit organization, Aleuts and Indians defended the US right to use communal lands through petition. By the mid-20th century, there was a unification of organizations into regional associations, initially along ethnic lines, and in 1966 after the creation of the Alaska Federation of Natives (AFN) — on multi-ethnic grounds. The AFN came out with the issue of traditional crafts involving the allocation of special land, as well as claims for compensation for alienated land and the transfer of raw materials. The result was the adoption of the Act by the US Congress to resolve land claims Alaska natives (ANCSA) in 1971. The agreement consisted of the transfer of 44 million acres of land and 962.5 million dollars compensation for lost land [17].

Canada currently applies a standard contract between companies and local communities, which includes their participation in getting profits and measures to support the culture and traditional way of life. On the basis of equal partnership, residents of the northern territories have the right to decide where and what will be produced³.

In Russia, where federal law secures the rights of indigenous peoples, stating that they are entitled to compensation for losses and damage caused due to the economic activity in the territo-

³ Компенсации коренным народам в Арктике выплачивают только на добровольной основе. URL: [http:// regnum.ru/news/1772526.html](http://regnum.ru/news/1772526.html) (Accessed: 08 November 2015).

ries of their primordial residence and companies have no obligation to pay compensation. They do it on a voluntary basis, on the basis of agreements with communities and the regional authorities⁴.

Thus, greater efforts of indigenous peoples to defend their rights in developed democracies had important political consequences. *First*, on the basis of joint political activities of indigenous people, a special form of supra-ethnic identity — “indigenous peoples” was formed. At the same time indigenousness acts as a form of cross-border self-organization of indigenous peoples. Researchers note that the policy of the revival of indigenous cultures occupied mostly urban people who have a pretty good education and the ability to communicate at the international level. The population engaged in traditional economy (e.g. reindeer herders) is often deprived of the possibility of such participation and not included in these political processes [18, p. 29].

Second, developed countries institutionalized the idea of special rights of indigenous peoples, including special rights in the territory of residence. The recognition of indigenous peoples and their special collective rights generally called as “an indigenous perspective” [19, p. 62-95].

Third, important international legal instruments, fixing the special, more extensive rights were adopted. The most important of them are the International Labour Organization Convention N 169 “On Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries” (1989) and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007).

Thus, by the end of the 29th century the world has undergone significant institutional changes with regard to indigenous peoples, recognition their rights and legal status. As rightly observes V.Vladimirova: “The International Indigenous activism creates a space for the formation of a broader indigenous identity, incorporating unity and universality of indigenous peoples at the global level, based on the similar stories of oppression and colonial domination and of the ongoing marginalization in the world, while reaffirming. These policies differ at the local level”. [18, p. 47] The researchers noted a significant difference in the value approaches to the development of policy in relation to indigenous peoples. If in the Anglo-Saxon countries — the US, Canada and Australia — the policy towards the indigenous population has an impact of the colonialist past, the perception of Aboriginal people as “uncivilized” and backward; in the Nordic countries, indigenous peoples, using similar adaptation practices and they are not perceived as “strangers” but in the context of “others”.

By now Russia has largely formed legal framework to protect the rights and traditional way of life of the indigenous peoples of the North. Russian Constitution guarantees the rights of indig-

⁴ Компенсации коренным народам в Арктике выплачивают только на добровольной основе. URL: [http:// regnum.ru/news/1772526.html](http://regnum.ru/news/1772526.html) (Accessed: 08 November 2015)

enous peoples in accordance with generally recognized principles of international law and international treaties of the Russian Federation. For comparison, the Australian Constitution has no statement that Australian Aborigines are the original inhabitants of the continent. Russia is a party to international instruments relating to indigenous peoples, including the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples adopted by resolution 61/295 of the General Assembly of September 13, 2007. It should be noted that Russia has not ratified the ILO Convention № 169. The reason — the difference in the interpretation of the concept of “indigenous peoples” (in the Russian legislation for the recognition of indigenous people's traditional way of life the criterion of small size is required). In addition, Art. 14 ILO 169 recognizes the right to ownership and possession of the lands which they traditionally occupy⁵. Russian legislation does not contain provisions that reinforce the ownership of the land for the people along ethnic lines.

At the federal level we have repeatedly affirmed state program of socio-economic development. In February 2009, the Order of the Government approved the Concept of Sustainable Development of Indigenous Peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East. The purpose of the Concept is the sustainable development of small peoples of the North by strengthening their socio-economic potential, maintaining the traditional lands, way of life and cultural values of these peoples. The legislation provides for state support of small peoples in the form of incentives, subsidies, quotas for use of biological resources. Benefits for minorities of the North, living in places of traditional residence and traditional economic activities and engaged in traditional economic activities are provided by the Tax Code, the Forest Code, the Water and the Land Code of the Russian Federation. In February 2009, the Russian government approved the “Concept of Sustainable Development of Indigenous Peoples of the North, Siberia and the Russian Far East”. Its purpose is a sustainable development of the North, which in turn requires the strengthening of social and economic potential, preservation traditional way of life and cultural values on the basis of targeted government support and the mobilization of internal resources of the peoples themselves in the interest of present and future generations.

Paternalism in relation to the indigenous peoples of the North should, if possible, maintain their traditional economy. In “Principles of State Policy of the Russian Federation in the Arctic until 2020” (2008) emphasizes the need for a constructive dialogue and a greater involvement of municipalities, indigenous people and non-governmental organizations in the political process.

⁵ Конвенция МОТ № 169 “О коренных народах и народах, ведущих племенной образ жизни в независимых странах”. URL: http://www.un.org/ru/documents/decl_conv/conventions/iol169.shtml (Accessed: 27 July 2015).

Today the need for a special state policy towards indigenous peoples does not cause any controversy among the scientific community or among managers. With regard to the value bases of policies there is an interaction between the state and the IP (indigenous peoples) and this issue is controversial. According to the author, modern Russian ethnic policy in the North has at least three mandatory approaches: the state-paternalistic, liberal market and neotraditionalist.

Representatives of the first, *state-paternalistic approach*, start from an inability of small peoples of the North to cope with the problems of adaptation of their way of life to modern socio-economic conditions. Supporters of the paternalistic approach (some experts and representatives of IP associations of the North) stand for an all-round state aid, the loss of which would entail the threat of depopulation and the complete disappearance of the ethnic groups. The implementation of state-paternalistic approach, with regard to ethnic minorities, is largely dependent on the ability of the IP leaders to lobby their interests in governmental institutions.

Supporters of the second, *the liberal market approach* (mostly federal government officials) appeal to the neo-liberal values — the market, competition, equal opportunities determined by economy and modern social processes. Responsibility of the State is to create an investment climate, to support private initiative, to promote the “embedding” of traditional crafts in liberal market realities. For example, the right to use natural resources should reveal on the basis of tenders and auctions. Supporters of the liberal market approach speak about limited public resources able to support the IP of the North, targeted state aid, the inadmissibility of extending the ethnic groups belonging. Their argument meets support among managers and some of the experts concerned about the spread of dependency attitudes among the small people, and among young people, in particular. The state implemented policies towards indigenous people have a clear liberal market vector. In a speech to the IP Congress President of RAIPON S.N. Kharyuchi noted that since 2009 the Federal Law “On fishing and preservation of marine biological resources” lacks the rules on obtaining fishing areas for traditional fishing without holding a competition. As a result, many communities have lost the right to catch fish on their ancestral lands, because they could not win the competition and offer the most favorable conditions for the government. The Federal Law “On hunting and preservation of hunting resources”, reinforced in 2010, is not providing the possibility communities and IP associations of the North with hunting areas for traditional hunting [20, p. 4].

Third, *“neotraditionalist”* approach was originally formulated by A.I. Pika [21, 1996]. He advocates the rejection of assimilation modernization of culture and lifestyle of the IP of the North, providing them with legal and economic support independent development of the economy, culture and local governing in the current economic conditions. The main goal of public policy,

according to “neotraditsionalists” should be to shift towards economic independence and national-territorial (community) self-management of small peoples, their establishment as real subjects of social, economic and cultural development. Neotraditionalism involves a return to traditional economy lessons that can ensure the existence of the IP — hunting, fishing, reindeer husbandry and handicrafts. In the political sphere “neotraditsionalists” insist on a direct relationship “Center — the peoples of the North”. According to them, leaving the problem of minorities of the North in the exclusive competence of the administration of territories and regions is inappropriate and short-sighted.

Thus, two of the three approaches to public policy in relation to indigenous peoples have significant methodological disadvantages. The main disadvantage of the protectionist approach is that indigenous peoples are considered only as a subject of public policy. Excessive protectionism of the government eliminates the initiative of indigenous ethnic groups. The implementation of the protectionist approach is hardly possible in terms of socio-economic crisis and budget cuts. Second, the liberal approach involves support of the market and competition but the realities of the Far North turn it to be like social Darwinism. Third, neotraditionalist approach is implying feasible joint development of traditional culture in modern economic conditions and it looks the most promising, combining the interests of the state and indigenous peoples. Socio-economic development and social and political representativeness of the indigenous ethnic groups helps to gain subjectivity, acting not only as a subject of public policy, but also opens the ways to influence the political decisions.

Conclusion

Russian Arctic is a territory with a specific climate and socio-economic characteristics of the population, cultural and historical traditions that should be taken into account when developing and implementing the state ethnic policy in the region. The most important instrument underlining the unifying role of Russia in the Eurasian space are at the disposal of the state — ethno-national and migration policy. Formation of the state migration and ethnic policy based on the principles of civilizational unity is the natural process and it meets the national interests of the country. Even if migration, demographic and social policy of the state are not included in the structure of ethno-national policy, they have a direct impact on its results.

Backbone principles of the state ethnic policy are citizenship and the priority of human rights and freedoms. At the same time, the objectives of ethno-national policy of Russia in the Russian Arctic serves to preserve the integrity of the country, the prevention of separatism and conflicts on ethnic grounds. The means of implementing the goals and objectives of ethno-

national policy of Russia in the Arctic, their imperative grounds, in our opinion, should be seen as the development of the Arctic zone, preserving the native areas of indigenous peoples of the North and people protection strategy. The criteria for the effective implementation of ethnic policy are the view of the Russian Arctic as an area of peace and reconciliation, the strengthening of the all-Russian civic identity, the harmonization of interethnic and inter-confessional relations, as the conditions for the development of this important geopolitical macro-region of Russia.

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Ethno-cultural landscape of the Russian Arctic: from the conceptualization of knowledge to the management of conflicts ¹



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Abstract. The article focuses on a multidisciplinary analysis of the conceptual framework and the current situation of ethnic and cultural landscape of the Russian Arctic and reveals the problems of management of conflict interaction in social and ethnic relations. The author developed and discussed a technological model in order to move from the conceptualization of knowledge to the conflict management. The author analyzed Arctic ethnological monitoring activities in Russia and proposed a list of seven subject areas to form databases. Undoubtedly, the need to continue this work on the legislative level emerges to protect the rights of indigenous peoples. However, a key challenge is to ensure a balance between paternalism of the state aimed at preserving the indigenous cultures and increasing investment in human capital and the introduction of modern technologies. Social cohesion and the allocation of quotas for indigenous peoples of the North in the leading sectors of the modern economy are relevant for today. A need of transition to green economics in the Arctic, close to the traditional culture of northerners and their worldview is extremely important as well.

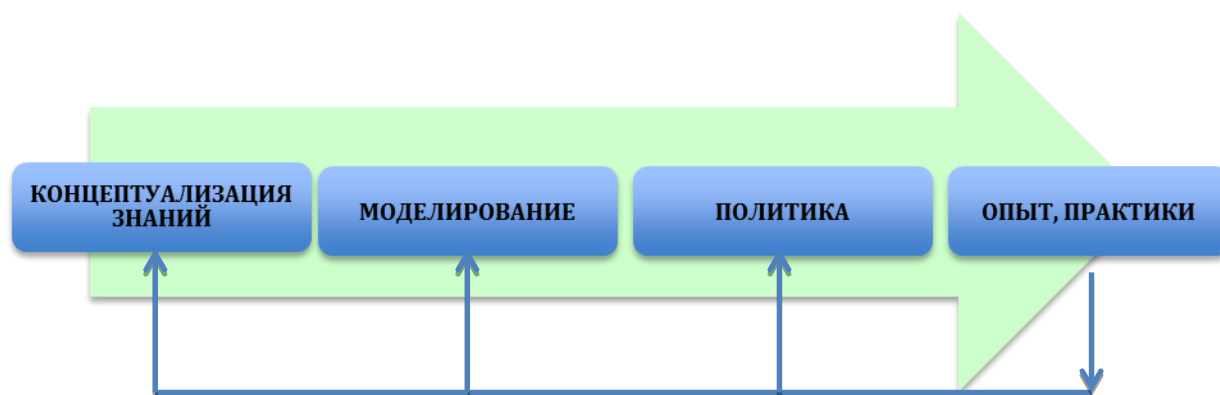
Keywords: *Arctic and North, operational definitions, modeling, ethno-cultural landscape, indigenous people, language, Arctic ethnological monitoring, ethnic tensions, management of conflicts, green economics*

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***Conceptualization of knowledge in the Arctic Studies with the use
of operational definitions and other techniques***

At the first stage of any research especially if you're a part of an interdisciplinary team, it is relevant to use the operational definitions, which, according to W. Edwards Deming (1900-1993), provide the ability to transfer an unambiguous meaning with the help of concepts. "Operational definition allows us shaping the concept and to make it clear" [1, Ch. 9]. Operational definitions do not allow ambiguity and moreover they consist of criterion for decision making. They could be used both in theory and practice. If a need to clarify the basic concepts (definitions, terms) occurs and that is of practical importance, they allow professionals to navigate better within the theoretical issues, adequately understand them and systematically use to reproduce scientific vocabulary.

The conceptualization of knowledge on the Russian Arctic is carried out methodologically, taking into account the phased technology "step by step", where each step is associated with a specific system unit (stage) of tasks in a dynamic sequence of specific process: conceptualization of knowledge and modeling, Arctic ethnic monitoring, ethnic policy development, management strategies, localization of policy in 4 subjects and 16 municipalities of the Russian Arctic, generalization and introduction of best practices. And then feedback to correct the management, policy, legislation and application of laws (Pic.1).



Picture 1. Transition model from conceptualization to management/ Y.F. Lukin

Schematically, it is possible to portray it as an ongoing dialectical process of development from theory to practice, where each step is possible and desirable its operating sequence and dynamics of activities, the use of various technologies both on conceptual and theoretical level and in management of regions.

There is no doubt that the task requires an interdisciplinary, multi-level approach, the synthesis of theory and practice, predefined by characteristics of the *human and social knowledge*. Nobody, especially in the harsh conditions of the Arctic and the North, can exist outside of society. Ethnic beginning at the same time is reflected in the social and cultural dimensions. Therefore, the

study of ethnic tensions needs the concepts of ethno-cultural and ethno-social content. Focus of the work and ethnological monitoring should not only be done on the study of the social sphere, which is certainly important, but on conflict and ethnic interaction in the sphere of culture in order to understand the peculiarities of life of indigenous peoples of the North. It is desirable to clarify the hypothesis that the social and not cultural tensions in ethnic relations, civic and not ethnic identity are more important in the Arctic and in the North. In the protest potential social motives prevail, rarely taking a political and national coloration like in Ukraine. Is the same possible in the Russian Arctic? - this question has yet to find the answers.

From the standpoint of psychological science, there is a shift in the psychological analysis of interethnic relations from *the study of individual conflicts to the analysis of inter-ethnic tensions as a phenomenological psychological area*, and ethnic tensions as the ethno-social systems that enables the development of a constructive approach to the content-dynamic model of diagnosing the interethnic relations and prediction of their development [2]. This is not just a study of conflict but possible constructive potential of interethnic relations, preservation and development of ethnic tolerance in the Northern societies. A significant role in the prevention of interpersonal, inter-ethnic conflicts is undoubtedly played by a *psychological and communicative* approach to conflict prevention: a balanced socio-psychological interaction between ethnic groups, preserving the reputation of the partner, exclusion of social and ethnic discrimination, division of merits, empathy, and other well-known psychological conflict resolution techniques.

The problem is obviously a practical and means that in order to use effective methods there is a need for indicators of different scientific origin at the right time and right place. We are talking not only about the formal integration of scientific knowledge, but also of an interdisciplinary research teams, their management, funding spent on a single roadmap work.

In terms of concepts, despite all mentioned above, it is important to clarify meaning of concepts and terms, as global and regional dimensions of the Arctic and North, in order to reach the level of operational definitions and provide better understanding. Setting up the issue of ***global and regional dimensions of the Arctic and North*** is necessary here and now for adequate understanding of the research objectives, especially if we are aware of the fact that scientist use different explanations for concepts "Arctic" and "Russian Arctic". Arctic as a multi-faceted facility is examined in a variety of scientific fields and disciplines, so it is practically impossible to express clearly the entire conceptualized polyphony of the large Arctic space. In Arctic studies we often implement an approach from the standpoint of a particular narrow scientific area of the authors, which is always like a one-sided flux in the knowledge of a complex object.

The global dimension relevant to the Arctic exists for eight Arctic countries (AC-8): Denmark (Greenland), Iceland, Canada, Norway, Russia, the USA, Sweden and Finland, which have northern territories beyond the Arctic Circle. Five of them (AC-5) — Denmark, Canada, Norway, Russia, the United States, according to the UNCLOS, own land, have their territorial waters in the Arctic Ocean and exclusive economic zones (EEZ). In the world there is no country with all of its land, including the islands, situated in the circumpolar area. When we call these eight northern countries “subarctic” instead of “Arctic”, we are emphasizing one important geopolitical feature.

The regional dimension takes into account the population and territory of the Arctic provinces, states, areas and municipalities located above the Arctic Circle. Due to the fact that the concept of “region” is not clear, it is possible to take as a working tool the following interpretation and typology: The region is considered as a type of the 21st century reality: landscape and geographical, administrative and territorial, cultural and socio and economic area with climatic and other differences from neighboring areas.

In the “Arctic strategy of the United States”² the explanation of the term “Arctic” is represented in a broad variant. In «Finland’s Strategy for the Arctic Region 2013», adopted on the 23rd of August 2013, the term “Arctic region” is used³.

In Russia, the region is identified as the subject of the federation. The typology of the modern Russian Federation’s regions includes three main models. *Micro-region* — municipalities, self-governing communities, inter-municipal association, agglomerations. *Mezoregions* — 85 subjects of the Russian Federation or the 85 regions of different scale: 22 republics, 9 territories, 46 regions, 3 cities of federal significance, 1 autonomous region, 4 autonomous districts. Four of the subjects of the Russian Federation and parts of three more regions are included in the Russian Arctic. *Macro-regions* - nine federal districts, four zones — West, East, the Arctic (North), South Russia.

Regarding the relationship between **the concepts “Arctic” and “North”** it should be noted, for example, the concept of “Canada’s North” is broader than the concept of “Canadian Arctic” and geographically includes some land south of the Arctic Circle (Nunavut, Yukon). Not by chance in 2009, Canada’s strategy was published under the title «Canada’s Northern Strategy: our North, our heritage, our future»⁴. North has traditionally been seen as an integral part of the Canadian

² Arctic Strategy USA. Department of Defense. November 2013.

³ Finland’s Strategy for the Arctic Region 2013. Government resolution on 23 August 2013. URL: <http://www.arctic-council.org/index.php/ru/document-archive/category/12-arctic-strategies> (Accessed: 25 June 2015)

⁴ Canada’s Northern Strategy: our North, our heritage, our future. Ottawa, 2009. URL: http://web.law.columbia.edu/sites/default/files/microsites/climate-change/files/Arctic-Resources/ArcticCouncil/01_Canadas%20northern%20strategy.pdf (Accessed: 26 June 2015).

identity, and “Nordicité” as a special way of life. Unlike Canada's strategy the Danish concept of “North” is not actually used. “Kongeriget Danmarks Strategi for Arktis 2011-2020” directed to the benefits of the inhabitants of the Arctic and means respect for the rights of indigenous peoples to use their own resources and develop, respect for indigenous culture, traditions and way of life and the promotion of their rights⁵.

Russian Arctic (RA), Arctic zone of the Russian Federation (AZRF) — are synonyms and are usually understood as a part of the Russian North which includes AZRF on a principle of “matryoshka”. The term “North” is geopolitically correlated with tellurocracy, i.e. land power associated with the development of continental Eurasia.

Russian Arctic, after the Decree of the President of the Russian Federation, consists of the northern land territory only (Annex to the Decree of the President of the Russian Federation, May 2, 2014 № 296). The radical difference between RA and the AZRF today is that the concept of “Russian Arctic” also includes the seas of the Arctic Ocean and the waters of the Northern Sea Route, which in accordance with international law, the jurisdiction of Russian state. The federal law, that defines the legitimate boundaries of the Russian Arctic, is not accepted by now (November 2015). In my opinion, we can formulate a definition of the Russian Arctic, which will fully correspond to the legal field of the Russian Arctic (very important conceptually and practically):

“Arctic zone of the Russian Federation — the inland sea territorial waters, the exclusive economic zone of the waters of the Barents, White, Kara, Laptev, East Siberian and Chukchi seas, the continental shelf, defined in accordance with the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, the water area of the Northern Sea Route as a historically established National Route of the Russian Federation, all land and islands in the Arctic Ocean opened and possible to be open in the future, overland northern territories of the Russian Federation and municipalities on the coast of northern seas bordering the Arctic Ocean that ensure the security of the Russian state”/ Lukin Y.F.

Territorial inland waters (12 nautical miles), the exclusive economic zone (200 nautical miles), the continental shelf (350 nautical miles) — the terms of international law, the UNCLOS. Their use in the Federal Law “On the Russian Arctic” is quite correlated with the international legal practice.

“NSR waters” is used in the law adopted on the 28th of July 2012 N 132-FZ “On Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of the Russian Federation regarding state regulation of merchant shipping in the waters of the Northern Sea Route”. The concept of national NSR waters is very important to mention the new law “On the development of the Russian Arctic” to resist the efforts to internationalize Arctic communications and the Northern Sea Route.

⁵ Kongeriget Danmarks Strategi for Arktis 2011—2020. URL: http://canada.um.dk/da/~media/Canada/Documents/Other/Arktis_Rapport_DA.pdf (Accessed: 02 September 2015).

The thesis of “land and islands in the Arctic Ocean opened here, and possible to be open in the future” is in the Resolution of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR, April 15, 1926 “On the declaring lands and islands in the Arctic Ocean the territory of the USSR”. Climate change may contribute to the emergence of new islands and would increase ownership of the polar areas of the RF. It is important to note that in the oceans a reason for a struggle could be even the smallest rocks. In order to legitimate and clarify the composition of the Russian Arctic, we should address the geopolitical, social and environmental significance of the problem, the security of the Russian state; we should make the information available to the whole of society, and to publish the full list of all the Russian islands in the seas of the Arctic Ocean under the by-law, “the State Register of Russian islands in the seas of the Arctic Ocean” that indicates the actual status of each of the Arctic islands and its departmental affiliation and the specific responsible organization that is responsible for the possession, control, protection of the environment of the islands’ territory and waters.

Thus, within every country of the Arctic (AC-8) there is a circumpolar territory, the high latitudes. Naturally, the Chukotka Autonomous Area and Finnmark as parts of Russia and Norway are playing the role of actors at the regional level, but they do not have the international importance in geopolitics without the state itself. And there is a permanent conflict there - a clash of different interests related to the desire of the northern regional societies to act as political actors, defending the rights of indigenous peoples to the resources of their home territories. Investigation of this problem certainly requires an analysis of existing ethnic and cultural landscape.

Ethnic and cultural landscape of the Russian Arctic in the light of the global trends for disappearance of traditional cultures and languages

Landscape and geographical environment, nature, flora and fauna, land and water, common territory, the available resources have always played an important role in the development of the northern ethnic groups. The structure of the Arctic landscape typically includes the development of the Arctic and anthropogenic landscapes, cultural landscapes, history and culture together with the surroundings [3]. For this article, it is significant to speak about cultural and social dimensions of ethnic and cultural landscape of the Russian Arctic. The key socio-cultural dominants, in my view, is to analyze the dynamics of the population and its ethnic composition, as well as contemporary issues of language diversity.

Humanized landscape of the Russian Arctic includes ethnic, multi-cultural, socio-economic space and a population of 2.5 million people (2012).

Table 1

The population of the Arctic, thousand people (2012)

№	The state	Arctic regions, provinces	Population
1	Russia	Murmansk region	796,1
		Arkhangelsk region: municipalities in the WS and islands in the AO	661,8
		Nenets Autonomous Okrug	42,6
		The Republic of Karelia: three municipalities along the White Sea coast	51,6
		Komi Republic: Vorkuta	95,8
		Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug	522,8
		Krasnoyarsk Region: Taimyr, Norilsk, Igarka	216,8
		The Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) - 11 ulus	64,7
		Chukotka Autonomous Okrug	50,5
		Total in the Russian Arctic	2 502
2	USA	Alaska	710
3	Norway	Finnmark, Troms, Nordland, Svalbard	466
4	Iceland		311
5	Sweden	Norrbotten	260
6	Finland	Lapland	184
7	Canada	Northwest Territories, Yukon, Nunavut, Nunavik	120
8	Denmark	Greenland	58
		Total in 7 Arctic countries (excluding the Russian Federation)	2 109
		Total in Circumpolar world	4 611

Only in the Russian Arctic there is more people than in the Arctic regions of the seven other Arctic countries in the world combined. These indicators are the most powerful argument in the geopolitical intrigues, alleged Russian empty space, which urgently need to internationalize, to learn by capturing and assignment of foreign lands and wealth. The culture of the peoples of the Arctic and the North, as part of a global polyculture certainly includes cultural universals that are inherent in all cultures, regardless of geographic location, historical time, and social structure of society. This not only material objects, things, buildings, tools, household items, clothing, jewelry, and patterns — relatively stable and repetitive ways of perceiving, feeling, thinking, activities, behavior, including customs, rites, rituals, symbols, spiritual values and norms, ideas, faith and knowledge.

A special place in ethnic palette of cultures of our multinational country is occupied by 40 indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East⁶. According to the 2010 census, about 258,000 people live in extreme climatic conditions, have the nomadic way of life and traditional

⁶ Indigenous people of the North, Siberia and Far East of the Russian Federation — people who live on the territories of the North, Siberia and Far East, lands of their ancestors, keep traditional lifestyle, economy and crafts, amounted to less than 50 thousand people and identifying themselves as an independent ethnic unity// FL 20 June июля 2000 N 104-FZ "On common principles of establishing the indigenous communities of peoples of North, Siberia and Far East of the Russian Federation". With amendments: 21 March 2002, 22 August 2004, 2 February 2006, 28 December 2013. URL: <http://base.garant.ru/182356/> (Accessed: 27 September 2015).

economy⁷. It's only 10% of the total population of the Russian Arctic, more than 80% of which is urbanized, is living in cities and urban-type settlements.

In the study of ethnic tensions in the Russian Arctic is necessary to take into account the trends that determine the international ethno-cultural situation. Arctic ethno-cultural landscape is an integral part of the global landscape, including 10 000 cultures and 6 900 languages⁸. At the same time, in all regions of the world in the 21st century we observe the extinction of traditional cultures, languages, ethnic groups and small communities. Traditions are forgotten and vulnerable cultures are marginalized or even disappear altogether. During the opening of the International Year of Languages (2008) it was noted: "Now each of 90% of the languages is spoken by less than 100 thousand people. 357 languages have no more than 50 vehicles. And yet the existence of 46 languages is spoken by only one person"⁹. Every two weeks a language dies, and disappears culture, knowledge, unique thinking. And indigenous, so-called "hidden knowledge", is often oral and marginalized, saved only by the descriptions of folklorists, historians, ethnological sciences, psychology of everyday life. But even in this form of the traditional "invisible" knowledge remains mostly a narrow practical, very different from the scientific and technical knowledge. In economics, politics, management, law, science, education today we mainly use clear and accessible to all "explicit" or codified, ordered knowledge, including a modern information infrastructure. In this regard we get a questions about a radical reduction in linguistic diversity, which allegedly impedes the development and distribution of education, language of mass communication. Out of this impasse, as the UNESCO sees it, is to keep a balance between languages. For example, through the establishment of dual training courses, giving access to scientific knowledge and etc. To do this, one must have developed technology as long as it is the best mediator between the cultural and linguistic diversity and the universality of knowledge¹⁰.

In the Russian Arctic proceed cultural processes that are typical for the entire global society, but no large-scale manifestations of radical forms of protest and ethnic extremism. Languages, and with them the culture, as well as people, their carriers to adapt to the new reality of XXI century. An analysis of the 2002 census, 2010. shows, for example, that in the XXI century, continues the natural

⁷ Zamestitel rukovoditelya FADN Rossii Pavel Semenov vystupit s докладом на Арктическом совете. URL: <http://fadn.gov.ru/news/2015/09/14/2390-zamestitel-rukovoditelya-fadn-rossii-pavel-semenov-vystupit-s-dokladom-na-arkticheskom-sovete> (Accessed: 23 September 2015)

⁸ 3-ya Vsemirnaya klimaticheskaya konferenciya (WCC-3), Zheneva, 31 avgusta — 4 sentyabrya 2009 goda / Alexander Müller. URL: <http://agroobzor.ru/article/a-300.html> (Accessed: 02 July 2015).

⁹ Polovina yazykov Zemli ischeznet / Mishel Montas, press-sekretar genseka OON. URL: <http://www.vz.ru/society/2008/2/22/147099.html> (Accessed: 25 December 2010).

¹⁰ K obshhestvam znaniya: Vsemirnyj доклад YuNESKO. Parizh: Izd-vo YuNESKO, 2005. 240 s. URL: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001418/141843r.pdf> (Accessed: 02 July 2015).

process of dying Nenets language on the mental level. In 2010 indicated Russian language skills 94.4% Russian Nenets and Nenets only 45.28%. Part of the Nenets, not owning the Nenets language, says it is still native. Psychologically, it is at the level of mentality can explain the deep desire to preserve their culture, their native roots. To some extent, this is also the internal opposition to oust the trend of daily use of their native language, the spiritual latent protest. At the same time comes to replace the outgoing new generation of young Nenets has a different mentality of consuming products of mass culture, using modern information and communication technologies (ICT). Among the Nenets ethnic group is observed a permanent loss of their native language, accelerating urbanization, assimilation, change of ethnic identity due to the mixed marriages. Russian language is at homes, communications, food consumption, mass culture actually is gradually replacing the native language not only in case of the Nenets but in other indigenous groups.

However, carriers of Nenets language are still exist. According to the census, the total number of the Nenets for 1926—2010 years increased from 18 to 44 thousand, or 2.4 times. Therefore, Nenets ethnic extinction, depopulation, of course, are not discussed. Moreover, they may even increase and become more than 50 thousand people in 2025-2030 because of the of opportunities they have and the growth of the birth rate and life expectancy [4, p. 33—34]. Increase is observed in the number of Indigenous Peoples (Evenk, Yukagir, Dolgan and Chukchi) in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia): from 28.2 thousand in 1989 to 40.2 thousand in 2010, but here for 1989-2010 we have the reduce in the number of Evens: from 10.6 to 9.8 thousand [5, p. 38].

A positive example of ethnic policy is shown by Taimyr Dolgan-Nenets Municipal District, where the project “language nest”, “ethno-pedagogical and national linguistic components in an elementary school education” and municipal competition of arts and crafts “Taimyr Rainbow”, municipal Competition in the native language, are carried out and there are also new approaches to the educational and training process of children of nomads, the development of crafts and arts and crafts in the educational environment. A project “Russian literature in the languages of ethnic groups of Taimyr”. During the competition, they select a literary work, which will then be translated into five languages of indigenous peoples of Taimyr¹¹. This work is done in other regions, municipalities and autonomous regions of the Russian North.

As for science, it should be noted that the system contributes to a comprehensive study of the ethnogenesis, the transformation of traditional cultures and the specific mentality, development of languages, ethnic culture and history of the peoples of northeast Russia done by the Institute of

¹¹ Grishko A.V. Na Tajmyre, v preddverii pedagogicheskoy konferencii, sostoyalos zasedanie kruglogo etnostola // Press-reliz Upravleniya obshhestvennyh svyazey Administracii Tajmyra 11.09.2015.

Humanitarian Research and Indigenous Peoples of the North, Siberian Branch of Russian Academy of Sciences in Yakutsk, Director of the Institute — Honored Scientist of Russia, laureate of the State Prize of Russia, doctor of historical sciences, Professor A. N. Alekseev. Multicolor socio-ethnic picture of the northern territories is presented in articles published by the journal “Arctic and North”: the interaction of regional authorities and indigenous peoples (I.S. Astakhov), the daily life of national settlements of Yakutia, in the context of sociological research (S.M. Baisheva), the portrait of a resident of the Arctic zone of Yakutia (U.S. Borisov), Russian old residents of Yakutia: the culture and landscape (S.I. Boyakov), traditional economic activities — etno-social lifestyle (V.I. Kirko and K. N. Zakharov), the state policy in the field of language preservation (N.P. Koptseva), changes in life strategies and economic behavior of youth in the Arctic on materials Ust-Yana region (O.V. Osipova), the demographic potential of the northern regions of Russia as a factor of economic Arctic exploration (V.V. Fauzer) and others ¹².

It is obvious that *the key areas* of the Russian state ethnic policy in the Russian Arctic in the linguistic and cultural sphere are to ensure effective access of indigenous peoples to the use a codified knowledge, cyberspace, promotion of multilingualism, double, and perhaps triple, educational courses in their native language, the language of interethnic and international communication, translation into indigenous languages. In addition to the good intentions, not only political will is required but also adequate resources, including human, investment, effective implementation of the adopted national and regional programs, the federal program.

Arctic ethnological monitoring

Starting and conducting any monitoring requires, first of all, a methodological, conceptual



Picture 2. Intensity of conflict

and theoretical training. In this regard, we note that the ethnic tensions and conflicts are always social, their carriers are people and social communities. Social and ethnic tensions in Russian society now are large due to the reproduction of social anomie, which leads to increased stratification, the

threat of unemployment, social insecurity, insecurity. Methodological analysis of social anomie op-

¹² Arktika i Sever: arhiv numerov zhurnala na russkom yazyke. URL: <http://narfu.ru/aan/> (Accessed: 19 November 2015).

erationalize the appropriate methodology and a list of indicators of its reproduction, such as social and psychological well-being, the identity of the social and national, social and political activity and protest potential, relation to power structures, justice, social and economic situation, the suicide rate [6, p. 4, 19].

Disputed interaction between social and ethnic communities in society that manifests itself not only due to differences of cultural values, but also due to discrepancies between the expected quality of life and a practical appreciation of the whole spectrum of needs. The main factors of inter-ethnic tensions are now increasingly include uncontrolled migration, a change in the ratio of ethnic groups and influence as a result of the newly established diasporas, socio-economic depression, leading to “find those responsible” and xenophobia, the problem of the titular ethnic groups, ethnic nationalism (not just Russian, but also ethnic minority nationalism), ethnization of domestic and social conflicts, the spread of radical Islam, including those related to the 2014—2015, ISIS that recruits supporters in Russia.

It is important to do early detection of latent ethnic tensions and the emergence of spontaneous protest, content analysis of records in social networks, as a marker of sentiments in a particular regional society. It should be borne in mind that tension, disagreement, the dispute is only a beginning of a conflict situation, but it may, in its dynamics lead to hostility, aggression, violence and war at the height of the conflict confrontation (Picture 2 Intensity of conflict). Similarly, the pre-conflict situations are transformed into an information and power confrontation in the second stage of the conflict.

In a study of ethnic tensions it is important to understand the terms “ethnic identity” or “ethnicity”¹³. Samuel Huntington (1927—2008) pointed out that cultural identities — ethnic, national, religious, civilizational — enjoy a commanding position in the world today, determine the model of cohesion, disintegration and conflict. “People define themselves using terms such as origin, religion, language, history, values, customs and social institutions. They identify themselves with cultural groups: tribes, ethnic groups, religious communities, nations, and at the broadest level civilization” — he wrote in his “Clash of Civilizations” [7, p. 6], predicting intensification of tribal, ethnic and religious conflicts, the growth of the number of refugees to tens of millions, the spread of terrorism, widespread massacres and ethnic cleansing, the disintegration of states. In today's world really “aggravated is a struggle for national and religious identity and self-determination for the redistribution of boundaries on ethnic and religious lines. There is a growing number of conflicts for ethnic and religious slogans” [8].

¹³ Identity (lat. *Identificare, identicus*) means correlation, an exact match, a complete coincidence, variety of subjective suggestions and answers to the question: “Who am I?” or “Who are we?” It allows a selection of the identity of two levels: personal and social. Types of social identity are multi-level: ethnic, regional, national, civilizational, psychological and cultural.

The new Russian identity, as noted by Professor L.M. Drobizheva, head of research of international relations at the Institute of Sociology — is a complex conglomerate of nostalgic Soviet, social, regional, local, ethno-cultural and religious identities. Over 90% identify themselves as citizens of Russia [9, c. 269]. However, according to results of sociological research in various regions of the Russian Federation, in varying degrees it is recorded the spread of xenophobia — fear of the other, as well as radical anti-migrant sentiments of nationalism. The general trend of interethnic conflict in modern Yakutia, for example, is obvious — the confrontation between migrants and “local” population, regardless of their race or nationality¹⁴.

On the general background of the global crisis and permanent changes, the situation in the Arctic is often evaluated as a sustainable stability. The concept of “stability” is perceived as the shade of a certain stagnation, conservation of existing socio-ethnic and international relations, although it would not reflected fully all the content of the definition. Under ethnic stability, in my opinion, it is correct to understand the sustainable socio-economic and cultural development of a progressive nature and not to exclude a permanent changes, as opposed to the immutability of frozen traditional ethno-cultural space. How big is the margin of stability in the Arctic? — we cannot provide scientifically sound answers to this question, although the forecast of estimates and publications on these topics are not enough as well as the monitoring data.

A monitoring of ethnic and religious situation in the regions of Russia conducted by the Center for the study of ethnic conflict¹⁵ shows that from the 1st of September 2013 to 20th of March 2014 in Russia there were 570 ethnically motivated acts of conflict of varying intensity (from placing xenophobic content on the Internet to the mass clashes with weapons and death)¹⁶. In the spring and autumn of 2014 it was recorded a decline in the number of manifestations of ethnic hatred by 35%¹⁷.

¹⁴ Est li v Yakutii mezhetnicheskoe protivostoyanie? URL: <http://www.1sn.ru/67218.html> (Accessed: 20 March 2015).

¹⁵ CSNC is established in 2013. Its major research project is Rating the interethnic tension in the regions of the Russian Federation — “The Grapes of Wrath”.

¹⁶ Grozdya gneva. Rejting mezhetnicheskoj napryazhyonnosti v regionah Rossii. Osen 2013 — vesna 2014 goda. URL: <http://club-rf.ru/thegrapesofwrath/01/> (Accessed: 17 October 2015)

¹⁷ Ibid



Picture3. URL: <http://cdn5.files.rzn.info/data/image/gallery/base/8/8b/8b184a8935345/original.jpg>

With regard to the problem of the northern territories, it is still noted that the most of the violent conflict were in the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous District and they were against people from the Caucasus (Dagestanis, Chechens), and labor migrants from Central Asia (Kyrgyzstan, Tajiks). The second issue (spring — autumn 2014) emphasized that the situation continues to deteriorate in the Khanty area: uncontrolled migration, expansion of radical Islam and a powerful economic competition had a conflict potential. On the interactive map of both reports, all the regions of the Arctic and the Russian North have been painted in the colors of low and very low tension and so these areas were not a part of the core risks of high and medium tension. In Arkhangelsk, Murmansk and Tyumen regions, Republic of Karelia, Komi, Sakha (Yakutia) and in the Yamalo-Nenets district, in the spring and autumn of 2014 there were recorded nonviolent conflict activities; sporadic acts of violence; numerous conflicting actions on the Internet. In the Nenets and Chukotka Autonomous District, Magadan region, the Perm Region there was an absent of violent actions or rare non-violent actions. I noted that these two reports conducted mostly no conflict itself, but only on the conflict situations that could be developed, but were not able to be transformed into an acute conflict confrontation in the regions of the Russian Arctic.

It must be borne in mind that the Russian experience of ethnological monitoring over a long period and a high scientific level had been tested before. In 1993, Russia had started the Net of ethnological monitoring and early warning of conflicts. It was done by the Early Warning governmental expert organization (EAWARN). The network has published 19 reports on ethno-political situation in Russia and neighboring countries, hundreds of special papers, a series of case reports and books. In

1996—2001 years they published “Ethnic Monitoring Models”. The network was managed by a well-known Russian scientist, academician V.A. Tishkov, a former director of the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, and since July 2015 — a Supervisor of IEA RAS. Currently, the Institute has a Center of ethno-political research. The experience the EAWARN has is undoubtedly very significant during such kind of work.

Since July 2014 Russia created a unified system of monitoring international relations, to prevent possible ethnic conflicts¹⁸. The number of pilot regions to test such a system includes 17 subjects of the Russian Federation (their composition is specified). The Northern Territories included in the project: the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous District. Administration of rural settlement Alyabevsky KhMAD carried out a monitoring of 8 areas:

1. Activities of religious organizations on territory of the rural settlements.
2. The activities of non-profit organizations established by national line.
3. The impact of migration processes on crimes with participation of foreign citizens.
4. Public events: meetings, demonstrations, processions, etc.
5. Appeals to the local government authorities (LGA) of individuals and entities.
6. Activities of informal youth associations in the rural settlement.
7. Print media on the territory of the rural settlements.
8. Fast response to extremism: outcome of law enforcement agencies and information sent to LGA on extremism; prevention activities carried out by LGA vs extremism, including information and propaganda of efforts to prevent extremism, availability and publication of Municipal legislation and action plans aimed at preventing extremism on religious grounds, the activities of advisory bodies to combat extremist activities, inter-ethnic issues¹⁹.

The number of indicators on these eight areas was close to 80. The abundance of collected data, and even at the level of the grassroots municipal settlements, in the absence of professionally trained staff (at least the last minimum training), exacerbates the problem of verification, validity, reliability of the information received and successfully contributes to the bureaucratization of the whole process of monitoring. How reliable is the correlation between data and relevant departmental institutions — remains in question. Duplicate sources of information always require a thorough comparative analysis. Of course, the pilot project is just aiming for the experiment and testing, but the efficiency of the overall monitoring of the project is in doubt.

¹⁸ Stenograficheskiy otchyot o zasedanii Soveta po mezhnatsionalnym otnosheniyam 3 iyulya 2014 goda. URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/46144> (Accessed: 31 July.2015)

¹⁹ Postanovlenie administratsii selskogo poseleniya Alyabevskogo rajona Xanty-Mansijskogo avtonomnogo okruga — Yugry ot 20 maya 2014 g. № 98 “Ob organizatsii sistemy monitoringa po profilaktike mezhnatsionalnyh (mezhetnicheskikh), mezhekonsfessionalnyh konfliktov na territorii selskogo poseleniya Alyabevskij”. URL: <http://alabievo.ru/documents/552.html> (Accessed: 01 August 2015).

The newly created Federal Agency for Nationalities tasked “to try to calculate the risks, accumulate proposals to create programs that offer solutions to the various problems and, accordingly, for these tasks to implement certain projects”²⁰. The monitoring system will be based on data of Rosstat, the FSB, the Federal Security Service, Interior Ministry, the Federal Financial Monitoring Service, IT-programs. Obtaining reliable data will largely depend on the interfacing software, sociology and expertise, as well as the competencies of staff at all levels, receiving and processing information.

It should be emphasized that the processes of assessment and management of ethnic conflicts in the region are closely connected and interdependent on their modeling, monitoring and management. It is important to understand that the individual measurements in the Arctic and the North of Russia do not give the desired result in the study of all the sets of stress and conflict. Monitoring inherent modeling tools of empirical research of regional conflicts on the basis of the conceptual data and management — “Modeling (programming) the effective practical measures to resolve them in accordance with the received specific empirical evidence” [10, p. 15—16]. Therefore, the Arctic ethnological monitoring is needed not only to secure the emerging “The Grapes of Wrath” but also to make informed decisions on the prevention of conflicts and their resolution. According to the results of a localized actual tension in interethnic relations, analyzes the emerging conflict situations (defined subject of the conflict, at least two of its sides and other participants) and predicted the possibility of transforming the conflict situation in the energy and information warfare during the second phase of the conflict and its completion in the third phase.

I would also like to stress that the practical application of certain indicators in the Arctic Ethnic Monitoring does not cancel the holding of scientific research and the formation of databases on several subject sections. Subjects of this kind are grouped in 7 blocks.

1. The demographic composition, abundance, fertility, mortality, and social and ethnic structure the population by census and surveys, analysis of emerging issues of civil and ethnic and cultural identity.
2. Cultural and linguistic situation, the dynamics of the life of the indigenous languages of the North, the problem of linguistic diversity, education and translation.
3. Distribution of religious denominations of Christianity (Orthodoxy, Protestantism, and Catholicism), Islam, sectarianism, traditional beliefs of the peoples (ancestor worship, animism, fetishism, magic, shamanism) and analysis emerging conflict situations in the 21st century. Value orientation and mentality of indigenous peoples of the North.
4. Quality of life, health, social unity of the population. Human Development Index (HDI), creativity,

²⁰ Stenogramma vstrechi Dmitriya Medvedeva s rukovoditelem Federalnogo agentstva po delam nacionalnostej Igorem Barinovym 29 iyulya 2015 goda. URL: <http://government.ru/news/19081/> (Accessed: 03 August 2015).

happiness, tolerance in the Russian Arctic and Far North. Investments, building and development of human capital of the northern territories of Russia.

5. Existing resource use problems of the IP, vital abilities of the traditional economy (reindeer herding, fishing, hunting, gathering), nomadic tribal communities, employment, creating new jobs (quota allocation) in the leading sectors of the economy for the indigenous peoples of the North.
6. Interethnic problems of internal and external migration, mobility, xenophobia in the regions and municipalities of the Arctic and the North by results monitoring (here it is important to use dynamics of conflict situations, "hot ethnic points").
7. Political, legal attitudes of the federal, regional and municipal authorities, businesses and the local population, including the problems of development, family resources, environment, development of social and transport infrastructure and territories of traditional management.

Obviously, this list could be supplemented and changed. Unfortunately, the analysis of the situation in the Russian Arctic has a difficulty with accessing the bases of the regional police and security services, crime statistics, information on the socio-ethnic protest. However, a control over the conflict interaction in the northern societies is necessary today, here and now, that is aimed at the all-Russian monitoring system of interethnic relations, if it will not "bureaucratised" at all levels of federal, regional and municipal management.

Conflict management in the AZRF

My author's position is to recognize the universality of the management of social and ethnic conflicts in human societies and organizations. However, flexibility does not deny, but on the contrary, requires consideration of social and ethnic characteristics of the Russian Arctic and the emerging field of the real situation. On the occurrence of "hot points" in the ethnic relations, the regions are able to exert influence of both long unsolvable problems of internal social and economic development and external actors of soft power. Prevention of social and ethnic conflicts in the Arctic is aimed to create favorable conditions for the entire population in the north here and now.

Regarding the problematic issues, it should be noted that the Russian Federation has not yet been completed even zoning of the Russian Arctic and the Russian North, securing the legitimate boundaries of their territories and waters. Endless discussion of the new zoning of the Russian Far North, the relevant criteria, indicators, preferences, privileges bogged down in the bureaucratic machinery of the Russian state. Developed Arctic strategy, program of social and economic development are largely declarative, not backed by financial and other resources. It is no coincidence therefore preparing a new edition of the State program of the Russian Federation

“Social-economic development of the Russian Arctic until 2020”²¹. Expert Council on the Arctic and Antarctic to the Council of the Federation (Chairman of the Expert Council — V. A. Shtyrov) in 2015 discussed the concept of the draft federal law “On special conditions of social and economic development of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation”. However, the draft Law, on the 17th of November 2015 had been already called “On the development of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation”, which again shows a deficit of investment and other resources to address social and economic problems of the Russian Arctic. It makes no sense to include obviously impracticable social obligations, benefits to the population, indigenous peoples, as well as preferences for business entities of the Russian Federation and municipal entities of the Russian Arctic.

However, the urgent need to modernize the Russian legislation on indigenous peoples of the Arctic and the Russian North remains relevant. Constructive Resolution of social and ethnic conflicts is a priori based on the application of the law (by law, not by the rules), the use of regulatory mechanisms and institutions (courts, prosecutors, and others), informal procedures: arbitration, negotiation, mediation. All this may give the result only if the local law enforcement practice perfected, the effectiveness of which, unfortunately, in the regions of Russia is still leaves much to be desired.

The constant tension in relations with the government is defending the rights of indigenous peoples to the resources of their territory of residence. The provisions of existing Federal Law of the Russian Federation “On the territories of traditional nature use of indigenous peoples” are not directly applicable and practically implemented. In fact, all undermined the material basis of existence of the indigenous population of the North, in the Arctic — destroyed traditional economies (reindeer herding, fishing, hunting, etc.), and there is a need to work in the priority sectors of the economy where indigenous peoples are hardly involved, — stated A.A. Pakhomov and T.S. Mostakhova [5, p. 39-41].

We are specifically talking about the right to free use of land and water bodies in places of traditional residence, preservation and development of their native language, traditions and culture, a simplified procedure for access to aquatic biological resources, special regime of forest management, state support indigenous communities. At a meeting of the presidium of the State Commission for the Development of the Arctic on the 5th of October 2015 there have been instructions to work out the amendments to the legislation of the Russian Federation on fisheries and conservation of aquatic biological resources, and to provide fishing grounds without tenders to persons belonging to indigenous peoples and their communities, in order to ensure traditional way of life and pursuing the traditional economic activity and etc.

²¹ At the Meeting of the State Commission of the Arctic Development 5 October 2015 it was decided to include some measures in the new reduction of the state program “Social and economic development of the AZRF until 2020”.

However, some regional initiatives are puzzling. So, one of the governor suddenly proposed to rename the list of Indigenous Peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East: "In my opinion, this document should be renamed and be a list of indigenous peoples of the Arctic, Siberia and Far East" ²². However, it is known that northern Russia actually includes the high Arctic (the Arctic — part of the North, the North is broader than the concept of the Arctic). In the Arctic, there are simply no indigenous peoples who were not a part of the list of IP of the North, Siberia and the Far East.

It should also be noted that some of the issues are used as tools of soft power: politicization of ethnicity north in particular. One example is the inclusion of Pomors in the list of indigenous peoples of the European North of Russia ²³. Preferences for indigenous peoples today objectively create tensions with other indigenous peoples, with the old residents, including Pomors, as if these people are not northerners and live completely in other climatic conditions, not right there, in the municipal settlements, engaging one and the same fisheries for centuries to survive. Here, however, nothing had changed for a long time.

I believe that the policy of paternalism of indigenous peoples will certainly be needed to continue in view of the fact that northern ethnic groups are the most vulnerable and require more attention from the state and society. Realizing this, the participants of the parliamentary hearings organized by the State Duma Committee on Nationalities on the 23rd of April 2015, discussed the draft of the Federal Law N 42057-6 "On Amendments to the Federal Law "On guarantees of the rights of indigenous peoples of the Russian Federation" and some legislative acts of the Russian Federation in order to clarify the conceptual apparatus, determining the order of reference for the citizens willing to be recognized as the indigenous people of the Russian Federation. The approval is needed for methodologies for compensating the damages for the IP areas. It was also discussed a concept of the Federal Law "On the estimation of the impact on original habitat, traditional way of life and traditional nature of Indigenous Peoples of the Russian Federation" ²⁴.

However, it is clear that the key issue today is increasingly becoming a search for a balance between paternalism of the state to preserve traditional cultures, management, crafts of indigenous peoples, on the one hand, and the use of modern technology, the volume of investment in human capital accumulation Northerners, on the other. Addressing quality of life, social activity

²² Osobyj status Severa. 5 oktyabrya 2015. URL: <http://www.orlov29.ru/gubernator/news/1240.html> (Accessed: 03 November 2015)

²³ Discussion on Russian Pomors I will leave behind this article. The Publishing House named after V.N. Bulatov published the second volume of "Novaya Arkhangel'skaya letopis" that has a paragraph: "Pomorovedenie: Pomore o Pomorah" // Novaya Arkhangel'skaya letopis. 2-d vol. Arkhangel'sk: SAFU, 2015.pp. 50—90.

²⁴ Parliamentary meeting on: «Legal provisions on life of indigenous small numbered peoples of the North, Siberia and Far East of the Russian Federation». 23.04.2015. URL: <http://www.komitet2-4.km.duma.gov.ru/site.xp/052051124049050053054.html> (Accessed: 10 September 2015)

and mobility is almost impossible without an increase in investment, provide human capital of the northern societies — investments in education, health, recreation, housing, development of creativity, training and youth receiving new professional competencies. Specifically, we are talking about providing local social cohesion, employment, the actual creation of new jobs (the actual quota allocation) in the leading sectors of the modern economy of the entire population of the North, including indigenous people, the development of self-government. Careful state budget investment in quotas of new jobs for indigenous peoples (both large and small in size), old-population should be combined with a whole set of problems to be solved: the application of modern technologies; the development of public-private partnerships; support for small and medium-sized businesses, self-governing communities of a new type; adjustable labor mobility and the creation of necessary conditions for it; with effective regulation of growing external and internal migration.

It is important to note that in the regions of the Russian Arctic has accumulated proven experience in practice the balance between paternalism and the introduction of new technologies of the 21st century. The governor of the Nenets Autonomous District N. Koshin, for example, believes that: “The success of the sustainable development of indigenous peoples of the Arctic — the balance between preserving traditions and the introduction of modern technologies. For example, our project is nomadic schools involves the use of electronic textbooks and classes to study the Nenets in the district schools equipped with multimedia equipment ... As strange as it may sound, the progress helps us to preserve the culture of indigenous peoples, and raising the prestige of the profession Reindeer husbandry needs target economic support from the state. Today we do not subsidize all costs, as part of the cost, depending on the volume produced and sold products. Then we get the result!”²⁵.

Meanwhile, we note that in the Arctic and the North of Russia there is not yet widely available technologies of the sixth technological order, the **green economy** (Green economics, Ecological economics). The transition from the traditional model of economic growth in the “green economy” — it is a global trend of relying on resource-saving and environmentally friendly production, improving the welfare of the people and reduce the risks to the environment, — emphasizes Doctor of Economic Sciences S.A. Lipina [11, p. 54]. The key problem of the green economy in the Arctic becomes a transition to new technology for the processing of waste, the creation of non-waste production. “If the traditional economy combines labor, technology and resources to produce goods

²⁵ V Arhangelske v ramkah Arkticheskogo soveta proxodit konferenciya, posvyashhennaya ustojchivomu razvitiyu regiona i ego korennoego naseleniya. URL: <http://adm-nao.ru/press/governor/7548/> (Accessed: 17 September 2015)

and end-use of waste, the green economy should return the waste back into the production cycle, causing minimal damage to nature” — says renowned economist Pavan Suhdev²⁶. Without going into a detailed understanding of all aspects of the green economy, I will mention a few that have, in my opinion, to reduce conflict in the studied regions of the Arctic and the Russian North.

1. First of all, it is important to understand and accept that conceptually “green” economy is very close to the traditional culture of northerners, their worldview, values and can play a huge role at socio-economic development of indigenous small numbered peoples of the North, Siberia and Far East.
2. Secondly, the use of modern technologies of energy (e.g., the project of Mezen hydroelectric power), energy efficiency in construction and transport, respect to consumption of water and marketing of these new product, recycling — open a unique opportunity to take leading positions in the development of green economy and take part in moderation of conflicting tensions.
3. Thirdly, in Russian Arctic has several years of a large-scale cleaning of islands and coastal areas and removal of waste. This activity actively involved federal ministries and departments, including Ministry of Defense. The challenge today is to prevent future conflicts related to pollution and industries, especially paying attention to utilities, urban infrastructure of Murmansk, Vorkuta, Norilsk, Severodvinsk, Tiksi and other towns and settlements where 80% of the population of the Russian Arctic are living, as well as the permanent and temporary settlements on Islands of the Arctic Ocean.
4. Fourthly, constant conflict, to my mind, is caused by the costs of ecological projects and transition to the green economy in the North, including the use of the NSR. Where is it possible to get necessary funds and resources to promote the green economy in the Russian Arctic — the question remains open.
5. Fifthly, a complete ban of the economic activity in an extremely vulnerable position with ecology in the Arctic region. This question is accompanied with a great number of discussions. It makes sense to introduce temporary restrictions on production of hydrocarbons on continental shelf of the northern seas, and suggest the private businesses, state companies to focus on coastal waters and use the technologies for the extraction of oil with the maximum possible use of land reserves (but not burning them) or use associated gas and find other land reserves. It is high time for the Russian government to order the development or correction of specific environmental standards for the Russian Arctic with the use of the world experience, achievements, modern science and rights.

I am convinced that these and other measures will have a positive impact on reducing the number of conflicts. Very often we are not yet aware that the landscape of the Russian Arctic is a real national treasure of our country, the quality of which largely determines the stability of biospheric processes, economic development and health of the population of Europe and Asia. The news about the Arctic are often lead to optimistic estimates of potentially possible, even undiscov-

²⁶ Zelenaya ekonomika. URL: <http://www.regreenlab.ru/ru/green-economic> (Accessed: 24 October 2015)

ered, oil and gas reserves. And often it is forgotten that the Arctic is not only a source of minerals and hydrocarbons but also renewable natural resources, large reserves of fresh water and a clean, cool air (oxygen, carbon dioxide absorption), the world's "kitchen of weather".

Conclusion

Thus, even a brief analysis of the basic concepts and the current situation of interethnic relations let us conclude that the cumulative palette of knowledge *methodologically expands thesaurus* of the ethnic and cultural landscape of the Arctic, and not only defines the goal setting and contents of the research, but also sets a sufficiently high theoretical goal for future. It becomes possible to use already accumulated notional wealth in practice, for state and municipal government.

By monitoring of ethnic tensions in the Russian Arctic, one should carefully analyze the content and the prevention of conflict situations arising when evaluating threats to their long-term transformation and the conflicting confrontation. Application of various indicators in the Arctic ethnological monitoring and management does not negate interdisciplinary research, creation of databases and the increase of scientific knowledge.

I want to emphasize that the preservation of the indigenous way of life and paternalism in the 21st century does not bring the desired effect. It is therefore important to search for a balance between "intelligent paternalism" of the state to preserve traditional cultures, management, fisheries, on the one hand, and the introduction of modern technologies, increasing investment in human capital in the Arctic and the North of Russia. Certainly we need to continue work on the legislative level to protect the rights of indigenous peoples. However, a key challenge is to ensure the field of social cohesion, employment, mobility, the creation of new jobs (allocation of quotas) in the leading sectors of the modern economy for Northerners, coupled with increasing investment in human capital (education, health, recreation, housing), development of creativity, training and competencies of the population, especially the youth. There is a need in the transition to a green economy, which is very close to the traditional culture of the indigenous population of the North and their world view.

Obviously, in order to decide all the problems in the North we require significant amounts of investment that is hardly realistic due to the economic crisis and ongoing strategic approach "to the east".

Social responsibility of the Russian state and business, the rule of law, minimization of corruption (negative examples — governors of the Komi Republic and the Sakhalin region and they are probably only the tip of this iceberg) create the key conditions for the prevention of conflicts, not only in the Russian society, but also in interethnic relations in the Arctic and North of Russia.

Also it was mentioned in the article, there are many other technologies of management of

ethnic tensions, positive experience, proven management practices in the regions and municipalities of the Russian Arctic and in other Arctic states. Best management practices of moderating the ethnic tensions and conflicts are certainly requiring the analysis, synthesis and implementation at all levels of government, including federal departmental structure, the subjects of the Russian Federation and municipalities in the North of Russia.

Naturally, ensuring the stability of the internal ethnic space of the Russian Arctic requires the ongoing research and successful testing of state ethnic policy and practice of local governance.

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The foundations of life of Nenets people on the arctic island of Kolguev



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Abstract. The social and economic foundations of indigenous people's life on the Kolguev Island (Barents Sea) are presented in the article in terms of the ethno-sociological field work results, surveys and "focus-groups" research of Nenets people done in the years 2006, 2007 and 2014. The anxieties of people caused by the reducing of reindeer herd, changes of the environment that damaged the traditional way of life and economy and negatively influenced the quality of life of indigenous population were identified. Speaking about the transformations of the local environment, the indigenous people of the Kolguev Island mentioned natural and climatic anomalies, changes of plants and populations of birds and animal as well as the increasing pollution of the Island.

Keywords: *Arctic, Kolguev Island, Nenets, life activity, changes in the natural environment, public opinion, ethno-sociological research*

Introduction

The strategic goal of research in the Arctic is the scientific study of rational and safe use of natural resources and the preservation of indigenous culture and strengthening of the traditional economies of small peoples of the North. In accordance with the "Principles of State Policy of the Russian Federation in the Arctic for the period up to 2020 and beyond", one of the priorities is to improve the quality of life of the indigenous population and social conditions of economic activities in the Arctic.

The area for studying of the indigenous population of the Arctic island is the Kolguev Island — traditional territory of Nenets and unique natural system where the oil is actively extracted.



Picture 1. Kolguev Island in the NAO. URL: <http://player.myshared.ru/991730/data/images/img12.jpg>

Collection of ethno-sociological data was carried out by polls. In 2006, 113 residents of the village Bugrino were surveyed, in 2007 — 187 people, in 2014 — 70 people. In 2014, we also made an expert interviews and three focus groups (with representatives of reindeer husbandry, education and retired people). The probability and target sample was used to form the focus-groups

Major problems of social and economic life of Nenets

In 1858, the population of the island was more than a hundred people involved in traditional economic activities. In 1936, the administrative center of the island — village Bugrino got a few houses, a boarding school and a bakery shop. The nomadic population of the island moved into the houses. October 1, 2014: in the village 464 people registered. About 80% of the population — the Nenets 22¹.

The main problems of island life for the past nine years are: 1) lack of jobs; 2) poor housing conditions; 3) alcoholism among the population; 4) The low level of income. However, the greatest urgency (1st place) in a survey of 2014 had the problem of reducing reindeer herds.

¹ Pasport municipalnogo obrazovaniya "Kolguevskij sel'sovjet" NAO RF, 2014 god. URL: <http://kolgadm.ru/pasport-poseleniya.html>. MO "Kolguevskij sel'sovjet" NAO / Oficial'nyj sajt Zapolyarnogo rajona NAO. URL: <http://www.zrnao.ru/index.php?id=287> (Accessed: 17 October 2015)

Table 1

***The results of public opinion polls on current issues,
Nenets livelihoods on Kolguev (2006, 2014)***

<i>What are the acute problems You most concerned about?</i>	The number marked this problem, people		Rating place Problems frequency	
	2006	2014	2006	2014
1) <u>reduction in the number of deer</u>	7	61	13	1
2) <u>the lack of jobs in the village,</u>	54	59	2	2
3) <u>unemployment</u>				
4) <u>substandard housing,</u>	47	55	3	3
5) <u>destructured (dilapidated) houses</u>				
6) <u>alcoholism, drunkenness</u>	32	53	4	4
7) low wages, pensions	60	51	1	5
8) lack of attention to the needs of the administra- tion of the NAD to the island's population	12	51	8	5
9) lack of food and manufactured goods on sale, their high price	11	48	9	6
10) absence of 9-year school, children who are not studying	13	47	7	7
11) the deterioration of the state of the natural envi- ronment	14	44	6	8
12) lack of competent managers among locals	10	42	9	9
13) not enough cultural and entertainment events, concerts	4	39	14	10
14) decline national cultural oblivion traditions, lan- guage	6	38	13	11
15) lack of regular transport links with the mainland	30	34	5	12
16) bad relationship of people to each to other	7	34	11	12
17) the development of oil fields on the island Kolguev	3	34	15	12
18) inadequate medical care	9	32	10	13
19) other	5	8	12	14

Since settling Kolguev Nenets have been living from reindeer, it was the basis of ethno-social and economic life of the islanders. At the end of the 19th — early 20th century there were 800 of reindeer. In the 1920s—1930s, with Russia's transition to a new government policy, the number of reindeer increased to 5—7 thousand [1]. In the spring of 2013 in the agricultural production cooperative “Kolguev” it was documented that 570 reindeer had died². The die-off continued, and after a year on the island the herd of 12 thousand reindeers reduced to one thousand³. Despite the

² Provoditsya rassledovanie obstoyatelstv massovoj gibeli oleney na ostrove Kolguev // Informacionnoe Agentstvo «Arktika-Info». 16.04.2013. URL: <http://www.arctic-info.ru/news/16-04-2013/provoditsa-rassledovanie-obstoatelstv-massovoi-gibeli-olenei-na-ostrove-kolgyev> (Accessed: 17 October 2015)

³ Prichinami massovogo padezha oleney na o. Kolguev stali izbytok pogolovya i nedostatok pastbishh // Naryana vynder. 14.04.2014. URL: <http://nvinder.ru/news/2997-prichinami-massovogo-padezha-olenei-na-okolguev-stali-izbytok-pogolovya-i-nedostatok> (Accessed: 17 October 2015).

measures taken to stabilize the situation, by the end of 2014 the population was reduced to 153⁴. Official reports indicate that the main cause of death of reindeers was starvation and there were no evidences of dangerous diseases.

Table 2, presents the results of public opinion polls 2006 and 2014 and indicates the importance of reindeer herds to the village Bugrino and a people's concern about life in connection with the death of the deer.

Table 2

The results of a public opinion poll on the impact of reindeer herd reduction on the life of the village Bugrino (2006, 2014)

“How will your life change if there will be no reindeer herd on the Kolguyev Islands?”	Amount of answers		% of answers	
	2006	2014	2006	2014
- must improve	1	0	1	0
- will improve	1	0	1	0
- won't change	7	4	6	6
- worsen	47	5	42	7
- <u>undoubtedly worsen</u>	53	61	47	87
- difficult to answer	4	0	4	0

In 2014, the villagers pointed out in an interview that the reindeer is the basis of their power, and with its disappearance their diet will change. This may negatively affect the health of the indigenous population of the village. People expressed the hope that somebody will bring venison and sell it to the population of the island. In the absence of the venison necessary in the diet of population may force them to be more actively engaged in hunting, harvesting goose, collection of birds' eggs, fishing, and gathering berries and even mushrooms.

Traditional resource use on Kolguyev is adjacent to the industrial production of hydrocarbons. Development of oil and gas deposits in the area of the river Peschanka had started in the 1970s. Oil-ers work and reside in the shift village Peschanka located about 80 km from Bugrino. Oil production on the island Kolguev got negative attitude of the indigenous inhabitants, but the majority of the respondents believe that their lives will not change because of termination of oil production on the island, as it is evidenced by the survey results (Table. 3).

Table 3

The results of a public opinion poll on the impact of oil production on the life of the village. Bugrino (2006, 2014)

“How will your life change if there will be no oil industry on the Kolguyev Islands?”	Amount of answers		% of answers	
	2006	2014	2006	2014
- must improve	3	7	3	10
- will improve	11	11	10	16
- <u>won't change</u>	68	42	60	60

⁴ Na Kolgueve mogut vvesti 10-letnij moratorij na uboj oleney // Naryana vynder. 07.05.2015. URL: [http:// nvinder.ru/news/7784-na-kolgueve-mogut-vvesti-10-letnij-moratorij-na-uboy-oleney](http://nvinder.ru/news/7784-na-kolgueve-mogut-vvesti-10-letnij-moratorij-na-uboy-oleney) (Accessed: 17 October 2015).

- worsen	14	2	12	3
- undoubtedly worsen	5	8	4	11
- difficult to answer	12	0	11	0

Hoping to revive reindeer herds, the islanders have expressed concern in connection with plans for the implementation of field development project in the center of the island. Herders say that the best berry places are found in the areas of oil production.

Reindeer husbandry is of great importance for reindeer herders, and for the Nenets people not involved in it directly. It performs vital functions, is a common symbol of the identity of indigenous peoples [2]. Keeping reindeer herd on Kolguyev is important from the point of view of preserving the traditional language of the island, as herders is the group of the population, which continues to use the Nenets language. The children in the families of the reindeer herders also speak the native language. This is done intentionally because the parents know that “the Russian language and it is taught in school”. There have been cases in the village when in order to prepare children for school people brought children who knew only Nenets language to the kindergarten.

In general, on the island the bilingualism is common. A 2007 survey showed that Russian and Nenets languages are native to 45% of all respondents; Nenets language — 41%; only the Russian language - 10%. However, the skill are different but among the various forms of language a dominated one was the Russian language. Knowledge of the Nenets language for almost 40% of all respondents is only limited by knowledge of words. In contrast to the Russian, Nenets language is the language spoken at home, but it was like saying “sometimes on the occasion”. The need to study the Nenets language is seen as the preservation of traditions by the majority. [3]

Problems of transformation of the natural environment, its impact on the lives of islanders were discussed in focus groups (2014), where there were climatic anomalies, changes in vegetation, wildlife and birds discussed.

Climate changes are not clear for residents of the island. Some said that it had become warmer: a protracted snowless autumn period, early melting of the ice in the Barents Sea, the hot summer days of 2013. Others believed that winter had become very cold. Herders pointed to *different directions of climate change*, swings in the warm periods of cold and vice versa. Changes in vegetation are largely due to the problem of degradation of reindeer pastures. Most of the tundra in the summer became dry, moss dries and becomes brittle, moss growing locations are covered with grass and shrubs. Atypical of the island is the mass vegetation in 2012, a variety of mushrooms, among which, according to the Nenets, there were new species. Before the inhabitants of the island were usually eating cloudberries and collected it ones in two years, but now — every year.

Discussing the ongoing changes on the island, the participants of the focus groups, in particular, pointed to the increase of Barnacle Goose, the displacement of its nesting places from coast to the tundra, the displacement of geese to the north of the island. In the lakes, in the opinion of the population, there were fewer fish. There had been a significant decrease in the number of partridges, and swallows were began to meet more often. In connection with the death cases of reindeer, people mentioned an increased the number of foxes. Residents pointed to the appearance of the mice in the village, which had not been there before. The polar bear had become rare, perhaps because of the ice conditions.

In general, according to residents, many of the observed phenomena of transformation of the natural environment may have a direct or indirect impact on the reduction in the number of reindeer on the Arctic island of Kolguev.

More urgent is the problem of pollution of the territory of the village and the surrounding coastal and tundra territory by the household wastes and wastes of reindeer. In the focus groups, worsen attitudes to keeping the environment clean were discussed.

Conclusion

In conclusion it should be noted that in recent years, the positive socio-economic changes on the island Kolguev, construction of houses and infrastructure and improving living standards occurred. At the same time, it increased the influence and intensified the transformation of the natural environment and had an impact on the lives and opportunities of the aboriginal population.

Death of the reindeer herd had negative impact on a quality of life, undermining the foundations of sustainable livelihoods of indigenous people who live on one of the most northern islands in the Arctic.

Under these circumstances, the expansion of industrial development, increasing oil production is of the concern of herders, who hope to revive the traditional management on their island.

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Ethnic and demographic processes in the Russian Arctic¹



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Abstract. The population dynamics and ethno-national structure of Russian Arctic are analyzed and presented in the materials of Soviet and Russian census. A number of trends has been identified: negative demographic dynamics and outflow of population, especially in those regions, where the provision of foreign exchange reserves due to min-

ing operations has decreased significantly. The European part of the Russian Arctic tends to be a monoethnic area where the population is predominantly old-settled (indigenous people and small-numbered indigenous people). In economically attractive regions there is a fixed increase in the number of representatives from Central Asia Caucasus and the Asian-Pacific region. The increase in the number of indigenous small-numbered people is the key to preserving and developing the culture of these ethnic groups, but on the other hand it has a potential threat, including the contradictions between the need for industrial development of the Arctic and the need to preserve the indigenous way of life.

Keywords: *Russian Arctic, ethnic and demographic processes, ethno-national structure, indigenous peoples*

Introduction

In today's world with its unevenness of development of ethno-demographic, powerful inter-state and inter-ethnic migration exchanges, a high degree of inter-ethnic cooperation, studying the dynamics of demographic development and ethnic structure of particular countries and regions is extremely important. Comprehensive and complex reconstruction of the ethnic and demographic composition of the territories in historical perspective is the basis for optimization of the demographic, socio-economic, ethnic and cultural policies of states and regions; taking into account the ethnic component, it allows timely response to the exacerbation of ethno-political situation and prevention of the ethnic conflicts.

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Of particular significance are the analysis and study of this problem on the national level. Russia has many centuries of coexistence of many nations, that, on the one hand, has accumulated international collaboration and cooperation, and, on the other, there are some ethnic tension caused by the Soviet and post-Soviet national policy, sharp social and economic polarization of the Russian regions which boundaries often coincide with the territories of different ethnic groups.

Some territories in Russia differ substantially in terms of population dynamics and the ethnic structure that makes them interesting for the concrete areas of regional studies aimed at identifying nationwide trends and specifics of particular areas.

Ethnic and demographic processes in the Russian Arctic

One of these regions, where the dynamics of ethno-demographic processes requires a thorough and balanced analysis is the Russian Arctic, due to its role and place in the system of geopolitical and national interests. On the other hand, the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation — the territory of primordial indigenous people's area, has demographic problems, issues related to the traditional way of life and indigenous cultures, needs better socio-economic development in order to strengthen the human potential of the region. As it is stated in the State program "Socio-economic development of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation for the period until 2020", approved by Decree of the Government of 21.04.2014 №366, complex socio-economic development of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation is to improve the quality of life of the indigenous population and the socio-economic and business environment in the Arctic - are the priority for governance of the territory.

Subjects of the ethnic and demographic processes in the country and its regions are actively discussed in Russian scientific literature. Of particular interest are subjects relating to ethnic and demographic processes in the national-territorial formations and multi-ethnic regions [1]. The object of attention of researchers are demographic processes among certain ethnic groups, including those living in the North [2,3,4,5]. However, at the present time, we do not have a holistic view of ethno-national composition and ethno-demographic situation in the Russian Arctic, subjects of the present study. Without pretending to be exhaustive, the author covers of the issue in a limited form of an article, where the dynamics of ethno-demographic processes in the Arctic region is presented on the basis of census 1989, 2002, 2010, which is extremely important in the context of finding ways to optimize the ethnic and cultural development of regional communities and the timely detection of potential threats, ethno-national conflicts, their causes and contributing factors, develop a set of appropriate measures for their pre-empt and resolve.

The population of the Russian Arctic according to the census of 1989, 2002, 2010.

The Arctic zone of the Russian Federation consists entirely territory of four subjects of the Russian Federation: Murmansk region, Nenets, Chukotka and Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous District, and in 16 municipalities of the Arkhangelsk Region, the Krasnoyarsk Territory, the republics of Komi and Sakha (Yakutia), a number of islands in the Arctic Ocean.

The total population of the land territories of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation, in 1989 reached 3.3 million people representing 35.4% of the population of Arctic subjects of the Russian Federation and 2.3% of the population (Table 1).

Table 1

Population Dynamics in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation

Subarctic regions of the Russian Arctic	Population (people)			AZRF: territories	Population of the 4 regions and 16 municipalities of the AZRF (peoples)		
	1989 (1)	2002 (2)	2010 (3)		1989 (1)	2002 (2)	2010 (3)
Russia	147 mln	145 mln	142,9 mln				
Total population in the subjects of the RF	9 354 237	7 765 445	7 326 459	AZRF	3 309 380	2 626 486	2 424 421
Murmansk Region.	1 146 757	892 534	795 409	Murmansk Region.	1 146 757	892 534	795 409
Nenets AD	54 840	41 546	42 090	Nenets AD	54 840	41 546	42 090
Chukotsky AD	157 528	53 824	50 526	Chukotsky AD	157 528	53 824	50 526
YaNAO	486 164	507 006	522 904	YaNAO	486 164	507 006	522 904
Komi Republic	1 261 024	1 018 674	901 189	Vorkuta	216 176	84 917	70 548
Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)	1 081 408	949 280	958 528	Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)	81 335	33 161	28 325
				Allaikhovskij ulus (area)	5 218	3 421	3 050
				Anabarskij nacional. ulus (area)	3 903	4 024	3 501
				Bulunskij area	17 257	9 775	9 054
				Nizhnekolymskij area	13 692	5 932	4 664
				Ust-Yanskij ulus	41 265	10 009	8 056
Krasnoyarsky Krai	3 596 260	2 966 042	2 828 187	Krasnoyarsky Krai	341 977	274 133	229 392
				Norilsk	267 609	221 908	176 252
				Tayimirsky Dolgano-Nenetsky MR	55 111	39 786	34 432
				Turukhansky region	19 257	12 439	18 708
Arkhangelsk Region	1 570 256	1 336 539	1 227 626	Arkhangelsk Region	824 603	690 110	659 921
				Arkhangelsk	424 728	356 051	348 783
				Mezenskij MR	17 796	13 124	10 330
				Novaya Zemlya		2 716	2 429
				Novodvinsk	50 183	43 383	40 615
				Onezhskij MR	22 269	16 791	14 017
				Primorskij MR	31 813	29 365	25 466
				Severodvinsk	251 392	201 551	192 353

Sources: census of 1989, the population of the Soviet Union, the Russian Federation and its territorial units by the sex. National Population Census 2002 population of Russia, the subjects of the Russian Federation in the federal districts, districts, townships, towns, district centers and villages with a population of three thousand and more. Vol. 01.04. National Population Census 2010 population of Russia, the subjects of the Russian Federation: the federal districts, districts, townships, towns, district centers and villages with a population of three thousand and more. The 2010 Census. Vol. 01.05.

Since 1989, the population of the Russian Arctic has decreased from 309 380 to 3 424 421 people. Among the four subjects of the Russian Federation, full members of the Russian Arctic, the population increased by 2010 only in the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous District. Reduced is the number of the population in all 16 municipalities of the Russian Arctic.

The processes of formation, development and transformation of the ethnic landscape goes on due to many factors: the milestones and stages of development and settlement of areas, the heroic and dramatic pages of the history of the country and the region, the dynamics of social, economic and demographic development, voluntary, forced and involuntary migration.

Original ethnic character of the study area, no doubt, is determined by the indigenous population, whose stay in the Russian Arctic goes into the depth of centuries. This are primarily indigenous peoples of the North, as well as Komi and Yakuts, whose number exceeds 50 thousand people. Ages had passed since Russians came to stay in the Arctic and since the move of North European Slavs associated with 10th—11th centuries. The development of the north-eastern area (Pechora, Ugra, Siberia) began in the period of the Novgorod Republic, in 11th—15th centuries. [6, p. 136—144].

Distant from the center the circumpolar territory of Russia was a place of political exile under the tsarist and Soviet regimes, which contributed to the poly-ethnic composition of the Northern territories. Among the exiles: the participants of the Polish uprising of 1860; of the population deported from Western Ukraine, Western Byelorussia and the Baltic states after the accession of these territories to the USSR in 1939—1940s; thousands of special settlers from the central, southern, southwestern and western areas of the country during the period of the mass of solid collectivization.

Forced migration of various nationalities in the North is related to the dramatic events of the First World War and the Great Patriotic War, when the population of the western areas of the country hurried to leave the zone of active hostilities and seek refuge status in safer areas.

A powerful impetus to an increase in the total population of ethnic groups living in the region has been given by a positive demographic dynamics and mass voluntary labor immigration to the region in 1930s—1980. In the Arctic regions of Russia, in those years, there was an intensive process of exploration and development of rich natural and mineral resources, industries, agriculture, a ma-

major traffic artery linking into circumpolar territory and providing foreign trade — the Northern Sea Route.

Quantitative and qualitative human capacity and manpower was provided by a high level of wages, various benefits and preferences for those working and living in the Far North, the development of social and cultural infrastructure, improving the protection of children and mothers and other privileges. As a result, only for the period 1959—1989, the overall number of people living in the Russian Arctic increased by almost 3.5 million people or 60%. In 1989 there lived 9,350,000 people².

Ethnic composition of the Russian Arctic by the data of census

Ethnic and cultural space of the Russian Arctic is represented by almost all the peoples living in the Soviet Union. 77.3% were Russian. In the study area, the number of the Russian population was significantly higher and amounted to 84—92% of the population. Accordingly, in the autonomous regions, republics and national districts — significantly lower, but the overall — more than 50% (Table 2).

Table 2

Dynamics of the ethnic and cultural composition of the Russian Arctic (1)

Ethnic groups	Murmansk Region		Nenets AD		Chukotsky AD		Yamalo-Nenetsky AD		Komi Republic		Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)		Krasnoyarsky Krai		Arkhangelsk Region (incl. NAD)	
	1989	2010	1989	2010	1989	2010	1989	2010	1989	2010	1989	2010	1989	2010	1989	2010
Azerbaijanis	2695	3841	93	157	326	107	3418	9291	4728	4858	1758	2040	8327	16 341	2761	2605
Armenians	1521	1618	51		387	105	1296	1605	2171	1717	1138	3691	3375	10 677	1257	1040
Bashkirs	1320		27		340	125	6830	8297	5313	2333	4190	1819	5485	2955	793	
Belarusians	38 794	12 050	1051	283	3045	364	12 609	6480	26 730	8859	9900	2527	33 856	9900	19 949	5810
Bulgarians	510	275	16	2		25		814	969	486	552	209	659	317	284	124
Buryats					234	149		169			8471	7011	1463	1051		
Greeks	267	147		3			484	301	469	188	608	215	1179	635	139	-
Georgians	690	370	45	3		30	633	544	1683	614	794	364	2301	1336	1031	347
Dargin		252					211	767	263	251			318	316		116
Dolgans											408	1906	5460	5810		
Jews	1919	457	46	2	332	29	1091	239	1281	314	1125	227	3620	1147	927	307
Ingush		129					203	437	249	123	594	923	481	448		142
Indians		1										15		6		368
Kabardins	171	169						124	348	128			422	190		
Kalmyks		50				164		391				147	694	213		
Kazakhs	911	518	59	17		70	1386	1532	1915	357	1760	1338	3827	1970	903	255
Karely	3505	1376							580	180			294		700	180
Kets		2											994	957		
Kyrgyz	292	137	9	40		30		1815	343	731	566	5022	2547	8423	166	89

² Accounted with the use of: Vsesoyuznaya perepis naseleniya 1959. Chislennost nalichnogo naseleniya gorodov i drugih poselenij, rajonnyh centrov i krupnyh selskih naselennyh mest na 15 yanvarya 1959 goda po respublikam, krayam i oblastyam RSFSR. URL: http://demoscope.ru/weekly/ssp/rus59_reg1.php (Accessed: 03 September 2015); Vsesoyuznaya perepis naseleniya 1989 g. Chislennost naseleniya SSSR, RSFSR i ee territorialnyh edinic po polu. Demoskop № 651-652, 24 avgusta — 6 sentyabrya 2015 goda URL: http://demoscope.ru/weekly/ssp/rus89_reg1.php (Accessed: 08 September 2015)

Chinese		7									329	926	554	2439	18	14
Komi	2167	1649	5124	3623			5746	5141	2915 42	2023 48			788	159	7256	4583
Koreans	318	173	12	3		28	199	266	401	196	1498	1421	1275	1029	146	78
Kumyks		174		8			672	4466	246		235		486	596		
Latvians	664	183	32	1		11			993	259	298	91	6414	2189	391	
Lezgins	484	951		116			504	1879	930	1406	378	364	1215	2800	335	394
Lithuanians	1289	354	40	5		16	413		3066	977	607	206	3520	1277	1174	287
Mari	1348	852	26	84		152	1197	2078	4067	2280	1166	455	7748	3314	956	545
Moldovans	3216	1309	105	48	672	91	5570	4712	5155	2318	3674	1622	5101	2749	2576	957
Mordva	4214	1625	65	21	395	41	1979	1257	3927	1462	2969	1523	14 873	4295	1610	553
Nanai														807		
Nganasans													1128			
Germans	1454	725	88	10	506	108	3188	1847	12 866	5441	4099	1540	54 254	22 363	2237	848
Nenets	176	149	6423	7504			20 917	29 772	376	503			2661	3633	7178	8020
Nogais							648	3479		201	327	357		950		
Ossetians	560	347		9	391	89	684	466	758	323	1387	623	1957	1493	424	126
Poles	1836	652	62	22	258	31	870	455	2181	843	894	297	4056	1268	1430	390
Russians	965 727	64 2310	35 489	26 648	108 297	25 068	292 808	312 019	721 780	555 963	550 263	353 649	3110 972	2490 730	1446 210	1148 821
Selkups							1530	1988					367	281		
Sami	1615	1599														
Pomors		235		7												2015
Tabasaran		521						321						299		
Tajiks	189	332	16	50		16		1482	645		260	2696	1377	6304	342	401
Tatars	11 459	5624	524	209	2272	451	26 431	28 509	25 980	10 779	17 478	8122	54 052	34 828	5391	2335
Tuva												204	2570	2933		
Turks		35		5		3						15		90		31
Turkmen		61	21			2			606			51	767	477	392	45
Udmurts	1501	597	184			20	809	583	3573	1593	804	290	5240	2026	1185	509
Uzbeks	872	1122	63	118		79	685	1775	2593	939	780	3332	4761	6434	1046	435
Ukrainians	105 079	34 268	3728	987	27 600	2869	85 022	48 985	104 170	36 082	77 114	20 341	118 763	38 012	53 428	16 976
Khanty				1			7247	9489								
Finns	590	273							302	112	315		1076	303	254	
Khakas											351		69 325	4102		
Gypsies	169	121		1				746	425	239		2358	1901	1050	897	
Chechens		107		5			968	2434	537		470	377	1114	685	315	238
Chuvans				75	944	897										
Chuvash	3865	1782	171		450	166	3657	3471	11 253	5077	3140	1123	26 865	11 036	2939	1357
Chukchi					11 914	12 772					473	670				
Evenki				13							14 428	21 008	4382	4372		
Evens					1336	1392					8668	15 071	197			
Eskimos					1452	1529						11				
Estonians	468	103	12	2		1			651	151	234	53	6061	2346	388	
Yukaghirs						198					697	1281				
Yakuts						62					365 236	466 492	1778			

Sources: All-Union census of 1989. National composition of the population in the Russian regions. Demoscope 15 - December 31, 2014 №623-624. URL: http://demoscope.ru/weekly/ssp/rus_nac_89.php?reg=1 (Accessed: 01 March 2015). National Population Census 2010. Population by nationality and knowledge of the Russian language in the subjects of the Russian Federation. Vol. 04-04 URL: http://www.gks.ru/free_doc/new_site/perepis2010/croc/perepis_itogi1612.htm (Accessed: 11 November 2014).

The policy of assimilation and integration of the indigenous population of the North and indigenous peoples in the culture of the titular nation, carried out in 1930—1950's, gave the results. The region had decreased indigenous population, native language was lost, ancient cultural and ethnic traditions, declining share of traditional economic activities. By 1959, in the study region, the total number of indigenous people was only 62,860 people or 1.07% of the total population. Komi and Yakuts were represented by more than 0.5 million people³. However, the sustainability of the cultural code and the ability to self-preservation, elaborated by centuries of living in the harsh climatic conditions had contributed to the growth of the number of practically all groups of autochthonous the population of the North, especially after democratization, reducing total control, the development of culture of the peoples of the USSR and improvement of the health care system in the 1960s.

During the period 1959—1989 the number of the Nenets in the NAO had increased by 29.5% to 49.6% YaNAO, Chukchi in Chukotka by 19.4%, in the Evenki of Yakutia by 45.7%, Evens — 2.5 times⁴. The share of Komi in the Komi Republic reached 23%, Yakuts, Evens and Evenki in the Yakut ASSR accounted for 35.9% of the territory. The indigenous peoples of the Nenets and Chukotka Autonomous District represented 11.9% and 7.6% of the population respectively. An exception can be called Yamal-Nenets Autonomous District, where the representation of indigenous peoples in the population did not exceed 5% (see Table 2).

The next largest group of the population were Ukrainians. Their share was up by 3.3% in the Krasnoyarsk region to 17.5% in the Chukchi and the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous District. In general, the subjects of the Russian Arctic their total number reached 574 904 people, representing 6.15% of the population (Table 2).

Belarusians and Tatars were the next largest ethnic groups: 145.7 thousand people and 143.6 thousand people — 1.5—1.6% of the population, respectively. In almost all regions of the Arctic, their share in the population was 0.9—5.4%. The total number of immigrants from Belarus was particularly high in the Murmansk and Arkhangelsk regions, the Krasnoyarsk region and the Komi Republic, the Tatars — in the Komi Republic, Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous District, and the Krasnoyarsk Territory. 1—1.5% of the population of the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous District, Komi Republic, Krasnoyarsk was presented by Bashkirs, Moldovans and Germans (Table 2).

The period of fundamental transformation of the end of the 20th — the 21st centuries, collapse of the USSR and the the post-Soviet times were, on the one hand, marked by positive development of the ethnic and cultural relations, and there was a rapid growth of ethnic identity, mass

³ Accounted with the use of: Vsesoyuznaya perepis naseleniya 1959 goda. Nacionalnyj sostav naseleniya po regionam Rossii. http://demoscope.ru/weekly/ssp/rus_nac_59.php?reg=91 (Accessed: 03 September 2015)

⁴ Ibid

ethno-national movements and associations whose aim was to protect the rights, interests, culture, language and traditions of various indigenous groups; on the other hand, against the background of past grievances and national economic difficulties exacerbated by the ethno-national conflicts, the centrifugal tendencies were manifested.

Ethnic and demographic changes in the Russian Arctic

Ethno-demographic composition of the Arctic regions defines a number of important factors on international, national and regional levels. Trends of change in the Russian Arctic are closely linked to the general situation today, with its origins on the international and domestic levels rooted deeply in the 20th century.

Firstly, in connection with the fall of the “Iron Curtain”, international contacts and the greater transparency of borders, made Russia feel the impact of international migration. Immigration to and emigration significantly altered ethno-cultural landscape of Northern areas.

Second, against the backdrop of the collapse of the USSR, the aggravation of interethnic relations in the former Soviet Union, a mass exodus to their historic homeland of representatives of many ethnic groups began: Russians returned back from the former Soviet republics; Ukrainians, Belarusians, Germans, Jews, Poles, people from the Baltic states moved to their national states.

Thirdly, against the background of the socio-economic crisis, the sharp polarization of society in terms of income, the widespread decline in living standards, greatly increased mortality, declined birth rates and life expectancy, Russia and its regions entered a long downward demographic dynamics.

At the regional level, in the Arctic regions, except of those who were oriented to the export of oil and gas and diamonds, mining and metallurgical industries (Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous District, Krasnoyarsk Krai, Yakutia), areas experienced reduce of industries. At the same time low investment attractiveness complicated the establishment of innovative enterprises. In connection with the rejection of protectionist policies and against the background of intense import of cheaper products due to the political and economic turns, development of agriculture and the region's traditional industries — fishing had decreased. Sharply reduced was the scope of activities and the importance of the Northern Sea Route. The importance of benefits and wage supplements for people living in the North reduced. Arctic subjects of Northern European Russia virtually turned into depressed regions. Accordingly, a mass migration outflow began combined with a sharply reduced scale of the population growth.

The factors, we've discussed above, significantly alter the ethnic structure of the region. In the Arctic regions of Russia for the period 1989—2010 years the population reduced by 21.3% (more than 2 million people) compared to the number of 2.8% in the whole country. These rates were sig-

nificantly higher than the average; the regional decrease values: in the Murmansk region - 30.6%, the Komi Republic — 28.5%, Chukotka — 3 times. The exceptions were the Yakutia, where the total number of population reduced by 11.4% and the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous District, where there was population growth was 7.6%. In the structure of the Russian population the proportion of Arctic residents decreased from 2.3% to 1.7% (Table 1).

According to the census of 2010, 33.1% of the population lived in the Arctic areas of Russia. Reduction of the total population here was higher and amounted to 26.9%. The sharp reduction in the number of inhabitants observed in the Arctic regions of Yakutia — almost 3 times, on the territory of the municipality district “Vorkuta” (Komi Republic) — by 55.7%, the urban district of Norilsk and Taimyr Dolgan-Nenets Municipal District (Krasnoyarsk region) — by 34.1% and 37.5%, respectively, in the district of Mezen (Arkhangelsk region) — by 42% (Table 1).

As a result of the downward demographic dynamics and population outflow from regions of the Far North the total number of Russians decreased by 1.7 million people or 23.2%. Their share of the population of the Arctic decreased from 77.5% to 75.8%, which was lower than the average all-country values by 5.1%. In Chukotka and the Sakha Republic (Yakutia), Russians were less than 50% of the population — 49.6% and 36.9%, respectively. In the Nenets and Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Area, the Komi Republic, the share of Russians was over 60% of the population. At the same time in the Arkhangelsk Region and the Krasnoyarsk region of the total number of Russians significantly exceeded the all-Russian figures and amounted to 93.6% and 88%, respectively. The number of Russians in the Murmansk region is close to the average value and is 80.8%⁵.

Among the emerging trends — a significant increase in the proportion of indigenous peoples in national-territorial formations. In the Nenets and Yamal-Nenets autonomous region the proportion of Nenets increased by 5.9% and 1.3%, respectively and was 17.8% and 5.7% of the population of these territories. The proportion Chukchi increased from 7.6% to 25.3% in their native lands. In Yakutia, the proportion of Yakuts, Evens and Evenki increased by 16.6% to 52.5%. It should be noted that the dynamics of the growth of indigenous peoples of the Arctic is provided by both demographic and non-demographic factors. Among them: a) a higher birth rate and reduced mortality; b) the acceleration of ethnic identity; c) socio-economic considerations: the background of the state regulations on guarantees of the rights of indigenous peoples made it economically advantageous to have membership in these ethnic groups.

⁵ Socialno-demograficheskij portret Rossii. Po itogam Vserossijskoj perepisi 2010 goda. URL: http://www.gks.ru/free_doc/new_site/perepis2010/croc/Documents/portret-russia.pdf (Accessed: 03 August 2015)

At the end of the 20th — beginning of the 21st century a significant number of people with foreign origin left the Arctic areas of Russia: the Ukrainians, Belarusians, Kazakhs, Georgians, Moldavians, Poles, Germans, Greeks and Bulgarians. The total number of immigrants from Ukraine decreased by 3.6 times and amounted to 160 396 people., whereas in the whole of Russia it reduced by only 2 times ⁶. The number of Belarusians decreased by more than 3 times in the region. The proportion of Ukrainians among the population of the study area was reduced from 6.15% to 2.2%, Belarusians from 1.5% to 0.6%. In quantitative terms, their numbers exceeded the average regional values only in a number of the Arctic areas: the Murmansk region, the Komi Republic, Yamal-Nenets and Chukotka. On average, two or more times less was the total number of Kazakhs, Georgians, Moldavians, Poles, Germans, Greeks, Bulgarians. The presence of the Tatars and people from the autonomous republics had become less noticeable in the Arctic regions. In particular, the number of Tatars reduced from 143.6 thousand to 90.9 thousand people or 36.8%.

Some more emerging trends: an increase in the number of immigrants from a number of former Central Asian and Transcaucasian republics (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan) and the Asia-Pacific region (immigrants from China, India). The number of representatives of these ethnic groups has increased on average from 1.5 to 4 times in the Arctic areas. A special attraction for them are the dynamically developing subjects of the Russian Federation: Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous District, the Krasnoyarsk Territory, the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) and other areas experienced an economic growth. However, the total number of these ethnic groups in the Russian Arctic exceeded 100 thousand, their share in the population structure gives the amplitude from 0.2% to 0.5%, with the exception of the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous District, where the natives of Azerbaijan make up 1.8% population of the territory. The total number of immigrants from China hardly exceeded 3.4 thousand people. Mostly they are concentrated in the Krasnoyarsk and Yakutia.

In turn, due to the expansion of nuclear submarine shipbuilding and development of international cooperation programs for the training of medical personnel, in the Arkhangelsk region we have people from India. The Indian diaspora in 2010 was 390 people. In 2012 — 2207 citizens of India, in 2013 — 3181, in 2014 — 856. The most frequently claimed purposes of visiting the Arkhangelsk Region — “work”, “private”, “business”. The majority of foreigners were engaged in labor activity in the areas of the economy where there were no local workers (construction, trade, manufacturing).

⁶ *Izmeneniya v nacionalnom sostave naseleniya Rossii. 1989—2010.* URL: <http://megabook.ru/article/%D0%9D...B8> (Accessed: 06 September 2015)

Conclusion

Summarizing, it should be noted that modern ethno-cultural space of the Russian Arctic is still diverse and includes representatives of more than 100 ethnic groups — the carriers of cultures of the world and dozens of large and small ethnic groups of the North with their language, religious beliefs and traditional culture.

The dynamics of the ethnic structure of the population is differentiated and is directly related to the socio-economic attractiveness of the subject of the Russian Arctic. Fast developing regions have a higher capacity to improve the quality of life (Nenets, Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous District, the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), the Krasnoyarsk Territory), have the best demographics, are more attractive to migrants and their ethnic pluralism is expressed more clearly. In turn, the European North of Russia tends to mono-ethnicity and has mostly old settled ethnic groups.

During the study period 1989 – 2010, the migration flows in the Arctic regions of Russia changed and we could observe a significantly reduced number of representatives of European cultures, immigrants from the European part of the former Soviet Union. At the same time there is a tendency to increase the representation of Asian cultures and people from Central Asian and Caucasus regions.

However, a large part of the Arctic areas (especially those located in the European part of Russia), with the current state of human resources, are unable to provide comprehensive development of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation, which does not fully protect the national interests of the country along the northern borders.

There is a tendency to increase the number of indigenous peoples of the Arctic, with varying degrees of intensity. The 11 of the 16 ethnic groups have been living in their homelands (Dolgan, Kets, Nenets, Selkup, Khanty, Chukchi, Evenki, Evens, Enets, Eskimos, Yukagirs) in 1989 - 2010. Reduced was the number of Nganasans, Sami, Chuvasha and Chulymy. Only few people represented Kerek nation. However, as it was rightly pointed by D.D. Bogoyavlensky, the growth of indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East had been more than modest. Their total number for the period 1989—2010 increased by 23.2%, but against the nationwide trend of population decline, this number looks impressive [7].

Ethnic consolidation of larger groups of the indigenous population, on the one hand, is a positive trend for the preservation and development of ethnic cultural traditions, on the other hand, a further decline of the socio-economic situation has a potential threat of manifestations of separatist sentiments among the people living in areas rich with natural resources and therefore enjoying a great potential to improve the quality of life.

Ethno-social inequality and differentiation, a different level of security of rights and guarantees creates the desire to seek the inclusion in the list of indigenous peoples among a number of Russian sub-ethnoses. So, in the European North of Russia in the beginning of the 21st century, for the first time, Pomor people spoke out.

A potential threat may be seen in the growth of contradictions between new and old residents, particularly indigenous peoples, of the following kind: the city (place of concentration of immigrants) VS the village (the territory of indigenous peoples); between the need for industrial development in the Arctic and the need to preserve the traditional way of life of indigenous peoples, the effectiveness of which is directly linked to environmental conditions, the natural habitat and ensuring the rights of indigenous people at the legislative level.

In general, ethno-demographic situation in the Arctic requires the development of an effective model of state and regional management of ethno-national processes aimed at the prevention of social and ethnic conflicts to harmonize the interests of all ethnic groups. Such a model could be an integral part of the general pattern of ethnic policy of Russia in the first third of the 21st century.

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Establishment of the state policy towards indigenous peoples of the North and its historical and legal dimensions (case of "Arkhangelsk Nenets")¹



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Abstract. The model of public policies aimed at the inclusion of European Nenets in the national legal space is analyzed. A large amount of published evidences of officials and travelers, as well as the archive materials show both positive and unsuccessful consequences of this policy, similar to the imperial, early Soviet, Soviet and post-Soviet ones. The issue of cultural sustainability of the Nenets ethnos that has developed mechanisms to counter internal and external forces destructive for their ethnic unity is discussed.

Keywords: *indigenous peoples of the North, European Nenets, legislation, ethnic policy, paternalism, liberalism, cultural sustainability, ethnic stereotypes*

Relevance of the issue

Particular attention of the Russian state and society to the problem of building a relationship with the indigenous peoples of the North (Indigenous Peoples) is caused by a number of factors. *First*, territory of the Russian Arctic, including the Nenets Autonomous Area, is an important strategic resource for the state and keeping them within Russia remains a major task. In this

¹ The research became possible due to financial support of the Russian Scientific Foundation, as a part of the project "Russian Arctic: from conceptualization towards an effective model of the state ethnic and national policy in the context of sustainable development of the regions", №15-18-00104

sparingly populated and poor infrastructured the northern territories people were interested in discussing the recognition of their “no man” — terra nullius (the UN has already proposed to set the limit of population density of 5 persons / km²). Naturally, Russia’s priority is the leveling of any processes that infringe on its territorial integrity. *Second*, forced internationalization of indigenous peoples' rights at the present stage has a damage of violation the ethnic stability in the region. The historical experience of the early 20th century raises some questions over the underestimation of the comprehensive work with indigenous peoples. For example, the Finns, in first decades of the 19th century, were active in cultural work with the Karelian population; Norwegians - with Sami, who lived in the neighboring territories of Russia. In the revolutionary period, Finland reached an agreement with Soviet Russia to hold a referendum among the population of the western part of the Kola Peninsula and to deal with the national self-determination issue. Only the Civil War had not allowed to implement this project. Western reorientation of the economic interests of the Sami, resident of Murman that was so attractive to Norway, under certain conditions, could also lead to the loss of the Russian land. Given this situation, the need for updated historical and legal interpretation of ethnic policy of the Russian state emerges.

The main ethno-political model for indigenous peoples

Extensive regulatory material and scientific research of pre-revolutionary, Soviet and modern scholars suggest the existence of at least three historical models of government policy in relation to indigenous peoples. Each of the models was sufficiently advanced legal and conceptual framework, but at the same time controversial practice of implementation.

The main ideas were relied on by government legislation in different historical periods and they were as follows: 1) The period of the first quarter of 19th — early 20th century (or “liberal model”) included the idea of modernization and related “soft” paternalism in relation to the peoples who are considered as less developed in the economic, social and political and cultural contexts. The legal regulation traced differentiated approach and led to accounting the characteristics of the groups with focus on a comprehensive coverage of the most important foundations of life of these people [1, p. 43] and the interests of the state. 2) The Soviet period: “overcoming age-old backwardness” and help “the transition from primitive society to socialism”, bypassing the other socio-economic formations. That time it was usual to think of building a full-fledged policy of paternalism, “paternalistic” model. 3) The post-Soviet period is characterized by the inclusion of Russia into the global practices in relation to indigenous peoples specifically, the policy of promoting their sustainable development, security and guarantee of their rights, as well as building a “partnership”.

It should be noted that Russia has a long and positive experience with the respect for the indigenous peoples who have had all the chances to remain in the demographic, cultural and economic terms. Western countries has the historical experience which is mostly associated with a complete assimilation and even physical disappearance of peoples and they are now the “locomotive” to promote legislation aimed at preserving the remaining ethnic groups. Such policies are often too expansive and could contribute to internal tensions in the country or to preserve its multi-ethnicity.

Despite different ideological content of the models, it is possible to identify common areas of ethnic policy of Russian state in relation to the Nenets (until 1930 the official name — “Samoyed”). *The first*, it is to ensure conflict-free relations with the indigenous peoples, that in the vast, underpopulated areas with lack of government officials and police forces, reduces the risks for the government and for the Russian population that lived in the neighborhood. *Second* — to minimize the costs of natural resources in the territories occupied by indigenous peoples. Originally it was furs, mammoth ivory, valuable species of fish; then — minerals, primarily oil and gas. Policies aimed at commodification exploitation of natural resources has created and still creates additional tension between the government and indigenous communities and has required and requires approaches built on the benefits for the local population. *Third* — gradual inclusion of indigenous peoples in the overall social and cultural life of the state.

Search for a compromise between the state and the Nenets ethnos

The *legal status of lands and territories inhabited by the Nenets*, has always been the key issue. The document, signed by Ivan the Terrible and repeatedly confirmed subsequently, guaranteed them a monopoly on the tundra in exchange for the payment of tribute. According to the “Statute for the governing the Samoyeds and Pomors of Mezensky County of the Arkhangelsk province” April 18, 1835, Nenets enjoyed the possession of land in Mezensky County - Timan, Kanin tundra and Bolshezemelskaya². “Samoyeds have been owning tundra from time immemorial ... payed and paying a tribute for it and therefore they must be true masters of the tundra”, — stated in 1870 by A.Y. Efimenko [2, p. 160]. Such an approach (quite unexpected, since he was not put in relation to other peoples of the empire) was associated with the economic development of those areas by Komi and Russians. Newcomers were gradually appearing in the tundra to practice animal husbandry and fisheries; the local administration was not always been able to control this process. For example, during the 1897 census, it was revealed that there had been “unaccounted” settlements in Pechora. When these issues had been raised, the aliens could have claims to the status

² Statute for the governing the Samoyeds and Pomors of the Mezensky County of the Arkhangelsk province. Highest approved April 18, 1835 // Complete Collection of the Russian Empire - 2. T. X. № 8071

of “old-settlers” on formal grounds. In 1803 there had been a “friendly delimitation” of tundra between Nenets and Komi reindeer herders, that later led to permanent problems.

With regard to the new inhabitants of the tundra, opinions of curious observers and experts (scientists, travelers and officials) were divided. Some of them, for example, an official of the Ministry of Agriculture and State Property, V.A. Islavin [3] and Arkhangelsk Governor N.D. Golitsyn [4] were of the opinion that the aliens had been deceiving natives and made them drink alcohol, so Nenets people were getting poor and poor. The way out was seen in a kind of “reservations” and paternalistic protection of Nenets from any external influence and impact. Others — Arkhangelsk governor A.P. Engelhardt [5] and the provincial veterinarian S.V. Kertselli [6] proceeded from the fact that it was unreasonable “for the saving of a handful of Samoyeds <...> ... to delay the economic development of the vast rich region and undermine the welfare of the other more numerous ... hard-working, enterprising, capable of further development and cultural life of the population” [7, p.19 - 23]. According to A.P. Engelhardt, “the tundra, as the state ownership must be presented to the overall enjoyment of the entire local population, without distinction of their origin” [7, p. 22].

In the 1860s, the Nenets together with other “inorodtsi” were considered as state peasants. The decision of a “peasant question” was not only concerned to the rights of the owners of Russian and Komi peasants who lived in the tundra, and enjoyed the right of a “tenant” (at Nenets areas). The governors were in a difficult situation: on the one hand, it was necessary to support the Nenets as it was demanded by the city authorities. On the other — Komi people and Russians were residents of the province too. As herders and industrialists, they were more “civilized” and received high profit and were less in need of state support than Nenets.

In 1890, the Arkhangelsk province government sent a proposal to deprive the Nenets’ right to dispose of the tundra and give this right to use the tundra the way they want to and free of charge. All land “deals” (which were primarily consisted as a “friendly”) should occur only under the supervision of officials. At the same time the others, except for the Nenets people, had to pay “obrok” — money and other payments that were a part of so called “Samoedsky capital” used for paying salaries for Nenets officials and social support (such as: the issuance in case of death of reindeers and other disasters) as well as to create the necessary reserves for fishing activities.

In Soviet times, it was made a “socialization” of land, that was completely under the state ownership. In the 1930s, the mass collectivization of farms and Nenets reindeer herders took place. According to the “Charter of the Collective Farm” (1935), all agricultural lands were assigned to collective farms, free of charge for unlimited use. Substantial government assistance was provid-

ed to the collective farms (zootechnical, veterinary and so on.) It really was appreciated by most of the Nenets people.

The reforms of the 1990s led to the dissolution of many collective farms, which, however, are recognized as a form of economic associations by the existing Russian laws. A number of former Nenets collective farms are converted to agricultural cooperatives; they have not even changed their old names (“Rassvet Severa”, “Put Lenina”, “Krasny Oktjabr”, “Druzhba narodov”) and are still called in everyday speech “collective”.

At the present time tundra is not the property of the Nenets, but it can be given them for free use. In the NAD, most of the land (95%) is agricultural; 74% of lands are used for reindeer pastures. Land is still in the use of the four “agricultural production cooperatives” (the former reindeer collective farms) mentioned above; these areas are the lands of traditional used of the district importance and have the status of protected areas³. It means a ban on the alienation of these lands and their transfer to the property, including the property of tribal communities and others. The rest of the land can be owned by Nenets or communities on the same basis as other citizens of the Russian Federation own the land.

Effective use of natural resources is the most important for Nenets population and it creates conflicts with other groups seeking to exploit the tundra. The collective-farm construction relied on the most advanced methods of reindeer husbandry than it was in the Nenets tradition. Sometimes (for example, in case of veterinary and livestock operation) Nenets were eager with collectivization. The question is why the Nenets who have been living close to the other ethnic groups doing reindeer husbandry and fisheries do not adopt their practices, even when they are more advanced. Nenets were borrowing much from Russian and Komi (consumption of plant foods, utensils, clothing), and were relatively easy subjected to some external forms of Christianization but in respect of households they have always kept traditional approaches. They were accused of a weak initiative, laziness and other faults. However, time has shown that Nenets have peculiar cultural sustainability, which is observed in case of other peoples living in the Arctic and which allows them to survive in extreme climatic conditions.

Even in the XIX century, experts noted that large herding of Komi-Zyrian (so-called Izhemtsy) was properly organized in terms of migration and had rapid economic effect, but led to the destruc-

³ Federal Law of May 7, 2001 № 49-FZ (in red. December 31, 2014) "On territories of traditional nature of Indigenous Peoples of the North, Siberia and Far East of the Russian Federation" // the Russian newspaper. 2001 May 11. Resolution of the Administration of the Nenets Autonomous District of 29.12.2001g. № 1025 (as amended in. August 15, 2014) "On territories of traditional nature of Indigenous Peoples of the North in the Nenets Autonomous Okrug" // Naryana Vinder. 2003. April 15.

tion of reindeer moss. Intensive hunting of fur-bearing and marine animals, fishing in small tundra lakes led to a reduction of the Arctic fauna. The Nenets' reindeer herding was ineffective and fishing activity was actually subordinated and justified by tough environmental habits [8].

In the early twentieth century there were proposals to "legitimize" the usual right of Nenets people for use of nature: to put a ban on reindeer passage over moss areas and to increase "herd tax" that should be paid by the "entree" herders. So, the government managed to make Russians and Komi reindeer herders to reduce their herds. Also governors thought about introduction of a high penalty for the killing of wild deer, while encouraging their domestication. In order to restore the fauna of tundra, a temporary ban on hunting certain species of birds and animals was introduced. For violation of the rules of nature protection, according to the authors of these proposals, the governors should introduce a fine, which would be able to "make this fishing unprofitable". Existing fines, based on the provisions of the Charter 1835, were not deterred Russian and Komi herders and hunters. They did not appear in Courts usually and fines were not comparable to the benefits of breaking the law. 40 ruble fine "izhemets pays, does not make him to give up thinking of further violations of the law" [9, p. 39].

In the early Soviet period, many activities, including the ones related to the environmental legislation, relied on criticism of the previous government. In 1918 the People's Commissariat of Education had a special Committee for Nature Protection that had been designed to monitor the protection and proper use of natural resources of the country. Some efforts had been taken during the first years of Soviet power as a part of the policy of expelling "alien elements" from the tundra. It had a class-motivated origin. In particular, only "kulaks" were subjected to expulsion; "poor" and "average" population saved their ancestors right to be engaged in trade and reindeer breeding in the Nenets tundra. During the NEP, with its economic priorities, the policy was explained in almost the same way as in the pre-revolutionary times: the "kulaks" and their huge herds were accused of violating the ecological balance in the tundra. As for the hunters, then those who had been buying fur from other hunters, they were suspected in illegal trade with Norwegian businessmen who took the advantage of weak border management and started to appear off the coast of Bolshezemelskaya tundra. Therefore, the "class approach" to the fishers relied on the protection of state interests.

In the beginning of the 1930s a forced industrialization violated environment and caused damage to nature and to the vulnerable tundra areas as well. This problem had even more aggravated with the beginning of the gas and oil fields development. Due to the use of tracked vehicles, which was widely used in off-road conditions by the local geologists, tundra soil was damaged. The

permafrost could not stop oil and gas developers from making pipelines that crossed traditional migration routes of reindeer herds.

In the 1990s, the newly sharpened attention to the environmental legislation was observed. Territories began to enjoy the right to issue local laws, based on traditional land use and historical experience of the population. On the territory of the NAD, for example, it was prohibited to use the vehicle in close proximity (less than 200 meters) of the reindeer herd without a special permission of the reindeer herding camp leader⁴. The fine is assumed in the case of exceeding the total number of deer grazing capacity of the areas designated for reindeer husbandry. Departmental normative and legal acts of the NAD established a limit for hunting and other restrictive measures are introduced. Article 25 of the NAD law "On reindeer husbandry in the Nenets Autonomous District" provides a ban on the use of all-terrain vehicles tracked and wheeled, and, with few exceptions, and for freight transport in the territories of reindeer pastures (in case of the absence of stable snow cover)⁵.

Relationships between the state and Nenets in the sphere of administration

The main aspect of Russia's ethnic policy after determining the legal status of the land occupied by the Nenets, is to build *a specific management system*. Nenets tribal government could not take place as they are entering the jurisdiction of the Russian state. Ivan the Terrible in his literacy pointed out the inadmissibility of government officials to interfere in the judicial affairs of Nenets than confirmed the existence of such interventions in the past. In terms of paying the tribute Nenets have always been subordinated to territorial authorities — Mezen and Pustozersk (later — Pechora). In the pre-reform era Nenets were subordinated to the Ministry of State Property (at the level of the province — provincial Chamber of State Property). In the post-reform period, being formally numbered among the peasantry, Nenets were under the various institutions and officials on peasant affairs. However, implementation of this management system failed because of the difficulties of supervision due to the small number of population and their constantly migratory way of life around the vast territory.

All projects of "Nenets organization" — there were few of them in the 19th century — could be clearly divided into two groups: first one was supposed to be a protection of the population of tundra. The other — it was planned to create a kind of reservation, giving the Nenets a live

⁴ Law of the Nenets Autonomous District on June 29, 2002 № 366-OZ (in red. June 15, 2015) "On Administrative Offences" // Nyaryana Vynder. 2002 July 19th.

⁵ On reindeer husbandry in the Nenets Autonomous District. Law of the Nenets Autonomous District March 15, 2002 N 341-OZ (in red. May 26, 2014) // Nyaryana Vynder. 2002. March 29.

ruled by their own ideas, and the state had to ensure that the tundra would not be under any foreign influence.

In 1833, the governor of the Arkhangelsk I.I. Ogarev (as it was the custom in the enlightened era, he was primarily concerned with “little ones”), referred to the “miserable position of Samoyeds, enslaved by Russians who settled in the tundra, arriving there to trade and then got large herds of deer that they acquired from the Samoyed mainly by alcohol” [10] and asked to spread the law on the management of “inorodtsi” in Siberian province in 1822. “Statute of the Samoyeds”, adopted for the Nenets population, small sized group and they more regular than the Siberian “aliens” have relations with the Russian and Zyryane population, was introduced experimentally for three years in 1835⁶. According to this document, Nenets were included in the category of “inorodtsi”, “catchers”. Traditional management in Nenets communities was kept. It was ruled by the elders elected “by custom” every three years. These people received broad powers and a responsibility to collect the tribute and the right to trial Nenets. They had orders to broadcast the provincial authorities, had the opportunity, on behalf of their relatives, to enter into relations with the local police to write a complaints. Nevertheless, the provisions of the Statute clearly defined superiority of “old age” system and Nenets themselves in general. Rural police had the duty to monitor the application of the rules and keep the number of the population of tundra and take care that there was nobody “escaped” from taxation. The right of officials to influence the Nenets life was reduced but officials had to patrol the tundra in order to verify the management.

By analogy with the Statute of 1822, there was created the a “Special temporary Committee for information about the customs, according to which Samoyeds had to be controlled”. The Committee had to deal with the identification and recording the legal practices that existed at the Nenets lands and to form the foundations for developing the most efficient system of management. Data was supplied primarily by the priests who worked in the tundra — missionaries and then who works at the regular churches. They knew Nenets language and could communicate with Nenets people, so they could provide such information. Chaired by the civil governor, these practices have been considered in terms of “softening all wild and cruel” in them, and then publish and be in use in “public places for Samoyed”. In 1837, all of the collected information was summarized in a single document — “special rules regarding the trial and punishment based on customs of Samoyeds and constitute a collection of legal traditions”⁷ — “the draft law on Samoyed founded on the customs of Samoyeds who were living in Mezen County”[7]. Conflicts arose among the

⁶ Statute of the Samoyeds, dwelling Pomors in the Mezensky County Arkhangelsk province. Highest approved April 18, 1835 // Complete Collection of the Russian Empire - 2. T. X. № 8071

⁷ GAAO. F. 66. Op. 1. D. 5. 63 L.

Nenets, who had to decide on the proposed rules of “the common law”, and between them and representatives of other groups (such as Russian) — on existing laws⁸. These “laws on Samoyeds” were submitted to the Ministry of Internal Affairs in 1837. It was recommended to print then and to translate into the Nenets language but it was not possible, due to the lack of appropriate “Samoyed ABC”. It was decided that the “Statute on the Samoyeds” and “Regulations on the analysis of actions” would be translated to the Nenets language, but would not be published (as among Nenets there were no people who could read) and would be just explained to them by the priests. This, incidentally, would increase the authority of the church, the emergence of trust between the priest and people and led to the gradual modernization of the Nenets, their incorporation into all-Russian social system. Over the next 50 years, the Statute, which had not been implemented because of various reasons (the majority of the Nenets did not even know their rights and obligations), had repeatedly been adjusted in accordance with the changing conditions.

The introduction of selfgoverning elements facilitated the management of tundra population, so that the state policy could be considered a policy of a “soft” paternalism. One of its instruments was the implementation of justice by a “customary law”. After the legal reform of 1864 on the territory of the Arkhangelsk region the department of the newly established legal institutions were not able to control some categories of criminal and civil cases where the Samoyeds were involved in. So in such cases they should have their own courts (“verbal court”) on the basis of established customs⁹. At the same time the Ministry of Justice requested the local authorities — the Arkhangelsk Provincial Prosecutor and the President of the Chamber of criminal and civil court to discuss the issue of Samoyeds and their courts¹⁰.

Based on the considerations of the Arkhangelsk Governor A.P. Engelhardt, the officials had made their “reasons” given the fact that these “special rules” “made sense at a time when the Samoyeds needed” them, and then Samoyeds supposed to be under the rule of the state in respect of the court actions and general laws as the rest peasants¹¹. According to A.P. Engelhardt, legal proceedings among the Nenets made by the officials were much better than the ones performed by their semi-literate elders.

⁸ A similar approach is also present at this time. Modern Russia's legal system formally recognizes traditions and customs as an important argument in the regulation of both public and private relations with the participation of indigenous peoples. Federal Law "On guarantees of the rights of indigenous peoples of the Russian Federation" (1999) directly indicates that the court cases in which persons belonging to indigenous minorities to act as plaintiffs, defendants, victims or the accused may be taken into account traditions and customs of these people, do not contradict and federal laws of the Russian Federation.

⁹ Provisional rules about the structure of the judiciary and the procedure for the production of court cases in the Arkhangelsk region // Complete Collection of the Russian Empire - 2. T. XVI. Number 12483

¹⁰ GAAO. F. 66. Op. 1. D. 5. 63 L.

¹¹ GAAO. F. 66. Op. 1. D. 5. L. 63 vol. 64

In the Soviet period, in only 6—7 years the new powers passed all the stages of the decision of a “Samoyed issue”, which could not be managed by the tsarist administration. In the northern provinces, where there were indigenous peoples, the Facilitation Committees of the peoples of the northern (Committees of the North) were established. Self-governing issues were decided through “tundra executive committees”. New government assisted the involvement of young people in learning new ideological values and the development and modernization of traditional life of the Nenets. As before the revolution, present desire to “protect” the “natives”, most often through the appointment of an “enemy” was widely observed. A search for simple solutions of the “Samoyed issue” was found in the release of the tundra from the aliens, even more “civilized” ones. The richest and most enterprising Zyrians reindeer herders were expelled and economic restrictions for Russian industrialists began.

In 1926, the Decree was adopted by the Central Executive Committee and SNK of the RSFSR “On Approving the Provisional Regulations on the Administration of indigenous peoples and tribes of the northern distant areas of the RSFSR”. The document consisted of the main principles of self-government. It was assumed that for every ethnic group there would be assigned a special area, necessary for its economic development. The idea was legally supported by the “Code of labor land use” for the northern areas, which would not contradict to any Soviet law or customary law of “natives”. “Native executive committees” were supposed to provide legitimate opportunities to protect indigenous people from an alien invasion [11, p. 44, 45]. These social experiments were stopped by an “iron hand” that included the inhabitants of the tundra in all forms of forced construction of socialism: industrialization, collectivization, the cultural revolution. The negative consequences of this policy, in contrast to previous decades, was no longer an issue. But this “modernization” in general, we can say, had failed, its energy fairly quickly weakened and its success appeared increasingly ostentatious¹².

At the present stage, the state has accumulated experience of the previous epochs. Extensive legislation on indigenous peoples exists and is implemented. The underlying federal law was adopted on the 30th of April 1999, № 82- FZ “On guarantees of the rights of indigenous peoples of the Russian Federation”. It establishes the legal framework guaranteeing indigenous socio-economic and cultural development, protection of lands, traditional way of life, liveli-

¹² In connection with the expansion of oil and gas production in the NAD, percentage of the indigenous population began to decline sharply. For the implementation of elements of self-government to “solve the problems of social and economic life of the Nenets people, promote the growth of its national identity, culture and traditional way of life” in the NAD in 1989 the Association of Nenets People “Yasavey” was established.

hoods and crafts¹³. The search for optimal models of the state and social system continues [1, p. 106]. We see a clear effort to join the global trend to address the problems of small indigenous peoples, while maintaining the maximum state control over the territory rich in natural of national importance.

*An important area of the state ethnic policy in the sphere of management was the **attempt** to create a **system of benefits** that was to provide special conditions for the indigenous population. Nevertheless, such benefits did not present as such. Pragmatism was everywhere. The most important benefit for the nomadic population was that they did not have to do mandatory military service. At the same time, settled "inorodtsi" got this benefits in exchange for the adoption of Christianity¹⁴ but Nenets did not have such a condition.*

Exemption from military service was understandable and pragmatic measure as 5—6 thousand people (a half of which, lets say, were the "men souls") could give a dozen recruits for the state army. The cost of the searching the recruits, transportation for medical examination, and training of the Russian language and some of the skills necessary for a soldier were unfounded in this case¹⁵. According to the Statute on the management of Samoyeds 1835, the Nenets had been completely exempted "from conscription of any kind and a tax". After the introduction of universal military service, according to the relevant decrees, indigenous people of a number of provinces and regions were exempted, "as well as the Samoyeds living in Mezen and Pechora districts of the Arkhangelsk region". This privilege was for particular ethnic groups due to the fact that they are allegedly on their "lack of culture" absolutely not suited for being a part of the army. Especially among the Nenets with their short stature, it was difficult to find potential recruits that fitted to the norm — 2 arshin and 2 ½ vershok (153.5 cm). In 1880, "the inorodtsi — Samoyeds of the Mezensky County" could be involved in the serving of conscription on the basis of specific provisions, which, however, had not been done even during the First World War. From the records of a trip to Kanin tundra of professor N.Y. Zograf (zoologist and specialist in ethnic anthropology), we can assume that the attitude of the Nenets towards the exemption from military service was different [13, p. 7, 8]. In Soviet times, the Nenets exemption from military service was confirmed. Since 1939, the Nenets began to go to the army, as they were demonstrating their refusal to recognize the exclusivity of the abject.

¹³ Federal Law dated April 30, 1999 № 82-FZ (in red. July 13, 2015) "On guarantees of the rights of indigenous peoples of the Russian Federation" // the Russian newspaper. May 12, 1999.

¹⁴ Russian State Military History Archive (RGVIA). F. 378 (Commission to develop regulations on personal military service) 1862 - 1872. D. 2 h. 11.

¹⁵ Apparently, the Nenets could enroll in voluntary recruits. This case describes A. Castro in Pustozersk he managed to get acquainted with the "far-known for his exploits Samoyed" that "one day, drunk, joined the recruits, but was released due to illness and incapacity for military service" [12, p. 155]

The second benefit was the exemption from the capitation tax, which had been replaced by the individual “onion” tax. This kind of tax was paid by males 17—60 years old. In the case of inability to be engaged in crafts men were freed from this duty. Elders of the community had the responsibility to make lists of people who had to pay the tax. Other forms of control (parish registers, censuses) in the tundra did not exist, or receiving such information was difficult. Other duties for the Nenets were not too hard. Even in the 18th century, according to ethnographer I.G. Georgi, besides paying tributes, Nenets had no other “proof of citizenship” [14, p. 6]. Perhaps their only duty was to provide transport for officials, rarely making the rounds of the tundra. In 1925, indigenous population (including the Nenets) had been exempted from all direct taxes. It was also forbidden to charge them for overdue payments and all their debts had been written off. Nenets also received free and long-term loans, primarily food (bread) ones¹⁶. In 1930, as in the case of military service, these benefits were canceled.

Currently, some of the activities in relation to social support of Nenets are still existing. Representatives of indigenous peoples engaged in traditional activities, have the right for preferential pension. Revenues from sales of traditional craft products of members registered in tribal and family communities of small indigenous peoples of the North, are not a subject to taxation¹⁷. Law of the NAD secures that herders and camp workers (wives of herders doing housekeeping) have a guaranteed social support: this is one-time and monthly social benefits, the provision of all necessary for “hygiene”, and municipal housing (so-called social rent)¹⁸.

Legislation in respect of criminal offenses against property and household crimes before the revolution was based on the tradition of common law. It was assumed that by the “softening of manners” Nenets would be increasingly subjected to state and rule of law. Since the end of the 18th century, when the state had begun to be developed special rules for the administration of territories populated by “inorodtsi”, legal traditions of Nenets had been studied. Every governor, who governed the territory with “inorodtsi”, were obliged to create a special commission to describe their traditional legal practices, in order to save them by removing all “wild and cruel”¹⁹. “Softening of manners” was the target for the policy of “domestication” of the Nenets. According to the testimony of travelers, “Samoyeds are more brave and wild than the other people, [but] are accus-

¹⁶ Results of two years (from 01.10.1926 on 01.10.1928 years. / Report of Arkhangelsk Arkhangelsk provincial executive committee XIII Congress of Soviets. Arkhangelsk 1929.

¹⁷ Tax Code of the Russian Federation of July 31, 1998 № 146-FZ (in red. July 13, 2015) // the Russian newspaper. 6 August 1998

¹⁸ On reindeer husbandry in the Nenets Autonomous District. Law of the Nenets Autonomous District on March 15, 2002 N 341-OZ (in red. May 26, 2014) // Nyaryana Vynder. 2002. March 29.

¹⁹ Statute of the Samoyeds, dwelling Mezensky County Arkhangelsk province. Highest approved April 18, 1835 // Complete Collection of the Russian Empire - 2. T. X. № 8071.

tomed to live with the Russians, ... are not prone to stealing, murder or revenge" [14, p. 5] and "quarrels with violent fights and killing are rare among them in the tundra" [15, p. 44].

The study sketches of travelers and ethnographers indicates that some of the crimes, as they were in the eyes of a "civilized man", were in fact linked with the traditions of a "moral economy", which recognized the right of society and its members to receive welfare. The apparent prevalence of the reindeer theft among Nenets (it had been fixed before the beginning of the 20th century, but was gradually disappearing under the influence of the state and legislation) could be a reflection of the widespread custom of giving to the poor tribesmen reindeers "to the rescue". They herded the deers, fed them, taking some of the newborn deers and giving back the other to the owner. The rich Nenets recognize the custom as their herds trampled the tundra and it was a community property. Property differentiation and appearance of new ideas broke these obligations: the rich Nenets thought that he had the right to refuse a poor person in such assistance. And then, according to the tradition, the poor man had to steal reindeers from a rich man. Public opinion justified such actions as a rich man should not let the poor suffer from hunger. For certain offenses against the person (insult) and moral offenses (for example, seduction of wife) the guilty person had to pay a fine: one or two reindeers could be taken away from him. The main thing was not to leave a man without any deer in the tundra, that was the same as the murder.

The spread of the public law (first to decide the issues between the Nenets and non-Nenets — Russians or Komi and then intercommunity conflicts) made some rich people, who were very often left out under the rule of such legal norms, to appeal to the court and not to recognize customary law. This cultural modernization pushed the process that contributed to the inclusion of Nenets in the national legal space. In general this process has been completed by present time. In spite of the different ideologies of the state ethnic policy: consumer attitude to the indigenous population before empire and in early empire period, a "soft" paternalism of the late 18th — early 20th century, the desire to bridge the gap that separates the indigenous peoples from "civilization" in Soviet times have common approaches to solving the problem of a common legal space — legislative provision of the relationship between indigenous peoples and state, between them and neighbors of other ethnic backgrounds.

The experience of social and cultural modernization of the Nenets population

The easiest way to "civilize" the Nenets, to transfer them into the category of farmers and appropriately adjust their economic and social life, seemed to be a sedentary lifestyle. One of the first initiators of the environmental measures in the tundra A.V. Zhuravsky made a draft law aimed

at preserving the traditional way of life of the Nenets. Among other things, it recommended to provide all possible assistance to the smooth the transition of nomadic peoples to settled way of life. In order to do so, it seemed to establish (with the use of the experience of Denmark in respect of Greenland Eskimos) the central state-owned shop that also collected fisheries products at fixed prices; identify the centers recognized by Nenets (Samoyed's volost) and arrange there a state bank, pharmacy, post and telegraph offices, schools with an experienced field to prepare students for a settled life. The attractiveness of such centers was based not on the church but on commercial enterprises: "Centralization of polar inorodtsi near shops would cause sedentary" [8, p. 25]. It was also proposed to define the list of goods needed for Nenets (coarse cloth for soviks, food, supplies for hunting and fishing), rather than "trinkets" so popular among the Nenets and, according to the testimony of travelers, they could spend all the money to buy them [8, p. 26].

Constantly officials were talking about banning vodka trade in the tundra. The Statute of 1835 strictly forbade it for everyone, except for Nenets. However, the sale of alcohol was too profitable to give it up. It started from 1748, when the collection of tribute became relegated to interest of rural people, they were allowed to sell state-owned wine among the Nenets. Addiction to alcohol, Nenets refused even to talk about the exchange until they would be treated with "a glass of vodka". Becoming a kind and accommodating after drinking wine, they were ready to make big concessions to the sellers. So Komi traders got their Nenets herds and Russian industrialists — a right on the fishing grounds in the tundra.

Rather illustrative is a law adopted in 1867 initiated by Nenets to remove Mezen burghers and peasants from the tundra. Since the Russian did not have the supporting documents for the right to live there and trade in the tundra, the court supported Nenets. However, the Nenets society suddenly changed its mind: "we and our families in our tundra ... take a wish and allow them to use the hay ... on an equal basis with other residents, as well as producing various crafts in the river Pesce and lakes"²⁰. We can assume that such a sentence was passed after a generous "treats".

Attempts to implement a program to transfer the Nenets to settled life had some positive examples, related primarily to the Christianization. The result of the missionaries and some degree of their activity in the Nenets tundra since 1820s, was the emergence of a number of settlements in which the baptized Nenets learned to live a settled life. One of these villages — Kozhva in the Pechora River — was "well-maintained" in 1890s and had a church and a school, 38 houses and 230 inhabitants, who were engaged in animal husbandry and fisheries, and sowed bar-

²⁰ GAAO. F. 71 (Arkhangelsk Provincial of Peasant Affairs). Op.1, Vol. 1. D. 161. L. 26. At the request of the Samoyed Timan tundra on the Prohibition of the peasants and Samoyeds Zapechorskogo edge herd reindeer and producing fields in Timan tundra and settled there to evict peasants and townspeople from the tundra. 1867 - 1868 years.

ley. Residents of the rest of the Nenets settlements were engaged in fisheries or agriculture and “lived significantly wealthier” [5, p. 228—239, A.P. Engelhardt]. The same impression of the Nenets settled Colva had N.E. Ermilova: “people are sociable, talkative and cheerful, the interior spaces are relatively clean and tidy, and they are well-off-on 30 yards 30 horses and 100 cows. A Samoyed, Nikolai Hanirin, has even a herd of two thousand [deer]. The people there are engaged in fisheries, as well as all the residents of Pechora” [16, p. 70—72].

The second experiment to change the way of life of the Nenets began in the 1870s and it was the relocation of several families to the Novaja Zemlja island. In the following decades Nenets colony there had been growing. This project had two objectives: to provide supervision for newly built lifeboat station in the small encampment Karmakuly and to start the economic development of the archipelago, before the Norwegians. The settlers were engaged in fisheries, were living in Russian homes (they got used to it after a while). They built a school and a church (unbaptized Nenets converted to Christianity in Arkhangelsk and then were sent to the Novaja Zemlja). Steamers coming here were forbidden to sell alcohol to Nenets and buy their products. All trade was made centrally by provincial officials. Revenues were under orders for the purchase of Novaja Zemlja and used for various goods. Nenets delayed some money in their accounts at the bank. Deductions from income formed reserve capital, which was directed to the resettlement and the new colonists to provide them with necessary assistance. A.P. Engelhardt found the experience a success: “The old exploitation of Samoyed was completely stopped” [5, p. 162]. Engelhardt, being the enemy of every kind of paternalism, considered it necessary for Novaja Zemlja due to its remoteness and the lack of new livelihoods in local conditions.

Except for these few examples, Nenets transfer to sedentary life did not work out. According Dr. Bielawski who visited tundra in 1831, “the Nenets wanted to see the benefits of the life of the Russian people, but were attached to their ordinary and way of life” [17, p. 164—165]. And growing in the last decades of the 19th century the transitions of the Nenets residence was not caused by the possibility of more secure and civilized life, but on the contrary — the impoverishment; Nenets were settled to “feed” near the Russian settlements, being the employees or begging.

In Soviet times, rebounding from the failure of the tsarist government in solving the “Samoyed question” strongly emphasized for propaganda purposes, a program designed just before the revolution was implemented. In each of the three Nenets tundra areas “tundra Volost Executive Committee” were created to solve the various issues that were included in the first management act based on tundra elders’ ideas. “State trade” made the exchange operations in the tundra dur-

ing the NEP possible. It was in the hands of the old “experts”, mainly those who were engaged in the pre-revolution sales of alcohol in the tundra. Despite the ban, the practice had been continued to develop²¹. A special campaign aimed at eliminating the “mercantile slopes of state bodies” and purifying “all sales from the the old kulak elements” changed the situation [GAAO. F. 760. Op.1. S.5. L. 821]. Arkhangelsk Provincial Committee of the North²² was able to ban “state trading” in the tundra and transfer it to the hands of cooperatives, which were to provide the Nenets with everything they need to sell the products of their craft, distribute province allocated loans “on the class principle”. Former “obrok articles” (the right to produce, to do crafts and etc) had become an economic weapon in the hands of the Soviet authorities: they were provided only to members of the so-called “Tundra committees of rural mutual aid” (TKKV), who have paid a high enough contributions made on financial assistance to the poorest Nenets. The revenues of the TKKV and cooperatives in the villages were used to organize schools and cultural institutions, “Houses of Samoyeds” (hostels for visitors to the Nents villages with food, education and etc.). Medical assistance for Nenets was funded by the state. Special medical and veterinary teams that were supposed to provide free services to the nomadic population were also established. Local Komsomol and Communists controlled doctors and veterinarians, so they did not “sit” in Russian villages. Gradually sedentary and semi-settled for the Nenets population had been achieved to some extent through schooling.

The main tool of the cultural, social and economic modernization of Nenets was youth. The use of social mobility for the extraction of the youth from the traditional Nenets society, grafting them through the formation of new cultural values, and then use them as moderators for the wider dissemination of these values was carried out for a long time [18, p. 2]. Later, when the Church appeared in the tundra, some of the priests managed to attract Nenets youth to assist in church services. Travelers affectionately described the church choir, consisting of “singing in the jumper”. However, despite some efforts, schooling among Nenets failed. “The one-day school census” made in 1911 identified a total of five pupil with Nenets background.

In Soviet times, it was passed about the same way. Priority was given to cultural change. In order to solve the main task — the preparation of national cadres of Soviet workers — in 1925, “The Northern Department” at the University of Leningrad (later the Institute of Peoples of the North) was established. The 1920 the government demanded the Nenets to be sent for training in a variety of

²¹ GAAO. Department documents the social and political history (*Next - GAAO. ODSPI*). F. 1141. Mezensky County Committee. Op.1. D. 1a. Minutes of meetings of Canino-Czech Samoyed parish committee ...

²² Assistance Committee of the small peoples of the North of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee was created in 1924 in the provinces inhabited by the "small nation", it was created by the local (provincial) "committee", which, for brevity, called the "Committee of the North". Abolished in 1935

secondary and higher educational institutions. Such orders were performed with great difficulty. So first there was a need to provide compulsory school education and this required Nenets teachers and literacy (in 1929 it was organized by the Preparatory Department at the Arkhangelsk Pedagogical College). Especially actively the state was trying to involve women in new social relations. It was believed that through a “hostess of the chum” it would be easier to implement measures for sanitation and health education of the Nenets and to disseminate these new forms of everyday life.

Even before the revolution, it was noted that to achieve positive results in school education for Nenets, it is necessary to use boarding type of accommodation [19, p. 45]. In Soviet times, this idea had been fully implemented. Boarding schools where children were placed by often forced separation from family appeared; the school system meant six years of basic education in native language. This was the only positive effect. The rest led to a violation of the intergenerational transfer of experience. As in any case of exclusion, it has led to a large number of deviations. Analyzing the consequences of the “Soviet experiment” in the field of education, the ethnologist A. Golovnev spoke of the “stolen generations” that had lost much of the life, traditions and skills (orienteering, selection and development of fishing grounds, keeping pets, etc.). School education led to the later achievements of actual capacity among the Nenets — not 14–15 years as before, but 18–20 [20, p. 94–95].

Experienced variety of measures for the inclusion of the Nenets into national life and recognized civilization makes it very likely to say that the main tool was ideology. In the pre-revolutionary period it was the Christianization and paternalistic approaches to the solution of absolutely all questions that agitated the Nenets. In the Soviet period — criticism of late imperial policy regarding indigenous people; class approach and actually enforced social and property differentiation of Nenets; the formation of “enemy image” (initially not so much of “kulaks” and “rich” Nenets but mainly of the Russian and Komi, and in 1930 — identifying internal enemies); measures to break intergenerational relationships and traditional gender and age roles.

Ideological intervention changed family relations. The area of private life had been closed for the state, but not completely. The adoption of Christianity implied mandatory ordinances — wedding and baptism. However, an exception was made: both of these ordinances could often occur long time after the fact. Crowning the marriage and baptize infants were allowed when the family was in the vicinity of the church. The same applies to the funerals. Nenets buried their dead according to the old traditions, but tried to bring some soil from their grave to the church.

Christianization was also aimed at “softening the manners” of Nenets, especially the ones considered as “wild” among Europeans. In particular, almost all observers noted extremely difficult

situation of the Nenets women. Perhaps, it was only F. Bielawski who saw positive things in the existing family relations. According to him, “the women are so respected, that after husband’s death his brother have to take his wife ... Women are completely secured for all their life. They are protected from birth to death” [17, p. 160—161]. Thus, in the custom of levirate he saw the security for Nenets woman. Other observers pointed out that hunting grounds inherited by a widow were not wanted to be lost from the family.

According to the 1897 census, more than 20% of families in the Timan and Kanin tundra constituted an unlawful cohabitation. Perhaps, this was due to far distance from churches and Nenets did not crown their marriages or did it after a few years of living together. From the outside it could be perceived as a moral turpitude. The same applies to many observers who admitted that Nenets’ “marriages had been destroyed very easily” [14, p. 10]; “... When a wife will become nasty for them, they return her to her parents, from whom they bought her, losing only what they had paid for her and the parents are obliged to take her back by themselves” [21, p. 34]. Such assessments have become, most likely a result of the conviction that without Christianity wild customs would exist. A more well-disposed to the Nenets culture, noted that the freedom of manners existed but marriages were strong. Divorce was allowed in cases of infertility of a spouse or inability to perform the economic activity. According to the ethnologist A. Golovneva so easy family transformations were linked to “social maneuvering of nomads, accustomed to protect the valuable potential of the family (to inherit the widow) and resolutely get rid of the interference (to dissolve unsuccessful partnership)” [22, p. 43].

The economic value of any marriage explains the prevalence of unequal marriages, when the “young adult children marry elder girls, and young girls marry adult men” [23, p. 223, 249]. Y.I. Kushelevskiy also noted the Nenets custom “to marry their young sons of 8 and 9 years old with adult women” [24 p.100-101] because of the need to get the extra female hands in a family. Marriages between the children were made among baptized Nenets. Such spouses, living together in a marriage could only enter it after adulthood. According to customary law, premarital sex was not considered a crime. If the wife of a younger husband was seduced, the right for revenge had his father. In the case of breach of faith of an adult person, the husband could take one or two deer from the culprit.

The church and then the Soviet authorities contributed to the marriage between peers. Polygamy was not allowed. Modern people understand the “women’s equality” in nomadic families impossible. In the Soviet practice, however, a woman, a wife of a reindeer breeder received a semi-official status of a “camp worker”; so homework was equated with ordinary work.

Conclusion

The purpose of the state was to include the Nenets in a common legal space, the Russian state, whatever historical form it had. It was supposed to be done by non-violent means, by “softening of manners” in accordance with the requirements of European civilization. At the same time, as if a positive result — a kind of “double culture” was established and it was a relatively comfortable stay in two civilizations — the traditional (Nents) and modernized (Russian). A number of negative consequences existed as well, especially marginalization of Nenets. The problem is global in its nature and is not the subject of this article.

A study of the historical experience of different models of ethnic policy in respect of a particular ethnic group (the Nenets) raises the issue of cultural sustainability, which is always combined with the ability and willingness to change [20, p. 576]. For a long time purely ethnographic study was based on the Nenets modernization paradigm, according to which all aspects of life were demonstrating their intermediate position in the path “from barbarism to civilization”. At the same time, sustainable environmental and social development in the Nenets areas shows some positive results, especially compared to other small nations (non-nomadic), and also taking into account the environmental challenges of the modern world.

The study of the customs of the Nenets, undertaken for the purpose of “soft” inclusion of Nenets in the public space, in the first decades of the 19th century had an impact on the government's attitude to environmental activities. Considering the conflicts with the Komi reindeer herders and with Russian fishers, the officials drew attention to the Arctic nature; understood the validity of Nenets demands for keeping the traditional land use developed over the centuries and the laws of nature that helped Nenets to live in extreme climatic conditions. Under the influence of ecological culture of the Nenets, a system of strict prohibitions was established and an understanding that seemingly innumerable natural wealth of the North are not infinite revealed. Such historical facts confirm the validity of parity (subject-subject) relations and mutual concessions in the development of national and regional ethno-social policy.

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Обзоры / Reviews

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Providing security and sustainable development of the Arctic Region, conservation of ecosystems and traditional lifestyles of indigenous peoples of the Arctic¹



© Yury F. Lukin, Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, Chief Editor of "Arctic and North" journal, NArFU named after M.V. Lomonosov

Abstract. Review of the conference materials "Safety and Sustainable Development of the Arctic Region, the conservation of ecosystems and traditional lifestyles of indigenous peoples of the Arctic" held within the framework of the 5th International meeting of the Arctic Council member states, observer states and international scientific community on the

15th—16th of September 2015 in the town of Arkhangelsk.

Keywords: *The Arctic region, security, sustainable development, conflict, stability, the environment, indigenous people of the Arctic*

Conference on "Ensuring security and sustainable development of the Arctic Region, the conservation of ecosystems and traditional lifestyles of indigenous peoples of the Arctic", held on the 16th of September 2015 in Arkhangelsk at the international meeting of representatives of the Member States of the Arctic Council, observer States and international scientific community. Such meeting was held for the fifth time at the initiative of the Russian Security Council. In previous years they were held in Murmansk in Salekhard, Naryan-Mar and aboard the icebreaker "Yamal". Summing up the conference, Secretary of the Russian Security Council N.P. Patrushev said: "Such conferences are an integral part of the Arctic agenda and fit perfectly in the tradition of good-neighborliness and cooperation, which is essential to human activity in the harsh conditions of the Arctic. It is important that, as in previous years, in Arkhangelsk scientists, experts and polar researchers from 11 countries arrived (Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Russian Federation, United States, Finland and Sweden, as well as India, China, South Korea and Singapore), who have chosen Arctic. Among the participants there were also the leaders of the regions located in the Arctic

¹ Survey carried out in the framework of the grant of the Russian Scientific Foundation — the project № 15-18-00104 «Russian Arctic, from conceptualization to an effective model of state ethno-national policy in a stable development of the regions."

zone of the Russian Federation, representatives of Russian ministries, departments and leading companies active in the Arctic “[1].



N.P. Patrushev and other participants.

URL: http://www.narfu.ru/upload/iblock/077/safu9703_01.mp4.still001.jpg

The participants of the conference with a welcome message addressed by the President of Russia V.V. Putin, he noted: “The Arctic region has considerable reserves of minerals and energy, through the Northern Sea Route — the shortest shipping route connecting Europe with the Far East and Asia-Pacific countries. A natural processes occurring here directly affect the climate and environmental situation on the planet. Russia, nearly a third of the territory of which make up the Far North, bears a special responsibility for the Arctic”[2]. The message has identified three key priority of Russia in the Russian Arctic: 1) ensuring a balance between the active economic activities and the preservation of the unique environment; 2) respect for the culture and traditional way of life of Indigenous Peoples; 3) Strengthening of cooperation with member states of the Arctic Council in all directions. They expressed confidence that the meeting participants will develop practical recommendations that will contribute to overcome the challenges facing the international community in the Arctic region [2].

A total of 43 of the report of the conference was made and messages. They were examined in detail: *firstly* , topical issues of training qualified personnel for the development of the Arctic and the Arctic global projects; *secondly* , the consolidation of efforts to preserve the unique ecosystem of the Arctic in the formulation of global resource projects; in *third*, problems of sustaina-

ble development and preservation of the environment, culture, traditions and customs of indigenous peoples.

With keynote on the first issue of the training of specialists for the development of the Arctic and global Arctic projects Acting Rector NArFU N.V. Chicherina. She identified the main problems and challenges which require an adequate response from the academic community and the education system as a whole:

- a) A comprehensive system of expert-analytical support of the state of scientific and policy-razovatelnoy in the Russian Arctic.
- b) Monitoring of staffing needs for the development of the Russian Arctic and the Arctic realization of global projects.
- c) Networking between universities and major employers in the Russian Arctic.
- d) Competitive educational programs Arctic orientation.
- e) Support programs, and attracting young professionals to ensure sustainable socio-economic development of the Russian Arctic.
- f) Modern scientific and educational infrastructure for the implementation of educational programs at different levels.
- g) High costs of cross-disciplinary research and educational projects in the Arctic region [3].

As a solution to the problem of expert-analytical support of the NArFU proposes to create a monitoring center of scientific and educational environment of the Arctic. His task — analytical support of decision-making on public policy in the Russian science and education in the Arctic region. This should be a structure having the appropriate authority, financially supported by the state. And NArFU already has a number of divisions that provide intellectual development of the Arctic, including Arctic Centre for Strategic Studies, a research office of the University of the Arctic and others. NArFU is the chairman of the Joint Working Group on Education and Science of the Barents Euro-Arctic region and co-coordinator of the Institute of the North measuring [3].

Topical issues of training qualified personnel for the development of the Arctic and global Arctic projects, the development of international scientific cooperation in their speeches touched on the Northern State Medical University Rector L.N. Gorbatova, Rector of Murmansk State Technical University S.A. Agarkov, President of the University of the Arctic L. Kullerud (Norway), Head. the Department of MGIMO (University) A.N. Vilegzhanin, associate professor of the University of Alaska Fairbanks B. Boylan (USA), professor at the University of Tromsø — University of the Arctic Norwegian R. Berthelsen (Denmark), President of the “GEKON” M.N. Grigoriev and other participants. Emphasized that knowledge is an important resource of the future is in the Arctic. “I think the future of the Arctic is largely dependent on skilled personnel. In the Arctic, we need peo-

ple who will be able to engage in professional activities in different areas, whether it is mining, search and rescue operations, and more. We need young professionals who have a spark of desire, the energy to engage in the creation of new innovative projects. Knowledge — a resource of the future. No minerals, namely knowledge,” — said, for example, the president of the University of the Arctic L. Kullerud [4]. It was noted that training for Arctic projects should take place in close mutually beneficial partnership with potential employers. The partnership should include a request for anticipating training and employment of alumni, targeted recruitment of students, organization of practices in the production, the involvement of employers in the development and implementation of educational programs.

Driver of the Arctic zone, according to M.N. Grigorieva, are major investment projects related to the development of natural resources and the development of transport systems and infrastructure as a whole [5]. NArFU, as the flagship university education in the Russian Arctic, must ensure that the following tasks:

- a) Creating a system of forecasting economic activity in the regions of influence and within the competence of relevant institutions.
- b) The evaluation of the model the need for specialists in related disciplines, including personnel for public administration, economics, environment, health and others.
- c) Coordinate the development of training programs, refresher courses and training for schools and associated colleges. It is obvious that the range of specialized colleges should be reasonably expanded (similar to Severodvinsk branch CNPF).
- d) To perform as system monitoring, and so the development of training programs, the University has to rely heavily on expert groups consisting of experts of other Universities, academic and branch institutes, so close to and on specific activities, consulting and industrial organizations. These professionals must be involved not only for development, but and of educational programs.

There is no doubts that a number of tasks can and should be resolved through close international cooperation, first of all — a consortium of the University of the Arctic. [5]

Is it time to develop and launch a special interdepartmental Arctic state program targeted training for the leading sectors of the economy, housing, social towns and settlements in the Russian Arctic — the issue is in a crisis remains, in my opinion, open. But no doubt that the training of competent, qualified specialists for the Arctic and the North of Russia requires substantial investments, state support of public-private partnership. Actual preservation of the branch network of leading universities in the Far North; Development of the state program of social support of young scientific and pedagogical staff in the Russian Arctic; Financial support for the development of Arctic expeditions; creation of a network of field research-education-enforcement hospitals universi-

ties and research institutes in the islands of the Arctic Ocean, the implementation of other initiatives and proposals.

On the issue of preservation of the unique ecosystem of the Arctic conference participants analyzed the impact of global climate change on the fragile Arctic environment. Speeches Director of the Department of International Cooperation Ministry of Russia N.R. Inamova, Advisor to the President of the Russian Federation A.I. Bedritsky, head of the International Barents Secretariat T. Halberg (Sweden), Ambassador of China in Russia, Li Hui, vice-rector of Korea Maritime Institute Chinsu Lim (Republic of Korea), the chairman of the Arkhangelsk Scientific Center of UB RAS V.I. Pavlenko and others on the subject were reduced to the main point that the Arctic - one of the most vulnerable regions to climate change of the Earth.

Deputy Chairman of the Committee on Natural Resources, Environment and Ecology of the State Duma M.V. Slipenchuk, made a presentation to the discussion of international cooperation in the conservation of ecosystems and protection of the natural environment of the Arctic, said the need for the Centre for the Elimination of the accumulated damage in the Arctic, as well as about the prospects of international public-private consortium for the development of the Northern Sea Route [6] .

The impact of Arctic climate change studied not only in the Arctic countries, but also in India and China. Speakers agreed that today it is necessary to continue to study the effects of the industrial development of the Arctic, its impact on society and on the environment.

The third item on the agenda of the conference discussed the issues of sustainable social development of indigenous peoples. A report on "Preservation of traditional lifestyles and sustainable development of indigenous peoples of the Arctic territories — the foundation of stability in the Arctic" was made by Secretary of State — Deputy Head of the Federal Agency for the Affairs of Nationalities P.V. Semenov.

The key directions of the state policy towards the indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Russian Far East, according to P.V. Semenov, are: 1) preservation of traditional ways of life; 2) increased availability of educational services; 3) modernization of healthcare and medicine; 4) promoting employment; 5) the development of civil society institutions. He highlighted several main directions of federal support.

In discussing the problems of indigenous peoples was attended by Governor of the Nenets Autonomous District I.V. Koshin, First Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) P.N. Alekseev, President of the Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far

East G.P. Ledkov, Director of the Arctic Centre of the University of Umeå P. Shöld (Sweden) and others.

Основные направления федеральной поддержки



- Создание условий для устойчивого развития экономики традиционных отраслей хозяйствования
- Развитие сферы образования, культуры, медицинского обслуживания
- Развитие и модернизация инфраструктуры и информационно-коммуникационных ресурсов

Implementation of large-scale technology projects in the Arctic, including oil and gas, of course, brings its benefits for the local population, such as those associated with an increase in the number of jobs and the improvement of infrastructure and utilities. However, many indigenous peoples of the Arctic continue to rely on traditional methods of farming, which puts them at the mercy of the Arctic ecosystem in matters of food, accommodation and preserve the identity of their culture. Therefore, the challenge facing all Arctic states, is to find ways to develop the Arctic region and at the same time protect the environment, preserve the culture and lifestyles of local people.

Many participants in the international meeting of representatives of the Member States of the Arctic Council, observer States and international scientific community unanimously agreed that all Arctic states need to continue social support Indigenous Peoples [1]. However, planned as yet very poorly pronounced trend in the modernization of ethnic policy in relation to indigenous northern peoples. Preservation of traditional culture, lifestyle, economic practices of indigenous peoples should be done in close connection with the most modern technology, using the already accumulated in the autonomous regions, the subjects of the Russian Arctic experience, best practices.

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Green economics: environmental imperatives of providing economic development of the Arctic zone of the RF



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Abstract. A short review of reports and discussions during the 2nd meeting of the Arctic expert club on October 23, 2015. The meeting was dedicated to the issues of environmental protection in the Arctic in conditions of growing economic activity.

Keywords: *Arctic, ecology, green economics, AZRF*

23 October 2015 at the Institute of Regional Studies and Urban Planning Higher School of Economics (Moscow) hosted the 2nd meeting of the Arctic Expert Club, which focused on environmental issues in the economic development of the Russian Arctic. The meeting was prepared by experts of IRIIGP Higher School of Economics, the Arctic Centre for Strategic Studies NArFU, the Council for Study of Productive Forces of the Russian Federation Ministry of Economic Development and the Russian Academy of Sciences (RAS), the Arctic Information and analytic center RISS.

The meeting had eight reports available for the participants in two cities (Moscow and Arkhangelsk) via a video link. The meeting was devoted to environmental challenges in the Arctic in the 21st century: threats and prospects for future development; the challenges of sustainable development; the accumulated environmental damage in the Russian Arctic, and the problem of waste; international cooperation aimed at protecting the environment and others.

These issues are of great practical importance, since the Arctic ecosystem is quite unstable and vulnerable to anthropogenic impact, which will only increase due to the planned activity in the North (the development of the Northern Sea Route, mining, strengthening the military presence).

At the beginning of the meeting the participants were welcomed by a speech of the director of the HSE I.N. Ilina. Explaining the choice of the theme of the meeting, she said that the issue of environmental conservation is one of the most pressing in the development of the Arctic.

V.M. Zakharov, Doctor of biological sciences, professor, corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, director of the Institute for Sustainable Development of the Public Chamber of the Russian Federation, spoke about the concept of sustainable development, the history, the possibilities of alternative energy. He suggested that the Arctic could become a pioneering region in the field of renewable energy sources and innovative technologies.

V.V. Kurteev, Senior Fellow of FGBNIU “Council for the Study productive forces” made the report on the problems of ecological safety, informed about the current (very poor) condition of monitoring systems in the Arctic, transshipment ports in the eastern part of the Russian Arctic and offered to turn to international experience in the sphere of environment protection.

In the report of L.N. Drachkova, associate professor of geography and hydrometeorology of Institute of Natural Sciences and echnologies of NArFU, it was noted that it was necessary to establish a comprehensive environmental management using the latest environmentally-friendly, low-waste technologies, preserve the fragile ecosystem of the Arctic and its development. Storage, disposal and removal of waste products from the areas of new development in the Russian Arctic, as well as recycling should be one of the main concern when planning and implementing any activity in the Russian Arctic.

D.N. Lyzhin, Head of the Sector for bio-economy and sustainable development of the Center for Economic Studies of RISS, announced some international activities in the field of environmental protection in the Arctic, including the international legal instruments. Despite a significant progress in this direction in recent years, it should be admitted that a regional legal regime for the protection of the Arctic environment has not yet been formed.

V.M. Razumovsky, Vice-President of the Russian Geographical Society, spoke about quite a new direction of regional studies — spatial planning of maritime and coastal areas. He pointed to the basic principles of ecological and sustainable management of marine and coastal areas in relation to the Russian Arctic.

Report of A.N. Olszewski, Head of FGKU “Administration of the Northern Sea Route”, was devoted to the law regulations on merchant shipping in the waters of the Northern Sea Route. The main focus was on environmental requirements, and spills of petroleum products.

S.P. Gorshkov, Doctor of Geography, professor, Department of Ecology and Earth Sciences of the State University “Dubna”, spoke about the importance of the Russian Arctic for the biosphere, as well as on the sources of pollution in the region.

After the event, the sides exchanged the views on the issues. Thus, there were some more problems discussed: prospects of development of tourism in the Arctic. On the one hand, according to V.V. Kurteev, tourism is hindered by the lack of infrastructure, which is necessary for this field of activity (transport, housing, services). On the other hand, as the director of the Arctic Center for Strategic Studies of NArFU K.S. Zaykov pointed that currently there are ongoing negotiations with the military, so that they allow the use of the airfield on the Alexandra Land (archipelago of Franz

Josef Land) for tourism. The discussions also touched upon the financial aspects of the development of the Arctic today.

Federal and regional management, the policy of the state, economic activity are extremely relevant as well as the choice of directions for the development of the Russian Arctic between the active economic development and reduce of the impact on natural ecosystems. Therefore, long-term development strategy of the Arctic region, the problem of investing a green economy, of course, remain valid. Summarizing the meeting, there is going to be prepared an analytical brochure in Russian and English .

Learn more about the last meeting of the Arctic expert club here: <http://irsup.hse.ru/announcements/160250944.html>, where you can see the abstracts and the position of the opponents.

The next meeting of the Arctic expert club is scheduled for November 27, 2015. Its theme will be the inter-ethnic relations and migration processes in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation.

Summary

Авторы, аннотации, ключевые слова

Authors, abstracts, keywords

Экономика северных социумов и политика/

Economics and Political Science

Журавель В.П. Что привнесут в своё председательство в Арктическом совете Соединённые Штаты Америки

Valeriy P. Zhuravel. What the USA will bring to its chairmanship of the Arctic Council

Аннотация. Анализируются итоги деятельности Канады в период председательства в Арктическом совете (2013—2015), Икалуитская декларация 24 апреля 2015 года. США намерены использовать своё председательство в АС (2015—2017) в первую очередь для решения собственных внутренних арктических проблем. Программа председательства США в АС фокусируется на улучшение экономической ситуации и условий жизни в арктических общинах; обеспечение сохранности и безопасности в Северном Ледовитом океане и рациональное управление его ресурсами; решение проблемы последствий изменения климата. В решении этих вопросов Соединённые Штаты надеются на конструктивное сотрудничество с Россией.

Ключевые слова: Арктический совет, председательство, Канада, Икалуитская декларация, программа и политика США, санкции, позиция России

Abstract. The results of Canada's chairmanship of the Arctic Council (2013—2015) and the Iqaluit declaration signed on the 24th of April 2015 are analyzed in the present article. The author is convinced that the United States intend to use their Arctic Council chairmanship (2015—2017) to solve the US internal problems related to the Arctic areas. The program for the US Chairmanship has three focus areas: improving the economic and living conditions of the Arctic communities; Arctic Ocean safety, security and stewardship and the impacts of the climate change. The United States hope for constructive cooperation with Russia aimed at solving these problems.

Keywords: Arctic Council, chairmanship, Canada, Iqaluit declaration, program and policy of the US, sanctions, Russia's position

Котлова Е.С. Лавирование среди айсбергов: модели этнической политики Норвегии

Ekaterina S. Kotlova. Maneuvering between icebergs: ethnic policy models in Norway

Аннотация. Долгие годы Норвегия считается одной из стран мира, удачно реализующих свою этнокультурную политику в отношении коренного населения и мигрантских групп. В этой связи норвежский опыт представляет интерес для России, её северных и арктических регионов. Настоящая статья посвящена современному состоянию модели этнокультурной политики Норвегии на севере, которая, по мнению автора, основана на концепции мультикультурализма, видоизмененной под влиянием интенсификации современных миграционных процессов и возможности радикализации отдельных социальных групп и

Abstract. Norway is considered one of the countries with a successful ethnic policy towards both indigenous people and migrant groups. The article is devoted to the analysis of the modern ethnic policy model in Norway. Norwegian experience in moderating ethnic interaction seems to be interesting for Russia and its northern and Arctic areas. The author is convinced that modern Norwegian ethnic policy grounded on multiculturalism is in transition towards so-called "diversity model". Such a transition is caused by the intensification of migration and a threat of radicalization of particular social groups and ideologies.

идеологий и трансформируется в модель культурного многообразия.

Ключевые слова: модели этнической политики, мультикультурализм, культурное многообразие, коренные народы, мигранты

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Keywords: ethnic policy models, multiculturalism, cultural diversity, indigenous people, migrants

Липина С.А., Зайков К.С. Приоритетные направления и возможности сотрудничества России со странами Азиатско-Тихоокеанского региона

Svetlana A. Lipina, Konstantin S. Zaykov. Priorities and opportunities of cooperation between Russia and the Asian-Pacific states

Аннотация. Потенциальная роль, значение и имеющиеся возможности Арктики и Севера России, Сибири, Дальнего Востока для осуществления интеграционных процессов в Азиатско-Тихоокеанском регионе (АТР) безусловно возрастают. Возникает потребность в определении приоритетных направлений пространственного развития северо-восточных регионов нашей страны. Актуально улучшение их транспортной доступности и существующей инфраструктуры, эффективное использование сырьевых и энергетических ресурсов, инвестиционная привлекательность регионов, что в перспективе повысит конкурентоспособность всей экономики России для развития взаимовыгодной международной торговли в АТР

Ключевые слова: Азиатско-Тихоокеанский регион, интеграция, Арктика и Север России, Сибирь, Дальний Восток, инфраструктура, Северный морской путь, Транс-Тихоокеанское партнерство

Abstract. Potential role and significance of the Arctic and North of Russia, Siberia and Far East for integration in the Asian-Pacific region (APR) are undoubtedly increasing. A need for defining the priorities of the North-East areas of our country emerges. Development of the infrastructure, resource use effectiveness and attractiveness for investors is a significant issue that contributes to the competitive abilities of the Russian economy and mutually beneficial international trade in the APR

Keywords: Asian-Pacific region, integration, the Arctic and North of Russia, Siberia, Far East, infrastructure, Northern Sea Route, Trans-Pacific partnership

Паникар М.М., Васева О.А. Специфика миграционных процессов на севере Европы (на примере Королевства Дания)

Marina M. Panikar, Olga A. Vaseva. Specifics of the migratory processes in the north of Europe (case of the Kingdom of Denmark)

Аннотация. Миграционные процессы и политики стран Северной Европы исследуются на примере Королевства Дания. Степень изученности темы достаточно велика, но ранее указанный регион не рассматривался исследователями как носитель особой миграционной модели. Она характеризуется относительно низкой долей мигрантов из не европейских стран, строгим миграционным законодательством и политикой ограничения миграционных потоков в страну. Изучение опыта

Abstract. Migration processes and policies of the northern European countries are studied with the focus on the Kingdom of Denmark. The area of the study got a sufficient attention, but the Denmark has not been considered as a carrier of a specific migration model. The model is characterized by relatively low share of migrants from non-European countries, strict immigration laws and policy of limiting the migration. Studying the case of Denmark, it is important to examine the effect the migration

Дании актуально для исследования влияния миграционных процессов на этнокультурную и экономическую ситуацию в странах Арктики, в том числе и в России, в тех её регионах, которые имеют разветвленную сеть транснациональных и трансграничных коммуникаций. Используются методы сравнительного анализа и синтеза, математические и статистические.

Ключевые слова: миграционные процессы, модель, миграционная политика, северная Европа, Королевство Дания

has on the ethno-cultural and economic situation in the Arctic countries, including Russia and its areas with an extensive transnational and cross-border communication.

Keywords: migratory processes, model, migratory politics, Northern Europe, the Kingdom of Denmark

Патоня А.И. Последствия использования сжиженного природного газа для осуществления морских перевозок в Арктике

Aleksei I. Patonia. Implications of the use of liquefied natural gas for marine transportation in the Arctic

Аннотация. Переход от использования бункерного топлива на сжиженный природный газ (СПГ) при осуществлении арктических морских перевозок имеет различные многообразные последствия. Применяя теорию ниш и эффективного режима, а также экологическую кривую С. Кузнецца, автор демонстрирует типы экономических и политических взаимоотношений арктических государств после их перехода на использование СПГ. Норвегия, Канада и США представлены, как страны, наиболее выигрывающие в этой ситуации. Кроме того, переход на СПГ в значительной степени улучшает экологическую обстановку, снижает объёмы чёрного углерода (сажи), что в свою очередь приводит к увеличению альбедо. Основываясь на теории жизненного цикла, автор также рассматривает существующие правовые нормы, регламентирующие переход на СПГ, и моделирует возможные сценарии развития.

Ключевые слова: сжиженный природный газ, экологическая кривая С. Кузнецца, арктическая амплификация, альбедо, чёрный углерод, благоприятная взаимозависимость, UNCLOS, Норвегия, США

Abstract. The transition from the use of bunker fuel to the use of liquefied natural gas (LNG) for the Arctic marine transportation has various consequences. The author is interested to present the issue in the political, economic, environmental, marine legal perspectives. Implementing the regime efficiency and niche selection approach as well as the Environmental Kuznets Curve, the paper demonstrates potential benign interdependence of the Arctic countries after they have transferred their vessels to LNG. In such circumstances, Norway, Canada and the US are shown as the most benefiting nations. The second part of the article is devoted to the significant environmental improvement after the transition with a particular attention to the dramatic decrease of black carbon (soot) which leads to increase of albedo. Finally, the paper examines the existing legal provisions regulating the transition to LNG and modulates a further development scenario based on the theory of the lifecycle of a norm.

Keywords: Liquefied natural gas, Environmental Kuznets Curve, arctic amplification, albedo, black carbon, benign interdependence, UNCLOS, Norway, the USA

Сушко О.П., Телегин Н.Б. Новый экономический кризис: региональная проекция

Olga P. Sushko, Nikolai B. Telegin. A new economic crisis: a regional projection

Аннотация. Экономическое положение в России под влиянием многочисленных фак-

Abstract. The economic situation in Russia continues to worsen because of multiple factors.

торов продолжает усугубляться. Анализ экономического состояния Архангельской области за период с 1999 по 2015 гг. показывает более раннее проявление негативных явлений экономического спада. В настоящее время более остро кризис проявляется в снижении инвестиций, повышении безработицы, колебании цен на некоторую отраслевую продукцию. Прогноз до конца 2015 года и на 2016 год не вселяет оптимизма.

Ключевые слова: экономика, кризис, Архангельская область, обрабатывающие отрасли, цены, динамика торговли, инвестиции

Analysis of the economic situation of the Arkhangelsk region 1999—2015 reveals an earlier manifestation of the negative effects of the economic recession. Currently, the crisis is manifesting itself in the reduction of investment, increase in unemployment rates, fluctuations of prices for some industrial products. Also the forecast for the end of the year 2015 and for 2016 is not encouraging.

Keywords: Economy, crisis, Arkhangelsk region, the processing industry, prices, the dynamics of trade, investments

Хейнинен Ласси. Арктика как пространство для междисциплинарности, устойчивого развития и мира

Lassi Heininen. The Arctic Region as a Space for Trans-disciplinary, Resilience and Peace

Аннотация. В основу статьи положен доклад профессора Ласси Хейнинена на международной конференции «Обеспечение безопасности и устойчивого развития Арктического региона, сохранение экосистем и традиционного образа жизни коренного населения Арктики», которая прошла в рамках V международной встречи представителей государств-членов Арктического совета, государств-наблюдателей и зарубежной научной общественности 15—16 сентября 2015 года в городе Архангельске. В период после холодной войны успешно был осуществлён переход от военного противостояния к политической стабильности и растущему международному сотрудничеству. Новые обстоятельства и неопределённость могут поставить под угрозу существующую стабильность. Lassi Heininen считает, что ни один из нас не хотел бы открыть новый фронт в Арктике — мы достаточно испытали и достаточно мудры для того, чтобы не делать этого.

Ключевые слова: Арктика, мир, конфликты, стабильность, угрозы, «Арктический парадокс», отсутствие открытого противостояния, возможности

Abstract. The article is based on report of Professor Lassi Heininen at the international conference "Ensuring security and sustainable development of the Arctic region, the preservation of eco-systems and traditional lifestyles of indigenous peoples of the Arctic", which was held in the framework of the V International meeting of representatives of the Member States of the Arctic Council, observer States and foreign scientific public on 15—16 September 2015 in the city of Arkhangelsk. During the period in after the Cold War has been carried out successfully transition from military confrontation to the Political stability and increasing international cooperation. New circumtion and uncertainty may jeopardize the stability of the existing. Lassi Heininen believes that none of us would like to open a new front in the Arctic — we are experienced and wise enough not to do so.

Keywords: Arctic, peace, conflict, security, threat, "Arctic paradox", the absence of open conflict, the possibilities

Храмчихин А.А. Значение Арктики для национальной безопасности России, Китай может стать арктической державой

Alexander A. Khramchikhin. The value of the Arctic for Russia's national security, China may become the Arctic Power

Аннотация. Рассмотрено значение Арктики для национальной безопасности РФ в стратегическом и собственно арктическом аспектах. На данный момент военно-политическая обстановка в Арктике опасной для России в целом не является. Исследуются последствия сокращения ледового покрова, что позволит заходить в арктическую акваторию надводным боевым кораблям ВМС США — авианосцам, а также крейсерам и эсминцам с системой «Иджис». Анализируются возможные сценарии конфликтов, а также развитие геополитической ситуации в арктическом регионе. В будущем КНР может приобрести один из островов Исландии, что автоматически сделает Китай арктической державой.

Ключевые слова: Арктика, ПРО, ПВО, ВМС, Северный флот, Россия, США, Кумай

Abstract. The value of the Arctic for Russia's national security and strategic aspects of the Arctic itself are considered in the article. At the moment, the military-political situation in the Arctic seems not to be dangerous for Russia. The author investigates the effects of reduced ice cover that allow the US Navy warships — aircraft carriers, cruisers and destroyers, equipped with the “Aegis” system — to enter the Arctic waters. In this article possible scenarios of conflict and prospects of the geopolitical situation in the Arctic are examined. In future, China could purchase one of the islands of Iceland. Such a possession would automatically make China an Arctic Power.

Keywords: Arctic, missile defense, aircraft defense, navy, Northern fleet, Russia, USA, China

Шапаров А.Е. Этнонациональная политика России в Арктике: основные подходы и принципы
Aleksander E. Shaparov. Ethnic policy of Russia in the Arctic: basic approaches and principles

Аннотация. Необходимость учета региональной специфики при формировании и реализации государственной этнонациональной политики в АЗРФ раскрывается на основе анализа двух противоположных управленческих подходов — экономико-технократического и политико-гуманитарного. Коренные народы Севера рассматриваются как объект и субъект государственной этнонациональной политики России. Анализируются две проблемы: создание условий для сохранения и развития народов, традиционно проживающих в регионе, содействия их культурному многообразию, повышению уровня жизни; интеграция в общество внутренних и внешних мигрантов. Отмечается, что концептуально оформились три императивных подхода к формированию государственной национальной политики в отношении малочисленных этносов Севера: государственно-патерналистский, либерально-рыночный и неотрадиционалистский. Перспективы взаимодействия государства и коренных народов рассмотрены в контексте надэтнической идентичности — «индигенные народы», то есть «местные», «коренные».

Ключевые слова: Арктика, Север, государство, этносы, национальная политика, коренные народы, индигенность

Abstract. The need to account the regional specific of the ethnic policy making and its practice in the AZRF is grounded on 2 contrary management approaches: economic-technocratic approach and political-humanitarian approach. Indigenous peoples are considered to be the subject and the object of the state ethnic policy of Russia. 2 issues are analyzed: preservation and development of indigenous peoples, historically living in the area; contributions to their cultural diversity; improvement of the living standards; social integration of internal and external migrants. It is noted that there are three imperative approaches to the state policy towards small-numbered ethnic groups of the North: the state-paternalistic, liberal market and neo-traditionalist approaches. Prospects of mutually-interacting state and indigenous peoples discussed in the context of supra-ethnic identity — indigenous peoples, “local” people.

Keywords: Arctic, North, state, ethnos, ethnic integration policy, indigenous people, indigenism

Культура народов Арктики и Севера / Culturology

Лукин Ю.Ф. Этнокультурный ландшафт Российской Арктики: от концептуализации знаний к управлению конфликтами

Yury F. Lukin. Ethno-cultural landscape of the Russian Arctic: from the conceptualization of knowledge to the management of conflicts

Аннотация. Статья нацелена на междисциплинарный анализ концептуальных основ и современной ситуации этнокультурного ландшафта Российской Арктики, выявление проблем управления конфликтным взаимодействием в сфере социально-этнических отношений. Автором разработана технологическая модель перехода от концептуализации знаний к управлению конфликтами. Проанализирована деятельность по проведению Арктического этнологического мониторинга в РФ, предложен авторский перечень из семи предметных направлений по формированию баз данных. Безусловно, что нужно продолжать работу на законодательном уровне по защите прав КМНС. Однако ключевой проблемой становится обеспечение баланса между патернализмом государства по сохранению традиционных культур коренных народов и внедрением современных технологий, ростом инвестиций в накопление человеческого капитала. Актуально обеспечение социальной сплочённости, выделение квот в ведущих отраслях современной экономики для коренных народов Севера. Назрела потребность перехода к зелёной экономике в Арктике, что очень близко традиционной культуре северян, их мировосприятию.

Ключевые слова: Арктика и Север, операциональные определения, моделирование, этнокультурный ландшафт, коренные народы, язык, Арктический этнологический мониторинг, этническая напряжённость, управление конфликтами, зелёная экономика

Abstract. The article focuses on a multidisciplinary analysis of the conceptual framework and the current situation of ethnic and cultural landscape of the Russian Arctic and reveals the problems of management of conflict interaction in social and ethnic relations. The author developed and discussed a technological model in order to move from the conceptualization of knowledge to the conflict management. The author analyzed Arctic ethnological monitoring activities in Russia and proposed a list of seven subject areas to form databases. Undoubtedly, the need to continue this work on the legislative level emerges to protect the rights of indigenous peoples. However, a key challenge is to ensure a balance between paternalism of the state aimed at preserving the indigenous cultures and increasing investment in human capital and the introduction of modern technologies. Social cohesion and the allocation of quotas for indigenous peoples of the North in the leading sectors of the modern economy are relevant for today. A need of transition to green economy in the Arctic, close to the traditional culture of northerners and their worldview is extremely important as well.

Keywords: Arctic and North, operational definitions, modeling, ethnocultural landscape, indigenous people, language, Arctic ethnological monitoring, ethnic tensions, conflict management, green economics

Михайлова Г.В. Основы жизни ненцев арктического острова Колгуев

Galina V. Mikhailova. The foundations of life of Nenets people on the arctic island of Kolguev

Аннотация. На основе результатов этносоциологических полевых исследований на о. Колгуеве (Баренцево море), проведенных опросов ненецкого населения в 2006, 2007, 2014 годы и фокус-групп рассмотрены основы социально-экономической жизни коренных жи-

Abstract. The social and economic foundations of indigenous people's life on the Kolguev Island (Barents Sea) are presented in the article in terms of the ethno-sociological field work results, surveys and "focus-groups" research of Nenets people done in the years 2006, 2007

телей арктического острова. Выявлена обеспокоенность населения сокращением поголовья оленей, изменением природной среды, поскольку это угрожает традиционной жизнедеятельности, негативно влияет на качество жизни людей. Характеризуя трансформацию природной среды, коренные жители о. Колгуева отмечают происходящие природно-климатические аномалии, а также изменение растительности, численности и местообитаний животных и птиц, повышение значимости проблемы замусоривания островной территории.

Ключевые слова: Арктика, остров Колгуев, ненцы, жизнедеятельность, изменение природной среды, общественное мнение, этносоциологические исследования

and 2014. The anxieties of people caused by the reducing of reindeer herd, changes of the environment that damaged the traditional way of life and economy and negatively influenced the quality of life of indigenous population were identified. Speaking about the transformations of the local environment, the indigenous people of the Kolguev Island mentioned natural and climatic anomalies, changes of plants and populations of birds and animal as well as the increasing pollution of the Island.

Keywords: Arctic, Kolguev, Island, Nenets, life activity, changes in the natural environment, public opinion, ethno-sociological research

Соколова Ф.Х. Этнодемографические процессы в Российской Арктике

Flera H. Sokolova. Ethnic and demographic processes in the Russian Arctic

Аннотация. Динамика численности населения АЗРФ и этнонациональной структуры анализируется на материалах всесоюзных и всероссийских переписей. Фиксируется ряд выявленных тенденций: отрицательная демографическая динамика и миграционный отток населения, особенно из тех регионов, роль которых в обеспечении валютными резервами за счёт добычи полезных ископаемых существенно сократилась. В Европейской части Российской Арктики наблюдается тенденция к моноэтнизации территорий, где остаётся преимущественно старопоселенческое население (коренные народы и коренные малочисленные народы). В экономически привлекательных регионах наблюдается пока не столь явственно приток представителей среднеазиатских и закавказских народов, выходцев из стран Азиатско-Тихоокеанского региона. Увеличение численности КМНС является залогом сохранения и развития культуры данных этносов, но, с другой стороны, таит в себе и потенциальные угрозы, в том числе противоречия между потребностью индустриального освоения Арктики и необходимостью сохранения уклада жизни коренных малочисленных народов.

Ключевые слова: Российская Арктика, этнические и демографические процессы, этнона-

Abstract. The population dynamics and ethno-national structure of the Russian Arctic are analyzed and presented in the materials of Soviet and Russian census. A number of trends has been identified: negative demographic dynamics and outflow of population, especially in those regions, where the provision of foreign exchange reserves due to mining operations has decreased significantly. The European part of the Russian Arctic tends to be a monoethnic area where the population is predominantly old-settled (indigenous people and small-numbered indigenous people). In economically attractive regions there is a fixed increase in the number of representatives from Central Asia Caucasus and the Asian-Pacific region. The increase in the number of indigenous small-numbered people is the key to preserving and developing the culture of these ethnic groups, but on the other hand it has a potential threat, including the contradictions between the need for industrial development of the Arctic and the need to preserve the indigenous way of life.

Keywords: Russian Arctic, ethnic and demographic processes, ethno-national structure, indige-

циональная структура, коренные народы

nous peuples

Трошина Т.И., Минчук О.В. Формирование государственной политики в отношении коренных малочисленных народов Севера в историко-правовом измерении (на примере «архангельских» ненцев)

Tatyana I. Troshina, Oleg V. Minchuk. Establishment of the state policy towards indigenous peoples of the North and its historical and legal dimensions (case of "Arkhangelsk Nenets")

Аннотация. Анализируются модели государственной политики, направленной на включение европейских ненцев в общегосударственное правовое пространство. Привлечение большого количества опубликованных свидетельств чиновников и путешественников, а также архивных документов иллюстрирует как положительные, так и unsuccessful последствия реализации этой политики, которая имела схожие формы в имперский, раннесоветский, советский и постсоветский период. Ставится проблема культурной устойчивости ненецкого этноса, выработавшего механизмы противодействия внутренним и внешним разрушающим этническое единство силам.

Ключевые слова: коренные малочисленные народы Севера, европейские ненцы, государственное законодательство, этнополитика, патернализм, либерализм, культурная устойчивость, этнические стереотипы

Abstract. The model of public policies aimed at the inclusion of European Nenets in the national legal space is analyzed. A large amount of published evidences of officials and travelers, as well as the archive materials show both positive and unsuccessful consequences of this policy, similar to the imperial, early Soviet, Soviet and post-Soviet ones. The issue of cultural sustainability of the Nenets ethnos that has developed mechanisms to counter internal and external forces destructive for their ethnic unity is discussed.

Keywords: indigenous peoples of the North, European Nenets, legislation, ethnic policy, paternalism, liberalism, cultural sustainability, ethnic stereotypes

Обзоры. Reviews

Лукин Ю.Ф. Обеспечение безопасности и устойчивого развития Арктического региона, сохранение экосистем и традиционного образа жизни коренного населения Арктики

Yury F. Lukin. Providing security and sustainable development of the Arctic Region, conservation of ecosystems and traditional lifestyles of indigenous peoples of the Arctic

Аннотация. Обзор материалов конференции «Обеспечение безопасности и устойчивого развития Арктического региона, сохранение экосистем и традиционного образа жизни коренного населения Арктики», прошедшей в рамках V международной встречи представителей государств-членов Арктического совета, государств-наблюдателей и зарубежной научной общественности 15—16 сентября 2015 года в городе Архангельске.

Ключевые слова: Арктический регион, безопасность, устойчивое развитие, конфликты, стабильность, экология, коренное население Арктики

Abstract. Review of the conference materials "Safety and Sustainable Development of the Arctic Region, the conservation of ecosystems and traditional lifestyles of indigenous peoples of the Arctic" held within the framework of the 5th International meeting of the Arctic Council member states, observer states and international scientific community on the 15th—16th of September 2015 in the town of Arkhangelsk.

Keywords: The Arctic region, security, sustainable development, conflict, stability, environment, indigenous people of the Arctic

Шепелев Е. А. Зелёная экономика: экологические императивы обеспечения экономического развития Арктической зоны РФ

Evgeny A. Shepelev. Green economics: environmental imperatives of providing economic development of the Arctic zone of the RF

Аннотация. Краткий обзор докладов и обсуждений, прозвучавших в ходе 2-го заседания Арктического экспертного клуба 23 октября 2015 года. Заседание было посвящено проблемам защиты окружающей среды в Арктике в условиях нарастания там экономической деятельности.

Ключевые слова: Арктика, экология, зелёная экономика, АЗРФ

Abstract. A short review of reports and discussions during the 2nd meeting of the Arctic expert club on October 23, 2015. The meeting was dedicated to the issues of environmental protection in the Arctic in conditions of growing economic activity.

Keywords: Arctic, ecology, green economics, AZRF

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