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

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SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

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The innovative vector of the Nordic countries' competitiveness: case of Sweden*

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Abstract. Innovation and competitiveness are among key research topics in the social, economic and humanitarian fields. This article describes specific aspects of innovation policy in Sweden, one of the dynamically developing Northern European countries. This development is confirmed by the position of the country in the global innovation and competitiveness rankings. It is shown that high position of Sweden arises from the successful use of its geographic location, the “welfare state” model put into practice, the effective interactions of the state, science, and business, the implementation of research policy, according to which universities and research, and educational centers, involved in technology clusters formation, play an important role. The existing Arctic strategy developed in Sweden adds relevance to the research. The Arctic strategy states that “growth and competitiveness based on overcoming trade barriers, research and education system, as well as on international cooperation within the Arctic Council, the EU and the UN” will have crucial significance for the sustainable social and economic development of the state. From a practical point of view, the Swedish experience in the formation of an innovation economy, which includes northern regions as well, is of interest for the Russian subarctic areas. The article can be used for the educational process at universities. It is relevant for civil servants and researchers, economists and geographers involved in forecasting and territorial development of the northern regions.

Keywords: *innovation, competitiveness, research, Sweden, the Arctic, international cooperation.*

Introduction

Innovations are now recognized as one of the driving forces of economic development for both developed and developing countries. The scientific community has accumulated experience in assessing the level of innovative development and competitiveness of economic systems at the macro-, meso- and micro- levels of the economy and individual industries [1, de Oliveira H.H.N., de Carvalho Z.V., p. 4074; 2, Hall P., Lofgren K., p. 306; 3, Healy A., p. 12; 4, Hintsala H., Niemela S., Tervonen P., p. 77; 5, Lucchi N., Ots M., Ohlsson J., p. 191; 6, Martin R., Trippel M., p. 268; 7, Ylinenpaa H., p. 57].

Sweden is one of the leaders in innovative development and economic competitiveness. In 2011 the Parliament adopted the Arctic strategy¹. However, the country is not actively declaring its opportunities to develop natural resources and use transport communications in the Far North and the Arctic, but at the same time, it is a part of the Arctic Council and the Barents Euro-Arctic

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¹ Sweden's Strategy for the Arctic region/Government Offices of Sweden. Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Department for Eastern Europe and Central Asia. Arctic Secretariat, Stockholm, Sweden. 2011. 52p.

Council (BEAC). Studying these features is of scientific and practical interest for the northern and subarctic areas of the Russian Federation.

General characteristics of the North European region

Based on the quantitative parameters, the population of Northern Europe and its constituent countries (with a continuing low population growth) slightly exceeds 25 million people, which is about 0.5% of the world population. In this sense, the closest analogs are Australia (22 million people, 2017) and North Korea (24 million people, 2017). The territory differs by larger. Sweden, e.g., is on the 5th place on the continent by area².

The specialization of the Nordic countries was initially been formed on the basis of advantages in natural factors of production determined by the availability of wood resources (all countries of Northern Europe, except Denmark and Iceland), iron ore (Sweden), non-ferrous metal ores (Iceland, Norway and Finland), water biological resources (Iceland, Denmark and Norway), favorable conditions for agriculture (Denmark). But the technical and economic progress increased the degree of natural raw materials processing, new branches of the economy developed, and the quality of life of the population increased. The foreign trade is a distinctive feature for the economic systems of the Nordic countries: the export quota in Sweden and Norway exceeds 45%³.

In 1980–2017, in the UN Quality of Life Index by the country of the region, the first places: Norway — 1st place, Denmark — 4th, Sweden — 14th, Iceland — 16th, Finland — 24th (cf., the USA — 8th and Russia — 50th)⁴.

Innovation policy tools of Sweden

The growing openness of national economies makes circumpolar states feel the need of institutional transformations of economic systems adequate to changing conditions. In this regard, the Nordic countries are in transition to the post-industrial development accompanied by the modernization of public administration and the introduction of innovative processes in industry and energy.

Since 1940s, Sweden has been building up a system of governmental tools and a set of measures to implement technology policies, ultimately determining the country's position on the global R&D market. It could be achieved with innovation policy based on the principles of strategic planning, program-target methods, cooperation of the state and industrial enterprises, scientific, educational and public organizations and instruments of international cooperation.

The concept of a “national innovation system” (B.O. Lundvall), developed in Sweden, formed the background of the EU economic, scientific, technical, technological and innovation policy. The ideas of innovative development and the concept of “learning regions” were developed by the Norwegian economic geographers B. Asaim and A. Isaksen. The widely used concept of “knowledge society” was introduced by the American economist M. Castells. A significant contri-

² Data on the area and population of countries. URL: www.cia.gov/factbook (Accessed: 28 September 18).

³ Ibid.

⁴ UN Human Development Report 2016. Human Development for Everyone. UNDP. NY. 2017.

bution was made by the Norwegian researcher K. Sogner by developing the concept of “innovative culture” – a distinctive feature of the Northern European model of socio-economic development. Human resources in Northern Europe are distinguished by the ability not only to receive and analyze new information but also to acquire new competencies that reinforce the creative nature of work [8, Severnaya Evropa..., p. 16–18].

In Sweden, a self-regulating system of innovative development was formed. It is described in the form of a “triple helix” [9, Etzkowitz N., Leydesdorff L., p. 200] with interrelated “turns” and excluded dominant links. This model includes the state, business, research, educational and civil society institutions.

A feature of the Swedish innovation strategy is the high share of private companies, especially transnational corporations (TNCs), in the R&D financing. Alfa Laval, Electrolux, Ericsson, IKEA, Scania, Tetra Pak and Volvo, as well as the banking sector (Skandinaviska Enskilda Banken, Handelsbanken and Swedbank) play a significant role in generating innovations. Large Swedish companies have such extensive opportunities for in-house research and established links with research institutions within the country that, in addition to public investments, are not very interested in innovation strategy. This position may be contrary to the interests of small and medium-sized Swedish enterprises. In Sweden, in 2016, the share for small and medium-sized enterprises in R&D was 17.8%, accounting for 17.7% of government R&D spending. Approximately the same ratio is observed for state R&D subsidies for small and medium-sized companies in Norway in 2016: 9.8% and 49.1% respectively. The effective development of knowledge-intensive industries in global TNCs poses a risk to the development of the innovation systems. The system of the R&D commercialization is characterized by the insufficient application of stimulating tax policy measures. It hinders the development of high-tech sectors of the economy. The relatively high level of taxation provides a high level of education, health, social welfare through human capital and network connections that determine the quality of the innovation economy — ability to assimilate new knowledge [10, Pchelintsev S.V., p. 122].

The work on the formation of innovation and science policy in Sweden is mostly carried out by the Government (Fig. 1).

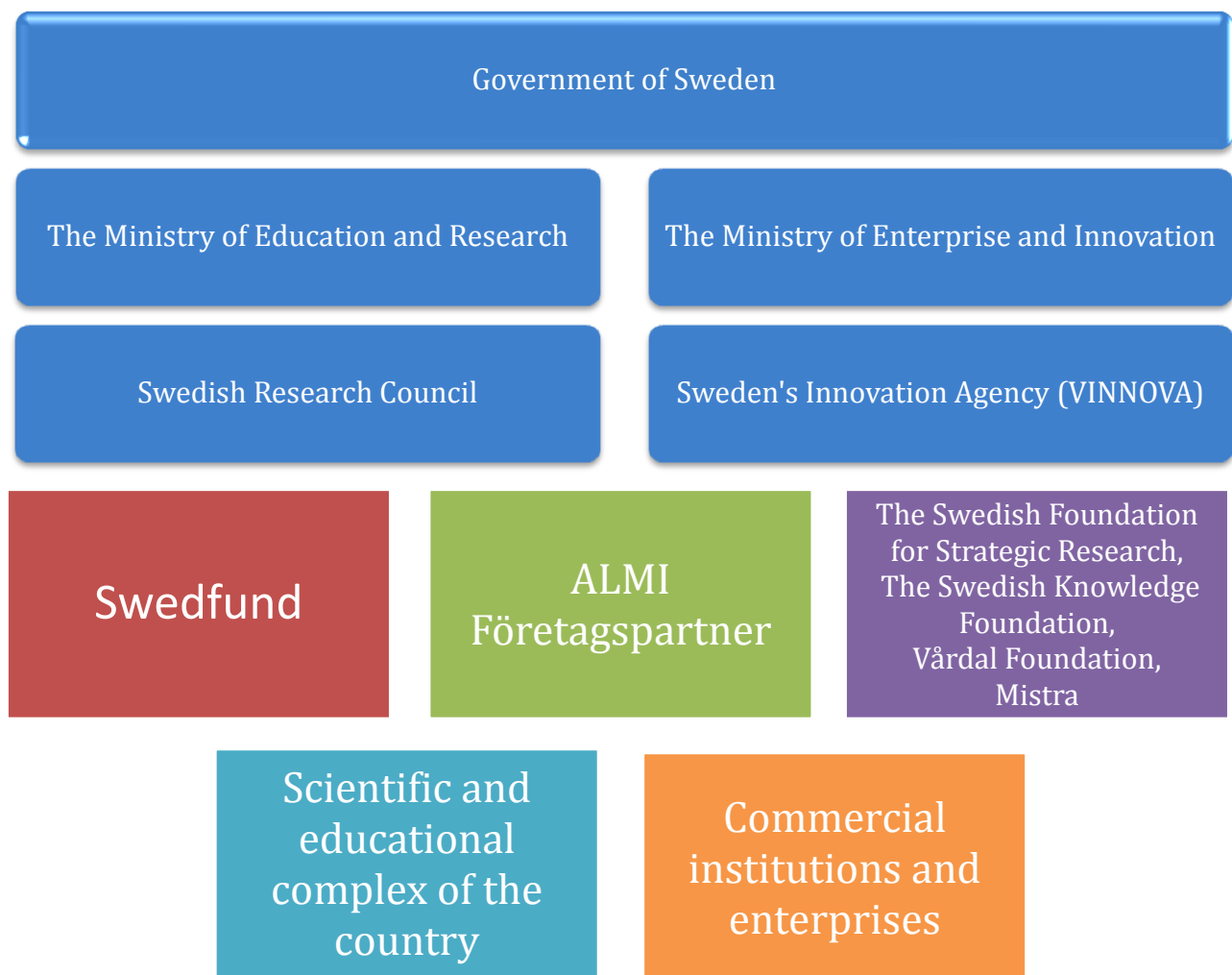


Fig. 1. Innovation system in Sweden

The Government of Sweden approved the Swedish Innovation Strategy 2020⁵ developed by social dialog. The Strategy's three main principles:

- Better conditions for innovations (people, education and infrastructure);
- People, enterprises and institutions systematically involved in innovations;
- integrity via coordination at the political level and dialogue with industry, public sector, civil society and education.

In Sweden, the priority innovation areas are medicine, biotechnology, information and communication technologies (ICT), sustainable development and the environment. Within the EU, Sweden actively promotes the idea of "smart specialization", i.e. innovative activity focus in sectors with comparative advantages to strengthen the country's position in the international division of labor. [3, Healy A., p. 30].

A part of the Ministry of Enterprise and Innovation is the **Sweden's Innovation Agency (VINNOVA)**. Its goal is to provide Swedish leadership in research and innovation attractive to businesses. The Agency facilitates collaboration between companies, universities, research institutes

⁵ The Swedish Innovation Strategy 2020. URL: <https://www.government.se/contentassets/the-swedish-innovation-strategy> (Accessed: 26 September 2018).

and the public sector, incl. international level. The government provided the Agency with authority to develop and implement innovative strategies and programs in ICT, biotechnology, transport, development of new products, materials and areas of work. VINNOVA is a leading actor in Sweden's industrial policy. It finances the regional innovation and cooperation projects of universities and economic agents. VINNOVA supports innovative systems by participating in the R&D financing focused on the needs of competitive industries and spheres of public life, and the strengthening of networking as an element of this work. [10, Pchelintsev V.S., p. 120].

The Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth (NUTEK) is responsible for entrepreneurship, the economy of the regions and the support of local companies. The task of the Agency is to provide business with information, consulting and finances. The Agency also works to develop starting conditions for new enterprises and to support their entrance to the international tourism market. NUTEK participates in regional clusters as a scientific consultant and financial administrator.

County councils of Sweden work for the development of private sector enterprises. At the regional level, coordination councils are operating. They are responsible for regional development programs.

The Ministry of Education and Research of Sweden runs Research Council responsible for defining research areas for strategic investment, R&D analyzing and financing, and facilitating communication between researchers from various academic fields. The innovation activity is supported by the Agency for Economic and Regional Development. Since 1919, the Royal Academy of Engineering (IVA) has participated in innovation activity. The Swedish Research Council for Health, Working Life and Welfare (FORTE) promotes R&D in the field of labor management, health, and social services.

In Sweden, some state structures are aimed at the interaction of scientific institutions and industrial enterprises. Their purpose is to contribute the commercialization of R&D and support of small enterprises at research centers and universities: the Swedish Network for Support of Innovation & Technology Transfer (SNITTS), the Small and Medium Business Support Fund (Almi), the Strategic Research Foundation (SSF), the Health Research Foundation (Vårdal), the International Research Foundation for Educational Cooperation (STINT), Foundation for Strategic Environmental Research (MISTRA) [10, Pchelintsev V.S., p. 121].

Innovation policy practice in Sweden

Due to the innovation policy practice at the beginning of the 21st century, the Nordic countries occupy a high position in international rankings of global innovation and competitiveness. Every year, the Harvard University School of Business publishes the Innovation Capacity Index. In 2017, among 173 countries of the Index, Finland was the second after the United States, Sweden - 8th, Norway - 18th, Denmark - 19th, and Iceland - 20th. In 2017, Sweden was the second after Japan by the share of specialists with higher technical education in the total population. The Global

Innovation Index of the INSEAD, Cornell University and the World Intellectual Property Organization in 2013–2018: Sweden, Finland, and Denmark were in the top ten (Table 1, Fig. 2).

Table 1

Russia and The Nordic states in the Global Innovation Index 2013-2017.⁶

Country	2013	2014	2016	2017
Denmark	9	8	8	8
Sweden	2	3	3	3
Finland	6	4	5	7
Iceland	13	19	13	23
Norway	16	14	22	19
Russia	62	49	43	46

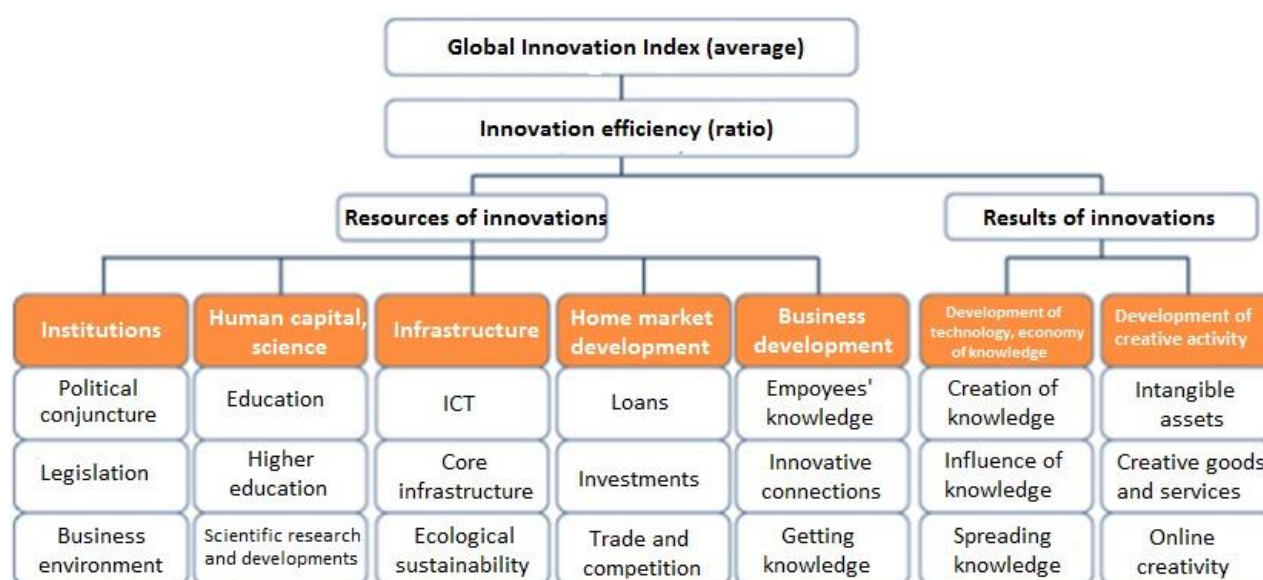


Fig. 2. Innovation Index structure, 2018.

North European countries demonstrate high rates in the EU Innovation Union Scoreboard and the World Economic Forum (WEF) global competitiveness rating, first published in 2004. The WEF rating considers the opinion of partners and experts, i.e., TNCs and public institutions that assess the situation in 160 countries on 120 indicators. The data set is divided into 12 groups: **primary factors** (public institutions, infrastructure, macroeconomic stability, health care, and primary education), **factors that increase the efficiency** (higher education, the effectiveness of goods and service markets, labor market efficiency, financial market development, technology development, and market size), and **innovation factors** (level of business development and innovation). No single factor can ensure the competitiveness of the state in the rating. Thus, the effect of an increase in spending on education may be reduced due to the low efficiency of the labor market and the lack of opportunities for graduates to be employed. The most competitive will be a state or states able to pursue a policy that considers the maximum number of factors and the connection between them. Leading countries in the ranking are not among the world leaders regarding GDP and income per capita, which indicates the importance of quality indicators in assessing competitive-

⁶ Global Innovation Index. INSEAD, Cornell University, World Intellectual Property Organization. 2013, 2014, 2016, 2018. URL: <https://www.globalinnovationindex.org> (Accessed: 26 September 2018).

ness. Since 2000, Finland, Sweden and Denmark (until 2011–2012) were among the top ten countries with the most (Table. 2)⁷.

Table 2

Position of countries in the Global Competitiveness Index, World Economic Forum, 2008-2017.

Country	Position in the rating								
	2008–2009	2009–2010	2010–2011	2011–2012	2012–2013	2013–2014	2014–2015	2015–2016	2016–2017
Switzerland	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
USA	1	2	4	5	7	5	3	3	3
Singapore	5	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2
Finland	6	6	7	4	3	3	4	8	10
Sweden	4	4	2	3	4	6	10	9	6
Iceland	20	26	31	30	30	31	30	29	27
Denmark	3	5	9	8	12	15	13	12	12
Norway	15	14	14	16	15	11	11	11	11
Russia	51	63	63	66	67	64	53	45	43

The analysis of ratings proves the scientifically discussed issue of “Swedish paradox” [11, Edquist C., McKelvey M., p. 134]: Sweden occupies a leading position among European countries regarding R&D investments (ratio to GDP), but it has a low share of high technologies in production, i.e., demonstrates low liquidity of investments. It worsens the innovative potential of the country. Although, according to Detter G.F., the commercialization of research results is one of the main activities for Swedish corporations [12, Detter G.F., p. 28]. The Swedish innovation system devotes considerable attention to fundamental research compare to applied research and develops innovative activity in TNCs, but it has been unable to achieve significant results in supporting small and medium-sized business, especially at the stage of their startup. On the other hand, statistics show that over the past ten years, the corporate sector accounts for the largest share in the R&D financing: from 69 to 75%. The second largest segment is education. In 2015, its stock was about 27% of total expenditures. Cf.: in Norway, 46% of R&D expenditures are from the public sector and 43% — entrepreneurial one.⁸

Using statistical data, we can present the positions of the North European countries in the EU ranking of the share of innovative goods, activities and services in the total volume of products shipped, activities and services (Table 3).

Table 3

The share of innovative goods, activities, services in the total volume of goods shipped, activities and services in the countries of Northern Europe and Russia, 2005–2015, %

Country	2005	2007	2009	2011	2013	2015
Denmark	11.0	7.8	11.4	15.0	13.9	7.0
Iceland	12.7	-	11.9	6.1	-	-
Norway	7.2	4.8	4.6	6.1	5.2	6.2
Finland	14.9	15.7	15.6	15.3	11.1	9.3
Sweden	13.4	15.0	9.2	8.4	6.1	6.9
Russia	5.2	4.6	4.5	6.3	9.2	8.4

⁷ The Global Competitiveness Report 2017–2018. URL: <https://www.weforum.org> (Accessed: 26 September 2018).

⁸ The Nordic Institute for Studies in Innovation, Research and Education (NIFU). URL: <http://www.foustatistikbanken.no/> (Accessed: 26 September 2018).

Table 3: it follows that for a long time, the economy of Sweden and neighboring Finland has been characterized by a higher share of innovative goods and services in the total production of products and services, in contrast with other countries of Northern Europe and especially with the Russian Federation⁹.

The European Commission review *The European Commission. Eco-Innovation Observatory* provides data on the Eco-Innovation Index. Eco-innovations bring new or improved products, services and technologies that reduce the use of natural resources, pollutants or noise, they help to reuse production and consumption waste, and provide additional economic, social and environmental benefits. Among 28 countries (as of 2015), Denmark, Finland, and Sweden occupy the 1st, 2nd and 5th places respectively. Table 4 represents the proportion of institutions engaged in environmental innovation among the total number of organizations that used innovations in 2013–2015 in the countries of Northern Europe and Russia¹⁰.

Table 4

The share of organizations engaged in environmental innovation in the total number of organizations that had ready-made innovations in the past three years, by type of innovation in the Nordic countries and Russia in 2013–2015, %

Country	Improving environmental safety in the production of goods, works, services					Improving environmental safety as a result of consumer use of innovative products, works, services		
	Reducing material costs per unit of production	Reducing carbon dioxide emissions into the atmosphere and energy costs for the production of a unit of production	Replacing raw materials for safe or dangerous	Reduction of environmental pollution (atmospheric air, land water resources, noise reduction)	Recycling of industrial waste, water and materials	Reducing energy consumption or loss of energy resources	Reduction of environmental pollution (atmospheric air, land water resources, reduction of noise level)	Improving the possibility of secondary processing of goods
Denmark	13.4	12.2	8.3	8.5	4.6	11.5	7.1	16.2
Iceland	24.7	22.2	18.4	15.0	16.3	16.1	20.9	24.1
Norway	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Finland	36.9	29.1	23.5	25.7	23.9	25.8	20.6	37.7
Sweden	28.9	18.2	22.9	23.5	15.7	23.0	22.0	28.6
Russia	6.4	13.9	5.7	11.2	6.5	7.5	8.7	3.6

The data in Table 5 demonstrate that about half of enterprises in Northern Europe (more than 50% in Iceland in 2015) carry out technological innovations, while Sweden was not a regional leader in 2015, but its rating is higher than Russian more than 5 times¹¹.

⁹ *Indikatory innovacionnoj deyatel'nosti: 2017: statisticheskij sbornik* [Indexes of innovative activities: 2017: statistic collection]/eds. N.V. Gorodovnikova, L.M. Gohberg, K.A. Ditkovskij et al.; Nac. issled. un-t "Vysshaya shkola ehkonomiki". M. NIU VSHEH. 2017. 328 p.

¹⁰ Eurostat. Pokazateli Evropa [Data on Europe] 2020. Research and Development and Innovation, 2015.

¹¹ *Indikatory innovacionnoj deyatel'nosti: 2017: statisticheskij sbornik* [Indexes of innovative activities: 2017: statistic collection]/eds. N.V. Gorodovnikova, L.M. Gohberg, K.A. Ditkovskij et al.; Nac. issled. un-t "Vysshaya shkola ehkonomiki". M. NIU VSHEH. 2017. 328 p.

Table 5

The proportion of organizations implementing technological innovations in the total number of organizations of Northern Europe and Russia in 2013–2015.

Country	2013	2015
Denmark	38.1	38.0
Iceland	-	50.1
Norway	31.2	46.2
Finland	44.6	48.3
Sweden	45.2	44.3
Russia	8.9	8.3

The analysis of statistical data shows that in 2013–2015, the intensity of costs (the proportion of technological innovation costs in the total volume of goods, activities, and services) in Northern Europe and Russia for technological innovations changed under the influence of external and internal socio-economic and political reasons. In Sweden, it shows steady growth. According to this indicator, the country is the EU leader in 2015 (Table 6)¹².

Table 6

The intensity of technological innovation costs in the Nordic countries and Russia in 2013–2015.

Country	2013	2015
Denmark	3.45	1.90
Iceland	-	-
Norway	0.90	1.59
Finland	2.93	2.30
Sweden	2.98	3.86
Russia	2.90	2.66

Currently, about 3.4% of GDP goes for R&D in Sweden. R&D occurs in all sectors and all regions of Sweden but with a different degree (Fig.3).

¹² Ibid

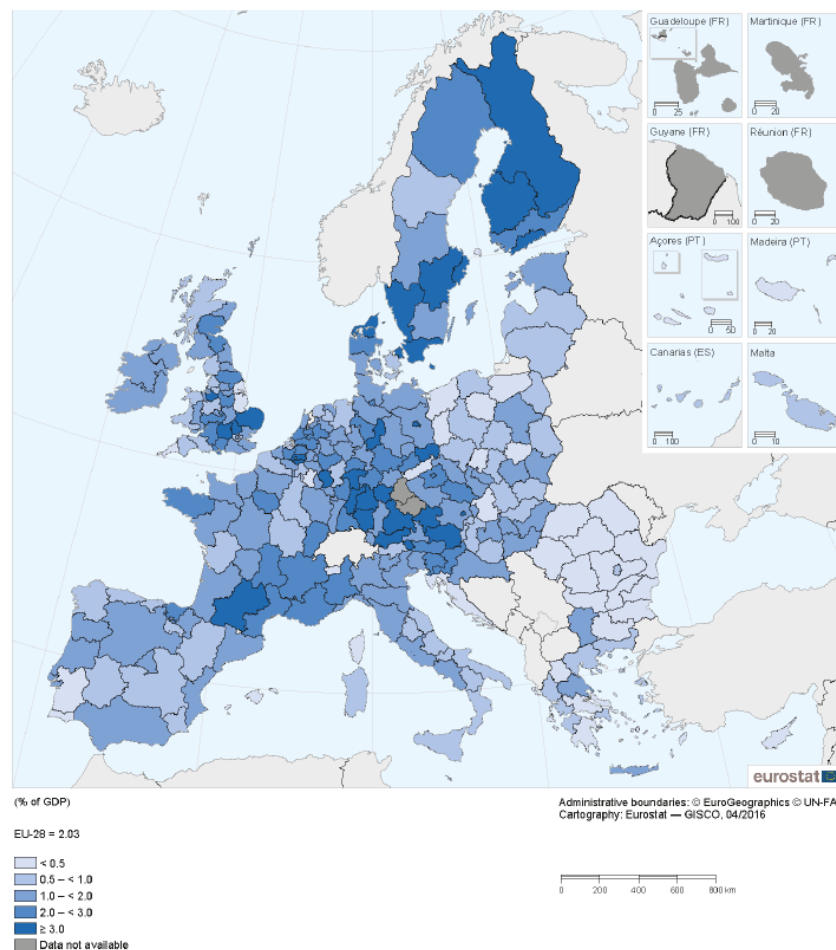


Fig. 3. R&D costs in Europe, 2017

The Swedish innovation strategy focus is research in an academic (university) context. Its aim is transforming research results into innovations and transferring them to the regional level. At the same time, the amount of research carried out with state support in Swedish technological institutes is smaller than in other Scandinavian countries — the state finances higher education and the research sector, which mainly consists of state universities and colleges. Its value is 20% of all R&D in the country. In Sweden, 36 universities and colleges offer higher education. Governmental R&D concentrates in major universities, e.g., the Karolinska Institute, Uppsala University, the University of Gothenburg, the Royal Institute of Technology, the University of Linköping, etc. [10, Pchelintsev V.S., p. 130].

Research funding is provided by universities, government agencies (councils), research foundations, private foundations, and other non-commercial organizations. A unique feature of the Swedish innovation development experience is the Innovation Bridge initiative - a national program for creating incubators that provide a technology transfer for start-ups of innovative companies that stimulate creative activities of small and medium-sized enterprises. This program uses the potential of universities in Linköping, Luleå, Lund, Stockholm, Umeå, etc.

The platform for cooperation between higher education and the community is regional development programs. They are built on public-private partnership and networks between actors of the sectors concerned (state, municipal authorities, universities, corporations, and small business).

In this regard, an interesting example is the participation of the Chalmers University of Technology in the development of the Gothenburg district. This district is in second place (after Stockholm) with the rank of European innovation areas according to the innovation rating of the European Commission [10, Pchelintsev V.S., p. 129]. Despite its modest size, the Chalmers University can strengthen its role in the local innovation system of Gothenburg through some structures and centers aimed at interaction with local companies. Such structures: the Chalmers Science Park, founded in 1984 in partnership with the municipality and the Regional Chamber of Commerce, and the Science Park Lindholmen, established in 1999, which is a business incubator aimed at creating innovative firms. Local businesses, incl. TNK Volvo and the University of Chalmers are partners of venture capital companies offering business support services at an early stage of development, incl. subsidies and training. The Chalmers University pays particular attention to economic and legal aspects affecting the innovation process. The university has a center for research of intellectual property rights and a school of entrepreneurship engaged in research programs aimed at developing business plans for high-tech companies. Gradually, the university has mastered all the tools necessary to manage each phase of the innovation process. It job consists of developing an idea, scientifically justifying it, protecting the rights to an invention, help in obtaining sources of funding for the initial non-competitive phases of productions, or, in partnership with other actors, the creation of new enterprises to develop a strategy for market sales. Many of these activities have become possible due to the status of the “foundation university,” which is permissible under national legislation. Transformation of the status allowed to increase the degree of autonomy of the University (while maintaining the public administration and financing) and to simplify administrative procedures. The letter had a positive impact on the development and investment policy practice (incl. infrastructure) [10, Pchelintsev V.S., p. 130].

Another example of a knowledge-based region is the Öresund region formed on the border of Denmark and Sweden after the construction of a bridge across the strait between the cities of Malmö and Helsingborg. The value of this point of economic growth, located at the intersection of Central, Northern, Eastern and Western Europe, is great. Here, dozens of universities exist. In the Danish Roskilde and Swedish Lund, thousands of researchers are concentrated. Due to the efforts of local governments, civil society, and business, Öresund is an economic region, a center for ICT, pharmaceuticals, and biotechnology. The Öresund region is of great importance in the context of “green” technologies (based on alternative wind energy), which enhances the image of the Nordic countries as the “cleanest” in the world, improves the environmental performance of local companies, and contributes to the sustainable development of the region and its immediate neighbors. Great importance has the creation and development of regional clusters. Financial support and the participation of the European Commission, Vinnväxt program in Sweden, helped the development of following clusters: Uppsala BIO (biotechnology), Robotdalen (automation and robotics), ProcessIT Innovations (automation of industrial production), GoteborgBIO (biomedicine), Triple Steelix (metallurgy), Fiber Optic Valley (fiber optics), Peak Innovation (sports and tourism), Printed Electronics

Arena (electronics), Skåne Food Innovation Network (food and packaging), Smart Textiles (light industry), Smart Housing Småland (housing and utilities, smart home)¹³. Among clusters is the ICT one located in the town of Kista and formed by the Royal Institute of Technology and the University of Stockholm. This cluster is considered as a prototype of Silicon Valley in the United States. Here are Swedish and foreign TNCs and their branches (SonyEricsson (telecommunications), Tele2 AV (telecommunications), Tieto (IT– service, Finland), IBM (the US), Microsoft (the US), Intel (the US), and Oracle (the US)).

Research policy of Sweden

Swedish innovation strategy is related to R&D activities carried out at universities. **Ministry of Education and Research, Research Council, Council for Scientific Research** (funds basic research in the natural sciences, technology, medicine, humanities and social sciences), **Council for Scientific Research in Environment, Agriculture, Forestry and Spatial Planning** (defines research mathematics and funding for environmental, industrial and spatial planning research), **the Council for Labor Relations Research and Social Security** (supports research of the labor market, activities of organizations in healthcare and welfare), **the International Cooperation Agency** (SIDA, provides international cooperation in research) – the state institutions responsible for the research policy in Sweden

The competence of the Research Council is to determine the priorities of research, administer funds, advise government and corporations on scientific policy issues, ensure interaction between scientists, and promote cooperation at the national and international levels. The scope of support is wide: from perfecting the research infrastructure at the national level to supporting research in specific fields of knowledge.

The national research strategy identifies the priority areas of knowledge for optimizing research activities: the development of society, ICT, medical technology, biodiversity, welfare of the population: its work, lifestyle and health.

The strategy secures:

- development of a new funding system that stimulates the improvement of qualitative indicators of research programs and allows universities to implement long-term research and development strategies, creating optimal working conditions for researchers;
- creation of requirements for the innovations in higher education and the increase in the autonomy of universities;
- promotion of the quality of applied research activities of universities;
- development of international cooperation, incl. academic mobility, especially in the EU;
- consolidation of corporate, public and university resources to cooperate between them and increase competitiveness. Cooperation programs should have clear objectives, based on attracting international partners and the efficient use of existing infrastructure.

¹³ VINNVÄXT. A programme renewing and moving Sweden ahead. URL: http://www.vin-nova.se/upload/14_04.pdf (Accessed: 26 September 2018).

The Arctic strategy and the scientific and educational policy in Sweden

In Sweden, in the first half of the 21st century, an essential block of research policy is associated with the Arctic region. Despite the fact that Sweden has no direct access to the Arctic Ocean, in contrast to Denmark and Norway, it does not have technologies for offshore and especially sub-oil production of oil and natural gas (but Sweden is always ready to participate in Arctic projects as a subcontractor), the country is a member of the Arctic Council and other regional institutions together with other states. Also, Sweden is dealing with the challenges in a changing Arctic region, the most important of which are climate change and globalization. Therefore, the desire of the Swedish government to influence policy in the Arctic region seems to be justified. In 2011, Sweden developed the Arctic Strategy to present national interests in the Arctic¹⁴. In this document, the Swedish government declares goals that all Arctic states share: development of research in sustainable development, “clean production” and alternative energy, studying and predicting climate change, its impact on the Arctic Ocean and the coast, indigenous people. When working in these areas, the potential of the UN, UNESCO, the Arctic Council, BEAC, the EU's Northern Dimension program are important. The Strategy substantiates the need to bridge the gaps in the knowledge of the features of the Arctic natural systems, expand expeditionary activities, strengthen the transfer of experience and technology, network cooperation and academic mobility (University of the Arctic), create a regional information center for environmental monitoring. In the conditions of depletion of mineral reserves on a global scale, the accents in different strategies for the development of the polar territories have changed. So, if the concept of conservation of the Arctic environment was proclaimed 15–20 years ago, in modern strategies, incl the Swedish one, the emphasis is on rational use of natural resources with international participation. An environment is being created for the innovation activities of corporate subcontractors of corporations on the Arctic shelf, and marine (aqua-territorial) clusters are developing. An important task is to transform the experience of developing the shelf during the development of deeper water areas.

Particular attention is drawn to the “ecosystem management” based on the principles of biodiversity conservation, considering the values of indigenous cultures, ecologically balanced, safe, consistent with the norms of international law, and the use of shelf energy resources. The authors of foreign strategies are aware of the fact that preservation of the Arctic environment is possible in partnership with state authorities, local governments, corporate, non-profit and other structures of civil society [13, Pilyasov A.N., p. 14–15].

Thus, the main provisions of the Swedish strategy in the Arctic are concentrated in three directions: observation of climate change and environmental protection, sustainable economic activities, improvement of the living conditions of the indigenous population.¹⁵ [14, Antyushina N.M., p. 212]. The program of the Swedish chairmanship of the Arctic Council in 2011–2013 was

¹⁴ Sweden's Strategy for the Arctic region /Government Offices of Sweden. Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Department for Eastern Europe and Central Asia. Arctic Secretariat, Stockholm, Sweden. 2011. 52 p.

¹⁵ Ibid.

built around similar priorities: climate and environment, economic development, human dimension, and international cooperation.

Roadmaps for research activities in the Arctic region have been developed to address the priorities in Sweden. The most important of them is the Swedish National Polar Research Program 2014 and its later variants and the Priority Projects of the Swedish Arctic and Antarctic Research Programs. These documents do not contain specific goals, objectives, priorities, mechanisms for science policy. They occupy a prominent place in research in the natural sciences: studying the biogeochemical parameters of the Arctic Ocean (heavy metals), studying polar ecosystems, climate change trends, glaciers, the morphology of the underwater landscapes of the Arctic Ocean, and monitoring environmental pollution.

The state body responsible for coordinating research activities in the polar areas is the **Swedish Polar Research Secretariat**, which operates under the Ministry of Education and Research. The Secretariat organizes scientific forums on the development of the Arctic, supports research expeditions, manages research infrastructure (satellite information, data obtained from the icebreaker Oden and the station on Svalbard). Together with the research council, the Secretariat provides logistic support competitions (field work) for polar studies (Operational Support for Polar Research).

Even though the research policy of Sweden in the Arctic was formulated recently, the Kingdom achieved success in this direction. Sweden is one of the leaders in polar research due to the articulated priority areas, the presence of a coordinating body and financial support programs. It should be noted that the approaches and results of Arctic studies are used in determining geopolitical aspirations and the innovative technological policy of Sweden. It provides breakthrough solutions for fast financial and organizational support, which leads to progress in research and use of its results in production.

The scientific and educational potential of the Arctic areas of Sweden

In the Arctic, we observe rapid and irreversible transformations. A complete understanding of their prerequisites and consequences have not yet existed. An example of systemic changes is a climate change, which entails a maximum decrease in seasonal sea ice minimums for the past 40 years, an improvement in the conditions for exploration and mining, and the use of transport. The challenges of the Arctic development encouraged Sweden to create research infrastructure in the Extreme North areas, located at the Arctic Circle in the Västerbotten and Norrbotten counties. Both territories have educational and research potential due to the presence of higher scientific and educational institutions and colleges participating in international educational cooperation.

The Umeå University stands out among the universities in Västerbotten. It was opened in 1965 and is a town-forming one: a significant part of the population in Umeå are teachers and students of the university. The university has the faculties of arts, social sciences, science and technology, and a medical faculty. The university has a design institute, a technological institute, an architec-

ture school, a school of business and economics, a pedagogical college, an academy of arts, a school of sports, and a school of the restaurant and culinary arts. Since 2012, the ARCUM (The Arctic Research Center) has been functioning. It unites about 200 researchers. In 2017 over 30 thousand students studied at the university and more than 2000 teachers worked. The University of Umeå concluded about 900 agreements on the international exchange of students and teachers and developed 37 programs in a foreign language.

In Norrbotten, in 1971, the Luleå University of Technology was founded. It got the following institutions: economics, technology, and society, health, arts, communications and education, social and natural resources, computer science and space, engineering and mathematics. The university has about 15,000 students and employs about 1,700 people. The university cooperates closely with companies in the field of mining, metalworking, and nature conservation (e.g., Bosch, Ericsson, Scania, LKAB, and SKF), and leading Swedish and foreign universities. The main areas of research are mining, alternative energy, transport in the North, computer technology, and the environment.

Some more educational and research institutions of Norrbotten:

- Abisko Research Station (founded in 1912); it studies climate change in the High North. The station has repeatedly been the venue for field summer and winter schools for young teachers and employees of four leading universities in the Barents Euro-Arctic Region: UiT, Oulu, Umeå, and NARFU;
- Sami educational center (founded in 1942); It specializes in Sami language and culture studies;
- Svefi Folk School in Haparanda on the Swedish-Finnish border (established in 1973) works for studies related to the culture and art of Northern Europe.

International science and education cooperation in the Arctic region

The fundamental policy principles of international cooperation in science and education in the Arctic region are laid down in the Arctic strategy of Sweden¹⁶. The document notes that research and educational initiatives are essential to the sustainable development of the Arctic. The priority directions of the strategy include the tasks directly related to the international scientific and educational cooperation in the region: the development of knowledge and activities on adaptation and reducing the effects of climate change; improvement and interaction between research resources in the area in favor of the sustainable management and development of the region.

It identifies the need of Sweden for specialists in the mining and sustainable management of natural resources in the North, incl. the attraction of international cooperation resources. The starting points are the network programs of the magistracy "Engineering for Natural Resources" and "Northern Mining School," developed jointly with the University of Oulu and the University of Luleå and suggested the exchange of students and teachers.

A useful tool for the implementation of the Swedish Arctic strategy is the Network University of the Arctic - an international network of educational and research institutions (altogether it

¹⁶ Sweden's Strategy for the Arctic region /Government Offices of Sweden. Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Department for Eastern Europe and Central Asia. Arctic Secretariat, Stockholm, Sweden. 2011. 52 p.

includes more than 200 organizations from 8 Arctic and 11 other states with more than 1 million students), carrying out research and educational activities in the North. The primary objective of the consortium is the production of knowledge and the development of scientific potential for ensuring the sustainable development of the circumpolar region and favorable conditions for the people of the North. The interaction of scientists and students takes place in the framework of expert thematic networks in various fields of science and technology (a total of 33, incl. environmental, energy, geopolitics, management of the northern territories, commercialization of scientific research in the North). Swedish universities and scientific organizations take part in 12 thematic networks. Students and teachers of universities — members of the consortium receive financial support for training, internships, exchanges, participation in field schools and other forms of mobility (e.g., in the framework of the North2North academic mobility program).

The consortium participants provide analytical and expert support to the work of the Arctic Council Working Groups. In particular, this is studies for the monitoring and assessment programs in the Arctic, and support for the International Arctic Scientific Committee on the priority areas for the Arctic research. The Swedish Polar Research Secretariat is working to promote international cooperation, being involved in negotiations along with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The Swedish Research Council finances sizeable international research projects in the Arctic through, e.g., European Incoherent Scatter Scientific Association in Kiruna, the center of the mining industry in Sweden and Northern Europe, located beyond the Arctic Circle. The Foundation for International Cooperation in the Field of Science and Higher Education (STINT) is the state fund for the support of internationalization at Swedish universities. STINT funds are allocated for short-term (up to 12 months) projects aimed at international cooperation of Swedish universities with organizations outside of Europe.

The Swedish Institute (Svenska Institutet, SI) is a governmental department, and its goal is to promote Swedish culture, education, and promote international development. The institute administers several scholarship programs that allow foreign students and researchers to visit Swedish universities for study or research. The Swedish Institute provides scholarships at the University of the Arctic and Swedish universities for Russian students.

Sweden, like other Scandinavian countries, is a part of international cooperation in the Arctic research. A scientific school of polar research, infrastructure, financial support for national and intergovernmental research programs, academic mobility and development of education allows the Kingdom to build effective interaction with many countries active in the Arctic. Sweden is one of the founders of the Arctic Council (founded in 1996 on the initiative of Finland) - a ministerial forum on sustainable development of the Arctic. The Council is an example of international scientific cooperation in the region: working and task groups collaborate with the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, the UN, the EU and others on assessment reports and case studies of socio-economic development in the region. In the Arctic strategy, Sweden stands for the institutional and political strengthening of the Arctic Council through the inclusion of security issues, infrastructure devel-

opment, and socio-economic development in the focus of the Council. Also, Sweden supports the idea of more active involvement of non-regional countries in the Arctic Council activities, primarily Asian countries: China, India, Singapore, and the Republic of Korea. Pan-arctic legally binding documents developed with the participation of Sweden are of great importance: the Agreement on Cooperation in Aviation and Marine Search and Rescue in the Arctic (Greenland, Nuuk, 2011) and the Agreement on Cooperation on Marine Oil Pollution Preparedness and Response in the Arctic (the 8th ministerial session in Kiruna, 2013). The Secretariat of the Arctic Council's Working Group on Arctic Pollution Management (Arctic contaminants Action program, ACAP)¹⁷ is in Sweden.

Sweden is one of the founders of **the BEAC** (founded in 1993 on the initiative of Norway) — a regional association aimed at promotion of the sustainable development of the North Europe, bilateral and multilateral cooperation in economy, transport, infrastructure, trade, environment, science, education, cultural exchange, and tourism, and projects that contribute the improvement of the indigenous people's life and culture. In 2017–2019, Sweden was the chairman of the BEAC. The priorities of the chairmanship are in the program Regional Sustainable Development for the Future based on the UN Agenda 2030 sustainable development goals SDG 13 (Climate Change) and SDG 15 (Life on land) and provisions of the Paris Climate Agreement. In the environmental protection, the objectives of the program include eliminating “hot spots” of the environmental pollution in the Far North of Europe, developing network strategies for cooperation in climate change, preserving biodiversity and ecosystems through knowledge sharing and transboundary cooperation, sustainable forest management and cooperation in border water management. In economic development, the program prioritizes the development of innovations, “green technologies,” infrastructure and logistics for border cooperation, integration between universities, academic institutions and business in the Barents region. Work in these areas should be done by the UN Sustainable Development Goals: SDG 9 (Industry, Innovation, and Infrastructure), SDG 11 (Sustainable Cities and Communities) and SDG 12 (Responsible Production and Consumption).

The priorities are defined in the field of prevention and emergency response. Sweden is to adopt joint regional rescue drills for Barents rescue exercise in 2019 and to continue to work according to the Joint Regional Transport Plan and the development of sustainable tourism in the region. The priorities of the social policy are youth, culture, health, education, science, development of mobility and academic exchange, and indigenous representation. The social policy reflects the objectives of the UN Agenda: SDG 3 (Health and Well-being), SDG 4 (Gender Equality) and SDG7 (Partnerships). In 2013, the Barents Program 2014–2018 was approved in Kirkenes. The following cooperation priorities were fixed:

- supporting the development of entrepreneurship;
- expansion of cross-border cooperation, development of transport infrastructure and mobility;
- implementation of the Action Plan for the Prevention of Negative Impacts of Climate Change;

¹⁷ About ACAP. URL: <https://www.arctic-council.org/index.php/en/acap-home> (Accessed: 26 September 2018).

- support co-management and conservation of natural resources;
- cooperation in culture.

Sweden is one of the founders of **the Nordic Council of Ministers** (established in 1971, NCM), established to coordinate collaboration between the Nordic countries. A practical embodiment of the participation of Sweden in the work of the NCM is seen in the organization of Nordforsk, whose goal is the financing and development of scientific cooperation between the Nordic countries. The NCM implements programs aimed at strengthening scientific cooperation on Arctic issues. The aim of the Arctic Cooperation Program (The Nordic Council of Ministers' Arctic Cooperation Programme)¹⁸ is support for the sustainable development of the region in priority areas: peoples, sustainable economic development, the environment, nature and climate, education and advanced competences. Nordforsk also funds the Nordic cooperation program with Russia (the Nordic-Russian Cooperation Programme)¹⁹, aimed at supporting academic mobility, network cooperation, and joint educational programs (courses). The Nordic cooperation supports educational activities (projects, and academic mobility) through the Nordplus program.

Following the Arctic Strategy and the EU policy, Sweden supports the EU in the Arctic cooperation projects through **the Northern Dimension** policy. The Swedish Council for Higher Education is the national center for European programs EURAXESS and Erasmus +, supporting mobility in education, youth and sports. The University of Malmö and the University of Lund are members of the Northern Dimension Institute, which is network university and research institute that brings together experts in the Northern Dimension priority programs (partnerships): energy, health, logistics, culture, and higher education.

Conclusion

The Nordic countries stand out for the development and use of innovative technologies in all sectors of the economy and non-production sphere. They occupy leading positions in global rankings of innovation and competitiveness. Development models of the North European states are dominated by the rule of law, sustainable development, openness, stability, equality, collective responsibility, and active social movements. An essential prerequisite for the transition to an innovative type of development has become a change in the state economic policy. In the early 1990s, it was reflected by the decline in the share of primary industries in GDP, in the sphere of international specialization, in the transition to the provision of services based on high technologies and informatization. A qualitative difference between the North European states and Russia was relevant that time. The Arctic innovation policy in the Russian Federation, with rare exceptions, was developed in similar

¹⁸ Sovet ministrov severnyh stran [The Nordic Council of Ministers]. URL: <http://www.norden.org/en/nordic-council-of-ministers/ministers-for-co-operation-mr-sam/the-arctic/the-nordic-council-of-ministers-arctic-co-operation-programme-2015-2017> (Accessed: 26 September 2018). [In Russian]

¹⁹ Sotrudnichestvo severnyh stran i Rossii. [The Nordic-Russian cooperation]. URL: <http://siu.no/eng/Programme-information/Nordic-Russian-cooperation> (Accessed: 26 September 2018). [In Russian]

geographic conditions, but it demonstrates a lag in the ratings of innovation activity [15, Zaikov K.S., Kalinina M.R., Kondratov N.A., Tamickiy A.M., p. 60].

Over the past 50 years, the state in collaboration with private companies in Sweden has created a system of R&D support and innovation. It contributed to a high level of socio-economic and environmental development of the country and North Europe. The strategy of innovation development and the choice of institutions for its implementation depend on labor resources, government regulation measures, geographical location, world markets of goods and services and Sweden's positions there. The success of the innovation policy is seen in active connection with the real sector of the economy. Also, it directly dependent on the R&D carried out by companies, clusters (incl. those with international participation) and universities. Transferring the Swedish innovation experience to Russia cannot be resolved unequivocally.

On the one hand, it is essential to consider similar geographical and climatic conditions, resource potential, population, sectoral and territorial economic systems of the northern areas of Europe and Russia. On the other hand, the mechanical transfer of the most progressive foreign experience is ineffective. Intensive cooperation of Russian and the North European countries contributed to the rational use of natural resources, expanding and modernizing the infrastructure, intensifying industrial and investment cooperation, and acquiring new competencies. It seems to be more beneficial for the economy of our country to get foreign trade expansion in the domestic market of the Russian Federation. Under creating macroeconomic prerequisites (incl., strengthening investment processes, preventing capital flight abroad, simplification of administrative issues), this will help support the economic development of our state.

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The preconditions for the formation of mineral and raw materials centers in the support zones of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation*

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Abstract. The new version of the state program “Social and economic development of the Arctic zone” and the draft law “On the Development of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation” have designated support zones as the main instrument for the development of the Arctic. Their main task, according to the specified documents, is the development of mineral and raw materials centers (MRCs) in the Arctic zone of Russia, attraction of investments, development of the Northern Sea Route and development of energy infrastructure. Therefore, the selection of promising mineral and raw materials centers in the support zones in the Russian Arctic is an urgent task. By actualization of information on the resource potential of the Arctic zone of Russia, it is possible to form a list of prospective MRCs, the development and support of which should be in the priority focus of public policy in this region. Equally important is the analysis of key risks such as financial, construction and geological risks that arise when creating and developing mineral resource centers and have a significant impact on the profitability of such projects. The paper suggests some indicators that assess the macroeconomic, social, geopolitical and innovative effects that arise in the development of MRCs and which should be used for evaluating the social and economic impacts of MRC projects in support areas. Also, it is necessary to take into account the social and economic importance of MRC projects and the impact of their results on the life of the population. As the primary approach in the selection and creation of mineral resource centers, the authors propose the use of the cluster approach. Such clusters will act as pivots in the spatial organization of the regional economy and will achieve the maximum multiplicative effect. In conclusion, based on the analysis, the authors formulated the main principles for the implementation of MRC projects, which include: the formation of a single geological exploration program, the joint development of nearby deposits, and the formation of complex socio-economic effects for the exploration areas.

Keywords: *mineral resource center, the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation, support zone, cluster, evaluation of social and economic impacts of MRCs, multiplicative effect.*

Introduction

At present, the Arctic region is becoming an important direction for the development of the Russian fuel and energy complex. Among the main strategic priorities are the integrated use of the mineral potential and the development of transport infrastructure in the Arctic. The development of the Arctic resources is accompanied by harsh climatic conditions, seasonality of work, a

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low degree of geological study, the need for continuous monitoring of weather conditions and the state of oil platforms exposed to wave loads, icing, collisions with icebergs and the effects of pack ice, the complex process of towing and installation of the platform (for offshore oil and gas fields), a limited number of personnel at the fields. It should also be noted that for the development of Arctic deposits it is required to make substantial capital investments, use unique technologies that are often not tested in world practice, consider the risks that the government should share with investors. In this regard, it can be assumed that the development of the Arctic is a task that requires a point approach in the state strategy of the development of the Arctic territories in conditions of significant investment and high geological, economic, environmental risks. That is why it is relevant to highlight the most promising mineral resource centers (MRC), which can act as drivers of growth in the Arctic economy and which will primarily important for the state.

Mineral resources centers — the ground for support zones for development in the Arctic

In accordance with the changes made to the state program “Socio-economic development of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2020 and beyond”¹ approved in 2014, the development of the Arctic is planned through a system of “support zones” – integrated projects for the development of the Arctic territories are going to be completed with the mechanisms of public-private partnership².

Currently, it is planned to form 8 support zones or territorial multi-projects. Mineral resource centers are seen as an effective tool for program-targeted planning proposed in the “Strategy for the development of the geological industry until 2030”³, approved in 2010. According to this document, the MRC should be based on deposits that are at different stages of development. They could be interconnected by a common infrastructure system, incl a common shipping point for the extracted raw materials.

The introduction of such an approach implies full use of project management since the MRC is a multi-project that forms the commodity-oriented flow of goods. From a regional perspective, spatial planning and the formation of the MSC will allow solving a range of tasks related not only to the development of the resource base and the achievement of high-efficiency indicators of its development but also tasks aimed at the integrated socio-economic development of the regions. Up-

¹ Postanovlenie Pravitelstva Rossiyskoy Federatsii “O vnesenii izmeneniy v postanovlenie Pravitelstva Rossiyskoy Federatsii ot 21 aprelya 2014 g. № 366” ot 31 avgusta 2017 g. № 1064 [Resolution of the Government of the Russian Federation “On amendments to the resolution of the Government of the Russian Federation dated April 21, 2014 № 366” dated August 31, 2017 № 1064] URL: <http://static.government.ru/media/files/GGu3GTtv8bvV8gZxSEAS1R7XmzloK6ar.pdf> (Accessed: 13 March 2018). [In Russian]

² Grigoriev M.N. Mineral'no-syr'evye tsentry kak drayvery ekonomicheskogo razvitiya Arkticheskoy zony [Mineral resource centers as drivers of economic development of the Arctic zone]. URL: <http://pro-arctic.ru/29/03/2017/resources/25915> (Accessed: 13 March 2018). [In Russian]

³ Strategiya razvitiya geologicheskoy otrasli do 2030 goda. Utverzhdena rasporyazheniem Pravitelstva RF ot 21.06.2010 №1069-r [Strategy of development of geological branch till 2030. Approved by the decree of the RF Government from 21.06.2010 №1069-R]. URL: <http://www.mnr.gov.ru/regulatory/list.php?part=1323> (Accessed: 13 March 2018). [In Russian]

dating information on the development of the mineral resource base allows us to confirm that Russia has a significant hydrocarbon resource potential in the Arctic, which can serve as the most significant driver of growth and development of the country's fuel and energy complex [1, Telegin E.A., p. 40; 2, Dodin D.A., Kaminsky V.D. et al., p. 3]. At the same time, marine hydrocarbon projects are usually profitable due to high capital intensity and unfavorable economic and geographical location of many fields and promising areas [3, Dudin M., p. 2297].

In general, for the subsequent evaluation of the most promising MRC development projects, the following risks of such projects should be highlighted: critical, significant and moderate.

Critical risks include:

- financial risk (the cost of the project and its re-engineering);
- construction risk (permafrost conditions, delayed deliveries);
- geological risk (non-compliance with the stated reserves, confirmability of the reserves).

Significant risks include:

- managerial risk (project uniqueness, lack of highly qualified specialists to work effectively under challenging conditions of development);
- environmental risk (difficulties in neutralizing problems associated with, for example, oil spill response);
- marketing risk (price changes in global energy markets, a drop-in demand due to increased extraction of unconventional minerals, such as shale oil and gas);
- political risk (refusal of state support in the implementation of the project, international technological and economic sanctions).

Moderate risks include:

- natural risk (climatic force majeure);
- legal risk (change of legislation, cancellation of tax benefits).

Limited financial resources of mining companies make it difficult to determine the directions of investment of funds. Modern methodologies for evaluating investment projects recommend selecting the Arctic MRC projects considering commercial, budgetary and public efficiency. It is necessary to note a vital principle of the Arctic MRC projects — the impossibility of their implementation and evaluation with a focus on real commercial efficiency only [4, Carayannis, E.G., Cherepovitsyn A.E., Ilinova A.A.]. As part of the MSC development projects, it is necessary to synchronize all development works with solving socio-economic problems of the territories, affected by development, to ensure the long-term sustainable operation of the territory's economy [5, Smirnova, O.O., Lipina S.A., et al., p. 148]. Thus, in addition to the leading indicators for evaluating large-scale integrated investment MRC projects that reflect the final results through the modeling and calculation of cash flows, it is necessary to consider additional indicators that evaluate socio-economic efficiency and are often targeted indicators for development under the target planning (table 1).

Table 1

Types of effect and indicators of their evaluation that may occur during the MRC development projects

No	Effects	Indicator
1	Macroeconomic effect	Cash inflows to the federal and local budgets because of new projects for the development of the Arctic natural resources, the creation of regional infrastructure, labor productivity growth, the growth of macroeconomic indicators of the development of Arctic territories: share in GNP, etc.
2	Social effect	Improving the quality of life of the local population, preserving the lifestyle of indigenous people, reducing the migration flow from the Arctic settlements, increasing the number of jobs in the areas with mineral deposits development.
3	Geopolitics effect	Increase the share of the Arctic minerals of the Russian Federation in world markets, maintaining the status of a reliable supplier of raw materials, strengthening positions in world markets, incl via the export of unique technological solutions for the development of raw materials in the Arctic.
4	Innovation effect	Increase the technical and technological levels of MRC companies, and home products of oil and gas and mining machinery, meeting the harsh conditions of the Arctic, creating fundamentally new technologies and technical means, incl. intellectual technologies, enhancing the research and development activities of Russian MRC companies, increasing the scientific and educational level of specialists.

Also, it is advisable to use indicators of social efficiency of investment projects and the following groups of indicators:

1. The degree of socio-economic orientation of the project.

- The regional significance of the project — compliance of the project results with the socio-economic development strategy of the region;
- Provision of the area with services — the current degree of regulation of the area with the services provided by the project;
- Sectoral affiliation of the project — an industry that is influenced by the results of the project;
- Coverage of the project results.

2. The degree of influence of the results of the investment project on the life of the population.

- Prices for services — the difference in prices for services provided by the project, in comparison with local prices;
- Employment rate — growth in the number of jobs because of the project to the number of employees in the area;
- Increase in the volume of services — the nature of the services provided in the region, according to the results of the project;
- Changes in the quality of services following the project implementation.

We believe that the decision on the MRC project should be made considering the comparison of various projects (project variants). At the same time, the efficiency indicators can vary greatly, and the investment decision based on absolute values becomes biased. In such a situation, it is necessary to define a single comprehensive efficiency indicator of alternative projects, expressing the advantage of a project with a specific value. An example of such an indicator could be

the integral indicator T_{opt}^4 . This indicator simultaneously considers key technical (coefficients due to oil, gas, condensate) and economic (net present value, discounted state income) project performance indicators. Using the SWOT-analysis based on open-press data [6, Kontorovich A.E., p. 46; 7, Zuykovsky N.I., p. 50; 8, Panichkin I.V.; 9, Lipina S.A., Zaikov K.S., Lipina A.V.], the authors assessed the potential of existing and prospective MRC development projects in the Arctic zone of Russia. The analysis showed that these projects are economically unprofitable without state support.

One of the strategic objectives of the state and companies-subsoil users within the framework of MRC development projects is the acquisition of new competencies and experience in the development of unique projects that require extraordinary technical solutions and further contribute to the transfer of knowledge and technology when implementing other projects in the Arctic, incl. international cooperation. In this regard, the target indicators of comprehensive MRC development projects should be indicators of innovation activity and innovative potential of both the companies and the projects themselves. For promising Arctic MRC development projects, the state and investor companies should:

- ensure the complexity of the project: the maximum possible development of raw materials facilities using a single infrastructure;
- analyze the effectiveness of investment projects, considering and excluding state support in the form of tax incentives and subsidies;
- ensure the interrelation of the project with related industries;
- maintain the sustainability of economic growth in the region;
- ensure safety: use innovative technologies that prevent accidents, human-made disasters;
- minimize the negative impact on the environment;
- ensure maximum project coverage of the local population.

It is possible to implement these provisions based on the cluster model.

Formation of competitiveness clusters around MRC projects of the support development zones in the Arctic

The cluster approach focuses on the microeconomic and social components of the development of the territory. The approach aim is to create incentives for the development of regional business and to enhance the competitiveness of the industry, raising living standards, increasing revenues to budgets of various levels and other positive effects. Analyzing foreign experience of cluster formation [10, Gakashev M.M., p. 86; 11, Battalova A.A., Battalov A.M., p. 1; 12, Aleinikova I.S., Vorobev P.V. et al., p. 119], it can be assumed that in the present conditions the Japanese model is the most preferable for Russia, considering the presence of a leading company. As a rule, it is a giant company, which allows reducing costs at the expense of scale.

⁴ Rasporyazhenie Minprirody Rossii ot 18.05.2016 № 12-r "Ob utverzhdenii Vremennyh metodicheskikh rekomendacij po podgotovke tekhnicheskikh proektov razrabotki mestorozhdenij uglevodorodnogo syrja". [Order of the Ministry of Natural Resources of Russia, 05.18.2016 No. 12-p "On approval of the Interim methodological recommendations on the preparation of technical projects for the development of hydrocarbon deposits". URL: <http://www.consultant.ru/cons/cgi/online.cgi?req=doc&base=EXP&n=662717#0> (дата обращения: 11 October 2018). [In Russian]

At the same time, such a company should be innovatively active, i.e. have sufficient resources to develop and implement new technologies. In addition, the transformation of the territorial-industrial complexes created in the Soviet time into territorial industrial or innovation clusters seems promising. The main characteristics of innovative technological clusters for creating them at the MSC base include the following:

- Innovation clusters are focused on combining the scientific and production potentials of businesses and organizations to create a single product chain, including a high level of redistribution. Therefore, the creation of processing industries near mining enterprises is the most urgent task. Although in the Arctic, this approach will not always be economically justified.
- Industrial clusters are characterized by a profile orientation with a simple organizational structure based on a standard resource base, while in the innovation cluster the fundamental principle is the creation of a favorable innovation climate with a multi-vector interaction between its members.
- The innovation cluster should be the main driving force of a wide range of industries in the region of presence.
- Horizontal links within the innovation cluster contribute to the rapid spread of technological, organizational and other innovations, which ultimately determines a higher level of development compared to the traditional industrial cluster.

An analysis of the creation and development of innovation-technological clusters allows us to conclude that the formation of such clusters should be carried out at potential mining centers, which are a set of promising subsoil use objects located close to each other, sufficiently studied and worthwhile to attract investment. Such clusters will be the reference points in the spatial organization of the regional economy, defining the main directions of the socio-economic development of the region and serving as a driver for related industries. It can be assumed that the cluster model of the development of the mineral resource base of the Arctic region is the most optimal and allows achieving the maximum multiplicative effect. Analysis of each support zone from its potential for the formation of innovation clusters based on mineral resources allows us to conclude that there are significant prospects for the development of the mineral resource base in each support zone subject to the implementation of planned infrastructure projects (Table 2).

Table 2

Reasons for the MRC in the support zones of the Arctic

Name of the support zone	Main extraction centers (existing or perspective)	Main deposits	Raw materials shipment centers
The Kola support zone	Offshore hydrocarbon fields of the Barents Sea	Shtokman, Murmansk, Ludlovsk, Ledovoye, North Kildinsky	Port Teriberka (project draft)
	Khibiny group of apatite-nepheline deposits	Kukisvumchorr, Yuksporskoye, Apatite circus, Plateau Rasvumchorr, Koashva, Nyorpahk, Kuelpor, Partomchorr, Oleny Ruchey	Ports Murmansk, Kandalaksha, railway transport
	Group of sulfide copper-nickel deposits	Zhdanovskoe, Zapolyarnoye, Kotselvaara, Semiletka, By-	

		strinskoe, Tundrovoye, Sputnik, Verhnee	
	Olenegorsky ore district	Olenegorsky, Kirovogorsky, Bauman, 15 years of October, Komso-molsk	
	Kola Province	Deposits of iron ore, chromium, rare-earth metals, phosphorus, etc.	
Arkhangelsk support zone	Mining center in the Novaya Zemlya archipelago	Pavlovskoye deposit of lead-zinc ores, Prinovozemelskaya group, HCF project	Construction of a shipping terminal on the NL
Nenets support zone	m/R HCF in the Timan-Pechora province	Prirazlomnaya, Kumzhinskoe, Korovinskoe, Kharyaginskoe, Yagerskoe, Vala Gamburtseva fields, etc.	Varanday terminal, Indiga terminal (project), Amderma terminal, Usinsk – Ukhta – Yaroslavl – Moscow oil pipeline, “Severnoe Siyanie” gas pipeline, Pechora LNG
	Bolshezemelsky shale basin		Railways
Vorkuta support zone	The Pechora coal basin	Vorkuta, Inta, Usinsk, and Yunyaginskoe, Vorgashorskoye	Port of Naryan-Mar
Yamalo-Nenets support zone	Shelf and continental deposits HCF	Kharasaveiskoe, Bovanenkovo, Uzhno-Tambeyskoye, Kruzenshternskoye, Novoportovskoye, messoyakha, Semenovskoe, Geophysicheskoe, etc.	The Sabetta port, terminal “Vorota Arktiki”, “Zapolyarye-Purpe” oil pipeline, Arctic LNG-2
Taimyro-Turukhansk support zone	Vankorskaya group of hydro-carbon fields	Vankorskoe, Lodochnoe, Tagul'skoe, Suzunskoe	Vankor — Purpe oil pipeline
	Ust'-Yenisei oil production center	Pajyahskoe, Bajkalovskoe,	Ports of Dudinka and Dixon
	Khatanga center of oil production	Vostochno-Tajmyrskij LU	Port of Khatanga
	Dickson centre of coal mining		Port of Dixon
	Taimyr coal basin,	Chernoyarskoe, Pyasinskoe, Krest'yanskoe, Syrdasajskoe	Port of Dixon
	Deposits of copper-nickel ores	Oktyabrskoe, Talnahskoe, Norilsk-1	
North Yakut support zone	Cluster “Ust-Yana”	Tomtor (REM), tin ore Deposit Deputataskoe, mineral deposit of tin Stream Tirekhtyakh, Churpunnaya, Odinkoe, etc.	
	Anabar diamond-mining center	Ehbelyah, Morgor, etc	
	centers of gold mining	Kyuchus, Haptagaj-Haya (+antimony), Tamara-Tass	
	Tamalinsky cluster	Taimyrskoe coal deposit	Port of Tiksi
Chukot support zone	Beringovsky coal basin	Amaamskoe, Verhne-Alkatvaamskoe, Bay Ugolnaya	Port of Anadir
	Centers for a wide range of non-ferrous and precious metals production	Deposits of copper, nickel, bismuth, mercury, tin, lead, uranium, gold, platinum, silver	Port of Pevek

Conclusion

Thus, the implementation of large-scale investment MRC development projects should be based on the following principles:

1. A unified program of exploration, development and industrial exploitation of mineral deposits should be a part of a single project with common infrastructure development.
2. Development of closely located mineral resources facilities or satellite fields based on an agreed flowchart and technical solutions to ensure the efficient operation of all deposits, as well as cost savings due to the effect of production scale.
3. Simultaneous solution of technical and economic issues of the development of the field and the socio-economic problems of the functioning of the territory's economy, and ensuring the sustainable development of the social environment, the economy of the region, and the environment.

The Arctic zone of Russia is a promising region, the resource base of which can bring a great economic effect for subsoil users and the state. A significant amount of reserves and forecast resources of raw materials in the reference areas, along with the lack of infrastructure and high capital intensity of its construction in promising mining sites, opens up broad prospects for the formation of mineral resource centers based on the principles of clustering and allowing for its positive effects.

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The traditional economy of Yakutia and AIC “Sever”: organizational and managerial decisions of the second half of the 1980s — 1991 *

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Abstract. On the basis of archival documents, entered into scientific circulation, the author considers the local experience of organizational and management activities in relation to the farms of the North of Yakutia within a specially created agro-industrial complex (AIC). In the considered period of the AIC “Sever” activities, in 1989-1991, organizational processes of unbundling of state farms and the beginning of reorganization of management were decisive. At the end of 1990s, for the first time, decisions on transition to market relations were officially declared by the AIC. At the same time, the real social and economic situation of farms had already begun to show the deterioration, incl. a decrease in the quantitative indicator — reduction in the number of farms in the studied areas. As it is in the documents, the state of home reindeer husbandry, the leading economic sector in the North, was of a particular concern.

Keywords: *traditional economy, the agro-industrial complex “Sever”, Yakutia.*

Introduction

Studying history of indigenous economy in the Arctic and the North is relevant due to the need for further research on strategies for its adaptation in the modern agrarian system [1, Ivanov V.A.; 2, Perevalova E.V.], and to reveal the intrinsic value of indigenous economy and way of life in the area [3, Kirko V.I., Zakharova K.N.; 4, Vinokurova L., Filippova V., Suleymanov A., Grigorev S.; 5, Takakura H.; 6, Filippova V.V., Vinokurova L.I., Sannikova Ya.M., Grigorev S.A.]. In this regard, more detailed coverage of individual local issues of management decisions in the late 1980s — early 1990s about the northern farms and the study of the indigenous economy will consider those historical realities that led to subsequent transformations in the indigenous economic activity as a whole. This article draws attention to a local example of the specially created agro-industrial combine “Sever” to manage the northern farms of Yakutia and reflects the experience of real economic changes in their development in the period under study. Since in the second half of the 1980s, changes of management began in the agrarian sector as well as in all the other sectors of the economy [7, The Peasantry and Agriculture of Siberia; 8, Alekseev A.I.; 9, Verbitskaya O.M.]. Each territory of Yakutia had own peculiarities of agricultural development. From the perspective of the national economy and production, the industry was considered lagging, while agriculture and traditional economy were the true occupations of the indigenous population of the area [10, Kovlekov S.I.; 11, Vinokurova L.I.]. Under the conditions of the country's centralized economic system that developed during the Soviet years, it was stated that due to the incomplete management structure of the agro-industrial complex at the federal and republican levels, the necessary inte-

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gration of agriculture with the processing industry did not occur. No significant changes in the economic mechanism of collective farms, state farms, and service organizations were observed [10, Kovlekov S.I., p. 12]. An attempt to solve this problem was the decision to form the All-Republican State Agro-Industrial Committee (USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee), the resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers, issued on November 14, 1985. In the same month the State Agricultural Committee of the RSFSR was formed. By order of the RSFSR State Agro-Industrialism of February 25, 1986, liquidated Ministry of Agriculture of the Yakutsk Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, Ministry of Food Industry of the Yakutsk Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, organized the State Committee of the Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic on production and technical support of agriculture and production management "Yakutselstroy". According to the Regulations, it was the state administrative body of the agro-industrial complex of the Republic. It consisted of 438 state farms, enterprises, and institutions, incl. the meat and dairy plant, the "Selkhozkhimiya" association, Gosplembedinenie, a branch of the Dalgiprozem institute, and some enterprises of the Ministry of Food Industry. The system of the agro-industrial complex also included the Ministry of Land and Water Management, the Ministry of Forestry, the "Yakutrybprom" Association, the Management of Hunting, the Bakery and Macaroni Industry Department, and the "Holbos" Consumer Union, preserving the functions and rights provided its charter.

Creating the AIC "Sever"

In the course of the management decisions that followed soon, the northern farms of Yakutia were assigned to the jurisdiction of a new agro-industrial complex, an independent entity, separate from the State Agro-Industrial Association of the YASSR. Order No. 770 of the RSFSR State Agro-Industrial Administration of November 1, 1988 established the agro-industrial combine "Sever" in the Yakut ASSR with a separate management apparatus¹. The new AIC was subordinate to the RSFSR Gosagroprom and the Council of Ministers of the Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. Initially, 77 subdivisions (state farms, breeding groups, veterinary stations for combating diseases of farm animals, meat processing plants, interfarm mobile mechanized columns), 13 regional agricultural departments of the North of Yakutia, incl. 30 state farms, eight enterprises of republican and town significance². Also, the State Agricultural Committee of the RSFSR included several fishing factories in the agricultural sector "Sever" of the Yakut ASSR. They were transferred from the Ministry of Fishing, incl. 6 fish factories of the Association "Yakutrybprom". Among them: "Kolymskiy", "Indigirskiy", "Bykovskiy" and fishing farm "Arktika". Minmestprom transferred a souvenir factory "Sardana", (Yakutsk). Later, in December 1988, the Soviet agro-industrial complex "Sever" got the farm "Kirovskiy", Kobyayskiy district and "Tomponskiy", Tomponskiy district.³ It is interesting that, as in the order on the establishment, in the regulations on agro-industrial com-

¹National Archive of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) or NARS(Ya). F.1500. Op.1. D.1. L.1.

²NARS(Ya). F.1500. Op.1. D.1. LL.3–6.

³NARS(Ya). F.1500. Op.1. D.1. L.7.

plex “Sever” of the state agro-industry of the RSFSR it was said that the AIC “Sever” was organized in accordance with the resolution of the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR of September 9, 1988 № 378 “On additional measures to accelerate the economic and social development of the agro-industrial complex of the Yakut ASSR for the period up to 2000” in the order, based on economic expediency, on the terms of the resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR of June 7, 1984 d. № 549 “On establishment of agricultural combine “Kuban” in Krasnodarskiy Krai”. In general, the above-mentioned resolution on the AIC of the Yakutia was called an example of care, constant attention of the party and the government to the “issues of socio-economic development of the areas of residence of the peoples of the North”, and it was noted that the AIC “Sever” was created to implement one of the points of this resolution, which was to raise the social level of settlements of the North and to accelerate the economic development of the Northern state farms⁴. In turn, in pursuance of the above decision, the Council of Ministers of the YASSR issued resolution No. 370 of December 16, 1988 “On the establishment of agro-industrial combine “Sever”. The main task of the AIC was to increase the production of agricultural products and high-quality food products on the basis of modern technology, procurement, processing and sales of products on the basis of self-sufficiency and self-financing⁵. Attention was drawn to the fact that the activities of the agro-industrial complex “Sever” will have some features that open up good prospects for the plant: the right to enter the foreign market with products of reindeer husbandry and furs. (Great importance had the harvesting of reindeer panes); the AIC could sell up to 30% of the planned, all over-planned and unplanned products at negotiated prices both in the market and to the other enterprises; the AIC was supposed to assist the construction of industrial facilities, housing, social and cultural facilities for the AIC. Unlike other state farms of Yakutia, the northern farms of the RSFSR Gosagroprom annually had to allocate a certain amount of budget funds. It was noted that this was a great advantage of the AIC “Sever”, an exception to assist the social development of villages of the Republic located in the Arctic Circle⁶. A management decision was implemented to unite state farms, processing and service enterprises and organizations of the North of Yakutia under the general structure. The highest governing body of the plant was the Council, which convened as necessary, but not less than twice a year. Its extraordinary meetings were possible at the request of at least 1/3 of the Council members. The assembly of the Council was competent in the presence of at least 3/4 of its membership. The Council of the AIC “North” at the beginning of its activities by 1989 included approximately 60 participants, including the Director General of the AIC “Sever”, his five deputies, the manager of the trust “Severoagropromstroy”, the heads of the northern households and the workers of households — one by one Representative from the industries: reindeer herder, fisherman, hunter, fur farmer. Invited heads of farms and workers of republican bodies also took part in the meetings of the

⁴NARS(Ya). F.1500. Op.1. D.3. L.4.

⁵NARS(Ya). F.1500. Op.1. D.8. L.2.

⁶NARS(Ya). F.1500. Op.1. D.3. L.5.

plant's board. By mid-1989, the agrarian and industrial complex "Sever" had already united 102 organizations, including 33 state farms from 15 regions⁷. To promptly resolve issues of the plant's activities, between the meetings of the Council, a Presidium of the Council was created. It was elected at a meeting of the Council. The Chairman of the Council became the Chairman of the Presidium. The Presidium convened as necessary and was competent at 3/4 of its membership. To manage the daily activities of the plant by hiring a separate control unit was created. The maximum number of the apparatus of the agro-industrial complex was approved in the amount of 65 people with an annual labor compensation fund of 8,500 thousand rubles, which was headed by the general director of the company, he was elected and dismissed by the Board of the plant with the subsequent approval of the RSFSR State Agricultural Committee. Kliment Egorovich Ivanov was appointed the first general director of the agrarian and industrial complex "Sever." Since September 1989, it was Sidor Afanasevich Filippov.

By October 1, 1989, 110 economic entities, incl. 44 state farms and enterprises, organizations serving agricultural production, fish factories, meat, and milk plants, and inter-farm trust Severagropromstroy, voluntarily, by a decision of the general assembly of authorized representatives, were included in the agro-industrial complex. All enterprises maintained economic autonomy and the rights of a legal entity⁸. In economic terms, agricultural, industrial products, products of national crafts, products of own production in fresh or processed video, including furs sold through its trading network and on the market, was considered to be a plan by the plant. The plant performed the functions of a procurement organization, concluded contracts of procurement, contracts for the purchase of surplus agricultural and other products from the population. The board of the plant determined and approved the volume of capital investments, their direction and title lists for the construction of objects with an estimated value of one to four million rubles. The plant had the right to enter into cooperation and to establish contacts with firms of capitalist and developing countries in the field of science, technology, international production co-operation and division of labor to implement the tasks of state plans. Realization of all agricultural and industrial products produced by enterprises, organizations, and households that make up the plant by the planned targets was carried out at the approved state prices and prices of cooperative trade. Sales of products through their trading network were carried out at rates set by the combine's plant considering product quality and consumer demand, while sales to the market and other consumers were carried out according to an agreement. The prices set by the Combine Board were to reimburse the costs of production, storage, processing, packaging, transportation, and sale of products, as well as provide the necessary savings for the expansion of production.

⁷NARS(Ya). F.1500. Op.1. D.3. LL.4-5.

⁸NARS(Ya). F.1500. Op.1. D.8. LL.2-3.

Characteristics of the initial organizational and management decisions

Decisions on the management and organization of activities of all subordinate enterprises of the AIC “Sever”, primarily concerned farms and state farms, they, as the leading producers of products, were a crucial element in the activities of the entire combine.

In 1989–1990 The organizational processes of 1) the disaggregation of state farms and 2) the beginning of the reorganization of forms of management became decisive in the development of northern farms.

The *disintegration* of the state farms themselves — the creation of new state farms proceeded as a permanent, planned process. Thus, according to the plant, in 1989, on the basis of branches of large farms of the northern regions, seven new state farms of the AIC “Sever” were organized: four farms with reindeer production units: “Kistatensky” of the Zhiganskuy district, “Berezovsky” of the Srednekolymyskiy district, “Bytantaysky” of the Eveno-Bytantayskiy district, “Mayorsky”, of the Abyisky district and three farms for horse-breeding production: “Aleko-Kyuelsky”, “Svataysky”, and “Ebyakhsky” of the Srednekolymsky district. The reorganization began in August 1989. All calculations were carried out according to the balance sheet on September 1, 1989, within the limits of the established standards for labor and finance. In addition to the above-mentioned horse-breeding production line, now in the four state farms of the region, milk and beef were additional commercial products in animal husbandry, and fur farming and animal husbandry in the hunting industry. To carry out the process of unbundling and organizing new state farms directly, the AIC commission was formed, which included the chairman, first deputy general director of the plant, and members — leading specialist, chief accountant, lead economist of the combine, director, chief accountant of the Alazeisky state farm, Chief Surveyor of Srednekolymsky District⁹. On December 8, 1989, to continue decisions on the newly organized state farms (as well as the Berezovsky state farm separated from the state farm “50 let SSR”) an order was issued in the AIC “Sever”. It was on the economic and social development of the new state farms of the Srednekolymsky district for the period 1990–1992. The order was about the fact that the central estates of the new state farms are socially low, the economic potential (especially of the Svatayskiy and Ebyakhskiy state farms) was assessed as low. Therefore, the AIC carried out the planning of a radical upswing in the economy and the social level of development of villages. The first steps were the approvals of indicators of the economic and social development of state farms and a plan to send managers and specialists of agricultural production to study to improve their business skills¹⁰. However, after more than half a year, on August 22, 1990, an audit of the financial and economic activities of the Berezovsky state farm concluded that the farm was not staffed with temporary workers. Also, it had no reindeer breeding base. The employees were not provided with the means of fishing and fur overalls. Poor construction was carried out on the sites of Urodan and Killem. It was approved without drawing up acts. Communication and transportation

⁹NARS(Ya). F.1500. Op.1. D.5. LL.39-40.

¹⁰NARS(Ya). F.1500. Op.1. D.5. L.72-79.

to the district center, Srednekolymskiy was carried out by helicopter only at the expense of the state farm¹¹.

In 1990, the state farm "Adychinsky" of the Verkhoyansk District, created on January 26, 1990 by the Executive Committee of the Verkhoyansk District Council, was commissioned by a commission of 13 people until March 20 to provide the necessary materials to the district Executive Committee and the AIC "Sever" with the involvement of the YASSR officials. On April 11, 1990, Order No. 1/1 was issued on the unbundling of the Adychinsky state farm. It said that, considering the repeated requests and petitions of the Soviet institutions and based on the decision of the village assemblies of Betenkes, Tomtor, Ulakhan-Kuhel, the village Executive Committee of the Verkhoyansk Council of People's Deputies decided to disassemble the Adychinsky state farm and base state farm branches to form three state farm: state farm "Tabalahsky" on the basis of Tabalahsky division with the center in the village Culakhan-Kyuel, state farm "Adychinsky" on the basis of the Kirov branch with the center in Betenkes, state farm "Borulakhsky" on the basis of the Borulakh branch with the center in Tomtor. The feasibility study was compiled by the Institute of Economics KOPRS YRC SB RAS. The boundaries of state farms were approved according to the presented schematic maps based on the resolution of the Council of Ministers of YASSR 1975¹².

On the example of the state farms of two regions, the general logic of building the northern farms in 1989–1990, supervised in the organization and economics by the AIC "Sever" is shown. Until September 1990, the curator's order was determined by the assignment of farm specialists. The management of the plant found this order not fully justified, on September 11, 1990, as it was stated in the order, "to increase the mutual responsibility of the apparatus and specialists of the state farm and improve the overall organization of the farms and the plant's staff, it was decided to distribute the districts by industry departments only. A total of 44 state farms in 17 districts were distributed among nine departments of the AIC "Sever"¹³.

The first new forms of management in the areas under study were two stud farms and a community in the early 1990s. Horse-breeding enterprises had rather only production and breeding specialization to justify their creation. On February 2, 1990, the Presidium of the AIC "Sever" adopted a resolution on the establishment of stud farms of the herd method of keeping horses of the Yakut breed. And on March 11, a commission was created. It was supposed to work on the stud farms "Sartansky" of the Verkhoyansk district and "Aleko-Kyuelsky" of the Srednekolymsky district. The State farm of the same name was reorganized by order of the AIC "Sever" from September 1 to stud farms of herd-breeding¹⁴.

The community was also created by the production specialization of the base economy, while at the same time it is clear from the documents that the process of reviving the traditional forms of economic management of the indigenous peoples of the North was of decisive im-

¹¹NARS(Ya). F.1500. Op.1. D.9. L.152.

¹²NARS(Ya). F.1500. Op.1. D.52. L.1.

¹³NARS(Ya). F.1500. Op.1. D.9. LL.165-167.

¹⁴NARS(Ya). F.1500. Op.1. D.9. L.50. L.134.

portance. So, on August 14, 1990, an order was issued by the AIC "Sever" on the organization of an independent farm by the cooperative "Oetung" at the state farm "Allaikhovsky". A commission was created. It was supposed to study the proposal of the "Oetunians" and submit a feasibility study to transfer the cooperative to a collective enterprise with direct subordination to the AIC "Sever" before September 1, 1990. The general justification was that during the restructuring determined the search for new forms of management, the revival, and development of national settlements and the formation of specialized production units. It was emphasized that the former workers and indigenous people of the village work at the AIC. Oetung — department of the state farm "Allaikhovsky" together with representatives of the Republican Association of Northern Peoples with a request to create an independent enterprise on the basis of their brigade, considering the peculiarities of their conditions and the status quo of indigenous people, the Oytung Evens, to organize an independent farm based on the cooperative "Oetung" at the farm "Allaikhovsky"¹⁵. As a result, the combine's order of November 22, 1990 created a small enterprise, the Oetun Evenki Olenevodno-Commercial Community, attached to the agrarian and industrial complex Sever, to ensure employment and production of reindeer herding, hunting (domestic fur, wild reindeer) and fishing community oetunskih Evens Allai-Hovskogo area on their ancestral lands. Director was appointed Vladimir Nikolaevich Sleptsov. By the same order, on the basis of the decision of Allaikhovsky District Council of People's Deputies of October 11, 1990 No. 158, paragraph 2., the Olenegorsky State Farm (director S.V. Shakhov) was obliged to transfer 3,000 deer free of charge from January 1, 1991 previously transferred from the Oetung branch of the state farm "Allaikhovsky" at the organization of the state farm "Olenegorsky" in 1972. The state farm "Allaikhovsky" (director A.L. Dolinin) before December 20, 1990 was to carry out the separation of material and technical resources and the base and submit to the mill for approval. A new enterprise should also be completed with a staff of managers and specialists.

About transfer to a market economy

On October 16, 1990, a meeting of the Council of the AIC "Sever" of the Yakutsk-Sakha SSR was held. Transition to market relations was discussed and some issues were identified: difficulties encountered in the development of agricultural production, orientation to a mixed economy and development of various forms of ownership in the agricultural sector, negotiation and privatization means of production, solving problems of land reform, changing banking and financial and credit systems, pricing considering the regional features of agricultural production in Yakutia. It was officially adopted a resolution "On the preparation for the transition of the AIC "Sever" to the market economy", in which the directions of its future activities were defined. So, if to generalize, besides state farms, other forms of management as national-territorial formations of the peasant, communal farms, farms, cooperatives at state farms, rental and subsidiary farms and the private sector should also be in an equal position. In economic terms, under the transition pe-

¹⁵NARS(Ya). F.1500. Op.1. D.9. LL.150,153.

riod, the procedure for planning production and procurement of agricultural products for 1991 under the current system should be maintained, considering the possibilities of contracting for the volume of production for all types of products and establishing tax (Republican state order) for 1991 in the amount of 80% of the achieved average level of 12th "pyatiletka" for the purchase and supply of meat and meat products, milk and dairy products, subject to confirmation of the material and technical supply, and fish products, furs and leather materials at the discretion of farms, subject to Republican subsidies for these products; It was proposed to submit to the Supreme Council and the Council of Ministers of the Yakutsk-Sakha SSR questions on the allocation of subsidies to cover transportation costs, the granting of licensing rights for selling on the external market, the allocation of additional funds for land management and other works, and the scrapping of long-term and short-term loans. In the AIC "Sever", the allocation of a subsidy to cover the costs of maintenance of housing and communal services by state farms, healthcare, culture and education and their subsequent transfer on the communal property of local Soviets. Separately, it was said that in the farms of the plant, where representatives of small nations and indigenous people of the North are engaged in traditional industries — reindeer herding, hunting and fishing, the borders of the territories should be set so as to return these people to common and communal reindeer herding and fishing grounds¹⁶.

The resolution document of the AIC's board made it clear that the organizational plan dealt with the improvement of supply for state farms, maintaining the centralized supply of material and technical resources in the Republic; creating joint ventures with foreign partners and own processing enterprises and associations; finding the possibility of obtaining a foreign loan for expanding supplies to the international market and processing inside the Republic of related products of reindeer husbandry (antlers, antler extract, endocrine gland secretions, etc.); the creation of a reserve currency fund in the AIC "Sever" to solve general socio-economic and economic issues; it was proposed even to provide a republican subsidy for successful competition with the shadow economy in the purchase of fur raw materials. In addition to direct production, there were other tasks of various organizational and financial nature in the management: preservation of the AIC "Sever" as a vital economic unit. Until December 15, 1990, it was required to develop and submit a new AIC's management structure that met the conditions of market relations with the necessary contractual work of each department with the combine's facilities. Working together with the Association of the Peoples of the North (incl. the development of legislative initiatives in the field of traditional industries); work on the establishment of a combine in small aviation to establish commercial banks and membership of farms and enterprises of the combine in connection with the upcoming sharp increase in tariffs; material incentives for employees of the plant. Also, it was separately stated that the funds intended for deduction in the RSFSR Ministry of Agriculture for 1990 should be redistributed in order of assistance to cover the disaster of households of the Indigirka, Kolyma and Yana river basins. In general, the organizational and managerial decisions of

¹⁶NARS(Ya). F.1500. Op.1. D.3. LL.71-73.

were also affected by the priority tasks of the new economic policy in the AIC of the Republic, adopted at the extended meeting of the State Agricultural Committee of Yakutsk-Sakha SSR on October 27, 1990, in the form of a list of events for October-December 1990–1991¹⁷ and the adoption of the Model Provision on the nomadic tribal community of small peoples of the Yakutsk-Sakha SSR, approved by Resolution No. 24 of the Council of Ministers of the Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, which became significant for the creation of new forms of management as for the process of reviving the traditional lifestyle of the indigenous peoples of the North. On February 25, 1991, the Presidium of the Council of the AIC "Sever" approved a list of measures to introduce the priorities of the new economic policy in the AIC "Sever" in 1991, among which the first was the organization of various forms of management: start practical work on the organization of rental, community enterprises, farms and agro-firms that meet the conditions of a market economy and are engaged in a complete cycle: production, processing and trade; for the transfer of on-farm subdivisions to independent commodity producers — rental collectives at a state farm with the right to own products and income. It was also necessary to develop proposals for determining ways of further conducting unprofitable and low-profitable enterprises and submit them to the RSFSR Ministry of Agriculture and Food; to develop agricultural ties for the processing of fur, to organize sewing farms from fur raw materials at state farms, to provide them with special equipment, to create their own trading system; to recognize as expedient the export types of furs, with the participation of experts, to accept them for export, bring the task for manning, etc.¹⁸

Economic conditions of the farms

The year 1989 was practically the first one in the activity of the AIC "Sever". As of January 1, 1989, the farms of the AIC "Sever": 33 state farms in 15 districts — accounted for 91% of deer (303 thousand heads), 17% of horses (29 thousand heads), 7.6% of large cattle (22 thousand heads) of the republican livestock of domestic animals, 52.5% of commercial and 47% of cellular furs. The state farms of the republic had 332 thousand deer heads, incl., 303 thousand heads, or 91% in 32 northern state farms of the AIC "Sever". Among them, 22 state farms specialized in reindeer herding, where 1 950 reindeer herders worked in 265 brigades. The management of the AIC emphasized that Yakutia is a large reindeer herding region of the country. According to the AIC, in the annual state order, venison meat was 50%, revenues from the sale of venison meat and its products were 37–40 million rubles, while about 4 million rubles were received from the sale of reindeer meat. The significance of the northern farms was highlighted in the following thesis of the reporting documents of the AIC "Sever": in economic and socio-economic terms, domestic reindeer breeding is the main industry on which the financial and economic activities of the whole the AIC "Sever" depend — household, living conditions of the peoples of the North. This complex of issues related to the development of reindeer herding, the improvement of the social and living

¹⁷NARS(Ya). F.1500. Op.1. D.4. LL.56-60.

¹⁸NARS(Ya). F.1500. Op.1. D.4. L.104.

conditions of reindeer herders, should have been directed to the attention of the apparatus of the AIC "Sever", heads of enterprises in the field¹⁹.

In August 1989, for the seven months of the current year, the enterprises (farms) of the plant officially submitted the following indicators: they fulfilled the state order for the sale of milk by 100%, meat by 14%, furs harvesting by 126%; industrial enterprises of the plant produced in the amount of 4 million 936 thousand rubles, having fulfilled the plan for the production of whole-dairy products by 107%, meat - 2.3 times. In the first six months of 1989, the capital construction plan for all sources was fulfilled by 103%, 20 million rubles were spent. In the first six months of 1989, the enterprises of the combine received profits for 26 million 245 thousand rubles. 277 subdivisions or 23% of all enterprises of the combine worked on the rental contract²⁰.

The activity of 12 reindeer state farms, which transferred to the direct delivery of livestock products directly to trade, as well as the expansion of foreign economic relations of the plant with foreign firms were recognized as productive. The following were attributed to serious omissions and unused reserves in the activities of enterprises of the plant in implementing socio-economic development plans: in seven months of 1989, 13 state farms failed to sell milk, including the Abyisky and Arylakhsky state farms, "Alazeysky", "50 years of the USSR", "Oimyakonsky", "Kirovsky"; low quality indicators of reindeer herding as the main industry was in the state farms "Anabarsky", "Ust-Yansky", "Taymyl'sky", "Zhigansky", "Bulunsky". In general, the state farms of the plant in comparison with 1988 received less than 12 thousand heads of young deer. As a result, there were serious difficulties in fulfilling the plan for the delivery of meat and milk. As can be seen from the resolution of the Council of the AIC dated August 17, 1989, the main problems in the current economic activity of the plant during the first six months were the following: issues of creating a base for processing livestock products, switching to waste-free production, installing refrigerators, modern technology, leather processing, and fur raw materials; there were particular difficulties in the material and technical support of the enterprises of the plant, and especially in the completion of construction projects by an economic means; there were severe deficiencies in accounting and reporting, due to the incompleteness of the central audit department, not a single audit was conducted within eight months; the restructuring of work in the new conditions of economic relations in the plant's apparatus and its departments was slow²¹.

Six months later, on February 2, 1990, the combine's board summed up the financial and economic activities of the enterprises of the agroindustrial complex "North" in 1989 and adopted another resolution stating that the state order for the purchase of livestock was completed on 111,6%, milk — by 99.6%, fish by contract — by 100%, fur — by 117%. 1,577 tons of meat, 1,053 thousand rubles were delivered over the plan. Furs, 87 tons of fish. Three state farms failed to cope with the state order for meat: "Severn", "Oymyakonsky", "50 let SSR". 14 state farms failed

¹⁹NARS(Ya). F.1500. Op.1. D.3. L.5-6.

²⁰NARS(Ya). F.1500. Op.1. D.3. L.48.

²¹NARS(Ya). F.1500. Op.1. D.3. L.49.

to cope with the state order for milk, including they allowed a decline against last year and the state farms of the Srednekolymy district, “50 let SSR”, “Abyisky”, “Oymyakonsky” did not fulfill the state order. In the state farms of the plant, the plan for livestock of cattle was exceeded for 689 heads, pigs — for 420 heads, the method for the herd of horses was not fulfilled for 1,435 heads, incl. state farms of Verkhoyansk district — by 951 heads²².

It was also noted that as a result of insufficient organizational work on the part of the leaders of the reindeer state farms and the departments of the combine for the implementation of the resolution of the OK CPSU’s and the Council of Ministers of the Yakut ASSR indicators of the main industry — reindeer herding — are not improving, there are serious problems and shortcomings in the organization of working and living conditions for reindeer herders. At the end of the year, the plan for the output of the livestock of deer was fulfilled by 97.2%, the unproductive waste of deer was 44.29% of the heads. Of serious concern was the state of reindeer herding in state farms from the studied regions: “Bulunsky”, “Anabarsky”, “Ust-Yansky”, “Silianiahsy”. Despite the overall implementation of the plan for the development of state investments (for all sources of financing) by 104.5%, incl. SMR 100%, state farms under-utilized from the studied areas: “Ust-Yanskiy”, “Zhiganskiy”, “Olerinskiy”, “Anabarskiy”, “Severnii”, “Adychinskiy”, “Verkhoyanskiy”, “Iskra”, “Silyannyakhsky”, and “Kirovskiy”. As was stated, as a result of the weakening of organizational work and the lack of accounting for economic methods of management, many state farms did not receive the planned profits for 1989: “Abyisky” — 40%, “Indigirsky” — 76%, “Adychinsky” — 54%, “50 let SSR” — 86%, “Oimyakonsky” — 67%. It was concluded that the combine had unsatisfactorily organized the organizational work on the transition to waste-free production, processing of deer products, fur production²³. The economic methods and foreign economic activity of the enterprises of the combine did not bring the expected result either. There were serious shortcomings in the material and technical supply of the northern state farms. A total of 15 the Arctic and north uluses under study for 1985–1991. Livestock decreased from 344,117 heads to 279,405 heads, i.e., by 18.8%, for cattle — from 35,380 heads to 34,787 heads or by 1.7%, the livestock of horses increased relatively — from 34,936 heads to 38,255 heads — by 8.7%. In one year, from 1990 to 1991, the volume of meat in live weight decreased from 13,660 tons to 12,173 tons, i.e., by 10.9%; milk production volumes increased relatively — from 26,863 tons to 27,765 tons or by 3.2%²⁴.

Additionally, it should be noted that on this background, the local socio-economic development was attempted to be strengthened by measures such as transferring the farms to direct delivery of products, auditing the financial and economic condition of the farms, rendering assistance to the farms in areas in emergencies due to natural disasters. Natural disasters, an analysis

²²NARS(Ya). F.1500. Op.1. D.3. L.63.

²³NARS(Ya). F.1500. Op.1. D.3. L.64.

²⁴The main indicators of the agro-industrial complex of RS (Y) for 1999–2004. The territorial body of the Federal State Statistics Service for RS (Y). Yakutsk, 2005. p. 66; The Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) during the years of sovereignty (1990–2000). Goskomstat RS (I). The official publication. Yakutsk, 2000. p. 27; Economy of uluses and cities of RS (Y) 1985–1999. Goskomstat RS (I). The official publication. Yakutsk, 2000; Economy of regions and cities of the RS (Y). Goskomstat RS (I). The official publication. Yakutsk, 2002.

of the socio-economic development of traditional industries by the AIC "Sever"... Despite the fact that all these processes were of great importance in general during the initial transformation the traditional economy of the late twentieth century, its real state is shown on the basis of quantitative indicators as the main criteria for the well-being of farms: the number of livestock in reindeer herding, cattle breeding, breeding and production in the fishing and hunting industries.

Conclusion

In the context of the study of the problem of the development of the traditional economy of the Arctic and the North, the individual issues of management decisions in Yakutia regarding the northern farms in the face of a specially created management structure - the agroindustrial combine "North" show that irreversible socio-economic transformation processes that are irreversible began in 1989. And in 1990–1991 there were active organizational, managerial and socio-economic changes that led the economy to fundamental changes in the last decade of the twentieth century. If we single out the main ones, they were as follows.

In terms of organization and management, the creation of the North industrial agro-industrial complex under the RSFSR State Agro-Industrial Complex with fairly wide powers in its activities, including the socio-economic development of the Arctic and northern farms, then still state farms, was completely new. Organization of the plant was associated with the management desire from above, practically on the example of the union level, to create an association, which is important, with planning and financial support for managing farms in the traditional sectors of the North. At the same time, the structure of the official functioning of the plant was such that the main governing body was the Council, including representatives from, mainly, managers, with the elected Presidium, and the plant apparatus was hired for day-to-day ongoing work with farms and enterprises.

In terms of specific organizational and managerial decisions in relation to the households, it is necessary to highlight the fact that in 1989 the processes of the unbundling of state farms and the reorganization of forms of management of some state farms began, as yet within the framework of cost accounting, in particular, leasing production relations. During this period, the social and political substantiation of the economic development of the representatives of the indigenous peoples of the North engaged in traditional sectors of the economy began to strengthen. Therefore, all organizational and economic actions were not only of economic but of public importance. Thus, the process of unbundling state farms went on as a process of creating new independent farms by former branches, although organizational difficulties existed on the ground, and in reality, the state of affairs in the new state farms was quite complicated. The first new forms of management, in contrast to the state farms, were the stud farm and the community, which were based both on the traditions of the horse-breeding and reindeer-breeding specialization of farms and on the revival potential of the Oetung Evens clan association.

Preparation of the transition directly to market relations in the northern farms, which were under the jurisdiction of the plant, was first officially declared for them in October 1990. The main emphasis was placed on the active continuation of the creation of the first tribal communities, stud farms, peasant farms, collective enterprises based on the changing forms of ownership, a special process until the end of 1991. Almost all the questions concerned the expansion of economic activity from the point of view of new economic opportunities, and The changes that were beginning were, we can say, quite declarative.

In the economic condition of the farms, with all the current actions in the light of the decisions taken by the combine and the correct positioning of Yakutia as one of the leading oil-producing regions of the country, a certain decrease in quantitative and qualitative indicators became a visible problem. If we talk about the main indicator of the well-being of the northern economy, the number of livestock, then for 1985–1991. In the northern regions studied, the number of deer and cattle decreased, while the number of horses and horses still maintained a positive trend. In the volume of production of the main product, meat production decreased, but the volume of milk production remained. Thus, the last years of the Soviet economy, considered, reflected in a peculiar way on the development of the northern farms of Yakutia, a specially created management body — the agrarian and industrial complex “North” — led the socio-economic processes in the farms through organizational and managerial decisions, which could not always claim concrete return in the form of an improvement in the state of affairs in traditional industries, but were characteristic of the beginning of a transformational period in the development of farms, which is important to show using specific examples that prove the documents of the studied period.

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Dynamics of border tourism in the Barents Euro-Arctic Region*

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Abstract. The article discusses the main types and characteristics of border tourism in the countries of the Barents region. It provides official statistics on the number of trips, the results of tourist motivation study and reveals the positive dynamics of border tourism development. The materials of the current study include a review and comparative analysis with data obtained during research sessions since 2013 within the framework of the international program *Bachelor of Northern Studies*. According to the survey, the Barents region has a great potential for the development of tourism and positive motivation that contributes to international contacts. An analysis of the border tourism development dynamics has shown an increase in the demand in the tourism services market, the necessity to create programs focused on the needs of the target audience of buyers, and the active promotion of Russian tourism in the international market.

Keywords: *Barents Euro-Arctic region, border tourism, Murmansk region.*

Introduction

The border region is a territory with political and socio-economic integrity and a state border with other countries. At present, the border position is an important factor in territorial development [1, Viken A., Nystedt T., p. 53–72; 2, Haugseth P., p. 154–161]. The current development of cross-border tourism is determined by the interpenetration of global and unique characteristics. The spread of globalization becomes possible when the reasons for global infrastructure are created and when the level of standardization has integrated national and regional organizations into a single global structure on equal terms [3, Odegova O.V., Zabulionite K.A., p. 475–481]. According to M. Castells, in the context of globalization, the dominant social, political and economic processes are organized in the virtual space [4, Castells M.]. According to P. Bourdieu, a key role in the development of social relations is the ability to spread cultural and symbolic practices [5, Bourdieu P.]. Stepin V.S. stressed that the basis for global processes was economics, but since the economy had been a subsystem of culture, it was globalization that penetrated all spheres of the socio-cultural system [6, Stepin V.S., p. 262–275]. Globalization in tourism means combining various tourism practices, accompanied by increased access to information resources, information sharing, increasing the quantity and quality of tourist services. Cross-border tourism is currently a dynamically developing area of social and economic activity. Cross-border Arctic tourism is a unique, rather young direction that requires special competencies, knowledge of the region's natural features, technologies for implementing relevant tourist programs, and the ability to interact with potential consumers. [7, Zhelnina Z.Yu., p. 74–80].

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Cross-border tourism development clusters

In the Strategy for the Development of Tourism of the Russian Federation until 2020, the main goal of tourist activity is: “the strategic role of tourism in the economic and socio-cultural development of regions by improving the quality of life and accede the population with historical, cultural and natural heritage of the Russian Federation”¹.

In the Concept of the long-term socio-economic development of the Russian Federation until 2020, the main problems of the socio-economic development of Russia are: strengthening global competition; a new wave of technological change; the increasing role of innovation; the growing role of human capital as a critical factor in economic development². The Social and Economic Development Strategy of the Murmansk region lists the challenges of modern civilization: the unstable structure of the regional economy, social, humanitarian and environmental problems. “The main problems are common to the Murmansk macro-region and its “Arctic” neighbors, and their solution requires joint efforts, ideas, and actions”³. This document defines the development of the Murmansk region as a strategic center of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation.

The Government of the Murmansk region is developing departmental programs for the tourism industry. Four years, the main program was the target program “Development of tourism in the Murmansk region for 2012–2015”, and the “Program for the development of the tourism and recreation cluster of the Murmansk region for 2015–2017” has completed. The basic strategic goal of creating a cluster is “the development of branded tourism products of the Murmansk region and increasing the competitiveness of the regional industry of tourist and recreational services in the international market”⁴.

The beginning of the active development of border tourism was the unification of the countries of the Barents region, which began with the creation of the Barents Council on January 11, 1993, and the signing of the Kirkenes Declaration, where the primary goal was to support stability and progress in the region. The main areas of cooperation are areas of ecology, economics, science and technology, cultural links and tourism⁵. A new stage of cooperation began on May 29, 2012,

¹ Strategiya razvitiya turizma Rossijskoj Federacii do 2020 g. [Strategy for the development of tourism in the Russian Federation until 2020] URL: https://www.russiatourism.ru/contents/otkrytoe_agentstvo/strategiya-razvitiya-turizma-v-rossiyskoy-federatsii-v-period-do-2020-goda-332/strategiya-razvitiya-turizma-v-rossiyskoy-federatsii-v-period-do-2020-goda/ (Accessed: 01 November 2018). [In Russian]

² Konceptii dolgosrochnogo social'no-ehkonomicheskogo razvitiya Rossijskoj Federacii do 2020 goda. [The concept of long-term socio-economic development of the Russian Federation until 2020.] URL: http://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_82134/28c7f9e359e8af09d7244d8033c66928fa27e527/ (Accessed: 01 November 2018). [In Russian]

³ Strategiya social'no-ehkonomicheskogo razvitiya Murmanskoj oblasti do 2020 goda i na period do 2025 goda i plan meropriyatij po ee realizacii. [The strategy of socio-economic development of the Murmansk region until 2020 and for the period up to 2025 and an action plan for its implementation] URL: https://minec.gov-murman.ru/activities/strat_plan/sub02/ (Accessed: 01 November 2018). [In Russian]

⁴ Turistsko-rekreacionnyj klaster Murmanskoj oblasti. [Tourist and recreation cluster of the Murmansk region] URL: <http://murmantourism.ru/turklaster> (Accessed: 01 November 2018). [In Russian]

⁵ Initially, the northern regions of Russia entered the Barents region: the Arkhangelsk and Murmansk regions, the northern regions of Scandinavia and Finland (the provinces of Lapland in Finland, Troms, Finnmark and Nordland in Norway, Norrbotten in Sweden). Later it was joined by the Republic of Karelia (1994), the Nenets Autonomous District

when Russia and Norway established a visa-free regime in the border areas of Finnmark and the Murmansk region. The following factors are essential for the development of cooperation in the Barents region: the border position (the Barents region geographically connects North Europe and Russia); political, economic and social stability (the Barents region is a relatively safe territory with a fairly low crime rate, high efficiency of international economic and socio-cultural programs); a common history (in ancient times, in the north, the historic-cultural area of Lapland was formed). And today we see that the Barents countries have the opportunity to cooperate, despite the various federal and regional approaches to international law.

Statistics

Statistics allow us to estimate the dynamics of cross-border tourism over the past decade⁶. The number of Russian citizens traveling to Norway, Sweden, and Finland is consistently high, as well as the number of foreign visits to Russia. According to the Federal Agency for Tourism of the Russian Federation, about 3 million people leave Russia for Finland annually, about 40 thousand people go to Sweden, and about 100 thousand people go to Norway. The number of citizens of Norway and Sweden who annually visit Russia is about 40 thousand people, and the citizens of Finland — about 1,200 thousand people (Table 1, 2).

Table 1

The number of tourist trips of Russian citizens to foreign countries, 2015–2017 (thousand people)

	2015	2016	2017
Norway	111	103	115
Sweden	37	41	56
Finland	3,066	2,894	3,333

Table 2

The number of tourist trips of foreign citizens to Russia, 2015–2017 (thousand people)

	2015	2016	2017
Norway	48	45	51
Sweden	37	36	34
Finland	1,415	1,319	1,017

In general, the number of citizens at collective accommodation facilities of the Murmansk region in 2017 was about 300 thousand people, providing a 30% increase compared to 2009 (Table 3).

Table 3

The number of citizens in the collective accommodation facilities of the Murmansk region, 2009–2017 (thousand people)

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Russian citizens	190.1	191.5	165.3	175.7	186.7	177.9	179.7	214.09	266.05
Foreign citizens	17.5	17.7	17.2	16.7	18.3	15.7	15.1	26.0	36.1

(1997), the district of Oulu (Finland) and Västerbotten (Sweden, 1998). The associate members of the BEAR are Denmark, Iceland, and the EU. Also, Canada, France, Japan, Great Britain, Poland, and Germany received observer status.

⁶ Federal'noe agentstvo po turizmu. Oficial'nyj sajt. [Federal Agency for Tourism. Official site] URL: <https://www.russia-tourism.ru/contents/statistika> (Accessed: 01 November 2018). [In Russian]

Accounting the total volume of tourist visits deals with collective and individual means of accommodation. The number of citizens at hotels and other accommodation makes it possible to compare international tourist flows in the Murmansk and Arkhangelsk regions and the Republic of Karelia. Thus, in 2017, the number of foreign citizens in collective accommodation facilities amounted to 36.1 thousand people in the Murmansk region, 38.9 thousand people in the Republic of Karelia, and 7.3 thousand people in the Arkhangelsk region. It indicates rather high popularity of northern tourism. In 2009-2017, the number of foreign tourists at hotels in the Murmansk region increased by 18.6 thousand people, in the Republic of Karelia - by 20.4 thousand people, and in the Arkhangelsk region — a slight decrease by 1.5 thousand people. These indicators show visiting the famous tourist destinations, incl. the Solovetskiy monastery in the Arkhangelsk region and the Vaalaam archipelago in Karelia (Table 4).

Table 4

The number of citizens in the collective accommodation facilities (thousand people)

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
The Republic of Karelia	18.5	27.0	40.2	38.0	34.5	31.9	27.1	40.8	38.9
The Murmansk region	17.5	17.7	17.2	16.7	18.3	15.7	15.1	26.0	36.1
The Arkhangelsk region	8.7	7.9	6.9	6.6	6.1	5.2	6.1	7.2	7.3

The development of border tourism has some advantages for the BEAR countries. First, the expansion of the tourism industry contributes to attracting investment for international projects and programs. Secondly, the transport is developing. Thirdly, social and cultural exchange between the BEAR countries is intensifying. Fourth, cross-border tourism contributes to the expansion of the innovation sector of the economy, the introduction of new technologies and industries, the modernization of the tourism infrastructure [8, Kulturnie industii kolskogo severa, p. 23–30].

Currently, northern countries are actively developing ethnographic, recreational, sports, marine, research, cultural, educational, and event tourism [9, Zhelnina Z.Yu., 10, Stammer F., Sidorova L., p. 1–14]. The peculiarity of the northern landscape and fauna, unique cultural monuments contribute to attracting tourists. Famous monuments of ancient (petroglyphs, labyrinths) and medieval (temples, monasteries) culture can be an attractor for ethnographic travel or folklore festivals. In recent decades, recreational and educational programs of the theme parks have been in great demand. They are in demand, as they combine natural, cultural, historical and service services (in Sweden — the Skansen Museum, in Russia — Ki-Zhi and Malye Korely, and in Finland — Santa Claus Village). Great opportunities are presented for sea tourism: cruise or scientific expeditions. The region has preserved the history of polar expeditions and natural landscapes. Journeys to the North Pole are an exclusive Russian tourist product⁷. This fact indicates that the development potential of cross-border tourism is multilayered. It covers a broad and complex con-

⁷ Since 1993, the “Yamal” nuclear-powered icebreaker was the main carrier of cruise tourists to the North Pole. Currently, it is the “50 let Pobedi”. The cruise routes: Murmansk — Svalbard — Northern Pole or Murmansk — Franz Josef Land — the North Pole — Novaya Zemlya. In 2009, the research and tourism base of Borneo, located about 100 km from the North Pole was opened.

text of “culture — tourism”. The general trend in the development of tourism in the Barents Region is the expansion of the range of tourist services targeted at the individual user. It contributes to the constant updating and expansion of tourist offers. Particular attention is paid to the significant international projects in the framework of the increase of the tourism industry in the Barents region (in particular, the Kolarctic Border Cooperation Program 2014–2020 aimed at maintaining the viability of the economy and increase the attractiveness of the area⁸). An example of effective cooperation in the Barents region is the transboundary park “Pasvik-Inari”⁹.

Tourists motivation analysis

The BEAR tourism potential consists of several components: natural and cultural heritage, service infrastructure, and information support. One of the factors that have a positive effect on the dynamics of tourism is tourist motivation.

Fifty students from the Murmansk Arctic State University (FSBEI HE "MAGU"), aged 20-35, were surveyed to identify the reasons for trips to the BEAR countries and the offers in the tourism services market. At first, students were asked to name the travel motives. 30% of respondents put cultural and cognitive motifs in the first place (local traditions, lifestyle, and participation in festivals), 25% recreational (unique views of the northern nature, recreation, and entertainment), 22% — research (new routes, discoveries for themselves and society, new cultural and natural objects), 15% — environmental (volunteer and expeditionary programs), 10% — communication motives, 8% — coping motives (travels of varying difficulty: Alpine skiing, or diving).

The purpose of the second stage of the survey was to determine the attitude towards the BEAR countries (or the number of real and potential tourists). According to the study, 60% of students have already visited one of the countries in the Barents Region and have plans to visit these countries in the future, 20% of respondents have never visited the BEAR countries, but have plans to visit in the future, the rest — gave priority to other countries.

At the third stage of the survey, the most popular and accessible routes were identified. The study was completed in 2013 among students who have already visited the BEAR countries. As a result, 90% said that they visited Norway, Sweden, and Finland in the framework of cultural and educational trips, 9% were participants of recreational trips, 1% — ecological. A re-survey in 2018 did not reveal significant differences: cultural and educational routes remain leading among the young people. Among the reasons for choosing these trips, students named economic attractiveness and affordability.

⁸ Programma prigranichnogo sotrudnichestva «Kolarctik». [Kolarctic Border Cooperation Program]. URL: <https://kolarctic.info/ru/kolarctic-2014-2020-ru/> (Accessed: 01 November 2018). [In Russian]

⁹ The park was created in 2008 with the goal of controlling and managing biodiversity, developing natural tourism and implementing the Memorandum of Understanding on the Green Belt of Fennoscandia in the adjacent specially protected natural area between Russia, Norway and Finland. The vast territory in which the three states carry out trilateral cooperation is protected and includes the Viatsari wild nature area in Finland, the Upper Pasvik National Park, and the Upper Pasvik protected landscape area, the Natural Reserve Pasvik in Norway and natural reserve “Pasvik” in Russia. URL: <http://pasvik.org.ru> (Accessed: 01 November 2018). [In Russian]

Thus, cultural, educational and recreational tours are the most popular and accessible. At the same time, the study of travel motives showed that 45% of respondents would like to choose research, environmental, volunteer, sports, expeditionary trips. The results of the survey show great opportunities to promote cross-border tourism programs. We should also look at the stereotypes related to the national character. Cultural stereotypes are ideas about typical features that characterize people. Autostereotypes reflect a stable and simplified image of their social group. Heterostereotype — an image formed about other people.

Both types of cultural stereotypes develop and take root in society as traditional public attitudes. Stereotypes characterize a social group as a whole, but at the same time apply to a specific representative of this group and predetermine the specificity of intercultural contacts.

Fifty students of the MASU were surveyed to determine the autostereotypes and heterostereotypes of the population of the Barents region.

At first, students were asked to compile a list of 60 national characteristics of Norwegians, Finns, Swedes, and Russians in three groups (personal, communicative and business traits). In particular, the students named the following personal characteristics: serious, purposeful, modest, proud, optimistic, and others; communication characteristics: hospitable, sincere, polite, non-friendly, discreet, humorous, and others; business skills: irresponsible, pragmatic, aggressive, patient, hardworking, enterprising and others.

At the second stage, it was necessary to select fifteen features of a national character of Norwegians, Finns, Swedes, and Russians (5 in each group). The survey results are presented in the table. 5.

Table 5

*Cultural stereotypes of national character
(results of a survey of students of the Murmansk Arctic State University)*

	Personal skills	Communication skills	Business skills
Norwegians	serious, hardy, proud, sluggish, self-confident	self-respecting, closed, friendly, emotional, persistent	conscientious, conservative, precise, polite, patient
Swedes	purposeful, independent, arrogant, chained, honest	cheerful, unshakable, humane, polite, sincere	prudent, economical, pragmatic, pedantic, disciplined
Finns	optimistic, purposeful, relaxed, kind, sluggish	friendly, polite, unshakable, closed, competent	conscientious, trusting, accurate, thrifty, patient.
Russians	hardy, self-confident, strong, passive independent	hospitable strong, emotional self-respecting, impulsive	with the desire for success, enterprising, wasteful, adaptable, trusting

The survey results show a general understanding of the national character of the inhabitants of the Barents Region. It is interesting that the survey results contain no extremely negative qualities (embittered, cruel, indifferent to others, or aggressive). It might have positive effects on the development of cross-border tourism. The survey results are due to the young age of the re-

spondents, relatively personal contacts and positive information that is broadcast by the media on the effects of the intercultural interactions of Russia and other countries in the Barents Region.

Conclusion

An analysis of the dynamics of cross-border tourism in the Barents region showed an increase in demand in the tourism market. Tourist demand and tourist supply depend on a number of constantly changing social, economic, political factors: the development of border areas, the availability of qualified personnel; involvement of the territory in international economic integration; availability of a regulatory framework for the development of cross-border cooperation; participation in the joint socio-cultural programs in the context of international cross-border collaboration.

Cross-border tourism, united geographically, is built on different technologies of staying in the destination. At the same time, cultural-cognitive programs enjoy the most stable demand, which forms a request for an in-depth understanding of cultural codes and visual symbols, which in turn influence the formation of positive national cultural stereotypes.

Cross-border tourism is a fairly new direction in the tourism industry. The achievement of concrete and long-term results is promoted by the creation of interstate tourist and recreational territories; implementation of international projects and programs aimed at the promotion of tourist brands (events, routes), providing comprehensive advertising of the Barents region; inclusion of cross-border tourism in general development strategies of territories.

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The prospects of the Northern and Arctic territories and their development within the Yenisei Siberia megaproject*

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Abstract. The article considers the main prerequisites and the directions of development of Northern and Arctic areas of the Krasnoyarsk Krai based on creation of reliable local transport and power infrastructure and formation of hi-tech and competitive territorial clusters. We examine both the current (new large mining and processing works in the Norilsk industrial region; development of Ust-Eniseysky group of oil and gas fields; gasification of the Krasnoyarsk agglomeration with the resources of bradenhead gas of Evenkia; renovation of housing and public utilities of the Norilsk agglomeration; development of the Arctic and northern tourism and others), and earlier considered, but rejected, projects (construction of a large hydroelectric power station on the Nizhnyaya Tunguska river; development of the Porozhinsky manganese field; placement of the metallurgical enterprises using the Norilsk ores near Lower Angara region; construction of the meridional Yenisei railroad and others) and their impact on the development of the region. It is shown that in new conditions it is expedient to return to consideration of these projects with the use of modern technologies and organizational approaches. It means, above all, formation of the local integrated regional production systems and networks providing interaction and cooperation of the fuel and raw, processing and innovative sectors. At the same time, the added value of the extracting and processing industries is localized in the area and will be mobilized for the purposes of high-performance technical and infrastructure base of the regional economy. The specified effect promotes economic development and leads to diversification of the monoprofile economy of the northern and Arctic regions. The provisions of the article and its suggestions can be considered as elements of the future development strategy for the Northern and Arctic territories of the Krasnoyarsk Krai. Results of the research can be used for adjustment and formation of long-term and medium-term investment programs at the state and municipal levels of management and also in development strategies of industrial, transport and power corporations.

Keywords: *northern and Arctic regions, macroregion "Yenisei Siberia", regional policy, strategic planning, investment projects, transport and power infrastructure, renovation of the Arctic cities, Arctic tourism, territorial and production clusters.*

Introduction

During the Krasnoyarsk Economic Forum (CEF-2018) in April 2018, the governor of the Krasnoyarsk Krai and the leaders of the Republic of Tyva and the Republic of Khakassia signed a cooperation agreement within the framework of the Yenisei Siberia megaproject on the joint development of territories. In May 2018, the Legislative Assembly of the Krasnoyarsk Krai approved the draft law on granting legal status to the agreement. The parliaments of Tyva and Khakassia have ratified similar bills. The agreement enters into force in five years. The project was initiated by the current Governor of the Krasnoyarsk Krai Alexander Uss in 2017. It is considered as a pilot

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project of a new concept of spatial development of Russia. In February-2018, the project of the macro-region was supported by the President of Russia V. Putin¹.

According to experts, the reasons for the selection of the Yenisei macro-region to be an integral management object are the following circumstances²:

1. The presence of stable interregional relations within the macro-region: migration; economic ties; communication business.
2. Formation of the Krasnoyarsk agglomeration as a nodal point of the macro-region and the center of economic growth at the federal level; as well as the center for the development of high-tech services.
3. The presence of a unified transport system, i.e., a mechanism for ensuring transport accessibility.
4. Interrelated investment projects in the three regions with a cost of more than 500 billion rubles. Among them:
 - “South cluster” (“Nornikel”);
 - “Development of infrastructure and resources of the Angar-Enisey economic area” (“Pole Krasnoyarsk”);
 - “Technological valley: Krasnoyarsk and Sayanogorsk” (Alluminium association);
 - “Intertatational transport, logics and industrial hub” (“ERA Group”);
 - “Modernization of Modernization of power facilities and optimization of the heat supply system of the city of Krasnoyarsk” (“Siberian Generating Company”);
 - “Siberia Agroindustrial Park” (“Unipro”);
 - “Construction of the railway Eleget — Kyzyl — Kuragino and the development of the mineral resource base of the Republic of Tyva” (“Tuva Energy Industrial Corps”) [1, Veselova E.Sh.].

The role of arctic and northern territories in the strategy of Yenisei Siberia

Among the announced projects of the macro-region “Yenisei Siberia”, one (contrary to its name) has a direct relationship to the Krasnoyarsk North and the Arctic — the “Southern Cluster”.

The Southern Cluster is a complex of long-term projects aimed at increasing the number of industrial sites and developing basic infrastructure in the Norilsk industrial region. However, the possibilities of increasing the efficiency of the spatial development of the Yenisei Siberia on the basis of this project remain unclear. Also, the potential for effective participation of the northern and Arctic territories in the megaproject “Yeniseyskaya Siberia” is not limited to this project. The northern and Arctic territories are internal for the Krasnoyarsk Territory and in this sense remain in the shadow of the main trends in the development of the macro-region “Yeniseiskaya Siberia”³. At present, the isolation, “island” nature of the territories of the North and the Arctic seriously restrains their de-

¹ Aleksandr Uss: «Enisejskaya Sibir'» kak novyj krasnoyarskij megaproekt podderzhan Vladimirom Putinyom». 13.02.2018. [Alexander Uss: “Yenisei Siberia” as a new Krasnoyarsk megaproject was supported by Vladimir Putin ”. February 13, 2018] URL: <http://www.krasnoforum.ru/news/aleksandr-uss-enisejskaya-sibir-kak-novyj-krasnoyarskij-megaproekt-podderzhan-vladimirom-putinyom/> (Accessed: 25 July 2018). [In Russian]

² Proekt «Enisejskaya Sibir'» budet uchtyon v Strategii prostranstvennogo razvitiya Rossii. [The project “Yenisei Siberia” will be considered in the Spatial Development Strategy of Russia]. URL: <http://news.sfu-kras.ru/node/20170> (Accessed: 25 July 2018). [In Russian]

³ The primary system (multiplicative) effects of an integrated development strategy for the territories of Yeniseiskaya Siberia are planned to be obtained by strengthening and developing interregional ties, primarily between the subjects of the Russian Federation - Krasnoyarsk Krai, the republics of Khakassia and Tyva.

velopment and the development of the mainland part of the Krasnoyarsk Krai and the macro-region “Yeniseiskaya Siberia”. The northern and arctic zone of the Krasnoyarsk Krai requires the high-tech competitive complexes for the development of natural resources, focused not only on the NSR but also on meridional transport links with the central and southern regions of the Krasnoyarsk Krai and the republics of Khakassia and Tyva. It will provide significant additional (both direct and indirect) effects for the Krasnoyarsk Krai and the macro-region “Yeniseiskaya Siberia” [2, Shishatsky N. G., Bryukhanova E. A., Matveev A. M.].

The project of integrated development of the northern and Arctic zones of the Krasnoyarsk Krai — a part of the macro-region “Yenisei Siberia”

The role of the northern and Arctic territories in the socio-economic development of the Krai and the country is dual and contradictory. On the one hand, their powerful natural resource, territorial and economic potential is a reserve for sustainable development. On the other hand, the extreme conditions of life and production complicate social and industrial processes. The development of the natural resources of the northern and Arctic territories is hampered by their weak geological distribution, low transport accessibility, and a shortage of electricity, which increases the cost of economic and life-support activities.

Famous Russian scientists noted the project of integrated development of the northern and arctic territories should proceed from the new modern development model adequate to the global and Russian challenges. It should also provide for the advanced development of geological exploration, transport, energy and social infrastructure, based on the use of the most progressive and modern technological and organizational decisions [3, Kryukov V.A. ; 4, Pilyasov A.N., Kuleshov V.V., Seliverstov V.E.; 5, Pilyasov A.N.; 6, Resursnie regioni Rossii ...; 7, Siberia and the Far East in XXI Century...].

The megaproject “Yeniseiskaya Siberia”, in our opinion, provides new opportunities for such approaches. Four main blocks should be fundamental: transport, energy, industrial and social.

Transport

The core of the transport infrastructure of the northern and Arctic zones of the Krasnoyarsk Territory should be a network of latitudinal and meridional railways, including:

- Salekhard — Korotchaevo — Igarka — Norilsk railway line under construction;
- the project of the North-Siberian highway Ust-Ilimsk — Yarki — Lesobirsk — Bely Yar — Nizhnevartovsk;
- meridional railway on the right bank of the Yenisei from Igarka to Leso-Siberian.

Such a network will connect the southern and central regions of the Yenisei Siberia, as well as Western Siberia, with the mineral deposits of the northern and Arctic territories of the Krasnoyarsk Territory, providing access to the Northern Sea Route (Fig. 1).

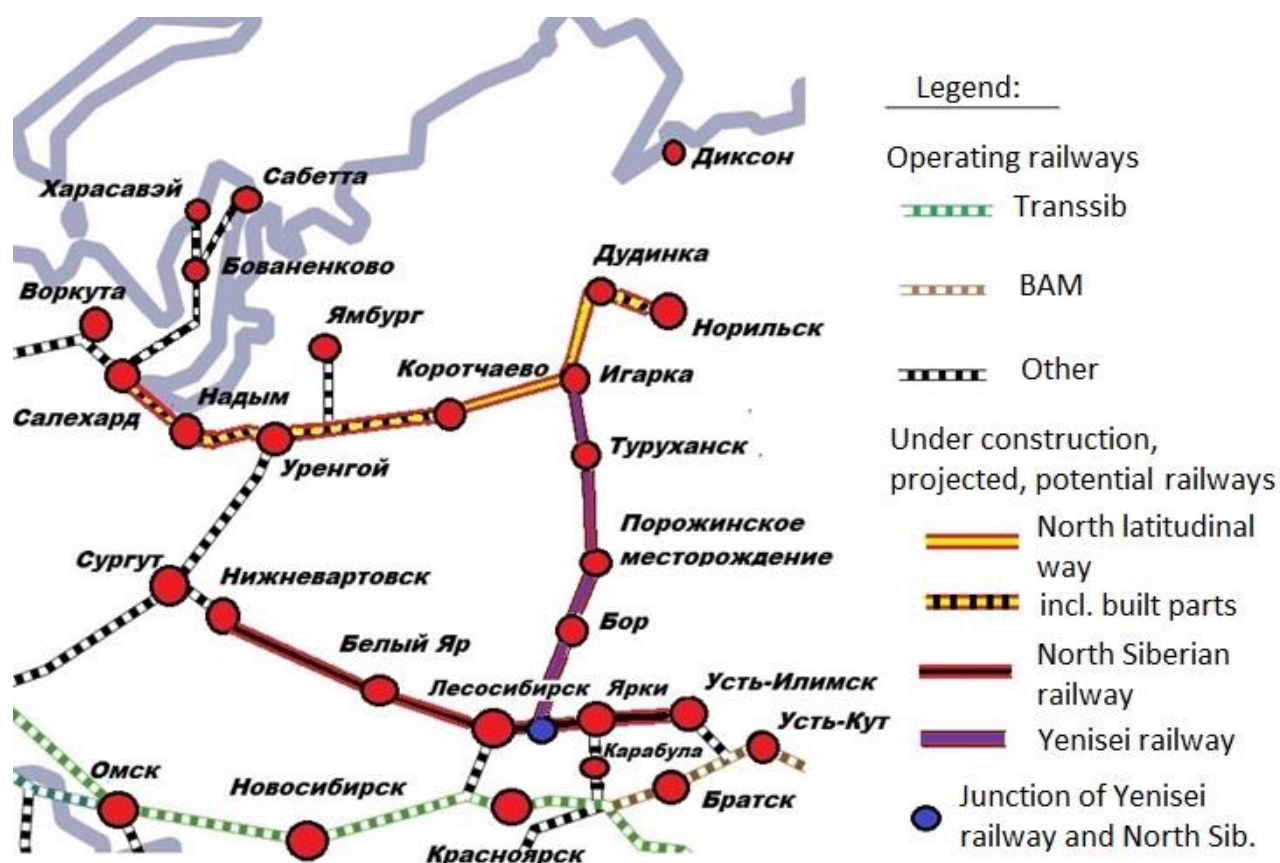


Fig. 1. Scheme of railways in the northern and arctic territories of the Yenisei and Western Siberia (possible perspective)

At present (albeit slowly), the phased construction of the sections of the Northern latitudinal railway line Korotchaevo — Russkoe (122 km), Russkoe — Igarka (482 km), Igarka — Norilsk (285 km) is being carried out. The project is being implemented jointly by the Government of Russia, the Government of the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous District, PJSC Gazprom, Russian Railways OJSC. In February 2017, the construction was announced to be completed in 2023, the project cost was estimated at 236 billion rubles (265 million rubles / km). For the first time in Russian railway practice, construction is carried out on a concession basis.

North-Siberian Railway (SevSib)

The SevSib project appeared in the 50s. last century. In the 1980s it was assumed that the railway will pass through Nizhnevartovsk (Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug) — Bely Yar (Tomsk Region) — Lesosibirsk — Karabula (both — Krasnoyarsk Territory) — Ust-Ilimsk (Irkutsk Region).

In 2007, the Ministry of Transport of Russia, considering the positive expert opinion of the Institute of Environmental Protection of the Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences, included the SevSib project (Nizhnevartovsk — Bely Yar — Ust-Ilimsk (1,892 km)) into the Strategy for the Development of Railway Transport in Russia until 2030. However, at present this document largely lost its relevance, although some point shifts in its progress took place.

In the Krasnoyarsk Krai, the Karabula-Yarki railway line (44 km), which is sometimes called the first section of SevSib, was built. It was constructed under of the Investment Project of the Nizhnee Priangarie. Another section of SevSib is the High Mountain Bridge over the Yenisei in the

Lesosibirsk region, which will become part of the future railway. The design of the power station has been completed (unfortunately, only in the mobile version), the decision on the sources of funding for this project (about 10 billion rubles) has not yet been made, but the authorities of the Krasnoyarsk Krai are actively promoting it. A systemic flaw in the SevSib project is the closeness of the main line in the west direction. All the multiplicative effects of SevSib can only appear a part of a single railway, which also includes the Barentskomur and BAM.

The meridional railway Lesosibirsk — Igarka (about 900 km)

This project is the least developed and is the most problematic. In the 1960s–1970s, the construction of a meridional railway from Leso-Siberian to Norilsk was considered one of the priorities for solving the transport problems of the northern and Arctic regions of the Krasnoyarsk Krai. *“The weak link of the transport system of the region (Krasnoyarsk Krai) is the insufficient connection of the southern (developed) and northern (resource) territories. Therefore, for more than a decade, the building a railway line connecting Norilsk with the country's railway network has been studied. According to the calculations of IE OPP SB RAS, due to the lack of a reliable transport connection with the Norilsk industrial hub, the national economy losses amount to more than 150 million rubles per year.*

The construction of the meridional railway will provide transport-railway approaches to the northern hydropower plants, to large industrial hubs, primarily to Norilsk, to dozens of iron ore, copper-nickel, polymetallic, ilmenite, manganese, phosphorus, coal, oil and gas and other deposits.

The Lesosibirsk-Norilsk railway can significantly speed up the exploration and development of mineral resources in this region. Also, without a railway, it is impossible to develop highly productive forest exploitation territories with total timber reserves of up to 3 billion m³.

The presence of shipping routes from the Yenisei river to 8 sections of limited shipping routes to another 25–30 sections of the planned railway route will allow it to be built simultaneously from dozens of lines with lower transport costs than on the Urengoy-Norilsk line. This project should consider the commodity soil, stone, rubble and sand and gravel along the meridional railroad.”⁴.

The feasibility of building a meridional railway from Igarka to the Porozhinskoe deposit is confirmed in the Territorial Planning Scheme of the Turukhansky District, developed by the Krasnoyarskagroproejkt in 2008. The document notes: *“During an estimated period (up to 2030), construction of a meridional railway along the right bank of the Yenisei river “Igarka — Turukhansk — Porozhinskoye field” with a further exit in the south direction to the North-Siberian transport way. Constructions of these routes can be completed only with the development of new resource zones*

⁴ *Nauchno-tekhnicheskij doklad po prognozu ispol'zovaniya prirodnih resursov i razvitiya proizvoditel'nyh sil Angaro-Enisejskogo regiona v period do 1990-2000 gg.* [Scientific and technical report on the prediction of the use of natural resources and the development of the productive forces of the Angara-Yenisei region in the period up to 1990-2000.]. Akademiya nauk SSSR, Komissiya po izucheniyu proizvo-ditel'nyh sil i prirodnih resursov pri prezidiume AN SSSR. Moskva. 1980. pp. 82-88. [In Russian]

in the central part of Evenkia - Turukhansk area (Nizhnee Priangare and the southern zones of Evenkia)”.⁵

In modern conditions, the meridional railway from Krasnoyarsk to Dudinka and Norilsk will be able to connect territories of the Yenisei Arctic not only with southern and central areas of Yeniseiskaya Siberia but also with countries of northeast Asia (China and Korea). The search for rational river and land transport routes is not an alternative to the development of the Northern Sea Route, and it allows you to expand the possibilities of optimizing transport and logistics access to the resources of the northern and Arctic areas of Russia, in which the business of these countries is interested (Fig.2)⁵.



Fig.2. Integrated transport and logistics network in Eurasia, providing freight traffic on the Northern Sea Route

The high competitiveness of the NSR, including the use of river routes along the Yenisei River, compared to other Asia-Europe transit routes, has been confirmed in studies by Korean experts [8, Moon D.S., Kim D.J., Lee E.K.].

The construction of a meridional railway in the Yenisei traverse will only increase the attractiveness and transport and economic connections of the countries of Northeast Asia with the territories of the Yenisei North and the Arctic. Their priority is confirmed in studies of Korean experts compare to the other transit routes Asia-Europe [8, Moon D.S., Kim D.J., Lee E.K.].

⁵ Maritime Challenges and New Opportunities in the Arctic, 30 August 2017 Jong-Deog KIM (co-author : Sung-Woo LEE) Korea Maritime Institute Republic of Korea The VII International Meeting of State-Members of the Arctic Council, State-Observers to the Arctic Council and Foreign Scientific Community.

It is obvious that the construction of the meridional railway in the Yenisei traverse will only increase the attractiveness and scale of the transport and economic relations of the countries of Northeast Asia with the territories of the Yenisei North and the Arctic.

Energy

The priority and at the same time, the most challenging element in the formation of a powerful energy system of the northern and Arctic territories of the region is the Nizhne-Tungus hydropower station.

The Nizhne-Tungus HPP is a new socially, environmentally and economically active project for the construction of a powerful HPP in the Nizhnyaya Tunguska alignment.

Previously developed projects for the construction of similar hydroelectric power plants (known by the names Turukhanskaya (in the 1980s — 1990s) and the Evenki Hydroelectric Power Station (2005–2012) were rejected by the people and the public of the Turukhansk region and Evenkiya, as well as authoritative scientific experts.⁶

However, it should be noted that the construction of a large hydropower station on Nizhnyaya Tunguska remains an important project with high socio-economic efficiency. At the same time, its relevance is particularly increasing in connection with the formation and transition to the implementation of the strategy of integrated socio-economic development of the macro-region of the Yenisei Siberia.

The following arguments are in favor of this statement:

1. hydro-potential is the most important and, at the same time, insufficiently mastered development resource of Siberia and Russia (Fig. 3, Fig. 4, Fig. 5);

⁶ Design and preparatory work for the construction of the Turukhansk HPP began in the late 1980s but by the early 1990s. They were stopped both because of the protests of environmentalists, who at that time enjoyed significant public support, and because of the deterioration of the economic condition of the country, accompanied by a drop in energy consumption. In the 1990s, various types of hydropower plants were considered, differing in pressure and, consequently, power and output -e.g., a variant of hydropower plants with a capacity of 6300 MW and an output of 29 billion kWh with a head of 140 m, an option with a capacity of 14,000 MW and others. In 2005–2012, the project for the construction of hydroelectric power plants (now called the Evenki Hydroelectric Power Plant) has again become urgent. In 2008, the Evenk Hydroelectric Power Plant (with the concurrent Nizhne-Kureiskaya Hydroelectric Power Plant with a total capacity of 8,150 MW and a production of 46 billion kWh) was included in the General Layout Scheme of the Russian Energy Facilities until 2020. According to the developed project, the hydropower plant capacity was taken at 12 000 MW and had to be transferred to the European part of Russia to cover the deficit of the power system. The project of the Evenk Hydroelectric Power Plant was supported by the administration of the Krasnoyarsk Krai. However, due to the negative attitudes, the project was again rejected. In the last General Scheme of the location of energy facilities in Russia for the period until 2035, approved in 2017, the construction of the Evenki hydropower station is not provided.

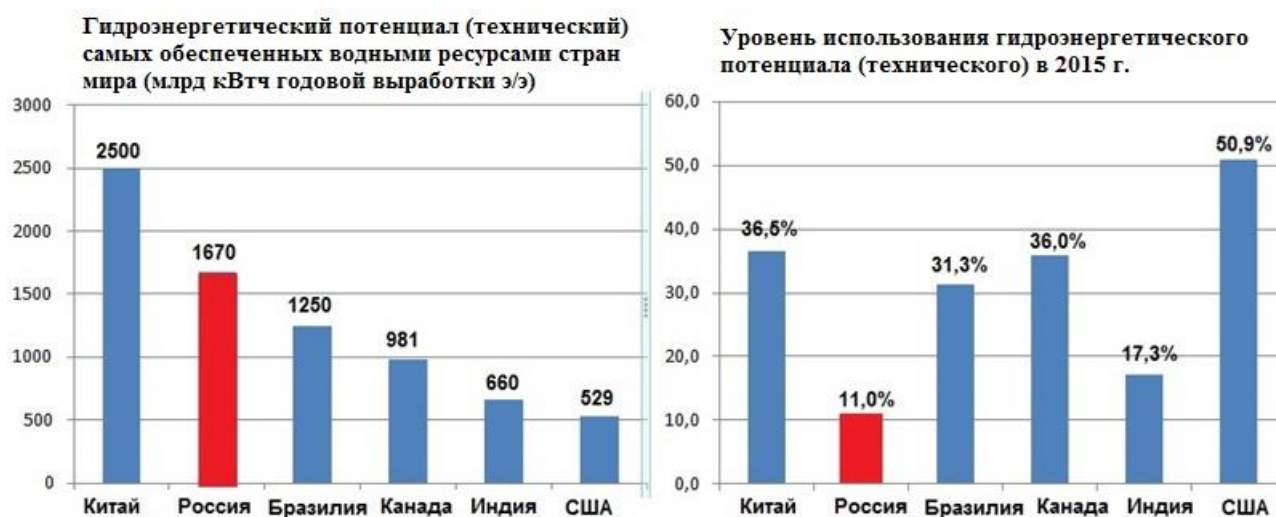


Fig. 3. Hydropower potential of the most water-rich countries in the world, billions of kWh, and the degree of its use.⁷
Countries from left to right: China, Russia, Brazil, Canada, India, the US



Fig. 4. Increase in electricity production at hydroelectric power plants in 1986–2017, billions of kWh.⁸
Countries from left to right: China, Brazil, Canada, India, Venezuela, Norway, Russia

⁷ Author's calculations based on data [9, Bogush B.B. et al., p. 4].

⁸ Author's calculations based on data from the BP Statistical Review of World Energy 2018. URL: <https://www.bp.com/content/dam/bp/en/corporate/pdf/energy-economics/statistical-review/bp-stats-review-2018-full-report.pdf> (Accessed: 25 July 2018).



Fig. 5. The degree of development of effective hydropotential of Russia ⁹.

European part of Russia – about 38% (incl. Ural); Siberia – about 30%; Far East – 8%; Russia is second in the list of hydro energy owners in the world after China; Russia's effective hydropotential \approx 853 billion Kwh (\approx 8.3% of the world HP); Russia is significantly behind the leading countries by the effective development of hydro resources.

2. The Lower Tunguska is one of the most favorable rivers of the world for hydropower construction. The narrow canyon-shaped riverbed allows us to implement various technology solutions and provide acceptable environmental damage. At the same time, both regarding area and volume, the reservoir of the future hydroelectric station should become the largest in the world. Such a significant size of the reservoir allows for deep multi-year flow regulation.

3. The zone of territorial influence of hydropower plants (within a radius of 500–800 km) is rich in mineral resources, has a favorable economic and geographical position and is a territory with a high potential for industrial development and consumption of electric power. Realization of this potential is constrained by a shortage of electricity in the western part of the Lower Angara region, in Turukhansk, Yenisei and North-Yenisei districts. The construction of a large hydropower station on Nizhnyaya Tunguska will not only remove the energy barriers to the development of these areas but also increase the environmental and economic efficiency of the energy sector by refraining from constructing the planned Nizhne-Angarsk (Motygin) hydroelectric station.

The construction of the Nizhne-Tungusskaya HPP (8150–12150 MW along with the counter-regulating hydropower plant) and the Nizhne-Kureiskaya HPP (150 MW), as well as the necessary facilities, will ensure reliable electricity supply to existing and introduced consumers in the

⁹ Author's calculations based on data [9, Bogush B.B. et al., p. 5].

territory of the new economic development The Russian Federation (up to 10% of modern energy consumption of the whole country). It will allow uniting the Taimyr-Norilsk energy system with the country's unified energy system and ensure the creation of a deep-water river master. It is in line with the Lower Tunguska and decides to fresh drinking water problems in the region. For its implementation, the project of the Nizhne-Tunguskskaya HPP should significantly improve performance compared with the previously proposed plans of the Evenki (Turukhansk) HPP.

The main directions for developing the project and increasing its socio-economic attractiveness (see Box 1):

- The project should be considered not only as a sectoral (hydropower) but above all as a socio-economic (transport, water, social, infrastructure, etc.).
- The project should prioritize consideration of regional socio-economic effects, primarily of the Turukhansk and Evenk districts.
- Environmental adverse effects and risks should be eliminated.
- Nizhne-Tungusky waterworks can be the beginning of the development of the Yenisei-Lena deep-water main¹⁰.

Box 1. Resolution of public hearings on the issue "On the construction of the Evenki HPP"

(Appendix to the Decree of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of June 10, 2010, No. 10-4776P)

Noting the magnitude of the problems identified, realizing civic responsibility towards present and future generations, defending their right to live in an environmentally safe environment, participants in public hearings:

1. It is considered that the assessments of the socio-economic feasibility of building the Evenk hydroelectric station on the Nizhnyaya Tunguska river and assessing its environmental impact submitted for public discussion do not give answers to the problematic issues raised during open discussions. The official position of the potential investor of the project of JSC "RusHydro" on the problems identified was not presented at the public hearings. The lack of a comprehensive assessment of all possible consequences of the implementation of the construction of the Evenk Hydroelectric Power Station on the territory of the Krasnoyarsk Krai does not allow to form a definite opinion of the public concerned about the possibility and feasibility of continuing the project.

2. Recommend:

2.1. To the Government of the Russian Federation:

- *when deciding on a project to build the Evenk Hydroelectric Power Plant along with an assessment of the technical, financial and economic efficiency of the project to solve macroeconomic problems, development prospects of the territories, consider the consequences of dam construction for local communities, lifestyle of indigenous small peoples of the North, their health, social relations and culture, and large-scale environmental risks, irreversibility of changes in all components of the ecosystem of the Far North;*
- *return to consideration of alternative solutions to the task of ensuring the energy balance of the Russian Federation to increase the welfare of society, based on the equal importance of economic, financial, social and environmental factors;*
- *take the necessary measures to ensure the legislative regulation of issues related to the flooding of underground nuclear explosions, aimed at guaranteeing the ecological safety of the environment;*

2.2. To the Ministry of Energy of the Russian Federation:

- *clarify the long-term forecast of the fuel and energy balance of the Russian Federation (Siberia) in order to*

¹⁰ Rechnaya Doktrina RF [River Doctrine of the Russian Federation]. Moskva. Institut demografii, migracii i regional'nogo razvitiya, 2015.

substantiate the need to build the Evenki hydroelectric station on the Nizhnyaya Tunguska river from the perspective of the socio-economic development of Siberia and the Russian Federation as a whole in terms of the implementation of state policy in the field of increasing energy efficiency and energy saving;

- *to submit for public consideration to the interested public and state authorities of the Krasnoyarsk Territory updated indicators of the forecast balance of the power industry and relevant justifications;*
- *to consider the issue of choosing alternatives to the construction of the Evenk Hydropower Plant of the power supply options for the Russian economy during the preparation of proposals to the Government of the Russian Federation on the adjustment of the General Layout of Electric Power Facilities until 2020;*

2.3. FSUE "VNIPIpromtekhnologiya":

- *provide state authorities of the Krasnoyarsk Territory with full information on the condition of wells of underground nuclear explosions, on the radiation situation in the adjacent territory, as well as on environmental risks and environmental impact assessment of possible depressurization of underground atomic explosions cavities due to the construction of the Evenki Hydroelectric Power Plant ;*
- *prepare and send proposals to the authorized state authorities on radioecological monitoring of the state of underground nuclear explosions at the floodplain of the Lower Tunguska;*

2.4. The Governor of the Krasnoyarsk Territory is to inform the Legislative Assembly of the Krasnoyarsk Territory about any changes in the state of affairs of the Evenki HPP construction project.

3. Offer:

3.1. The Russian Academy of Sciences - to prepare a comprehensive scientific examination of the project for the construction of the Evenki dam on the river Nizhnyaya Tunguska;

3.2. JSC "RusHydro" and JSC "Lengidroproekt" - to provide an opportunity for a comprehensive assessment of the construction project of the Evenki hydropower station, including an assessment on social and economic issues, as well as strategic environmental assessment using international practice in this area.

Industry

Primary industrial projects:

A) Construction of a mining and smelting complex in the Norilsk industrial region

Establishment of a world-class production of platinum group metals based on the Norilsk-1 and Chernogorskoe deposits, located near the city of Norilsk. The project in the Norilsk industrial region is the third in the world regarding the number of platinum group metals involved in the development. The processing of ores from the Chernogorsk and Norilsk-1 deposits is envisaged at two enrichment plants with a capacity of 9 million tons and 18 million tons per year, respectively. The output of platinum group metals will be more than 70 tons, most of which from the ore of the Norilsk-1 deposit, as well as nickel, more than 24 thousand tons, copper, about 60 thousand tons, gold - about 2 tons. At the Norilsk site, only mining of ore and production of concentrate is planned, the placement of metallurgical production is considered in Finland, Norway, Australia or South Africa. The company is also ready to find the option of accommodation in the Krasnoyarsk Krai (e.g., in Lesosibirsk), provided with the appropriate infrastructure and to use the Yenisei River as a link (300 thousand concentrates per year). Krastsvetmet is a priority option for refining platinum and gold (Krasnoyarsk)¹¹.

¹¹ Stenogramma press-konferencii «Russkoj platiny» 21 noyabrya 2012 g v Krasnoyarske. [Transcript of the Russian Platinum Press Conference on November 21, 2012 in Krasnoyarsk] URL: <http://russian-platinum.ru/press/news/93> (Accessed: 25 July 2018). [In Russian]

5) Forming center for oil and gas industry development

The following centers for the development of the oil and gas industry in the northern and Arctic regions of the Krasnoyarsk Territory can be distinguished:

- Vankorskiy Cluster (development of the Vankorskiy, Suzunskiy, Tagulskiy and Lodochnoe deposits);
- Evenk Cluster (development of the Yurubcheno-Tokhomsky and Kuyumbinsky deposits);
- Ust-Yenisei Cluster (development of Payakhsky and North-Payaysky deposits, and then - Baikalsky and Ozerneye deposits).

The projects will make it possible to increase the annual volume of oil production to 30–40 million tons, gas — more than 10 billion cubic meters by 2030.

The Vankor oil is transported via the Vankor-Purpe pipeline (Yamal-Nenets district) and further to the Transneft system, the gas-Vankor-Khalmerpayutinsky (Yamal-Nenets district) and further to the EGS Russia.

Transportation of Evenk oil goes via Kuyumba — Taishet oil pipeline for filling ESPO; associated gas — injection into the reservoir. The option of transporting gas to Boguchan is possible to obtain LNG for the gasification of Krasnoyarsk thermal power plants. Using gas from the Yurubcheno-Tokhomsky and Kuyumbinsky fields is the utilization of helium, which must be solved at the federal level using federal funds (see Box 2).

Box 2. Construction of the Boguchansky GPP and gasification of thermal power plants central and southern regions of Yenisei Siberia

The environmental improvement plan in Krasnoyarsk considers gasification of the city as one of the most critical activities. According to the general scheme of gas supply and gasification of the region, developed by Gazpromgaz at the end of 2016, it is planned to build the Proskokovo (Kemerovo region) - Achinsk - Krasnoyarsk - Kansk - Balagansk (Irkutsk Region) gas pipeline in the Krasnoyarsk Territory).

Connecting the area to the existing gas transmission system of Gazprom will allow gasification of 10 cities and 16 districts of the region.

The cost of gasification of the Krasnoyarsk Territory is estimated at 180–250 billion rubles and the re-equipment of urban thermal power plants for gas will require up to another 18 billion rubles. Considering that the Proskokovo - Achinsk - Krasnoyarsk - Kansk - Balagansk (Kovykta) gas pipeline with a tie - in to the Power of Siberia gas pipeline is unlikely to be built earlier than in 7-10 years and will require significant investments of 180-250 billion In this variant, the bad ecological situation in Krasnoyarsk will not change until 2025–2030. Another disadvantage of the official version is that the region will be gasified using West Siberian oil, while the Krasnoyarsk Territory has its significant reserves of natural gas. A more rational and attractive regarding time and costs is the gasification option of the Krasnoyarsk agglomeration, as well as the central and southern regions of the macro-region “Yeniseiskaya Siberia” proposed by the Ecological Center for Natural Resource Development (EC ROPR) (Krasnoyarsk). This option provides for the use of local gas resources for gas transportation of Krasnoyarsk and other territories of the Krasnoyarsk Territory (by-pass oil of the Kuyumbinsky and Yurubcheno-Tokhomsky fields).

According to estimates by the Department of Subsoil Use of the Central-Siberian District, industrial reserves of associated gas from the Kuyumbinsky and Yurubcheno-Tokhomsky fields amount to about 94 bil-

lion cubic meters. m, that is, they can meet the demand of the Krasnoyarsk agglomeration and the adjacent central and southern regions of the Yenisei Siberia for 15–25 years.

In general, in the Angara region and the south of Evenkia, recoverable reserves are at least 1 trillion cubic meters of natural gas.

The option involves the construction of a gas pipeline from the fields to the village of Bogu-Chany (in the traverse of the existing pipe), a gas processing and gas-liquefying plant in the area of the village of Boguchany with the subsequent transportation of liquefied gas (about 2-3 million tons per year) by rail Karabula - N. Poyma - Krasnoyarsk.

PJSC Rosneft is interested in building the YUTZ-Kuyumba-Boguchany gas pipeline, as the law prohibits the burning of associated petroleum gas, and the company has to invest significant funds in its injection technology. With the provision of appropriate benefits from the state, Rosneft PJSC is able to build the Kuyumba-Boguchany gas pipeline and gas processing facility in the Boguchany settlement area (cost estimate is 90–100 billion rubles). The growth of industrial gas reserves in Priangar'e (Agaleevskaya area, the Abakan deposit, etc.) is expected in 2024–2025. The construction of the Boguchany-Krasnoyarsk gas pipeline with a capacity of up to 10 billion cubic meters per year can become economically feasible.

Problem. Boguchansky GPZ should provide helium extraction. Considering that helium is a strategic resource of the state, the cost of additional equipment of the Boguchansky gas processing plant for the separation of helium with subsequent injection into the helio-depository should be financed from federal sources.

Transportation of Payakh and North-Payah oil (as well as oil from other deposits of the Ust-Yenisei oil and gas cluster — Baikalovsky, Ozerniy) is possible in two versions:

- northern option: by building an oil pipeline from the oil fields to the Tanalau oil terminal (100 km from Dudinka) on the right bank of the Yenisei River with further transportation by tankers along the Northern Sea Route;
- southern option: by building pipelines in a southerly direction and connecting them to the existing trunk network (Vankor-Purpe pipeline).

The northern option is preferable for the following reasons:

- provides an opportunity to preserve the Siberian Light brand of oil (in the pipeline system of the public joint-stock company Transneft, there is a mixture with heavy oil of the Volga-Ural oil and gas region and the Urals mixture is exported, which is traded at a discount of 10 percent);
- allows to expand the geography of sales markets (when transporting through the pipeline system Transneft, approximately 40 percent of the produced oil is exported, which reduces the profitability of developing deposits);
- due to the construction of an oil terminal in the Dudinka area, it allows you to create a base for the development of adjacent territories of Taimyr, where hydrocarbon deposits are located.

The use of produced associated natural gas is possible by an LNG plant in Dudinka (2–5 million tons) and the subsequent transportation of liquefied gas for export through the NSR.

B). Turukhansko-Lesosibirsk energy industrial region (complex)

The central and most important condition for the creation of the Turukhano-Lesosibirsk energy industrial region is the construction of the Turukhansk hydroelectric station and the merid-

ional railway from Abalakov to Norilsk. These objects are the most critical infrastructure elements not only for the macro-region “Yenisei Siberia” but also for the country's economy as a whole.

Development of the Porozhinsky Manganese Deposit

Manganese is a strategic raw material of the Russian Federation. Porozhinskoe manganese deposit is one of the largest in Russia. The organization in the territory of the Krasnoyarsk Krai of a complex for the deep processing of manganese ores can satisfy by 50% the needs of Russian ferrous metallurgy. The field is located 350 km north of the railway station Lesosibirsk, 12 km east of the Yenisei river. The total manganese ore potential of the deposit is 267 million tons. The project of the 1st stage of field development provides for the extraction of ore — 2.55 million tons, the production of concentrate — 711.4 thousand tons and manganese alloys (ferromanganese and ferrosilicomanganese) — 221 thousand tons. The commencement of commercial ore mining was to begin in 2013–2014. (CJSC “Turukhansky Meridian” (a subsidiary of the company OJSC “Prominvest”)).

The metallurgic ferroalloy production plant was planned to be organized in Sosnovoborsk (40 km from Krasnoyarsk). Delivery of manganese concentrate to the metallurgical plant was planned for river transport, for which the construction of the Porozhin River Terminal was supposed. Project postponed indefinitely due to financial difficulties. The creation of the energy base in the region and the construction of the railway to the deposit will significantly improve the financial performance of the project (due to the relocation of the metallurgical plant site to the Lesosibirsk region and reduce transportation costs) and reduce the time for its implementation.

“The main technical and economic indicators confirm that the effective implementation of the project for the development of the Porozhinsky field in the conditions of an undeveloped industrial infrastructure of the Turukhansk region is possible only with the organization of large-scale production and only in the case of the formation of a single mining and metallurgical complex uniting the entire production cycle raw ore prior to metallurgical processing of manganese concentrates within the local industrial territory”[10, Prirodnie resursi..., p. 146].

Copper-nickel plant based on the Norilsk concentrates

The idea of building in the middle course of the Yenisei of metallurgical plants for processing Norilsk ores is not new. It was formulated back in the 1960s.

“The analysis of actual and project indicators for Norilsk MMC confirms the impossibility of the normative recoupment of capital investments in the development of metallurgical capacities, as well as the cost-effective industrial use of all the components of the ore even during the primary development of the richest solid sulfide copper ores, if all the enrichment-metallurgical the redistribution will be located in Norilsk and on the Kola Peninsula. It is due mainly to the high energy intensity of nickel and copper production and, consequently, the high cost of energy supply to the Norilsk region.

In the early 1960s, it was recommended to take out the heavy fraction and feinstein from the Norilsk region and place part of the metallurgical production capacity in the Forest-Siberian

Industrial Center. Lesosibirsk Copper-Nickel Plant provides a drastic increase in production efficiency and solves the problem of bringing the air basin of Norilsk into sanitary norms.

With a concentration in Lesosibirsk of up to 40% of the total production capacity of Norilsk MMC for the production of commodity metals, it is possible to ensure the effective functioning of the created metallurgical facilities in Norilsk and Lesosibirsk for many decades.

A new copper-nickel plant in Lesosibirsk, in addition to the main processing of Norilsk, concentrates and semi-finished products, can consume copper-nickel and copper concentrates from new promising ore areas to the south and northeast of Norilsk, in particular from Igarsky, Kureisky, Priangarsky, and Maymecha-Kotuisky.

It guarantees not only long-term maintenance of the initial capacities of the Lesosibirsky combine but the need in effective expansion to the scale required by the material balance of the USSR with two times lower than in Norilsk capital and operating costs for metallurgical redistribution¹².

Phosphate fertilizer plant

Prerequisites for the creation of this enterprise:

- the need to reduce the overconcentration of apatite concentrate production within the Murmansk region and the development, in order to reduce the cost and increase the availability of phosphate tuk, new phosphate ore deposits located near agricultural regions of the country, including in Siberia;
- availability of sufficient raw material base of apatite and phosphorus ores in the Krasnoyarsk Territory (Tatar deposit of phosphate-niobium ores, Seiba deposit of phosphate-iron ores, Telek phosphate deposits), in the Republic of Khakassia (Obldzhansk phosphate deposits), and also in Irkut region (Beloziminsky apatite-metal deposit);
- the possibility of creating an effective sulfuric acid production based on the use of huge excess resources of elemental sulfur obtained from the disposal of industrial waste in the Norilsk region. The plant may be located in the Lesosibirsk region. The enterprise may operate from sulfur and phosphate raw materials imported from Norilsk, supplied from local deposits.

Development of gold deposits

The priority object is the development of the Olginskaya gold ore area (217 sq. Km) located in the northern part of the Yenisei Ridge (resource estimate of at least 388 tons of gold, the average gold grade in the ore is 3 grams per ton). The deposit may be developed openly. A side effect of field development gives the ability to harvest 3 million cubic meters. According to the developed project (CJSC Prim-Invest), it is planned to create a raw material base, to form an industrial infrastructure and to build the Olginsky GOK with a design capacity for the extraction of first gold of 9 tons per year. Cement Plant in the construction area of the Turukhanskaya HPP is intended to provide for the construction of hydraulic and industrial structures of the Turukhansk-Lesosibirsk

¹² *Nauchno-tekhnicheskij doklad po prognozu ispol'zovaniya prirodnih resursov i razvitiya proizvoditel'nyh sil Angaro-Enisejskogo regiona v period do 1990–2000 g.* [Scientific and technical report on the forecast of use of natural resources and development of productive forces of the Angara-Yenisei region in the period up to 1999-2000]/ Akademiya nauk SSSR, Komissiya po izucheniyu proizvo-ditel'nyh sil i prirodnih resursov pri prezidiume AN SSSR. Moskva. 1980. pp. 51, 55.[In Russian]

energy industrial region. Production capacity is 600 thousand tons of cement and concrete products per year. The project involves the creation of a raw material base of the cement industry in the Yenisei North, the development of limestone, marl and gravel deposits in the area of construction of hydropower plants and the lower reaches of the Yenisei.

Society

Renovation of housing and communal services and economy of Arctic cities

The need for renovation

As it is rightly noted in the works of leading Russian scientists, “the cross-cutting principle of maximizing the use of infrastructure and human potential of existing settlements should be put in the basis of the state regional policy in the Arctic. At the same time, in the further economic development of the Arctic territories, exclusively rotational-expeditionary method should be applied”. [11, Fauzer V.V., pp. 45–46]. With respect to the Arctic territories, a number of systemic principles should be followed.

First, to introduce a regulatory ban on the creation of new settlements with a permanent population in the Russian Arctic or to transfer settlements from rotational to stationary ones. At the same time, it is necessary to maximize the use of the unique labor potential of the Arctic cities in the development of new territories of the Russian Arctic through the use of intra- and inter-regional monitoring. Among other things, it will contribute to the adequate behavior of workers in the Arctic natural environment, since they live there constantly.

Secondly, as a matter of priority, to direct budget investments to modernize the housing and communal services of the Arctic settlements. Already established settlements with a permanent population and elements of infrastructure should be considered as a result of previously produced considerable state investments and, accordingly, as a real asset and instrument of state participation in the economic development of the Arctic territories. To this it should be added that “human settlements are often the only element of the state presence, state “outposts” in the vast territories of the Eastern and Far Eastern sectors of the Russian Arctic, where industrial development is just ahead” [11, Fauzer V.V., pp. 45–46].

The housing fund of Norilsk is currently in a critical condition. The construction of housing in the city practically ceased more than 20 years ago, and most of the houses built earlier became useless. The conditions of the Extreme North - the harsh climate, the permafrost. Buildings in such conditions cannot serve as long as on the mainland. Active housing construction in Norilsk began in the 1960s. During the “Komsomol construction projects”, Khrushchev buildings were built, which today constitute the largest sector of residential buildings in Norilsk. Before this, “stalinks” were built in the city, and after Khrushchev houses, more modern homes appeared. And since all these types of houses were made each in its own time, they also became unusable, have served their time.

The situation has now reached a critical point: either the housing conditions of the Norilsk people will improve, or soon people will have to be relocated to the mainland. The second option is unpromising. Norilsk Mining and Metallurgical Combine masters the riches of Taimyr and people need to have decent living conditions.

Renovation problems

1. Restoration (on a rational scale) of its construction base during Soviet times, enterprises producing all construction materials necessary for the construction of buildings worked in Norilsk. They have not been working for a long time, and all that is necessarily has to be transported from the mainland by the Northern Sea Route. Naturally, in the conduct of large-scale construction, this creates additional difficulties and entails enormous costs. The development of the regional construction industry can improve the efficiency of renovation.

2. Financing. It is impossible to implement such a large project as the renovation of Norilsk (the minimum estimate of the cost of such a program is from 200 to 400 billion rubles, the real one is from 500 to 1,000 billion rubles). It should be financed from the federal, regional and city budgets with the participation of business. Negotiations and agreements on the possibility of co-financing with Nor-Nickel, the government of the Krasnoyarsk Territory, and the federal government are necessary.

3. Scientific support and maintenance. The renovation program is a multidisciplinary problem. It requires scientific substantiation and development not only in the field of construction and architecture and housing and communal services but also in the field of economics, innovative development, demography, sociology, etc. At CEF-2018, the administration of Norilsk signed an agreement with the SFU on cooperation, aimed at the participation of university specialists in the development of the urban planning strategy of the city of Norilsk: conducting a public examination of programs, plans, development projects and improving the infrastructure of the town.

Who can be involved in the Norilsk renovation program?

Federal center: the transformation of Norilsk into the center of the Taimyr-Turukhansk Arctic support zone;

Authorities of the Krasnoyarsk Krai: strengthening of Norilsk as the center of the Arctic and northern zone of the macro-region Yeniseiskaya Siberia;

Large business (Norilsk Nickel and Russian Platinum): to reduce labor costs (it is estimated that the joint project of Norilsk Nickel and Russian Platinum will require up to 10,000 workers and builders; creating improved living conditions in Norilsk will allow appropriate costs for their arrangement) and in improving the transport, logistics and financial and economic relations.

The development of the Arctic and North tourism: the Yenisei and the Arctic sea

Currently, regular sea cruises are organized from Murmansk (5–7 times a year) to the North Pole and back with a visit to the Franz Josef Land (or Spitsbergen). Despite the high cost of

participation in the polar cruise on the nuclear icebreaker “50 let Pobedi” (30–50 thousand dollars/pers.), they are very popular (table. 1).

Table 1

*Cruises from Murmansk to the North Pole on the nuclear icebreaker “50 Let Pobedi”
(capacity — 120 places)¹³*

	2015 г.	2016 г.	2017 г.
Number of cruises	7	5	6
Number of passengers	805	557	702

Inclusion in the program of polar Arctic cruises on the nuclear icebreaker “50 let Pobedi” ports of the Krasnoyarsk territory (Dixon and Dudinka), and territories of The Great Arctic Nature Reserve and the Northern Land (Fig. 6) can increase the tourist attractiveness of these cruises and the flow of tourists to the Arctic and Northern regions of the Krai.



Fig. 6. Routes of polar cruises Murmansk: the North Pole-Murmansk and the Arctic territories of the Krasnoyarsk Krai

The need to purchase a second atomic icebreaker in addition to the “50 Let Pobedi” may already be a problem when organizing combined cruises Murmansk — the North Pole — Dudinka and increasing the associated tourist flow. The practice of tourist cruises to the Arctic on Russian nuclear-powered icebreakers can be stopped, “if transit traffic continues to grow. Tourist flights pay off only if they are made two or three per season. One flight does not pay off. Two or three trips - this is already a plus. But if the cargo traffic develops, there will be no extra icebreakers (for tourists), — said A. Smirnov, Deputy Director of Atomflot in the interview¹⁴.

The composition of the atomic icebreaking fleet currently includes: two nuclear icebreakers with two nuclear power plants with a capacity of 75 thousand hp (“Yamal” and “50 Let Pobedi”),

¹³ Nacional'nyj park Russkaya Arktika. [The National park Russian Arctic] URL: www.rus-arc.ru (Accessed: 25 July 2018). [In Russian]

¹⁴ Rossijskie ledokoly prekrashchayut turistscheskie kruizy v Arktiku [Russian icebreakers stop tourist cruises to the Arctic] URL: <http://www.ecosever.ru/article/15542.html> (Accessed: 25 July 2018). [In Russian]

two icebreakers with a single-reactor installation with a capacity of about 50 thousand hp (“Taimyr” and “Vaigach”), a nuclear lighter carrier-container ship “Sevmorput” with a reactor with a capacity of 40 thousand hp and 5 technological service vessels. The atomic icebreaker “Soviet Union” is in operational reserve. In the coming years, Rosatomflot will include three universal nuclear-powered icebreakers (UAL), intended for pilotage of large-capacity vessels, year-round leadership of caravans in the Western Arctic. The two-draft design of nuclear-powered ships allows them to be used both in Arctic waters and in the mouths of polar rivers. The deadline for the UAL “Arktika” is 2019; the first serial atomic icebreaker “Sibir” — November 2020; the second serial atomic icebreaker “Ural” — November 2021.¹⁵

The organization of tourist polar cruises from Dudinka is impossible without resuming river cruises along the Yenisei on the route Dudinka — Krasnoyarsk — Dudinka for tourists arriving in Dudinka or departing from it to the North Pole and to Murmansk. And this is another problem.

The results of surveys of Russian and international tourist companies that specialize in organizing river cruises in Russia show a high demand for river cruises along the Yenisei on the route Krasnoyarsk — Dudinka — Krasnoyarsk. Despite the lack of offers, this cruise remains known and, no doubt, will be in demand by Russian and foreign tourists.

With an average load of 120–150 passengers, for the summer navigation along the Yenisei, 1,100–1,350 tourists (up to 2 thousand people) can sail. The Yenisei cruise can be supported by charter flights from Moscow to Krasnoyarsk and Norilsk. It also combines well with the “Sayan Ring” route and with other future interregional routes, when tourists adhere to the principle “since you’re in Siberia, you better see the more you can”.

Cruise tourism on the Yenisei is not the most prepared tourist destination (an increase in navigation periods is necessary, experienced operators and the possibility of operating the vessel as a floating hotel in the off-season). At the same time, cruises on the Yenisei are not only a business direction, but also an important social project for the population of the northern territories, affecting such indicators as the employment rate of the population at working age, the living standard, the level of social tension, and the amount of tax revenues from the project.

The most appropriate solution for the resumption of river cruises on the Yenisei, apparently, is the purchase of a European vessel. According to OJSC “Passenger-Trans”, the cost of a European ship with a 10-year lifespan is € 8–10 million, and the service life of such a ship is 30 years. Design and construction of a new ship in the Finnish or German shipyard will cost from € 30 million. The service life of the vessel is at least 50 years.

Buying a ship (or better, two ships) for river cruises along the Yenisei requires public-private partnership and attracting private investment.

Participants of the Yenisei river cruises have a large package of diverse and interesting excursion programs and tours and some more can be developed (eco-tours to the Putoran plateau;

¹⁵ Atomnyj ledokol'nyj flot [Nuclear icebreaker fleet]. URL: <http://www.rosatom.ru/production/fleet/> (Accessed: 25 July 2018). [In Russian]

visits to ethnic settlements of Indigenous Minorities of Evenkia and Taimyr; restoration of monuments of Soviet history (Stalin building No. 503) — the former settlement of Yermakovo; the IV Stalin memorial complex in Kureik, Norillag); extreme taiga safari and fishing (the Kureika river, the districts of the Bor settlement, the Verkhneimbatskoe settlement, and the Bakhta settlement); pilgrim tourism (the Yeniseisk church ensemble and Turukhan crown trinity monastery); objects of archeological heritage (ancient camp of IV — I millennium BC at the mouth of the Podkamennaya Tunguska river); Permafrost Museum in Igarka, etc.). Today demand for these destinations is low due to the remoteness and inaccessibility of sites.

The organization of the cruise involves the provision of an excursion program in the parking areas (activities of tour guides, transport, catering, the realization of souvenirs, wild plants, museums, other objects of tourist display), the development of the aerodrome network, which allows for the delivery of tourists to the sites on airplanes, creating complementary short routes on high-speed vessels in the Eniseisk — Bor, Bor — Turukhansk — Igarka, etc.

When organizing a sustainable tourist flow (based on sea and river cruises), the demand for existing and new tourist offers may significantly increase.

Conclusion

Summarizing what has been said, it can be concluded that the implementation of large-scale development projects for the most precious natural resources of the North and the Arctic will require advancing development and creation of a reliable infrastructure: transport (system of railways, including (construction of large hydropower plants on the Lower Tunguska and other tributaries of the Yenisei).

Effective implementation of such a complex program is impossible without the use of innovative methods and the application of the newest ecologically and socially balanced technologies. In this development scenario, the raw material orientation of the economy can become a powerful stimulus for the formation in the North and the Arctic not only industrial but also high-tech innovation clusters. At the same time, this will require new forms of organization of industrial production based on locally integrated regional production systems and networks.

In modern conditions, this is possible only by a systematic approach in the preparation of decisions made. The provisions and proposals outlined in the article can be considered as elements of the future strategy for the development of the northern and Arctic territories within the “Yenisei Siberia” macroregion. The research results can be used to adjust and formulate long-term and medium-term investment programs at the state and municipal levels of government, as well as in the development strategies of industrial, transport and energy corporations.

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POLITICAL PROCESSES AND INSTITUTIONS

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Public participation in planning a comfortable urban environment on the example of the Arkhangelsk region*

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Abstract. The article analyzes the experience of public participation in the planning of a comfortable urban environment. The forms of public involvement in the formation of a comfortable urban environment and their implementation are considered on the example of the Arkhangelsk region. The method of complex analysis of the theory and practice of public communications helps the article to present a qualitative assessment of public involvement in the improvement of the urban environment. It is shown that the existing methods of interaction between the authorities and citizens represent a one-sided process and often they are reduced to the formal fulfillment of legal requirements by municipalities. To improve the efficiency of public participation, the authors propose to develop a communicative model of urban space management based on constant interaction between municipal authorities and citizens. This model will allow establishing a dialogue between all stakeholders, which will ultimately lead to the successful implementation of the urban environmental program and improve the quality of life of citizens.

Keywords: *comfortable urban environment, urban space, urban community, communication management, civil society, public participation.*

Introduction

One of the priorities of the state policy of Russia in the field of socio-economic development is to improve the quality of life of the population. Quality of life is a collective concept that includes various characteristics of human existence [1, Sergeeva N.V., pp. 5–10].

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Today, most of the population of Russia lives in cities, so the space of the urban environment is one of the main factors determining the quality of life of Russian citizens. Large-scale and rapid in nature, the urbanization of Russia began in the 20th century. [2, Pivovarov Yu.L., pp. 101–113].

Many cities were created under specific state order, had the same type of architecture and infrastructure, which often did not consider the interests of citizens [3, Lagodina E.V., pp. 9–12]. Economic specialization was especially characteristic of the northern territories of Russia [4, Fauzer V.V., Lytkina T.S., Fauzer G.N., pp. 40–50].

Transition to a market economy and a reduction in state funding made most Russian cities noticeably deteriorated, which was one of the reasons for the migration loss of the population. Today, hopes for the economic and social revival of the northern cities of Russia are connected with the development of the Arctic resource, as well as projects that will contribute to increasing the comfort of the North and Arctic cities.

According to many researchers, the quality of cities plays an essential role in the social and economic development of regions [3, Lagodina E.V., pp. 9–12; 5, Pogudina A.L., pp. 146–148]. In this regard, in 2017, in all regions of the Russian Federation, projects to create a comfortable urban environment began. The projects are aimed at qualitatively improving the Russian cities and creating suitable conditions for the life of citizens.

A unique feature of the program is the active involvement of the population in the planning and measures for the creation and improvement of the public places. It is assumed that public participation in planning a comfortable urban environment will allow identifying the interests of citizens and reaching agreement on the goals and plans for the implementation of the project. The government has developed guidelines for involving citizens in discussing projects on the improvement of the urban environment, which should ensure maximum openness and the possibility of permanent participation of the population in making socially important decisions. Since the beginning of the project, large-scale measures have been taken across Russia to create a comfortable urban environment. Despite this, today the participation of citizens is one of the main problems of the project [6, Dmitrieva N.N., Ipatova T.M., pp. 95–98]. In this regard, the purpose of the article is to analyze the practice of involving citizens in projects to create a comfortable urban space.

Material and methods

At the first stage of the study, it was necessary to analyze and assess the practice of public involvement in the implementation of the PPFG in the Arkhangelsk region in 2017–2018. This required the implementation of the following tasks: to get acquainted with the experience of home and foreign studies of the interdependence of urban space and the urban community; to analyze the regulatory framework, organizational and informational support of the project, the practice of using public participation tools in cities of the Arkhangelsk region; to compare this practice with the federal target model and evaluate the effectiveness of the tools used. The method of complex

analysis of the theory and practice of public communications on the development of the urban environment was used. The source of information was, accordingly, the regulatory and legal acts of federal, regional and municipal authorities, reports and statistical data, materials of the official websites of the authorities and the media, as well as social networks covering the practice of public participation in the project.

The theoretical significance of the information obtained is that it is a necessary condition for the development of tools for the mass selective standardized survey, focused group interviews and expert survey. The data collected using these methods at the third stage will be used to form an integrated model of communicative management of the development of urban space, considering the specifics of the cities of the Arkhangelsk region. It is the ultimate significance of the research.

Urban space and urban society

At the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, Ebenezer Howard proposed a new town-planning concept, presented in the philosophical essay "The Future: A Peaceful Path to Real Reforms" (1898), republished in 1902 under the name "Garden City of the Future" [7, Howard E.]. In this work, the primary role in planning the urban environment was played by the community. The principles proposed by E. Howard for more than a century ago have influenced the development of urban planning and management of the urban environment. Speaking about the positive effect of citizens' involvement in urban governance, researchers note that by participating in decision-making, urban communities are becoming the ground for a balanced development of the territory [8, Insa-Ciriza R.].

Analyzing the modern international practice of arranging urban public spaces, Valery Nefyodov emphasizes that to humanize the existing and create a new urban space comfortable for humans, first of all, a social request for a different environmental quality is needed [9, Nefedov V.A.]. But it should be understood that the very possibility of such a social request requires an active community capable of formulating this request.

Here we are faced with the need to define the concept of the urban community and the concept of "city" and the solution to this problem in the current situation seems to be quite problematic. Gerd Held, considering the space of the city [10, Held G.], first of all, asks whether the city can act as an independent object of study for the social sciences, whether we are replacing the study of the city with the study of social connections in the urban community and its actors. Held G. concludes that urban space should be seen not only as a social generation but also as a prerequisite for sociality.

Stressing similar ideas, Witold Rybchinsky in his book "The City Designer: Ideas and Cities" quotes the mayor of Philadelphia, Edward J. Rendell, who said: "We must not allow cities to decline. There is no society without cities "[11, Rybchinsky V., p. 170]. Of course, it should also be noted that without societies (communities) involved in the creation and development of the terri-

tory, the cities also cease to be themselves. This problem becomes especially relevant in modern times: in the situation of the absence of criteria for defining the concept of “city” [11, Rybchinsky V., p. 172]. Modern man exists, according to Irving Kristolla, not in the city, but “in the space of an urban civilization” [11, Rybchinsky V., p. 173]: cities at the turn of the 20th — 21st centuries, gradually becoming decentralized due to the introduction of new technologies in the services sector and the use of new models of urban infrastructure [11, Rybchinsky V., p. 175].

Speaking of urban infrastructure in his monograph “City without Borders”, Vyacheslav Glazychev argues that the essence of the city is not engineering systems, but social and administrative infrastructures [12, Glazychev V.L., p. 284]. At the same time, he notes that the social infrastructure of modern Russian cities, for all its importance, is the least studied [12, Glazychev V.L., p. 322]. The world of the Russian city is terra incognita. On the one hand, it can be said that no neighboring community in Russian cities exists: both the Soviet-era housing and construction co-operatives, and modern homeowners’ associations (HOAs), and the organization of territorial public self-government (TPS) in the social space of Russian cities they either initially do not receive, or gradually lose the functions of the active elements of the urban community. On the other hand, with the spread of the Internet and mobile communications, new, networked, social infrastructures are gradually emerging, often not tied to any specific territory. Glazychev V. even wonders if the urban community in its classical sense can be formed under Russian conditions [12, Glazychev V.L., pp. 346–347].

In his “Public space”, Boris Groys [13, Groys B.E.] considers urban space an empty, but potentially filled with social meaning: a vacuum that allows something to manifest or exhibit. That is a space for communication.

If we return to the study of methods and ways of public participation in the development of the urban environment, we should mention the work of urban practitioners, where the means of arranging such spaces for open discussion are highlighted.

Charles Landry’s “Creative City” examines the practices of urban community participation in urban development planning: as an example, Landry cites the semantic reorganization of public spaces. City centers with their squares, promenade boulevards, cafes and bars, clubs, libraries, and museums become the scene of an exchange of ideas. Discussion clubs, philosophical cafes and coworkers create a new (or rather, recreate the old, still ancient) image of the city, where the center is a node of communication for all citizens and a place to discuss problems and plans for the development of a common territory [14, Landry Ch., pp. 180–185].

Researchers note that at the beginning of the new millennium, the population of cities manifests the need to influence their living environment, forming a new living space [15, Boykova M.V., Ilina I.N., Salazkin M.G., p. 35].

Grigory Stukalov, speaking of the concept of sustainable urban development in his “City-building Design of a Metropolis”, indicates that in planning modern western cities any large agglomeration is considered only in conjunction with the surrounding territory, being built into the

use of territory by communities of inhabitants of these territories. In Russia, the city building strategy has not been developed, because the Soviet micro-district type of urban planning dominates. In this regard, in many cities, “depressive” zones appear. They are separated from the center and have no internal development incentives [16, Stukalov G.V., p. 12]. Therefore, a new approach should be applied to the development of such areas. Often, the potential of such areas of the city is the need for the arrangement of places of public leisure, and this can and should involve local communities.

Henry Sanoff’s “Participant Design” provides examples of tools for public participation in urban planning. Interviews and surveys of citizens, seminars, and workshops for residents of urban areas, local history and educational programs for students and schoolchildren, and the participation of citizens in the discussion of design projects proposed by professionals were used in various projects described by him.

Speaking about the conditions for the effectiveness of urban projects, H. Sanoff points out the need to participate. It will be affected by the results of project activities: “If residents of a district or city are not able to properly participate in decision-making, then the result of such decisions ... will not meet the interests of the public and will not have support”. He mentions the “Citizenship Index”. The National Civic League (USA) uses it to determine the social capital of urban communities and their readiness for public participation [17, Sanoff G., p. 90]. It is determined, e.g., by the level of leadership in the community, the capacity for cooperation and civic education.

Among the methods of informing and engaging the citizens, H. Sanoff identifies school creative projects, ideas exchange sessions, polls conducted by local newspapers, communication analysis, game design projects for the urban or district community, training in new environmental protection strategies, visualization of alternative development plans.

Thus, domestic and foreign researchers substantiate, firstly, the absolute importance of the participation of the urban community in the development of urban space and offer specific tools for such participation, and secondly, they reveal the conditionality of the urban community itself in the space in which it lives and satisfies your needs. It seems useful to compare these theoretical developments with the.

Legal regulation of public participation in the priority project “Formation of a comfortable urban environment”

The task of democratizing social and political life in Russia and the formation of an active and responsible civil society is becoming more and more deeply realized by the power elites and the public itself, it is postulated in the regulatory legal acts of all levels of government. The demands of the time and the desire to comply with the level of the world's best practices motivate the power structures and institutions of civil society to find effective ways and tools of communication. And if this task is perceived as less relevant in matters of security or in defining geopolitics, then in matters of domestic political development and the creation of conditions for satisfying basic human needs, its relevance is not questioned. One of the basic ones is the need for a com-

fortable living environment. In a democratic society, in a customer-oriented economy, only that decision-making mechanism that considers the needs of the people whose interests they affect can be assessed as the only rationally sound.

Awareness of the relevance of this task is traced in the dynamics of the content of federal regulatory acts governing the formation of a comfortable urban environment. As part of the project in 2017, the federal authorities adopted (or prepared for adoption) 30 regulatory acts. Many of them, one way or another, raise issues of public participation in the development of the urban environment. Thus, the federal law amended the town-planning code regarding improving the institution of public hearings when making town-planning decisions¹. Low level of citizens' involvement is called one of the possible risks in the passport of the priority project². The passport also states that improvement projects can be initiated by the public, public discussion should take place, citizens can co-fund, the labor participation of residents is encouraged, public control should be provided. The creation of such control tools is among the top priorities. It is supposed to synchronize the actions of federal, regional and municipal authorities, citizens and business.

On the official website of the Ministry of Construction of Russia placed the criteria for ranking regions for the implementation of the priority project. Three of the twelve criteria relate to public participation: the number of forms of involvement of citizens and organizations, the availability of a site for feedback and the presence of co-financing of citizens³.

An important stage in the implementation of the project was to be the adoption of regional and municipal improvement programs. The methodological recommendations of the Ministry of Construction of Russia emphasize that in each such program, one of the tasks should be the creation of a universal mechanism for the involvement of citizens. The list of territories for priority improvement should be determined by rating voting of residents. In the methodological recommendations, principles and approaches to the involvement of citizens and organizations are formulated: the maximum involvement of stakeholders, the agreement of all subjects, the accuracy of identifying interests and values, open discussion. The forms of public participation are prescribed: joint definition of the goals and objectives of the improvement, inventory of problems and potentials, determination of the main types of functional zones, selection of equipment and small architectural forms, types of coverage and landscaping, project coordination and public control. Lists engagement tools: an interactive discussion format, questionnaires, interviews, interviewing,

¹ "Gradostroitel'nyj kodeks Rossijskoj Federacii" [Town Planning Code of the Russian Federation] v red. Federal'nogo zakona ot 03.08.2018 № 341-FZ. Sobranie zakonodatel'stva RF. 2018. 32. St. 5134 [In Russian]

² *Pasport prioritetnogo proekta "Formirovanie komfortnoj gorodskoj sredy"*. Dokument opublikovan ne byl. Pravitel'stvo Rossii. Passport of the priority project "Formation of a comfortable urban environment". URL: <http://static.government.ru/media/files/WoyaBZP00CYeyfDQ2Ai2tJ18zZHt7HnS.pdf> (Accessed: 10 October 2018). [In Russian]

³ *Kriterii formirovaniya rejtinga regionov po vypolneniyu prioritetnogo proekta "Formirovanie komfortnoj gorodskoj sredy"*. Dokument opublikovan ne byl. Dostup s sajta Ministroya Rossii. [Criteria for the rating of regions for the implementation of the priority project "Formation of a comfortable urban environment". The document has not been published. Access from the site of the Ministry of Construction of Russia] URL: <http://www.minstroyrf.ru/docs/14328/> (Accessed: 10 October 2018). [In Russian]

mapping, focus groups, working with individual user groups, organizing project workshops and workshops, conducting public discussions and design games, projects with schoolchildren⁴.

The state program of the Arkhangelsk region on the formation of a comfortable urban environment considered the recommendations of the Ministry of Construction of Russia, but the responsibility for creating and implementing universal mechanisms of public participation was assigned to the Ministry of Fuel and Energy Complex and the housing and utilities sector, and not to the authorities of municipalities⁵.

Guided by this and contrary to the methodological recommendations of the Ministry of Construction of Russia, the city authorities did not even include in the municipal programs, and they are not describing the mechanisms of public participation, limiting themselves to design and discuss courtyard improvement, co-financing, and labor participation.

Another important municipal document regulating the development of the urban environment was to be updated rules for the improvement of urban areas. The methodological recommendations of the Ministry of Construction for the development of such regulations also justify the need for public participation, which, according to the developers of the document, increases the subjective perception of quality of life, realizes the basic human need to be heard, influence what is happening, experience ownership, feel part of the whole. At the same time, coherence and trust between the government and the society increase, social capital is developed⁶. Such a psychological and axiological substantiation of the need for public participation was not heard by the developers of the improvement rules in most municipalities of the Arkhangelsk region (exceptions are the cities of Arkhangelsk, Kotlas, and Onega). Municipal documents were developed as technical standards of improvement, which concern builders and utility specialists. Judging by the con-

⁴ *Metodicheskie rekomendatsii po podgotovke gosudarstvennykh programm sub"ektiv Rossijskoj Federacii i municipal'nykh programm formirovaniya sovremennoj gorodskoj sredy v ramkah realizacii prioritetnogo proekta "Formirovanie komfortnoj gorodskoj sredy" na 2018 – 2022 gody*. Utverzhdeny prikazom Ministroya Rossii ot 06.04.2017 N 691/pr (red. ot 21.12.2017). Dokument opublikovan ne byl. Dostup s sajta Ministroya Rossii. [Guidelines for the preparation of state programs of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation and municipal programs for the formation of a modern urban environment in the framework of the implementation of the priority project "Formation of a comfortable urban environment" for 2018-2022. Approved by order of the Ministry of Construction of Russia dated April 6, 2017 N 691 / pr (as amended on December 21, 2017). The document has not been published. Access from the site of the Ministry of Construction of Russia]. URL: <http://www.minstroyrf.ru/docs/14051/> (Accessed: 10 October 2018). [In Russian]

⁵ *Gosudarstvennaya programma Arhangel'skoj oblasti "Formirovanie sovremennoj gorodskoj sredy v Arhangel'skoj oblasti (2018-2022 gody)"*, Prilozhenie № 2, p.3.1, p.3.2. Dokument opublikovan ne byl. Dostup iz ehlektronnogo fonda pravovoj i normativno tekhnicheskoy dokumentacii "Kodeks". [The state program of the Arkhangelsk region "Formation of the modern urban environment in the Arkhangelsk region (2018-2022)", Appendix No. 2, paragraph 3.1, paragraph 3.2. The document has not been published. Access from the electronic fund of legal and regulatory technical documentation "Code"] URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/462633221> (Accessed: 10 October 2018). [In Russian]

⁶ *Metodicheskie rekomendatsii dlya podgotovki pravil blagoustrojstva territorij poselenij, gorodskih okrugov, vnutrigorodskih rajonov*. Utverzhdeny prikazom Ministroya Rossii ot 13.04.2017 N 711/pr. Dokument opublikovan ne byl. Dostup s sajta Ministroya Rossii. [Guidelines for the preparation of rules for landscaping settlements, urban districts, urban areas. Approved by order of the Ministry of Construction of Russia dated 13.04.2017 N 711/pr. The document has not been published. Access from the site of the Ministry of Construction of Russia] URL: <http://www.minstroyrf.ru/docs/14131/> (Accessed: 10 October 2018). [In Russian]

tent of the materials, the developers do not see the point in allowing the public to come to this process.

On April 11, 2017, the Project Committee approved the document that most comprehensively represents the model of communication between the government and civil society on the development of the urban environment - "Target model for organizing public participation and engaging business and citizens in the implementation of projects improvement of the urban environment", developed by the Ministry of Construction of Russia with the participation of the Agency for Strategic Initiatives to Promote New Projects and the leadership of the Republic of Tatarstan⁷. This document was sent to the regions as a recommended model based on best practices in organizing public participation in the development of the urban environment. All stages, forms and communication tools of subjects interested in the formation of a comfortable urban environment are presented in a most detailed way.

To monitor the results of the implementation of the priority project, the Order of the Ministry of Russia approved a methodology for assessing the degree of involvement of citizens and public organizations in the implementation of measures to create a comfortable urban environment. This methodology is designed to ensure the transparency of these processes and prevent falsification of reports on them. A table is attached to the method, in which 37 indicators are listed, grouped in 9 groups⁸. The assessment is for a certain period through the determination of the average score for all projects of this period. The result is considered in the calculation of the quality index of the urban environment.

Information support of the priority project
"Formation of a comfortable urban environment" in the Arkhangelsk region

Various channels serve the involvement of citizens in the implementation of programs for the formation of a comfortable urban environment: the press, television, Internet sites of administrations of the Ministry of Defense and the Regional Government. Also, all municipalities that are participants in a priority project must create websites (or pages on existing sites) to post information about the progress of its implementation.

⁷ *Celevaya model' po organizacii obshchestvennogo uchastiya, a takzhe vovlecheniyu biznesa i grazhdan v realizaciyu projektov blagoustrojstva gorodskoj sredy.* Dokument opublikovan ne byl. Dostup s sajta Ministroya Rossii. [Target model for the organization of public participation, as well as the involvement of business and citizens in the implementation of urban improvement projects. The document has not been published. Access from the site of the Ministry of Construction of Russia]. URL: <http://www.minstroyrf.ru/docs/14122/> (Accessed: 10 October 2018). [In Russian]

⁸ *Metodika ocenki stepeni privlecheniya grazhdan i obshchestvennyh organizacij k realizacii meropriyatij po sozdaniyu komfortnoj gorodskoj sredy. Utverzhdena prikazom Ministroya Rossii ot 1 noyabrya 2017 g. N 1497/pr.* Dokument opublikovan ne byl. Dostup s sajta Ministroya Rossii. [Methods of assessing the degree of involvement of citizens and public organizations in the implementation of measures to create a comfortable urban environment. Approved by order of the Ministry of Construction of Russia from November 1, 2017 N 1497 / pr. The document has not been published. Access from the site of the Ministry of Construction of Russia] URL: <http://www.minstroyrf.ru/docs/15793/> (Accessed: 10 October 2018). [In Russian]

In the Arkhangelsk region in 2017, 44 municipalities participated in the priority project, and 2018 — 76⁹. As an evidence of the success of the project in the Arkhangelsk Region, the Federal State Concern Committee's Federal Property Management Service presented four examples of urban improvement practices used in various municipalities of the Arkhangelsk region in 2017: in Arkhangelsk, Novodvinsk, Kotlas and Velsk¹⁰.

In 2018, information collection points were set up in Arkhangelsk, Severodvinsk, Novodvinsk, Koryazhma, Kotlas, Mirny, Velsk and Nyandoma for the selection of territories to be landscaped. At these points, it was possible to find out about the planned events, vote for the territory to be landscaped, learn the preliminary results of the vote¹¹. In Arkhangelsk, Kotlas, Nyandoma, and Mirny, in addition to information collection points, the city administration conducted an online questionnaire on land improvement issues¹².

Researchers note the importance of using online tools in informing and motivating citizens and organizing joint work on projects for developing a common territory but indicate that social media is somewhat secondary. E.g., in work devoted to studying the involvement of the population of Reyk-Yavik in local communities on social networks, their auxiliary role is defined: communities on the Internet can support existing and actively implemented changes, but not create an activity from scratch¹³.

On the websites of municipalities of the Arkhangelsk region that took part in the program, it was necessary to create sections on the priority project to inform citizens about the survey and other activities of the program, as well as to familiarize them with the program documents and design projects¹⁴.

Unfortunately, not all of the areas indicated on the Government page¹⁵ have such information (e.g., MF "Kholmogorsky municipal district"). The other MFs (e.g., MF "Onezhsky Municipal District") have no standard link to the project with a logo; the project page exists, but it is difficult to find. The website MF "Kargopolsky Municipal District" does not have a standard link but contains information about the project. The website of the Novodvinsk administration has only a standard link to the project, and the Kotlas Municipal District has two pages devoted to the pro-

⁹ Goroda Pomor'ya stanovyatsya komfortnymi dlya prozhivaniya. [Cities of Pomorie become comfortable for living] URL: <http://pravdasevera.ru/-7u9kygrp> (Accessed: 10 October 2018). [In Russian].

¹⁰ Luchshie praktiki. [The best practice]. URL: <http://gorodsreda.ru/gorodskaya-sreda/luchshie-praktiki/?section=&type=&tag=®ion=%D0%90%D1%80%D1%85%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%B3%D0%B5%D0%BB%D1%C%D1%81%D0%BA%D0%B0%D1%8F%20%D0%BE%D0%B1%D0%BB%D0%B0%D1%81%D1%82%D1%8C> (Accessed: 12 October 2018). [In Russian]

¹¹ Nyandoma, Vel'sk i Kotlas lideruyut v proekte "Formirovanie komfortnoj gorodskoj sredy". [Nyandoma, Velsk and Kotlas lead in the project "Formation of a comfortable urban environment"]. URL: <http://pravdasevera.ru/society/-ztee7sf> (Accessed: 12 October 2018). [In Russian]

¹² Anketa – Formirovanie komfortnoj gorodskoj sredy. [Questionnaire - Formation of a comfortable urban environment]. URL: <http://www.arhcity.ru/?page=2310/0> (Accessed: 12 October 2018). [In Russian]

¹³ Bojica I., Marrab G., Naydenova V. Online tools for public engagement: case studies from Reykjavik. URL: <https://arxiv.org/abs/1611.08981> (Accessed: 12 October 2018).

¹⁴ O trebovaniyah k napolneniyu ehtih razdelov na sajтах MO. [On the requirements for filling these sections on sites MO]. URL: <http://pravdasevera.ru/society/-ws9z0ked> (Accessed: 12 October 2018). [In Russian]

¹⁵ Municipal'nye rajony i gorodskie okruga Arhangel'skoj oblasti. [Municipal districts and urban districts of the Arkhangelsk region]. URL: <https://dvinaland.ru/region> (Accessed: 12 October 2018). [In Russian]

ject and one is equipped with the logo of the Edinaya Rossiya (United Russia political party). One of the most detailed and informative is the page of the project on the website of the town of Arkhangelsk¹⁶. In 2017–2018, project documents were fully presented there.

The target model recommended by the Ministry of Construction of Russia focuses on the extensive use of social networking opportunities for organizing public participation. In the social network Vkontakte to discuss the problems of forming a comfortable urban environment in Arkhangelsk and the region, two communities have been created: “Formation of a comfortable urban environment”¹⁷ and “Comfortable urban environment of the Arkhangelsk region”¹⁸. However, these groups currently consist of 28 and 73 people, respectively, and, of course, they cannot be considered an effective tool to popularize the project.

On the pages of the administrations of the municipality, groups were created to discuss the project and polls were conducted about what elements of improvement the citizens would like to see in the territories of these municipality (e.g., the municipality “Nyandomsky Municipal District”¹⁹). In the official group of the Administration of the MF “Velskoye”, you can track the progress of the project on the territory of the urban settlement²⁰. Also, information on participation in voting was placed on stands in institutions, in public transport and on the streets of the city.

Analysis of the information support of the project “Formation of a comfortable urban environment” allows us to conclude that the public was not involved in the program at all stages of its implementation. In Arkhangelsk, the program is supervised by the deputy of the City Duma V. Dudnikov. In his interview to the newspaper “Business class”, he focused on the fact that the main problem in the improvement of the courtyards remains the lack of awareness of residents about what they could expect in the project²¹. It can be concluded that, despite the massive participation in the voting on the choice of territories for priority improvement, information about the meaning of the project as a whole was not accessible to all.

Events for public participation

In sociological terms, the management of a city as a social community is based on the fact that any city is not only a place of a settlement but also a form of organization of the life activity of individuals and social groups. Therefore, the successful development of a comfortable urban envi-

¹⁶ Prioritetnyj proekt “Formirovanie komfortnoj gorodskoj sredy”. [Priority project “Formation of comfortable urban environment”]. URL: <http://www.arhcity.ru/?page=2288/0> (Accessed: 12 October 2018). [In Russian]

¹⁷ Formirovanie komfortnoj gorodskoj sredy. [Formation of a comfortable urban environment]. URL: <https://vk.com/club139146505> (Accessed: 12 October 2018). [In Russian]

¹⁸ Komfortnaya gorodskaya sreda Arhangel'skoj oblasti. [Comfortable urban environment of the Arkhangelsk region]. URL: <https://vk.com/gorodskayasreda29> (Accessed: 12 October 2018). [In Russian]

¹⁹ Administraciya MO “Nyandomskij municipal'nyj rajon”. [Administration of MO “Nyandom municipal district”]. URL: https://vk.com/wall-123385323_2453 (Accessed: 12 October 2018). [In Russian]

²⁰ Administraciya MO “Vel'skoe”. [Administration MO “Velskoe”]. URL: <https://vk.com/movelsk> (Accessed: 12 October 2018). [In Russian]

²¹ Mesto dlya kompromissa: v 2018 godu Arhangel'sk poluchil 118 mln rublej na blagoustrojstvo dvorov i parkov. [A place for compromise: in 2018, Arkhangelsk received 118 million rubles for the improvement of yards and parks]. URL: https://bclass.ru/vlast/deputatskiy_portfel/mesto-dlya-kompromissa-v-2018-godu-arkhangelsk-poluchil-118-mln-rublej-na-blagoustrojstvo-dvorov-i-p/?sphrase_id=16871 (Accessed: 12 October 2018). [In Russian]

ronment is impossible without a useful model of interaction between government and society, making the most of all available communication channels for the direct involvement of citizens in the planning and decision-making process.

World urban planning practice finds that by applying even the best architectural and town planning solutions, but by refusing to consider the opinions of residents and isolating them from the decision-making process, one cannot satisfy the internal human need for a quality urban environment [18, Jacobs D.; 19, Scott J.].

The modern approach to the organization of comfortable urban areas involves the active participation of the population in the implementation of planned activities - from design to performance monitoring. For the real implementation of the regional program "FCUE" for 2018-2022 on the territory of the Arkhangelsk region, it was necessary not only to develop and approve this program and the Rules for Improvement but to discuss them with the public in advance.

As a rule, the discussion mechanism for urban improvement programs is as follows:

1. on the website and in several media announcements are being made about the discussion of the document,
2. the draft document is posted on the administration website,
3. the timing and form of submission of proposals.

In the framework of the implementation of the PPC "FCUE" in the Arkhangelsk Region, this task was solved by forming municipal public commissions. But it seems to us that the process took place formally. The commissions included representatives of social and political organizations, with whom the administration has already established a permanent interaction: organizations of disabled people, veterans, representatives of the CBT, the United Russia party and the ONF, who "imitate public communications with the authorities rather than real carry them out" [20, Babintsev, VP, Shapoval, Zh.A., p. 9].

The project curators in their speeches emphasize that the project "Comfortable environment" was born under the influence of the public. Indeed, citizens are tired of observing the degradation of the living environment caused by unreasonable town planning decisions (pavilions near the Naval Station in Arkhangelsk, the construction of shopping centers, outdoor advertising), building compaction, bad roads, destruction of historic plantings, insufficient lighting of courtyards, poorly developed infrastructure for active recreation of residents (there are no walking paths, modern playgrounds, dedicated bicycle routes and a roller in, etc.). "Today, in the territory of the Arkhangelsk region there are 284 uncomfortable public areas with a total area of 381.2 hectares or 77.2% of the total number of municipal territories, of which 20 are urban parks"²². But declaring that the project is popular²³ does not mean making this idea a reality.

²² Harakteristika osnovnyh meropriyatij programmy "Formirovanie sovremennoj gorodskoj sredy na 2018-2022 gody"[Characteristics of the main activities of the program "Formation of modern urban environment for 2018-2022"]. URL: <https://dvinaland.ru/-5u43caza> (Accessed: 12 October 2018). [In Russian]

²³ Municipalitety gotovyatsya k golosovaniyu po projektu "Formirovanie komfortnoj gorodskoj sredy". Pravda Severa. 2018. 25 yanvarya. URL: <http://pravdasevera.ru/-ws9z0ked> (Accessed: 09 October 2018).[In Russian]

Lack of universal moderation (mass competence of managing complex communications)²⁴, streamlined communication channels within the community between activists, deputies, entrepreneurs, local experts, and the authorities turned into a problem for those responsible for the project.

The extremely short deadlines determined by the government of the Russian Federation for the formation of regional and municipal programs of the FCUE led to the fact that at the designated time from June 30 to July 17, 2017, a full-scale campaign to attract the population to participate in its formation was not succeeded. The results of the discussion and the number of proposals submitted were not made public. It can be assumed that the number of participants was very modest. In August 2017, an additional discussion was held for one week, from 11 to 18 August²⁵. The proposals for inclusion in the program could also be voiced at public hearings on August 18 through the use of the Digital Ring system of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Arkhangelsk region²⁶.

Also, at this time, all those who wished could take part in the online survey on the “Polls and Voting in the Arkhangelsk Region” page. According to the final data, 222 people took part in it. For the adoption of the program voted — 216, against the adoption of the program — 6 people. Proposals to the draft program were received from 33 citizens²⁷. After discussions and public hearings, the state program “Formation of the Modern Urban Environment in the Arkhangelsk Region for 2018–2022” was approved at a meeting of the regional government on time²⁸.

As part of the implementation of activities under this program for the upcoming five years, in the territories of the municipalities of the Arkhangelsk region, 11,219 courtyards, 264 public areas, and 20 urban parks are planned to be organized. The total amount of funding for the activities of this state program is 17,334,151.2 thousand rubles²⁹.

Government officials emphasize that the successful implementation of the project requires the constructive participation of the most energetic citizens, members of the public, and company

²⁴ Sreda dlya lyudej. Centr prikladnoj urbanistiki. [Medium for people. Center for Applied Urban Studies]. URL: <https://sredaforpeople.ru/#> (Accessed: 12 October 2018). [In Russian]

²⁵ Obshchestvennoe obsuzhdenie regional'noj programmy blagoustrojstva gorodskoj sredy prodolzhaetsya. [Public discussion of the regional program of improvement of the urban environment continues]. URL: <http://dvinanews.ru/s4ehgcyt> (Accessed: 12 October 2018). [In Russian]

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Oprosy i golosovaniya v Arhangel'skoj oblasti. [Polls and voting in the Arkhangelsk region] URL: <https://opros.dvinaland.ru/formirovanie-sovremennoj-gorodskoj-sreda-na-2018-2022-goda/> (Accessed: 12 October 2018). [In Russian]

²⁸ Postanovlenie Pravitel'stva Arhangel'skoj oblasti ot 22.08.2017 N 330-pp. [Resolution of the Government of the Arkhangelsk Region dated 08.22.2017 N 330-PP]. URL: <https://dvinaland.ru/-5u43caza> (Accessed: 12 October 2018). [In Russian].

²⁹ Poyasnitel'naya zapiska k proektu postanovleniya Pravitel'stva Arhangel'skoj oblasti «Ob utverzhdenii gosudarstvennoj programmy Arhangel'skoj oblasti “Formirovanie sovremennoj gorodskoj sredy na 2018-2022 gody”. [Explanatory note to the draft resolution of the Government of the Arkhangelsk region “On approval of the state program of the Arkhangelsk region” Formation of the modern urban environment for 2018-2022”]. URL: <https://dvinaland.ru/-xrmvfmz> (Accessed: 20 October 2018). [In Russian]

managers, so that citizens as quickly as possible are included in the process of developing municipal improvement projects³⁰.

We share the opinion of P. Ivanov, curator of the Laboratory for Field Research of the City, the Graduate School of Urbanism named after A.A. Vysokovsky Higher School of Economics National University, stating that "Initially, classy, status-related, estate-alien city residents with great difficulty can work out a common agenda and consensus around the territory as a common value" [21, Ivanov P.V., p. 11].

The analysis of materials of regional mass media makes it possible to describe the patterns of interaction between the authorities and society in the implementation of the project "Formation of a comfortable urban environment".

Sociologists, whose scientific interest is in the study of the city, noted that since the end of the nineteenth century a particular type of behavior for citizens was isolation, insensitive indifference, alienation, destruction of interpersonal contacts. Simmel G. in "Big Cities and Spiritual Life" and L. Wirth in the monograph "Urbanism as a Way of Life" pointed the same. Modern researchers have revealed such a phenomenon as "apathy of observers", manifested in indifference to someone else's problem ..., group ignoring. The presence of countless people scatters responsibility for everyone, which means that in the end, it does not belong to anyone" [22, Ilmukhin V.N., p. 96].

Different groups react differently to the changes caused by the implementation of measures of the projects on urban environment. The heterogeneity of the settlement prevents residents from organizing a unique space with pronounced characteristics; the territories of the courtyards are of the same type and internally indistinguishable.

As Irina Karelina, the head of the "Yutniy Gorod" association advises, "We need to bring in our elements so that we don't get a set of equal squares for the whole country. We can use the marine style, the arctic theme, thanks to which the duplicates of the capital of Pomorie will have their peculiarity and individuality"³¹.

In some cases, citizens even refuse to discuss issues at meetings on the improvement of courtyards, not to mention the active involvement in the process itself, considering the space outside their apartments as public areas, for which public authorities should be held responsible. On the other hand, interested residents are stopped by the absence or lack of official information. As Sergey Koptyaev, the chairman of the PZhSK "Na Obvodnom", noted: "I learned about the program from my friends from Severodvinsk. I asked them to tell in detail about their experience of participation, about what they had managed, and about what they had missed. As a result, when we started de-

³⁰ "Proekt "Formirovanie komfortnoj gorodskoj sredy" pozvolyaet grazhdanam izmenit' oblik svoego goroda". ["The project" Forming a comfortable urban environment "allows citizens to change the face of their city"]. URL: <http://dvinanews.ru/-ekh195fs> (Accessed: 12 October 2018); V Arhangel'ske prohodit II ezhegodnyj forum upravlyayushchih kompanij regiona. [The II Annual Forum of Regional Management Companies is taking place in Arkhangelsk]. *Pravda Severa*. 2017. 17 marta. URL: <http://pravdasevera.ru/-rszbyzx2> (Accessed: 09 October 2018). [In Russian]

³¹ Senchukova N. Arhangel'skim dvoram nuzhen svoj stil'. [Arkhangelsk courtyards need their own style]. *Arhangel'sk – gorod voinskoj slavy*. 2018. 23 marta [In Russian]

veloping a design project, we already knew what we wanted to do and how"³². Today this project "can rightly be called exemplary and taken as an example for replicating experience"³³, — says the deputy of the Regional Parliament Nadezhda Vinogradova.

Sometimes landscaping provokes conflicts between residents of well-maintained and uncomfortable courtyards and residents of high buildings. It can be difficult to come to a common understanding regarding the project. They cannot agree: "someone needs a playground, to do something, sports or recreation area for the elderly. Those who have transport, voice for parking, and those who do not have it, refuse"³⁴. Conflicts arise over the victory of territory in a tender or around the procedure for selecting contractors. E.g., a part of the public has asked questions about the honesty and openness of the voting procedure for beautification facilities in Severodvinsk, and another has questions about violations of the deadlines for the delivery of work.

According to the Deputy Minister of Fuel and Energy Complex and Housing and Utilities of the Arkhangelsk Region T. Lemesheva, "the need for minimal co-financing of work has become an obstacle to the participation of houses in the project, and someone stops the obligation to continue to maintain improvement objects"³⁵.

Examples of moderation are the undertakings of the townspeople from Velsk, Arkhangelsk, and activists of Kotlas Municipality. The first in the Arkhangelsk region were the residents of Kotlas who organized work on the involvement of citizens in participation in the PP "FCUE". In April 2017, they held a seminar, and in June, a conference with experts to "take a step towards the comfort of the city space and its yard. To further participate in the municipal program "Housing and Communal Services and the Urban Environment", confidently declaring their projects to be funded"³⁶. As a result, at the All-Russian Competition of Municipal projects, the project from Kotlas called "Dvinopark" was recognized the best and it was awarded by the Ministry of Construction and Housing of Russia³⁷.

Arkhangelsk residents were the initiators of the competition of landscape projects in the framework of the PP "FCUE". E.g., the initiative to hold a competition for the welfare of the square named after A.V. Gracheva (Arkhangelsk, Varavino-Faktoriya district) came from NArFU named

³² Na Obvodnom prospekte v Arhangel'ske otkryli obnovlennyj dvor. [On Obvodniy Avenue in Arkhangelsk, a renovated courtyard was opened] *Pravda Severa*. 2018. 3 oktyabrya. URL: <http://pravdasevera.ru/society/-r3yue82m> (Accessed: 09 October 2018). [In Russian]

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ V ramkah partproekta «Gorodskaya sreda» narodnaya iniciativa stanovitsya real'nymi delami [As part of the urban environment project, the people's initiative becomes real deeds] URL: <http://arhangelsk.bezformata.ru/listnews/zarya-v-ramkah-partproekta-gorodskaya/68690581/> (Accessed: 15 October 2018). [In Russian]

³⁵ Senchukova N. Arhangel'skim dvoram nuzhen svoj stil'. [Arkhangelsk courtyards need their own style]. *Arhangel'sk – gorod voinskiy slavy*. 2018. 23 marta [In Russian].

³⁶ Dvory Kotlasa privedut v poryadok [Kotlas yards will put in order]. URL: http://kotlas-city.ru/urban_environment/news (Accessed: 12 October 2018). [In Russian]

³⁷ Komfortnyj Kotlas: proekt «Dvinopark» byl priznan odnim iz luchshih v ramkah vserossijskogo konkursa municipal'nyh praktik. [Comfortable Kotlas: the Dvinopark project was recognized as one of the best in the framework of the All-Russian competition of municipal practices]. URL: <http://dvinanews.ru/-7sox2o2w> (Accessed: 12 October 2018). [In Russian]

after M.V. Lomonosov together with the group of companies "Suprim" and the administration of the district. Applications for participation were received not only from Russia but also from abroad. It passed with three nominations. In the main competition - for the best project of the whole park - the winner was the project of the author from Israel, the NArFU graduates won the other two. Young activists have implemented the project "Paluba" on the embankment of Northern Dvina River in Arkhangelsk. It was first presented at the "Team 29" forum by young architects A. Ivanova and I. Tretyakov³⁸. In the All-Russian competition of youth projects "Ideas that transform cities" in the nomination "Improvement of yards, including for people with disabilities" the second place was taken by a resident of the Arkhangelsk region Ulyana Kudryavtseva with the project "Improvement of the courtyard territory along the street of the October city Velsk. Kargopol became the winner of the All-Russian competition of projects of a comfortable urban environment in the category "Historical settlements"³⁹.

Local authorities, realizing that new channels of communication with society are needed, are included in the moderation process. Deputies of the Regional Assembly and the City Duma hold meetings with tenants-activists, going to the facilities under construction, jointly assessing the progress of work. At the meeting of representatives of the University (NArFU) and the regional government, a decision was made to establish a working group on the organization of a regional center of competence, bringing together architects, designers, designers, designers, and builders to help prepare documentation for the development project.

As noted by S.G. Klimova and I.V. Shcherbakov, civil participation has territorial features, which "are determined not only by the size of the city, but also by its functional characteristics, and therefore, by the characteristics of the population, first of all by the characteristics of elites capable of creating a community around solving common problems (... scientific communities in science cities; professionals and professionals engaged in preserving cultural heritage and developing tourism business in centers of tourism and recreation "[23, S. Klimova, I. Shcherbakova, p. 25.]. The examples we have provided show that local elites offer their ways of implementing the program for improving the living environment, mobilizing resources and supporters. The well-known urbanist V. Glazychev at one time wrote that the lack of dialogue between the state, officials and people during the city's establishment turns this process into a state-owned, public matter [24, Glazychev V.L.]. In our opinion, one of the positive consequences of the project is that people have gained confidence in the government, included in the dialogue with it. Citizens see that the government "does not just take money into asphalt but seeks to do what the citizens want"⁴⁰. Permanent public control over the implementation of the priority project, the timing of

³⁸ Proekt «Paluba» – primer podderzhki molodyh arhitektorov. [The project "Paluba" - an example of support for young architects] URL: <http://dvinanews.ru/-8vdzrsb>. (Accessed: 12 October 2018) [In Russian]

³⁹ Kargopol' stal pobeditelem vserossijskogo konkursa proektov komfortnoj gorodskoj sredy. [Kargopol became the winner of the All-Russian competition of projects of a comfortable urban environment] URL: <http://dvinanews.ru/-vu1kogyg> (Accessed: 10 October 2018) [In Russian]

⁴⁰ Proekty, vostrebovannye zhizn'yu [Projects demanded by life]. *Pravda Severa*. 2017. 21 noyabrya. URL: <http://pravdasevera.ru/politics/-54damjh2> (Accessed: 10 October 2018). [In Russian]

the introduction of facilities, expenditure of funds and prompt response in the event of inaction of the heads of municipalities was recommended to be provided to the People's Inspectorate of the Arkhangelsk Region, the coalition "Narodniy Front "Za Rossiu" and the Public Chamber Arkhangelsk region. "Total control by the FOH and the city administration"⁴¹ over the projects was pointed out by N. Vinogradova.

"In modern cities, where the development of services and creative activities is activated, public spaces are easily transformed, adapting to the specified functions (leisure, trade, competitions, social actions)" [25, Ilina I.N., p. 74]. The development of public spaces creates a new quality of life, and the improvement of these areas should be a priority. In 2017, the choice of public territory for improvement was carried out among the population, which had vague information about the essence of the project, but in 2018 the authorities, considering the mistakes of the previous period, intensified knowledge and explanatory work with citizens. The selection mechanism also differed: public discussion and online surveys (through the websites of the administrations of the municipalities) in 2017 — and rating voting using a special questionnaire, conducted in two stages in 2018.

Rating voting on the choice of public areas for priority improvement, which was attended by eight municipalities of Pomorje: the city of Arkhangelsk, Severodvinsk, Novodvinsk, Koryazhma, Kotlas, Mirny, Velsk, Nyandoma, the project curators rated as "one of the most positive" and mass. Even though at the preliminary stage 251.8 thousand northerners took part in it, which is, considering the fact that residents from 14 years old could take part in voting, 34% of the total population living in these municipalities (734 198 people). According to A. Potasheva, Minister of Fuel and Energy Complex and Housing and Public Utilities of the Arkhangelsk Region, "this indicates a high interest of the citizens in the project, and also serves as the key to choosing those territories that, in the opinion of the majority of the population, need priority improvements"⁴².

Voting was held in the places most visited by citizens (cultural and shopping centers, food shops, schools, etc.), where more than 190 thousand people of the region could express their opinions, and 61 thousand people additionally voted by online voting in Arkhangelsk, Koryazhma, and Mirny.

Citizens want to be heard⁴³. In practical terms, the active participation of the population in the discussion of projects increases the social effect of improvement due to feedback from inter-

⁴¹ Na Obvodnom prospekte v Arhangel'ske otkryli obnovlennyj dvor. [An updated courtyard was opened on Obvodniy Avenue in Arkhangelsk] *Pravda Severa*. 2018. 3 oktyabrya. URL: <http://pravdasevera.ru/society/-r3yue82m> (Accessed: 09 October 2018). [In Russian]

⁴² "Proekt "Formirovanie komfortnoj gorodskoj sredy" pozvolyaet grazhdanam izmenit' oblik svoego goro-da". ["The project" Formation of a comfortable urban environment "allows citizens to change the face of their city"]. URL: <http://dvinanews.ru/-ekh195fs> (Accessed: 12 October 2018). [In Russian]

⁴³ V gorodah Arhangel'skoj oblasti prodolzhaetsya golosovanie za komfortnuyu gorodskuyu sredyu. [Voting for a comfortable urban environment continues in the cities of the Arkhangelsk Region]. *Pravda Severa*. 2018. 2 fevralya. URL: <http://pravdasevera.ru/-5x54oo30> (Accessed: 09 October 2018). [In Russian]

ested groups of the population, thus avoiding mistakes in the choice and design of the object of improvement.

Being indifferent to the consideration of socially significant programs for the development of their territory leads to the exclusion of residents from the practice of constructive participation, and therefore to the rejection of initiatives that have been launched above, which they regard as an attempt on freedom of choice.

Information about the pre-selection points could be found on the websites of municipalities in the section "Comfortable urban environment". The voting was actively covered in the press; materials were published daily about people who took part in it, indicating the public spaces for which they voted. Here were the team and the hockey team "Vodnik"⁴⁴, and local celebrities⁴⁵, politicians⁴⁶, teachers and pupils⁴⁷.

To give a massive vote, to attract as many residents as possible to participate in the PPC FCUE, the Ministry of Construction of the Russian Federation initiated various actions and events. According to the authors of the project, the center for celebratory, sporting and cultural events during the All-Russian festival of urban environment "vihodi gulyat"⁴⁸ should be renovated urban places. New Year's performances were held in the renovated courtyards, and public areas, game programs, festivals, round dances, competitions, karting and hockey in valenki were held on weekends, and parties were celebrated at the holidays. Not all events can be attributed to the festival of the urban environment (the opening of a festive New Year tree, "Friendly meeting on ice", city athletics race, dedicated to the International Women's Day on March 8, etc.). It seems that first of all the organizers sought to mass and advertising the project itself.

The level of awareness of the project, of course, increased during the competition in the field "Children paint the city" ("My favorite city", "City of the Future") for children from 6 to 14 years old. The parents received information about the program, were motivated to participate and

⁴⁴ Komanda «Vodnik» progolosovala za vybor proekta dlya blagoustrojstva v Arhangel'ske // Pravda Severa. 2018. 29 yanvarya [The Vodnik team voted to choose a project for improvement in Arkhangelsk] URL: <http://pravdasevera.ru/society/-553zraht>, свободный (Accessed: 09 October 2018). [In Russian]

⁴⁵ Artisty Severnogo hora progolosovali za komfortnuyu sredu. [Artists of the Northern Choir voted for a comfortable environment] *Pravda Severa*. 2018. 6 fevralya. URL: <http://pravdasevera.ru/-906k4kae> (Accessed: 09 October 2018) [In Russian]; ZHiteli Pomor'ya prodolzhayut vybirat' terri-torii dlya blagoustrojstva. [Residents of Pomorie continue to choose territories for improvement]. *Pravda Severa*. 2018. 9 fevralya. URL: <http://pravdasevera.ru/society/-sjyomawb> (Accessed: 09 October 2018) [In Russian].

⁴⁶ Gubernator otdal golos za blagoustrojstvo skvera u hrama Aleksandra Nevskogo. [The governor gave a vote for the improvement of the park near the Church of Alexander Nevsky] *Pravda Severa*. 2018. 31 yanvarya. URL: <http://pravdasevera.ru/-rc9701uz> (Accessed: 09 October 2018) [In Russian].

⁴⁷ Gorodskaya sreda v Severodvinske: vybor delayut pedagogi i shkol'niki [Urban environment in Severodvinsk: teachers and schoolchildren make a choice] *Pravda Severa*. 2018. 26 yanvarya. URL: <http://pravdasevera.ru/-1g7p5sfh> (Accessed: 09 October 2018) [In Russian]; V Mirnom budut blagoustroeny gorodskie parki [City parks will be landscaped in Mirny] *Pravda Severa*. 2018. 29 yanvarya. URL: <http://pravdasevera.ru/-vw17pphe> (Accessed: 09 October 2018) [In Russian]; V gorodah Arhangel'skoj oblasti prodolzhaetsya golosovanie za komfortnuyu gorodskuyu sredu [Voting for a comfortable urban environment continues in cities of the Arkhangelsk region] *Pravda Severa*. 2018. 2 fevralya, 2018 URL: <http://pravdasevera.ru/-5x54oo30> (Accessed: 09 October 2018) [In Russian].

⁴⁸ Festival' gorodskoj sredy "Vyhodi gulyat'" [Festival of the urban environment "Come out for a walk"]. URL: <https://dvinaland.ru/-tpv0smk> (Accessed: 12 October 2018) [In Russian].

saw the request of the authorities for a dialogue. Promoting PP “FCUE” and attracting parents to participate in the rating vote served lessons taught in all schools of the region and class hours “Formation of a comfortable urban environment”. And let these channels of communication were not sufficiently massive for the coverage of citizens, but for some groups, they were the most convenient (schoolchildren, young parents). In 2017, 7,500 residents of the region took part in the project. In the rating of the All-Russian Popular Front, considering the opinions of citizens, Pomorie took the tenth place⁴⁹. In the annual Message, the Governor of the Arkhangelsk Region I. Orlov noted that “Accumulated energy of agreement cannot be lost, it must be transformed into development processes with a clear long-term perspective”⁵⁰. In 2018, city-forming enterprises were included in the improvement program: for example, in Novodvinsk “half of the funds required for the implementation of the program 3.2 million rubles were financed by APPP”⁵¹. As it was noted by N. Krivonkin, Director of the City Department of Arkhangelsk, in comparison with 2017, there were twice as many applications from citizens. “Many, probably, managed to see how to equip the city courtyard and showed activity”⁵².

After analyzing the reports of the authorities and publications in the media devoted to the implementation of the project “Formation of a comfortable urban environment”, we can conclude that, despite a large number of events held, the public is still not very involved in the program. The identified patterns of interaction between the authorities and society indicate the presence of behavioral strategies of stable social groups of supporters, opponents and undecided residents. The attitude of the population to the actions of the authorities will depend on the level of fears and expectations of the outcome of the project “Formation of a comfortable urban environment”. The analysis of legal acts and the most successful practices allows us to formulate in a generalized form a universal model of managing communications on the development of the urban environment, which is implemented in the regions of Russia. According to the common classification of J. Grunig and T. Hunt, it can be characterized as a two-sided asymmetric model. It is distinguished by the two-sided nature of the movement of information, the presence of constant feedback, but at the same time the state determines the conditions under which communication takes place and in general controls the process of information interaction more than the public (Fig. 1).

⁴⁹ Goroda Pomor'ya stanovyatsya komfortnymi dlya prozhivaniya [Cities of Pomorie become comfortable for living] *Pravda Severa*. 2018. 7 sentyabrya. URL: <http://pravdasevera.ru/-7u9kygrp> (Accessed: 09 October 2018). [In Russian]

⁵⁰ Poslanie Gubernatora Arhangel'skoj oblasti I. A. Orlova Arhangel'skomu oblastnomu Sobraniyu deputatov o social'no-ehkonomicheskom i obshchestvenno-politicheskom polozhenii v Arhangel'skoj oblasti, 11 aprelya 2018 goda. [Message of the Governor of the Arkhangelsk Region I. A. Orlov to the Arkhangelsk Regional Assembly of Deputies on the socio-economic and socio-political situation in the Arkhangelsk Region, April 11, 2018]. URL: <https://dvinaland.ru/gov/-zamajf99> (Accessed: 12 October 2018). [In Russian]

⁵¹ Novodvinsk — territoriya komforta [Novodvinsk - the territory of comfort] *Pravda Severa*. 2017. 21 noyabrya. URL: <http://pravdasevera.ru/-ksc5rt2t> (Accessed: 09 October 2018). [In Russian]

⁵² Sofinansirovanie komfortu ne pomekha. [Co-financing is not an obstacle for comfort]. *Arhangel'sk — gorod voinskiy slavy*. 2017. 30 noyabrya. URL: www.arhcity.ru/data/455/94_30_11_2017_AGVs.pdf (Accessed: 09 October 2018). [In Russian]

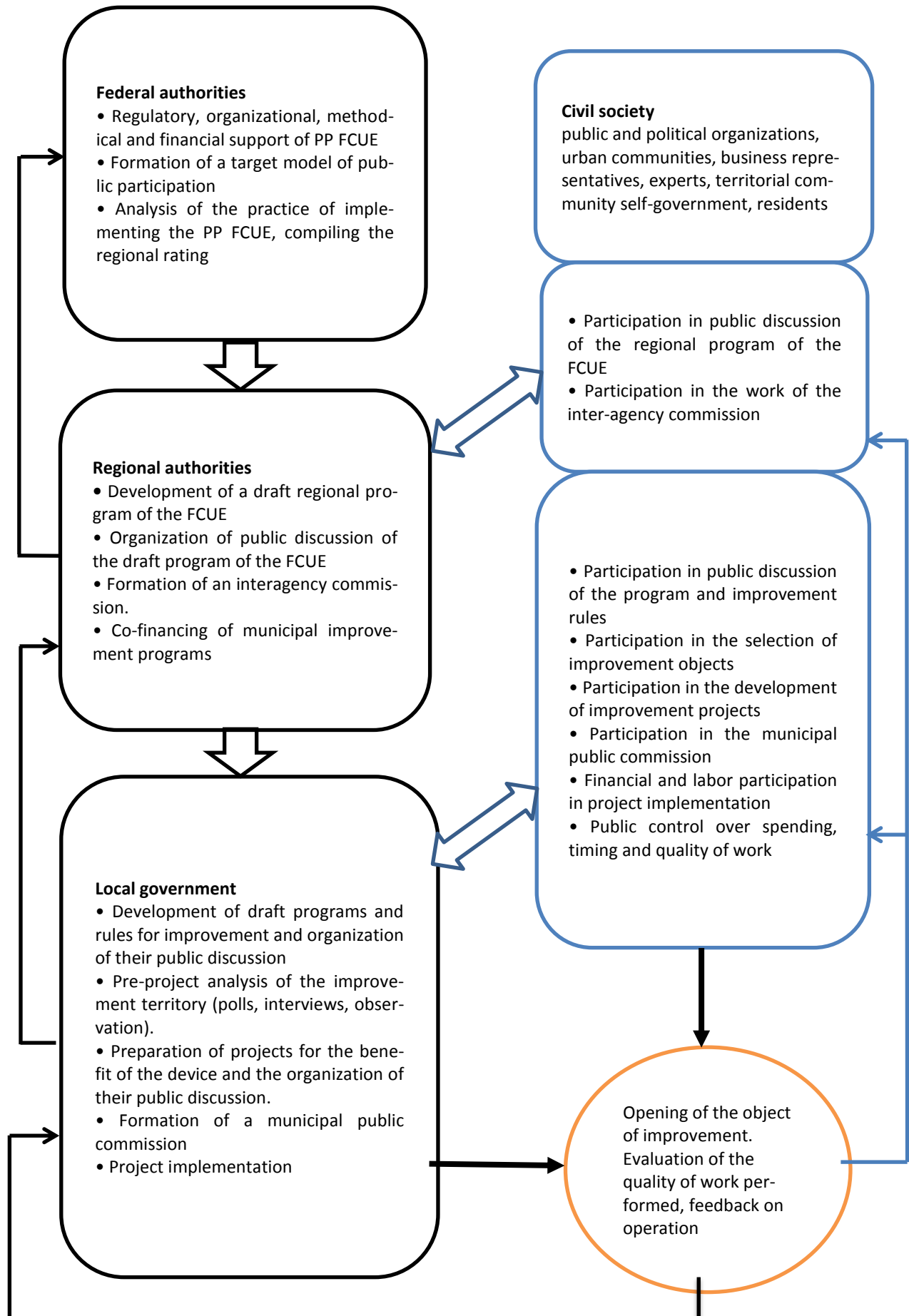


Fig 1. Model for the public communication within the FCUE project

To determine the algorithm for selecting a particular object and implementing its benefit device, this model requires decomposition (Fig. 2).

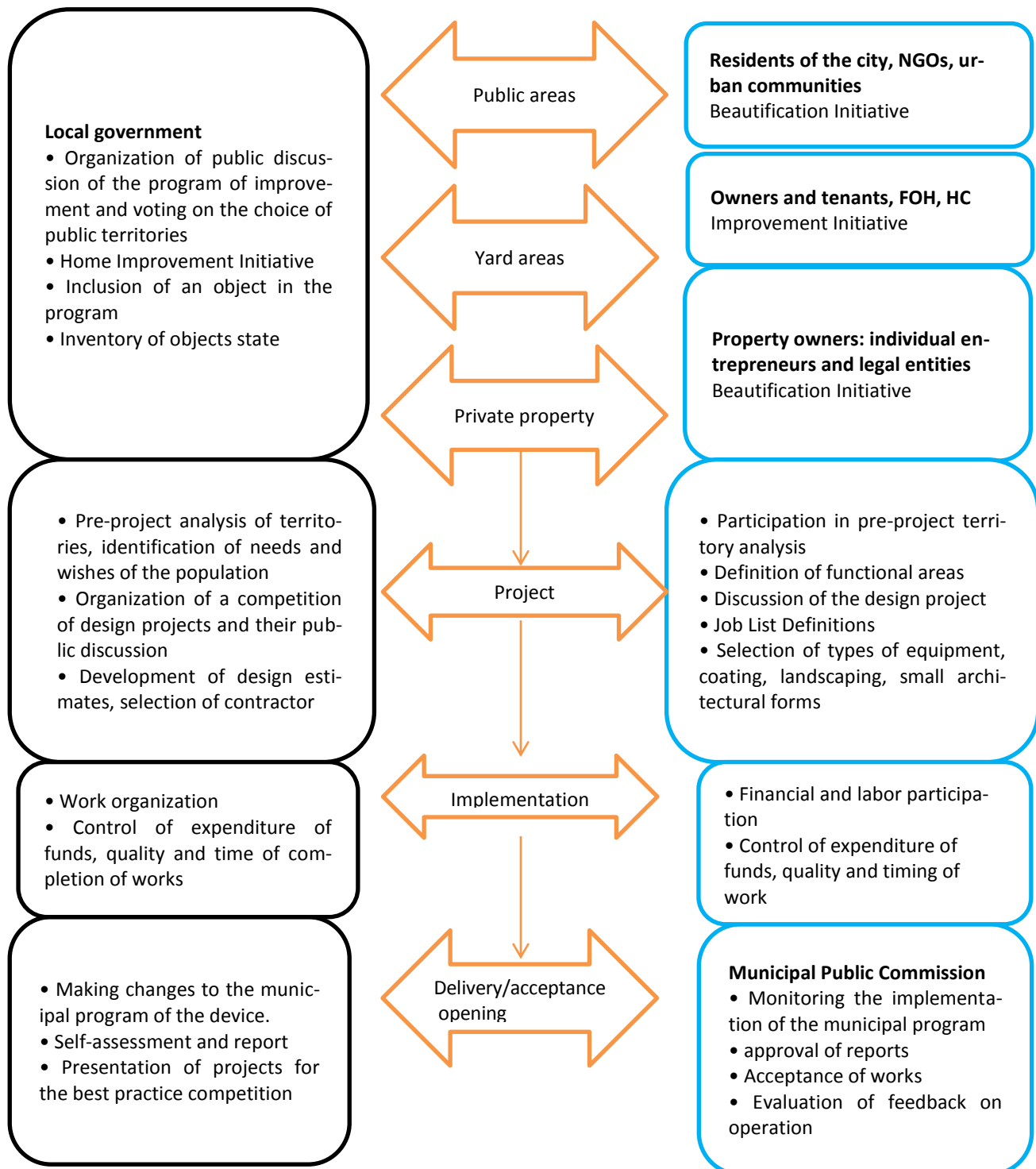


Fig. 2. The algorithm of a choice of object of improvement and project realization

The life cycle of such projects is set by the methodological recommendations of the Ministry of Construction and municipal rules and programs. At this level, public participation tools are disclosed in more detail. To the greatest extent, this participation turns out to be effective at the stages of selecting an object, when the most problematic areas are identified, of pre-project analysis, when public demands are revealed, and when discussing design projects.

Conclusion

The implementation of large-scale projects directly affecting the interests of the city should be based on the communicative model of management. Only under this condition can we achieve efficient spending of funds and get a result that satisfies the consumer, significantly improving the quality of life of people. The desire to create such a model is seen in the content of federal regulatory, legal acts, in the organizational and methodological support provided by the federal government. But the implementation of these mechanisms falls entirely on the shoulders of municipal authorities, and at this stage, the ideal model is divided about the daily reality of the city, its administration, and residents.

In each large municipality of the Arkhangelsk region, more than 20 municipal programs are implemented in parallel on average. Such a large number of projects devalues them, disperses forces, determines the formal attitude towards their fulfillment, and pushes them to create the appearance of work. This is already noticeable at the stage of preparation and discussion of documents — programs and improvement rules. The methodological recommendations of the Ministry of Construction of Russia clearly state the need to form new public institutions aimed at increasing the participation of citizens in the improvement of urban space, and that these mechanisms should be spelled out in the programs and rules of improvement. But in most municipalities, these recommendations were ignored: they were not considering in the preparation of project implementation programs, and in the improvement rules they are reflected only in three cities: Arkhangelsk, Onega, and Kotlas.

Informational support of the project also requires improvement. Obviously, without the involvement of effective information channels, it is impossible to ensure widespread public participation. Selection of the most effective information tools in each case should be determined by the specifics of local conditions and challenges.

The greatest attention of residents was caused by the rating vote on the choice of public territory for inclusion in the priority improvement program. There was much less interest in discussing draft city-wide documents. This is understandable: the information campaign for holding citywide events was brighter, richer. In many cities, it went informally and was filled with festive events. In addition, interest in the improvement of common areas is objectively higher than the interest in discussing documents.

There is a clear need for greater public involvement in project implementation mechanisms. And municipal authorities should move away from formalism when planning and conducting events. We should consider the needs of residents, local culture, and not only introduce ready-made template solutions, use standard designs for improvement, which may look good, but do not reflect the identity of the territory.

The formal attitude of municipal authorities towards ensuring public participation is noticeable in the list of events held. In almost all municipal entities, it repeats the minimum that was determined by federal documents: the organization of public hearings on accepted documents

(based on the results of which there were isolated offers or no response at all), the creation of public commissions from officials and individual representatives. The 2–3 most active public organizations, the competition of children's drawings, the festival “Vihodi Gulyat” (the municipal authorities included into the report all the events that were held in the cities starting with the New and an ode to the vote on March 18, some of them do not have a relationship to the improvement of the city). Nevertheless, according to the report of the Ministry of Construction of Russia on the implementation of the priority project for 2017, the Arkhangelsk region was in the top five regions with the largest number of public engagement activities (1,578 events)⁵³. At least two parties are involved in the communication process, so it would be a mistake to evaluate the project implementation only by the actions of the authorities. The traditional problem faced by the municipal administration is the passivity of the population. The underdevelopment of civil society is manifested precisely in passivity, in the absence of initiative and a sense of responsibility for themselves, for their loved ones, their city, their country.

Moral and psychological condition for an active dialogue between the government and society is mutual trust. If the government is not confident in supporting its initiatives, does not expect a response to its initiatives, is afraid of criticism, deliberately expects a passive reaction from the population, then the dialogue becomes impossible. If the population does not believe in the effectiveness of projects initiated by the authorities, does not believe that their opinion is seriously interested in the authorities, does not feel that the authorities represent their interests, then the interaction is also hampered.

The risk factors predicted in the passport of the priority project appeared in the process of its implementation. The low level of community involvement hampers the effective implementation of the improvement program. The target model turned out to be a hard-to-reach ideal. It was developed based on the experience of the region, with an initially high level of urban amenities, high levels of funding and public participation. This model should be adopted by regional and municipal authorities considering local conditions. The reality of northern societies differs significantly from the universal standard. Involving the public may require additional efforts by the authorities. Loads of municipal authorities, low interest and lack of necessary competencies make it challenging to find the most effective communication tools. It is needed to increase the level of trust and not to limit ourselves to minimal point measures, but to develop and implement a holistic model of communicative management on the development of urban space.

A prerequisite for the development of a workable model is to conduct a full-scale sociological study, in which, using qualitative and quantitative methods, the expectations of various social

⁵³ Otchyot o realizacii prioritetnogo proekta “Formirovanie komfortnoj gorodskoj sredy” v 2017 godu, p. 4.1. Dokument opublikovan ne byl. Dostup s sajta Ministroya Rossii. [Report on the implementation of the priority project “Formation of a comfortable urban environment” in 2017, p. 4.1. The document has not been published. Access from the site of the Ministry of Construction of Russia] URL: <http://www.minstroyrf.ru/upload/iblock/f66/ITOG-13.04.2018-Godovoy-otchet-po-gorsrede.pdf> (Accessed: 09 October 2018). [In Russian]

groups and the opinion of experts will be revealed. This task will be implemented in the next stage of our research.

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Three lives of Norwegian consulate in Arkhangelsk*

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Abstract. The article is devoted to the history of the Norwegian Consulate in Arkhangelsk, which began in 1815 and has continued to the present time. The history of the Consulate is analyzed from the standpoint of identifying the fundamental differences in the activities in each of the three periods (lives) of the Consulate. This, in particular, is the novelty of the research. Moreover, the first two lives (1815–1920 and 1924–1939) are presented as a background to a more detailed study of the prerequisites for creation, priorities in work, successes and some failures of the modern one — the third Consulate reopened in Arkhangelsk in 2010 and has the status of “Honorary”. The authors pay attention to the personal factor — the life path of the first and current honorary consul Andrei Alexandrovich Shalev. His activity was mainly discussed in regional mass media and was not subjected to research analysis. Even the actual material about the events held by the Honorary Consulate was not collected and not systematized, although it has relevance, as it concerns the interests of thousands of residents of the region. The authors believe that in this article they only outlined those directions in the study of consulates that deserve attention.

Keywords: *consulates (General, honorary), Barents Euro-Arctic region, Norwegian Barents Secretariat, Russian-Norwegian relations, cross-border relations, trade and economic relations, cultural, educational, scientific programs, sanctions, competition.*

Introduction

On January 11, 2018, the Arkhangelsk North celebrated the 25th anniversary of the signing of the Kirkenes Declaration on the establishment of the Barents Euro-Arctic Region (BEAR) and the organization of effective forms of cooperation in its regional framework. Let today Russia's relations with some countries of the BEAR leave much to be desired, over the past quarter-century; much has been done to promote the development of human contacts within the region. One of the significant achievements of the Kirkenes Declaration was the opening of the Honorary Consulate of Norway in Arkhangelsk on September 17, 2010. The article represents a brief

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comparative description of the three consulates of Norway and their activities. Norwegian consulates have been functioning on the territory of the Arkhangelsk North since 1815.

The focus is on the history of creation, priorities in work, the study of the results of the first eight years of the third consulate, which belongs to the type of "Honorary Consulates" and the efforts of the person who heads it.

***The first and second "life" of the Norwegian consulates in Arkhangelsk:
common and special***

The Pomors of the White Sea were the first in the Moscow kingdom, who, approx. since the 16th century, established regular mutually beneficial trade exchange with the population of the North Norwegian counties (Fulke) and developed strong cultural ties. However, until the beginning of the 19th century, both states limited themselves to the creation of customs posts to regulate trade relations established in the Arkhangelsk North between Imperial Russia and Norway, which was ruled by the Danish crown. Only after the Napoleonic wars, which radically changed the face of Europe, and after the transfer of power over Norway into the hands of the Swedish crown, the need in a Swedish-Norwegian consulate in the Arkhangelsk province revealed.

The consulate was founded in Arkhangelsk in 1815. In the 19th century, Arkhangelsk hosted 5-6 consulates of other countries, e.g., Great Britain and the Netherlands. The consulates of that time were mainly engaged in the merchant affairs (individuals and companies) and almost did not deal with the issues of "pomor trade". Pomor skippers rarely turned to the consuls for help. Both merchants and Pomors on relatively small vessels brought wood, hemp, resins, and soft junk to Norway. Schooners full with fish and the so-called "colonial goods" - industrial and food products from Europe, came from Norway. The competence of the consulate included the legal protection of the interests of its citizens, who were in the Arkhangelsk province by virtue of circumstances. The consuls were also actively involved in commerce. It was not forbidden since it was their primary income. Consulate workers were often citizens of the Russian Empire. Although they were usually foreigners by birth. They, as in all subsequent times, had clearly defined boundaries of their responsibility. Economic or political information, reports on the port issues and the degree of safety of the sea routes along the White Sea coast were sent to the diplomatic departments of the states that designated them more or less regularly. In dealing with the population of Arkhangelsk and the residents of the province, diplomatic workers were not limited. In the community, they were highly respected.

As a Swedish-Norwegian consulate, it existed until 1905. On October 26, 1905, Norway broke off the Swedish-Norwegian union and finally gained complete independence. Five days later, on October 30, St. Petersburg recognized Norway as an independent state before the other Western countries. [1, Riste O., p. 14]¹. The consulate in Arkhangelsk in the course of all these

¹ Ulav Riste oshibsyu. Data priznaniya — 29 oktyabrya. Sm. "Staraya" Rossiya i "novaya" Norvegiya. Rossijsko-norvezhskie otnosheniya (1905–1917). [Olav Riste was wrong. Recognition date - October 29. See "Old" Russia and

troubles did not stop its activities, but from the end of 1905, it was already the consulate of Norway in Arkhangelsk. It was called general, which indicated its great rights in comparison with simple consulates and considerable trade interest in the region. In this status, the consulate stayed throughout World War I and the period of intervention (August 1918 - January 1920). Before the occupation of Arkhangelsk by the interventionists, which occurred on August 2, 1918, the local Bolshevik authorities recognized the consulate and had trade negotiations with it. During the occupation, the time of the actual British rule, the latter prevented the restoration of Norwegian trade and so-called "Northern Region"². The invaders' dominance did not last long - only 1.5 navigations. This difficult period 1898–1920. Consul General in Arkhangelsk happened to be Heinrich Anton Falsen.

In February 1920, the Red Army detachments returned to Arkhangelsk. The new government denied the Norwegian mission recognition of any rights due to the severance of diplomatic relations between the parties. From this point on, consular members were considered private individuals of foreign nationality. The fact is that on December 13, 1918, the composition of the Norwegian mission in Petrograd left completely. Although there were still a few people left in Moscow [2, Repnevsky A.V., pp. 31–33, 40, 43]. Moreover, the gap initiative belonged to Christiania³: The Bolsheviks did not want a break, this was demanded by the Entente. This gap in December 1918 was explained to Commissar for Foreign Affairs G.V. Chicherin by the secretary of the Norwegian mission in Moscow, A.R. Whitfeld is very uncertain: hunger was declared the reason for departure, not a refusal to recognize Soviet power. Soviet Russia was repeatedly assured that departure was temporary, and diplomats would stock up on food and return by the spring of 1919⁴. But that did not happen. Thus ended the more than 100-year history of the first continuous "life" of the consulate in Arkhangelsk.

The second "life" of this consulate turned out to be noticeably shorter and fundamentally different in the nature of its activities. It lasted less than 15 years: from 1924 to 1939, but it was economically vibrant. During the navigation period (from the end of May to November) hundreds of ships flying the Norwegian flag came to the ports of the White Sea to load with wood and ship it to Europe and America by selling mainly through the London Forest Exchange. Until the beginning of the 1930s, the Arkhangelsk North had large forest Norwegian concessions in the White Sea. The agreement with Moscow until 1939 let them hunt sea animals of the so-called "Olezundskaya

"New" Norway. Russian-Norwegian relations (1905–1917)] Collection of documents. Eds V.A. Karelin, J.P. Nil'sen. M. LENARD. p. 14. [In Russian]

² Riksarkivet (Королевский Архив Осло) RA. K. 1261/14. HD. Handelskontoret. Handelsavdelingen 1903. 1972. Hillenummer 3 A 200/ 15. Nummer 206. Gruppe K 2. Sak 4, Handelen med Russland under Krigen. Bind 1 (1918–1920). Extracts Of the Department of Foreign Affairs to the Department of Trade of 22 August, 9.15, 17 and 18 November 1918 concerning the Pomeranian trade and the difficulties associated with the occupation policy.

³ Since 1924 the capital of Norway is called Oslo.

⁴ Arhiv vneshnej politiki Rossijskoj Federacii (AVP RF). F.116. Op.2. D.4, L.22; D.3.L.1. See also: Sovetsko-norvezhskie otnosheniya. 1917–1955. Sbornik dokumentov pod. red. A.O. Chubar'yana, Ulafa Riste i dr. Moskva, 1997. S. 28–30. (dok. № 12 i № 14) [Archive of foreign policy of the Russian Federation (WUA). F. 116. Op.2. D. 4, L. 22; 3.L. 1. See. also Soviet-Norwegian relations. 1917-1955. A collection of documents. edited by A. O. Chubaryan, Olav Riste, etc. Moscow, 1997. P.28-30. (dock. 12 and 14)] [In Russian].

concession". Only this activity brought the country about 270 thousand dollars [2, Repnevsky A.V., p. 334].

Wood (logs, sawlogs, and ore racks), as well as grain, remained the main export goods of the USSR, but new articles appeared in the export nomenclature: expensive box boards, ores, and even butter. The Norwegian merchant navy was the first in number and tonnage of ships entering the ports of the White Sea. The USSR turned out to be the most massive freighter of the Norwegian vessels for its forest products. Before the revolution, Russian freight operations were almost not carried out. Imports of the USSR from Norway also changed radically. Instead of large purchases of fish, characteristic for the period of the first "life" of the consulate, during the first and second five-year plans, the Soviet Union became one of the largest buyers of Norwegian aluminum and ferroalloys, which were of great defense importance. In 1924 - 1937 (from April to November) the Norwegian mission in Arkhangelsk worked with full tension. In 1925, the consul had to purchase a steamboat to visit his logging vessels. The USSR and Norway were very serious trading partners. Even fundamental differences in ideology and attitudes towards private property did not interfere with trade.

Such a high level of economic ties in the first 20 years of the 21st century has never been achieved. The Norwegian consulate in Arkhangelsk in 1920-1930s was no longer considered General (the General Mission was opened in Leningrad). The Arkhangelsk consulate was located in the same building as at the end of the 19th century. Just then it was built by a Norwegian, merchant and architect Adolf Wiklund - the father of one of the consuls of the Soviet era - Arnold Wiklund, who was a Norwegian subject, like all the other consuls of the Soviet era. He was born (1886) and married (1911) to a Russian woman Vera Aronova in Arkhangelsk. Here their daughter Lyudmila was also born [3, Ovsyankin E.I., p. 201]⁵. Both the building and the life of Arnold Wiklund were symbols of the continuity of the pre-revolutionary and Soviet periods of the consulate. Arnold Adol'fovich worked for it more than others: since 1925 he served as secretary, then vice-consul, and in 1936 - May 11, 1938, he was consul. Arnold Wiklund knew the land, its economic potential, culture, and language. Wiklund A., and even the first Soviet-era consul, Einar Anvik, had strong personal connections in Arkhangelsk.

The principal difference in the work of the consulate was that in the USSR, it was no longer necessary to trade with private companies, but with government bodies. Business communication proceeded almost exclusively through local representatives appointed by Moscow. In the 1920-1930s, no other consulates in Arkhangelsk exist on a permanent basis, and therefore the Norwegian consulate represented the trade and diplomatic interests of Sweden, and sometimes of Great Britain. In contrast to imperial Russia, the consuls on the territory of the USSR did not have any personal business and lived on a salary appointed by the Norwegian Foreign Ministry.

⁵ Shumilov N.A. *Arhangel'skij rodoslovec. Genealogicheskij spravochnik*. [Arkhangelsk rodoslovets. Genealogical reference] Arhangel'sk. 2009. p. 332.[In Russian]

Free contacts with the population of Arkhangelsk and the region (region) were limited. In 1937–1938, because of such contacts, a large group of old-residents of Arkhangelsk was accused of espionage in favor of the Norwegian consulate and repressed. The consul A. Wiklund had to urgently leave the USSR⁶. Further year-long existence of the consulate in Arkhangelsk can be considered formal, since it did not lead any core activities, but was engaged in the liquidation of its property.

The history of these two “lives” of trade and diplomatic missions of the Norwegian Kingdom in Arkhangelsk has been well studied [4, Peresadilo R.V., pp. 19–22; 5, Peresadilo R.V., pp. 129–141; 6, Peresadilo R.V., pp. 77–85; 7, Orekhova E., Davydov R., Peresadilo R., pp. 40–43; 8, R. Davydov, O. Zaretskaya, A. V. Repnevskiy]. Therefore we will focus on the background and activities of the third (modern) Honorary Consulate of this country. Its history has not yet been written; it is not so significant regarding the number of years, but it is interesting by the status unusual for Arkhangelsk, and the new direction and principles of work.

The birth of the third consulate of Norway in Arkhangelsk

The text of this part of the article is based on a new group of scientific publications and periodicals. Thus, the study of Russian-Norwegian relations of the late 20th - early 21st centuries was done by the Honorary Doctor of NArFU (2005), the head of the Training and Consultation Center for Informatics of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia, Smirnov A.I. [9, Smirnov, A.I.]. He paid great attention to the activities of Thorwald Stoltenberg, the founding and work of the Council of the Barents Euro-Arctic Region. For us, this work is important primarily because it covers the period of restoring friendly relations between the Russian Federation and Norway at the end of the 20th century.

Since the archives have not yet deposited documents on the consular work of our days, the article used the press as sources of information: newspapers and magazines like “Argumenti and Facti”⁷, “Pravda Severa”⁸, “Izvestiya Russkogo Severa”⁹, “Nevskoe vremya v Arkhangelske”¹⁰, “Nastroenie”¹¹, “Domashnyaya zhizn”¹², “Moryak Severa”¹³ and some others. These materials tell about the activity of a current consulate and Norwegian-Russian relations.

A large group of sources are Internet resources. On the history of the consulate of the 21st century: the official website of the Honorary Consulate of Norway¹⁴ and its page in V Kontakte¹⁵.

⁶ The Consul could not be arrested because he had diplomatic immunity.

⁷ *Argumenty i fakty v Arhangel'ske*. 1998. № 12. [In Russian]

⁸ *Pravda Severa*. 2008, 25 October and 2009, 24 January. [In Russian]

⁹ *Izvestiya Russkogo Severa*. 2010. № 3. and 2010. № 4. [In Russian]

¹⁰ *Nevskoe vremya v Arhangel'ske*. 2010, 14 September. [In Russian]

¹¹ *Nastroenie*. 2011. № 5. [In Russian]

¹² *Domashnyaya zhizn'*. 2010, 27 September. [In Russian]

¹³ *Moryak Severa*. 2009, 1 August. [In Russian]

¹⁴ Pochyotnoe konsul'stvo v Arhangel'ske. [Honorary Consulate in Arkhangelsk] URL: <http://www.norvegia.ru/Embassy/Honorary-Consulate-in-Arkhangelsk/> (Accessed: 29 November 2016). [In Russian]

The following sites were also viewed: "The weekly publication of the mayor's office of the regional center"¹⁶, the "International Cities Association"¹⁷, "international portal Krasnoe Znamya"¹⁸, the magazine "Sever Promishlennii"¹⁹, the Embassy of the Russian Federation in Norway²⁰, "All of Norway in Russian"²¹, "Information Archive of the Russian Geographical Society"²², "Vesti Pomor'ya"²³, "Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation"²⁴, "lenta.ru"²⁵, "REGNUM"²⁶, "Region 29 Information Agency".²⁷

The article would be incomplete without the data provided personally by A. Shalev,²⁸ using published interviews with the Honorary Consul of Norway.

¹⁵ Pochyotnoe Konsul'stvo Norvegii v Arhangel'ske. Oficial'naya stranica/ social'naya set': VKontakte. [Honorary Consulate of Norway in Arkhangelsk. Official page / social network: Vkontakte] URL: <https://vk.com/> (Accessed: 29 November 2016). [In Russian]

¹⁶ Varde i Arhangel'sk — primer pobratimstva/ saj: Ezhenedel'noe izdanie mehrii oblastnogo centra. [Vardø and Arkhangelsk - an example of twinning / website: Weekly edition of the mayor's office of the regional center]. URL: <http://xn--80aaajbekpx2baxpu4q.xn--p1ai/articles/lyudi-i-sobytiya/varde-i-arkhangelsk-primer-pobratimstva/> (Accessed 25 December 2016). [In Russian]

¹⁷ Arhangel'sk privetstvuet Vardyo (Norvegiya). [Arkhangelsk welcomes Vardø (Norway)]. URL: http://goroda-pobratimyy.ru/publ/poslednie_novosti/arkhangelsk_privetstvuet_vardjo/1-1-0-79 (Accessed: 25 December 2016). [In Russian]

¹⁸ Schastliviy V. Dni Norvegii startovali v Arhangel'skoj oblasti/ Vitalij Schastliviy// saj: Informacionnyj portal Krasnoe znamya. [Happy V. The Days of Norway started in the Arkhangelsk region / Vitaliy Happy // website: Krasnoe Znamya Information Portal] URL: <http://komikz.ru/news/culture/?id=499> (Accessed: 25 December 2016). [In Russian]

¹⁹ Borisov D. Rossijsko-norvezhskoe ehkonomicheskoe sotrudnichestvo v Barencevom/Evroarkticheskom regione i ego perspektivy [Russian-Norwegian Economic Cooperation in the Barents / Euro-Arctic Region and its Prospects] *Sever promyshlennyy*. URL: <http://helion-ltd.ru/rus-norw-conomic-ooperation/> (Accessed: 24 December 2016). [In Russian]

²⁰ Rossijsko-norvezhskie otnosheniya / saj: Posol'stvo Rossijskoj Federacii v Norvegii. YAnvar' 2015. [Russian-Norwegian relations / website: Embassy of the Russian Federation in Norway. January 2015] URL: <http://www.norway.mid.ru/ru/rn-politics.html> (Accessed: 24 December 2016). [In Russian]

²¹ Norvezhskie kompanii v Rossii / Saj: Vsyä Norvegiya na ruskom. [Norwegian companies in Russia / Site: All Norway in Russian]. URL: http://www.norge.ru/work_norwayburo/ (Accessed: 24 December 2016). [In Russian]

²² Deklaraciya ob osnovah otnoshenij mezhdü Rossijskoj Federaciej i Korolevstvom Norvegiya/ saj: Informacionnyj arhiv Russkogo geograficheskogo obshchestva. [Declaration on the basis of relations between the Russian Federation and the Kingdom of Norway / website: Information Archive of the Russian Geographical Society]. URL: <http://old.rgo.ru/otkroj-rossiyu/arctic/perechen-normativno-pravovyx-aktov/deklaraciya-ob-osnovax-otnoshenij-mezhdü-rossijskoj-federaciej-i-korolevstvom-norvegiya/> (Accessed: 23 December 2016). [In Russian]

²³ Norvegiya uprostita vizovyy rezhim dlya zhitelej Arhangel'skoj i Murmanskoj oblasti. Vesti Pomor'ya. 21.09.12. [Norway has simplified the visa regime for residents of the Arkhangelsk and Murmansk region. Vesti Pomor'ya. 09/21/12.] URL: <http://www.pomorie.ru/news/norvegiya-uprostita-vizoviy-regim-dlya-giteley-arh> (Accessed: 26 December 2016). [In Russian]

²⁴ Rossijsko-norvezhskij plan dejstvij po sotrudnichestvu v oblasti kul'tury na Krajnem Severe / Saj: Mini-sterstvo kul'tury Rossijskoj Federacii. [Russian-Norwegian Action Plan for Cooperation in the Field of Culture in the High North. The Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation]. URL: <http://mkrf.ru/documents/agreements/detail.php?ID=221150> (Accessed: 01 December 2016). [In Russian]

²⁵ Norvegiya usilit armiyu iz-za "rossijskoj ugrozy". [Norway will strengthen the army because of the "Russian threat"] URL: <http://funday24.ru/article/65513> (Accessed: 01 December 2016). [In Russian]

²⁶ Slaborazvitaya i neftezavisimaya: Norvegiya o Rossii i o sebe. [Underdeveloped and oil-dependent: Norway about Russia and about itself]. URL: http://regnum.ru/news/polit/2042326.html?utm_medium=referral&utm_source=lenta_inform&utm_campaign=regnum.ru&utm_term=139914&utm_content=4040345 (Accessed: 01 December 2016). [In Russian]

²⁷ 17 maya Arhangel'sk otmechaet Den' konstitucii Norvegii. [May 17, Arkhangelsk celebrates the Constitution Day of Norway] URL: <https://region29.ru/2016/05/17/573b25a52817cac26200834d.html> (Accessed: 19 December 2016). [In Russian].

²⁸ The conversation of A.A. Reutova with the Honorary Consul of Norway in Arkhangelsk A.A. Shalev. December 23, 2016 [Audio]. Private collection of Reutova A.A. Published with the consent of A.A. Shalev.

The third life of the consulate has long prehistory of its origin. Let us dwell on how the idea of recreating the consulate in Arkhangelsk matured.

If in 1905 Russia was the first European country to recognize Norway's independence from Sweden, then on December 16, 1991, Norway showed kindness in response — it was one of the first to acknowledge the new bourgeois Russian Federation²⁹. In December 1991, the Norwegian government allocated 15 million kroons for the North-West of our country, as well as 5 million kroons for the Finnmark and Troms provinces, which were supposed to be spent on the development of economic cooperation. With this charitable gesture, Norway showed its interest in developing a partnership with the North of Russia [9, Smirnov A.I., p. 23].

The next step was taken on March 8, 1992. On this day, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Russia and Norway, Andrei Kozyrev and Torvald Stoltenberg³⁰ signed in Oslo a joint protocol on the work program of contacts and cooperation. This document mainly focused on the development of economic cooperation between the northern regions of both countries, and also spoke about the desire to restore contacts along the lines of "pomeranian trade" [9, Smirnov A.I., p. 23]. It is clear that it was more about the spirit of "Pomor trade" than about its specific forms characteristic of the 18th-19th centuries.

On April 24, 1992, representatives from three Norwegian provinces gathered in Troms: Finnmark — E. Fletten, Troms — Ya.H. Ulsen, Nordland — S. Eriksen, as well as the head of the administration of the Murmansk region — E. Komarov and deputy head of the administration of the Arkhangelsk region — A. Efremov (head of the administration of the oblast since 1996). The working group was tasked with promoting bilateral projects in the field of culture, economics, science, and ecology. At the same time, it should be noted that Torvald Stoltenberg first used the term "Barents Region". The official date of the creation of BEAR is January 11, 1993. The Arkhangelsk Region was initially incorporated into this organization. The main tasks of creating the Barents region are to establish and maintain contacts between people, economic development, creating conditions for interregional exchange in many areas, such as trade, education, science, culture, indigenous peoples, youth interaction, information, environment and ecology, transport, health care.

As part of the BEAR activity and the Murmansk Corridor concept, developed in February 1996 in Tromsø, several projects were proposed for implementation. Projects such as the construction of the Kirkenes-Nickel railway, the Kirkenes-Nickel-Murmansk motorway, the only Borisoglebsk checkpoint on the land part of the Russian-Norwegian border [9, Smirnov A.I., p. 43-45]. Economic cooperation with Russia was not just a good wish; it moved into real-life projects,

²⁹ Rossijsko-norvezhskie otnosheniya / sajto: Posol'stvo Rossijskoj Federacii v Norvegii. YAnvar' 2015. [Russian-Norwegian relations / website: Embassy of the Russian Federation in Norway. January 2015] URL: <http://www.norway.mid.ru/ru/rn-politics.html>(Accessed: 23 November 2016). [In Russian]

³⁰ Torvald Stoltenberg died on July 18, 2018 at the age of 87 years. Do not confuse him with his son Jens Stoltenberg, who took over the post of NATO Secretary General on October 1, 2014. On December 12, 2017, the NATO member countries extended the term of Jens Stoltenberg as Alliance Secretary General until September 30, 2020.

many of which have already been completed. An excellent example of collaboration "on the type of Pomor trade" is the Russian-Norwegian visa-free regime for citizens of both countries who can cross the borders of Russia and Norway in the Far North with a stay of up to 90 days within the territorial zone of up to 30 km on both sides ³¹.

As a result of the developing Norwegian participation in cooperation within the Barents Region, as well as Norway's interest in the northern regions, in 1993 the Consulate General of the Kingdom of Norway in Murmansk was the first to be established.

Arkhangelsk stood in turn. In October 2008, the city was visited by the Consul General of Norway in Murmansk, Jon Fredrikson. During his one-day visit, he met with the then governor of the Arkhangelsk Region, Ilya Mikhalkchuk, and representatives of the PSU administration. The Governor and the General Consul agreed on the need to focus on economic cooperation between Norway and Pomorje³². Together with Fredrickson, representatives of the Norwegian oil and gas company StatoilHydro arrived in Arkhangelsk, with the goal of establishing strong contacts with the Arkhangelsk North. Unfortunately, later Norwegian sanctions did not allow for the development of cooperation in this industry³³. During the meeting, Governor Ilya Mikhalkchuk proposed to open the consulate of Norway in Arkhangelsk to facilitate the visa regime and ensure the necessary level of contacts. The consul replied: "We are open to new ideas. Today in your country we have two general consulates: in Murmansk and St. Petersburg. There are no restrictions on the number of diplomatic agencies. But this issue should be resolved at the level of the Foreign Ministry of Russia and Norway"³⁴. Observation of the Honorary Consul of Norway in Arkhangelsk A.A. Shalev, that the idea of opening a consulate for the first time came from Elizabeth Valaas (deputy foreign minister of Norway) during her visit to Arkhangelsk³⁵, but it seems to be erroneous, since E. Valaas visited Arkhangelsk later — in January 2009.

Perhaps a certain role, which contributed to the decision to establish the Consulate General in Arkhangelsk, was played by the petition of a group of scientists from the Pomor University to the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Russia and Norway³⁶. Having studied the "lineage" of the consulate general in Arkhangelsk, a group of historians headed by the rector of the Pomor State University, Vladimir Nikolaevich Bulatov, back in the early 2000s sent a letter where, with the help of facts, proved that it was Archangelsk who had the historical right to host the consulate of Norway.

³¹ Siren A. Obzor dostizhenij v oblasti Barentseva sotrudnichestva. [Review of achievements of Barents cooperation] URL: <http://www.barentsinfo.org/Barents-region/Cooperation/Review-of-the-Achievements-of-the-Barents-Cooperation/In-Russian> (Accessed: 03 December 2016). [In Russian]

³² Shilova N. Jon Fredriksen: "Nadeyus', budu ezdit' k vam bez vizes". [Jon Fredriksen: "I hope I will come to you without a visa"]. *Pravda Severa*. 2008. 25 October. p. 8. [In Russian]

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Shalev A.A. Honorary Consulate of Norway in Arkhangelsk: [conversation with Andrei Alexandrovich Shalev, who was appointed Honorary Consul of Norway in Arkhangelsk]. Interview by A.V. Repnevsky. *Izvestija Russkogo Severa*. 2010. No. 3 (Sep.). p. 36. [In Russian]

³⁶ The conversation of A.A. Reutova with the Honorary Consul of Norway in Arkhangelsk A.A. Shalev. Ibid. [In Russian]

In early 2009, Norway officially announced that it intends to open in Arkhangelsk, not a general, but an Honorary Consulate. It was necessary to wait for the reaction of the Russian Foreign Minister³⁷. The difference between these two types of consulates is that the honorary consul does not have the right to issue visas, does not have diplomatic status, does not receive a salary from the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the consul is a citizen of the host country. Such a position required a person who had his income, and well established business contacts with Norway. Something similar was practiced in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Andrei Aleksandrovich Shalev: the way to the consuls



Fig. 1. Honorary Consul of Norway in Arkhangelsk
Andrei Aleksandrovich Shalev

At the place of the Honorary Consul of Norway in Arkhangelsk, five candidates were considered, finally, by agreement of the parties, Andrei Aleksandrovich Shalev was appointed. His candidacy was more than any other corresponded to the conditions mentioned above since by the time of his appointment Shalev had more than 14 years of experience in projects with Norwegian participation. The consular card is given for five years. This means that in 2018 A. Shalev's second term in office is on. There is no age limit, which means that the pensioner may also be an honorary consul.

Andrei Aleksandrovich is a native northerner. Born in Yarensk on January 15, 1960; since the age of 10, he has been living and studying in Arkhangelsk. In 1982 he graduated from the Faculty of History and Philology of the Arkhangelsk Pedagogical Institute. After working as a history teacher in a rural school, part-time he was its director. In 1991, A. Shalev set up his own

³⁷ Shilova N. Norvezhskoe prisutstvie [Norwegian presence]. *Pravda Severa*. 2009, 24 January. p. 2. [In Russian]

company, a youth information research center. That was how the experience of the manager was formed.

In the mid-1990s, in high schools and universities appeared international departments. It was the very beginning of the Barents cooperation when the Arkhangelsk region was only involved in such activities. International departments were engaged in international cooperation projects. That's why Andrei Alexandrovich was invited to work at the Arkhangelsk State Medical Academy. From that moment on, the international activities of the future honorary consul began. There, in 1994, he first started working with Norwegian projects. In the mid-1990s only a few projects per year were carried out, mainly with Norwegian partners in Tromsø, Alta or Kirkenes [10]. From the position of head of the international department, A.A. Shalev was invited to the Norwegian Barents Secretariat, where he headed its Information Office³⁸. On August 8, 2018, in an interview with the NArFU newspaper "The Arctic Vector", Andrei Alexandrovich recalled this crucial stage of his journey to the honorary consuls: "by the university. I was invited to the position of director of the new organization We created the office of the Barents Secretariat from scratch. We succeeded in creating such an infrastructure, on the model of which centers were opened in Murmansk, in Naryan-Mar. Our office has become the head office in Russia"³⁹. Through the Arkhangelsk office, which operated at the Pomeranian State University, went all the administrative management and funding. Shalev was the director of the representative office of the Norwegian Barents Secretariat in Arkhangelsk from 1996 to 2010.

And after the opening of the consulate on September 17, 2010, at Pomorskaya, 16, he continues to manage this representation, combining the post of director with the activities of the honorary council. The consulate premises are also connected with the Representative Office of the Norwegian Barents Secretariat; together they form a unique tool for international interaction and development opportunities in the Barents Region⁴⁰.

Priorities of activities, successes and reasons for the failure of our consulate today

On the day of the official opening of the Honorary Consulate, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Norway, Jonas Gahr Støre, the Norwegian Ambassador to Moscow, Knut Hauge, and the heads of the northern provinces of Norway, Troms, and Finnmark, visited the capital of Pomorie. In honor of the opening of the consulate, Arkhangelsk, with its performance, was visited by the Norwegian singer Marie Boyer. In the same week, the exhibition "Colors on Ice" by the Norwegian photo artist Asbjørn Nielsen was opened in the museum of S. Pisakhov, dedicated to various forms of ice. In the Museum of Art Development of the Arctic. Borisova was a concert by the Norwegian opera singer Anne-Lise Berntsen.

³⁸ Shalev A.A. Honorary Consulate of Norway in Arkhangelsk. Ibid. [In Russian]

³⁹ Shalev A.A. "Pervymi kanalami mezhdunarodnoj kommunikacii stali universitety Arhangel'ska i Norvegii". ["The first channels of international communication were universities of Arkhangelsk and Norway"]. URL: <https://narfu.ru/life/news/university/317679/> (Accessed: 23 October 2018). [In Russian]

⁴⁰ Honorary Consulate of Norway in Arkhangelsk. Official page / social network: VKontakte.URL: <https://vk.com/honconsulate> (Accessed: 26 April 2015). [In Russian]

An important task of the Honorary Consulate is to represent the interests of Norway in the territory of the Arkhangelsk North. The Honorary Consul provides various kinds of services for Norwegian citizens: entrepreneurs, politicians, sailors, students, cultural figures, etc. This may be legal, advisory, organizational assistance. The consulate also performs the functions of disseminating information about the country delegating it, helps the development of contacts, contacts, etc. But the consulate does not issue visas and passports⁴¹. The honorary consul can only certify the authenticity of any document with his signature or seal.

Since the establishment of the new consulate, its main partner has been the Consulate General of Norway in Murmansk. Also, relations have been established with the Norwegian Consulate General in St. Petersburg, the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other ministries. "The level of our relationship has risen. We are now engaged not only in projects funded by the Barents Secretariat but also in those financed at the federal level from Oslo or St. Petersburg and Murmansk"⁴².

In 1996–1997, when the Barents Secretariat Information Center was beginning to work; no more than 15–20 joint Russian-Norwegian projects per year were carried out in the region. At present, the Representative Office of the Norwegian Barents Secretariat in Arkhangelsk, on average, supports more than 50 such projects. It makes the staff of the representative office and consulate work tirelessly. For comparison, let us say that at the level of the entire Barents Region, the central secretariat supports about 300 projects per year⁴³. Most of the activities that the consulate helps to organize and finance are cultural phenomena. Back in 2009, the document "Russian-Norwegian Action Plan for Cooperation in the Field of Culture in the High North" was signed by the Minister of Culture of the Russian Federation A.A. Avdeeva and Minister of Culture and Church Affairs of the Kingdom of Norway T. Giske⁴⁴. The consulate operates within the framework of this agreement, supporting the exchange of painting exhibitions, museum exhibitions, concert, and festive programs. The Arkhangelsk region, e.g., presented one of the most significant projects on museum cooperation between Pomorye and Norway, entitled "Cold coasts - close relations"⁴⁵. This project included the major exhibition on the history of polar research in the context of cooperation between Russia and Norway. Since the 1990s, the traditional "Norwegian Spring" festival is held annually in Arkhangelsk. Various concerts with the participation of Norwegian artists, mainly from the Tromsø School of Art, and exhibitions of designers and artists are held within its framework. The date of the event is May 17th. It was not

⁴¹ Since 2011, it was possible to get visas at the honorary consulate, but after the opening of a special visa center in Arkhangelsk in 2016, this practice was discontinued.

⁴² The conversation of A.A. Reutova with the Honorary Consul of Norway in Arkhangelsk A.A. Shalev. Ibid. [In Russian]

⁴³ Shalev A.A. *Filosofiya narodnoj diplomatii*. [Philosophy of people's diplomacy]. URL: <http://pravdasevera.ru/yadcshto> (Accessed: 23 October 2018). [In Russian]

⁴⁴ *Rossijsko-norvezhskij plan dejstvuj po sotrudnichestvu v oblasti kul'tury na Krajnem Severe*. Mini-sterstvo kul'tury Rossijskoj Federacii. [Russian-Norwegian action plan for cooperation in the field of culture in the High North. Mini-culture of culture of the Russian Federation] URL: <http://mkrf.ru/documents/agreements/detail.php?ID=221150> (Accessed: 01 November 2016). [In Russian]

⁴⁵ Ibid.

chosen by chance: it is the day of the Constitution of Norway. Since 2011, the Norwegian Honorary Consulate has become the official organizer of the Norwegian Spring Festival. The consulate helps to hold "Days of Norway" in Arkhangelsk (September 16–21), the holiday "Norwegian Autumn" (October 11). The consul himself personally likes the festival "Urband Camp", which, according to him, "was initially jazz, but this format has long outgrown, now there are dances and performance. It was held in Arkhangelsk for the fifth year and most of the work is done by volunteers. Here, not only the cultural component is essential, but also the fact that this project, like a funnel, draws many talented and active young people into it"⁴⁶.

For nearly 30 years, the Norwegian city of Vardø, which is called the "Pomor capital" of Norway, has been twinned with Arkhangelsk. The town operates the "Pomor Museum" and days of Pomor culture in cooperation with the consulate⁴⁷. Thus, in Norway, the culture of the Russian North is promoted. The town administrations are supported by youth sports competitions, such as the Yukigassen snow battles. In 2013, the capital of Pomorje was visited by the Norwegian orchestra of Vardø⁴⁸. The Honorary Consulate and the Barents Secretariat's Arkhangelsk office work closely with NArFU in many matters, but perhaps the most vivid example is the annual flights of the Arctic Floating University. Students of Scandinavian countries continuously take part in these voyages. So, in August 2013, with the help of the consulate and the personal participation of Consul A.A. Shalev it had become possible to organize an international research expedition along the Northern Sea Route to commemorate a similar expedition of Jonas Lid and Fridtjof Nansen, completed in 1913. Support for both large-scale and not-so-large, but truly popular initiatives had become a constant concern of the consulate. The consulate considers the above measures as exemplars of "people's diplomacy" for the sake of which it works, to take root.

It is in the cultural sphere that ill-wishers sometimes criticize the activities of the Honorary Consulate. So, starting from 2011–2012, the REGNUM journalist Dmitry Semushin tried to impose on the public a discussion about the "novelty" of such a notion as "Pomors", and about the corrupting influence of Norway on the Russian identity in the North⁴⁹. The occasion was the publication of the children's book "Pomor Tales". Semushin D. considered these tales wrong and harmful. One might say they were "anti-Russian". Assistance to the consulate in cultural exchange was considered almost "sabotage". Some ideas of Semushin D. were supported by the Ren-TV channel. Thus, in one of the Dobrov on Air programs, a change in the identity of a Russian to

⁴⁶ Shalev A.A. *Filosofiya narodnoj diplomatii*. [Philosophy of people's diplomacy]. URL: <http://pravdasevera.ru/yadcshto> (Accessed: 23 October 2018). [In Russian]

⁴⁷ Moiseev, I.I. Vardø — kul'turnaya vitrina Pomor'ya na Zapade. [Vardø - cultural case of Pomorje in the West] *Izvestiya Russkogo Severa*. 2009. № 2. p. 47. [In Russian]

⁴⁸ Arkhangelsk welcomes Vardø (Norway) URL: http://goroda-pobratimyy.ru/publ/poslednie_novosti/arkhangelsk_privetstvuet_vardjo/1-1-0-79 (Accessed: 25 November 2016). [In Russian]

⁴⁹ Semushin D. Pomory protiv russkih — protiv Rossii. [Pomors against Russians - against Russia] URL: <https://regnum.ru/news/polit/1457229.html> (Accessed: 20 December 2016). [In Russian]; Semushin D. Barents-region i ego apologety v Rossii. [Barents region and its apologists in Russia]. URL: <https://regnum.ru/news/polit/1495177.html> (Accessed: 20 December 2016). [In Russian]; Semushin D. "Pomorskaya isteriya": Akt pervyj. ["Pomor Hysteria": Act I]. URL: <https://regnum.ru/news/polit/1463777.html> (Accessed: 20 December 2016). [In Russian]

Scandinavian was announced, and the institutions through which this influence goes were called: Northern (Arctic) Federal University, Information Center of the Norwegian Barents Secretariat and the Honorary Consulate of Norway⁵⁰.

Such assessments are far from objective, since the activities of the Norwegian Barents Secretariat are transparent, the content of the projects is analyzed by experts and does not contradict the national interests of Russia. This organization never finances projects by 100%, but always insists that Russian partners also invest money. In addition, Russian project funding is sometimes overwhelming⁵¹. In its activities, the Honorary Consulate focuses on the assessment of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation. Cultural, educational and scientific cooperation is a two-way road, the consulate, according to Andrei Alexandrovich, is a mediator on this road.

The task of the consulate, which appeared for the third time in history in Arkhangelsk, is to help develop business ties with Norway. As Elisabeth Valaas said (visiting Arkhangelsk in 2009), "the presence of such a consulate in Arkhangelsk will be of great importance for the central office of the Norwegian authorities in Oslo. It should expand our contacts with the administration of the Arkhangelsk region"⁵². Then, in January 2009, E. Valaas realistically responded about the insufficient level of economic cooperation between the Arkhangelsk region and Northern Norway: "Frankly speaking, the economic cooperation between the Arkhangelsk region and Norway did not meet our expectations. Perhaps Murmansk is between us"⁵³. Indeed, the ice-free port on the Kola Peninsula, due to natural circumstances, has good prospects in the development of economic ties with Norway. Murmansk is more attractive for businesspeople; therefore in the 21st century, it becomes a competitor of Arkhangelsk. According to the President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin, "the development of the Murmansk transport hub is an important component of the development of the country's economy and is of national importance. Sea and rail transport corridors are very effective and have serious prospects, providing access from the continent to the open ocean"⁵⁴. More than four years ago, in April 2014, a government decree of the Russian Federation approved the state program "Socio-economic development of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2020", which extends to the entire Murmansk region⁵⁵.

Despite these adverse circumstances for Arkhangelsk, the grounds for the development of the consulate's business activities were obvious. As of November 2016, six large and medium-sized companies operated in Arkhangelsk owned by Norwegians: Bedriftskompetanse (consulting),

⁵⁰ S(A)FU pod vneshnim upravleniem. Programma "Dobrov v ehfire". [C (A) FU under external control. The program "Dobrov on the air"]. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HFnm9rlnHlk> (Accessed: 20 December 2016). [In Russian]

⁵¹ The conversation of A.A. Reutova with the Honorary Consul of Norway in Arkhangelsk A.A. Shalev. Ibid. [In Russian]

⁵² Shilova N. Norvezhskoe prisutstvie [Norwegian presence]. Pravda Severa. 2009, 24 January. p. 2. [In Russian]

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Borisov D. Rossijsko-norvezhskoe ehkonomicheskoe sotrudnichestvo v Barencevom/Evroarkticheskom regione i ego perspektivy [Russian-Norwegian Economic Cooperation in the Barents / Euro-Arctic Region and its Prospects] Sever promyshlennyj. URL: <http://helion-ltd.ru/rus-norw-conomic-operation/> (Accessed: 24 October 2016). [In Russian]

⁵⁵ Ibid.

Shipyard Joint Venture (shipbuilding), Shoina Company (fish processing), TD-Telecom (telecommunication), US Trade International (consulting), SAS (air travel). In Murmansk, Norwegian enterprises represented approximately twice as many.⁵⁶ In March 2017, in the interview, A.A. Shalev acknowledged that there were, “unfortunately, very few projects in economic development and business. If a Norwegian businessman does not see what he can do in our market, then no force will drag him. You can arrange some business conference, organize a trip of a delegation of businesspeople, but you can't make business do... But in general, we had a bias towards humanitarian projects; these are mainly cultural projects, educational”⁵⁷. The Honorary Consulate is trying to expand the information field for business to facilitate the search for mutually beneficial areas of capital investment. While the success of the consulate in this field is small, but recently there have been good platforms for finding breakthrough economic projects. First of all, these are the international forums “The Arctic: Territory of Dialogue”. A government decision to hold this forum once every two years in Arkhangelsk gives the region development prospects. Its preparation for the spring of 2019 has already begun.

The problem of the relatively weak development of economic and trade contacts with the Norwegian neighbors is also facing the Murmansk region. This, in particular, it was discussed on October 4-5, 2018 in Nickel at the eighth representative meeting of administrations, businessmen and cultural workers of the two countries, called the “Days of Russian-Norwegian Border Cooperation”. At this business forum, with the participation of the Russian consul in Kirkenes and the Norwegian consul in Murmansk, the results of the Russian-Norwegian cooperation of the past 25 years were explicitly discussed⁵⁸. (Reminding that the Alexander County withdrew from the Arkhangelsk province only in 1921; so, the border economic cooperation of the Kola Peninsula is part of our shared history). Of course, the low intensity of Russian-Norwegian political and economic contacts and cross-border ties is not the fault of the consulates of Murmansk and Arkhangelsk. Business activity in the region declined due to Norway's position on the situation in Ukraine and the return of Crimea to Russia in 2014. As it is known, on October 10, 2014, Norway joined the EU's sectoral sanctions against Russia. As a result, multi-billion technological projects of oil and gas production on the Barents Sea shelf were frozen.

The cultural component of the activities of the Honorary Consulate in Arkhangelsk contributes to dispelling the myth of the "Russian threat" and the establishment of partnership relations between Norway and Russia.

⁵⁶ Norvezhskie kompanii v Rossii / Sajt: Vsya Norvegiya na russkom. [Norwegian companies in Russia / Site: All Norway in Russian]. URL:http://www.norge.ru/work_norwayburo/. (Accessed: 23 October 2018). [In Russian]

⁵⁷ Shalev A.A. Filosofiya narodnoj diplomatii. [Philosophy of people's diplomacy]. URL: <http://pravdasevera.ru/yadcshto> (Accessed: 23 October 2018). [In Russian]

⁵⁸ VIII Russian-Norwegian days of cross-border cooperation. 4–5 okt. 2018. Nickel, Petchenga District, Murmansk region. Programm.

Conclusion

The activities of the consulates of Norway in the history of Arkhangelsk for more than two centuries and the analysis of the current situation in this regard make one to come to the following conclusions:

- In the 19th century, a common interest in the north of Russia and Norway was “Pomor trade” and merchant trade. Their guides were consulates of that time. In the 1920-1930, the situation was dominated by a larger, but also mutual economic interest of the two states. The Norwegian and Russian north were no longer trading among themselves, but the USSR authorities and large state and private Norwegian firms. The economic priority of Arkhangelsk was unique for the Norwegian consulates in both imperial and interwar Soviet times; So, the Norwegian consulate had the status of general, and in Soviet times it was a consulate with a full set of diplomatic rights.
- In 1815 – 1939, the first two Norwegian consulates in Arkhangelsk, concentrating on the trade and economic sphere, purposefully did not deal with issues of cultural exchange, education, or science. It was not even spelled out in their duties.
- Since the time of perestroika in the USSR and almost the entire twentieth anniversary of the twenty-first century, Arkhangelsk enjoyed the priority of age-old traditions and potential in the scientific, educational, cultural spaces. It is these benefits in the “science — education — culture” line that the Honorary Consulate in Arkhangelsk is successfully exploiting.
- Over the past 25 years and 8 years of the Honorary Consulate in Arkhangelsk, the problem of developing economic cooperation to the desired level within the BEAR framework has not been resolved. It should be recognized that the trade and industrial relations of the two countries — the northern neighbors did not reach the scale and importance that were characteristic of imperial and Soviet (interwar) time. Responsibility of the consulate for this is minimal.
- At the beginning of the 21st century, in financial, commercial and industrial terms, Pomorje was not a significant region of our relations with the regions of northern Norway. In general, a similar situation is for our Murmansk neighbors; although geographically they live directly on the borders with Norway and have legislative, geographical and natural preferences in comparison with the Arkhangelsk.
- Since the end of the 20th century, due to circumstances, culture, education and science are in the priority of interstate cooperation and the activity of consulates in Arkhangelsk and Murmansk [11]. Outstanding successes have been achieved in these areas, which even the sanction policy of Norway against the Russian Federation, introduced since autumn 2014, could not cause serious damage. The centuries-old traditions of cooperation, the rich culture and scientific resources of Arkhangelsk have become a solid basis for relations with the northern Norway county. And it should be understood that the Honorary Consulate is a necessary link, a kind of mediator in the Russian-Norwegian relations of the humanitarian sphere.
- Competition with Murmansk should be turned into cooperation. It is worth thinking about ways to merge the geographical potential of Murmansk with the cultural, educational and scientific potential of Arkhangelsk. In this tandem, it will be possible to feel the progress.

The theme of the activity of the third consulate in Arkhangelsk and its role in the organization of modern Russian-Norwegian relations has been little studied, but it is really relevant, as it directly affects the lives of thousands of northerners. Further research of this kind is

necessary, as it will help to identify the causes of successes and failures of the current stage of cooperation within the Barents Region and identify the prospects for its further development.

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High North scenarios and subnational realities: policies and practices in the Norwegian/Russian border zone*

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Abstract. As the world was becoming more interdependent, with increased global awareness of the northernmost parts of the world, both the Norwegian and Russian governments showed more political commitment to and interest in new forms of region-building and development in the High North from 2006 and onwards. Today, more than ten years later, many regional changes are evident in the Norwegian-Russian border zone, as a consequence of expanded people-to-people contacts in the Barents Euro-Arctic Region (BEAR). In this peripheral border area between two national states, villages and cities have become more open, both sociologically and legally for increased cross border cooperation (CBC) and networking. In this article I will take stock of some of these borderland openings following on from the consequence of the two nations' rising levels of interest in the High North. It explores the ways in which (inter-)national policy-making and state-substate interactions ultimately altered centre-periphery dynamics. This article has based its approach to understanding the interplay of domestic and foreign policy instruments on the 'substate diplomacy' literature, which argues that increased state-substate interactions constitute an efficient instrument for extending cooperation beyond national state borders. The efficiency of regionally driven substate interactions is discussed from an empirical perspective. The present study analyses various High North development contexts and discourses (effective from 2008) in the Arctic borderland between Norway and Russia. The new political commitments presented in state-level official documents (the branding of the High North) envisioned a transference of new industrial-economic high tech scenarios from state to local level. These scenarios included new borderland visa regimes, co-existing with cross-border forums investments in improvements of roads, infrastructure, and transport rationalisations. The present article briefly assesses these policy rationales and their outcomes, revealing the region's contemporary geopolitical and economical potential, as well as local and regional realities. The findings show that substate governments and stakeholders are able to operate in demanding trans-border contexts, contribute to ongoing contemporary CBC discussions, and complement national and state-level efforts by using their regional expertise to solve problems.

Keywords: *High North politics, Barents Euro-Arctic Region, Norwegian-Russian bilateral relations, state-substate diplomacy, cross-border cooperation, local border traffic, borderland tourism.*

Regional substate diplomacy: some theoretical considerations

This body of work follows the now extensive literature on 'paradiplomacy', a term first used by Panayotis Soldatos [1, Soldatos P.] and later conceptually reworked by Ivo Duchacek, who also introduced new conceptual and typological approaches [2, Duchacek I.]. In recent decades, many researchers have grappled with the question of how foreign policy and modern diplomacy, in an increasingly interdependent global world, can still engage regional realities and sub- and non-state actors in foreign policy matters. Many substate actors today form their own foreign policies, in parallel to the central authority approach [3, Duchacek I., Latouche D., and Stevenson G.; 4, Michelmann H.J., Soldatos P.; 5, Aldecoa F., Keating M.; 6, Majeed A., Watts R.L., Brown D. M.; 7,

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Joenniemi P., Sergunin A.; 8, Jackson T.]. Since the earliest contributions, there is arguably now a more sophisticated and improved body of work on this topic: 'the spectrum of diplomatic instruments and the strategies that accompany them have become more diverse and complex' [9, Crikemans D., p. 1]. Authors have assumed that substate diplomacy is real, creating a new paradigm for dealing with international relations. Empirical studies have been dominated by analyses of the disintegration of traditional domestic and foreign policies and political centres. They have also explored periphery distinction: why regional state actors should 'go abroad', what impact substate involvement in international relations can have on traditional diplomacy; and in what ways substate actors can become involved in international relations. Comparative studies have also explored these issues. What types of competences do substate and state actors need? What types of juridical frameworks are available to substate actors when they 'go abroad'? Terms and names have also been thoroughly discussed (e.g. paradiplomacy, multileveled diplomacy, constituent diplomacy, and regional substate diplomacy). Discussions about theoretical approaches to paradiplomacy have been less enthusiastic. After surveying several book editions, Boyer [10, p. 99] concluded that 'we are left with complexity, but few simple answers'. Others have proposed applying agent-structure relationships at both the local and foreign-policy levels [11, Lecours A., p. 92]. This too is considered a complex task, as 'this phenomenon is so diverse and intertwined with so many different facets that it is quite difficult to come to terms with from a theoretical point of view' [9, Crikemans D., p. 5]. There seem to be no 'all-inclusive' theoretical approaches to paradiplomacy. More recently, researchers have suggested approaching it within the discipline of political geography, including it within the broad methodological tradition of critical geopolitics and paradiplomacy, and examining it using multi-spatial scales [8, Jackson T., p. 3]. It has been described as 'messy' and a 'contemporary puzzle', in the context of international relations. Analysing and investigating this subject will require multiple approaches and methods [10, Boyer M., p. 98; 8, Jackson T., p. 3]. To date, the issue has often been placed within the general framework of 'globalisation', as in the present article.

The empirical observations included in this text show that regional substate diplomacy 'negotiates' and finds a policy space within national foreign policy and the domestic-regional context, thus influencing the subnational approach to international activities. This account offers more detailed knowledge of the way in which substate diplomacy is *practiced* and by whom [9, Crikemans D., p. 5]. Regions, cities, companies, and nongovernmental organisations can cooperate to solve local issues involving trade, investments, collaboration, partnerships, and long-term, sustainable development. They may also raise questions about state-centred systems, international regulations, and the extent to which they place limitations on ambitions and ongoing work. Examples can be found in local discussions about developments in the Norwegian-Russian Barents borderland 25 years after the inauguration of the Barents Euro-Arctic Region. For the last ten years in particular, there has been a focus on the High North areas of Norway and Russia. Periods of intensified bilateral cooperation and complex but integrated governance have been seen on both sides

of the border, facilitating people-to-people cooperation in entirely new ways. According to the Finish geographer Ansi Paasi [12, p. 20], a 'large scale territorial process' in international and regional governance can transform 'local contexts of everyday life and inherent experience and meanings'.

The policy practices that altered this regional reality in the Fennoscandian-Russian High North originate in part from the *Norwegian* High North strategy of 2006, with its strong focus on the Arctic. The Norwegian authorities cited their High North strategy as the central plank of Norway's foreign policy, in response to new global discussions of Arctic matters. In conceptualising the north, new tools and plans generated an interplay between foreign and domestic approaches, uniting state/national and subnational interests across the public and private spheres. This way of approaching bi- and multilateral issues challenges the traditional hierarchy of diplomatic relations by presupposing an integration of state/national government goals in the agendas of subnational/non-state actors. The general assumption, as the Norwegian High North strategy reveals, was that all Arctic-rim states would become responsible Arctic stewards, meeting the world community's expectations by implementing sustainable development in the High North, in relation to resource extraction, energy and fuel production, and sustainable development – in the face of a changing climate and fragile northern ecosystem. This assumption had important practical implications for bilateral interactions between Norwegian and Russian authorities in the shared peripheral borderland. In contemporary and more recent versions of the Russian Arctic strategy, we can trace some of these views on the 'new north'. How was the strategy discussed in the plan documents and enacted by central politicians? To what extent did it provide a frame for coherent national policy implementation in the Arctic, while leaving room for 'multi-layered regional and borderland governance' by national and subnational units conducting everyday business in small-scale peripheral sites? In what ways did the peripheral Norwegian-Russian borderland benefit; what was the impact on CBC and BEAR people-to-people interactions? Did it trigger new forms of borderland development, particularly on the Russian side?

Method: fieldwork, participant observation, and interviews

To address such questions, this paper examines the interplay of factors organised locally and nationally for trans-border purposes, including the development of new borderland networks (borderland conferences) and changes to visa regimes and their consequences (Norway/EU-Russia); these coexist alongside road and infrastructure improvements (Barents transport and infrastructure networks). Drawing on my training as a social anthropologist, I developed this body of work while living for many years in the Norwegian border town of Kirkenes, which is situated 12 km from Russian border and Murmansk Oblast. As an anthropologist inspired by the fieldwork method, I was able to immerse myself in small-scale local life, engaging with many central arenas during 10–12 years of Norwegian-Russian CBC and region-building approaches. During this period, the Norwegian government launched its High North strategy, increasing the CBC focus. There were

many events of general national interest, including delegations of central political authorities visiting the borderland, bilateral meetings between Norwegian and Russian central authorities, international political meetings, new local/regional forums, and the establishment of regional industrial-economic conferences and numerous seminars. In addition to acting as a participant observer at public events, I carried out many open-ended, semi-structured interviews with local politicians, regional authorities, and local stakeholders residing in the Russian Pechenga district and Murmansk City from 2009-2018¹. A discourse is about many things at the same time [13, Berkaak O.A., Frønes I., pp. 92–93) and these investigations introduced me to specific contexts of communication, interaction, and exchange, adding up to a complex layering of information or ‘thick description’ [14, Geertz C.] This text presents a genealogy of more or less integrated approaches and a commentary on High North development, seen from the vantage point of the small-scale Norwegian-Russian borderland. The fact that these investigations have spanned more than a decade has created a feedback loop of comparative questions and answers, leading to a deeper understanding of regional and local everyday practices. This study mirrors the multi-layered reality of global and regional governance that characterises the Norwegian and Russian Arctic Schengen borderland, and to some extent, other parts of the Barents Euro-Arctic Region.

The new north, decentralisation, and global governance

From 2003 onwards, the Norwegian government seemed prepared to think differently about international relations and diplomacy in the northernmost areas of the world. The Norwegian state was positioning itself in a larger global context, an approach that also became prominent in the Norwegian Government’s High North Strategy of 2006². During the following years, the northern strategy was officially regarded as the highest priority area in Norway’s foreign policy. The High North was viewed in an ambitious, all-inclusive, ‘holistic’ context. Prior to 2003, as Hønneland and Jensen have shown, Norway typically handled the region as a plurality of different (geo-) political layers, importantly connected to Russia, the neighbour in the east [15; see also 16, Hønneland G., Rowe L.; 17, Hønneland G.]. This was at the time more seldom seen as crucially related to Norway’s oceanic neighbours in the West (the Faroe Islands, Greenland, and Iceland), or to Arctic Eight discussions in the Arctic Council, which includes the Nordic countries, Russia, Canada, and the US. Geographically (in 2006) the Norwegian High North policy applied to land and sea areas of the entire ‘European North’; as a result, the islands and groups of islands of Sør-Helgeland in the south, the Greenland Sea in the west, and the Pechora Sea in the east came under the same umbrella.

Politically, Norway’s High North policy addressed not only the administrative units associated with BEAR countries (the Nordic countries and Russia), but also the EU and its Northern Dimension policy on East-West cross-border relations and policy-making. In retrospect, the devel-

¹ I conducted group and individual interviews with people in the Russian borderland (Pechenga District) in 2009, 2012, 2014, 2015 and 2018 and in Murmansk city in 2014.

² The Norwegian Government’s High North Strategy, 2006. Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Oslo.

opment of Norwegian and Russian bilateral relations in the north makes it necessary to emphasise the extent to which the Norwegian High North policy depends on 'southern' Central European and EU regional integration practices associated with the EU European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP). Cooperation with North America (Canada and the US) was addressed through the Arctic Council. It was believed to support the interests of the Norwegian High North policy for all parts of international society to pull in the same direction, enhancing the development of all Arctic areas of the world. As Held [18] has pointed out, this broad ambition viewed complex governance and communication networks as useful in a scenario in which national policy would work through flexible and dynamic institutionalised systems, multi-layered global and regional governance, and an increasing number of inter-governmental organisations. This viewpoint suggests a rather 'cosmopolitan' understanding of global governance and international laws, crossing many decision-making boundaries associated with traditional national states. As Appadurai [19, p. 296] has argued, a new form of global cultural economy was emerging and the visions seemed to 'be understood as a complex, overlapping, disjunctive order, which cannot any longer be understood in terms of existing centre-periphery models'. Centre-periphery verticals that exercise power are challenged when political distinctions between 'domestic' and 'foreign' policy are blurred. The world's global interdependence on High North issues did have an impact on government thinking about international relations in the north and ways of practicing diplomacy [20, Talbot S., p. 72].

More than just foreign policy

Among its priority areas, the Norwegian High North strategy focused on continuing good relations with Russia, sustainable management of natural resources, energy extraction opportunities in the Barents Sea, climate-change countermeasures, environmental protection, and improved living conditions for the peoples of the north, particularly indigenous cultures. The best way of solving these problems was thought to be: 'more than just foreign policy, and just domestic policy'.³ Such methods were not 'owned' by the central political authorities; the roadmap and especially policy implementation in the High North were partly 'decentralised' to the regions. This new approach and the national states' interest in the Arctic and sub-Arctic became profile elements in the personal agendas of prominent politicians visiting northern destinations. While visiting northern towns, the then Norwegian Foreign Minister Jonas Gahr Støre announced, 'The High North Strategy should be *owned* by the North and *experienced* in the North'; in another widely reported comment, he said: '*most* of it is north'.⁴

The new centre-periphery dynamics of the Norwegian government's High North policy involved transferring some responsibilities and ownership of issues from south to north; it challenged customary notions of centralism in the relationship between place and power. Prominent

³ The Norwegian Government's High North Strategy, 2006. Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Oslo. p. 5.

⁴ Støre J.G. Det meste er nord- Nordområdene og veien videre-et internasjonalt perspektiv. Presentation at UiT, April 29, 2010. URL: www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/ud/aktuelt/taler_artikler/jgs_taler_artikler/2012/nord_mest.html?id=602113 (accessed: 15 May 2016).

social democratic politicians felt that the importance of the north and its development were 'overshadowing' its 'southern' counterpart. The most important issues for future national development were associated with the north [21, Angell et al.]. When signing the document 'Nordområdene: Visjoner og Virkemidler' ('High North: Visions and Means') in 2011, Støre included Bodø, a north-west Norwegian town with a new university, along with the capital of Oslo, Norway. Thus, Norway's High North foreign policy implementation was lifted from traditional national state forums of expertise and decentralised to regional centres on the 'periphery' of northern Norway. The regions were suddenly included in the political discourse on the Subarctic; they were treated as responsible actors, fit to share and implement the visions and agendas of national state authorities. However, Oslo retained control of foreign policy, diplomacy, and security issues involving the Barents Sea, Arctic foreign policy and the important negotiations with Russia and other countries on the delimitation at sea of the Norwegian Exclusive Economic Zone. The northern regional CBC agenda was opened up for discussion at various forums, conferences, workshops and meetings, leading to public debate. There was active branding of the concept of the High North and a new civic relationship between national strategy documents, performative language, and the operationalisation of policies among politicians and the public [22, Larsen T.].

New foreign policy approaches in the Russian Arctic Schengen borderland

As the Norwegian government was decentralising many High North discussions to its northern communities and the north-eastern border municipality, a parallel process was also taking place in Russia. Russia's Arctic strategy, introduced in the *Basics of the state policy of the Russian Federation in the Arctic for the period up to 2020 and for a further perspective* (Russian Federation, 2009), highlighted energy, security, industrial-economical activities and sustainable approaches to the northern environment (similar core topics are found in the Norwegian High North strategy). These topics are connected in the Russian strategy to security issues, economic wellbeing, and the assessment of a self-assertive nation being sovereign over its own national resources [23, Jensen L.C., Skedsmo P.A.]. Drawing on the interpretations of Laruelle [24, pp. 3–19] and Konyshchev, Sergunin and Subbotin [25], I would argue that Russia's Arctic policy, even after Crimea and years of sanctions, still prioritises regional cooperation and the ambition of strengthening multilateral collaboration in the north. In the years preceding 2014, the Russian Ministry of Regional Development's determination to continue this work in the Russian north-west was bolstered by economic and organisational support from the mining giant Norilsk Nickel/Kolskaja GMK. With this backing, the Russian borderland community of politicians and local stakeholders was able to organise Russian-Norwegian Cross-Border Cooperation Days in 2011. Russian regional authorities actively promoted developments in the borderland; in 2010, the Norwegian (Schengen/EU) and Russian authorities reached an agreement to launch a joint Local Border Traffic (LBT) area opening, to intensify Russian-Norwegian cooperation, region building, and integration. The LBT discussions were officially begun by foreign ministers Støre and Lavrov in 2008 in

Kirkenes. This gave a political boost to the economically struggling mining towns of Nikel and Kirkenes, often associated with post-Soviet industrial decay and military-political surveillance; they now became linked to CBC, globalisation, and internationalisation.

This well-controlled local opening of the Russian north-western borderland was new in 2011 and something of a surprise to local people on both sides of the border. It established a regional inter-relationship in a spirit of internationalisation that was quite new, particularly given that this interplay between internationalisation and region building was not an explicit part of the Russian national Arctic strategy document [see 26, Bassin M., Ely C. & Stockdale M.K.; 27, Kinossian N.].

In the following years, the Russian Arctic borderland authorities have acted coherently with regard to Barents Euro-Arctic Regional cooperation. Regional authorities, including the governors of Murmansk Oblast (Dimitry Dimitrenko in 2011 and Marina Kovtun in the following years), supported this development in the Murmansk Oblast borderland, commenting favourably on the high-level settlement of the Barents Sea delimitation line in 2010 and the positive economic synergy this seemed to create for on-shore CBC. Region building through CBC became an element in Murmansk Oblast self-presentations and visions of the future.

The local border-zone visa came into effect on 29 May 2012 and is still operational⁵. The regional Murmansk authorities helped Russian diplomats and border guards explain and prepare for this new component of the LBT regime [7, Joenniemi P., Sergunin A.]. The open LBT and general CBC dialogue between local and regional authorities (and local-regional stakeholders) during the first (2011) Russian-Norwegian Border Cooperation Days in Russia was surprisingly open and honest⁶. Similar national and subnational interactions were held on the Norwegian side, as the mayor of Sør-Varanger municipality was a member of the committee preparing for the LBT visa regime [28, Haugseth P.].

It is also worth noting that the bilateral Norwegian-Russian LBT process was part of a larger multilateral and ongoing discussion among Schengen member states and Russia. The state authorities and diplomats of Norway and Russia continued to introduce the larger foreign policy background to audiences in Kirkenes and Nikel at various forums and local seminars. The most important issues needing resolution by the EU/Norway and Russia involved the border and the establishment of visa regimes. The larger LBT Schengen connection became apparent during the 4th Russian-Norwegian Border Cooperation days in autumn 2014, organised to coordinate with the 5th Annual European Border dialogues: the Forum on Cross-Border cooperation in a Wider Europe. In addition to various actors from different levels of the Russian and Norwegian governments (local,

⁵ Nordområdene. Visjon og virkemidler. St.melding 7. Melding til stortinget (2011–2012), and Utenriksdepartementet (2014) Nordkloden. Verdiskapning og ressurser. Klimaendringer og kunnskap. Utviklingen i nord angår oss alle. Nordområdene. Statusrapport 2014. URL: https://www.regjeringen.no/contentassets/23843eabac77454283b0769876148950/nordkloden_rapport-red.pdf (accessed: 21 June 2017).

⁶ CBC seminar, day two of the first Russian-Norwegian Border cooperation days in Borisoglebsk, Pechenga District, 2011.

regional, national, and NGOs) in Finnmark County and Murmansk Oblast, representatives from other member/non-member EU states and non-EU countries members also participated, offering local and regional expertise. Participants from peripheral and previously closed areas of Russia (Kaliningrad) took part in the conference in Pechenga District, exchanging insights about their LBT CBC experiences with Poland.

In Norway and Russia, the political discourse about this LBT was generally quite optimistic. In north-east Norway (at local seminars) the visa regime was even seen as paving the way for a total abolition of visas between Norway and Russia (possibly also the rest of Europe, as it is a Schengen-zone border)⁷. Some Norwegian diplomats used the Norwegian-Swedish border regime as an example of how things could develop favourably between Norway and Russia. Russian diplomats called attention to the border between the Kaliningrad region of Russia and Poland, citing it as a model LBT, where agreement had been reached to make interesting geographical extensions to the original LBT zone. Nevertheless, the case of Kaliningradskaya Oblast and the adjacent counties in Poland is rather complicated; the history before and after EU enlargement in 2004 and the entry in 2007 of several new EU members states to the Schengen area, became a point of contention between Russia and the EU [29, Browning C.S.; 30, Allison R., Light M. & White S.]. Notes on the EU-Russia relationship 'between integration and confrontation' were made at local seminars, where the Consulate General of the Russian Federation in Kirkenes participated [31, for discussion, see Prozorov S.].

A growing minority in Russia saw the EU/Schengen area enlargement as 'part of a process of re-establishing the containment of Russia' [32, Mankoff J., p. 143]. As the Schengen area expanded towards the east, the optimistic discourses associated with the EU's European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) and its vision of a 'wider Europe free of dividing lines' contrasted rather badly with stifling customs procedures at the new Schengen borders, wherever they were drawn, causing critical commentators to speak about the establishment of 'a new Iron Curtain' or 'Golden Curtain'. Kaliningrad residents, for instance, found themselves suddenly surrounded by EU member states and had to apply for visas to visit other parts of Russia. In practice, the enlargement led to a dramatic fall in the number of visas issued in Kaliningrad, the Ukraine, and Belarus.⁸ Against this background, the LBT Regime (LBTR) was useful, offering local border-zone visas to borderland residents for a reasonable price. Russia, in addition to the LBTR with Norway and Poland, also has similar arrangements with Latvia. For various reasons, however, no LBTRs have been established between Russia and Finland, Lithuania, or Estonia. The Norwegian-Russian LBTR stands out as positively different. It has proven to be robust, even under stress, for example, during the refugee cri-

⁷ Grenseseminarer 'Grenseborgere eller begrensede borgere? February 9, 2012, Kirkenes. Arr. Finnmark University College, UiT-Barents institute, Sør-Varanger municipality/Kirkenes kompetansesenter and the 'Living in the Centre-Periphery' September 25–26, 2012. Kirkenes- Nikel. Research Days 2012, Arr. Finnmark University College, Murmansk State Humanities University, Sør-Varanger Municipality and Pechenga Municipality District Administration.

⁸ Yliseyeu A. Keeping the Door Ajar: Local Border Traffic Regimes on the EU's Eastern Borders. The Finnish Institute of International Affairs, Helsinki, 2014.

sis of 2015. It is fair to say that it has boosted a new era of cooperation between the countries in the north. LBT regulation has made it far easier for people living in Sør-Varanger Municipality to vacation and shop in the Russian borderland of Pechenga Rayon. Today, Norwegian 'borderlanders' are increasingly aware of the many opportunities on offer in Murmansk Oblast, and particularly in Murmansk itself – the largest city in the Arctic.

The distance between county/oblast politicians and places on the periphery of their regions diminished when the industrial mono towns at the border, Nikel, Zapolyarny, and Kirkenes, were given new roles as implementers of transnational cooperation. Although the far-flung margins of regional districts received few economic benefits, symbolically and politically, there was definite change. Its practical value was apparent at the 5th Russian-Norwegian Cross-Border Cooperation Days held in November 2015. None of the participating local and regional politicians could fail to see the rising wave of refugees then pouring into Norway via Murmansk, Nikel, and Kirkenes. This unexpected stream of non-Russian, non-Norwegian travellers put a huge strain on the small local units in Kirkenes responsible for receiving refugees and assessing the status of each individual. However, both nations rose to the challenge of managing the borderlands, demonstrating the importance of having a well-established dialogue between regional and national authorities in both countries, who were hard-pressed to find solutions to the escalating crisis.

More recently, high-level Russian and Norwegian government representatives have pointed to the High North and the Barents region as peaceful arenas characterised by dialogue and cooperation. This point was made at regional conferences in Norway in 2015–2017 by the former Norwegian Foreign Minister Børge Brende (except in 2015 when the opening address was dominated by the international crisis and response to the Crimea situation and Russia's involvement),⁹ as well as in 2018 by his successor, Ine Eriksen Søreide.¹⁰ They expressed support for the BEAR and regional cooperation in the north during times of European and global challenges. A good bilateral dialogue between Norway and Russia continues at a subnational level in the north, and is fully in line with the present Norwegian Liberal/Conservative government's High North initiatives of 2014¹¹ and 2017¹². The High North remains a focus in strategic foreign policy and, according to the 2017 strategy, it depends on the interplay between foreign and domestic politics and dialogue between the centre and periphery of the state. This stands in contrast to the general Russia policy espoused by Norwegian national authorities in the south, which is strongly affected by the situation in eastern Ukraine and the international community's condemnation. Northern local people,

⁹ Brende B. Opening Address. Presentation at The Kirkenes Conference, February 4, 2015, February 10-11, 2016, and February 8-9, 2017, Kirkenes. Arr. Kirkenes Business Park.

¹⁰ Søreide Ine Eriksen. Opening Address. Presentation at The Kirkenes Conference, February 21, 2018, Kirkenes.

¹¹ Utenriksdepartementet (2014) Nordkloden. Verdiskapning og ressurser. Klimaendringer og kunnskap. Utviklingen i nord angår oss alle. Nordområdene. Statusrapport 2014. URL: https://www.regjeringen.no/contentassets/23843eabac77454283b0769876148950/nordkloden_rapport-red.pdf (accessed: 21 June 2017).

¹² Utenriksdepartementet og kommunal- og moderniseringsdepartementet (2017). Nordområdemeldingen: Mellom geopolitikk og samfunnsutvikling. URL: https://www.regjeringen.no/contentassets/fad46f0404e14b2a9b551ca7359c1000/strategi_nord_2017_d.pdf (accessed: 27 June, 2017).

who remember the 'enthusiasm' of the early days of the High North policy, comment that the central authorities in Oslo have lost interest in the Fennoscandian north. Nevertheless, as stated above, official northern policy declarations remain positive.

Russian official communications about the northern borderlands indicate that Russia's main principles on Arctic issues, approved by the Kremlin in 2009, still prevail. More could be done to further northern and BEAR cooperation, but Moscow's interpretation of the potential threats in the area changed slightly after the Ukrainian crisis and the sanctions imposed by Western countries [25, Konyshov V., Sergunin A., Subbotin S.].¹³ The present representative of the Russian Federation in Kirkenes, the Consulate General Shatunovskiy-Byurno,¹⁴ and Chair of Barents Euro-Arctic Council Sergey Petrovich have addressed the importance of regional cooperation on numerous occasions.¹⁵ Petrovich maintains that it 'remains a sustainable peace project which offers us considerable opportunities'. Such statements confirm that Russia's official Arctic strategy continues to be consistent and transparent, in relation to the points made at inter-regional forums with Nordic and Russian attendance. All of this adds up to a general consensus on the stability of the north, in the face of 'ups' and 'downs' in international relations. Eventually, this way of thinking could perceive the Barents Euro-Arctic Region not as a static idea, but as one capable both of developing over time, and also of being transferred to other geographic settings, as a dynamic 'imagined community', to build trust and facilitate CBC in the north and other regions of the world [for a further conceptual discussion, see e.g. 33, Hønneland G; 34, Hønneland G.; 35, Anderson B.].

***Increased CBC traffic across reorganised borderland space:
Transport and infrastructure and the new effects of changing visa regimes***

As a result of the BEAR collaboration, the so-called Barents Euro-Arctic Transport Area (BEATA) was conceived. Through multilateral work, a Barents transport plan was launched; it produced solid results and enthusiasm for coordinating the construction of various parts of a much improved BEAR cross-border transport network.¹⁶ The main priority for some time had been European highway E105, the road connecting Russia and Norway in the sub-Arctic. The poor infrastructure of the E105 border station was improved during the construction process. The new Bøkfjord

¹³ Basics of the Russian Federation's State Policy in the Arctic for the Period until 2020 and for a Further Perspective. (Published on the Internet as appendix to:) Rossiyskaya Gazeta: Capital Release no. 4877, March 27 2009. URL: www.rg.ru/2009/03/30/arktika-osnovy-dok.html (дата обращения: 15.10.2015) and Russian federation [2013] "Strategy for the Development of the Arctic Zone of the Russian federation." URL: <http://iecca.ru/en/legislation/strategies/item/99-the-development-strategy-of-the-arctic-zone-of-the-russian-federation> (accessed: 1 September 2018).

¹⁴ Shatunovskiy-Byurno S. Russian Attitudes to Border Cooperation and Local Border Traffic Regimes. Presentation given at Comparing Schengen Borderlands: Experiences from Slovakia-Ukraine and Norway-Russia. 4–6 April 2017 in Kirkenes. Arr. UiT-The Arctic University of Norway, Campus Kirkenes and Slovak Foreign Policy Association. (2018) New Visa Regimes in the Barents Euro-Arctic Region and Beyond: Russian Views on Local Border Traffic (LBT). Presentation given at Grenseseminar 2018, Barents Beyond Borders. Arr. UiT - The Arctic University of Norway, Kirkenes, Barents institute and dept. of Tourism Research and Northern studies, 22 February 2018.

¹⁵ Petrovich S. The Barents Region as a Model for International Cooperation. Presentation at The Kirkenes Conference, February 8-9, 2017.

¹⁶ Naimak T. 'Fremtidig trafikkutvikling i nord'. Paper presented at The Kirkenes conference, February 21, 2018.

Bridge (268 meters), which crosses the Pasvik River at the border and links to the adjacent Trifon tunnel (named after the 16th century Russian orthodox monk and missionary, Holy Saint Triphon of Pechenga) were completed on the Norwegian part of E105 in the autumn of 2017. This road development was nominated as Norway's most significant road construction project in 2018. The improved section of the E105 cost some 875 million NOK (€93 million). The Norwegian Minister of Transport and Communication, Ketil Solvik-Olsen, said at the opening of the bridge: 'this is a bridge for the mutual benefit of businesses in both Norway and Russia'.¹⁷ The Bøkfjord Bridge is considered the most important single result of the BEAR CBC. Together with extensive improvements to the highway on the Russian side, it has reduced the distance between Kirkenes and Murmansk by 25 km. Although the cost has been high on the Norwegian side, the Russian costs were probably higher. Only 12 out of the 210 km between Kirkenes and Murmansk are on the Norwegian side. The excellent new road connection between the border station and Zapolyarny in Russia was completed in the autumn of 2014. Although it circumvented Nikel on the road to Murmansk, the auxiliary roads around Nikel have also been recently upgraded.

The BEATA has also put in place high-tech 'smart' road monitoring systems that are now being tested in Norwegian-Finish Barents territory, between Skibotten in Norway and across the border to Kolari in Finland. Further 'smart' transport routes are being considered to connect Tromsø in Norway to Oulu, Finland. The system uses sensors to keep track of transport and road conditions. It secures transport and promotes environmentally friendly operations by reducing the use of energy and decreasing the risk of traffic incidents.

The main driver or obstacle to border crossing traffic between Norway and Russia at the individual level is still the visa regime. Starting in the spring of 2012, the LBT agreement between the two countries, across the Schengen-border, has been based on a visa regulation signed by the Norwegian and Russian authorities on 2 November 2010.¹⁸ Given that there are only 9,000 inhabitants on the Norwegian side who are eligible for the LBT (border-zone visa), but 45,000 inhabitants on the Russian side, the Norwegians visit their close neighbours more often. In practice, fewer than the specified number of people can obtain LBT visas in the Russian borderland territory, as local inhabitants often have only a national passport, due to their affiliation with the military sector.

However, as the LBT visa is not a work or residence permit, LBT visitors gain access to a fairly limited set of activities in a limited geographical area. At the same time, no invitation is needed; the bureaucracy involved in applying for a visa and making the border crossing is much less costly and demanding than standard visa procedures. Russian visitors can enter Norwegian

¹⁷ Nilsen T. Norway builds a new bridge to Russia. Independent Barents Observer, 19 May 2017. URL: <https://thebarentsobserver.com/en/borders/2017/05/norway-builds-new-bridge-russia>. (accessed: 23 May 2017) and 'Bridge and new highway linking Norway and Russia officially opens. Independent Barents Observer, 29 September 2017. URL: <https://thebarentsobserver.com/en/borders/2017/09/norway-opens-new-bridge-road-russia>. (accessed: 1 October 2018).

¹⁸ Det kongelige utenriksdepartement. Nordområdene. Visjon og virkemidler. St.melding 7. Melding til stortinget (2011–2012). 2011.

territory up to 30 kilometres from the border. Norwegians can visit specific places within 30–50 kilometres of the border; this area includes the towns of Nikel and Zapolyarny. An LBT is valid for three years and visa holders must have lived in the border zone for more than three years. Third-country inhabitants can also apply for an LBT.

Between the launch of this LBT visa regime in 2012 and April 2017, close to 6,300 Norwegians had received an LBT visa from the Russian Consulate General in Kirkenes. This amounts to 70% of the whole population eligible to apply for a visa. Around 2,000–3,000 Norwegians (40% of all people holding an LBT) use their border-zone visas regularly. According to a survey carried out in 2018 by the present author, of the 60 adolescents between 14–15 years old in Kirkenes, 70% had visited Russia and 40% held an LBT visa.¹⁹ Overall, 60% visited Russia annually and more than once. 18.3% visited the Russian borderland more than 6 times a year; 58% had participated in sports, culture or municipality cooperation.

Only a few of the 50 people interviewed in Pechenga District in 2014 held LBT visas. The most frequent explanation was that it was too time consuming and costly to travel to the nearest visa centre, located in the Norwegian Consulate General's office in Murmansk. The same explanation was given by the school pupils we interviewed. They prioritised homework, but would welcome CBC school exchanges or projects with Norwegian partners. Only one out of 21 pupils in Zapolyarny held an LBT visa, while two had a Schengen visa. Almost 30% had been to Norway. Russians in general prefer to have a Schengen visa, rather than an LBT, because it gives them the freedom to travel further and to visit other European countries and destinations. By 2014, Norwegian LBT holders had made over 45,000 border crossings. The number was somewhat lower in 2015; although it increased again in 2016, it remained at a level lower than in 2014.

Both in Norway and Russia, the LBT visa regime is considered a success during periods of international turmoil. Before it was in place, local people and shop owners in Kirkenes, including some police officials, expressed concern that the visa would increase crime rates. This has not proven to be the case. The sub-Arctic LBT visa regime has remained intact and successful through recent periods of tension created by external events: hostilities in Crimea and Ukraine, the ensuing economic sanctions, ups and downs in the value of the rouble hitting border business, the dramatic refugee situation on the border in the autumn of 2015, followed by fence building on the Norwegian side in 2016. As if these were not enough, sinister cases of surveillance and espionage are now damaging the Norwegian-Russian relationship at the national level. Despite everything, northern cross-border work, people-to-people exchanges in the BEAR, and the Sør-Varanger-Pechenga LBT visa regime remain operational and seem to run smoothly, in spite of all adversity.

¹⁹ The interviews were conducted in September 2018; they involved pupils at high schools in Sør-Varanger Municipality (Norway) and the Pechenga District (Russia).

***Opening for more CBC and tourism development:
Russian authorities seek new opportunities in the borderland***

The political and administrative innovations in the Barents borderland, from 2008 onwards, encouraged debate on the need for further infrastructural improvements: easing customs procedures, streamlining borderland regulations, sharing expanded border station facilities, and meeting the need for increased cross-border traffic in more cost-effective ways. Local and regional authorities in Pechenga soon joined this border discourse and they wanted to increase cross-border tourism. From a West-European popular perspective, Pechenga District in the Russian borderland with Norway is an interesting case in point in the West-European popular perspective on this. From being the archetypical instance of a “closed” post-Soviet Cold War industrial context haunted by its geopolitical and military-strategic history also associated with physical hazards, environmental degradation, and social turmoil. Pechenga District they began to host actual guided tours that provided an educational experience, introducing a Soviet collective endeavour to create good lives for an entire remote community in a harsh natural setting – a ‘project’ unknown to Western capitalism. Admittedly, to get the most from such a profound ‘risk society’ experience, a tourist must keep an open mind and hone his or her ability, not just to look at landscapes and destinations but also to ask questions, listen to the guide and learning something new [36, Beck U.]. The borderland also offers the more conventional attractions of down-hill skiing, spa culture, and angling in remote rapids and streams on the tundra [37, Haugseth P., Wråkberg U.; 38, Ilkevich S., Stroemberg P.].

In general, the Russian Arctic tends to be associated with a tough climate, open expanses for outdoor activities, wildlife adventures, rich cultural heritage, and the post-Soviet memories that surround the decaying structures of decommissioned military outposts [39, Wråkberg U.]. Several times since the Russian-Norwegian Border Crossing Days of 2011, a guided excursion in the Pechenga district has made an inventory of potential regional tourism sites. In collaboration with local Russian guides, many potential quality attractions have been identified in this Norwegian-Russian borderland. They involve the history of the indigenous East-Sámi peoples, the region’s multi-layered cultural heritage, and Soviet sites that symbolise much more than mere environmental degradation – even though some contemporary visitors are unable to see that. Here, as in many other countries, visits to Second World War Memorial sites are central to the experience. One pilgrimage destination rich in meanings is in the resurrected Monastery of Saint Triphon of Pechenga in Luostari. The present study has identified several interesting and accessible attractions, which could serve as focal points for more northern culture-based tourism [37, Haugseth P., Wråkberg U.; 40, MacCannel, 1999 (1976)].

The Pechenga monastery is not simply an impressive religious symbol, with obvious architectural appeal, but a testament to the fact that the Russian authorities, as part of the LBT regulation process, have taken the trouble to open many sites to visitors from foreign countries and other Russian districts that were previously off-limits, within the restricted military sector. However,

the Pechenga monastery is situated at the end of the modified LBT zone; no Norwegian visitor can continue driving east towards Murmansk after passing Luostari/Korsunovo because once past the road to this settlement (which was closed to all foreigners before May 2012), you have crossed the line of the LBT zone.

Since 2012, the Pechenga administration and local business entrepreneurs have promoted the idea of moving thousands of short-term visiting cruise passengers and other tourists across the border with Norway to tourism-friendly destinations within the district. However, the cost of issuing tourism visas and the time-limits usually set on these have made this vision unworkable. This situation may now be about to change. On 22 July 2016, the Russian authorities launched a 72-hour visa-free regime in Murmansk and Arkhangelsk. This facility could be offered in the future also to passengers taking coastal cruises on the Norwegian 'Hurtigruta' line, who could enjoy a stop-over at Kirkenes. It is yet to be confirmed whether 72-hour visas could be made available to tourists visiting Kirkenes in 3-hour time slots, enabling a very short day-trip to the nearby Russian Pechenga district. Asian tourists are already finding their way, both to northern Norway (flying in to Kirkenes) and to the Russian north-west Arctic via Murmansk airport; never before in history has the Russian North been accessible on such a scale for international tourism [41, Ashutova T., Belevskikh T., Shestova Y., forthcoming].

The plans for extending the Hurtigruta line (which traditionally connects Bergen in south-west Norway to Kirkenes along the Norwegian coast), with destinations in the Russian Barents region, are being put into practice. These cruises will depart from the North Norwegian city of Tromsø from autumn 2019, go east via Kirkenes, including sites on the High Arctic archipelago of Franz Josef Land, and always call in at the harbour of Murmansk.²⁰

Conclusion

The present article has advanced beyond the general understanding that the High North borderland development between Norway and Russia has been affected by the world's growing interdependence, as global attention is drawn toward the northernmost part of the world. The Norwegian and the Russian authorities have also taken steps to develop the High North regions in new ways, increasing their political ambition, interest, and commitment to developing the High North areas.

As this study has attempted to pinpoint details while also sketching in the general picture, the concepts of 'paradiplomacy' and 'regional substate diplomacy' have been useful for studying the processes through which state and substate interactions have facilitated and acted as efficient CBC instruments in the High North. The concepts shed light on the interplay of domestic and foreign policy instruments applied during substate interactions, which eventually did open the region to more efficient cooperation across national state borders. Researchers have argued that ten

²⁰ Hurtigruta. Norge, Murmansk, Frans Josefs land - Seil nord for 80° til det russiske Arktis. Available at: <https://www.hurtigruten.com/destinations/russia/>, 2018. (accessed: 26 May 2018).

years after the Norwegian and Russian governments intensified their approach to the High North through innovative measures, the situation has changed, particularly as a result of people-to-people interactions in the Barents Euro-Arctic Region (BEAR). Cities, municipalities, and local people are today more open and favourably included to use CBC instruments legally to engage more actively in cross-border traveling and cooperation. Parts of the Russian borderland that were previously off-limits have been opened and made accessible to Norwegian and international visitors. The present paper has used case studies and relevant discourses to illustrate the importance of regionally driven state-substate interactions. Especially those new openings that have proved successful in tipping the balance of traditional centre-periphery relations in favour regional initiatives but kept well within major national interests. The article has made a more inclusive overview of several of the small steps in this practise of regional sub-state diplomacy, steps that are too often neglected in high-flying geopolitical generalisations. Introduced have therefore experiments of new political High North communication, the branding of the High North through official documents, and the transfer of envisioned industrial-economic high-tech scenarios from state to local level. In addition, small-scale visions relating to the border-zone visa (LBT) have partially generated outputs, including new cross-border forums to discuss ways to improve transport, roads, and infrastructure in the borderland. These developments have altered our geographical imagination to such an extent that new borderland concepts have suddenly begun to emerge. This includes tourism and destination development on the Russian side of the border. This paper explores events that have occurred during the past ten years, as a result of the ambitious Arctic strategies implemented by the Norwegian and Russian governments in the Barents Euro-Arctic Region and the sub-Arctic borderland between Norway and Russia.

It is clear that large- and small-scale bilateral discussions are particularly important; despite being framed within regulations and national strategy in the capital, they are operationalised and acted upon by regional and local politicians and stakeholders. Substate diplomacy brings regional expertise to bear on national initiatives to advance regional trans-border matters. As this article points out, recent initiatives on CBC have reactivated and revitalised old forms of post-Cold War approaches to cooperation in important informal 'people-to-people' ways. These endeavours also make an important contribution to the bilateral relationship between Norway and Russia. In a world full of dilemmas and international tension (especially after the Crimea), national state authorities often rely on CBC results in the north, continuing to forecast optimism and stability.

The present study has provided insights into the process through which the 'new North' and its 'multi-layered global governance' were created through small-scale activities at local peripheral sites. The benefits and robustness of this practise of governance are clear only if we study them on-site and on the ground in the High North of the Norwegian-Russian borderland.

Given the extent of geo-economic change on the European and global scene in recent years, it is also fair to conclude that a supportive local and regional ethos remains intact, based as it is in long good traditions for interactions in the borderland, by regional trade, by travel for cul-

tural and human contacts and for tourism. The continuity in these activities testifies to the unique tradition of exchange and partnerships at the cross-roads of the European High North.

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Sociocultural and socio-psychological factors of entrepreneurial potential in the Russian Arctic*

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Abstract. The article discusses the theoretical problems of the entrepreneurial potential of the population on value orientations dependence, understood as the behavioral imperatives of a particular culture. The text of the article considers entrepreneurship primarily as a socio-psychological and sociocultural phenomenon. Entrepreneurship as a socio-psychological phenomenon is considered in the context of theories of behavioral economics, but as a sociocultural - based on the research tradition established by M. Weber. The authors postulate a thesis on the determining nature of the influence of the value system that dominates in a particular society on the level of entrepreneurial potential. The authors briefly set out the main approaches to the measurement of values in the social sciences, in particular, the approaches of M. Rokeach, R. Inglehart, G. Hofstede and S. Schwartz. The situation with the development of entrepreneurship in the regions of the Russian Arctic is presented in general terms, the specific problems that businesses face in the Arctic zone of the Russia are shown. The uniqueness of the Russian Arctic as a cultural macro-region is emphasized, on the basis of that a hypothesis is put forward about the special sociocultural conditions for the development of Arctic entrepreneurship compared to other territories of the country, manifested primarily in a specific system of values. Authors propose a synthesis of the methodologies M. Rokeach, R. Inglehart and S. Schwartz for a comprehensive study of the Russian Arctic' inhabitants value system.

Keywords: *entrepreneurship, entrepreneurial potential, value orientations, behavioral economics, the Russian Arctic.*

Introduction

In the Message of the President of the Russian Federation to the Federal Assembly on March 1, 2018, small business is listed as one of the four large-scale reserves for the country's economic growth. The report emphasizes the need to increase the availability of business lending, reduce administrative pressure, form their digital platforms, simplify tax reporting, provide small businesses with professional staff, and create a favorable environment for start-ups. As part of the state program of the Russian Federation "Economic Development and Innovation Economy", more than 15 billion rubles were allocated for the implementation of these and other entrepreneurship development projects in 2018. It confirms the fact that state authorities consider small businesses

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significant for high rates of economic growth in the country.

Nevertheless, despite the regularly set ambitious objectives and the efforts made to develop small business, the small contribution of small business to the creation of gross domestic product remains a distinctive feature of the Russian economy. According to Rosstat, the share of total value added to small enterprises in the country's GDP in 2015 was 13.8%. However, in the period from 2004 to 2015, this indicator showed no significant changes, being in the range from 11.9 to 15.1%¹. Cfr, in the European Union (EU) as of the beginning of 2014, the contribution of small business to the EU countries' GDP was 57% [1, Slesareva E.A., Terskaya G.A.].

Speaking about the contribution of small business to the economy of Russia, it is necessary to remember that the Russian Federation is a complex mix of regions significantly differentiated regarding socio-economic development, geographical location, natural and climatic features, and cultural characteristics. Thus, the number of small enterprises per 10,000 people in the constituent entities of the Russian Federation in 2016 differed by more than 17 times (from 26 in the Republic of Dagestan to 444 in St. Petersburg)². From this point of view, research that concentrates its attention on the small business development in the regional aspect, considering the natural-geographical, economic and socio-cultural features of the territory, is becoming highly relevant.

Entrepreneurship in the Russian Arctic

If we turn to the consideration of the main areas of regional research in recent years, we should note a significant increase in interest in the development of Russian macroregions, in particular, the Far East and the Arctic. In many ways, these trends are associated with close attention of the federal center to these territories. But if in the Far East a new round of development has already been launched and the first results have been obtained (as of 2017, the FEFD accounts for a quarter of all foreign investments of Russia; it has 13 priority development areas and a significant excess of the average Russian growth rates of industrial, rural economic production, and construction³, then the Arctic we only feel the positive moments of the pioneering and re-constructive development of its vast territories.

A unique role in these processes, undoubtedly, should belong to a small business. Thus, in the work of researchers of the Arkhangelsk Scientific Center of the Ural Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the quantitative and qualitative development of small and medium-sized businesses in the Russian Arctic is considered one of the most important indicators for assessing the effectiveness of regional socio-economic policy [2, Provorova A. et al., p. 61]. In the opinion of one of the leading Russian northern experts — A.N. Pilyasov, the dialectic of the Arctic develop-

¹Central'naya baza statisticheskikh dannykh. [Central database of statistical data]. URL: <http://www.gks.ru/dbscripts/cbsd/DBInet.cgi?pl=1163082> (Accessed: 16 July 2018). [In Russian]

²Regiony Rossii. Social'no-ehkonomicheskie pokazateli. 2017: Stat. sb. [Regions of Russia. Socio-economic indicators. 2017: Stat. Sat] Rosstat. M., 2017. 1402 p. [In Russian]

³Osnovnye rezul'taty raboty Minvostokrazvitiya Rossii za 2017 god. [The main results of the Ministry of Eastern Development of Russia for 2017]. URL: <https://minvr.ru/press-center/mediagallery/14704/> (Accessed: 09 July 2018). [In Russian]

ment determines the responsibility of entrepreneurship for maintaining the territories in the long term and its rapprochement with social entrepreneurship. The first is explained by the fact that during periods of changes (falling prices for the main product, economic sanctions) there is a collapse or at least a loss of stability of large resource corporations that form the basis of the Arctic economy, and then the era of "super-organizations" is replaced by the era of entrepreneurship. The large social role of the Arctic entrepreneurship is to overcome the "collective insecurity" resulting from the fact of survival in areas with adverse conditions. Entrepreneurs here support a certain level of people's life: they deliver goods and provide essential services, create public utility infrastructure, provide transportation services, etc. All this makes A.N. Pilyasov distinguish the Arctic entrepreneurship in a separate category. At the same time, the author notes the weak attention of both government officials and representatives of public organizations, and scientists to this phenomenon [3, Pilyasov A.N., Zamyatina N.Yu.].

Speaking of Arctic entrepreneurship, it is necessary to note its underdevelopment compared with the average Russian level, as evidenced by official statistics. So, in the regions whose territories are even partly related to the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation (from now on - the Russian Arctic), the birth rate of organizations is lower than the Russian one by an average of 25%⁴, and the number of small enterprises per 10,000 population and the proportion of people employed in small enterprises - by almost 30%⁵. To understand the causes of this phenomenon, it is necessary to identify the main factors influencing the development of small business in the subjects of the Russian Arctic.

The results of a study of the Russian sector of small and medium enterprises, presented in the 2015 Report, show that the critical problems of its development are:

- instability of legislation in the field of tax and financial regulation;
- limited access to sources of financing activities: the high cost of financial resources, the lack of long-term investment funds, stringent requirements for the borrower, long periods for consideration of applications;
- preservation of administrative barriers;
- limited product sales markets: the inability to compete with large enterprises and state-owned companies in certain sectors of the economy, problems of access to government order and procurement of natural monopolies and companies with state participation, issues of access to foreign markets⁶.

These problems are more or less relevant to the entire territory of the Russian Federation and do not explain regional differences in the development of the small business sector. From this

⁴Authors' calculations based on data from the Unified Interagency Information and Statistical System. URL: <https://www.fedstat.ru/indicator/33753> (Accessed: 09 July 2018). [In Russian]

⁵Raschyoty avtorov po dannym Regiony Rossii. Social'no-ehkonomicheskie pokazateli. 2017: Stat. sb. Rosstat. [Calculations of the authors according to the Regions of Russia. Socio-economic indicators. 2017: Stat. Sat]. M., 2017. 1402 p. [In Russian]

⁶Doklad o sostoyanii i razviti malogo i srednego predprinimatel'stva v Rossijskoj Federacii v 2014-2015 godah. Ministerstvo ehkonomicheskogo razvitiya Rossijskoj Federacii. [Report on the status and development of small and medium-sized businesses in the Russian Federation in 2014-2015. Ministry of Economic Development of the Russian Federation] M., 2016. URL: http://smb.gov.ru/files/images/Doklad_Minekonomrazvitiya_zh_2014-2015_gg.pdf (Accessed: 16 July 2018). [In Russian]

point of view, local conditions and features of the Arctic regions are of particular interest. Generalization and systematization of the aspects of leading economists from the Northwestern [4, Vit-yazeva V.A.; 5, Zhideleva V.V.; 6, Pilyasov A.N.; 7, Lazhentsev V.N.] makes it possible to single out the following factors hindering the development of small business in the Russian Arctic:

- low transport accessibility and remoteness of the Arctic regions: a significant lag of the Russian Arctic from the foreign Arctic territories both in the speed of cargo delivery and in the density of the road network. It negatively affects the competitiveness of enterprises and increases the share of the transport component in the cost of production (up to 60% of the final product's value) [8, Shpak A.V.];
- high prices for heating and electricity. The heating season in the Arctic is 2–3 months longer than in the cities of the central and southern part of the country⁷. A similar situation is observed with electricity tariffs: as of July 1, 2018, the highest fares in Russia were recorded in the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug — 8.2 rubles per kWh. Also, higher than in the country as a whole, the cost of electricity in the Republics of Komi and Sakha (Yakutia), the Arkhangelsk Region and the Nenets Autonomous District⁸;
- the need to keep northern guarantees and compensations for employees that significantly increase labor costs in the cost of production.

The system of factors determining the development of small business in the Arctic regions would be incomplete if it included only a set of objective conditions and prerequisites (economic, climatic, institutional, etc.). Changes in the second half of the 20th century, the vector of research on financial decisions led to the development of a new direction in economic science - behavioral economics and, as a result, the change of the “rational person” model to the “alternative person” model. If the former assumed that economic entities were rational in their basis and aimed at maximizing utility and profit, then the latter was seeking an explanation for the economic behavior of an individual not in changing the external conditions of his activity, but primarily in the person himself, his inner world [9 Zhuravleva G.P. et al., p. 21-22].

Entrepreneurial potential in the light of behavioral economics

The foundations of behavioral economics were laid by famous psychologists D. Kahneman and A. Tversky. In the best-known article “Prospect Theory: Decision Analysis under Risk Conditions” [10, Kahneman D., Tversky A.], the authors made conclusions, unexpected for classical economic theory, about different reactions of people to winning and losing one and the same the same amount of money, as well as considering when assessing the likelihood of certain events, misconceptions and stereotypes existing in society. This contradicted the concept of rational behavior prevailing at that time but emphasized the need for a deeper study of the human factor in the economic behavior of people, including their entrepreneurial activity. American scientists D. McClelland and D. Atkinson [11, McClelland D., Atkinson J.] developed a theory of motivation to

⁷ SNiP 23-01-99 “Stroitel'naya klimatologiya”. [SNiP 23-01-99 “Building climatology”.] URL: <http://docs.cntd.ru/document/1200004395> (Accessed: 16 July 2018). [In Russian]

⁸ Karta tarifov na ehlektroehnergiyu s 1 iyulya 2018 goda. [Energy tariff card from July 1, 2018]. URL: <https://energo-24.ru/tariffs/electro/2018-elektro.html> (Accessed: 16 July 2018). [In Russian]

achieve success in various activities. According to her, people motivated to succeed are more resolute, bold, mobilize all their forces and resources to achieve their goals, strive to achieve success and get approval. Another type of people — motivated to avoid failures — are often insecure of themselves and their strengths, critics fear, do not believe in achieving success. It is obvious that such people, even if they create the most favorable external conditions for them, will not engage in business activities.

The theory of transgression of the Polish economist Kozeletsky Yu. deserves special attention [12, Kozeletsky Yu.]. Transgression is the human desire to systematically overcome existing results and achievements. Transgression is directly related to the presence of a person's hubristic motivation — a persistent human desire to reinforce and increase self-esteem, self-affirmation and rivalry. It is easy to assume that the higher the person's gourmet motivation, the greater his chance of becoming a successful entrepreneur. This thesis is confirmed by research and other scientists: both domestic and foreign. In particular, the famous psychologist Druzhinin V.N. notes that entrepreneurs are characterized by a high need for self-realization and self-affirmation⁹, and the Austrian-American economist, political scientist and sociologist J. Schumpeter singles out the need for power and the desire for success achieved in the struggle against rivals as the main motives for entrepreneurial activity [13, Schumpeter J.].

Among the other, most important personal characteristics of both potential and existing entrepreneurs are:

- ability to bear risk [14, Knight F.H.];
- ability to make innovations [13, Schumpeter J.];
- high level of internality [15, Rotter J.].

It is necessary to mention the studies of V. Zombart [16, Zombart V.], who introduced the term “entrepreneurial spirit” — a complex concept that includes risk readiness, spiritual freedom, the wealth of ideas, will and perseverance, the ability to connect people for joint work. Somewhat later, G. Pinchot [17, Pinchot G., pp. 28–48] introduces the concept of “enterprise”, i.e., the synthesis of quality, skills, abilities of a person, allowing him to find and use the best combination of resources for the production, sale of goods, works and services, to accept non-standard. But rational solutions even in the face of uncertainty, create conditions for the development of innovations and shape them, make changes, take the acceptable risk and justify it.

Socio-psychological and socio-cultural background of entrepreneurship

The qualities attributed to entrepreneurs reflect not only and not so much the peculiarities of their temperament and/or intellect, but their relation to the world around them, social institutions, cultural traditions, and collective life goals and values. In social psychology, this kind of attitude is traditionally described regarding attitude (attribution), disposition, and value orientation.

⁹ Druzhinin V.N. Fenomenologiya predprinimatel'stva: sintez ehkonomicheskogo i psihologicheskogo aspektov. [Phenomenology of entrepreneurship: a synthesis of economic and psychological aspects] URL: http://sbiblio.com/biblio/archive/drujinina_psi/ (Accessed: 16 July 2018). [In Russian]

Although these categories differ from each other regarding meaning, however, to date there is an idea of their close relationship [18, Alishev B.S., pp. 46–47]. So, e.g., V.A. Yadov with colleagues believe that attitudes and values differ only by the degree of generalization, being levels of a holistic system of dispositions [19, Samoregulyaciya, pp. 35–37]. Schematically, its hierarchical structure can be represented as follows:

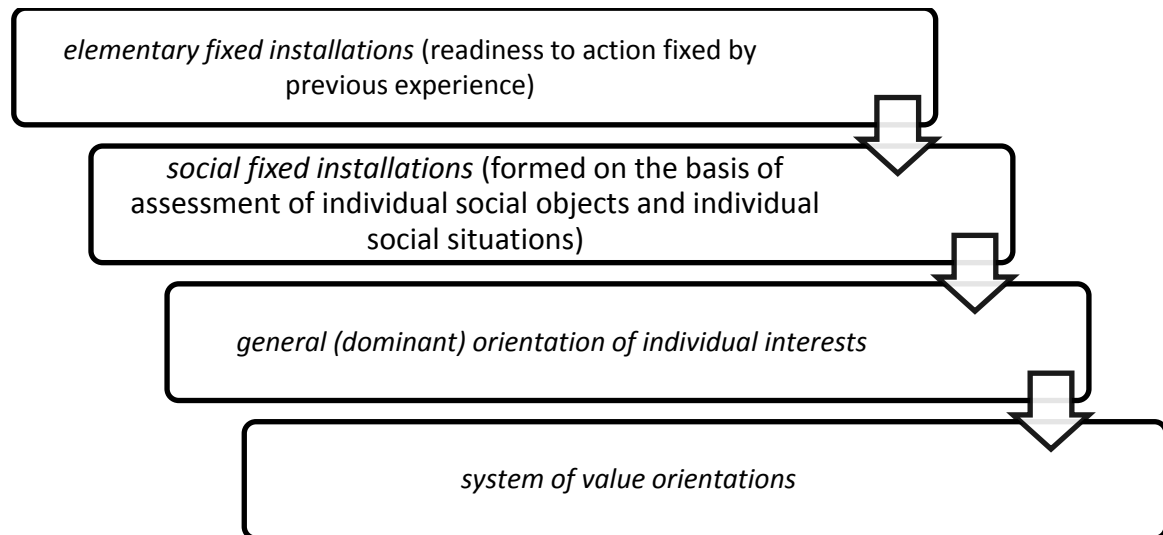


Fig. 1. The hierarchical structure of the individual's dispositions (V.A. Yadov).

In this hierarchy, dispositions of the highest level reflect a predisposition to identify with one or another area of social (including professional) activity (“general orientation of the interests of the individual”) and significant goals of life activity and means of achieving them (“value orientations”) [19, Samoregulyaciya, p. 36].

Entrepreneurship in its subjective dimension is a multiple cognitive-behavioral complex, and the principles of the entrepreneur's life activity are the product of a long process of socialization in a specific cultural environment. Consequently, entrepreneurial qualities, the propensity for entrepreneurial activity is nothing but the result of the interiorization of particular values that circulate in the sociocultural context in which the individual integrates. It means that hypothetically, *ceteris paribus*, related to the level of development of economic institutions, it is differences in culture that will determine differences in the entrepreneurial activity and potential in various countries or culturally different regions of the same state.

One of the first who attempted to justify the relationship between the cultural environment (in particular, value systems expressed in specific religious doctrines) and the peculiarities of economic behavior, including business, was M. Weber. In particular, it was he who substantiated the thesis that the work ethic of Protestantism promoted greater “economic rationalism” and, as a result, a higher level of development of entrepreneurship in countries with a predominantly Calvinist population [20, Weber M., pp. 67–69, 204–206].

An expert in the field of cross-cultural research, RD Lewis, in his book “Business cultures in world business”, proves that culture is a collective programming of the thinking of a group of people, expressed in sustainable values, beliefs and communication patterns that directly affect hu-

man behavior, including economic" [21, Lewis R.D.]. Among the studies of domestic scientists, the work of N.I. Lapin "Ways of Russia: Socio-Cultural Transformations" [22, Lapin N.I.]. The author identifies two types of society in which either traditional or liberal values dominate. In a community of the second type, priority is given to freedom and opportunities for the realization of innovations, which is a necessary condition for the development of entrepreneurship.

Entrepreneurial potential in the context of value research

Bulgarian researchers I.G. Garvanov and M.Z. Garvanov propose to classify approaches to the measurement of values into structural-energetic and structurally informative [23, Garvanova M.Z., Garvanov I.G., p. 16]. In the first case, each value is not assessed on its own, but in relation to other values, that is, as a unit of a hierarchically built value system. At the same time, the hierarchy of values is considered as the result of quantitative ratios between the intensity of attachment to individual values. The authors relate the approach of M. Rokeach and R. Inglehart to the class of structural-energetic theories [23, Garzanova M.Z., Garvanov I.G., p. 5–7]. In the second case, theories unite a group that postulates the dominance of specific semantically related values in a culture of a society, representing one of the poles of value dichotomies (collectivism and individualism, openness to innovations and conservatism, etc.). Among these theories, the authors relate the approaches of G. Hofstede and S. Schwartz [23, Garvanova M.Z., Garvanov I.G., pp. 8–15]. Let us briefly highlight the specifics of each of the listed theories of values.

According to M. Rokeach, values are firm beliefs about unusual behaviors or ultimate goals in life. His method, therefore, involves the division of values into two classes: terminal, reflecting the target attitudes of individuals (what they want to achieve), and instrumental, through which the idea of approved means of making life goals is expressed [24, Rokeach M.]. In total, they were allocated 18 terminal and 18 instrumental values, covering various aspects of human activity¹⁰. According to M. Rokeach, the ranking of these values by respondents reflects the structure of the value systems of individuals. Inglehart R., as one of the initiators of the international project World Values Survey, is a leading figure in the study of values and beliefs. He points to the dialectical connection between the cultural and mental characteristics of national and regional communities and their economic institutions. One of his hypotheses is connected with the idea that intergenerational changes in value systems (from traditionalist to modern and postmodern), due to socio-economic changes affect the dynamics of changes in everyday economic practices [25, Inglehart R.]. Inglehart R. named an essential value scales and highlighted the scale of "traditional values - secular-rational values" and the scale of "values of survival (survival values) - values of self-expression (self-expression values)" [26, Inglehart R., Welzel K., p. 80]. Inglehart R. and his colleagues consider the cultural imperatives of specific societies and agree that they are located be-

¹⁰ Lists of terminal and instrumental values, adapted to Russian realities and tested for stability by A. Goshtaus, A.A. Semenov and V.A. Yadov are in: *Samoregulyaciya i progno-zirovanie social'nogo povedeniya lichnosti: Dispozicionnaya koncepciya* [Self-regulation and prediction of the social behavior of the individual: Dispositional concept]. 2nd extended ed. M.: TsSPiM, 2013. p. 262–264. [In Russian]

tween the poles of these scales of values, reflecting the degree of adherence of the majority of their members to one or another (traditionalist or modernist/postmodernist) value systems. At the same time, the values on these two scales are logically linked and, as a rule, correlated. The results of empirical studies show that in countries where economic development is high, and the population does not regularly face threats of survival, a more liberal political regime is observed, more opportunities for self-realization, and people demonstrate a confidence in the future and a tendency to “development strategies” (promotion strategies); in countries that are characterized by economic stagnation or backwardness, the opposite situation is observed [27, Welzel C., Inglehart R., pp. 48–50]. At the same time R. Inglehart and K. Veltsel clarify that in industrial societies there is a shift primarily from traditional values to secular-rational, while the “value of survival” remains in priority, and during the transition to a post-industrial economy in all societies the value of “value of self-expression” is enhanced, while maintaining commitment to secular-rational value orientations [26, Inglehart R., Welzel K., pp. 46–54].

Based on the concept of R. Inglehart, V. Magun and M. Rudnev showed on the mothers of 43 European countries that in their population it is possible to distinguish peculiar “value classes”. Using the LCA (latent class analysis) procedure, they revealed that the leading dichotomy explaining the value differentiation among the population of a single country is a commitment to the power hierarchy/commitment to social autonomy. This dichotomy integrates almost all the value indicators that R. Inglehart used to identify differences in two basic parameters — traditionalism/secularity and values of survival/self-expression [28, Magun V.S., Rudnev M.G., pp. 13, 17].

For most countries, V. Magun and M. Rudnev identified three clusters (“classes”) of dividends. One of them united people with high levels of orientation toward submission and low indicators of orientation toward social autonomy (personal independence). The other is represented by individuals who tend to question the vertical dominance in society and the regulation of their own lives by the authorities but are not willing to actively participate in joint social actions (they could be designated as passive individualists). Finally, the third cluster is the direct opposite of the first one. Thus, researchers substantiate the idea of in-country value heterogeneity, as a result of which it is better to argue that cross-country value differences lie in the difference in proportions of individual population groups — carriers of alternative value systems [28, Magun V.S., Rudnev M.G., pp. 14-17].

The regression analysis conducted by V. Magun and M. Rudnev shows that there is a stable relationship between the probability of a respondent entering the third “class”. Parameters like the level of education of individuals and the status of their parents (leadership / non-governing position) increase, as well as countries with high GNP per capita and the countries of Northern and Western Europe [28, Magun V.S., Rudnev M.G., pp. 20–23]. In light of the topic discussed in this article, these data indicate that in countries where autonomy and independence are more common, conditions for the development of small and medium-sized businesses are more favorable, and the share of entrepreneurs among the population is higher. At the same time, in some stud-

ies, the values of autonomy and the personal characteristics derived from them are indicated as being inherent to entrepreneurs to a greater degree than to representatives of other segments of the population [29, Zhuravleva N.A., pp. 144–159; 30, Kosharnaya G.B., pp. 134–135; 31, Kuzevanova A.L., p. 216]. All this serves a weighty argument in favor of a direct connection between specific value orientations and entrepreneurial potential in a given society. Hofstede G., interpreting culture as “collective programming of consciousness that distinguishes members of one group or type of people from others” [32, Hofstede G., p. 10], based on the data of cross-country comparative studies of cultural differences, developed a six-dimensional system of value coordinates determining standards and behavior patterns in a particular society. Aspects (measurements) of culture in this system are indicated to them through a set of its dichotomous characteristics: “distance of power (greater/lesser)”, “avoidance of uncertainty (greater/lesser)”, “individualism/collectivism”, “masculinity/femininity”, “long-term/short-term temporary orientation”, “self-indulgence/restraint” [See 32, Hofstede G., pp. 21–33]. Among these dichotomies, we can distinguish those that determine the qualitative differences in the mentality of the entrepreneurial class in comparison with other groups of the population. So, based on what was designated above as attitudes that distinguish an entrepreneur, commitment to the values of individualism, a reduced tendency to avoid uncertainty, manifested in readiness for commercial risk, and long-term temporal orientation as sociocultural characteristics of a particular society is a factor determining its entrepreneurial potential.

In the center for S. Schwartz, as well as R. Inglehart, is the relationship of normative value prescriptions that mediate and support specific models of social relations, and the level of socio-economic development of territories (countries, regions). At the core of his approach is the selection of basic culturally determined value orientations prevailing in a particular society, which reflect the way in which the resolution of the fundamental problems of controlling human behavior is organized in this society. Among these problems, S. Schwartz identifies 1) the definition of the nature of the relationship and the boundaries between the individual and the group; 2) ensuring the reproducibility of social order; 3) regulation of the use of human and natural resources. The scientist a priori introduces for each fundamental problem two polar variants of the cultural “answer” (in the form of a particular basic value orientation), which are Weber ideal types, while the real situation is one or another intermediate variant. The recipe for solving the first problem lies in the choice of a position by society between alternative values, designated by Sh. Schwarz as autonomy and belonging. The solution of the second problem implies a greater or lesser commitment to either the value of equality or the value of the hierarchy. Finally, the answer to the third problem lies within the cultural dichotomy, which is expressed through the opposition of the values of “harmony” and “mastery” [33, Schwartz S., p. 39–41]. In a generalized form, the concept of S. Schwartz is presented in Figure 2.

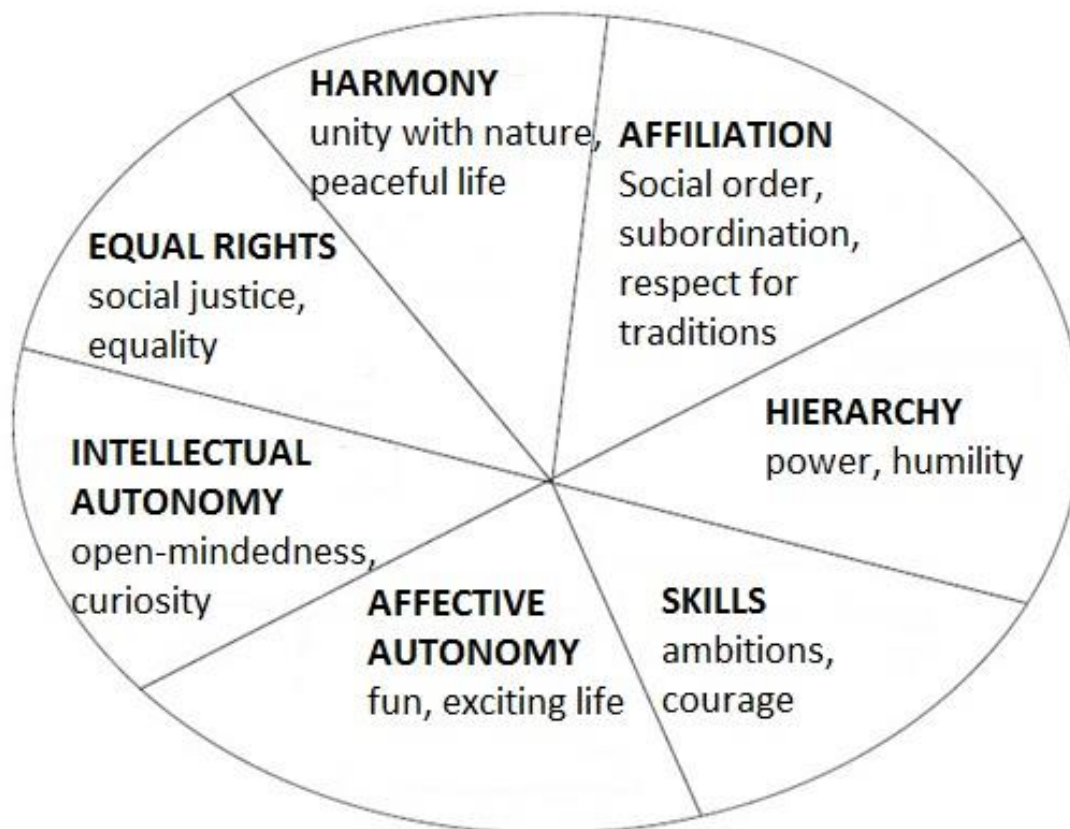


Fig. 2. The model of the relationship of value orientations at the societal level (level of cultural integrity).

According to S. Schwarz, the prevalence of cultural values and values of “autonomy and equality” in society stimulates economic development, in turn, “membership and hierarchy” restrain it, suppressing individual initiative and creativity. Thus, determining the correlation of values of various types in the sociocultural space of the Russian Arctic will provide an idea of the prospects for individual economic programs and projects, especially innovative ones. Their success requires not only a sufficient amount of human capital but also the propensity local business to risk, its creativity, independence from the state, etc.

At the same time, S. Schwartz emphasizes that at the individual level in comparison with the societal level, the value systems are organized following other principles. In one case, we are dealing with a motivational and value system that coordinates the priority life goals of individuals and means of goal achievement that are acceptable from their point of view, which is conceptually close to the designs of M. Rokeach. In another case, we are talking about normative cultural and value orientations, reflecting the dominant, institutionally supported collective ideas of correct and deviant behavior that have coercive force for an individual. In this regard, between culturally prescribed (cultural approved ideals) and personal values (personal value priorities) in the case when they simultaneously regulate the same sphere of social practices, contrary to expectation, some disagreement may well be observed [34, Schwartz S.H., pp. 50–51].

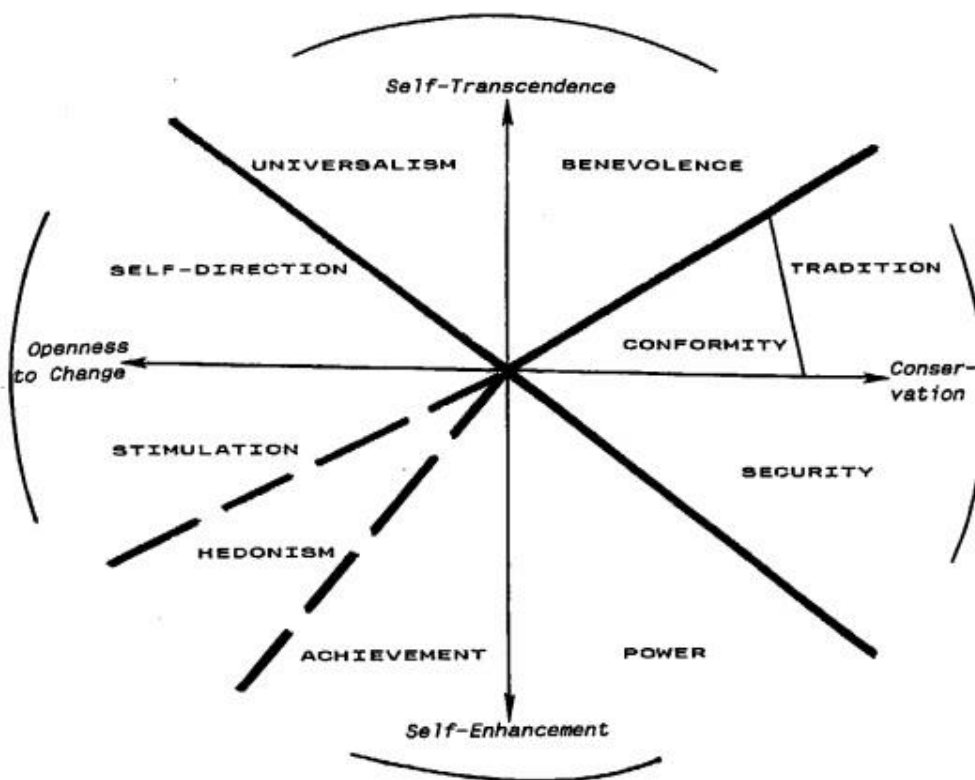


Fig. 3. The model of the relationship of value orientations in the motivational and value structure of the individual ¹¹.

Fig. 3 shows the S. Schwartz's model, logically connecting the elements of the motivational and value structure of the personality. It presents integral indicators of value orientations, each of which aggregates a series of indicators reflecting the personal values of individuals. This model seems to be more convenient concerning analyzing the relationship between individual values, motives, and attitudes, on the one hand, and entrepreneurial activity/entrepreneurial potential, on the other. Thus, an orientation towards achievement, independence (self-direction), striving for novelty and an active, saturated life (what Schwartz calls "stimulation" [35, Schwartz S.H., pp. 7–8]) are associated with social mental features of a person inclined to entrepreneurship [36, Predprinimatelskaya kultura ..., pp. 51–53; 31, Kuzevanova A.L., p. 216; 37, Muravyova O.I. et al., p. 109]. The above-mentioned Russian sociologists V.S. Magun and M.G. Rudnev developed the ideas of S. Schwartz and modified the concept of value classes proposed by them earlier. They expanded the number of (latent) value classes to five, placing them in a two-dimensional system of value coordinates of S. Schwartz. At the same time, a "class" clearly manifested itself, possessing many valuable orientations of a potential entrepreneur [38, Magun V., Rudnev M., Schmidt P., pp. 192–199].

¹¹ Source: Schwartz S.H. Universals in the content and structure of values: Theory and empirical tests in 20 countries. M. Zanna (ed.). *Advances in experimental social psychology*. Vol. 25. New York: Academic Press, 1992. p. 45.

***Methodological synthesis for the study of socio-cultural conditionality
of business potential in the Russian Arctic***

No doubt, in such a large country like Russia, one can single out separate macro-regions that are distinguished by their historically established socio-cultural characteristics. In turn, these features become an essential factor in structuring the routine social practices of the local population, incl. various forms of its economic behavior. The mediating link in this process is the system of value orientations, which determine the long-term attitudes, motivation and life goals of individuals. Among them is a set of specific attitudes, motives, and goals. They form the propensity of people for entrepreneurship (the socio-psychological component of entrepreneurial potential). In our opinion, the hypothesis about the direct influence of the value system specific to the residents of a particular macroregion on their entrepreneurial potential is very productive, but it requires both a methodological substantiation and careful verification. We have shown above that the enrichment of the Weberian tradition with the innovative ideas of behavioral economics allows us to form a new theoretical and methodological foundation for research in the field of economic sociology, in particular, the sociocultural and socio-psychological prerequisites of the dynamics of entrepreneurial activity. We also uncovered the possibilities of approaches to the measurement of value orientations prevailing in a particular society, to study how the cultural environment favors the development of the population's propensity for entrepreneurship.

The project "Value and Cognitive Factors of Entrepreneurial Behavior of the Population of the Arctic Territories of Russia" was completed by the authors of this article with the support of the Russian Foundation for Basic Research. It was planned to make a series of empirical studies in some subjects of the Russian Federation attributed to the Arctic zone. The research methodology is based on the concepts of M. Rokeach, S. Schwartz and R. Inglehart considered in the article.

Turning to the concept of terminal and instrumental values, M. Rokeach allows, on the one hand, to fix the prevailing personality traits of Russians with high levels of entrepreneurial potential (engaged in business, having business experience, planning to open a business), on the other, to link specific values with cultural values orientations that S. Schwartz uses to describe cross-cultural differences (see Table 1).

Table 1
*The ratio of values according to M. Rokeach and value orientations according to S. Schwartz*¹²

Terminal and instrumental values (M. Rokeach)¹³	Value orientations at the societal level (S. Schwartz)
Peaceful life The beauty of nature and art	Harmony

¹² The table is based on the materials presented in the article: Schwartz S. *Kul'turnye cennostnye orientatsii: priroda i sledstviya nacional'nyh razlichij*. [Cultural value orientations: the nature and consequences of national differences]. *Psihologiya. Zhurnal Vysshej shkoly ekonomiki*. 2008. T.5. No 2. p. 44. [In Russian]

¹³ Specific values are borrowed from the Rokych test adapted to Russian realities, which was proposed in the book: *Samoregulyaciya i prognozirovanie social'nogo povedeniya lichnosti: Dispozicionnaya koncepciya*. [Self-regulation and prediction of a person's social behavior: Dispositional concept]. 2nd extended ed. M.: TsSPiM, 2013. pp. 262-264. [In Russian]. Most of the formulations of these values have analogs in the original method of M. Rokich. In those cases when there were no values in the adapted test borrowed by S. Schwartz from the original method of M. Rokich, these values were indicated in formulations representing a direct translation from English of the original formulations.

Inner harmony	
Life wisdom Good manners (politeness) Performance Accuracy Tolerance Self control Family security National security	Affiliation
Financially secure life Sense of duty	Hierarchy
Capability Ambitiousness Public acceptance Independence Courage (in defending one's opinion, views)	Skills
Active life Pleasures Cheerfulness	Affective autonomy
Open-mindedness Freedom Creativity	Intellectual autonomy
Sensitiveness Honesty A responsibility Equality Happiness for others	Equality

Both the cultural value orientations of S. Schwarz and most of M. Rokeach's list of values (with rare exceptions such as Salvation in a specific Christian interpretation) can be considered universal, which is confirmed by the data of cross-cultural analysis on materials from more than 70 countries [33, Schwartz S.]. The same is true of the substantive classification of basic values (value groups) according to R. Inglehart, supported by the results of a comparative study of values in 78 countries [26, Inglehart R., Welzel K., p. 81]. Allocation of two dimensions in culturally determined value systems — “traditional values - secular-rational values” and “values of survival — values of self-expression” — makes it possible to characterize the value component of the culture of almost any complex organized community. Inter-country (inter-regional) differences in values will be expressed in the position relative to the two poles for each measurement of values in the two-dimensional system of value coordinates (R. Inglehart) and / or in a specific combination of cultural value orientations, which makes it possible to classify the studied country (region) one of the seven clusters of cultures (S. Schwartz).

At the same time, the individual indicators used in the considered methods for calculating the integral value indices require adaptation to the sociocultural features of modern Russian society. Thus, among the ten key variables are used in the framework of the World Values Survey project [26, Inglehart R., Welzel K., pp. 82–83]. Such pilot surveys in the regions of the Russian Arctic (the Arkhangelsk Region and the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug) showed a weak correlation with most other variables from the corresponding block. In particular, attitudes toward abortions

on local material demonstrate a less intimate connection with respect for authority, national pride, and even religiosity than is supposed by the results of the World Values Survey research, which can be explained by greater tolerance for abortion in our country, incl. among the “traditionalists”. As a result, the issue of abortions, which among other things reflects gender inequality in traditional societies, has been replaced by another one that directly fixes gender inequality through the strict distribution of the social roles of men and women.

Methodological difficulties arise in the measurement of the particular index of materialistic - postmaterialistic values as a component of the index of survival-self-preservation values. According to the original method for calculating the index of "materialism - post-materialism" measurements were used for four groups of variables. Two of them characterized “materialism” — values of stable economic growth and social order, and the other two “post-materialism” — values of “green” (humanitarian and environmentalism) and libertarian values [39, Andreenkova AV, p. 75–76, 80–81]. In the case of some variables that measure postmaterialistic values, we received a rather high percentage of those who found it difficult to answer, which seems to indicate both the abstractness of the relevant formulations and the marginality of environmentalist and libertarian discourses in Russia. Also, semantically the “green values” correspond to the values of “Harmony” (according to S. Schwartz) and can be fixed with the help of the corresponding indicators mentioned in Table 1, and the libertarian values can be reduced to the terminal value of freedom.

Similarly, “materialistic” values can be measured by their equivalents — the value of material well-being (at the expense of its versatility, it can compensate for distortions made by the economic situation while fixing people's attitudes towards policies to stimulate economic growth or combat inflation) and national security value.

Finally, it should be noted that in their research program, the authors deliberately abandoned the appeal to the approach of G. Hofstede, because his methodology was initially focused on solving specific problems of intercountry research of organizational culture in transnational corporations and was applied to IBM employees. Of course, they cannot represent all the population of a country. However, due to the pioneering nature of Hofstede's works, and the popularity of his approach to social psychology and sociology of management, we could not fail to mention the strengths of his methodology in this article.

Conclusion

This article offers a methodological substantiation of studying the phenomenon of entrepreneurship as a sociocultural and socio-psychological phenomenon. Generalization of interpretations of entrepreneurship that exist in the half-century-old scientific tradition, and also referring to the achievements of theories of behavioral economics, the authors interpret the nature of entrepreneurship as a form of economic behavior due to fixed attitudes (social attitudes) and some fundamental values and dominant cultural value orientations. These attitudes, values, and orien-

tations, being widely spread in various communities (countries, regions), are the essential non-economic factor stimulating entrepreneurial activity.

The article provides a critical analysis of the most popular methods of measuring values in terms of the possibilities of identifying statistically significant relationships between value variables and variables of entrepreneurial potential (first of all, the modus of business valuation, propensity for entrepreneurship and real entrepreneurial activity). A variant of the methodological synthesis based on the approaches of M. Rokeach, S. Schwartz and R. Inglehart was proposed.

The importance of the Russian Arctic and its special socio-cultural space in the designated research context is explained by the comparatively weak study of its constituent territories for the specificity of cultural and socio-psychological determinants of economic, incl. entrepreneurial, population behavior. In the further studies, the authors plan to fill this lacuna in scientific knowledge.

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REVIEWS AND REPORTS

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Covering geopolitical problems in the context of the Arctic exploration in the American media discourse (based on *The New York Times* content analysis)*

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Abstract. The article is based on a review of the geopolitical problems of the Arctic region, represented in the contemporary American media discourse on the example of the newspaper «The New York Times». The paper was chosen because it is an example of traditional American journalism, which adheres to the principles of objectivity. As a result of the analysis, the following trend was found — throughout 2001–2005 years the newspaper actively presented two Arctic issues: the feasibility of oil drilling in Alaska and the problem of climate change in the Arctic. Since 2007, the arctic problematics on the pages of newspapers became relevant in the context of geopolitical issues, which was connected to the event of August 2, 2007, namely the setting of the Russian flag in the Arctic Ocean. Coverage of the Arctic issues was carried out in the context of competition, and later — international cooperation. In the period from 2011 to 2018, the focus of the American newspaper was pointed out to the climate change and resource development in the Arctic.

Keywords: Arctic, media discourse, Arctic media discourse, geopolitical problems, American mass media, informational policy.

Introduction

The Arctic territories in the geographical and meaningful space periodically attract the attention of local and world communities as an object of struggle, cooperation, and development. Until 1982, the Arctic was “divided” between five states: Russia, Canada, the USA, Norway, and Denmark. In 1982, the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea introduced other principles of delimitation: “the full sovereignty of the coastal state applies only to the 12-mile zone of territorial waters, to the airspace above it, to its bottom and subsoil. Also, a 200-mile exclusive economic zone is established. The bottom of the seas and oceans and the subsoil beneath them, not under anyone's jurisdiction, are declared the common heritage of mankind, that is, all states of the world have equal rights to develop their natural resources, and any of them has the right to submit to the UN and other specialized international organizations application for the development of marine shelf resources”¹. According to this clause, Iceland, Finland and Sweden got the right to apply for a presence in the Arctic. India, China, South Korea, Brazil, Germany, Japan de-

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¹ Barcic I.N. O pravovom statuse rossijskogo arkticheskogo sektora. [On the legal status of the Russian Arctic sector]. *Pravo i politika*. №12, 2000. URL: <http://geo.1september.ru/article.php?ID=200700102> (Accessed: 15 March 2018). [In Russian]

clared their readiness to develop deposits on the Arctic shelf². It is primarily due to the high resource potential of the region: in the Arctic, 13% of the world's oil reserves, 30% of natural gas and many minerals are concentrated.³

Such methods as the “hot war on the cold territory”, “the age of the Arctic” and the “battle for the Arctic” are used to describe the geopolitical situation around the Arctic. Apart from the fact that the Arctic is considered as a reservoir of deposits of natural resources, it is also defined as a possible transport route, which may form over time as a result of ice melting. In this context, it is necessary to note the term “Global Arctic” adopted by the official community, chosen by the Thematic Network on Geopolitics and Security in January 2014 in Copenhagen. The term was officially launched into circulation at the 2014 Arctic Circle Assembly.⁴

Russia is the largest of the Arctic countries, connected with the Arctic not only by geographical location but also by history and national interests. The modern Russian sector of the Arctic covers an area of about 9.46 million km², of which 6.8 million km² is in the water area and makes up 45% of the total area of the Arctic Ocean. Within the sector, the continental shelf of Russia is 6.19 million km² or 41% of the entire water area of the Arctic. Based on these data, it is possible to justify the reasons why Russia is actively defending its rights to develop and develop the Arctic space.

Mass media are an essential tool in covering the Arctic subjects and the formation of relevant public opinion. The problem of the development of the Arctic territories becomes topical on the news agenda of the world media and is a kind of indicator of international politics in the Arctic vector.

The purpose of the article is to consider the specifics of covering the topic of Arctic exploration in the American media selection on the example of The New York Times newspaper for 2001–2018. It was during this period that the most significant and relevant for the region of co-being took place. According to the observations of the researcher Yu.F. Lukin, the most modern studies of the Arctic space, the already established legal regime of the Arctic, key legislative acts for the development of the Arctic zone of both Russia and other countries are associated with these years. The period is also rich in international events relating to the status of the Arctic, in which the Russian Federation, the United States, and Canada were directly involved. These years are crucial to defining contemporary Arctic issues in an international media selection.

We give the definition of the concept of “media discourse”. Kozhemyakin E.A. characterizes media discourse as a semantic unit in which “there is a conversion of information into meanings (knowledge construction), transfer of knowledge from one level (for example, institutional) to an-

² Страны и регионы. [Countries and regions]. URL: <http://www.arctic-info.ru/encyclopedia/countries-and-regions/> (Accessed: 06 October 2018) [In Russian]

³ Trump B.D., Kadenic M., & Linkov I. A sustainable Arctic: Making hard decisions. *Arctic, Antarctic, and Alpine Research*, 50 (1), 2018.

⁴ Heininen L., & Finger M., The “Global Arctic” as a New Geopolitical Context and Method. *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, 33(2), 199–202 pp., 2017.

other (for example, everyday), confluence of various types of information (for example, political and entertainment, event and advertising) or the creation of special knowledge relating only to media reality” [1, Kozhemyakin, E.A., p. 16].

Thus, in this article, under the Arctic media discourse, we understand the interpretation in the public consciousness of information about the Arctic region, its development and development, and the empowerment of this phenomenon with the direct participation of the media.

Information policy of the United States regarding the development of the Arctic territories

The term “information policy” basically has the concept of “policy”, which A.S. Panarin describes as “a type of human practice, through which people influence the environment, their fate and change their status in society ... these are actions aimed at changing destinies” [2, Chevozerova G.V., p. 206]. Researcher G.V. Chevozerova believes that “information can also change its perceiving system. It is logical to assume that if the transfer of information is carried out as a political act, that is, for some purpose and for the sake of achieving the planned changes for the audience that perceives it, then we can say that the information policy is implemented in this way” [2, Chevozerova G. V., p. 206]. The scientist interprets the information policy as “the production of purposeful changes of objects, processes, phenomena using the transmitted information” [2, Chevozerova G.V., p. 206]. Prokhorov E.P. notes that the state information policy is based on the requirements of mass information security, including the reliability of information, its availability, the variety of channels for obtaining information and the positions it presents, and so on. “Information policy is an ideological and creative concept of the current problem-thematic lines, the direction of this media, the nature of the development of which is determined by the social position and embodied in a set of received program forms” [3, Prohorov E.P., p. 245].

Researcher of the Arctic Media Discourse Rowe E.V. notes that the information policy of the Arctic states is based on the Arctic strategies of the states [4, Rowe E., p. 4], therefore, for different subarctic countries, the interpretation in the media of various aspects of the problem of the development of the Arctic is typical. According to the researcher, points of contact for both the state Arctic and information policy are such interests as climate change, increasing the flow of people to the Arctic and the role of natural resources extracted in the Arctic region. Nevertheless, each state has developed its arctic course, which, undoubtedly, reflected on the Arctic media discourse of both a separate nation and the whole world. In this article, we will consider only the Arctic media discourse of the United States.

For the information policy of the United States regarding the development of the Arctic, attention to the environmental aspect is characteristic, and the United States, along with Denmark, is in favor of active international cooperation in the Arctic. Alana Rov notes that “in an interview with a senior official in the Arctic in 2011, the United States explained that the United States supported an open and transparent Arctic Council and included more stakeholders as permanent observers” [4, Rowe E., p. 5]. Lukin Yu.F. explains this by saying that America has no prospects for

expanding its Arctic territory, and calls this trend towards the internationalization of the Arctic key to the modern international community. In this context, there are options for manipulating the topic of environmental concern for the Arctic (and the course on environmental protection in the Arctic is very strong in the United States Arctic media discourse – Author's note) to discourage the expansion of possessions of circumpolar states [5, Lukin Yu.F., p. 123].

The information policy of the United States regarding the development of the Arctic, for example, repeatedly voiced the idea of the insolvency of the Arctic strategy of America. Rowe E. quotes the American tabloid Daily News, which notes with concern the lack of ability of the US Navy to operate independently in the Arctic Ocean and quotes Navy officials who claim that the United States is "the only Arctic nation without an Arctic strategy <... > we do not anticipate a military threat in the Arctic, but this does not mean that you will not need to work there"[4, Rowe E., p. 5]. Economic competition for limited natural resources is also seen as a driving force for a potential Arctic conflict.

The speech plane generally arctic media discourse saturated language means that express a negative assessment (stylistically reduced, and heat-injective slang vocabulary derivational neologisms, foreign language vocabulary, aggressive comparisons, and metaphors) and indirect means speech aggression (intertextuality, biased use of negative information, irony and language demagogic).

According to Rowe E., the Associated Press article, entitled "The New Cold War," pointed to Russia as the most aggressive, wishing to establish itself as the superpower of the new region. Russia's resurgence in the foreign policy arena as a more convincing "energy superpower" in the second presidency of Vladimir Putin (2004–2008), as well as the well-established cold war narratives, undoubtedly facilitate the formation of the "villain" image from Russia in the Arctic policy, says E. Rowe [4, Rowe E., p. 7]. On the example of the passage from the article "AP", the above-mentioned means of speech expressiveness manifest themselves: the aggressive comparison made in the headline — "the new cold war" — and the metaphor "the role of the villain" in relation to Russia.

Geopolitical issues in the context of the Arctic exploration in the publication "The New York Times" The American newspaper The New York Times is very actively involved in covering the development and transformation of the Arctic region. According to the data of the monitoring agency Lexis-Nexis, the search query "Arctic" in The New York Times for the period 2001–2018 results in 577 materials. On average, the publication annually produces about 70 materials affecting the Arctic region or its problems.

Resource development and ecology in the Arctic: topics in American Arctic media discourse

The themes of oil drilling and global warming are often updated in the newspaper The New York Times from 2001 to 2018. In 2000, the publication published its program material "This is not

oil against beauty in the Arctic”,⁵ where the authors consider the prospects of America in the Arctic. Here is a fragment of the text: “What is at stake here, according to the latest estimates of the United States Geological Survey, is 16 billion barrels of oil - this is an amount sufficient to replace all of our imports from Saudi Arabia for the next 30 years”⁶. The material can be described as a program since it defines two main themes for the whole further Arctic discourse of The New York Times: oil production and the protection of the Arctic environment.

It is worth noting the lack of a geopolitical component, including information on international cooperation in the Arctic region in the media cycle “The New York Times” in the early 2000s. At the same time, texts are published in which the image of Russia is represented as the image of a country actively exploring the Arctic, which is due to the historical context.

The primary vector of coverage of the Arctic in “The New York Times” is the study of the risks and benefits of oil production in the region, the prospects for Arctic research and development.

The only topic that almost all texts published in The New York Times in 2002 are about is the controversy over oil production in the Arctic and preserving the region as a national reserve: “Mining can damage the wild”, “New dispute about oil in Alaska”, “The Senate proceeds to the counting of votes on the issue of buoyancy in Alaska.” The dispute over Alaska pushed Republicans and Democrats: the first ones, at the time with President Bush, defended the idea of mining in order to reduce US dependence on imported oil; Democrats insisted on reducing not oil imports, but the development of technologies, in particular, reduce fuel consumption and also claimed that oil⁷.

In 2003, the newspaper continued to cover the disputes of politicians, scientists, and businesspeople over Arctic oil. The headings emphasize the topicality of the topic: “Depressed Alaska on the menu?”, “What is the price of drilling?”, “Grizzly look at the ground over oil”.

Another topic that is also important in analyzing the US Arctic discourse is the indigenous peoples of the north. In 2001, journalists covered the release of a film based on Inuit folklore^{8,9}. This problem also arises in the context of oil production in the Arctic. In a portrait essay on the 85-year-old Eskimo Inusik Nasaliku, the journalist smoothly turns to the problematic and writes: Compounds such as mercury and PCBs that are carried by wind and currents from the industrialized south and accumulate in the fatty tissues of arctic animals. People who eat such animals also suffer, and a high level of pollutants is found in breast milk of Eskimo women”¹⁰.

In November 2005, a “large-scale five-year plan for the selection of various federal benefit programs and the resolution of oil and natural gas drilling in the wilderness of Alaska” was ap-

⁵ It's Not Oil vs. Beauty in the Arctic. *The New York Times*. 2000. 9 October.

⁶ It's Not Oil vs. Beauty in the Arctic. *The New York Times*. 2000. 9 October.

⁷ Senate Moves To Showdown On Drilling In Alaska. *The New York Times*. 2002. 17 April.

⁸ Inuit - Indigenous people of North America

⁹ Returning Tundra's Rhythm to the Inuit, in Film. *The New York*. 2002. 30 March.

¹⁰ Eskimos Fret as Climate Shifts and Wildlife Changes. *The New York Times*. 2004. 6 September.

proved¹¹. In December, the publication reported that Democrats achieved a reduction of \$ 42 million in the budget for oil production in the Arctic.¹²

In 2005 - 2011 Arctic issues in The New York Times fade away, the publication addresses the topic of global warming. We can distinguish the following catchy behind-heads: "A catastrophe on the top of the world", "The dangers of early spring".

Since 2011, the problems of oil production, aggravated after the oil disaster in the Gulf of Mexico, have returned to the pages of the newspaper: Americans are in every way afraid of a repetition of the same anywhere, especially in the Arctic, which has so long defended as a protected area. BP, the worst oil spill in our history. <...> These dangers are only higher in the harsh and remote Arctic waters. Before we go to the ends of the earth in search of oil, we need more in-depth knowledge, better technologies to prevent emissions and clean up after accidents, and extensive experience in protecting the Arctic waters of Alaska, one of the last frontiers of our oceans, from death and aimless risk"¹³.

Of the consequences of global warming, Americans are concerned, in particular, with a possible methane catastrophe: "The main concern is that as the climate changes, the ocean temperature may increase enough to destabilize many of these marine methane deposits, sending them to the atmosphere"¹⁴.

In 2015, the Arctic perspective in the publication changed its direction due to the policy of President Obama in the Arctic, who opposed drilling over a larger area of the American Arctic territory and for recognizing it as a nature reserve. However, such a decision was not made.

In 2016–2018 the publication also follows its standard arctic discourse, with the difference that the personality of Barack Obama is replaced by the figure of Donald Trump and the debate about oil production in Alaska flares up again.

Geopolitical issues in the context of the problem of Arctic development

Geopolitical problems or interests of other countries in the Arctic are not raised by journalists from The New York Times until 2007. At the beginning of the century, the Arctic is not considered as a zone of rivalry, but also about Russian-American or any international cooperation in this media also did not write.

It was only in 2004 that messages about other Arctic states began to appear in the Arctic discourse of the United States. In March 2004, the media wrote twice about the drifting Russian research camp, which was in trouble in the Arctic due to melting ice¹⁵. Americans write about Canadian military exercises in the Arctic in a different, already geopolitical way: "Not all of Canada's considerable claims to the Arctic are internationally recognized. The United States, the European

¹¹ Senate Passes Budget With Benefit Cuts and Oil. *The New York Times*. 2005. 4 November.

¹² Congressional Leaders Agree to \$42 Billion in Budget Cuts. *The New York Times*. 2005. 19 December.

¹³ No to Arctic Drilling. *The New York Times*. 2011. 18 August.

¹⁴ Arctic Methane: Is Catastrophe Imminent? *The New York Times*. 2011. 20 December.

¹⁵ Rescue On for Russian Crew After Arctic Camp Collapses. *The New York Times*. 2004. 5 March.

Union, and Denmark either claim that the region's waterways are open to all or have made their claims in parts where climate change is expected to lead to increased access to the region's precious resources in the coming years"¹⁶ — It is the first material since 2001 when The New York Times journalists are raising geopolitical issues in the context of the Arctic.

In 2007, geopolitical issues were more active in the publication, with an emphasis on Russian policy. In this context, one can mention the "The New York Times" material, sacred to Chukotka and its economic stagnation.¹⁷

In August 2007, Russia became one of the leading topics in the international Arctic information discourse, the reason for which was the establishment of the Russian flag at the bottom of the Arctic Ocean. "A look at the future of wealth, the Russians set the flag on the Arctic bottom, under the polar cap" - with such a title in the publication came out the material the very next day after the flag was installed. Here is a fragment of the text: "The expedition, intensively covered by Russian news organizations and state-controlled television, combines adventures on the high seas with the well-established Russian traditions of polar exploration. But it was also a publicly delivered stunt <...> Mr. Chilingarov spoke as if he were the first on the moon. "If in a hundred or a thousand years someone descends to where we were, they will see the Russian flag. Our task is to remind the world that Russia is the great Arctic and scientific power"¹⁸. It is worth noting that the material represents two points of view: both Russian and American, and the Russian point of view is presented by journalists in more detail, quoting two Russian politicians at once: Sergey Lavrov and Vladimir Putin and scientist Artur Chilingarov. Journalists also celebrate the tradition of the northern Russian expeditions. However, the media is followed by more rigid material relating directly to geopolitics, the "Ice Cold War," for which the installation of the Russian flag at the North Pole was the information channel. In this text, journalists study the positions and claims on the Arctic not only in Russia but also in other states and ask the question "Will the rhetoric grow into extremely armed prey on the ice?"¹⁹. The material in the newspaper for the first time declared the interests of the United States in the Arctic, which previously were limited only to disputes about ecology and oil production.

For the American Arctic discourse, a contention also becomes characteristic: "We own only three ships intended for polar missions. <...> Russia, on the contrary, has a fleet of 18 icebreakers. We must have enough ships to maintain our presence"²⁰. Disputes about maritime borders, especially in the complex ice geography of the Arctic Ocean, require international solutions - this is the conclusion of journalists. It is the first analytical material on geopolitical topics in the context of the US Arctic discourse since 2001.

¹⁶ Canada Reinforces Its Disputed Claims in the Arctic. *The New York Times*. 2004. 29 August.

¹⁷ Where Russians Still Think Boldly. *The New York Times*. 2007. 22 April.

¹⁸ Eyeing Future Wealth, Russians Plant the Flag on the Arctic Seabed, Below the Polar Cap. *The New York Times*. 2003. 3 August.

¹⁹ Russians Plant the Flag on the Arctic Seabed, Below the Polar Cap. *The New York Times*. 2003. 3 August.

²⁰ An Ice-Cold War. *The New York Times* August. 2007. 8 August.

The installation of the Russian flag on the ocean floor revived the interest of not only journalists: Canada soon wanted to designate its sovereignty in the Arctic and a week later announced the opening of two military bases in the Arctic. "The first principle of Arctic sovereignty is to use it or lose it",²¹ — "The New York Times" quoted Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper.

Six months later, in February 2008, the installation of the Russian flag sounds again in the publication, but in a new context: the immersion project at the end of the 20th century. pondered by American scientists who collaborated with the Russians²². This further confirms the competitiveness of the Arctic information discourse: the publication is trying to figure out who is assigned the leadership in the Arctic technologies.

In 2007, the Arctic media discourse in the United States acquired a new trend, and a kind of "race" for the Arctic in the world is indeed taking place, as the primacy in technology development is being discussed.

The headlines of the Arctic materials in The New York Times are increasingly acquiring international issues: "The Tale of the Cold War" (about the role of the Arctic in the Cold War and the arms race), "5 countries are ready to talk, not to compete on the topic of the Arc-Tiki" , "Russian scientists deserving the study of the seabed" (on the results of Russian dives). In 2013, the newspaper published a material assessing the likelihood of the Cold War in the Arctic. "Preventing the Arctic Cold War" - the potential for a conflict of the scale of the Cold War is high, although the likelihood is low now, the author writes. The idea of the text is reduced to the absence of concrete actions by President Barack Obama, who "should hold an international meeting with President Putin and other leaders of the Arctic countries, to ensure that economic development is at the top of the world not only"²³. In contrast to 2007, the publication notes the peaceful nature of Putin's policies in the Arctic, since "the Russian economy depends on rich oil fields and natural gas"²⁴.

In the autumn of 2013, 8 publications were published in the publication related to the activities of Russia in the Arctic. The main information center was the detention of the Greenpeace ship by the Russian military and the call of the Dutch ambassador (Greenpeace is based in the Netherlands - author's note) to Moscow. This topic will be periodically updated in the media until April 2014. In 2015, tensions in relations between Russia and the West will affect the activities of the Arctic Council. "The Arctic Council is gathering in the shadow of tension because of Russia" - with the title "The New York Times" will publish material in which Russia will take a central place: "Russia's military activity in the Arctic and its extensive territorial claims to waters emphasize strategic priority, which for this region established Putin. Increased competition for natural resources increased the possibility of confrontation, and the annexation of the Crimea in March 2014 greatly strained relations with the other permanent members of the Council. <...> Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov, who attended the last meeting of the council in Sweden two years ago, refused

²¹ Canada Announces Plans for 2 New Bases in Its Far North. *The New York Times*. 2007. 11 August.

²² Final Russia's Claim Under Polar Ice Irks American. *The New York Times*. 2008. 9 February.

²³ Preventing An Arctic Cold War. *The New York Times*. 2013. 13 March.

²⁴ Preventing An Arctic Cold War. *The New York Times*. 2013. 13 March.

to attend this meeting. <...> Many suspected that his decision was made in retaliation for Canada's sharp criticism of the Kremlin's actions in Ukraine and a boycott of a meeting on Arctic issues in Russia"²⁵.

In 2015, President Barack Obama went on a trip to Alaska, which causes the appearance in the newspaper for the first time since 2001 of primary analytical material on the role of the United States in the Arctic. This text is incredibly important, since it's for the first time declared potential "rivals" (this is the word that the edition uses) of the US in the Arctic, which is headed by Russia (the text lists the main Russian bases of the Arctic, as well as icebreakers in exact numbers) as well as China, South Korea and Singapore. In this context, the publication recalled the cold war "when the United States and the Soviet Union clashed with each other in the Arctic and beyond." Thus, like the Russian Arctic discourse, the American aspect manifests itself in national development in the region: "When Russia introduced Sputnik into outer space, we sat with our hands in our pockets with great enthusiasm and said, "Good for Mother Russia," quotes Media expert²⁶.

International cooperation on the development of the Arctic in the context of geopolitical topics

In 2009, the pronounced competitiveness of the US Arctic discourse weakened. There is a noticeable trend towards international cooperation in the media: international agreements are highlighted, in particular, restrictions on fishing in the Arctic. International cooperation in the Arctic is viewed positively (for example, this is reflected in the heading "The Arctic Circle of Friends" in an article on international cooperation on warming in the Arctic²⁷).

Militaristic sentiments were asleep in the Arctic discourse, foreign prospects on the Northern Sea Route are lit neutral²⁸. It is worth noting that American targets in the Arctic are not particularly prominent. International cooperation, sometimes even being served in a historical context, is the main thing that reflects this period.

After 2007, the Russian Federation was forever entrenched in the informational discourse of the United States as an individual Arctic player. "The New York Times" after 2008 covers Russian activities in Arctic in the context of international cooperation. In 2010, for example, the publication covered Russian-British cooperation in the Arctic (an agreement with the British oil giant BP) and through this topic, the release addresses Russian policy and its internal problems,²⁹ but covering them in 2010, the media does not allow widespread criticism of the authorities, although it assumes it. The main thing is that the media objectively represents the point of view of Russia itself, quoting Russian experts without their comments.

The US's misunderstanding was caused by the actions of Russia and Norway after the conclusion of the 2010 treaty. After 2010, journalists almost never returned to international coopera-

²⁵ Arctic Council Meets in Shadow of Tension on Russia. *The New York Times*. 2015. 25 April.

²⁶ U.S. Is Playing Catch-Up in Scramble for the Arctic. *The New York Times*. 2015. 30 August.

²⁷ An Arctic Circle of Friends. *The New York Times*. 2009. 28 March.

²⁸ Arctic Shortcut, Long a Dream, Beckons Shippers as Ice Thaws. *The New York Times*. 2009. 11 September.

²⁹ Russia Embraces Arctic Drilling. *The New York Times*. 2011. 16 February.

tion in the Arctic, in 2012 only one material was devoted to this topic. He relates to the role of China in the Arctic race: “It seems that everyone is trying to push into the melting Arctic space, including China, which has no Arctic territory”³⁰. In 2013, journalists continue the theme with the material “China is knocking on the Icelandic door”³¹, where the conclusions state the need for US cooperation with Iceland and Norway.

Thus, the Arctic discourse in The New York Times and its thematic diversity can be divided into several stages. For clarity and simplification of understanding, we present them in the table.

Table 1

Topics in the US Arctic Media Discourse

Period (years)	Leading topic	Specifics
2001–2006	Resource Development and Climate Change in the Arctic	Disputes about the benefits of resource development in Alaska for the US economy, as opposed to the environmental consequences of the region and the preservation of the American Arctic as a national reserve.
2007–2008	Geopolitical picture in the Arctic	Interpretation of the installation of the Russian flag at the bottom of the Arctic Ocean and the revival of international interest in the region, an analysis of the prospects for different states in the Arctic.
2009–2010	The international cooperation	Coverage of international cooperation in the Arctic, informing readers about various Arctic projects, assessment of the consequences of the Arctic partnership.
2011–2018	Climate change and resource development in the Arctic	The focus is on the melting of ice in the Arctic, an assessment of the effects of global warming, as well as the risks and benefits of resource development in Alaska.

Conclusion

In 2001–2005, in The New York Times, only two Arctic themes are actively heard: the suitability of oil drilling in Alaska (that is, in the US Arctic) and the problem of climate change in the Arctic. All other Arctic issues in The New York Times, for example, rare materials on the peoples of the Far North, are raised in the publication only in the context of these critical topics.

In 2006, the Arctic issues in the newspaper subsided in connection with the decision on the question of drilling oil in Alaska.

In 2007, on the contrary, the Arctic discourse came to life and acquired a geopolitical sound, which was caused by the installation of the Russian flag in the Arctic on August 2, 2007, at the bottom of the Arctic Ocean in the framework of the Russian expedition “Arctic-2007”. In connection with the ambiguous perception of this Russian gesture by Western politicians, the event creates informational grounds for the future geopolitical direction of the Arctic media discourse. The headlines of the Arctic materials in The New York Times gradually acquire international issues, the authors use various speech means to express aggression.

In 2007, claims of other states in the Arctic and the need to protect US sovereignty in the Arctic were widely publicized for the first time. It is worth noting that, judging by the content of

³⁰ China and the Northern Rivalry. *The New York Times*, 2012, 5 October.

³¹ China Knocks on Iceland's Door. *The New York Times*. 2013, 13 March.

the materials, the United States does not name its unequivocal Arctic allies - they write neutral questions about Canada's Canadian forces in the Arctic, although they pay attention to them, and the Arctic policy of Russia and Norway 2010), condemned for greed in matters of oil production. It can be said that Russia appears in the US discourse as an individual Arctic player. If the newspaper pays attention to the Arctic policy of other countries only occasionally, then the Russian Federation is mentioned in a swarm even in the headlines, which can be explained by the cautious attitude of the American public to the Russian policy as a whole.

The status of Russia as an individual Arctic player is emerging in the context of the coverage of the development of the Russian Arctic and comparison with the development of the same US region - thus, the competitiveness of the American information discourse is manifested. China is also emerging as an individual Arctic media player, but it is only an observer in the Arctic Council. However, Americans are devoting several materials to China's activities in the Arctic.

After 2007, the geopolitical aspect of the Arctic discourse in The New York Times will continue, the installation of the Russian flag in the Arctic was a turning point in the coverage of the Arctic. However, with the loss of acute relevance in the second decade of the 20th century. Americans are again addressing resource development issues in Alaska and climate change in the Arctic as the main Arctic topics.

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SUMMARY

Authors, titles, abstracts, and keywords

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

КАЛИНИНА М.Р., КОНДРАТОВ Н.А. Инновационный вектор конкурентоспособности стран Северной Европы: опыт Швеции

KALININA M.R., KONDRATOV N.A. The innovative vector of the Nordic countries' competitiveness: case of Sweden

Аннотация. Инновации и конкурентоспособность — одни из ключевых тем исследований в социально-экономической и гуманитарной сферах. В статье рассматриваются особенности инновационной политики в Швеции, одной из динамично развивающихся стран Северной Европы, что подтверждается положением этой страны в глобальных рейтингах инновационной деятельности и конкурентоспособности. Показано, что положение Швеции обусловлено использованием особенностей географического положения, применением модели «государства всеобщего благосостояния», особенностями взаимодействия государства, науки и бизнеса, реализацией научно-исследовательской политики, в которой важную роль играют университеты и научно-образовательные центры, участвующие в создании технологических кластеров. Дополнительную актуальность исследованию придает наличие разработанной в Швеции арктической стратегии, в которой заявлено, что «рост и конкурентоспособность на основе преодоления торговых барьеров», «научные исследования», «система образования», «международное сотрудничество в рамках Арктического Совета, ЕС и ООН» будут иметь ключевое значение для устойчивого социально-экономического развития государства. С практической точки зрения опыт Швеции по формированию инновационной экономики, в том числе в северных регионах, представляет интерес для российских приарктических регионов. Материал статьи может быть использован в учебно-образовательном процессе в вузах, актуален для государственных и научных работников, экономистов и географов, занимающихся вопросами прогнозирования и территориального развития северных регионов.

Ключевые слова: инновации, конкурентоспособность, исследования, Швеция, Арктика, международное сотрудничество.

Abstract. Innovation and competitiveness are among key research topics in the social, economic and humanitarian fields. This article describes specific aspects of innovation policy in Sweden, one of the dynamically developing Northern European countries. This development is confirmed by the position of the country in the global innovation and competitiveness rankings. It is shown that high position of Sweden arises from the successful use of its geographic location, the “welfare state” model put into practice, the effective interactions of the state, science, and business, the implementation of research policy, according to which universities and research, and educational centers, involved in technology clusters formation, play an important role. The existing Arctic strategy developed in Sweden adds relevance to the research. The Arctic strategy states that “growth and competitiveness based on overcoming trade barriers, research and education system, as well as on international cooperation within the Arctic Council, the EU and the UN” will have crucial significance for the sustainable social and economic development of the state. From a practical point of view, the Swedish experience in the formation of an innovation economy, which includes northern regions as well, is of interest for the Russian subarctic areas. The article can be used for the educational process at universities. It is relevant for civil servants and researchers, economists and geographers involved in forecasting and territorial development of the northern regions.

Keywords: innovation, competitiveness, research, Sweden, the Arctic, international cooperation.

ЛИПИНА С.А., ЧЕРЕПОВИЦЫН А.Е., БОЧАРОВА Л.К. Предпосылки формирования минерально-сырьевых центров в опорных зонах развития в Арктической зоне Российской Федерации

LIPINA S.A., CHEREPOVITSYN A.E., BOCHAROVA L.K. The preconditions for the formation of mineral and raw materials centers in the support zones of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation

Аннотация. Новая редакция государственной программы «Социально-экономическое развитие Арктической зоны» и проект закона «О развитии Арктической зоны Российской Федерации» обозначили основным инструментом развития Арктики опорные зоны. Их главной задачей, согласно указанным документам, выступает освоение минерально-сырьевых центров (МСЦ) в Арктической зоне России, привлечение инвестиций, развитие Северного морского пути и развитие энергетической инфраструктуры. Поэтому выделение перспективных минерально-сырьевых центров в опорных зонах АЗРФ является актуальной задачей. На основе актуализации сведений о ресурсном потенциале Арктической зоны России можно сформировать пул перспективных МСЦ, развитие и поддержка которых должны быть в фокусе государственной политики в этом регионе. Не менее важным при этом является и анализ ключевых рисков, таких как финансовый, строительный и геологический, которые возникают при создании и разработке минерально-сырьевых центров и оказывают существенное влияние на рентабельность таких проектов. В работе предложен ряд показателей, оценивающих макроэкономический, социальный, геополитический и инновационный эффекты, возникающие при разработке МСЦ, и которые целесообразно положить в основу оценки социально-экономической эффективности реализации проектов МСЦ в опорных зонах. Кроме того, необходимо учитывать социально-экономическую значимость проектов МСЦ и влияние их результатов на жизнь населения. При выделении и создании минерально-сырьевых центров авторами предлагается использование кластерного подхода в качестве основного. Такие кластеры будут выступать опорными точками в пространственной организации региональной экономики и позволят достичь максимального мультипликативного эффекта. В заключение на основании проведенного анализа авторами сформулированы основные принципы реализации проектов МСЦ, к которым отнесены: формирование единой программы геологоразведки, совместное освоение близлежащих месторождений, а также формирование комплексных социально-экономических эффектов для территорий освоения.

Ключевые слова: минерально-сырьевой центр, Арктическая зона Российской Федерации, опорная зона, кластер, оценка социально-

Abstract. The new version of the state program “Social and economic development of the Arctic zone” and the draft law “On the Development of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation” have designated support zones as the main instrument for the development of the Arctic. Their main task, according to the specified documents, is the development of mineral and raw materials centers (MRCs) in the Arctic zone of Russia, attraction of investments, development of the Northern Sea Route and development of energy infrastructure. Therefore, the selection of promising mineral and raw materials centers in the support zones in the Russian Arctic is an urgent task. By actualization of information on the resource potential of the Arctic zone of Russia, it is possible to form a list of prospective MRCs, the development and support of which should be in the priority focus of public policy in this region. Equally important is the analysis of key risks such as financial, construction and geological risks that arise when creating and developing mineral resource centers and have a significant impact on the profitability of such projects. The paper suggests some indicators that assess the macroeconomic, social, geopolitical and innovative effects that arise in the development of MRCs and which should be used for evaluating the social and economic impacts of MRC projects in support areas. Also, it is necessary to take into account the social and economic importance of MRC projects and the impact of their results on the life of the population. As the primary approach in the selection and creation of mineral resource centers, the authors propose the use of the cluster approach. Such clusters will act as pivots in the spatial organization of the regional economy and will achieve the maximum multiplicative effect. In conclusion, based on the analysis, the authors formulated the main principles for the implementation of MRC projects, which include: the formation of a single geological exploration program, the joint development of nearby deposits, and the formation of complex socio-economic effects for the exploration areas.

Keywords: mineral resource center, the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation, support zone, cluster, evaluation of social and economic impacts of MRCs,

экономической эффективности МСЦ, мультипликативный эффект.

САННИКОВА Я.М. Традиционное хозяйство Якутии и АПК «Север»: организационно-управленческие решения второй половины 1980-х — 1991 гг.

SANNIKOVA Ya.M. The traditional economy of Yakutia and AIC "Sever": organizational and managerial decisions of the second half of the 1980s — 1991

Аннотация. На основе архивных документов, вводимых в научный оборот, автор рассматривает региональный опыт организационно-управленческой деятельности по отношению к хозяйствам Севера Якутии специально созданного агропромышленного комбината. На освещаемый период управленческой деятельности АПК «Север» в 1989–1991 гг. определяющими в развитии северных хозяйств стали организационные процессы разукрупнения совхозов и начала реорганизации форм хозяйствования. В конце 1990 г. были официально впервые официально декларированы решения комбината о переходе хозяйств на рыночные отношения. В то же время реальное социально-экономическое положение хозяйств уже стало иметь тенденцию к ухудшению положения дел, в том числе к уменьшению количественного показателя — сокращению поголовья в хозяйствах изучаемых районов. Как видно из документов, особенную обеспокоенность справедливо вызывало состояние домашнего оленеводства — ведущего хозяйственного направления на Севере.

Ключевые слова: традиционное хозяйство, АПК «Север», северные районы Якутии.

Abstract. On the basis of archival documents entered into scientific circulation, the author considers the local experience of organizational and management activities in relation to the farms of the North of Yakutia within a specially created agro-industrial complex (AIC). In the considered period of the AIC "Sever" activities, in 1989-1991, organizational processes of unbundling of state farms and the beginning of reorganization of management were decisive. At the end of 1990s, for the first time, decisions on transition to market relations were officially declared by the AIC. At the same time, the real social and economic situation of farms had already begun to show the deterioration, incl. a decrease in the quantitative indicator — reduction in the number of farms in the studied areas. As it is in the documents, the state of home reindeer husbandry, the leading economic sector in the North, was of a particular concern.

Keywords: traditional economy, the agro-industrial complex "Sever", Yakutia.

ТЕРЕЩЕНКО Е.Ю. Динамика развития приграничного туризма в Баренцевом Евро-Арктическом регионе

TERESHCHENKO E.Yu. Dynamics of border tourism in the Barents Euro-Arctic Region

Аннотация. В статье рассматриваются основные виды и характеристики приграничного туризма в странах БЕАР (Баренцева Евро-Арктического региона), приводятся официальные статистические данные о количестве поездок, результаты исследования туристской мотивации и выявляется положительная динамика развития приграничного туризма. Материалы текущего исследования включают обзор и сравнительный анализ с данными, полученными в ходе исследовательских сессий начиная с 2013 года в рамках международной программы «Бакалавр приполярных/северных исследований». По данным анкетирования, в Баренцевом регионе существует большой потенциал развития туризма, положительная мотивация способствует ре-

Abstract. The article discusses the main types and characteristics of border tourism in the countries of the Barents region. It provides official statistics on the number of trips, the results of tourist motivation study and reveals the positive dynamics of border tourism development. The materials of the current study include a review and comparative analysis with data obtained during research sessions since 2013 within the framework of the international program *Bachelor of Northern Studies*. According to the survey, the Barents region has a great potential for the development of tourism and positive motivation that contributes to international contacts. An analysis of the border tourism development dynamics has shown an increase in the demand in the tourism services market, the

ализации международных контактов. Анализ динамики развития приграничного туризма показал увеличение спроса на рынке туристических услуг, необходимость создания программ, ориентированных на потребности целевой аудитории покупателей, активное продвижение российского турпродукта на международном рынке.

Ключевые слова: Баренцев Евро-Арктический регион, приграничный туризм, Мурманская область.

ШИШАЦКИЙ Н.Г. Перспективы развития северных и арктических районов в рамках мегапроекта «Енисейская Сибирь»

SHISHATSKY N.G. The prospects of the Northern and Arctic territories and their development within the Yenisei Siberia megaproject

Аннотация. В настоящей статье проанализированы основные предпосылки и направления освоения северных и арктических районов Красноярского края на основе создания надёжной региональной транспортной и энергетической инфраструктуры и формирования высокотехнологичных и конкурентоспособных территориальных кластеров. Проанализированы как современные (создание нового крупного горно-обогатительного комбината в Норильском промышленном районе; освоение Усть-Енисейской группы нефтегазовых месторождений; газификация Красноярской агломерации на основе ресурсов попутного газа Эвенкии; реновация ЖКХ Норильской агломерации; развитие арктического и северного туризма др.), так и ранее рассматривавшиеся, но отклонённые по ряду причин проектные предложения по развитию региона (строительство крупной ГЭС на Нижней Тунгуске; освоение Порожинского марганцевого месторождения; размещение в районе Нижнего Приангарья выносных металлургических предприятий, работающих на норильских рудах; строительство меридиональной Енисейской железной дороги и др.). Показано, что в новых условиях целесообразно вернуться к рассмотрению этих проектов с использованием современных технологий и организационных подходов. Прежде всего, имеется в виду формирование в районах Севера и Арктики локально-интегрированных региональных производственных систем и сетей, обеспечивающих взаимодействие и кооперирование топливно-сырьевого, перерабатывающего и инновационного секторов. При этом создаваемая в добывающих и перерабатывающих отраслях добавленная стоимость локализуется в регионе и мобилизуется на цели формирования высокопро-

necessity to create programs focused on the needs of the target audience of buyers, and the active promotion of Russian tourism in the international market.

Keywords: Barents Euro-Arctic region, border tourism, Murmansk region.

Abstract. The article considers the main prerequisites and the directions of development of Northern and Arctic areas of the Krasnoyarsk Krai based on creation of reliable local transport and power infrastructure and formation of hi-tech and competitive territorial clusters. We examine both the current (new large mining and processing works in the Norilsk industrial region; development of Ust-Eiseysky group of oil and gas fields; gasification of the Krasnoyarsk agglomeration with the resources of bradenhead gas of Evenkia; renovation of housing and public utilities of the Norilsk agglomeration; development of the Arctic and northern tourism and others), and earlier considered, but rejected, projects (construction of a large hydroelectric power station on the Nizhnyaya Tunguska river; development of the Porozhinsky manganese field; placement of the metallurgical enterprises using the Norilsk ores near Lower Angara region; construction of the meridional Yenisei railroad and others) and their impact on the development of the region. It is shown that in new conditions it is expedient to return to consideration of these projects with the use of modern technologies and organizational approaches. It means, above all, formation of the local integrated regional production systems and networks providing interaction and cooperation of the fuel and raw, processing and innovative sectors. At the same time, the added value of the extracting and processing industries is localized in the area and will be mobilized for the purposes of high-performance technical and infrastructure base of the regional economy. The specified effect promotes economic development and leads to diversification of the monoprofile economy of the northern and Arctic regions. The provisions of the article and its suggestions can be considered as elements of the future development strategy for the North-

изводительной материально-технической и инфраструктурной базы региональной экономики. Указанный эффект содействует экономическому развитию и приводит к диверсификации монопрофильной экономики северных и арктических регионов. Изложенные в статье положения и предложения могут рассматриваться как элементы будущей стратегии развития северных и арктических территорий Красноярского края. Результаты исследования могут быть использованы для корректировки и формирования долгосрочных и среднесрочных инвестиционных программ на государственном и муниципальном уровнях управления, а также в стратегиях развития промышленных, транспортных и энергетических корпораций.

Ключевые слова: северные и арктические регионы, макрорегион «Енисейская Сибирь», региональная политика, стратегическое планирование, инвестиционные проекты, транспортная и энергетическая инфраструктура, реновация арктических городов, арктический туризм, территориально-производственные кластеры.

ern and Arctic territories of the Krasnoyarsk Krai. Results of the research can be used for adjustment and formation of long-term and medium-term investment programs at the state and municipal levels of management and also in development strategies of industrial, transport and power corporations.

Keywords: northern and Arctic regions, macreregion "Yenisei Siberia", regional policy, strategic planning, investment projects, transport and power infrastructure, renovation of the Arctic cities, Arctic tourism, territorial and production clusters.

POLITICAL PROCESSES AND INSTITUTIONS

ДЕМЕНЕВ А.Г., ШУБИНА Т.Ф., ШУБИНА П.В., НЕНАШЕВА М.В., МАКУЛИН А.В., ТАРАСОВ И.А. Опыт общественного участия в планировании комфортной городской среды на примере Архангельской области

DEMENEV A.G., SHUBINA T.F., SHUBINA P.V., NENASHEVA M.V., MAKULIN A.V., TARASOV I.A. Public participation in planning a comfortable urban environment: case of the Arkhangelsk region

Аннотация. Статья посвящена анализу опыта общественного участия в планировании комфортной городской среды. На примере Архангельской области рассмотрены формы общественного участия в проекте по формированию комфортной городской среды и их реализация на практике. С использованием метода комплексного анализа теории и практики публичных коммуникаций в статье приведена качественная оценка вовлечения общественности в процесс благоустройства городов. Показано, что существующие способы взаимодействия власти и горожан представляют собой односторонний процесс и зачастую сводятся к формальному исполнению муниципалитетами требований нормативно-правовых актов, регулирующих реализацию проекта по формированию комфортной городской среды. Для повышения эффективности механизмов общественного участия авторы предлагают разработать коммуникативную модель управления городским пространством на основе постоянного взаимодействия муниципальных органов власти и горо-

Abstract. The article analyzes the experience of public participation in the planning of a comfortable urban environment. The forms of public involvement in the formation of a comfortable urban environment and their implementation are considered on the example of the Arkhangelsk region. The method of complex analysis of the theory and practice of public communications helps the article to present a qualitative assessment of public involvement in the improvement of the urban environment. It is shown that the existing methods of interaction between the authorities and citizens represent a one-sided process and often they are reduced to the formal fulfillment of legal requirements by municipalities. To improve the efficiency of public participation, the authors propose to develop a communicative model of urban space management based on constant interaction between municipal authorities and citizens. This model will allow establishing a dialogue between all stakeholders, which will ultimately lead to the successful implementation of the urban environmental program and im-

жан. Такая модель позволит наладить диалог между всеми заинтересованными сторонами, что в конечном итоге приведёт к успешной реализации программы благоустройства и повышению качества жизни граждан.

Ключевые слова: *комфортная городская среда, городское пространство, городское сообщество, коммуникативное управление, гражданское общество, общественное участие.*

РЕПНЕВСКИЙ А.В., ЗАРЕЦКАЯ О.В., РЕУТОВА А.А., ПОДОПЛЕКИН А.О., ТОПТУНОВ А.А. Три жизни консульства Норвегии в Архангельске

REPNEVSKIY A.V., ZARETSKAYA O.V., REUTOVA A.A., PODOPLEKIN A.O., TOPTUNOV A.A. Three Lives of the Norwegian Consulate in Arkhangelsk

Аннотация. В статье изучена начавшаяся в 1815 г. и длящаяся с временными интервалами по настоящее время история норвежского консульства в Архангельске. История консульства проанализирована с позиций выявления коренных отличий в деятельности каждого из трёх периодов (жизней) консульств. В этом, в частности, состоит новизна проделанной научной работы. Причём первые две жизни (1815–1920 и 1924–1939 гг.) представлены как предыстория к более подробному рассмотрению оснований создания, приоритетов в работе, успехов и некоторых неудач современного – третьего по счёту консульства, воссозданного в Архангельске в 2010 г. и носящего статус «почётного». В статье уделено внимание и персональному фактору — жизненному пути первого и ныне действующего почётного консула Андрея Александровича Шалева. Его деятельность обсуждалась в основном только в средствах массовой информации областного масштаба и не подвергалась научному анализу. Даже фактический материал о проведённых почётным консульством мероприятиях не собран и не систематизирован, хотя обладает актуальностью, так как касается интересов тысяч жителей области. Авторы полагают, что в данной статье они только наметили те направления в изучении консульств, которые заслуживают внимания.

Ключевые слова: *консульства (генеральное, почётное), Баренцев Евроарктический регион, Норвежский Баренцев секретариат, русско-норвежские отношения, трансграничные связи, торговые и экономические отношения, культурные, образовательные, научные программы, санкции, конкуренция.*

ХАУГСЕТ П. Сценарии Крайнего Севера и субнациональные реалии: политика и практика в приграничной зоне Норвегии и России

prove the quality of life of citizens.

Keywords: *comfortable urban environment, urban space, urban community, communication management, civil society, public participation.*

Abstract. The article is devoted to the history of the Norwegian Consulate in Arkhangelsk, which began in 1815 and has continued to the present time. The history of the Consulate is analyzed from the standpoint of identifying the fundamental differences in the activities in each of the three periods (lives) of the Consulate. This, in particular, is the novelty of the research. Moreover, the first two lives (1815–1920 and 1924–1939) are presented as a background to a more detailed study of the prerequisites for creation, priorities in work, successes and some failures of the modern one - the third Consulate reopened in Arkhangelsk in 2010 and has the status of “Honorary”. The authors pay attention to the personal factor - the life path of the first and current honorary consul Andrei Alexandrovich Shalev. His activity was mainly discussed in regional mass media and was not subjected to research analysis. Even the actual material about the events held by the Honorary Consulate was not collected and not systematized, although it has relevance, as it concerns the interests of thousands of residents of the region. The authors believe that in this article they only outlined those directions in the study of consulates that deserve attention.

Keywords: *consulates (General, honorary), Barents Euro-Arctic region, Norwegian Barents Secretariat, Russian-Norwegian relations, cross-border relations, trade and economic relations, cultural, educational, scientific programs, sanctions, competition.*

HAUGSETH P. High North scenarios and subnational realities: policies and practices in the Norwegian-Russian border zone

Аннотация. Мы видим проявления множества региональных изменений в норвежско-российской пограничной зоне, особенно в результате сотрудничества в Баренц-Евроарктическом регионе (БЕАР). Поселения и города этой региональной периферии двух национальных государств являются более открытыми как в социальном отношении, так и в контексте расширения трансграничного сотрудничества (ТС) и сетевого взаимодействия. В настоящей статье автор рассказывает о некоторых пограничных изменениях, следуя за общей тенденцией к росту заинтересованности в северных территориях. Кроме того, он также анализирует точки зрения относительно результатов выработки политических стратегий, взаимодействия на государственном и субгосударственном уровнях, а также пути, которые, в конечном счёте, изменили динамику соотношения «центр — периферия». Подход к оценке взаимодействия внутривластных и внешнеполитических инструментов выработан под влиянием работ о «субгосударственной дипломатии», в которых подчёркивается развитие взаимодействия государства и субгосударства в качестве эффективных инструментов сотрудничества, выходящего за пределы национальных границ. Эффективность этого частично регионально-го взаимодействия анализируется эмпирически, что приближает к различным контекстам и дискуссиям о развитии Крайнего Севера, которые существуют с 2008 г. в арктических окраинах Норвегии и России. Новые политические обязательства, представленные в официальных документах (брендинг Крайнего Севера) на государственном уровне, предусматривают перенос новых индустриально-экономических High-Tech сценариев с государственного на местный уровень. Среди них: новые пограничные визовые режимы, пограничные форумы, а также инвестиции в улучшение дорог, инфраструктуру и транспортную рационализацию. Оценивая эти политические моменты и их результаты, можно увидеть ряд индикаторов современного геополитического и экономического потенциала региона и местных и региональных реалий. На основе представленного эмпирического материала автор делает вывод о том, что субгосударственные правительства зависят от государственного уровня в ходе текущих дискуссий о трансграничном сотрудничестве.

Ключевые слова: политика на Крайнем Севере, Баренцев-Евроарктический регион, норвежско-

Abstract. As the world was becoming more interdependent, with increased global awareness of the northernmost parts of the world, both the Norwegian and Russian governments showed more political commitment to and interest in new forms of region-building and development in the High North from 2006 and onwards. Today, more than ten years later, many regional changes are evident in the Norwegian-Russian border zone, as a consequence of expanded people-to-people contacts in the Barents Euro-Arctic Region (BEAR). In this peripheral border area between two national states, villages and cities have become more open, both sociologically and legally for increased cross border cooperation (CBC) and networking. In this article I will take stock of some of these borderland openings following on from the consequence of the two nations' rising levels of interest in the High North. It explores the ways in which (inter-)national policymaking and state-substate interactions ultimately altered centre-periphery dynamics. This article has based its approach to understanding the interplay of domestic and foreign policy instruments on the 'substate diplomacy' literature, which argues that increased state-substate interactions constitute an efficient instrument for extending cooperation beyond national state borders. The efficiency of regionally driven substate interactions is discussed from an empirical perspective. The present study analyses various High North development contexts and discourses (effective from 2008) in the Arctic borderland between Norway and Russia. The new political commitments presented in state-level official documents (the branding of the High North) envisioned a transference of new industrial-economic high tech scenarios from state to local level. These scenarios included new borderland visa regimes, co-existing with cross-border forums investments in improvements of roads, infrastructure, and transport rationalisations. The present article briefly assesses these policy rationales and their outcomes, revealing the region's contemporary geopolitical and economical potential, as well as local and regional realities. The findings show that substate governments and stakeholders are able to operate in demanding trans-border contexts, contribute to ongoing contemporary CBC discussions, and complement national and state-level efforts by using their regional expertise to solve problems.

Keywords: High North politics, Barents Euro-Arctic Region, Norwegian-Russian bilateral relations, state-

российские двусторонние отношения, государственная — субгосударственная дипломатия, трансграничное сотрудничество, местный приграничный трафик, приграничный туризм.

substate diplomacy, cross-border cooperation, local border traffic, borderland tourism.

NORTHERN AND ARCTIC SOCIETIES

МАКСИМОВ А.М., УХАНОВА А.В., СМАК Т.С. Социокультурные и социально-психологические факторы предпринимательского потенциала в российской Арктике

MAKSIMOV A.M., UKHANOVA A.V., SMAK T.S. Sociocultural and socio-psychological factors of entrepreneurial potential in the Russian Arctic

Аннотация. В статье рассматриваются теоретические проблемы зависимости предпринимательского потенциала населения от ценностных ориентаций, понимаемых как поведенческие императивы той или иной культуры. В тексте статьи предпринимательство рассматривается прежде всего как социально-психологическое и социокультурное явление. Предпринимательство как социально-психологический феномен рассмотрено в свете теорий поведенческой экономики; как социокультурный — с опорой на исследовательскую традицию, заложенную М. Вебером. Авторы постулируют тезис об определяющем характере влияния системы ценностей, доминирующей в определённом обществе, на уровень предпринимательского потенциала. Авторами кратко изложены основные подходы к измерению ценностей в социальных науках, в частности, подходы М. Рокича, Р. Инглхарта, Г. Хофстеде и Ш. Шварца. Представлена в общих чертах ситуация с развитием предпринимательства в регионах российской Арктики, показаны специфические проблемы, с которыми сталкивается бизнес на территориях Арктической зоны Российской Федерации. Подчёркивается уникальность российской Арктики как историко-культурного макрорегиона, на основе чего выдвигается гипотеза об особых социокультурных условиях развития арктического предпринимательства по сравнению с другими территориями страны, проявляющихся в первую очередь в специфической системе ценностных ориентаций. Предлагается синтез методологий М. Рокича, Р. Инглхарта и Ш. Шварца для комплексного изучения системы ценностей жителей Арктической зоны РФ.

Ключевые слова: предпринимательство, предпринимательский потенциал, ценностные ориентации, поведенческая экономика, российская Арктика.

Abstract. The article discusses the theoretical problems of the entrepreneurial potential of the population on value orientations dependence, understood as the behavioral imperatives of a particular culture. The text of the article considers entrepreneurship primarily as a socio-psychological and sociocultural phenomenon. Entrepreneurship as a socio-psychological phenomenon is considered in the context of theories of behavioral economics, but as a sociocultural — based on the research tradition established by M. Weber. The authors postulate a thesis on the determining nature of the influence of the value system that dominates in a particular society on the level of entrepreneurial potential. The authors briefly set out the main approaches to the measurement of values in the social sciences, in particular, the approaches of M. Rokeach, R. Inglehart, G. Hofstede, and S. Schwartz. The situation with the development of entrepreneurship in the regions of the Russian Arctic is presented in general terms, the specific problems that businesses face in the Arctic zone of Russia are shown. The uniqueness of the Russian Arctic as a cultural macro-region is emphasized, on the basis of that a hypothesis is put forward about the special sociocultural conditions for the development of Arctic entrepreneurship compared to other territories of the country, manifested primarily in a specific system of values. Authors propose a synthesis of the methodologies M. Rokeach, R. Inglehart and S. Schwartz for a comprehensive study of the Russian Arctic' inhabitants value system.

Keywords: entrepreneurship, entrepreneurial potential, value orientations, behavioral economics, the Russian Arctic.

REVIEWS AND REPORTS

АВДОНИНА Н.С., ДОЛГОБОРОВА С.О. Освещение геополитической проблематики в контексте темы освоения Арктики в американском медиадискурсе (на примере материалов газеты «The New York Times»)

AVDONINA N.S., DOLGOBOROVA S.O. Covering geopolitical problems in the context of the Arctic exploration in the American media discourse (based on The New York Times content analysis)

Аннотация. Статья посвящена обзору геополитических проблем Арктического региона, представленных в современном американском медиадискурсе на примере материалов газеты «The New York Times». Данная газета является образцом классической американской журналистики, придерживающейся принципов объективности и аналитичности. В результате проведённого анализа можно отметить, что в период за 2001–2005 гг. в газете были активно представлены две арктические темы: целесообразность бурения нефти на Аляске и проблема климатических изменений в Арктике. С 2007 г. арктическая проблематика на страницах газеты вновь приобретает актуальное звучание в контексте именно геополитической проблематики, что связано с событием 2 августа 2007 г. — установкой российского флага на дне Северного Ледовитого океана. Освещение арктической темы осуществляется в контексте состязательности, а позднее — международного сотрудничества. В период с 2011 по 2018 гг. в фокусе американской газеты оказываются темы климатических изменений и ресурсной разработки в Арктике.

Ключевые слова: Арктика, медиадискурс, арктический медиадискурс, геополитическая проблематика, американские СМИ, информационная политика.

Abstract. The article is based on a review of the geopolitical problems of the Arctic region, represented in the contemporary American media discourse on the example of the newspaper «The New York Times». The paper was chosen because it is an example of traditional American journalism, which adheres to the principles of objectivity. As a result of the analysis, the following trend was found – throughout 2001-2005 years the newspaper actively presented two Arctic issues: the feasibility of oil drilling in Alaska and the problem of climate change in the Arctic. Since 2007, the arctic problematics on the pages of newspapers became relevant in the context of geopolitical issues, which was connected to the event of August 2, 2007, namely the setting of the Russian flag in the Arctic Ocean. Coverage of the Arctic issues was carried out in the context of competition, and later – international cooperation. In the period from 2011 to 2018, the focus of the American newspaper was pointed out to the climate change and resource development in the Arctic.

Keywords: the Arctic, media discourse, Arctic media discourse, geopolitical problems, American mass media, informational policy.

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