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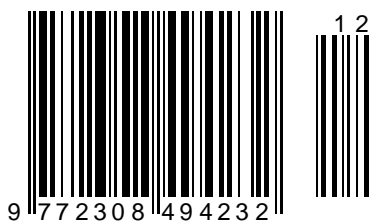
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Article



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ON THE IMPORTANCE OF PROFESSIONALISM AMONG THE ENTERPRISE TEAM TO MOTIVATE THEM TO PRODUCE IN- DEMAND PRODUCTS

Abstract: *the article examines the role of the leader of the enterprise team to ensure their effective activities in the production of in-demand products, for which the authors have outlined a list of competencies that the leader - the head of the enterprise team must possess in order to be able to successfully fulfill the goals and objectives formulated for him, so that to ensure that this very enterprise both successfully carries out production for consumers of in-demand products, and is able to be responsible for failure to fulfill its obligations, only in such a union is it possible to guarantee the successful operation of a light industry enterprise in the regions of the Southern Federal District and North Caucasian Federal District to fill their markets with in-demand and competitive products. The results of such studies confirmed the justification of the understanding that the head of an enterprise, vested with power, should not consider these criteria to be impermissible, but a measure of responsibility to his team for the results of the activities of this very team.*

Key words: *leader, competence, responsibility, harmony, demand, personality, quality, professionalism, quality criteria and assessments, consumers, producers, independence, dedication, independence, profitability, quality, demand, competitiveness, market, profit, demand, buyer, financial stability, sustainable TEP, priority, assortment, assortment policy, implementation, paradigm, economic policy.*

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Introduction

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In the division of quality attributes into “primary” and “secondary” there was a rational principle associated with the specifics of “second nature” - things transformed from a natural state by human labor. The “primary” qualities of a product or its raw materials are determined by natural reality and are completely independent of humans. “Secondary” characteristics, on the contrary, are dependent on human labor. It is labor that reveals or creates them, therefore the quality of objects transformed by labor must be determined with human assessment. The inclusion of man as a factor in the production of product quality enhances the influence of the subject of labor on the quality of production and the quality of the produced product. In this connection, the load on the management process increases. Management is subject to solving the problem of sustainable production of a quality product. As in any task, here it is necessary, namely:

- clearly define what “quality” is?;
- understand what is specific to the quality of a product?;
- understand how the “quality” of commodity production and its mass production are connected, trace the mechanism of interaction of qualitative changes with quantitative;
- reveal the systemic position of the problem of quality of mass production in the context of a developing economy.

Only having received answers to the above questions, we will be able to productively explore the problem: “How realistic is our desire to give the mass producer the need for a quality product result?”, in other words, “is it possible to sufficiently motivate the production of a quality product from within mass production?” So far, unfortunately, quality management is carried out by introducing into production ideas developed not in it, but in the “pure” management theory.

The scale, content, forms and significance of competition put it among the global problems of human development with one important clarification: it is not so much humanity itself that benefits from achievements in competition, but individual subjects of human activity, starting with the individual performer and manager, and up to those states in whose interests they work. Therefore, the organization of effective participation in competition should be considered as a leading indicator of professional competence, spiritual maturity and political consciousness, meaning, of course, economic policy.

A special place in this struggle, which cannot be called otherwise, is occupied by the spirit of self-awareness, the system-forming factor of which is professional culture. If human capital determines the

growth of production, then the quality of education lays the foundation of human capital. Competencies are not effective on their own; they are powerful when they are formed as the needs of an individual, developed diversified and in harmony with their own, national and universal interests.

The formula for harmonious interests of an individual is extremely simple. It was discovered 2500 years ago by Confucius, and clarified by I. Kant, giving it a rational form: “another person should not be a means for you.” Summarizing the thoughts of our great ancestors, let's say: the only reliable effective means of sustainable development of all manifestations of human life will be the achievement of mutually interested coexistence of people. With regard to production in general and consumer goods in particular, the conclusion is further simplified to the creation in specific production of technical, economic and humanitarian (sociocultural and psychological) conditions aimed at a high-quality, in-demand and affordable product. The organization of production can be considered reasonable only if it is subordinated to a single goal - satisfying the needs of the consumer. Unfortunately, our modern economic organization pits producer and consumer against each other, turning them into opponents, instead of encouraging them to act as a single team.

Is this related to objective factors whose resistance we have not yet been able to overcome, or are the braking forces of an inertial nature, inherited by us, introduced as part of modernization, and we are able to fight them, and not the consumer on the market? What are our reserves? Answers to the questions posed must be sought in system analysis, which requires turning to scientific and philosophical theory. You should not be afraid of the tension of thought creation. The famous naturalist D. Dan, analyzing, following Charles Darwin, the meaning of competition, came to the conclusion that competition in the struggle for existence is not limited to greater and better adaptability to circumstances, it strengthens the nervous system and develops the brain. So let's start with philosophical reflection.

In economics and politics, there are many known phenomena that contradict the nature and functions of these spheres of public life. Practical development does not always coincide with historical logic. History, contrary to its rational basis, the history of the activities of Homo sapiens, often drives the reflection of reason into a dead end. In this connection, a problem arises: if the history of the sociocultural activity of “homo sapiens” should be at least no less reasonable and logical than the individual mind of a person who is subject to chance to an incomparably greater extent than the socialized mind of humanity, then how can we explain the presence social anomalies, some kind of “jambs”?

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The interpretation of product quality that has developed under the influence of economic rationality does not reflect the sociocultural status of the product, at least of the consumer product. It is advisable to look for the qualitative characteristics of a product intended for mass consumption at the intersection of its production, economic, household and socio-cultural advantages. Moreover, it is desirable that the product not only satisfies existing needs, but also stimulates their cultural development and serves as an instrument for the development of the consumer's personality. Human capital participates in the creation of a production product, and production is designed to contribute to the improvement of the individual. There is no other way to overcome alienation in the conditions of the absolutization of private property and its distribution disproportionate to labor. Only by imparting creativity to work and a reward corresponding to creativity can one "remove", in terms of Hegelian philosophy, the tension of alienation. The quality of a product in a broad sense can be considered as a factor of social progress and as a test of sociocultural achievements of social development.

In determining quality, the most common shortcoming is the lack of consistency. Quality is defined as a set of essential properties. The usual method for selecting such is the method of pyramidal arrangement of the properties of an object. At the base, important but not decisive ones remain, and as one ascends to the top, a hierarchy of remaining properties is formed. At the top we get the sum of the main properties, which are included in determining the quality of the item. G. Hegel in his time wittily defined quality by contradiction - "quality is that, losing that, the object ceases to be itself." Following the example of the great thinker, let us define "shoes" as "clothing for the feet." How accurate is this definition? For shoes, probably yes. For the quality of the shoes, hardly. If you deprive shoes of the ability to be "footwear," then they really won't be shoes. If you preserve only the ability of the shoe, its inherent ability, then the required quality of the product will be uncertain. "Clothes for legs" can be dangerous due to the toxicity of the material, means of fastening, and inconvenient design for movement. The formally constructed requirement for an item does not coincide with the quality of the item. It is significant as a prerequisite for the qualitative certainty of the product. To determine the quality of a product, one must proceed from its functional purpose. The functional purpose should be considered as a state of relations between the formally defining property of the object and the specifics of the operation of the object, its commercial purpose, contained in the consumer value of the product. The feet, for which clothing is made in the form of shoes, represent part of a living organism. These are not stocks or corpse limbs, also intended for specific clothing. Clothing for

feet will not be shoes until there is sufficient evidence of its safety - hygienic, ergonomic, industrial, economic and household. Quality is not a set of essential properties of a product, it is their system, the system-forming feature of which is indeed the ability to perform some formally most significant function. It is laid as the basis for determining the quality of a product, then "growing" the system itself, just as one grows a pearl in a shell from a random grain of sand or the Periodic Table of chemical elements from atomic weight.

Main part

Wherever the shoes produced by the company are sold: in a company store, at wholesale fairs or federal exhibitions, it is always important to know the niche that is not occupied today and urgently fill it. This is only possible if the buyer has no limited choice in making a purchase decision, if the interests and capabilities of all consumer groups are taken into account. These are not nice words, but the reality of today's market. Without such marketing research, without strictly taking into account demand, without analyzing the reasons for customers returning shoes and analyzing their complaints, it is difficult to expect success, and this is simply impossible.

The more variety of footwear on the same basic basis is offered to the trade, the more of it will be sold, the easier it is for the enterprise to timely modernize its production and timely replace out-of-fashion shoes that are not in demand with those that will be in demand again. In general, you have to spin to stay afloat.

Men's and women's shoes are subject to the same requirements for creating conditions for their demand, but taking into account the market where these shoes will be offered for sale, for sale. Men's shoes are in high demand today, which is due to the change in the status of the Southern and North Caucasian districts (Southern Federal District and North Caucasian Federal District) at the geopole of the Russian Federation. The border district, internal troops, military units of the Ministry of Emergency Situations, regular military units and formations, a huge flow of refugees, a large number of higher educational institutions - all this provokes the need for a large number of consumer goods, including footwear for various purposes. In this regard, the demand for men's shoes has its own characteristics, namely that the autumn-spring assortment of shoes is in greatest demand on the market. And the presence of specifications for the production of special footwear for military personnel using adhesive and injection molding methods expands the ability of shoe companies to develop and manufacture men's shoes, as it were, at the junction - everyday and special, with the possibility of a slight change in the manufacturing technology for the consumer or offering them to military representatives as special footwear. Such a

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wide range has already provoked the opening of numerous small enterprises for the production of men's shoes. I just wanted to draw the attention of enterprise managers and fashion designers to the principles of forming an assortment of men's shoes in order to ensure stable demand and high competitiveness in the supply market.

It is important that the experimental group of the enterprise promptly monitors the emergence of new materials and accessories on the supply market, ensuring itself the right to know-how, peculiarity, originality, thereby creating an image for its enterprise, respectful attitude towards the “brand” of the enterprise and trademark, so that In all cases, this prestige has always been maintained at a very high level. So, for example, if a molded sole with a side is used, then its fastening will always be carried out using a combined method of fastening - thread and glue, since this is of high quality and ensures its durability, then the buyer will already know that the shoes of this company are distinguished from others by high quality, reliability, accessibility and comfort.

A special place is occupied by the production of women's shoes for the demand market of the Southern Federal District and North Caucasian Federal District. A large volume of imported shoes and affordable prices make the production of women's shoes a less profitable business compared to children's and men's shoes. Once again, the importance of marketing research and the definition of one’s assortment, which will never be taken into account by “shuttle traders” and foreign firms, is increasing. Therefore, the analysis of anthropometric changes that have occurred in the feet of the female population of the Southern Federal District and North Caucasian Federal District in recent years, the presence of a large number of customers with pathological abnormalities, significant differences in overall sizes allow manufacturers to produce women's shoes in styles of lasts that are more satisfying for customers in comfortable and comfortable shoes, and traditional high quality and reliability against the background of a lower cost make such shoes always in demand and desired. And shoes for the elderly, who are not socially protected, but have even greater pathological changes in the feet,

allow manufacturers, together with designers, taking into account these features, to produce shoes that will always be in demand and sold. In addition, we need new solutions, unexpected offers, and then you, the manufacturers, will be successful not only in the domestic market, but also foreign markets will become more accessible. Thus, today, despite the lack of a legal basis for technical regulation, it is necessary for each manager to choose his own, and only his own, rules of the game and behavior in the market for the supply of footwear from a domestic manufacturer, not forgetting to use the opportunity to export his products to the world market. We sincerely wish us - consumers and our managers - justified risk and success, both in the domestic footwear market and in foreign markets. At the same time, the quality systems “streamlining/5 S” and “three “NOTs” are the basis for stability and safety of production. The coming 20th century is destined to be a century of high quality in all its manifestations - the quality of labor, products and services, the environment, that is, to implement the modern paradigm of civilized development.

Ensuring competitiveness in the domestic market and promoting Russia in foreign markets is impossible without the production of high-quality products that meet safety requirements. Taking this into account, enterprises need to implement a quality management system (QMS), which should be systematically developed and supplemented over time. The combination of its various elements contributes to effective production management and the production of quality products. One of the components of the integrated QMS is the Japanese system - “Ordering/5S”.

One of its ideologists is Kaoru Ishikawa, a world-famous quality management theorist. In particular, he came up with the idea of creating the famous quality circles in the early 60s of the last century. The main objective of this system is to promote maximum stability and safety of production processes, maintaining order and discipline at each workplace with the participation of all enterprise personnel, especially highly qualified workers.

Key concepts of the quality system “Streamlining/5S” are given in Table 1.

Table 1. Concepts of the “Organization/5S” system

Japanese term	Meaning of the term	Contents of the activity
Seiri	Organization	Removing unnecessary
Seiton	Accuracy	Organizing the placement of items
Seiso	Cleaning	Cleaning the workplace
Seiketsu	Standardization	Standardization of rules for cleaning, organizing and cleaning
Shitsuke	Discipline	Formation of the habit of maintaining cleanliness and order
* Each word denotes an element of activity to master the rules of maintaining an organized workplace.		

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The first two elements in the 5S system (Seiri è Seiton) are aimed at clearing the workspace of unwanted or unnecessary items and organizing the remaining items. Workspace organization activities directly correspond to these two steps in 5S (creating “workplaces where everything has its place”), in addition, the concept of assigning space to small groups is used. Activities to improve the work environment also promote connections between small groups, which is a precondition for improving the performance of many enterprises. The third element of the 5S system - cleaning the workspace - is necessary, because without it, cleaning production facilities turns into routine waste removal, and contamination inside the machines remains a source of defects and breakdowns.

The fourth element of the 5S system, standardization, involves establishing and ensuring the best practices for shaping the production environment to ensure consistency in meeting the requirements of the first three elements of the 5S system. Step 3 of mastering the system (developing standards for cleaning and inspection) not only establishes standardized procedures for performing the work in steps 1 and 2, but also trains operators on how to perform equipment maintenance, taking responsibility for lubrication of the equipment.

The market for an entrepreneur is like a minefield. He is allowed to make no more mistakes than miners. But there is a prospect to survive and succeed! You can adapt, following established ideas, or offer something original. In the latter case, turning to high theory (ideology) is inevitable. The practicality of consciousness does not oppose theoretical reflections; on the contrary, it provides for them and depends on them. It has long been understood that the most practical thing is a well-tailored theory. Practice, conditioned by theoretical literacy, combines the novelty of the approach with the prospect of its development. Only in theory can one look for guarantees of practical effectiveness - “measure seven times (think thoroughly, weigh, calculate), then cut (act).” Practical consciousness is limited to a conditional situation, therefore its experience and recommendations always exist in the form of standards.

Standardization is a temporary, conditionally limited mechanism for managing the production situation. As understanding and the real state of affairs change, standard settings also change. The conditionally limited nature of standardization in no way means an infringement of its significance. Truth is concrete. The concreteness of truth is objective and this objective concreteness of truth must be expressed in a relatively stable measurable form. With the help of standardization and metrology, practical concretization of true knowledge is achieved. Our trouble is that practical consciousness does not properly realize the relativity of the expressiveness of

the developed knowledge, its dependence on the level of economic development and on the economic situation. Professional thinking, being under pressure from practical problems, spontaneously shuns “high” thoughts, understanding them as a distraction from the real matter. It turns out that “high” abstractions are the province of philosophy. A specialist comes to the podium, gets acquainted with high fashion trends, thinks, weighs what and how he will translate into real production, and considers it unnecessary to reflect on business philosophy, delegating responsibility to the side.

The advantages of the market literally fascinated domestic reformers, depriving them of the ability to comprehensively and critically perceive economic reality. Essentially, the market has been reduced to the sanctity of private property, free competition and independence from the state. The market has turned from an economic event into a material one. Free manipulation of the most important concepts is a distinctive feature of our market specialists. Otherwise, it is impossible to pass off wishful thinking as reality.

Sequestering their understanding of the market, the “ultra-marketers” lowered its spiritual component to the bottom as unnecessary. They forgot, in particular, to note that the entire last century in North America and Western Europe passed under the sign of increasing interest in philosophy and the psychology of activity. It turns out that pragmatism has moved to the forefront of ideological support for democratic transformations in society on its own, in parallel with the market.

There are no ideal philosophical (as, indeed, all other) systems. All ideas and systems of ideas are developed within specific historical conditions and are productive to a limited extent. But within the boundaries of existing reality, they are quite effective and should be considered as necessary conditions for successful practical activity, and be an organic part of economic consciousness. Relations in the market really do develop spontaneously in many respects, under the influence of poorly controlled factors, however, the latest recognition does not mean that it is impossible to include active mechanisms of influence on the market element in order to give it sustainable development trends.

The market has not limited the practical possibilities of the theory. The market demanded a new level of theoretical engagement, exposing the weaknesses of purely economic knowledge.

Practical management of economic activity is based on the body of knowledge generated by economic theory. Economic theory, in turn, is based on a conceptual apparatus built in philosophical teachings. Philosophical teachings are heterogeneous. Their differences are quite significant, but despite the significance of the differences in philosophical systems, they are built on a common system-forming

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factor - human interests, thanks to which knowledge acquires expediency and humanitarian meaning. Philosophy and psychology of business equip with the knowledge necessary for vigorous activity in a difficult economic environment, laying the preconditions for the directed organization of spontaneity in market relations.

When presenting the market, it is usually noted that the sustainability of its development is determined by the balance of supply and effective demand. There is a choice and there are financial resources - the market works normally, since the required conditions for healthy economic relations exist. The formula for market health is alarming because of what is hidden behind the concepts of "supply" and "demand". According to the laws of economic freedom, production and consumption are formed on the conveyor belt of competitive relations. The main enemies of market health are monopolism and protectionism. Civil society and the state are charged with the responsibility of neutralizing everything that impedes the normal functioning of the market. No one is allowed to interfere with the very essence of the market, created by the interaction of the two flows that form the market - supply and demand, because such interference is contrary to private property. Thus, one gets the impression that market principles are spontaneous. In assessing such an opinion, extreme caution and utmost attention must be exercised. In normal - European, North American - capitalism, diseases are similar to those that plague Russian abnormal (corrupt, oligarchic, gangster) capitalism. One thing is declared, another is done. "We wanted the best, but it turned out as always" - a historical summary.

In practice, the state and civil society, through their institutions of influencing mass consciousness, actively control and intervene in economic life, trying to regulate and direct the development of the market. Mass media are in demand not so much for advertising as for pressing consumer thinking. By forming a given way of thinking, loading consciousness according to a certain program, the owners of the market give its development purposefulness and an organized character. In principle, such actions are not considered illegal, with the exception of private actions that conflict with the law. Thoughts embodied in words, words embodied in images, samples that force one to purchase things - all this is also a product that is not alien to the market. The difference between knowledge put on the market as a specific product is that it simultaneously fills the market, diversifies offers and stimulates market interest. It turns out quite biblically: "In the beginning was the word...". The only difference is that the words on the market are human and the interests they contain are also human: private national, corporate. Ideological dominance in the market is the real path to practical dominance. The market is not an antagonist of philosophy, but a

springboard for philosophical conquests. Practical life is blind without theory, just as theory is empty without practice. Only those who skillfully use the power of knowledge can survive and gain confidence in the market. The philosophy of the market is the doctrine of the contradictions that drive it and the possibilities of their rational resolution. Market contradictions, starting with the contradictions contained in the product itself, and ending with the conflict between the producer and the consumer (seller-buyer), to a first approximation seem antagonistic. Analysis of market relations leads to the conclusion about their dialectical diversity.

The fundamental difference between dialectical contradictions is that they are relationships between opposites that presuppose the interdependence of existence. No matter how sharp the dialectical opposites may be in the form of expression, in essence they are individually unviable. The existence of dialectical opposites is possible only in interaction. Consequently, the main contradictions of the market have rational methods of resolution, and these methods are associated with the movement of concepts. It is necessary to achieve the specificity of the content of concepts that corresponds to the historical certainty of the economic situation. The concepts of "transition economy" and "developed economy" from a theoretical and practical perspective acquire meaning when the concepts on which their criteria are based are specified.

The market pits the interests of the seller and buyer against each other. The first seeks to make a profit, the second - to save on immediate costs. What might motivate them to compromise? The answer is simple - what is equally present in their interests, divorced by the market. The seller, if he is also a manufacturer, or is in a corporate relationship with the manufacturer, or is concerned about his own reputation, is interested in the quality of the product. The quality of the goods and the buyer who exchanges funds for the necessary goods are of interest. The quality of the product is the core of normal interaction between the seller and the buyer, since quality imparts a trusting character to their relationship and is a guarantee of the mutual benefit of these relationships.

The nature of these relationships is interesting: back at the end of the 19th century, the so-called "consumer movement" arose in the United States. Various societies and consumer associations created during this period even then played a special role in protecting the rights of buyers. In 1890, the Buyers' League was founded in New York, which, in addition to a purely educational impact on buyers, pursued social and economic goals. The League developed forms of certification for products produced under favorable production conditions - the so-called labels (Label - label, label attached to a product), which the League began to issue to companies that provided favorable working conditions and produced the

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highest quality goods. These companies were included in the so-called “White List”.

In the Russian Federation, the legal basis for the formation and implementation of targeted policies in the field of consumer protection was created with the entry into force of the Law “On the Protection of Consumer Rights” on February 7, 1992. The law reflects the tendency to strengthen legislative regulation of relations aimed at protecting the rights of citizens. The law established the most important internationally recognized consumer rights, including: the right to state and public protection of consumer rights and the right to associate in consumer organizations. The consumer rights protection system being created today in Russia is a combination of federal executive authorities, local government bodies, and public consumer associations, whose powers in this area are specifically stipulated in the Law of the Russian Federation “On the Protection of Consumer Rights.” The elements that make up the system carry out the entire range of work on the formation and implementation of national policy in the field of consumer protection at the national, regional and municipal levels. At the same time, it should be noted that these structures do not exhaust the list of persons involved in the protection of consumer rights.

The main federal body for the protection of consumer rights is the Ministry for Antimonopoly Policy and Support of Entrepreneurship of the Russian Federation (MAP RF). The Ministry has a Consumer Rights Protection Department. MAP RF has territorial departments located in regional and regional centers. MAP of Russia exercises state control over compliance with laws and other legal acts of the Russian Federation regulating relations in the field of consumer rights protection. The Ministry and its territorial bodies have the right, according to a certain procedure, to consider cases of violations of consumer rights, issue orders to eliminate these violations and impose fines on violators, bring lawsuits in court in the interests of consumers, make decisions on the recall of goods that may be dangerous to life and consumer health. Whether this approach is good or not, time will tell. One thing is clear - the protection of consumer rights defends not only the vital interests of the buyer - the good name of the manufacturer and seller of quality goods is equally protected, who will prioritize, first of all, the production of products of adequate quality, thereby ensuring a reputation as a reliable manufacturer.

In a normative market, the quality of a product is the dominant factor in all relations in all sectors: goods themselves, services, finance, labor. This situation corresponds to a high level of purchasing power, sufficient to follow the socio-economic standards of the consumer and the recommendations of product manufacturers. Unfortunately, the normal market is still exclusive. No more than 10 percent of the states

of the modern world can unconditionally form the club of countries with a normal market economy. What can the rest, who form a heterogeneous majority, count on? Standardization and certification will only become a tool and means of ensuring the competitiveness of footwear when they meet the concept of a market economy, i.e. focus on the requests and needs of customers. To improve (adjust or revise) technical specifications for modern footwear, it is necessary to study consumer behavior in footwear markets. A competitive advantage in the markets is given to those enterprises that study the characteristics of the purchasing behavior of consumers of different categories, as well as the factors influencing the decision-making process on choosing a particular market and purchasing appropriate shoes. The USSR had a well-thought-out quality management system for consumer goods. It was adapted to a centralized directive market and therefore was distinguished by a certain inertia and undemocratic nature. It made no sense to extrapolate such a system to radically changed production relations, which was confirmed by practice. However, the attitude towards experience should not be formally negative. The new denies the old, but not continuity in development. Even the spasmodic form of change presupposes the interconnection of the discrete and the continuous. One must be able to learn lessons from the past, if only for the simple reason that the construction of a new one is carried out from elements formed in this past. More than one political leadership of the country turned out to be incompetent. The doctrine of quality management includes the theory of quality, technical and economic developments that ensure high-quality production of products, and a system for monitoring the quality of goods. The theoretical introduction itself to the doctrine of quality is heterogeneous in structure. Its components are a clear definition of the quality of the product - it serves as a starting point in the corresponding coordinate system; a thoroughly thought-out content of the concept of quality in relation to a given type of product, so that the entire range of quality properties of the product is visible; justification for the tactics of qualitative expansion in the market - determining the configurations of the qualitative characteristics of commercial products. In conditions of market dynamics, it is extremely important to respond to changes in a timely manner and adequately place emphasis within quality relationships.

Quality is not the sum of the essential features of a product, but their combination based on a system-forming property - for shoes, the system-forming property, by definition, is considered to be “reliability” as “clothing for the feet.” In Soviet times, the economic interpretation of quality was one-sided, “stationary”, which corresponded to the then market, the main pain of which turned out to be not the quality, but the quantity of goods. In the same footwear sector

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of the market, considerable efforts were made to provide a vital assortment. An exception can be considered the activities of the then tailoring enterprises. Let us remember where our illegal immigrants and the first legal cooperators began during the perestroika period - with an assortment of models. The market changes ideas about quality, forces us to restructure, but does not reduce the relevance of developing the doctrine of quality in all its directions. More and more marketing specialists are aware of the growing trend of interest in quality products in the market. This process is not explosive, on the contrary, it is slow - real interest must be supported by the ability to pay. It is unlikely that a potential shoe buyer will apply for a loan from a bank. Shoes of ideal quality are doomed to be a one-off occurrence. The noted interest should rather be attributed not to quality, but to the state of quality. "State of quality" is a concept that is very poorly developed in philosophy and special scientific and technical literature. It is hoped that the relevance of the modern market movement will attract due attention to it.

In general terms, the concept of "quality state" or "qualitative state" is consonant with the concept of "quality level", but not identical to it. The concept of "quality level" serves to comprehend the formation of the concept. The concept of "quality state" characterizes the functional status of quality, the configuration features of the properties that form it.

Economics is a characteristic sphere of human activity. It is in it that the most representatively active nature of homo sapiens is expressed, aimed at transforming living conditions. The practical nature of the economy presupposes practical tools for managing its organization and development. This is formal logic, the task of which, as is known, is to define concepts and arrange them in the proper order. After which the relay of creativity passes to dialectical logic. Dialectical logic is designed to reveal the process of development of concepts, their mutual transitions and transformations.

The history of economics clearly shows that with practical progress, the importance of theory increased, and not only of economic knowledge itself, because the production and consumption of material goods includes the essential forces of man. Economic knowledge acquired political meaning and required philosophical interpretation. The political aspects of economic theory, as well as its logical and philosophical analysis, intensified along with social progress. Modern attempts to present economic theory outside of politics and philosophy are nothing more than ordinary insanity. A truly democratic view of economic theory emphasizes its human and political aspects. XX century confirmed the advantages of a socially oriented economy over abstract freedom of competition and market self-regulation. The logic of the development of economic thinking also speaks in

favor of this. Initially, economic development was associated exclusively with the development of production (A. Smith, D. Ricardo, K. Marx, J. Mill). Over time, the approach has changed dramatically and modern political economy is dominated by the idea of the need to look for the keys to economic success in the field of consumption. Anyone who can control the development of consumption will be able to control production.

At the level of direct subjects, the market creates the effect of "shortened knowledge." One gets the impression that the part of the theory that in the system of economic knowledge acts as specific, practical-oriented calculation methods and recommendations for behavior is sufficient. Such knowledge is actually important for developing entrepreneurial tactics. They form the basis of practical politics, but they must be treated taking into account their specificity, and not forget that they are not self-sufficient. In "practical" knowledge (F. Bacon called it more successfully "fruitful") the logic of the theoretical analysis of reality is manifested - according to F. Bacon's classification, "luminous" knowledge. Often, in search of the reasons for practical gaps, the range of possible options is unjustifiably limited. Theoretical premises, which are always present in the case indirectly, are outside the zone of attention, and yet everything could begin with them. But there is a prospect to survive and succeed! You can adapt, following established ideas, or offer something original. In the latter case, turning to high theory (ideology) is inevitable. The practicality of consciousness does not oppose theoretical reflections; on the contrary, it provides for them and depends on them. It has long been understood that the most practical thing is a well-tailored theory. Practice, conditioned by theoretical literacy, combines the novelty of the approach with the prospect of its development. Only in theory can one look for guarantees of practical effectiveness - "measure seven times (think thoroughly, weigh, calculate), then cut (act)." Practical consciousness is limited to a conditional situation, therefore its experience and recommendations always exist in the form of standards. The rationality of the history of human activity could not help but lay down a logically expressed pattern, but the absence of extra-logical processes in real history would look as if the script of history was written in advance by someone and the one who came up with it continues to direct the course of historical movement. N.G. Chernyshevsky compared the story to Nevsky Prospect, laid out along a line. He did this to emphasize that historical logic requires specific awareness. History is comparable to the order of movement in the physical space of existence, but it is located in it nonlinearly. There are no straight lines in nature - they are conventional and exist as intervals-segments of movement. The same is true in the development of society; it is reasonable to

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the extent of historical specificity. And each historical specificity carries within itself both something new and unresolved or limitedly resolved problems left as a legacy to successive generations. Historical logic stumbles upon the imperfection of historical concreteness and will be better understood as a sequence of concrete historical rationalities, built from the contradictions of the rationality of human activity, essentially the relative logic of that historical specificity that accompanies the historical ascent of the socialized Homo sapiens.

Our thinking in that part that is called creative, creative, is spacious enough for innovative actions. It is only important to understand that beyond the horizon of the known, Aristotelian logic suffers its heuristic potential. Forward thinking is thinking that tries to “grasp” the direction of change in commodity production. What dominates here is the possibility in thinking of anticipatory reflection of reality - a property discovered by P. Anokhin. There are physiological reasons to anticipate changes; mental prerequisites in the form of will, needs, and emotions are also natural. All that remains is to look for logical tools. The arrow of movement should be transferred from Aristotelian formal logic to Hegelian dialectical logic, based on the principle of development of the content of concepts and changes in the concepts themselves. Introducing the peculiarity of dialectical logic, its fundamental difference from Aristotle’s logic, G. Hegel wrote: “In rational logic, a concept is usually considered as a simple form of thinking and, more precisely, as a general idea... as if the concept as such is something dead, empty, abstract ” And he clarified: “Of course, the concept should be considered as a form, but as an infinite, creative form.”

It is not by chance that like-minded people of K. Marx noted that the founder of the universal understanding of dialectics did not leave a textbook for his heirs, since it should have been the logic of the analysis of the movement of production in Capital. K. Marx showed how the logical limitations of the thinking of production managers reduce the process to the management of capital and bring production not only to a crisis provoked by overproduction, but also to socio-political tension. The development of political economy after K. Marx was expected, subordinated to the historical rehabilitation of capitalism. Intellectual and political forces concentrated on identifying the perfection of commodity production with its bourgeois form of organization.

This is where the features of Aristotelian logic, aimed at the immutability of the conditions of inference, came in handy. If commodity production is the only universal reality of the objective historical process in a developed society, then history itself is destined to be carried out with dignity exclusively in the form of a bourgeois organization. Thus, the

consumer’s thinking, also generally tuned to a formally logical type of action, leads to the final conclusion: the period preceding capitalism was prehistoric, just a formation. The true history of commodity production is created in bourgeois form. Objective reality has been embodied in an absolute, that is, ahistorical form. Further history can only be understood as the ascent of capitalism to the highest and absolute achievements and the full protection of the stability of the bourgeois system - optimal for a commodity economy.

Such a quality management mechanism elevates the importance of scientific analysis, determining the self-movement of production towards quality by the role of subsidiary, experimental farming. A retrospective look at the history of understanding how production quality should be managed in general demonstrates that this history is very similar to the movement of thought according to the “trial and error” principle. Each subsequent “theory” of production quality management after S. Colt (1870s), namely, invariably resembled a way out of the dead end into which its predecessor led, until eventually the key concept of QS was replaced by QMS – “Quality Management System”.

G. Hegel was right in his definition of quality; it is always better to start with what is “in sight” in order to then build up the definition. Around the nucleus of an atom there is an electron shell and together they give the definition of an atom. We include quality in the definition, subsequently revealing it in a set of specific properties.

From a philosophical point of view, the quality of an object, reflecting the diversity of the world, reproduces in itself this objectively existing objective difference. The quality of a product, especially mass direct human consumption, requires additional clarification related to the manufacturer’s responsibility for the safety of use of the product. The quality of consumer goods is more complexly structured. Its definition includes a systematic arrangement of core competencies of technical and humanitarian significance. Shoes with their quality, by definition, must ensure the interaction of two fundamental competencies - safety and comfort during use. The aesthetic properties of shoes are subordinated to them and packaged in them. With their help, the producer “attracts” the consumer like the flowers of plants attracting insects that perform the work of pollination through consumption.

It is a mistake to simplify the cultural assessment of a product to the level of the aesthetic value of products. The cultural status of a product synthesizes both the culture of execution and the culture of consciousness of the manufacturer, who decides what materials to use, in whose interests to act - the profitability of production or the needs of the consumer who trusts the manufacturer. As we ascend, we can easily rise to the very top - the culture of public

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consciousness. In some countries they don't steal, they consider deception meanness, while in others everything is built on these vices, they are legalized, because they have grown into the national mentality. The substitution of a philosophical understanding of the quality of a product with an economic one is natural for an economy aimed primarily at making a profit and increasing capital in private interests. The economic dominant characterization of quality has an ideological basis. The desire to separate economics from socio-cultural development should also be considered in the same context. The idea according to which the economic movement should be absolutely independent of political supervision and humanitarian functions, everything non-economic is provided by taxes from the economy, is gaining strength, the main thing is that it is supported by the authorities. Attempts to contrast this logic with the common sense of social development as the progress of personality and interpersonal relationships within the framework of the social organization of the historical process are ineffective. They are assigned the role of local public opinion, which has never been particularly united. Philosophical systemic analysis of the quality and defects of its interpretation remains the domain of professional reflection.

It would seem that we are faced with a purely theoretical problem: what to call the actual quality of a product and what does the system of qualitative properties in the characteristics of a product look like? In fact, with practical application, it grows into an ideological problem: how is it permissible to see the quality of a product in the modern concrete historical circumstances of social cultural development. Simplifying the understanding of the quality of a product by reducing it to its properties that ensure the profitability of production makes production, and not the consumer, the system-forming factor in obtaining the "quality" of the product, which contradicts the quality of the developed economy of the "post-industrial", "new industrial" and even "industrial" society. At the dawn of mankind, the consumer rejoiced at everything that could be produced. Production was the determining party in relations with the consumer. Today, the market is considered the driving force for the development of production. In the market, the initiative belongs to the buyer. Transition to the principle: "The customer is always right!" involves determining the quality of a product by its consumer.

The economic dominance in characterizing the quality of a product is clearly not modern in a philosophical sense, but it expresses the essence of the bourgeois basis of the existing economy, therefore, it will be defended both politically and ideologically. Moreover, in a certain sense this is interesting, in particular for solving the problem of mobilizing production potential to obtain a demanded product in significant volumes, although the very quality of such

a product will be conditional, "economic". The concept of "economy class" has received official recognition as a development of the concept of "produced for sale in Russia."

We have already emphasized that for 130 years, bourgeois economists have been creating models for the efficient production of quality goods in demand by the market, focusing on the economic content of quality. Having driven the production movement into a dead end with economic models of quality, top managers, together with theorists - economists who isolated the profile of their scientific interest from the socio-cultural goals of the production of material goods, were forced to recognize the consumer not as a market anti-subject, but as a partner, an accomplice in the production process. Recognizing the consumer as an ally is tantamount to including him in the team for developing production policy, although formally, because he remains in the same position as a counterparty. In order for the understanding of quality to change, the improvement of production needs to start with the interests of the consumer, reflect them in the properties of the product, and then think about how to optimize the organization of its mass production. Ultimately, a compromise solution is initially permissible, justified by production capabilities and the need to move by expanding these capabilities. Now the buyer fundamentally remains a slave to the producer - the master and the political protectorate of the interests of big capital. The interests of the mass consumer are advanced by the gait of Japanese women, while the dominance of the interests of companies in production is advanced by the parade stride of the winners. The pace of movement is not comparable, there is no noticeable advantage in promoting consumer interests and is not yet expected. The consumer with his interest in the quality of the product is theoretically not excluded from the development of strategy, tactics and advertising. Let's refer to B.S. Aleshina: "For a quality strategy to be successful, both internal and external consumers must not only be satisfied and involved in the process that ensures this satisfaction, but also be directly involved in the continuous improvement of the quality of this process" for this purpose, they improved the Kaizyo system; replacing it with a new edition of Kaizen. Changes in the organization of quality management have revealed the advantages of those countries where the mass consumer - who is also a production worker - feels more comfortable and feels involved in the development of production. In the second half of the 1980s, Japanese companies received 40 times (!) more proposals for improving the production process from their employees than US companies (40 million versus 1 million). It is also significant that over 90 percent of the proposals were used in one way or another. The ideology of quality is being restructured to a new one - consumer orientation - extremely reluctantly and half-heartedly. The ISO 9000 quality management

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system (in the Russian Federation – GOST R ISO 9000-15) was introduced into world practice 30 years ago. Its initial position (No. 1): “Product quality is a characteristic controlled object” sets the general direction in the understanding of quality. Quality is a product of production. Point No. 2 specifies the places of the participants, influencing the quality of the product: “the goal of quality management is to create products of such a level of quality that satisfies certain established requirements and needs.” To make it clear whose requirements and needs we are talking about, at the end of the paragraph we read, separated by commas - “consumer requests”.

The interests of the consumer are taken into account, but on a residual basis. They are remembered last, “if production reserves allow.” In scientific and popular sources one can find an explanation for this alignment of interests - technically complex products and their improvement are the lot of specialists. One gets the impression that specialists are not consumers. In ISO 9000 – 2015, for the first time, the consumer appears at the very top of the list. The first principle of the QMS states: “Customer orientation.” It is the consumer who declares the quality properties. The status of an enterprise depends on how well the quality of the product offered satisfies the quality needs of customers. The enterprise must understand their current and future needs, meet their requirements and strive to exceed their expectations. But we should not rush to rejoice at the changes that have taken place. The quality management mechanism is still focused on developing quality production technology rather than producing a quality product. The quality of the enterprise’s activities, as before, is tested to ensure that the quality of production organization is maintained. The interests of the consumer remain “for later”. All leading international quality management quality registrars are represented in the Russian Federation: Veritas, British Standards Institute, Lloyd’s Registrar, Supervisory Society (TUV). In addition to them, numerous home-grown and joint venture companies offering their services in the quality management market are related to the certification of the quality of production and products. The problem is not in finding the organization you are looking for, but in the fact that they are all “tailored” to production or a product out of context with the interests of consumers, which are quite specific and do not in every way coincide with the interested views on the quality of manufacturers. The dialectic of the market that unites the producer and the consumer is simple - they are opposites that exist exclusively in unity, therefore it is necessary to seek a balance of interests of both subjects in order to give the production of quality goods a sustainable character, serving as protection against recessions and crises. Crises of overproduction - classic for capitalism in the 19th and first half of the 20th centuries - have become history. They were replaced by financial systemic

shocks. Experts are looking for a panacea in a high-quality, smart, prudent, lean production economy. “Historical experience shows that with increased attention to quality, a way out of crisis situations began in many countries. Large-scale crises in Japan and Germany in the late 1940s were overcome with the help of government policies aimed at improving quality. Crisis situations in the markets of the USA and Europe that arose in the late 80s and early 90s forced not only individual corporations, but also entire countries - Sweden, Great Britain, the USA - to pay attention to improving quality as the only means to help national economy to withstand the onslaught of competitors.”

In solidarity with the above analysis of the economic history of the second half of the 20th – the first two decades of the 21st centuries, we express our surprise at how it happened that when defining the latest social development through quality, the approach to understanding quality itself was not radically modernized. The totality of the meaning of quality requires a revision of the content of the concept of “quality” and a new look at the factors that ensure the actual quality of activity and its product. The system-forming position of the quality factor in social progress also determines a new political attitude to quality. It is required to focus the development of production on internal – not imported – promises. Quality management should come from need. It is in this, and not in rewarding quality work in the form of incentives, that the true beginning of the new economic policy lies. Naturally, no one is going to cancel the incentive; they are swapped with motivation. Today, encouragement encourages the required quality of action; tomorrow, the culture of a professional attitude towards work will be complemented by incentives. Movement is most productive precisely in the form of self-propulsion. External motivation is less effective. Remuneration must correspond to the quality of work and sustainably motivate work. The change in the qualitative strategy of economic policy from the incentive for high-quality production to the formation of the need for a high-quality product is not another attempt to revive economic romanticism and not communist nostalgia for the need of a cultured person to work, as it may seem to those specialists who switched from political economy to economics, reducing dialectical analysis to statistical, adapted to the volatility of modern production. We are talking about solving the system-forming problem of history about the relationship of the individual to society and society to the individual, who is more impressed by which side of this contradiction, but in principle this is just a double helix of social progress. A developed society is tested as a condition for personal development. In turn, a developed society is itself a product of the cultural activity of the individual. Formally, the logical conclusion from the

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interdependence of the individual and society is obvious, namely:

it is necessary to build their relationship in harmony, on the basis of awareness of mutual interest, bringing interests to the level of a naturally necessary need (according to Epicurus' classification) in each other. Now we are experiencing a historical stage of formal-abstract awareness by individuals and policymakers of the basic contradiction of development. The individual and society seem to be getting used to each other in movement, looking for points of mutual growth. Partly successful, there are many examples - mass production, freedom of access to education, sources of cultural development, political democracy, promotion of a culture of environmental management, solidarity in the fight against extremist aspirations, sharing of scientific and technological achievements, strengthening the authority of the idea of tolerance. A special place in this list should be occupied by the desire for a high-quality economy. The point here is this: opposites, by definition, are mutually alienating. The dialectical opposites to which the individual and society belong differ advantageously in that unity in their relations is inherent in their emergence. It only needs to be brought to a general position by ascending from the formally necessary stage to the absolutely necessary, loading the process with real content, substantively demonstrating the advantages of interaction. There is no other way to overcome the alienation objectively inherent in the relationship between the opposites of personality and society. Through the quality of activity - to the quality of social improvement. It is unnatural to alienate that which serves as a real condition for your development. Under classical capitalism, alienation was a prerequisite for achieving the power of capital, and the political organization of society itself was openly adapted to the provision of the bourgeois state. Democracy was adapted to the bourgeois social order. The revolutions of 1917 in Russia and the subsequent history of the USSR should be assessed not so much as national achievements, but as a turning point in the history of classical capitalism, the transition to post-classical capitalism. The dominance of private property and the advantages of capital remained intact, but significant changes took place in the social superstructure. Class antagonism gave way to social partnership. Access to capital has led to the emergence of various forms of associative use of it in production. Cultural progress was accompanied by interest in the quality of life, a change in this very concept. World cataclysms, undoubtedly, did not just frighten the peoples of Europe and Asia. They moved consciousness away from the abyss of extreme interests in resolving contradictions. The alienation of the individual in work has not been overcome, but development objectively (society) and subjectively (personality) was carried out through interaction. Certain conditions have emerged for

lifting the alienation. And the new approach to quality – consumer – production, is a milestone on the path of bringing together the main subjects of public life. He forced adjustments to economic policy, will return a systemic understanding of society, limiting the desire to sort social life “on the shelves.” A high-quality vector of economic development, of course, will require additional expenses, but that’s what the state with its economic instruments is for, to try to compensate for them. And the market will certainly react positively to a quality product with its activity.

In our view, the mere existence of private property in the variety of forms of its implementation is not a sufficient basis for alienation in the work of an individual. K. Marx, developing the idea of alienation of G. Hegel, apparently had in mind a certain way of organizing labor associated with the absolutization of the rule of private property. Private property serves as a potential economic basis for exploitation. But exploitation is not an inherent feature of it. Private property alone is clearly not enough for exploitation. As for the opposite private property of the public (national), which is controlled by the state and serves as a real subject of property, it does not contain economic guarantees for overcoming alienation, which is not difficult to verify from the experience of the activities of domestic state monopolists.

One gets the impression that the economic grounds for alienation should be sought not in property, but in distribution. Economic contradictions are insurmountable, but they allow for management, the task of which is to control the nature of the contradictions, to keep them within the limits of insignificant, acceptable differences that do not test the existing unity of production for historical expediency.

It is worth recalling one more observation of G. Hegel, recognized by F. Engels as the most important in understanding the dialectics of development: “Everything that is reasonable is real, everything that is real is reasonable.” G. Hegel was able to discover the basis for the need for systemic transformations of social relations, including economic ones. In development, there are two states that are perceived in the form of existence, but differ within the general status of their manifestation - “real existence” - “reality” and “real existence” - “reality”. These forms of existence differ fundamentally in their basis. “Really existing” is based on the need to be in its own form; it represents an evolving reality. “What really exists” has passed the stage of its necessity, ceased to be a factor of development, and has lost its relevance. It slows down the development process. Since G. Hegel understood the development of thinking and society in the form of a movement towards absolute rationality, he identified the necessity of the real with reality. You can, of course, squeeze every last ruble out of the developed assortment and established production technology. Question: is it necessary to do

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this? Time moves forward in a certain mode, “in its own way,” according to an objectively tailored “schedule.” If you don’t get into the rhythm, you’ll fall behind and stop meeting the changing requirements. The art of management - production management is no exception, consists of the ability not to “fall out” of modernity, then you will always do it in accordance with rationality. Reasonableness will protect you from most problems. “Seven Deadly Diseases” by E. Deming will fit into one - not to fall out of the time cycle with the definition of the product and the organization of production.

Only those who are able to mobilize human capital and correctly concentrate financial and technical resources to solve this problem can do this. Without the ability to control the “pulse” of time - to understand the specific economic and socio-cultural situation, the state of consumer interests, real production possibilities, there is no chance of achieving stability in the conditions of increasing competition in the market. Let us make one more addition - to the qualitative orientation of production development and the general conclusion will become clear: the path of economic rationality lies through the creation of actual conditions for the formation of the need for quality products. This need must be tested by responsibility to the consumer as to himself. The ancient wisdom of Confucius: Treat others as you would like them to treat you is not outdated; on the contrary, following it has provided advantages in economic progress for Asian countries. The specificity of achieving rationality in modern quality-oriented production lies in the solidarity of human capital, namely:

- internal solidarity of producers, their need for quality;
- external solidarity with the consumer, taking into account the interests of the latter;
- solidarity in understanding quality based on a combination of economic and sociocultural approaches;
- consistency and balance of the state’s economic policy based on market orientation, induced by the interests of quality in the development of the market by the instruments of the economic mechanism.

And here it is absolutely justified that the main thing in production is the result, not the process. Consumption is regulated by the market. Therefore, market demands must dominate production. The task of society is to globally promote the development of demand in the market: maintain a range of goods, stimulate price stability, increase purchasing power, and improve the quality of goods. E. Deming, calling the “network of deadly diseases” of modern production, puts in the first place “production planning that is not focused on such goods and services for which the market is in demand.” Try to object to him. Production during the transition from

industrial to post-industrial society of mass consumption is conceived as a function of the market. Researchers fill these quality properties with criteria, namely:

- *quality ideology – development prospects production;
- *quality management is an integrated approach to solving the quality problem;
- *fashion and technical regulation are components of the quality of manufactured shoes;
- *quality in the market is a paradigm for the formation of production that satisfies the needs of the market;
- *advertising is always at the service of quality;
- *excursion into the past as a guarantee of quality in the future;
- *model for assessing product quality – these are production priorities;
- *forecasting quality costs when developing a new range of shoes is the key to their demand and competitiveness;
- *methodology for business visual assessment of a product - a means of assessing quality effectiveness;
- *increasing the quality and competitiveness of domestic specialties. shoes;
- *about indicators for assessing the quality of shoes - as a tool for creating in-demand products;
- *quality and market: marriage of convenience and this is indisputable;
- *stable operation of enterprises is a guarantor of the quality of the shoes they produce - all these aspects together provide a revolution in quality, guaranteeing the manufacturer stable success in a market with unstable demand.

Conclusion

The buyer is perfected as a subject of systemic interaction by his purchasing preparation. It is not perfected by the size of one's ability to pay. His complicity is determined by knowledge of the commodity-economic situation. The consumer is not the object of application of the actions of the seller and manufacturer. The consumer is a market subject and it is in his (and other subjects’) interests to be informed not by the advertising community, but by professional sources. Then counterfeit and “lochism” will cease to populate the market. The quality of a product begins in the mind of the consumer. Imposing an idea of quality is bad for all legitimate subjects of economic relations.

Accusing the current generation of a consumerist attitude to life is not entirely fair. Consumption is the ultimate goal of production. The trouble is the lack of consumer culture for the mass consumer, a problem of truly socio-cultural proportions. Another consequence of funding cultural progress. Why does one power replace another, and culture is still in power, the last in line

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for political relevance? It's time to understand that not only science has turned into a direct productive force. Culture is also a factor in the development of production, and it is a multifaceted and very effective factor. Marketing management is designed to link, through marketing activities for the sale of a product created by an enterprise, into a single consistent process of meeting the needs of the enterprise's customers and achieving the enterprise's goals. To do this, the following processes and actions are managed:

- *market research;
- *advertising; pricing;
- *creation of sales systems;
- *distribution of created products;
- *sales

The developing market required a variety of products. Products were needed within the framework of differences in consumer purchasing power. Factory production, based on a technical base, opened up the prospect of varying the quality of the product. The strict restrictions on production that distinguished workshop activities receded. Products of varying quality appeared on the market. In British Enlightenment philosophy, the very concept of quality was actively discussed. J. Locke proposed a version of the combination in determining the quality of the objective properties of objects and the subjective perception of them by consciousness. Financial management consists in the fact that management manages the process of movement of financial resources in the enterprise. For this purpose, the following is carried out:

- drawing up a budget and financial plan;
- formation of monetary resources;
- distribution of money between various parties that determine the life of the enterprise;
- assessment of the financial potential of the enterprise.

Human resource management is associated with using the capabilities of employees to achieve the goals of the enterprise. Personnel work includes the following elements, namely:

- selection and placement of personnel;
- training and development of personnel;
- compensation for work performed;
- creation of conditions in the workplace;
- maintaining relations with trade unions and resolving labor disputes.

Accounting management involves managing the process of processing and analyzing financial information about the operation of an enterprise in order to compare the actual activities of the enterprise with its capabilities, as well as with the activities of other enterprises. This allows the company to identify problems that it should pay close attention to and choose the best ways to carry out its activities so as not to provoke bankruptcy.

In actual practice, all these areas of lean management are usually used in some combination, since they are very closely related to each other and complement each other very well. Moreover, it is in combination with each other that these individual areas can effectively manifest themselves, and it is the individual established combinations of these areas that are used as specific forms of effective management. The most obvious example of this is quality circles, widely used in the management of Japanese firms.

A person carries out certain actions in accordance with the pressure on him from a set of forces internal and external to him. The combination of these forces, called motivation, causes different reactions in people. Therefore, it is impossible to unambiguously describe the process of motivation. At the same time, based on empirical research, several concepts have been developed that describe factors influencing motivation and the content of the motivation process.

The so-called theories of the content of motivation focus on how different groups of needs influence human behavior. Widely accepted concepts from this group are Maslow's hierarchy of needs theory, Alderfer's ERG theory, Herzberg's two-factor theory, and McClelland's acquired needs theory. Despite the fundamental differences between these concepts, they nevertheless have something in common at their core, which reflects a certain commonality in a person's motivation to act.

The process of motivation is revealed in theories that try to explain why people are willing to carry out certain actions, expending more or less effort. Expectancy theory, goal setting theory, equity theory, and participative management theory, which explain how people should be influenced to motivate them to perform, give managers the key to building an effective system for motivating people. The problem of ensuring the quality of activities is not just universally relevant, it is strategic. The dilemma in relation to quality is reasonable only within the limits of contrasting the relationship between "direct" and "indirect" actions. The saying "it's all about him" owes its origin to quality. It is possible to "forget" about the quality problem solely because every fruitful and luminous activity is ultimately aimed at improving quality. Quality is either "in the mind" or "implied". From the relationship in the dynamics of these projections, quality problems in creative thinking are arranged in an appropriate schedule, reflecting the relevance and profitability of activities aimed at developing production. The dynamics of market development in the last decades of the last century and at the beginning of the third millennium invariably show an increase in consumer demand for product quality. Despite all the economic, social and political costs, humanity is getting richer, but wealth is being distributed unevenly. Finance, as before, is concentrated in certain regions, however, in the same

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way as the premieres of modern production. Analysts confidently and universally predict the trend towards product quality. The new economy is called temporarily “lean.” The current principle: “survival of the fittest, the fittest” will be replaced by “social-production partnership” - the manager and the manufacturer will become members of the same team. Mass production will give way to an organization that corresponds to the implementation of the principle - “the manufacturer produces exactly what the consumer needs.” A “lean” economy will be focused on resource-saving production technologies. It will require a new look at fundamental concepts. The philosophy of quality will also change. We must be prepared for future events.

1. An assortment policy has been developed for the formation of competitive men's, women's and children's shoes, taking into account factors influencing consumer demand: compliance with the main fashion trends, economic, social and climatic features of the regions of the Southern Federal District and North Caucasian Federal District, the production of which using modern innovative technological processes, as well as for meeting the demand of elite consumers, using manual labor, create the basis for satisfying the demand for shoes for the buyer of these regions.

2. Innovative technological processes have been developed for the production of men's, women's and children's shoes using modern technological equipment with advanced nanotechnologies, forming the basis for reducing the cost of shoes and ensuring their increased competitiveness with the products of leading foreign companies, with the possibility of a wide range of footwear production not only by type, but also by fastening methods, which guarantees its full demand.

3. Layouts of technological equipment are proposed, on the basis of which it is possible to form a technological process for both the production of men's, children's, and women's shoes with optimal capacity depending on the production area and the form of production organization.

4. Software has been developed for calculating cash flows from the operating activities of footwear enterprises based on assessing the degree of implementation and dynamics of production and sales of products, determining the influence of factors on changes in the value of these indicators, identifying on-farm reserves and developing measures for their development, which are aimed at accelerating turnover of products and reduction of losses, which guarantees enterprises obtaining stable technical and economic indicators and prevents them from bankruptcy.

5. Software has been developed to formulate the technological process for assembling shoes and determine the cost of producing an assortment of shoes. A computer simulation model has been implemented that describes the dynamics of the shoe assembly process. The proposed methodology and the software implemented on this basis make it possible to reduce the

duration of technological preparation of production and increase, thanks to the rationalization of the technological process, the specific consumer effect of shoes.

6. Complex efficiency indicators of innovative technological processes for shoe manufacturing have been calculated. Taking into account the production program, promising options for technology and equipment were formed, and the most effective one was selected; Possibilities for streamlining flow have been identified to eliminate bottlenecks and minimize equipment downtime, which is one of the conditions for designing innovative technological processes. The reliability of the calculations carried out to assess the efficiency of technological processes using target programming methods for various technological and organizational solutions is confirmed by calculations of economic efficiency indicators: cost, profit and profitability, etc.

7. The proposed methodology makes it possible to reduce the duration of technological preparation of production and reduce the time of expert work while maintaining the required depth and validity of engineering conclusions. The economic effect of the conducted research is expressed in the intellectualization of the technologist's work with a reduction in time spent on developing the range of manufactured shoes and assessing the effectiveness of technological processes in comparison with a standard economic calculation of the total cost of manufacturing footwear.

8. An analysis of the influence of forms of organization of production and manufacturing technology on the cost of shoes was carried out using the example of the technological process of manufacturing children's, women's and men's shoes, taking into account the shift program. Theoretical dependencies were obtained to assess the influence of the factor “organization of production” on individual costing items in general and other technical and economic indicators in order to prevent enterprises from bankruptcy.

9. An effective solution has been developed to manage the competitiveness of footwear industry enterprises formed into a cluster through the use of an innovative technological process for the entire product range of the footwear cluster, equipped with universal, highly efficient and multifunctional equipment.

10. Recommendations have been developed to ensure regulatory documentation for the formation of quality and confirmation of compliance of footwear within the Customs Union, which will make it possible to prepare certificates of conformity and declarations of conformity of the Customs Union for the entire product range of the footwear cluster.

11. Proposals for the creation of a testing laboratory within the cluster are substantiated, in which it is planned to test footwear to verify its

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compliance with the quality and safety indicators established in regulatory documents.

12. The role and main tasks of the metrological service are formulated, its organizational structure is developed.

13. Measures have been developed for testing and assessing the quality and safety of footwear.

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Article



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FEATURES OF THE ECONOMIC STATE OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF THE NORTH LIVING IN THE CHUKOTKA AUTONOMOUS DISTRICT OF THE AZRF

Abstract: The article reveals the situation of indigenous peoples of the North of the Russian Federation, draws attention to the unresolved issues of ensuring the collective rights of indigenous peoples in the legislative order of determining their nationality, the field of health care, reindeer husbandry, regulation of the processes of industrial development of territories, education, and the language of indigenous peoples. There is activity in the activities of the Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation. In conclusion, it is concluded that, despite the existing shortcomings as a result of a self-sufficient public-state, ethno-national policy in the Russian Arctic, a working system is gradually emerging that ensures compliance rights of indigenous peoples, their traditional way of life and economic activities.

Key words: traditional farming; indigenous peoples; Russian Arctic; sustainable development; comparative analysis, indigenous peoples, Arctic aborigines, traditional way of life, types of traditional economic activities, Russian legislation, Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation.

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Introduction

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Assessment of the current situation in the development of traditional economic activities. 19 indigenous peoples living in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation have objects of their heritage that are of historical and cultural value of global significance. According to the 2020 All-Russian Population Census, the number of indigenous peoples is 102 thousand people. The legislation of the Russian Federation defines 13 types of traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples of the North in the Russian Federation, namely:

*livestock husbandry, including nomadic (reindeer breeding, horse breeding, yak breeding, sheep breeding);

*processing of livestock products, including the collection, preparation and dressing of hides, wool, hair, ossified horns, hooves, antlers, bones, endocrine glands, meat, offal; dog breeding (breeding reindeer herding, sled and hunting dogs);

*animal breeding, recycling and implementation of fur products; beekeeping, beekeeping; fishing (including sea hunting) and sale of aquatic biological resources;

*commercial hunting, processing and sale of hunting products; agriculture (horticulture), as well as cultivation and processing of medicinally valuable plants; harvesting of timber and non-timber forest resources for own needs;

*gathering (harvesting, processing and selling food forest resources, collecting medicinal plants);

*free use of common mineral resources for personal needs;

*arts and folk crafts (blacksmithing and ironworking, making utensils, equipment, boats, sleds, other traditional means of transportation, musical instruments, birch bark products, stuffed game animals and birds, souvenirs made from the fur of deer and game animals and birds, other materials, weaving from herbs and other plants, knitting nets, bone carving, wood carving, sewing national clothing and other types of crafts and crafts related to the processing of fur, leather, bone and other materials);

*construction of national traditional dwellings and other buildings necessary for the implementation of traditional types of economic activities.

For indigenous peoples, the conduct of traditional economic activities is not only the basis of life support, but also the support of culture, worldview, folklore, rituals, holidays, folk pedagogy, traditions, and the preservation of the continuity of generations.

A feature of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation, which determines special approaches to its socio-economic development, is its extensive demographic potential and the high sensitivity of the traditional way of life of the indigenous peoples of the

Russian Federation to external influences. The main factors shaping the risks of development of traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples are, namely:

*intense climate change in the Arctic;

*accelerating the pace of economic development territories of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation in places of traditional residence of indigenous peoples; high costs when carrying out business activities;

*low level development of transport and social infrastructure in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation;

*low quality of communication and lack of high-speed access to the Internet information and telecommunications network in most places of traditional residence of indigenous peoples;

*inconsistency of the system of secondary vocational and higher education with the need for qualified personnel to carry out traditional economic activities.

The basis of the economy in the places of traditional residence of indigenous peoples, ensuring an increase in employment and self-employment of the indigenous population based on the mobilization of internal resources of households and communities, is the development of entrepreneurship in the service sector and tourism, the creation of small-scale production, the development of artistic crafts, including the production of traditional products, traditional types of environmental management, processing of agricultural products. However, the factors listed above determine the low competitiveness of goods, works and services of indigenous peoples and pose a threat to their livelihoods. The goals of state support for the traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples are to create conditions for increasing the competitiveness of goods, works and services produced within its framework and to form a sustainable basis for the development of indigenous peoples. To achieve these goals, it is necessary to ensure, namely:

*creation and development of industrial and technological infrastructure for traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples;

*promotion of goods, works and services produced within the framework of traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples;

*development of the tourism industry in places of traditional economic activity of indigenous peoples;

*training personnel for the implementation of traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples;

*modernization of local generation facilities, expansion of the use of renewable energy sources, liquefied natural gas and local fuel in places where traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples are carried out;

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*popularization of entrepreneurship among indigenous peoples. The main mechanisms of state support for traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples. Development of industrial and technological infrastructure of traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples.

The extremely limited investment potential of the traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples does not allow the corresponding small and medium-sized businesses, agricultural producers (carrying out traditional economic activities) to ensure a high level of technological development of production.

As a result, in the vast majority of cases, the depth of processing of the main types of products of indigenous peoples - livestock products, fur farming, fishing, hunting and gathering - remains low, the economic potential of the traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples is not fully used to ensure their sustainable development. In certain territories of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation, positive experience has been gained in implementing measures to create trading posts - industrial and logistics complexes for accommodating business entities engaged in traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples, processing and storing their products, as well as those created by a legal entity and (or) individual entrepreneur in places of traditional residence and traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples, points intended to promote the livelihoods of people from among indigenous peoples leading a traditional way of life. As part of the implementation of the program, in order to develop the industrial and technological infrastructure of the traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples, the following set of measures will be implemented, namely:

*development of standard designs of a trading post with a corresponding list of industrial and technological equipment for all types of traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples on the territory of the Russian Federation; subsidizing part of the costs of small and medium-sized businesses, agricultural producers (carrying out traditional economic activities) with the participation of persons from among indigenous peoples for the creation of trading posts, subject to the use of a standard project;

*analysis and dissemination of best practices in the field of technological support for traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples;

*development of a standard for nomadic housing for workers carrying out traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples of the Russian Federation;

*conducting research in the field of using local resources to create health-saving, medicinal, cosmetic products, dietary supplements, food products for general, therapeutic and prophylactic purposes and special orientation;

*development of state support measures aimed at providing small peoples in the places of their traditional residence and traditional economic activities with mobile sources of energy supply and means of communication;

*subsidizing part of the costs of small and medium-sized businesses with the participation of individuals belonging to indigenous peoples for the acquisition and modernization of equipment for advanced processing of reindeer herding products, marine hunting, and fishing; subsidizing part of the costs of small and medium-sized businesses, agricultural producers (carrying out traditional economic activities) with the participation of persons from among indigenous peoples for the modernization or creation of a modern material and technical base for the extraction and processing of aquatic biological resources;

*development of artistic crafts and creation of conditions for the growth of domestic and international product markets.

Promotion of goods, works and services produced within the framework of the traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples to the domestic and foreign markets.

At the federal level, there is no system for promoting goods, works and services produced within the framework of the traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples to the domestic and foreign markets, taking into account the specifics of such activities, within the framework of existing institutions and mechanisms for supporting production and exports. Regional government bodies and export centers take separate, often personal measures to promote the production and export of products made by indigenous peoples.

As part of the implementation of the program, on the basis of a management company performing the functions of managing territories of rapid socio-economic development and state support for business activities in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation (hereinafter referred to as the management company), a system will be formed to support the production and export of goods, works and services produced by within the framework of traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples, including, namely:

*maintaining a register of small and medium-sized businesses with the participation of individuals from among indigenous peoples producing goods, works and services, including export-oriented ones; conducting regular analyzes of domestic and foreign markets to assess the possibility of selling products produced within the framework of the traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples; assistance to small and medium-sized businesses with the participation of persons from among indigenous peoples in the preparation of marketing materials;

* assistance in holding exhibition events and business missions that ensure the promotion of

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products produced within the framework of the traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples to the domestic and foreign markets;

*consulting and educational support for small and medium-sized businesses with the participation of individuals from among indigenous peoples in the field of customs clearance, export and currency control, logistics, certification, patenting and licensing for export purposes;

*subsidizing part of the costs of small and medium-sized businesses with the participation of individuals from among indigenous peoples associated with organizing the export of their products.

Development of the tourism industry in places of traditional economic activity of indigenous peoples. Tourism has become one of the largest global economic activities. The number of visitors to protected areas around the world is growing steadily. Indigenous peoples are taking an increasingly active part in the development of the tourism industry, especially eco-tourism and ethno-tourism. Eco-tourism routes include wildlife tours, visits to cultural attractions and other tourism services in traditional natural resource areas and protected natural areas. The culture and ancestral habitat of indigenous peoples are becoming a major attraction for tourists visiting wilderness areas. The fundamental principle of tourism support is non-interference in the life of indigenous peoples without their voluntary consent.

As part of the program, taking into account the main provisions of the Strategy for the Development of Tourism in the Russian Federation for the period until 2035, approved by order of the Government of the Russian Federation, the following set of measures will be implemented to develop the tourism industry in places of traditional economic activity of indigenous peoples, namely:

*conducting an annual selection of projects in the field of development of the tourism industry in places of traditional economic activity of indigenous peoples with the aim of state support for their implementation; assistance in the development of master plans for the development of tourist areas in places of traditional economic activity of indigenous peoples; subsidizing part of the costs of capital investments in infrastructure facilities necessary for the implementation of projects for the development of the tourism industry in places of traditional economic activity of indigenous peoples, as well as part of the costs of Russian credit institutions to compensate for lost income on loans issued for the implementation of such projects; subsidizing part of the costs of tour operators associated with receiving tourists in tourist areas in places of traditional economic activity of indigenous peoples in order to reduce the cost of related services during the low tourist season;

*development and implementation of a program to improve the quality of tourism services in places of

traditional economic activity of indigenous peoples, including the implementation of programs to improve the qualifications of specialists in the field of tourism activities and representatives of indigenous peoples who receive tourists in traditional national dwellings;

*organizing and conducting campaigns to promote tourism services in places of traditional economic activity of indigenous peoples in the domestic and foreign markets, including posting information about them on national and regional information resources and digital services, for cultural and educational tourism.

Training of personnel for the implementation of traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples. Currently, a system for training qualified and highly qualified personnel to carry out the traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples in the Russian Federation has not been formed. Separate educational programs in this area are implemented by the federal state autonomous educational institution of higher education "Northern (Arctic) Federal University named after M.V. Lomonosov", the federal state budgetary educational institution of higher education "Murmansk Arctic State University", the Institute of the Peoples of the North of the federal state budgetary educational institution of higher education "Russian State Pedagogical University named after A.I. Herzen", federal state autonomous educational institution of higher education "North-Eastern Federal University named after M.K. Ammosov", federal state budgetary educational institution of higher education "Arctic State Institute of Culture and Arts", the federal state budgetary educational institution of higher education "Arctic State Agrotechnological University", the Institute of the North and the Arctic of the federal state autonomous educational institution of higher education "Siberian Federal University". In order to form a system for training qualified and highly qualified personnel for the implementation of traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples, within the framework of the program it is planned, namely:

*development of a unified procedure for generating and updating the forecast of the need for personnel in the traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples living in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation, including methodological approaches and technological (software) tools for automatic generation, analysis and evaluation of forecasting results for the purpose of further formation of the corresponding tasks for the vocational education system; bringing the system of secondary vocational and higher education in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation into line with the forecast of the need for traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples in personnel; carrying out the modernization and renewal of the material and technical base of secondary vocational and higher education organizations that train personnel in the

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interests of developing the traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples, including on the basis of public-private partnerships;

*development of measures of state support for employers who have entered into targeted agreements for training personnel in order to carry out traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples;

*development of measures to improve the image of professions characteristic of the traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples; development of a federal state educational standard in the direction of "Northern Economy Specialist"; development of state support measures aimed at providing additional scholarships to students from among indigenous peoples studying in professional educational organizations, subject to receiving education in professions (specialties, areas of training) related to the implementation of traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples;

*organization of continuous forms of training and retraining of personnel in specialties related to the implementation of traditional types of economic activities;

*implementation of a program of targeted annual training of personnel from among small-numbered peoples in specialties related to traditional types of economic activities, crafts of small-numbered peoples, including processing of agricultural products, production of arts and crafts, including mammoth ivory;

*establishment of additional budget places in educational organizations that open up new areas of training for conducting traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples ("Reindeer Herder-Mechanist", "Huntsman", "Taxidermist", "Commercial Hunter", "Mistress of the Plague", "Wood Carver", bones and horns", "Souvenir maker", "Docker", "Marine mechanic", "Fish processor");

*development of state support measures for organizations in the real sector of the economy that provide financial support to vocational education organizations that provide training for traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples; development of state support measures in order to attract young personnel to carry out traditions;

*formation on the basis of the Institute of Peoples of the North of the federal state budgetary educational institution of higher education "Russian State Pedagogical University named after A.I. Herzen" of sufficient infrastructure to ensure the implementation of measures to support the education of indigenous peoples, including the creation of a preparatory school for students from among indigenous peoples departments of pre-university (grades 10, 11) and a scientific and educational center for the study of languages of indigenous peoples;

*conducting an analysis of the quality of general education received by representatives of indigenous peoples, as well as developing measures to improve

the quality of general education in this area; monitoring the quality of teaching native languages provided to representatives of indigenous peoples, including analyzing the quality and availability of educational and methodological literature; conducting an analysis of the quality of training, advanced training and the system of additional professional education for teachers of the native language and literature of indigenous minorities, as well as developing measures to improve the quality of such training.

Main part

The Chukotka Autonomous (until 1980 - national) district was formed on December 10, 1930. The region received the status of an independent subject of the Federation on June 17, 1992. Currently, it includes one city district (Anadyr), 6 municipal districts (Anadyrsky, Bilibinsky, Iultinsky, Providensky, Chaunsky, Chukotsky), 7 urban settlements and 37 rural settlements. According to the results of the 2010 All-Russian Population Census, 50,525 people lived in the district, of which 32,734 were urban residents, 17,792 were rural residents. In 2011, the population of the district was 50,346 people, in 2012 - 50,988, in 2014 - 50,555, of which 34,110 people were urban, 16,445 were rural (statistics at the beginning of the year). In table 16 presents data regarding changes in the population of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug for the period 1897-2010. Indigenous peoples are traditionally settled throughout the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug. Chukotka is classified as a place of traditional residence and traditional economic activity of indigenous minorities in the Russian Arctic. There are 7 indigenous peoples of Chukotka in the region: Chukchi, Eskimos, Evens, Chuvans, Koryaks, Kereks, Yukaghirs; In addition, Evenks, Shors, Khanty, Ulchi, Tuvans, Tofalars, Orochs, Nivkhs, Nenets, Negidals, Nanais, Kamchadals, Itelmens, and Dolgans live in the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug. The most numerous indigenous peoples of Chukotka are the Chukchi (12,772 people), Eskimos (1,529 people), and Evens (1,392 people).

It should be noted that, according to the administrations of municipal districts, the number of indigenous people is higher. Thus, according to information as of 01.01.2020, the number of indigenous peoples of Chukotka (hereinafter referred to as IMNCH) in the district is 20,544 people, including urban - 5,531, rural - 15,013 people [Kolomiets 2012, p. 272-273]. At the XIII annual reporting conference of the Association of Indigenous Peoples of Chukotka (October 2021), it was announced that about 22,000 representatives of indigenous peoples live in the district.

The indigenous peoples of the North live mainly in rural settlements of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug (currently national villages). Until the

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beginning of the 80s. XX century in the cities of Chukotka there were only 10.1% of the indigenous population. According to statistics, since the 80s. XX century To date, there is a continuous process of increasing the number of indigenous people in the total mass of citizens of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug. In the urban district of Anadyr, Chukchi, Eskimos, Evens, and Chuvans make up a significant part of the population. So, in the early 1980s. About 400 people lived in Anadyr in the late 1980s. - about 900, in 2011 - 1760, in 2017 - 2240, in 2020 - 3090 people from among the representatives of indigenous minorities. The outflow of the visiting urban population to the central regions of the country is largely compensated by the mobility of the rural population. Leaving national villages, young people seek to gain a foothold in regional centers (Lavrentiya, Provideniya, Egvekinot, Beringovskiy) and district cities (Anadyr, Pevek, Bilibino). The main reasons for the outflow of the indigenous population from villages to urban areas: increasing the educational level of the population; lack of jobs and low wages in villages; isolation and, as a consequence, the impossibility of spending full-fledged leisure time; reluctance of young people to work in traditional sectors of the economy; a noticeably lower standard of living of the rural population compared to the urban population. There is a slight increase in population in the Bilibinsky and Chaunsky districts, which is associated with the development of extractive industries on the territory of these municipalities. The reasons for migration from villages to the city of Anadyr are very accurately described by townspeople who visit the ethnic villages of the district: "It is possible to keep people in traditional industries only by developing villages and infrastructure. In Anadyr, the number of indigenous people has increased tenfold; they practically do nothing here, there is a high percentage of unemployed people, and the number of crimes has increased. Here the houses are brighter, the streets are paved, the bus is bright. But you can't blame them for this. When you visit Neshkan, it's from the realm of alien life. We need to develop villages and raise wages." Below is statistical information on population dynamics in the city of Anadyr and in the municipalities of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug, as well as information on the migration growth of the population of Chukotka.

Statistics from the Main Directorate of Health of the Department of Social Policy of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug, characterizing the demographic indicators of the indigenous population from 2011 to 2018, demonstrate some increase in the birth rate and natural increase. Since 2019, statistics on medical and demographic indicators for indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East have been canceled, so we present demographic indicators for 2016-2020, which relate to the entire population of Chukotka.

According to statistics, the permanent population of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug as of September 1, 2016 was 50,889 people and has increased by 334 people since the beginning of the year. At the same time, the natural population increase in January-August 2017 was 96 people, and the migration increase was 238. In January-August 2017, the district noted a decrease in the number of people born in the Chaunsky district. A decrease in mortality was recorded in the Iultinsky district. Since the beginning of the year, 454 people have been born in the district (in January-August 2014 - 428). The lowest birth rate was recorded in the Chaunsky district (8.3%), and the highest in the Chukotka region (20.8%). Since the beginning of the year, 358 people have died in the district (in January-August 2014 - 353). The lowest mortality rate was recorded in the Anadyr urban district (6.4%), and the highest in the Providensky district (17.5%). In the district, the mortality rate among the rural population (14.9%) is 73.3% higher than among the urban population (8.6%). In general, in the district, the excess of the number of births over the number of deaths in January-August 2016 was 26.8%, and in 2014 for the same period - 21.2%. Natural population growth in January-August 2016 was noted in the Anadyr, Chukotka regions and in the city of Anadyr. A natural decline was recorded in the Chaunsky and Providensky districts (for January-August 2014, a natural increase was observed in the Bilibinsky, Chukotsky districts and the Anadyr urban district, and a natural decrease was observed in the Iultinsky and Providensky districts). The number of registered marriages in January-August 2014 in the civil registry office decreased by 8 (2.9%) compared to the same period last year, the number of divorces increased by 37 (20.6%). In January-August 2014, the number of migrants who changed their place of residence within the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug decreased by 27 people, or 5.9%, compared to the same period of the previous year. The migration growth of the population of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug increased by 6 people compared to last year, and there was also an increase in the growth of arrivals to the district by 224 people, or 7.5%. Along with this, there was an increase in the number of people leaving the district by 218 people, or 8.0%. The influx of population into the urban areas of the district is 91.6% of the total number of arrivals, and the influx into rural areas is 8.4%. The highest percentage of arrivals was noted in the Chaunsky municipal district - 26.7%, and the lowest percentage in the Chukotsky municipal district - 3.7%. The main outflow of population from the district occurs in urban settlements and amounts to 86.1% of the total number of those leaving, outflow from rural areas - 13.9%. The largest outflow of population is observed from the Anadyr urban district - 27.8%, and the smallest percentage from the Chukotka municipal region - 4.6%. A detailed description of the sex and age

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composition of the population of Chukotka is presented in the work of D. A. Oparin. As of January 1, 2016, there were 25,737 men and 24,818 women living in the district. The district's population structure by gender remains at the level of the late 1980s. and makes up 51% of men and 49% of women.

Indigenous peoples and industrial development Mining companies in Chukotka Chukotka is one of the promising mineral resource regions of the Russian Federation. Currently, 29 subsoil user enterprises are registered in the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug, which are engaged in the exploration and production of gold, silver, tin, coal and gas. The main share of precious metals production is carried out at five enterprises developing gold deposits: Chukotka Mining and Geological Company CJSC, Karalveem Mine OJSC, Valunisty Mine LLC, Gold Mining Company Mayskoye LLC, LLC Northern gold." The district ranks third in Russia in terms of gold production volumes. Two promising projects are being implemented: the development of the Bering coal basin and the Baim ore zone. In 2017, two new gold deposits were put into commercial production: Klen and Kekura.

In recent years, interest in hydrocarbon reserves has increased significantly. CJSC North Pacific Coal Company (part of the Tigers Realm Coal Limited group of companies, Australia) is developing the Amaam deposit in the Bering coal basin in Chukotka. A complex of engineering and environmental surveys in the Anadyr region is being completed. In this regard, residents are concerned about the impact of the company's activities on the environment and on the development of the village's infrastructure. Beringovsky and s. Alkatvaam. During the work process, a serious conflict arose between the subcontractor of the North Pacific Coal Company and the Altar family community, which escalated into litigation. In 1992, the Nadezhda Association (currently the Altar family community) was assigned for permanent use a plot of land with an area of 7,616 in the area of the Amaam Lagoon to create ancestral lands. Since 2017, CJSC North Pacific Coal Campaign (STUK) began to lay claim to these lands for the purpose of exploration and subsequent development of coal deposits. Representatives of the community claim that the administration of the Beringovsky district put forward conditions for STUK: to exclude from circulation the ancestral lands of the Altar community, the territory of the water protection zone of the Amaam River and its tributaries. These conditions were not met, and exploration work began. During the work carried out, the population recorded spills of fuel and lubricants and the movement of tracked vehicles in the summer. In 2018, CJSC STUK engaged the subcontractor CJSC Chukotka Trading Company (CJSC ChTK) for work. In the summer of 2018, CTK transported cargo from Ushakova Bay to the base of JSC STUK using

heavy tracked vehicles through the untouched tundra, the water protection zone of the Amaam Lagoon and the Amaam River during the period of mass spawning of sockeye salmon. The conflict between the Chukotka Trading Company and the Altar community caused a wide public outcry, the problem was covered in the media, and a government commission visited the work site. The commission recommended that ChTK CJSC: carry out transportation of goods from Ushakov Bay to the exploration base only after obtaining permits from the federal executive authorities in the field of fisheries; transportation of goods should be carried out taking into account the minimization of damage to objects of flora and fauna, especially in the area above the mouth of the Boykiy stream and when crossing stream beds along previously equipped temporary bridges; work on the delivery of goods using heavy equipment in the area of the Amaam Lagoon and up the Amaam River and its tributaries should be carried out in the spring and winter; After completing the transportation of goods, carry out reclamation of disturbed lands and inspect the road. In February 2012, a criminal case was initiated under Art. 257 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation against the company CJSC "ChTK". In turn, CTK filed a claim with the arbitration court against the Altar community (to recover damages in the amount of 582,869.2 rubles from the Altar family (tribal) community), and the court granted the claim. Community representatives believe that "due to the profitability of the enterprise, the authorities turn a blind eye to violations of environmental legislation and are doing everything to deprive Altar of their legal rights to use the land." North Pacific Coal Company assures the public that all work is carried out in strict accordance with the laws of the Russian Federation. After coal mining begins, the company expects to employ primarily specialists from among the indigenous indigenous peoples; currently the company employs 25 people from the village. Alkatvaam and village Beringovsky. Students of geological specialties from the Chukotka branch of the North-Eastern Federal University. M.K. Ammosova annually undergo practical training at JSC STUK. In the future, it is planned to create a special fund to help the indigenous population and public organizations of Chukotka. In the context of active industrial development of the territory of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug, issues of protecting the interests of indigenous peoples when using subsoil in the places of their traditional residence, as well as ways of interaction between indigenous minorities and mining companies, are becoming increasingly relevant. Large companies declare a corporate policy aimed at preserving the original habitat, traditional environmental management and improving the quality of life of the indigenous people of Chukotka. Mining enterprises operating in the territories inhabited by indigenous peoples establish their contractual

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relations with them and carry out activities taking into account the interests of these peoples. Both bilateral (between the enterprise and the government of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug) and trilateral (subsoil user, municipal administration, KMNC Association) socio-economic agreements are concluded. With the participation of regional authorities, public hearings, meetings, round tables, conferences with subsoil users of the district are held with the mandatory participation of representatives of AKMNCH. OJSC NK Rosneft in 2014-2015. plans to conduct comprehensive geophysical research in the North Wrangelsky-1, North Wrangelsky-2, South Chukotsky areas, located on the continental shelf of the Chukchi Sea. Residents of the district are concerned about the company's plans due to the possible negative impact on the ecosystem of the Chukchi Sea and the island. Wrangel. Official appeals were sent to the management of Rosneft and the Minister of Natural Resources and Environment. The KMNC Association, in order to avoid conflict situations, proposed, even before the start of geological exploration of the subsoil, to hold public hearings on the project and to conclude an agreement on cooperation and joint activities for the development of the subsoil of the Chukchi Sea between OJSC NK Rosneft and the Association of Indigenous Minorities of Chukotka. In December 2018 - February 2019, public hearings were held; the organization REA-Consulting LLC presented for public discussion the results of expert activities on the possible negative impact of geophysical research. Experts noted that neither biological resources, Geophysical exploration will not affect the traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples. According to A. I. Otko, member of the Federation Council, president of AKMNCh, an extremely small number of subsoil users actually take into account the interests of indigenous peoples, limiting their participation in the development of territories only to tax deductions, making no effort to interact, developing more and more new areas lands of traditional use: "With the adoption of the new Land Code of the Russian Federation, indigenous peoples were deprived of the opportunity to obtain approval when issuing licenses for the development of deposits, that is, the opportunity to make an informed decision on the use of land. In general, only foreign investors, guided by the standards of the International Finance Corporation, build partnerships with indigenous peoples. In Chukotka there is positive experience of cooperation between industrial enterprises and the KMNC Association. Today, there are three companies in the district that maintain partnerships with the local community on a regular basis - companies of the Kinross Gold corporation (Chukotka Mining and Geological Company CJSC, Severnoye Zoloto LLC) and Polymetal OJSC (at In Chukotka, the subsidiary company LLC Gold Mining Company Mayskoye operates. The 2018 Kinross Gold report on corporate

social responsibility in Russia highlights how responsible subsoil use can be a source of sustainable development in host countries, benefiting local communities: "Involvement of local authorities and public representatives includes regular meetings with government officials and local residents, reaching agreements through negotiations, holding round tables and stakeholder committee meetings, presentations and partnership agreements with the participation of the local community, representatives of the business sector, government agencies and educational institutions, study tours to the fields for officials and representatives the public, participation in local cultural and sporting events, as well as informal meetings. In an effort to preserve the unique way of life of indigenous people, we consult with residents of areas located in close proximity to our operations to avoid, minimize or mitigate any adverse impacts from our activities. We are focused on cooperation with the indigenous population to respect their interests. Our goal is to develop and implement projects based on mutual respect and designed to strengthen local communities, improve their standard of living and bring long-term benefits." In 2018, a cooperation agreement was signed between Chukotka Mining and Geological Company CJSC (CHGMC CJSC) and AKMNCH. This document is an example of a long-term partnership between industrialists and a public organization, representing the interests of indigenous peoples. In 2019, an agreement was signed between the KMNC Association and Northern Gold LLC. In 2016, CJSC ChGGK established the non-profit organization "Kupol Social Development Fund". The purpose of the Foundation is to promote and support the sustainable socio-economic development of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug by financing socially significant projects. The initial target contribution of ChGGC CJSC to the Kupol Fund amounted to USD 1 million. The annual budget of the Foundation until 2019 is 250 thousand US dollars in ruble equivalent. The fund has formed long-term capital in the amount of 750 thousand US dollars as a guarantee of financial stability for the further work of the organization. In 2019, Northern Gold LLC made a contribution to the Fund in the amount of \$450 thousand in the United States (\$300 thousand as long-term capital and \$150 thousand for the annual budget). Since 2014, the budget of the Kupol Foundation has been \$400 thousand. The Foundation has a grant application system for allocating funds. Financial support is provided to projects that are related to providing support to the indigenous peoples of Chukotka (at least a third of the Fund's budget is allocated to such projects), contribute to the development of long-term benefits for the region and make a significant contribution to improving the quality of life of the local population, as well as projects that proposed by local people and have prospects for sustainability and local capacity development, and promote partnerships

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between target communities and other stakeholders. Program areas of the projects: traditions of indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East, including methods of traditional environmental management; healthcare; education and training; sustainable development of small and medium-sized businesses. During the existence of the Foundation, more than 150 applications were considered. Since 2019, the Kupol Foundation has financed and is implementing 52 projects in Chukotka worth more than 39 million rubles. In particular, the following projects were supported aimed at preserving the ethnic culture of the indigenous peoples of Chukotka: - documentaries directed by A. Vakhrushev “The Book of the Tundra: the story of Vukvukai - a small stone”, “The Book of the Sea”; — creation of a bone-carving workshop in the village of Lorino (within the Lorino community); — revival of sled reindeer husbandry; — equipping reindeer herders of the municipal unitary agricultural enterprise of the Bilibinsky municipal district “Ostrovnoye” with radio stations and fur clothing; — affordable dental care for reindeer herders and residents of the villages of Aion, Billings and Yanranai; — creation of a health group at the House of Culture in the village of Ust-Belaya; — technical equipment for the publishing activities of the Chychetkin Vetgav branch; — revival, preservation and development of Even traditions; — a workshop for the production of canned meat from marine animals in the village of Lorino; — children's and youth ethnotheater “Rainbow on the Snow”; — creation of a club formation in the decorative and applied arts of the Chaun Chukchi; — new technologies for reindeer herders; - “Kakomei”, etc. CJSC Chukotka Mining and Geological Company, in addition to financing the Kupol Foundation, directly interacts with the population of the district and provides assistance in the implementation of a number of socially significant projects. In March 2018, as part of the “Start your own business” course (location: Chaunsky district), specialists trained 23 students in the basics of small business and provided information and methodological support to existing entrepreneurs. 70% of course participants are representatives of indigenous peoples of the North. In April 2018, the “Young Leader School” was held in Pevek. Active youth of the city of Pevek and villages of the Chaunsky district were taught technologies for organizing a youth movement. The company has developed educational programs and trainings to improve skills in the mining and related industries. The programs cover all employees, including representatives of indigenous peoples. There are programs for employees from among the indigenous minorities that allow them to improve their qualifications or acquire new professional skills in educational institutions of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug. Job seekers from among the indigenous minorities have priority when applying for

employment in the company. At the Kupol mine there is a certified production training center that provides training in 39 professions. Since 2018, the center has trained more than 2,000 workers and issued 860 certificates. According to statistics, in 2018, 338 employees (15% of the total number of employees) of the Kinross Gold group of companies permanently reside in the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug. Of these, 134 people (39%) are representatives of the indigenous peoples of Chukotka. Within the framework of the agreements between Chukotka Mining and Geological Company CJSC and Severnoe Zoloto LLC with the KMNC Association, the following is stipulated: within thirty days, applicants from among qualified employees of the company, representatives of indigenous peoples of the North, as well as applicants living in territories of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug and other subjects of the Far Eastern Federal District. When selecting candidates, direct contacts are made between the personnel service of the districts and the branches of the AKMNCh Chaunsky and Bilibinsky districts. Positions in which representatives of the indigenous peoples of Chukotka work: social development specialist, secretary, sampler, drilling rig operator, data entry operator, lamp operator, blaster, auxiliary worker, bulldozer operator, hydrometallurgist operator, storekeeper, storekeeper-loader driver, warehouseman-inventory, crusher, carpenter, miner for surveying work, translator-administrator, firefighter, mechanic for maintenance and repair of equipment, washing machine operator, tool maker, installer of sanitary systems and equipment, mechanic for repair and maintenance of ventilation systems and air conditioning, shredder plant operator, waste incinerator operator, car driver. CJSC Chukotka Mining and Geological Company implements a number of social programs on an ongoing basis, focused on supporting and preserving the traditional way of life in the reindeer herding brigades of the Bilibinsky, Chaunsky and Anadyrsky districts: providing free assistance (fuel, overalls, food, etc.) on a quarterly basis; repair of equipment upon request; transport support for visits to reindeer herders (administration, medical workers, national ensembles); free travel for reindeer herders on company flights; a program for transporting reindeer herders for treatment at the Talaya sanatorium; regular transportation in the Bilibinsky and Chaunsky districts (the village of Ilirney: more than 500 people were transported in 2018, 52% of whom are not Kinross employees); trips for children and adults. Ilirnei and s. Lamutskoye to the Dome field (drawing lessons, English lessons, career guidance work); celebration of Indigenous Peoples' Day at the Kupol mine. Annual charity events “Help me get ready for school” are also held: “Gift from Santa Claus”; annual charity Christmas market in Moscow, where they sell souvenirs made by the hands of Chukotka craftsmen

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and children. The proceeds from the sale of souvenirs are transferred to the District Orphanage in Anadyr. The head of the rural settlement of Ilirney, Bilibinsky district, V. Kumlyu, maintains close ties with the leaders of CJSC ChGGK and LLC Northern Gold (the village of Ilirney is located 86 km from the Kupol mine). Weekly residents of the village. Ilirnei (Bilibino district) have the opportunity to fly to the city of Bilibino and back using the company's helicopter free of charge. Rural children are invited to stay at the mine for 2-3 days 1-2 times a year; excursions and entertainment events are organized for them. Village residents work for the company, they are willingly hired for one-time and seasonal work (road paving, etc.), some are employed on a permanent basis. In total, about 20 residents of Ilirney work at the mine. In 2019, CJSC ChGGK initiated and conducted environmental training for indigenous residents and social activists from the Bilibinsky and Anadyr districts at the Kupol mine. The group participants were introduced to the requirements of the legislation of the Russian Federation and international standards in the field of ecology for complexes of environmental measures; cyanide management technologies; with the technology of constructing a tailings storage facility, a sump (water storage, additional protection in case of drainage and water runoff) and monitoring wells; with requirements for waste disposal from enterprises and land reclamation; with methods and techniques for analysis, control and monitoring of key indicators; the impact of the enterprise's activities on the biological resources of the region. Familiarization with sampling and monitoring techniques was accompanied by practical exercises. Environmental training is an important element of the company's policy to further increase awareness of the local population about standards in the field of environmental monitoring and environmental measures. This is how one of the informants characterizes the level of environmental literacy of the population: "Chukotka has always been of interest as an industrial region. In Soviet times, the public did not raise any questions about the consequences of industrial development. The people are not used to and do not know how to do anything in this area." At the initiative of the company, two socio-ecological monitoring were carried out (in October 2018 at the Kupol mine, in September 2019 at the Kupol and Dvoynoye mines). The environmental groups included social activists from the Providensky, Anadyrsky and Bilibinsky districts. Every two years, Kinross Gold's enterprises are audited for compliance with environmental standards, occupational health and safety standards, and the quality of dialogue with local communities is assessed. The Polymetal company interacts with the indigenous population living in close proximity to the enterprise's production activities (the Mayskoye deposit), that is, with the residents of the Chaunsky district of the Chukotka

Autonomous Okrug. As part of agreements with local authorities, Polymetal sponsors ethnocultural and city festivals, the annual "Reindeer Herders' Meeting" in the village. Yanranay financially helps creative groups, masters of decorative and applied arts, educational institutions, and provides targeted assistance to socially vulnerable citizens from among the indigenous indigenous peoples. Thus, in 2020, 1.5 million rubles were allocated to support programs for indigenous indigenous peoples, in 2021 and 2022 - 2.5 million each, in 2023 - 2.8 million, in 2024 more is planned 3 million rubles. The assessment of the needs of the indigenous population is carried out with the help of the Association of Indigenous Peoples and representatives of other public organizations. Every year, Mayskoye Gold Mining Company LLC (a subsidiary of Polymetal OJSC) holds a round table with the participation of the public, representatives of government agencies in the region and approves current areas of social activity for the year. The company employs citizens from among the indigenous peoples who have the education and qualifications corresponding to the vacancies. The enterprise interacts with the reindeer herding brigade No. 9 of the MP Agricultural Enterprise "Chaunskoe" village. Rytkuchi and brigade No. 5 MP SHP "Pioneer" village. Billings. For the teams, they purchase fuel and lubricants, essential goods, firewood, tents, gas stoves, medicines, carry out vehicle repairs, and provide transport for transporting reindeer herders and their children from the teams to the city of Pevek. In the rotational camp there is a rest room for reindeer herders. Since 2018, at the initiative of the Council of Representatives of Indigenous Minorities under the administration of the Chaunsky municipal district, the project "Boris Vukvukai Prize" has been implemented. The goal of the project is to improve the health of reindeer herder mentors, to introduce children and adolescents to work in reindeer herding. The project provides for encouraging teenagers from 14 to 18 years old with valuable gifts for their success in working in the reindeer herding teams of the Chaunskoye agricultural enterprise in the summer and paying for sanatorium and resort treatment in the Magadan region for reindeer herder mentors. Financial assistance in the implementation of the project is provided by Chukotka Mining and Geological Company CJSC and Mayskoye Gold Mining Company LLC. CJSC North Pacific Coal Company has a published stakeholder engagement plan that takes into account the interests of the indigenous population in the work area. The plan includes not only representatives of indigenous peoples, but also residents permanently residing in this territory. The interaction plan involves consultations, informing the population about upcoming work and what standards the company applies in its work. Since the company is going to attract foreign investors - either the European Bank for

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Reconstruction and Development or the International Finance Corporation - it will follow the standards of these organizations. The standards impose special requirements for the implementation of projects if there are indigenous peoples in these territories. There are separate standards that relate to cultural heritage, resettlement, including indigenous peoples, as well as all issues of interaction. Compliance with requirements will be constantly monitored. The company will be required to develop a Local Community Development Plan. This plan describes the impact of the project on local communities, proposes mitigation measures and measures to share the benefits of the project. The company does not intend to impose a form of interaction with the community, but will involve community representatives in the development of these programs. Social programs will begin to be implemented after production begins and profits are received. Meetings with the population highlight the problem of lack of awareness. Ignorance gives rise to myths and fears among people, so it is necessary to work as openly as possible. Specialists are planned to visit the village. Alkatvaam and village Beringovsky to explain to people the technological features of coal mining. As a result of the surveys, materials were collected and summarized on the problem of interaction between the indigenous peoples of Chukotka and the mining enterprises of the district. Social activists note that not a single mining company in the district refuses help to those in need. For example, companies help reindeer herding brigades with fuel and lubricants, allocate money for repairs, events, holidays, provide financial assistance, and purchase furniture. As an example, here is the opinion of a reindeer herder from the Omolon tundra: "A good example is the Boguchanskaya community, they are located on Maly Anyui, on one side of the hill there is a branch of this community, on the other side there is the Luch artel." The artel always helps the community with the delivery of food and equipment. Now they have installed a satellite dish on Boguchany. And they share communications, they pay for it in half. They agree that Luch helps the community with fuel. There's no way without this." At the same time, residents of the district believe that companies spend too little on the development of the region. It is necessary to allocate funds depending on the volumes of precious metals mined, rather than fixed amounts from year to year. There is also an opinion that companies should provide assistance to those areas and settlements near which they operate. Assistance should not concern urban residents who are not employed in traditional sectors of the economy, and those areas in which there is no mining. Thus, some residents are dissatisfied with the fact that the Kupol Foundation provides grant support regardless of the place of residence of citizens; they would like the assistance to be concentrated as much as possible in the Bilibinsky and

Anadyrsky districts. However, the Foundation expanded its activities to the entire territory of the district, having studied the previous experience of mining companies. Here is a fragment from an interview with the executive director of the Foundation L. Danilova: "When they began to develop the Kubaka deposit, the attitude was wary. Omolon residents had many questions and grievances. The Kubaka deposit is located in the Magadan region, and the village of Omolon is in territory of Chukotka. Direct work was carried out on the border of the Magadan region and the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug. The Omolon gold mining company created the Omolon fund; it did not interact in any way with the Omolon residents. When work began in Chukotka, ChGGK and the Kupol fund they created wanted to work and help only the village of Ilirney and the Bilibinsky district. They were told through the Association that they should work with the entire territory of the district, and not just with Gizhiga and Severo-Evensk." Problems and prospects for interaction between indigenous peoples and industrial companies Most activists from among indigenous peoples talk about the negative impact of the "neighborhood" of traditional industries and industrial companies. Reindeer herders receive many times less for their hard work than a laborer in a mine. For this reason, many young people are changing their traditional way of life for comfort and prosperity. This situation worries representatives of the older generation. Some residents are concerned about how small cooperatives conduct business. Artels do not respond to calls from the public to conduct socio-ecological monitoring at mining sites: "... small miners are 'unreachable'." We tried to resolve this issue with the help of municipal district administrations, but so far to no avail." From an interview with a reindeer herder: "I "This year I walked through the places where our artels work. I was so horrified. There is so much scrap metal lying around, who would take it out." reindeer herders, territorial neighbors and clan communities, that is, those who lead a traditional way of life. Rural activists especially emphasize the importance of helping the nomadic population: "The urban population is hundreds of kilometers from production. In order not to be offended, go to the tundra. And just You have come to civilization, live according to the rules of civilization. And don't look back. "Most small cooperatives do not want to hire local residents, preferring to bring shift workers from the central regions of the country, Ukraine, Moldova, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan. The reasons are that "our own people" need to be paid more, the indigenous people have low motivation to work, and they lack the necessary production qualifications. The residents themselves comment on the situation: "They take work very lightly: they are working now, but the stars have not aligned so well - and did not come to work.

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And it's the same with studying. Not to say that it is irresponsible, but somehow easy. Many managers do not hire indigenous people for this very reason. Because you don't know what to expect from them, in terms of: work al, work al, once it's gone," "Indigenous residents are loyal and friendly towards visitors. People who come to the district often misunderstand the mentality and lifestyle of the local residents, which is fundamentally wrong. Injustice is especially felt when workers from other regions are called to fill vacant positions and are provided with better conditions (higher wages, housing, etc.). Such workers, as a rule, do not stay long due to the specifics of life in small villages; they are again replaced by residents of other regions, although local specialists often have higher qualifications and experience. This causes resentment and a negative attitude towards visitors." At the same time, many indigenous people work in CJSC ChGGK, LLC Severnoe Zoloto, in the artel of prospectors Luch, and at the Karalveem mine. There are examples when good, stable workers from among the CMNC were sent for retraining. It is necessary to attract indigenous youth to work in mining enterprises. Companies that invite geology students and power engineers from the Chukotka Multidisciplinary College and the Chukotka branch of the North-Eastern Federal University to practice are satisfied with their work: "With the arrival of the companies, people began to expect prospects: jobs, wages. In the Bilibinsky district, many men work in these companies, about 100 people at Kupol. They work in artels. It is more prestigious to work in Kupol than in small cooperatives. The main prospect is the opportunity to work. Many individual entrepreneurs cooperate with companies for cargo transportation, construction, and drilling sites." Large companies are more open; questions about social partnership do not cause bewilderment in them. Small enterprises are not focused on "extra" costs, they do not refuse one-time help, but they do not see points of interaction for long-term cooperation: "You can come and ask for money from the Luch" and "Polar Star" artels. But there is no close connection. They don't make contact. In general, they should help, because they work on the territory of former state farms, they should allocate some money." In the near future, all participants in subsoil use will have to look for ways to interact with the indigenous population and build their corporate policies taking into account the opinions and needs of the local community. Business leaders understand this but they are in no hurry to take the initiative, they wait "until they are obliged by law." In order to debunk the myths and fears of district residents about upcoming geophysical research on the Arctic shelf of the Chukchi Sea, authoritative representatives of the local community give a public professional assessment of the prospects for exploration and mining of mineral resources in Chukotka: "We must carry out these searches in order to move in the social further

economic development of the region. But only after some reserves are confirmed will it be possible to continue searching using drilling operations, which is a fairly distant prospect. In this case, it will be necessary to conduct a large-scale public discussion. Speaking about the possibility of starting oil production (and this prospect is visible for at least several decades, and only if it is cost-effective), it will be necessary to decide how to transport the extracted resources: either through an oil pipeline, with the creation of the appropriate infrastructure, or using tankers. And here it will be necessary to choose the most environmentally friendly option. And for the district, such work will be important in the future from the point of view of the need to involve coastal infrastructure and labor force, including indigenous people. In any case, all this must be done in compliance with all necessary environmental safety measures, studying the background state of the animal world and taking into account the interests of the indigenous population of the Arctic coast of Chukotka."

Economic activity and social situation Reindeer husbandry Reindeer husbandry and marine hunting are the most important and equivalent agricultural sectors in Chukotka. Along with the fact that reindeer husbandry and marine fishing fulfill the task of preserving and developing the ethnic culture of the indigenous peoples of Chukotka in the modern world, they fully satisfy the needs of the indigenous population for traditional food products.

In Chukotka today there are 16 reindeer herding farms, 5 of which are breeding. There are 65 reindeer herding teams working on the farms. 850 people are employed in reindeer herding, of which 230 are women (in 2018, 530 were third-class female reindeer herders). About 200 thousand reindeer are grazed; by the end of 2024, the population is planned to be 170 thousand reindeer (30 thousand heads are planned for unproductive consumption - losses, diseases, etc.). Real livestock losses are higher than planned - about 35 thousand reindeer; they occur due to ineffective labor organization and low level of qualifications of workers. The average salary of a reindeer herder is 19.5 thousand rubles. (despite the fact that the average salary in the economy in the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug for the period from January to August 2018 is 75.026 thousand rubles). There is an acute shortage of specialists in the industry. The provision of reindeer herders is 77%, up from 83% in 2018. At the same time, only 21% of managers have higher vocational education and 37.5% have specialized secondary education. Middle-aged and retired people work in reindeer husbandry. One of the main problems is the reluctance of women to work in the tundra. Farm managers note that the departure of women from brigades to the villages leads to the fact that their husbands sooner or later follow the family, changing their jobs and lifestyle. In total, the need for reindeer

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husbandry specialists as of September 2021 was 235 people. Despite the measures taken by the government of the ChAO to develop reindeer husbandry, it can be stated that the level of material and technical equipment of reindeer herding farms is low. Additional efforts are needed to provide communications equipment, special clothing, equipment, arrangement of production and living infrastructure for reindeer herding teams, allocation of funds for the production of mobile nomadic housing and other elements of the nomadic lifestyle; improvement of living conditions of reindeer herders' families in villages, systematic medical examination and treatment of reindeer herders. Reindeer herders on some farms complain about poor and irregular food supplies. There are more than 30 transshipment bases along the nomadic routes. More than half of them are in unsatisfactory condition; they have not been repaired since Soviet times. In 2021, funds have been allocated from the federal budget for the construction of two new transshipment bases. Along with the development of traditional reindeer husbandry, it is necessary to develop related activities: deep processing of reindeer meat, processing of reindeer skins, organization of fur sewing workshops, collection and sale of reindeer antlers, search for markets for leather and fur raw materials. Thus, in the district there is a steady demand for fur clothing made from deer skin (for special clothing for reindeer herders, hunters, fishermen), but there is a lack of qualified craftsmen and high-quality raw materials for its production, and financial resources to pay the craftsmen. "Tailoring is the work of plague workers, it is their income, it is the preservation of traditions and it is the health of the shepherds, because no other clothing can replace the original clothing of reindeer herders for working in the cold." The Department of Agricultural Policy and Environmental Management is discussing the issue of building hide processing workshops in the villages of Amguema and Lorino. But we need a guaranteed stable market for finished raw materials. "In Anadyr, a workshop for processing raw materials was launched, they saluted, it is not working. There are no chemical willows, no specialists. For some time they tried to develop it, tried to enter the market. All the equipment and services were very expensive, and all of this, naturally, ended up on the products. None of us began to purchase this, because all this can be bought cheaper on the mainland. They turned out to be uncompetitive." In the early 2000s. The leadership of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug took a course towards the gradual replacement of imported livestock products (including imported ones) with products from local producers. First of all, we are talking about an increase in the number of domestic reindeer and an increase in the marketable yield of venison. This direction remains relevant in the context of the government's policy towards import substitution today. Thus, the

Chukotoptorg State Enterprise and the Polyarny Food Processing Plant are planning to increase the production of deer meat. In general, reindeer herding farms in Chukotka are gradually adapting to new economic conditions, new technologies for processing venison are being introduced (in the villages of Kanchalan, Khatyrka, Amguema), and the material base of farms is being strengthened. Let's give an example from an interview with the executive director of the Kupol social development fund, L. Danilova: "It is definitely necessary to have new equipment in the brigades, but this should not be taken to the point of absurdity. In Amguem they calculated the cost of one migration on an all-terrain vehicle. Reindeer herders are incentivized for migrating in the traditional way, using reindeer. This is both support for traditional reindeer husbandry and savings. It is necessary that not only the heads of state farms, but also the Department of Agriculture support. We were told why you are engaged in technical equipment for reindeer herders? Nobody needs the Internet, modern communications, television. Why not? Why should they be completely cut off from civilization?! When we carried out work in Markovo, they told us why do you microchip every reindeer herder? Will you check whether the reindeer herder went to work or not, where is the all-terrain vehicle? And this is human safety, so that he can be found at any time, and not where and how he works. There are constant fires in the Markov tundra. And then they opened the map and saw the places of the fire - and took the deer and equipment to other, safe places. That is, it is first and foremost a concern for people. We install navigators in Markovo. In other areas, telephone, Internet, and television have also been installed; we will install them in Vaega, in Chaunsky, and in Amguem. We are also installing stoves now. At first they were very wary. We purchased thermo-engineering stoves. Well, a person in the 21st century cannot use spears; there must be a reasonable use of modern technology in any case." Reindeer herding products have become competitive, which is an incentive for further growth of reindeer herding farms, communities, development of entrepreneurship among indigenous people. Exchange ties between reindeer herders and marine mammal hunters in Chukotka are expanding. Thus, sea hunters of the territorial neighboring communities "Ankalyt", "Lorino" supply the reindeer herders of the agricultural enterprises "Amguema", "Pioneer" and others with marine animal meat, seal and bearded seal skins, leather belts in exchange for venison and fur raw materials. Reindeer herders have particular hopes associated with the prospects for the development of private reindeer husbandry. At the moment, there is not a single community in the district that is engaged in reindeer herding. Currently, there are 5,872 deer in personal use, in 2019 there were 5,348 deer, in 2018 - 4,750. Reindeer herders are unhappy that the managers of agricultural enterprises write off personal

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deer as so-called unproductive waste. It is extremely difficult to track this situation, since not all villages keep household records. By order of the governor of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug, reindeer herders are rewarded with calves of the current year for preserving their livestock at the end of the year. So, in the village Vaega reindeer herders received 60 calves for personal use. Private reindeer herding farms need to be developed, but a competent trade and marketing system is needed - the creation of cooperatives and trading posts where you can sell your products or exchange them for necessary goods and raw materials. This is how the Kanchalan reindeer herder sees the situation: "They will keep an eye on their personal reindeer day and night, but the districts do not want to give the deer into ownership."

Marine hunting Marine hunting is a traditional type of economic activity and the basis of the food supply of the coastal Chukchi and Eskimos of Chukotka. Nowadays, marine hunting culture is concentrated mainly on the coastline between the villages of Uelkal at the entrance to the Gulf of Cross and Vankarem on the coast of the Chukchi Sea. About 6,400 people live in this area in 14 national villages. Another 1,600 or so American Eskimos in four villages on the Alaskan side of the Bering Strait also live primarily by sea hunting. There are 305 people in the marine hunting communities of Chukotka. In addition, private hunters are engaged in fishing. According to the executive secretary of the Chukotka Association of Traditional Hunting Hunters (CHAZTO) E. Zdor, the current number of active sea hunters in the villages of the district is at least 800 people.

The largest number of marine hunting communities is located in the Providensky municipal district (5). D. A. Oparin gave a description of the state of the marine hunting industry in this area. The author touches on the problem of insufficient government support for fishing, despite the fact that quotas for the production of sea animals are fully utilized by the population, and also notes the need for the exchange of fishing products between coastal and reindeer groups of the indigenous population. There are three territorial neighboring communities in the Chukotka region, one in Iulginsky. As of January 1, 2014, territorially neighboring communities engaged in marine mammal hunting caught 5,730 heads of sea animals, including 120 gray whales. Communities receive an annual quota of 135 gray whales and 5 bowhead whales. In 2018, Chukotka marine hunters were given a quota to kill 3,620 bearded seals, 1,373 walrus, 170 beluga whales, 395 sealed seals, 3,290 akiba. In 2019, communities received permission to kill 1,292 bearded seals, 1,436 walrus, 180 beluga whales, 538 sealed seals, 2,865 hawksbills, and 5 lionfish. Marine hunters have the opportunity to participate in the discussion of quotas. Until September 1, applications from communities for the

next fishing year are accepted at the Department of Agricultural Policy and Environmental Management of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug. Quotas are formed taking into account the hunting plans of the hunters themselves. Community representatives participate in the work of the International Whaling Commission, where quotas for the production of gray and bowhead whales are justified and defended to meet the needs of indigenous people for traditional food. In 2018, 107 million rubles were spent to support the marine mammal fishery; in 2019, 109.7 million rubles were allocated from the district budget. The main expense items are wages for fishermen, insurance premiums, material and technical equipment of communities (seasonal clothing and shoes for hunters, boats, ammunition, signaling devices for the safety of people at sea, life jackets, buoys, binoculars, halyards, first aid kits). The average salary of marine mammal hunters in communities in 2018 was 21.3 thousand rubles, in 2019 - 18 thousand rubles. per month, but it varies in different communities and depends on revenue. Thus, the Lorinsk community earned 3 million 800 thousand rubles, the Daurkin community - about 5 million 600 thousand rubles, in other communities the revenue ranges from 300 to 500 thousand rubles. in year. The territorial neighboring communities of KMNC "Lorino" (village Lorino, Chukotka region) and "Daurkin" (village Lavrentiya, Chukotka region) are an example of the successful development of traditional fishing in modern conditions. In addition to direct fishing for walrus, bearded seals, seals, and whales, communities are engaged in related activities: procurement of seal and bearded seal skins, procurement and sale of walrus ivory; they use new technologies when storing meat from marine animals (use of vacuum packaging, modern freezers). In the Lorino community, its chairman, A. A. Ottoy, organized a bone-carving workshop, which increased the income of workers. communities, receiving government support in the form of subsidies, on the one hand, and earning their own money, on the other, they have the opportunity to spend it on further development. Taking into account the positive experience of TSO "Lorino" (in 2018, the community caught 52 whales), it was for this community that a quick-freezing slab apparatus worth 3 million rubles was purchased; it is planned to equip the community's production premises with a wind generator and solar panels to reduce utility costs. In Chukotka there is experience in operating a workshop for processing the meat of marine animals. In 2004, in order to create new jobs for indigenous residents and introduce modern methods of processing products in the village.

A promising and profitable activity for sea hunters is the capture of young walrus for water parks, zoos and circuses. Since 2019, the Federal Fisheries Agency has been allocating quotas for so-called live trapping. In 2020, this quota was 100 heads

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of young animals. The communities of “Lorino”, “Ankalyt”, “Daurkin” caught 15 walrus cubs in 2019. Modern hunters are provided with the necessary weapons, datingans (large-caliber shooting devices), boats, motors, radio stations, satellite phones, fuel, special clothing, while in the villages there are not enough heavy equipment. Sea hunter from the village. Lorino shared the problems associated with hunting: “The work of a hunter is very hard. We really lack tractors and all-terrain vehicles. Although they have been promising it for many years. The Daurkin community does not have its own tractor. And it’s the 21st century! A winch is needed to transport the marine animal to the shore. We pull the boats ashore on our own. And this is 300 meters from the sea. Try dragging a boat to the sea along the fast ice in the spring! We have an old glacier, it no longer freezes meat, it spoils faster, we have to feed it to dogs. To fill a glacier to form ice in it, you need machines. We don’t have them either. So we are forced to bow to various organizations, ask them for help, including housing and communal services, so that they can help us pull walruses and boats ashore.” Older residents of the villages note that, unlike sea hunters of earlier generations, many young fishermen do not see the benefit of the experience and stories of old people, but rely more on powerful steering motors, radiotelephones and other modern equipment. They received old fishing traditions in fragments; many even went to sea only because there were no other areas of activity in the national villages. Fishing is one of the most common activities not only for the rural population, but also for the townspeople of Chukotka. Indigenous people can engage in fishing without restrictions, with the exception of catching rare and endangered species of aquatic biological resources. For representatives of indigenous peoples, quotas are allocated for catching freshwater (whitefish, grayling, smelt, vendace) and marine fish species (halibut, cod, navaga, sockeye salmon, chum salmon, pink salmon, char). The government of the ChAO has identified 635 fishing areas, of which 281 are for the indigenous population, and it is planned to legalize another 252 fishing areas. Fishing is an important agricultural sector of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug. In the city of Anadyr, s. Meinypilgyno, village. There are three fish processing complexes in Khatyrka, Anadyr district. There are smoking and canning shops in Anadyr. In 2018 46.3 thousand tons of fish products were produced (in 2016 - only 8.4 tons). The enterprises are mainly focused on catching salmon species (pink salmon, sockeye salmon, chum salmon). There are prospects for organizing fishing in river and lake reservoirs. There are four fishing companies in the district, which provide mostly seasonal work to the indigenous population. The KMNC communities are engaged in catching and selling fish, but they do not have enough refrigeration equipment to store it, and

there are no equipped fishing bases for year-round fishing. Therefore, in the future it is necessary to assign fishing spots to communities, provide financial assistance for the purchase of freezing equipment and the development of production infrastructure. Every year during the fishing season, various violations are revealed, including cases of poaching, barbaric treatment of natural biological resources (fishing solely for the purpose of harvesting caviar). It is not uncommon for non-indigenous people to fish under the guise of indigenous people. Representatives of local governments and indigenous activists came up with the initiative to assign fishing areas to communities so that, on the one hand, they would be responsible for the sanitary condition of the areas, and on the other, protect them from irrational use. It is also necessary to continue the practice of donating gutted and ungutted fish to communities. Communities, in turn, have the opportunity to rent it out to larger trading and purchasing enterprises. The main problems for the development of fisheries are the complex transport scheme, the considerable distance of the district from markets; due to transport costs, the products of Chukotka fishermen become uncompetitive.

Employment According to Rosstat and the regional employment service, the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug currently ranks second (unsatisfactory) in employment after the Amur Region, where the labor market is characterized by a high level of unemployment and a low tension coefficient. As of September 1, 2023, the county's registered unemployment rate was approximately 2%. There is territorial differentiation in the unemployment rate: the lowest level is noted in Anadyr, the highest in the Providensky and Chukotka regions (from 6 to 8%). Unemployment in the district is seasonal, decreasing in the summer, during the harvest season and seasonal work, and increasing in the winter. As of September 1, 2022, the number of unemployed people was 696 people. Of these, the indigenous population is 507 people. (or 73% of the total number of unemployed), while women account for 44%. The district's need for workers as of September 1 amounted to 1,526 people, of which 1,000 were in blue-collar professions. The district's enterprises continue to have a high need for specialists of various skill levels. During the first half of the year, the district’s enterprises provided a list of vacancies for 3,000 units, of which 2.5 thousand were in blue-collar occupations: construction, electricity and gas production, transport and communications, mining, education and healthcare, etc. d. More than half of the citizens, or 65%, registered with the employment service do not even have primary vocational education, and enterprises need educated and qualified specialists. Unfortunately, official statistics do not fully reflect the actual situation in the regional labor market. In the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug there is

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a high level of hidden unemployment in rural areas. Representatives of the NGO “People’s Front “For Russia”” in August 2018 conducted a survey among the heads of rural settlements about the employment situation of residents. According to the collected materials, in the Chaunsky district, in three rural settlements, 201 people are not working, but only 73 are on the labor exchange. In the Anadyr district, in seven rural settlements, 294 people are not working, 123 are on the labor exchange. In the Iultinsky district, in three rural settlements, 83 people are not working, there are 50 people at the labor exchange. In the Bilibinsky district, 386 people do not work, 49 are on the labor exchange. A catastrophic situation has developed in the village. Omolon, where out of a working-age population of 594 people, 274 are unemployed, that is, about half. In the Providensky district, 246 people are not working, 79 are on the labor exchange.

A difficult situation with employment has developed in the village. Yanrakynnot, where out of 339 residents only 68 people work, and 140 people of the working population do not work. In the Chukotka region, 503 people do not work, but only 93 are registered with the Employment Center. In the village Neshkan of 748 people, 70% of the working population does not work. Of the 738 residents of the village. In Uelen there are 34 people on the labor exchange; 124 are not working and not on the labor exchange. Unemployment here is 32%. In total, data was collected from 26 rural and urban settlements, so the survey covered more than half of the district’s settlements [Department materials: section “Employment”]. The district has a subprogram for promoting employment and social support for unemployed citizens of the State program “Stimulating the economic activity of the population of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug for 2018-2021.” Under this program, 913 people received government career guidance services, 110 people were involved in paid public works. Currently, the most common way of employing citizens is public works - improvement of populated areas, as well as temporary work in reindeer herding and marine mammal brigades, and seasonal auxiliary work. It is necessary to attract the population to organize their own business, organize professional retraining, and create new forms of labor organization in the traditional management of indigenous people. Today, there are negative factors influencing the labor market in Chukotka: low wages, population migration to other regions, deteriorating public health, reduced ability for long-term intensive work, and a decrease in the level of training of specialists. Indigenous residents have a positive attitude towards the prospect of developing small businesses in Chukotka, but do not associate it with traditional industries: “Young people are more ready to independently participate in business than representatives of the older generation. They are more

often registered as individual entrepreneurs. But what is more attractive to them is not traditional sectors of the economy, but activities that have a stable income - taxis, trade, repairs, etc.”

One of the promising organizational and economic forms of activity of the indigenous population are communities. In Chukotka, as a result of changes in the Federal Law “On Fisheries”, which granted the right to traditional fishing only to representatives of indigenous peoples and their communities, municipal agricultural enterprises (MP Agricultural Enterprises) lost the right to receive quotas for the production of marine animals. Therefore, communities were created in coastal villages on the basis of former small agricultural enterprises in order to obtain quotas for the production of marine animal species and provide traditional food to village residents. A. Otke notes “that some of these communities are developing successfully, even more successfully than when they existed within the framework of the MP Agricultural Enterprise” [PMK]. Currently, in the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug there are 19 active territorial-neighborhood and family-tribal communities (see Table 29), in which 356 people officially work. This form of labor organization fully allows the population to maintain the traditional way of life (tundra and taiga reindeer herding, marine hunting, fishing, collecting wild plants, etc.) and provide themselves with official work and stable income. Population surveys have shown that the communal principle of labor organization is close to them.

In Chukotka there is a problem of mass drunkenness and alcoholism, especially in the villages of the district. The number of patients with alcoholism in the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug in 2021 reached almost 4% of the total population of the region. The highest level of morbidity among the population is registered in the Chukotka region, where 7.3% of the total number of residents suffer from alcoholism. The ratio of women and men suffering from chronic alcoholism is 1: 2.7 (in Russia - 1: 6). The proportion of chronic alcoholics is 3 times higher than in Russia as a whole, and a sharp increase in alcoholism has been recorded among children under 14 years of age. According to 2020 statistics, in Chukotka 26% of total mortality is from alcohol (alcohol suicides, alcohol poisoning, acute heart failure resulting from alcohol consumption, murder, etc.). According to this indicator, the district ranked first in Russia. The situation associated with alcohol is aggravated by harsh climatic conditions; remoteness, isolation and inaccessibility of Chukotka villages; unemployment among the rural population; imbalances in supply to villages (small range of industrial goods and food products against the backdrop of an abundance of alcoholic products); the illegal alcohol market exceeding the volume of licensed trade; physiological characteristics of the indigenous inhabitants of

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Chukotka, which contribute to the accelerated formation of alcohol dependence; imperfection of drug treatment services to the population. As of January 1, 2021, 2,056 people were registered with a narcologist, of which 1,940 were diagnosed with alcoholism. 43% (883 people) of those registered are rural residents. Alcohol is a leading factor in suicides (67% of suicidal deaths were committed while intoxicated). 75% of suicides in the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug were committed by representatives of small indigenous peoples. More than half of crimes are committed while intoxicated. Since 2005, public organizations, various institutions, and authorities have been working to combat alcohol abuse. The district has developed and is implementing a State Policy Concept to reduce alcohol abuse and prevent alcoholism among the population. Experts note that thanks to it, persistent trends have emerged in changing public consciousness. The public, together with local governments, is working to limit the hours of sale of alcohol-containing products in stores. On the territory of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug there is a law prohibiting the sale of alcoholic beverages from 20.00 to 12.00 the next day. In a number of ethnic villages, at community gatherings, a ban on the sale of alcohol has been established, with the exception of strictly designated days. Yes, s. Krasneno, Anadyrsky district, has been declared a sobriety zone, and there is a complete ban on the retail sale of alcoholic beverages. In the village Residents of Ilirnei Bilibinsky district decided to sell alcohol for 2 hours once a week. Heads of settlements note the positive effect of such measures: people began to get jobs, the number of crimes decreased. In the village Enmelen, Providensky district, and in some other coastal villages, so-called “sobriety outposts” are held during the navigation period; volunteers are on duty when unloading coal miners and other ships to prevent the delivery of illegal alcohol. In recent years, professional psychologists, narcologists, and volunteers have been working in many villages to provide classes on how to get rid of alcohol addiction using the methods of A. Shichko, Y. Marshak, and “AA”. The Department of Health notes that thanks to the measures taken, there has been a decrease in the sales of legal alcohol per capita. In 2018, the sales volume of legal alcohol per capita was 13 liters, in 2021 this figure is less than 8 liters. The primary incidence of chronic alcoholism, including alcoholic psychosis, also decreased from 263 to 209 compared to 2018. In general, positive results of the work done can be seen, but at the same time we cannot talk about a radical change in the situation. The reasons are the short period of time of the systematic approach, the limited capabilities of the authorities due to the lack of powers to legislatively regulate the circulation of alcoholic products, problems with the enforcement of legislation aimed at countering violations of the circulation of alcoholic products. Ethnocultural sphere

Mechanisms for implementing ethnocultural policy In the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug, the following state programs are being implemented aimed at improving the quality of life, health, preservation and development of ethnic culture and traditional environmental management of indigenous minorities of Chukotka: - “Health development of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug for 2018-2035”; — “Development of sectors of education, culture and youth policy in the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug in 2018-2035”; — “Social support for the population of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug for 2018-2035”; — “Stimulating economic activity of the population of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug for 2018-2035”; — “Support for physical culture, sports and tourism in the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug for 2018-2035”; — “Development of the agro-industrial complex of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug for 2018-2035”; — “Information Society of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug for 2018-2035”; — “Support for housing, communal services and energy in the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug for 2018-2035”; — “Infrastructure development of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug for 2018-2035”; — “Development of transport infrastructure of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug for 2018-2035”; — “Development of forestry in the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug for 2018-2035”; — “Regional financial management of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug in 2018-2035”; — “Strengthening the unity of the Russian nation, ethnocultural development of the peoples of Russia and state support for socially oriented non-profit organizations in the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug for 2018-2035.” The most important documents defining the policy towards the indigenous peoples of the North are the Constitution of the Russian Federation (Article 69), the Federal Law “On guarantees of the rights of indigenous peoples of the Russian Federation”, “Strategy of the state national policy of the Russian Federation for the period until 2035”, “Development strategy Arctic zone of the Russian Federation and ensuring national security for the period until 2035”, Charter of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug, etc. In recent years, the Duma of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug has adopted a number of laws promoting the preservation and development of the aboriginal population of Chukotka. The laws adopted are consistent with the rights and legitimate interests of indigenous peoples. The Law of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug “On state regulation and state support for the development of northern reindeer husbandry in the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug is aimed at developing northern reindeer herding, improving the food supply for the population of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug, ensuring the income of reindeer herding farms, protecting their interests in a market economy, defines the basic principles of state support , aimed at developing the marine hunting industry, preserving

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the natural environment and the traditional culture of sea hunters, and social protection of workers involved in the marine hunting industry. The Law of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug “On the protection of lands occupied by reindeer pastures in the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug” regulates relations related to the protection of lands occupied by reindeer pastures in the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug, ensures that the needs and interests of citizens are taken into account, the protection of their rights and freedoms, the rights of public associations and others non-profit organizations in the formation and implementation of state policy, as well as the exercise of public control over the activities of executive authorities of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug and local governments. The Public Chamber of the ChAO is formed for the purpose of interaction between citizens, public associations, trade unions, creative unions, associations of employers and their associations, professional associations, as well as other non-profit organizations created to represent and protect the interests of professional and social groups, with government authorities and bodies local self-government of municipalities of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug establishes a list of remote and hard-to-reach areas in the municipalities of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug. The law was adopted in order to comply with the permissible deviation from the average norm of representation of voters, referendum participants in the formation of electoral districts, as well as for organizing and conducting early voting in them for elections to federal bodies of state power, deputies of the Duma of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug, in local governments and referendums in the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug allows the introduction of restrictions on time, conditions and places, including a complete ban on the retail sale of alcoholic beverages. According to the law, a complete ban on the retail sale of alcoholic beverages in the territories of individual settlements of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug is established by the government of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug based on the results of consideration of applications from representative bodies of the relevant municipalities, it is established that with a proposal to designate a specially protected natural area of local significance, public authorities of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug, local government bodies, citizens and legal entities apply to the relevant local government body. To consider the proposal of the interested person, the local government body forms a commission. The law defines the grounds for refusal to designate a specially protected natural area of local significance. The basis for the abolition of the status of a specially protected natural area of local significance is the loss of this territory’s environmental, scientific, cultural, educational, aesthetic, health, recreational significance aimed at protecting the individual, protecting the rights and

freedoms of man and citizen, ensuring public order, public safety and public morality. At the same time, the existing regulatory documents do not cover the entire range of problems that exist in the field of traditional economic management and environmental management. According to the member of the Federation Council, Chairman of the Association of Indigenous Peoples A. I. Otko, it is necessary to ensure the improvement of the legislation of the Russian Federation, to bring it into line with international standards in the field of the rights of indigenous peoples, in particular with the provisions of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. First of all, this concerns the land legislation of the Russian Federation in terms of the implementation of the right of indigenous peoples to the free use of lands of various categories, as well as natural resources in the places of their residence and traditional economic activities. It is necessary to make changes to the legislation on subsoil and subsoil use in the Russian Federation in terms of ensuring the implementation of the rights of indigenous peoples to preserve their ancestral habitat and traditional way of life when developing mineral resources in the places of their residence and traditional economic activities in order to comply with the principle of free, preliminary and informed consent of these peoples to such developments. It is necessary to legislate the mandatory conduct at the design stage of a comprehensive assessment of the environmental, economic and social impact of the implementation of state strategies and programs for the development and industrial development of the territories of the North, Siberia and the Far East and the sea shelf adjacent to these territories on the ancestral habitat and traditional way of life of indigenous peoples. peoples It is important to introduce into the Federal Law “On Guarantees of the Rights of Indigenous Minorities of the Russian Federation” and certain legislative acts of the Russian Federation changes and additions to the conceptual apparatus and definition of the procedure for classifying citizens of the Russian Federation as indigenous minorities, as well as to the mechanisms for ensuring compensation for losses to representatives of these peoples, caused as a result of damage to their original habitat. The Federal Law “On Hunting and the Conservation of Hunting Resources” and certain legislative acts of the Russian Federation require urgent changes in terms of ensuring opportunities for hunting certain animals and priority access to hunting grounds for indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation in their traditional places residence and traditional activities. The unification in Russian legislation of terminology relating to indigenous peoples of the Russian Federation is of great importance. It is necessary to make changes to the Federal Law “On State Youth Policy in the Russian Federation” to provide for the creation and sources of

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financing of youth and volunteer centers of indigenous peoples. It seems important to develop and adopt regulatory legal acts: “On northern reindeer husbandry”, “On the organization of land management of reindeer pastures in various reindeer herding zones”; “On measures to organize and conduct annual medical examinations of people belonging to indigenous peoples, permanently residing in places of their traditional residence and traditional economic activities, leading a traditional lifestyle, carrying out traditional farming and crafts, to prevent social diseases, reduce infant and child mortality, mortality from alcoholism, injuries and suicides”; “On a special procedure for financing small-scale schools, boarding schools, preschool educational institutions in places of traditional residence and traditional economic activity of indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation”; “On the typical situation of a nomadic educational institution”; “On measures of state support for targeted training and retraining of personnel from among the indigenous peoples of the North, educational and methodological support for the system of primary, secondary and higher education, taking into account modern technologies for studying the languages and cultures of indigenous peoples”; “On retraining and retraining of persons belonging to the indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation, released from traditional economic activities”; “On the preservation and development of traditional knowledge, cultural and spiritual heritage of indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation”; “On the promotion of folk art products and crafts of indigenous peoples of the North to the Russian and international markets, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation”; “On measures to ensure the fulfillment of the obligations of the Russian Federation arising from the International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling”; “On measures to implement the bilateral Agreement between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the United States of America on the conservation and use of the Chukotka-Alaska polar bear population of October 16, 2000” (in terms of granting the indigenous peoples of Chukotka the right to traditional use and protection of the resources of the polar bear population); “On measures to clean up the territories of the Far North and the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation from household waste, chemical and radioactive contamination”; “On measures to improve the demographic situation, improve quality of life and improve the health of indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation”; “On the strategy of relations between indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East with industrial companies operating in the places of traditional residence and traditional economic activity

of these peoples”; “On conducting a preliminary comprehensive assessment of the environmental, economic and social impact of state strategies and programs for the development and industrial development of the territories of the North, Siberia and the Far East and adjacent shelves on the ancestral habitat and traditional way of life of indigenous peoples”; “On measures to develop social infrastructure, medical, educational, cultural, welfare, transport and other support in places of traditional residence and traditional economic activity of indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East, taking into account the specifics of their traditional way of life and culture”; “On the introduction of the column “nationality11” into the forms for collecting statistical medical data in places of residence of indigenous peoples. In addition, to support indigenous peoples, it is necessary to adopt regional laws: “On measures of state support for the economic activities of communities of indigenous peoples as small and medium-sized businesses of indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation” (in terms of increasing the efficiency of traditional activities, including measures of financial support, preferential lending and leasing); “On measures of state support for traditional types of economic activities of indigenous peoples of the Russian Federation (in terms of state orders for products of traditional types of economic activities of indigenous peoples).” The legislative initiative to amend the pension legislation is also relevant; it is necessary to add the category “sea hunter-commercialist” to it. According to the deputy of the Duma of the ChAO G. A. Tynankergava, “It should be noted that the development of federal legislation in the field of protecting the rights of indigenous peoples is unstable. Despite the multiplicity of legislative acts in this area, it is necessary to continue the search for the most effective model of legislative regulation in the field of indigenous rights: legislation in the 21st century. should serve not the survival, but the prosperity of indigenous peoples, like all peoples of Russia. The Constitution of Russia contains all the prerequisites for the successful solution of this task.”

Public organizations of indigenous peoples of Chukotka There are 3 public and 3 non-profit organizations of indigenous peoples of Chukotka operating in the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug. The regional public organization “Association of Indigenous Minority Peoples of Chukotka” (AKMNCH) was registered in 1990, it includes 7 district branches and 37 representative offices in the settlements of Chukotka. The organization carries out extensive work to protect the rights and legitimate interests of the indigenous population. The Charter of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug enshrines the obligation to coordinate draft laws aimed at resolving issues of the development of indigenous peoples with the Association of Indigenous Minorities of

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Chukotka. AKMNCH is an authorized representative of the indigenous peoples of the region, which is enshrined in the Memorandum of Cooperation with the government of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug. AKMNCH President Anna Otke has been a member of the Federation Council since September 2013. Representatives of the Association are included in all public structures of the district dealing with the life of indigenous peoples: the Regional Organizing Committee for the International Decade of Indigenous Peoples, the Coordinating Public Council under the Governor of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug, the Chukotka Fisheries Council, etc. Representatives of AKINC are members of the Duma of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug, in the commission under the administrations of districts and settlements, in the councils of district and village councils of deputies, etc., membership in which makes it possible to quickly resolve pressing issues. Also active in the district is the public organization of Eskimos of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug “Inuit Circumpolar Council “Chukotka””, the regional public organization of lovers of the Chukchi language “Native Word” (“Chychetkin Vetgav”), the non-profit partnership “Chukchi Association of Traditional Hunting Hunters”, the non-profit partnership “Union of Reindeer Herders of Chukotka”, regional non-profit partnership “Union of Sea Hunters”. Speaking about the development of the social movement of the indigenous people of Chukotka, people almost unanimously note that public life has noticeably intensified. “A lot of interesting things are happening. The approach has changed, it has become interesting. The Association has launched many programs, and they are in effect. All of the existing public organizations are working. They went through such a powerful selection that only the stubborn ones remained,” “Through public organizations, indigenous people can raise issues and solve them, if the leaders of these organizations, the leaders, organize their work competently. The most inert is the eastern part of Chukotka, where traditional culture is still preserved. Western Chukotka is more active. The most influential organization is the Association. Industrial issues are never resolved without the participation of the Association” [PMK]. The most active social activists are Vladislav Nuvano, Victoria Golbtseva, Vladimir Puya, Alexander Omrypkir, Eduard Zdor, Anna Otke, Alexandra Tevlyavie, Valentina Leonova, Sergei Kavry, Nikolai Etten, Vladimir Etylin, Igor Ranav and others. Social activists have become more united. To introduce young people to the social movement, a “Young Leader School” is held. Ethnocultural situation The scientific literature characterizes the general modern linguistic situation and brings to the fore the problem of preserving the ethnic languages of the indigenous peoples of the North.

In Chukotka, it is necessary to take measures aimed at increasing the prestige of native languages among the younger generation and at using ethnic languages in everyday communication. Thus, in 2012, the Association of Indigenous Peoples of Chukotka conducted a survey among the indigenous population of the district in order to identify the need of indigenous residents for their children to learn their native language. 311 questionnaires were collected in 13 settlements (the village of Provideniya, the village of Novoe Chaplino, the village of Sireniki, the village of Billings, the city of Anadyr, the village of Neshkan, the village of Lorino, the village of Enurmino, the village of Lavrentiya, the city of Pevek, Vankarem village, Inchoun village). Based on the survey results, the Association's specialists made the following conclusions: the majority of parents want their children to study their native language at school; in villages the language environment has been preserved; among the adult population there are those who know the language; in cities and regional centers, language proficiency among adults is much worse; among the Eskimos there are more people who do not want to learn their native language than among the Chukchi; only some people believe that the best way to learn a language is to learn it in the family; There are more children who do not know the language than adults, although children learn it at school. Among the interviewed informants, there is a very widespread opinion that the preservation of native languages is possible only through parents and family: “I do not really agree with the position when they say that we do not have the conditions to create a linguistic environment in order to preserve the Chukchi and Eskimo languages. Even if we take our city or our national villages, where Avars, Ukrainians, and Moldovans live, there they speak their native languages in their families, at home. It all comes from the family. Why is this not the case among the Chukchi and Eskimos?.. They should turn to Bogoraz and Rytkeu more often. It's a strange thing that the “pale-faced” Europeans are more interested in the culture of the Chukchi and Eskimos than the people themselves.” “My self-awareness helps me. Knowledge of the language is necessary. I don't have a native language. I know Russian well. Until the age of 5, she spoke Chukchi. Then I ended up in a hospital in Magadan, where I forgot everything. I understand Chukotka everyday speech, I understand written speech, but not all of it, I can't speak. My husband doesn't know the language at all, as he grew up in a boarding school. He is generally a Chuvan, a nationality that does not know where or what it comes from. The children grew up in the city; no one speaks the language. We need an environment where the language can live. What's the point? Force? The language is a disaster. All information is in Russian. Visitors learn the Chukchi language better on their own, because they are curious, while the poor Chukchi

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sit and feel embarrassed. Yes, this is a distortion of self-awareness. You can't look for extremes here, it just so happens. In the 70s, they hit me on the lips and put me in a corner so that, God forbid, I wouldn't speak Chukchi, but children come to boarding school and can't speak Russian. From the very beginning they already feel like third class. They laid it right away, and that's it. And who lays it? A teacher, an uneducated aunt. And what does she bring to them there? This is where the level comes from," "Among the Evens there are more young people who speak the Even language than Chukchi who speak Chukchi. The Evens use the language in everyday speech and at home, writing and speaking. The Chukchi mainly use their native language in the tundra. This is due to the way of life and mentality of peoples. The Chukchi were always reindeer people, and the Evens were hunters and fishermen, and they largely preserved their language. Among the representatives of the older generation of Chukchi there are experts in the Chukchi language. But in their families no one speaks their native language. At home we need to talk. When we studied at the pedagogical school, we all, regardless of our specialty and nationality, studied either the Even, or the Chukchi, or the Eskimo language. There is nothing like it now." To solve the problem of preserving, strengthening, developing and disseminating the native languages of the indigenous peoples of Chukotka, in 2018 the government of the ChAO approved the Concept for the development of the native languages of the indigenous peoples of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug (Chukchi, Eskimo, Even) for the period 2018-2035. The purpose of the Concept is to create conditions for the preservation, full development and popularization of native languages on the territory of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug. In 28 schools in Chukotka, 1602 students study the Chukotka language, in 2 schools 107 students study the Even language, in 3 schools 98 students study the Eskimo language. The total number of students studying the languages of the indigenous peoples of the Far North is 1,807. Educational institutions of the district are carrying out systematic work to preserve native languages: in order to increase the prestige of subjects, exams are being introduced in the Eskimo and Chukchi languages; a regional distance Olympiad in native languages and regional studies is held annually (since 2018, the Olympiad has the status of a Governor's Olympiad); New textbooks on the Eskimo language were sent to the villages of Uelkal, New Chaplino, and Sireniki; textbooks on the Chukchi language continue to be sent to schools where the Chukchi language is taught; A new program of conversational lessons in the Eskimo language for primary schools has been developed. A. Otko considers the translation of literature to be an important area of activity for the popularization of native languages: "Perhaps the translation from Russian into native languages will arouse some

interest among the population: the Constitution of the Russian Federation, the works of Pushkin, Chekhov, Hemingway, Aitmatov. Fairy tales and children's literature translated from Russian into native languages will certainly be used in kindergartens and schools, in families, which will arouse interest in familiarization with the native culture among the adult population." In the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug there are 25 cultural institutions: 8 cultural and leisure institutions (including departments and branches - 45, of which 37 in rural areas); 8 libraries (including 45 departments and branches, of which 37 are in rural areas); 5 museums (including branches - 6, of which in rural areas - 2); Chukchi-Eskimo ensemble "Ergyron"; "Museum Center "Heritage of Chukotka11" (including departments and branches - 2, of which in rural areas - 1 institution); "Okrkinovideoprokat"; "Center for the Development of Folk Crafts "Uelen Bone Carving Workshop11". Every year, the district hosts several important cultural and sports events aimed at creating conditions for the development of folk art and the preservation of the traditional cultural heritage of the indigenous peoples of Chukotka: the district folklore festival "Ergav", the Chukotka-Eskimo canoe race "Beringia", dog sled races "Nadezhda", reindeer sled races, northern all-around competitions. In July 2014, the first cultural and sports festival "E'in'ev" ("Call of the Ancestors") was held in the villages of Ust-Belaya and Snezhnoye, Anadyr region. In August, as part of the 105th anniversary of the formation of the Chukotka region and the Day of Indigenous Minorities of the World, a sports festival of sea hunters of the Chukotka region "Ankalin" was held. In recent years, the most important ethnocultural events have been held not only in the capital, but also in the district districts: "The city used to win because all the groups came together. And now they are being carried out in the Chukotka, Providensky, Bilibinsky districts, locally, to reach the rural population. This has its advantages; local responsibility increases. Culture only benefits." There are 300 masters of decorative and applied arts working in the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug (data as of January 2021). Some municipal agricultural enterprises and communities have workshops for sewing national fur clothing and making souvenirs from walrus, whale and deer antler bones.

The government of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug operates a Public Expert Council on Culture, which determines priority projects in the field of culture and art that can receive financial support from the regional budget. In 2013-2014 The books by V. Veket "Sleeping on seal skins" (in Chukchi, Russian, English), I. V. Omruvier "Maralkot and others", V. G. Leonova "Naukan and Naukans", Russian-Eskimo dictionary by N. were published. P. Radunovich. Currently, work is underway to publish a dictionary of the Chukchi language with translation into French,

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English and Russian, the books by V. Veket "Tegrykeevn'evyt" and I. Kulikova "Reindeer herding vocabulary in the modern Chukchi language." The indigenous residents of Chukotka dream of creating ethnocenters in cities and ethnic villages. Similar projects are being successfully implemented in other northern regions. According to V. Keulkut and A. Ofke, "they (projects) could unite people, promote culture and art, conduct methodological work among rural cultural centers, explore folklore, be a center for national ensembles, sell arts and crafts and collecting the raw materials necessary for this." Folklore art is successfully developing in the villages and regional centers of Chukotka. Opportunities for the development of ethno-tourism Experts in the tourism industry note that Chukotka has all the opportunities for the development of ethno-tourism. "The life, way of life, and customs of indigenous peoples are of great interest throughout the world. Infrastructure needs to be developed in order to offer quality stays to tourists. For indigenous people, tourism is an excellent opportunity for self-realization and inclusion in business. These are jobs for those involved in arts and crafts, folklore, national sports, and traditional activities. This will be facilitated by the implementation of the Federal Law "On Territories of Traditional Natural Resources." Four Russian travel companies specializing in inbound tourism operate in the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug, namely:

— LLC "NORTOKO - Northern Travel Company" (Anadyr);

— Chukotka-Discovery LLC (Anadyr);

— Russia-Discovery LLC (Petrozavodsk);

— Pacific Network LLC (Kamchatka).

Companies organize and support exclusive adventure, sports and ethnographic tours. The coast of the Chukotka Peninsula is visited annually by cruise ships with American, Canadian, New Zealand and Russian tourists on board. The tours are organized by the travel company Heritage Expeditions, registered in New Zealand. Traveling along the coast, tourists have the opportunity to land on the islands of Arakamchechen, Yttygran, Ratmanova, Wrangel and Cape Dezhnev, see unique natural and cultural monuments (Whale Alley, Lorinsky hot springs, etc.), and visit coastal villages. In the summer of 2021, residents of the village. Uelen (Chukchi region) hosted three cruise ships. For tourists on the shore, concerts of a rural folklore ensemble, exhibitions and sales of objects of decorative and applied art (products made from walrus tusk, whale vertebrae, slippers, leather balls, souvenirs made from fur and leather, etc.) are organized. Experts note an increase in the number of Russian citizens wishing to come to Chukotka for educational purposes. But many potential tourists are stopped by the high cost of flights to Anadyr and national villages (the price of a ticket for the Moscow-Anadyr flight is 30-35 thousand rubles, the price of a ticket for the Anadyr-Lavrentia

flight (Chukotka region) is 20 thousand rubles); cost of living (1 bed in a double room at the Anadyr Hotel) - 3,700 rubles. per day. Prices for individual tours with trips to national villages and reindeer herding teams vary from 100-150 thousand rubles. and higher for one person. Arctic cruise packages are offered at prices ranging from \$11,000 and up. At the same time, it is difficult to assess the degree of influence of the development of the tourism services sector on the indigenous residents of the district, since travel companies rarely attract them to sell tours; the work is one-time and seasonal in nature, and does not bring people a stable income. The problems of modern development of the indigenous peoples of Chukotka are not limited to socio-economic issues. Today, the tasks of improving the legislative framework in the field of traditional environmental management and determining ways to preserve a centuries-old unique culture remain unresolved. Overcoming such pressing issues is possible with government support and the active public position of the indigenous residents of Chukotka themselves. It is necessary to increase the level of material and technical equipment of reindeer herding farms with communications equipment, special clothing, and equipment; equip the production and living infrastructure of reindeer herding brigades, allocate funds for the production of mobile nomadic housing and other elements of the nomadic lifestyle, improve the living conditions of reindeer herders' families in villages, organize regular medical examinations and treatment of reindeer herders. It is important to develop enterprises for the deep processing of meat and processing of deer skins, organize fur sewing workshops, collect and sell reindeer antlers, and search for markets for leather and fur raw materials. Currently, private initiative in the field of reindeer husbandry is completely undeveloped in Chukotka; in the foreseeable future, the district authorities need to create conditions for the revival of private reindeer husbandry and stimulate the creation of private reindeer herding farms. The development of marine hunting within the framework of existing tribal and territorial-neighboring communities has further prospects. It is necessary to support the production infrastructure and employment of the population in this type of traditional farming.

It is difficult to describe the education system and the problems associated with it in relation to all Arctic regions where indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East live. In each subject of the Russian Federation, ethnic group and even locality, the picture has its own specifics. Because of this, it is possible to trace the main trends in the development of this area, focusing on the mechanisms of adaptation to the processes of globalization, the transformation of ideas about the concepts of learning and the content of educational programs, and the search for new life strategies in the conditions of industrial development. With the collapse of the USSR, as throughout the

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country, a rethinking of the education system begins in the North. Moreover, national political and pedagogical personnel in the regions, and not the central government, become activists in discussions and decision-making. In 1990, the Congress of the Peoples of the North was held, at which, among other things, issues of educational policy for indigenous peoples were discussed. It is important to note that in the entire history of interaction with federal authorities, the local administration and the national intelligentsia for the first time received a real opportunity to independently make decisions and control the education system in their regions. In other words, within the framework of the Federal Law on Education, freedom appeared in choosing a position regarding what education should be like for the children of northerners. Further, everything depended on the administration of a particular subject of the Federation, personnel and financial capabilities. Thus, after many years of pressure “from the center”, a “revival” of ethnic culture and identity begins through the means that Aboriginal communities can choose for themselves. Several key concepts of the education system in the regions inhabited by indigenous peoples of the North can be identified. In addition to knowledge of academic subjects and civic education, the school must form the “correct” identity in the child: ethnic and regional. Director of the Research Institute of National Schools of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) S.S. Semenova calls identity formation a key task of the education system. Regional identity is determined by general local knowledge (history, geography, culture of the peoples of a given subject of the Federation). Ethnic identity is primarily characterized by the thesis of preserving the “traditional culture” of the peoples of the North. Ideologists of the education system directly link the preservation of “traditional culture” with the preservation and reproduction of traditional types of economy: reindeer husbandry, fishing, hunting, and marine hunting. Reindeer husbandry plays a key role in this list, since it presupposes a specific way of life: year-round care of the herd, a nomadic route, a special set of markers of material culture, life “outside the values of civilization.” For the Arctic regions, the identification of reindeer husbandry as an ethno-forming industry is especially important, since these are the territories that have the largest herds of domestic reindeer. Such attitudes, in the context of the growing level of urbanization, led to the emergence of the concept of raising children as worthy replacements to continue the occupation of their ancestors. The principle of “return to roots” dominates the discourse of the national intelligentsia. Leaders who themselves live and work in cities and towns are calling on young people to return to the taiga and tundra, because that is where the “real” representatives of specific indigenous ethnic groups live. In the indigenous discourse, boarding schools play the role of “culprits”

for the violation of the full reproduction of reindeer herders. Therefore, the question was raised about alternative forms of education for children of nomads, which became nomadic schools. Nomadic educational institutions are called upon to educate children as “real reindeer herders” and “real Evenks/Nenets/etc.” In addition, nomadic schools have the goal of reuniting the child with his family for his harmonious development and psychological health. At the moment, only a small part of the children of the indigenous peoples of the North study in nomadic schools, where they have the opportunity to directly participate in the economic life of the family. Because of this, the rest of the children (children of reindeer herders in boarding schools and children from non-nomadic families), in order to receive ethnocultural education and the formation of ethnic identity, need to pass on certain knowledge, which includes folklore stories, ornaments, holidays, rituals, national sports and other “elements »cultures that a child should become familiar with during his school years. Separately, we need to talk about approaches to teaching native languages. The languages of the peoples of the North are in a state of deep linguistic shift. Under the influence of previous decades of national policy, most languages are at risk; some languages are almost lost. Language is perceived as one of the primary markers of ethnicity, therefore, within the framework of school education, the goal is to maintain and preserve native languages. The situation in recent decades is characterized by the active influence of oil and gas companies in the Arctic regions. There are problems associated with the alienation of reindeer pastures, rivers and other fish reservoirs, and the pollution of areas of traditional environmental management with industrial waste. At the same time, in the subjects of the Federation where industrial companies operate, there is an opportunity to use more material resources for social projects. Understanding the fragility of traditional farming in these conditions and the acceleration of the globalization process lead to an understanding of the options for life strategies of young people, the foundations of which are laid by education (both school and further professional). Because of this, providing opportunities for secondary and higher specialized education and further professional development is another declared goal for the modern education system in the North. Indigenous peoples in the Arctic regions of Russia receive school education in one of three forms, depending on the lifestyle and choice of parents: 1) in a village/city school (the child lives at home); 2) at a boarding school (the child lives in a boarding school because the parents lead a nomadic, semi-nomadic lifestyle or there is no secondary school in his village); 3) in a nomadic school (lessons are held in a nomadic environment or at a fishing base - the child is close to his parents). Only settled children (if there are free places in the

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kindergarten) and pupils of nomadic kindergartens have the opportunity to receive preschool education.

Boarding schools During the Soviet period, boarding schools became a universal and the only form of education for children of indigenous peoples leading a traditional economy. This form of education remains so to this day. Children live in a boarding school away from their parents for 9 months, meeting during the holidays (many families do not have the opportunity to pick up their children during the holiday period during the school year due to the remoteness of migration). The boarding system involves full state support: from four meals a day to the provision of stationery and clothing. In the Arctic regions we studied, significant funds are allocated for the construction and maintenance of boarding schools. A boarding school in a northern village is usually easy to recognize - it is, as a rule, a new building, often representing the only bright spot against the background of dilapidated housing in the village. At the same time, the Soviet boarding school system in the 1990s. began to come under criticism. Among the negative aspects are the difficulties of a child's adaptation in the village, separation from the family, a sharp change in the situation and cultural environment, leading to "separation from traditional culture" and Russification. Since the 1950s schools were consolidated due to the closure of small educational institutions in small villages. Because of this, even families that did not lead a nomadic or semi-nomadic lifestyle had to send their children to study in larger settlements. In the post-Soviet period, the process goes in two directions: in some ethnic villages small schools (mainly primary) are reopened, in others they are closed due to the general crisis in rural areas. Let us give an example of a primary school-kindergarten in the national Nenets fishing village of Syunai-Sale (Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug). Currently, 39 students are studying at the Syunai-Sala school, and 19 students attend preschool groups. Before the opening of the small school, children from the village from the age of 7 went to study in the regional center of the village. Yar-Sale. Small-scale schools allow a child to spend his primary school years close to his family and then, as an adult, go to boarding school, but this does not exclude further difficulties in education and upbringing. For example, in a boarding school with. Khatanga (Taimyr Dolgano-Nenets municipal district) children from small regional villages in which only primary classes operate: Kresty, Novaya, Katyryk, Zhdanikha, Syndassko, Popigai.

The director and teachers of the Khatanga boarding school say that children often do not want to return home to the villages for the holidays because their parents drink and live poorly, and "here the children are fully supported by the state and eat very well." On the other hand, their parents reason in the same vein: "It's better for the children to live in a

boarding school - they will be provided for there." The teachers themselves and the director are in favor of having their own secondary schools in the villages: "... so that children do not separate from their parents, and so that parents raise their children themselves." In addition, among the students of the Khatanga boarding school there are many children who abuse alcohol and smoking, not to mention cases of pregnancy among high school and even middle school students. The director sees the main reason in the genes of alcoholic parents, and residents of the village refer to the destructive influence of boarding school life on children growing up without parental supervision. A sharp change in the cultural environment and separation from parental attention of children from nomadic families are important problems for adaptation at school, however, it should be noted that over the past two decades the situation has been smoothing out for several reasons, namely:

1) almost all tundra and taiga children who end up in a boarding school have relatives in the village who, to one degree or another, look after them;

2) nomadic families interact with village families, coming for everyday needs and on holidays, so preschoolers already have an idea of life in the village by the time they start studying;

3) the number of indigenous teaching staff at the school is increasing, which, according to some students, makes the environment more comfortable.

However, to solve the psychological problems of children separated from their families, the idea of family-type boarding schools was developed. The placement of children in such institutions is carried out not according to age, but according to the principle of kinship. Schoolchildren and relatives of different ages are accommodated in separate blocks with a bedroom, kitchen, and places for study and recreation. Such an experience is suitable for schools with a small number of students, since it has difficulties in organizing living space for living. Teachers and parents see the advantages of "family living" in more favorable psychological conditions, especially for children in primary school. Having been separated from their parents, children feel the family support of their older sisters and brothers, who, in turn, take on the responsibility of looking after the kids and helping them adapt to the conditions of school life. Special mention should be made of the experimental boarding school "Arctic", located in the city of Neryungri (Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)). The school is attended by children from 8th to 11th grade, who came from different parts of the republic and the Far Eastern Federal District. Every year, about 120 boys and girls receive secondary education, which allows each student to enter a university on a budgetary basis. One of the main tasks of the school leadership is to educate competitive, self-confident young people who are able to find their place in life and work for the benefit of their native regions. The "Arctic" is a kind of republic

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with a parliament and a democratic form of government. Having separated from their families during the school year, the children live in school communities, within which “families” of different ages have also been created. The elders take care of the younger ones, keep order, learn to support and protect each other. Teachers invite children to stay with their families so that they feel a homely atmosphere in Neryungri. An important problem associated with mastering the school curriculum is the lack of a preschool education system for children of reindeer herders. This is especially true in tundra regions with large herds of domestic reindeer and long family nomadic routes, such as Yamal, Taimyr, Northern Yakutia and Chukotka. Children growing up in nomadic conditions do not receive preschool preparation until they enter grade zero. Most of the tundra children of the named regions from among the Nenets, Khanty, Dolgan, Chukchi, Evens from birth speak only their native language (although since the beginning of the 21st century, due to the spread of satellite television, DVD players, cell phones and laptops in the tundra, young children are constantly “contact” with the Russian language, which eliminates complete monolingualism). Some parents, understanding the need to know Russian for school, teach their children individual words and phrases. Nevertheless, many children come to school knowing only their native language, and within one year (grade zero) must learn Russian for subsequent studies in it, as well as get used to the school environment and life in a boarding school. This occurs against the backdrop of stress after being separated from parents and immersed in a foreign environment, and the tasks facing the child also include mastering unusual daily practices - sleeping on a bed, dressing in “Russian clothes,” eating “Russian food.” Obviously, under such circumstances, mastering the Russian language to the required degree in one year is problematic, therefore, from the first grade, children begin to have difficulties understanding educational material and interacting with “Russian” teachers. According to G.V. Lymar, head of the regional development department of the regional policy department of the Department of Education of the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug, many children do not have the outlook required for the first grade. Teachers in boarding schools notice that the lack of necessary “starting conditions” results in a lag in primary school and slow learning of curriculum. This in some cases leads to retention in the second year, transfer to correctional classes, which makes it almost impossible to continue studying after school, or termination of education. Among the problems associated with boarding schools, parents (nomadic and sedentary) and teachers note that “children in a boarding school become dependent and then do not want to work” [PMA 2010]. People who studied in Soviet times remember how they went through

boarding schools, where they took care of themselves, organized their life and leisure time. Informants say that according to modern state regulations on boarding schools, schoolchildren “forget how to work and don’t want to do it anymore,” “they don’t even wash their floors and don’t keep watch in the dining room,” but “they’re just trying to get their license.” It is characteristic that such statements are found throughout the territory inhabited by the indigenous peoples of the North. Along with this, our informants repeatedly noticed that some children, after studying in boarding schools, cannot find their place in life because they find themselves cut off from the world of their parents (tundra, taiga) and do not understand how to fit into village/city life. Despite existing criticism, at the moment boarding schools remain the only opportunity to provide children of nomads and residents of small villages in the Arctic regions with a complete secondary “universal” education, regardless of the family’s material wealth. The concept of “ethnic and cultural education” began to be used in the 80-90s. XX century The following definition can be found in the literature: “Ethnocultural education is education in which the goals, objectives, content, methods and technologies of education and training are focused on the development and socialization of the individual as a subject of an ethnic group and as a citizen of the multinational Russian state, capable of self-determination in the conditions modern world civilization... Consequently, the content of ethnocultural education is a system of knowledge of national-cultural and socio-historical values, reflecting the character and psychological characteristics, identity of a given people and their culture, as well as the knowledge and ethnocultural achievements of other peoples, skills and abilities to use them in the process of life.” This concept has a very broad meaning and is implemented differently in each of the northern territories. Ethnocultural classes are held in the form of separate lessons, special topics in the curriculum of academic subjects, electives or additional classes (clubs, sections). All of them can be divided into several blocks according to areas of activity: native language, local history, arts and crafts, national sports, practical subjects of “traditional” culture. The problems of teaching the native language and its situation in the indigenous communities of the Russian Arctic will be considered separately, so below attention is focused on the rest of the ethnocultural program: Local history Subjects in this block, as a rule, are mandatory in the curriculum. In elementary school, lessons introduce the culture of the peoples living in the region: traditional housing, clothing, food, and the works of national writers. Such training courses have self-explanatory names (for example, “Lessons of the Ancestors” in Taimyr, “Heritage” in Evenkia). In the middle classes, the program includes geography, history, literature and culture of the peoples of the North. The course “Culture of the

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Peoples of the North” consists of ethnographic knowledge, the study of folklore, and traditions of the peoples of the region. These disciplines are taught both in multi-ethnic cities and in ethnic villages. The range of available textbooks and methodological literature varies depending on the region. Teachers and schoolchildren in the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug note that the subject “Culture of the Peoples of Yamal” (KNY), taught one hour a week, is of greater interest in villages where a significant percentage of Nenets, Khanty and Komi children study in classes. While in Salekhard schools many students consider this subject unnecessary and burdensome. Regional and ethnic components are also used by creative teachers in mathematics lessons in the form of text problems with ethnic themes. Children make calculations with deer, fish, arctic foxes and walruses. Decorative and applied arts Handicrafts, for both boys and girls, are taught either in labor (technology) lessons as separate topics, or in clubs. An important form of cultural representation in school education is classes in which children study the specifics of ethnic arts and crafts and learn to reproduce ornaments by making various crafts. For girls, the most common activity is weaving ethnic patterns with beads, for boys - wood and leather work. Popular subjects invariably remain plagues and deer. In physical education classes and in special sections, classes in northern sports are popular: belt wrestling, jumping over a sled, stick tug, hatchet and lasso throwing, archery. Almost all boys “pass” through such sections and participate in youth competitions. Subjects of “traditional culture” - practice In recent years, classes with ethnocultural content have appeared in the program, which should be separated into a separate group according to their “practical” orientation. Boarding schools in ethnic villages offer classes in reindeer husbandry, hunting, and fishing for boys and traditional sewing classes for girls. They are often theoretical in nature, but, for example, in some schools in Northern Yakutia, children go to the taiga for “industrial practice.”

In addition to the listed educational activities, children participate in other types of ethnocultural activities: they carry out projects in the school local history museum, go to summer ethnic camps, and participate in folklore ensembles (at school or club). Thus, in the Arctic regions of Russia, children receive, to one degree or another (depending on the subject of the Federation), ethnocultural content through school education. The process of urbanization leads to the fact that more and more young people choose to live in a village or city. The need for ethnocultural subjects is formulated by officials and teachers based on the key thesis: this knowledge is needed to form the ethnic identity of children; every representative of a given ethnic group should have it, regardless of place of residence. Schoolchildren themselves (especially in ethnic villages) value these lessons because they are

associated with home (for children living in a boarding school) and allow them to realize their “ethnic needs.” Another principle that determines the school curriculum is associated, as already mentioned at the beginning of this section, with slogans about “returning to the roots,” in other words, about familiarization with the types of traditional economy. However, if we focus on the stated goals and the actual content of the program, it becomes clear that the main problem of ethnocultural education is the folklorization of the knowledge provided. The content of ethnocultural items consists of selected most striking “elements” of culture, which are expressed in the staging of national rituals, weaving ethnic patterns and learning songs in the native language. At the same time, both rural and urban populations, according to the schoolchildren themselves, would be interested in practical knowledge about life in the Arctic and an understanding of in what cases it can be applied. In most cases, schools teach children “how to do it” (meaning any Aboriginal practice) instead of “doing it” to preserve traditions. The languages of the indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East are experiencing different stages of crisis. According to UNESCO estimates, some languages have already disappeared, and the languages of 13 of the 40 peoples of the North are on the verge of extinction. Scientific publications have developed several classifications of the state of indigenous languages. The fundamental criterion for assessing the state of a language is the distribution of language proficiency by age groups. Along with this, many other factors are taken into account: the volume of language education, the availability of educational materials and literature, use in government institutions, etc. In the Arctic regions we studied, the Nenets and Dolgan languages have the strongest positions. The status and set of measures to support ethnic languages depends on the sovereignty of the constituent entity of the Russian Federation on whose territory indigenous peoples live. In the Arctic zone, the languages of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) are considered the most “protected” at the legislative level; Separate legal acts support the languages of the autonomous okrugs (NAO, KhMAO-Yugra, ChAO, Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug). Native languages in the territories inhabited by indigenous peoples of the North are not the languages of instruction and are taught in three forms: a subject in the main program (from 1 to 3 hours per week), an elective course (1-2 hours per week), extracurricular club activities (1 hour in Week). By “mother tongue,” modern northerners mean different categories: the language first learned in childhood; the language in which a person thinks; a language corresponding to the name of an ethnic group, etc. For example, in Yakutia, in most ethnic villages, representatives of indigenous peoples speak Yakut or Russian from childhood and only at school begin to learn the

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language corresponding to the ethnonym (Dolgan, Evenki, Even, Yukagir, Chukchi). It is worth noting that in cities and regional centers where a significant number of representatives of indigenous minorities live, native languages are taught in the compulsory curriculum only in boarding schools, if any.

In 2007, federal legislation abolished the national-regional component of school education. At the moment, the content of educational programs must comply with the federal standard, which does not mean excluding the national component altogether, but involves choosing your own version of the ethnocultural curriculum (within the framework of the federal standard) in each school. Parents and children also become actors in the formation of the curriculum, since they can express their opinions regarding the subjects of the ethnocultural component. This primarily affected the teaching of native languages. Now in schools where classes in the native language are optional, parents often write an application to refuse lessons, which is due to the children's reluctance to learn the language or the parents' opinion regarding the "uselessness" of this subject. The languages of the peoples of the North have different degrees of development of the educational and methodological complex (methodological aids, textbooks). For some languages, teaching is carried out from 1st to 9th grade, there are textbooks (Nenets, Khanty, Dolgan, Chukchi), for others, textbooks only for primary schools have been published (Nganasan, Koryak). In 2014, a new textbook of the Nenets language was published with an in-depth program for 10-11th grades and students. The St. Petersburg branch of the Prosveshchenie publishing house, founded in the early 1930s, traditionally publishes textbooks for the peoples of the North. as the Leningrad branch of Uchpedgiz. In many ways, the basis for the formation of groups of authors is the Institute of Northern Peoples in St. Petersburg. The publishing house also cooperates with regional educational authorities, institutes for advanced training of teachers, and local scientific organizations. Considering that publishing literature in indigenous languages is associated with high costs due to small print runs and low profitability, the state has traditionally provided assistance to the publishing house from the federal budget. The figures for the reduction in federal funding are indicative. In 2002, with funds allocated by the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation, the publishing house "Prosveshchenie" published textbooks worth 11 million rubles, and in 2010 - only 5 million. The circulation is decreasing every year. Meanwhile, according to the director of the St. Petersburg branch S.F. Zubov, in 2021 more than 20 million rubles are needed to meet the current need for educational literature of the indigenous peoples of the North. However, since 2021, federal funding for the publishing house has ceased, and the issue of

publishing educational literature for the indigenous peoples of the North has been transferred to regional jurisdiction. At the moment, the publishing house continues its activities, but in very reduced volumes. For a number of languages, literature is published by regional publishing houses, such as the National Book Publishing House "Bichik" in Yakutia, which develops a wide range of educational and fiction literature. Regional budgets face difficulties in ensuring the publication of textbooks and their further delivery to remote villages. Thus, published textbooks end up in school libraries or in single copies from teachers of their native language. Children do not have the opportunity to study with them. Naturally, in such conditions, the budgets do not provide a line for the scientific examination of educational publications, which, according to the employees of the Prosveshcheniye publishing house, is necessary to obtain high-quality textbooks. Methods of teaching native languages, coupled with the available educational literature, cannot be called effective. Textbooks are written for students who know the language, but in reality many children learn the subject from scratch. The publication of new textbooks for mastering the native language as a foreign language is required. Teaching is aimed mainly at studying grammar and memorizing limited vocabulary, and almost no attention is paid to the development of spoken language in the classroom. In kindergartens of national villages (not counting nomadic kindergartens, which will be discussed below), classes in the native language were introduced for the purpose of familiarization.

A child who has learned to speak only the language of the national majority in the family comes to a kindergarten group where the staff (usually older people with a good command of the language and knowledge of the culture) from the very beginning and in all situations speaks to him only in the language of the national minority. The child begins to understand the new language very quickly. "Language nests" show successful results in all regions where they are practiced. In Russia, the method of "language nests" began to be used in Karelia in relation to the Karelian and Vepsian languages, in the Komi Republic - the Komi language. Subsequently, "language nests" were opened in Taimyr to preserve the Entsy and Nganasan languages, as well as in the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug. Despite the effectiveness of the technique, the Ministry of Regional Development of the Russian Federation opposed its introduction in Russia. A government report on the protection of minority languages notes that the method is not suitable for Russia because it "leads to ethnic segregation." This statement is refuted in the scientific and pedagogical communities. In addition to specific difficulties with teaching ethnic languages, there are deeper problems that cause the "language crisis." In the regions where indigenous minorities live, native

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languages do not have the same prestige as the language of the majority. The opinion of regional officials, intellectuals and even teachers that language can only be preserved in the tundra and taiga is ideologically opposed to the development of language in modern spheres of life, in urban culture. The publication of literature in the languages of the peoples of the North is mainly focused on folklore, fairy tales for children and teaching aids. At the same time, published books are sent to school libraries and museums, stored in departments for indigenous minorities, but they are not freely available to the public. At the same time, there are projects to translate laws into the languages of the peoples of the North; a major contribution to the publication of literature is made by the Institute of Bible Translation in Moscow, which works on translations of the Gospels, Bible stories for children and distributes books throughout the northern regions. On social networks, young people create separate groups in their native language (Nenets, Evenki, Chukotka) to unite representatives of the same ethnic group within the Internet and express ethnic identity.

Due to criticism of boarding schools in the 1990s. In the Russian North, the search for alternative forms of education for children of the nomadic population begins. Ideologists in the field of education came to the idea of reviving nomadic schools, turning to the experience of Soviet nomadic educational institutions and the Red Plagues of 1920-1930. Before talking about nomadic schools in Russia, it should be noted that the practice of nomadic education has been experimenting for several decades in different countries - in Nigeria, Kenya (and other East African countries), Iran, Syria, India, Mongolia, Kyrgyzstan. To describe nomadic educational institutions, foreign anthropologists use a variety of terms: "mobile school", "tent-school", "peripatetic school", "school-on-wheels", "shepherd schools". "Mobile" schools abroad are an opportunity to reach the nomadic population with at least primary education due to the lack of another organized education system for nomads. The situation is different only in Mongolia and Kyrgyzstan, where a network of boarding schools operates, and nomadic education was introduced as a form of pre-school training for children during the stay of herders in summer camps. The first nomadic schools in post-Soviet Russia appeared in Yakutia and the Amur region. The practice of nomadic education over the past 20 years has also been observed in the Nenets Autonomous Okrug (NAO), Taimyr Dolgano-Nenets Municipal District (TMR), Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug (KhMAO), Chukotka Autonomous Okrug (CHAO), Evenkiy Municipal District (EMR) and Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug (YNAO). Among the Arctic regions, Yakutia is a leader in the development of modern nomadic education. The first Yakut nomadic schools were opened for Evenks in the Oleneksky ulus (1990), 2

schools in tribal communities in the Aldansky district (1992), in the Olekminsky ulus (1992) and for the Dolgans in Anabarsky (1995). Today there are 13 nomadic schools operating there. The republic has developed a legal framework that consolidates the status of nomadic educational institutions. The development of nomadic education concepts is carried out by the Center for the Development of Nomadic Educational Institutions of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) (CROU PC (Y)), created as a structural subdivision of the Research Institute of National Schools of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia). In Yakutia, a special terminology has developed, which is now used in other regions. In the neighboring Amur region in 1990, a taiga school was opened for children of Evenk reindeer herders from the village. Ust-Nyukzhi, Tyndinsky district, who worked for several years. In 2016, on the initiative of the French anthropologist Alexandra Lavrillier, a nomadic school was re-established on the basis of the Ust-Nyukzhinsk boarding school, which is still in operation today. The Nenets Autonomous Okrug also has experience in nomadic education. The district is home to a group of Nenets families (known as the Yambto community), which were practically unaffected by the transformations of the Soviet period: until the mid-1980s. community members had no documents, did not go to school, did not receive medical care. In 1997, the Norwegian anthropologist Ivar Bjorklund and the president of the Nenets association "Yasavey" A. Vyucheysky organized a summer nomadic school aimed at eliminating illiteracy among the adult population of the community and preparing children for school. At the moment, the school is not operating. In the Khanty-Mansiysk Okrug there was a school that would now be called "nomadic": the camp school of the Nenets writer Yuri Vella, which worked for 12 years since 1996. Currently, the idea of a camp school continues to develop in small Khanty and Mansi villages. In the Taimyr Dolgano-Nenets municipal district, since 2018, a nomadic school-kindergarten has been operating in the village. Tukhard for children of Nenets reindeer herders, since 2019 - a stationary small school-kindergarten in the village. Polikarpovsk for children of fishermen; from 2021 - a nomadic school-kindergarten based on the Dolgan family of reindeer herders in the village. Novorybnaya. In 2021-2022 There was also an experimental site at the Khinka fishing point in the Noskovskaya tundra (formerly Ust-Yenisei region) - a summer nomadic school and kindergarten for Nenets children. In the Krasnoyarsk Territory, on the territory of the Evenki municipal district, a nomadic kindergarten was also opened in 2021 in the reindeer herding brigade No. 4 village. Surinda for children of Evenki reindeer herders. In subsequent years, the kindergarten did not operate; in 2018, preschool development classes resumed in the spring and summer months. In the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug, the organization

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of nomadic education is one of the priority areas. The first test of the nomadic school model was the opening in 2010 of a regional experimental site in the village. Laborovaya, Priuralsky district, on the initiative of the Nenets writer A. N. Nerkaga. The school is located at the "Land of Hope" ethnic camp near Laborovaya, being a permanent institution. In addition, teachers regularly travel to nomadic families to teach preschoolers. Laws of the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug and other legal acts have been adopted that secure the right of parents to choose the form of organization of the educational process (including nomadic), and a training regime focused on the ethnic calendars of the indigenous peoples of the district. The opportunity has been provided for individual education of children from among the indigenous peoples of the North, and an increasing coefficient has been established for the traveling nature of the work of teaching staff teaching children of parents leading a nomadic lifestyle. In the 2013-2014 academic year, 10 nomadic educational institutions operated on the territory of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug. Nomadic kindergarten groups are located for children 1.5-7 years old in the Khadutei fishing camp (Kharampurskaya tundra), in the Languvichey camp (Vyngapurovskaya tundra), short-term groups at trading posts 5-6 Sands (Nakhodka tundra) and Yuribey (Gydanskaya tundra), small-scale nomadic kindergartens at the Halmer-Yakha trading post (Nakhodka tundra) and in the Shuryshkarsky district [Department of Education 2014]. Spring 2014 Four groups of short-term kindergarten stays began working in reindeer herding brigades of the Yarsalinskoye municipal nature reserve (Yamal district). In September 2013, at the reindeer herding transshipment base Kaetty (Omolon tundra, Bilibinsky district), the first "nomadic school" in Chukotka was organized - a structural subdivision of the MBOU "Boarding School of the village. Omolon, Bilibinsky municipal district." Based on the results of the first years of study, monitoring of mastering the educational program and final certification of students will be carried out, which will determine further prospects for expanding the network of similar classes in Chukotka.

Projects to create nomadic education are being discussed in many regions of the North, so the emergence of new educational institutions every year becomes a matter of funding and the ingenuity of local authorities. According to calculations, in the 2018-2021 academic year, 29 educational institutions with the status of "nomadic school/nomadic kindergarten" functioned throughout the Russian North, with a total number of students of about 350 people¹. The organizers of modern nomadic schools formulate several key goals of nomadic education. Here is a quote from a document by the Research Institute of National Schools of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia): "The nomadic school is created to ensure the

constitutional rights of citizens of the Russian Federation to education and the implementation of the Federal Law "On Education of the Russian Federation to create conditions for the organization and accessibility of preschool, basic general and additional education, without interruption children from parents leading a traditional nomadic lifestyle. In nomadic schools, taking into account the needs and capabilities of the individual, various forms of education are organized. The nomadic school is also being created to restore and preserve the traditional management of the indigenous peoples of the North, to introduce children to the national culture, native language, traditions and customs, and to protect the original habitat" [Research Institute of National Schools]. In more detail, the goals of nomadic schools can be explained as follows: 1. Raising children without separation from the family, preserving their physical and psychological health; ensuring accessibility of education. According to boarding school psychologists, the shock that young children experience when they start going to school disappears without a trace by the end of the first year of school, but in children from nomadic families the state of adaptation stress often drags on and in middle school it manifests itself in aggressive behavior, especially in boys. "In boarding school, some people break down. They miss home, it's hard for them. It breaks them. After this, they can't adjust their lives and find themselves" (from an interview with one of the graduates of a boarding school in Taimyr). Returning the child "to the family" is the main argument in favor of nomadic schools from the parents themselves, especially in regions where such schools are already functioning.

There are still problematic cases in organizing the educational process in hard-to-reach areas. For example, in the Gydan tundra of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug, large Nenets families wandering in remote areas do not have the opportunity to send their children to a boarding school in the village. Gyda. The fact is that the residential buildings of the Gydan boarding school cannot accommodate all the schoolchildren, and therefore families have to take their children to the village of Tazovsky or other populated areas. Parents do not see their children for a whole year, so, according to the parents themselves and the regional education department, a nomadic school is needed there. 2. Preservation of traditional culture and language through the preservation of traditional types of economy. Children of nomads, being separated from their families from the age of 6-7, spend most of their time in a boarding school (up to 10 months a year). According to parents, the age from 6 to 12 years is the period when the child receives all the basic skills necessary to lead a traditional lifestyle and survive, and also learns the norms of behavior characteristic of a given culture. This opinion can be illustrated by an excerpt from an interview with the

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head of the Dolgan family of reindeer herders in the Khatanga region (Taimyr), Pavel Zharkov, whose family runs a nomadic school: “Only children at a young age, under 10 years old, can learn to understand animals well. But they spend this time in a boarding school. After boarding school, I still don’t understand deer. The child communicates with animals on a subconscious level. In general, a person in the tundra will be able to live after boarding school, but will not understand animals. And if a child was taught everything in a camp before the age of 10, then later, after boarding school, he will remember everything.” Within the framework of this view, the nomadic school turns out to be relevant, first of all, for primary education. The educational program of nomadic schools assumes that children will combine study, participation in the life of the camp, and learning the necessary economic skills. As mentioned above, there is a popular discourse in the pedagogical community that the endangered languages of the peoples of the North can function and develop only in the tundra/taiga. It is expected that schoolchildren, being in a family environment, will use their native language more. As in the Soviet period, modern nomadic schools represent several forms of organization. Nomadic educational institutions are sometimes classified by geographic location (tundra, taiga, mountain taiga); leading types of economic activity of the population (reindeer husbandry, fishing, hunting); legal status (independent legal entity or branch of a village school); levels and types of education (nomadic school-kindergarten, primary nomadic school, nomadic school of basic general education, nomadic school of secondary (complete) general education); form of education (full-time, part-time and evening, family education, distance learning, external study). The Research Institute of National Schools of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) has developed 7 models of nomadic educational institutions: nomadic school-kindergarten, community, tutor, taiga, stationary-nomadic, network and summer nomadic schools. Depending on the natural and climatic zone and the economic activities of families, schools are divided into two types: nomadic and stationary nomadic. It is important to focus on the term “nomadic school”. Currently, this concept has some variability in meaning. According to Yakut legislation, this type of educational institution has a fairly broad definition: “A nomadic school is an independent educational institution or a branch of an educational institution in places of compact residence of indigenous peoples of the North.” The sonorous phrase “nomadic school” is used by officials, the national intelligentsia, and after them the media. Nomadic schools have become a fashionable brand in the Arctic and one of the symbols of support for reindeer husbandry and the peoples of the North in general. Of the 29 existing nomadic educational institutions, only 9 are actually nomadic, the rest have stationary forms. Thus, it is important to

realize that the essence of nomadic schools is not that they move with families, but that these are schools for nomads, that is, educational institutions that maximally take into account the peculiarities of the lifestyle of nomadic and semi-nomadic families.

Criticism of nomadic schools comes both from the national intelligentsia, officials and educators, and from parents. While researching this issue, we conducted interviews with all participants in the educational process. Particular attention was paid to surveys of reindeer herders, whose children could be potential pupils of nomadic schools and kindergartens or are already such. Below we use materials from interviews collected in Taimyr, Yamal, Evenkia and Yakutia. Critical comments from parents were recorded mainly in those places where schools do not yet function (for example, among the Yamal Nenets tundra dwellers). Having analyzed the collected statements, opinions can be divided into two blocks, the first being classified as critical judgments with a wide range of assessments - from doubt and fear to complete denial. It is difficult to technically organize the educational process in the tundra/taiga due to the specific nature of nomadism and difficult natural conditions. Similar opinions are expressed, as a rule, by inhabitants of the tundra with long nomadic routes. Parents define school as a burden for the family/camp or consider it generally incompatible with nomadic life: “We’ll have to set up another tent!”, “We’re constantly nomadic, there’s no time to bother with school yet,” “Just put up a tent, and soon On the road again - when to study? Below is an excerpt from an interview with a teacher who has worked for a long time in the field of organizing preschool education, E. N. Okotetto: “The Yamal region, for example, does not accept a nomadic school. They say: “As the month of October begins, the deer run to the south and we don’t have time - what a nomadic school there is!” In two or three days we will migrate again. We have no time for the teacher, no time for the student. We need to have time to sew and cook.” The second reason: who will serve the teacher? Well, the school will have its own herd, its own tent, and its own sled. But who will train the reindeer to be tractors, who will set up tents? Plague worker? She has no time for this, she needs to serve her husband so that she can send her husband on duty... They’ll buy sledges for school. But who will make them? There are no forests in the Yamal region. It must be obtained. Men have no time to do any more sledges...” It is very difficult to select appropriate personnel for a nomadic school. “Who would go to the tundra to work as a teacher? It will be difficult to find such people,” “What do we care - we’ll agree to go to school, but everything depends on the teachers, they’ll freeze...” - this is how parents express their doubts.

Training of teachers for nomadic educational institutions is one of the key issues in the organization of nomadic education. It is quite difficult to find

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teachers who are willing to spend a long time in nomadic conditions or at the production bases of reindeer herders. For example, in a nomadic school in Chukotka, three teachers changed in one year of operation. The dominant opinion is that the teacher himself must be a representative of a nomadic ethnic group and have a good knowledge of his native language and culture. The problem of personnel in the regions is solved differently. In the 2021-2022 academic year, North-Eastern State University. M.K. Ammosov (Yakutsk) recruited students (21 people) in the specialties “teacher education” and the profile “primary education and tutoring in the main small (nomadic) school of the North.” The Institute for Educational Development and Advanced Training of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) organized professional retraining courses for teachers of nomadic schools. At the Yamal Multidisciplinary College in Salekhard, several students in the specialties “teaching in primary grades” and “preschool education” are studying as part of the implementation of the regional innovation platform project “Model of training teachers for working with children of indigenous peoples of the North in a nomadic school.” According to employees of the district's Department of Education, nomadic teachers need to be taught to ride snowmobiles, use a satellite phone and other mobile devices in the tundra. Parents who have a pedagogical education or have completed short-term courses are also registered as preschool teachers. For example, in the Yamal region of the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug, from the kindergarten “Solnyshko” in the tundra there are 4 nomadic groups, where the teachers are women from the tundra. 3. Children will not receive a good education in a nomadic school. Parents often express the opinion that the tundra/taiga does not have a learning atmosphere and children will not be able to study seriously: “Children in the tundra and taiga will not want to study. They will be distracted by everything, they won't want to go to school, the teachers won't listen,” “They will have bad knowledge, and they won't be able to study further.” In addition, parents are concerned that children from nomadic schools find themselves in unequal conditions of logistics compared to those who study in regular schools. Long gone are the years when parents did not want to send their children to boarding schools. Reindeer herders understand that their children need to receive a good education, because problems with traditional farming are possible (deaths, environmental degradation and alienation of pastures due to industrial development). Parents would like their children to be able to find other professions in such extreme cases. Teachers of nomadic schools do not agree with the stereotype about the low level of education. Children in the lower grades demonstrate a good average result when tested for progress. Teachers explain this by the fact that

there are a small number of students in the class (on average from 3 to 10), which means that more time can be devoted to each child and learning is based on an individual approach. 4. People are used to the boarding school system and don't want to change anything. “We're used to boarding schools, but we'll have to get used to it again.” You can hear the following statement from women: “We are used to having children in a boarding school; we manage to do a lot of work during this time, for example, sewing. And if they are around here, you will have to spend a lot of time on them.” For low-income families, a boarding school is an opportunity to support children at state expense. 5. Parents do not see the future of their children in reindeer herding, so they believe that nomadic schools are a “step backwards.” “I don't want my child to be a reindeer herder (especially about girls.). Let him live in the village. If he studies at such a school, how will he then get used to the city?” “It's better to go to a boarding school, so he can adapt to village life.” Due to a lack of information, parents believe that the nomadic school is intended to “leave” their children in the tundra/taiga. Reindeer herders, pessimistic about their way of life, want their children to settle in a village or city, and “not live such a hard life like us.” “Critical” statements often coexist with “positive” ones. It is paradoxical that some of them are grouped around the same problems that cause negative assessments from other respondents.

The child will be able to learn everything that is required to live in the tundra/taiga. “They will learn everything, they will be able to survive in the taiga, otherwise when they live in the village, they forget everything,” “Our children seem to be stronger than the village children, they work constantly, they know how to do everything: they go hunting, they catch fish, they harness reindeer.” . It is interesting to note that general patterns are evident in attitudes towards nomadic education in different countries. Judging by surveys of parents in East Africa, nomadic schooling is favored by families who want their children to become pastoralists. 3. Children, being in the family, discipline their parents. “When a child is with his parents, he seems to control them: they try not to drink, they can't relax,” “When parents are around children, they behave better and the family is stronger.” To conclude the review of opinions, we can cite an excerpt from an interview with an informant in Chukotka. The fragment is a collection of diverse thoughts about the model of a school at a transshipment base: “Now the municipal unitary enterprise agricultural enterprise “Oloy” is one of the few where there is no problem with young staff. The average age of reindeer herders there is 32 years. And there is no shortage of personnel there, because young guys want to go to work in the tundra. Why? Because at one time there was a small school there in Kaetty. All received primary education. Those who wanted to went on to study further, but the majority, of course,

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remained where they were. But when last year there was an attempt to create a school there again, a problem arose that parents did not want to leave their children to study locally, because it was easier and more profitable for them to send them to Omolon to study at school than to teach them in Kaetty, because this is a responsibility. And so they sent it, and it seemed good, no one was in the way. The connection between parents and children is lost, hence the loss of family life skills in the traditional way of life. It is a fact that children should live with their parents. But our parents often don't want to. Why did it take us so long to launch the Kaetty project? Because parents do not want to send their children to this school and take care of their children. With great difficulty, we recruited 7 children, literally voluntarily and forcibly. First grade last year had a third teacher change during the school year. This is not normal. Because it's hard to work there, it's hard to live in the tundra, you have to carry firewood, chop it, maintain a house, it's hard. The teachers are residents of Chukotka. The first teacher was from Kanchalan, it was physically difficult for her there, she was from another area. Now they have taken a girl, a graduate of this Kaetty school, she works, of course, but on her last legs. Because she had already forgotten what it was like to live in the tundra. Everyone understands perfectly well how necessary it is. This school was proposed to be created 10 years ago as a form of family education. But the parents had no preparation. There is money, but people don't have the organizational capabilities." Nomadic educational institutions, which have undoubtedly become an important phenomenon in the modern education system in the North, are causing heated discussions. Despite the increased attention to them, A small number of children are educated in nomadic schools. Nomadic education undoubtedly requires further development, taking into account the views of the people for whom these schools are created. Such schools can be a platform for educational experiments in developing an optimal educational concept for children of indigenous peoples of the North, taking into account their characteristics. Along with this, such educational institutions create additional jobs for indigenous representatives. The demand for "nomadic" teachers can increase the prestige of knowledge of their native language and culture in the eyes of young people. Modern life in the Arctic, on the one hand, is full of risks associated with environmental deterioration and the loss of places of traditional environmental management, and on the other hand, it actualizes the need for educated specialists, both in "urban" professions and in reindeer husbandry. The most important task is not the mechanical reproduction of "traditional" culture through nomadic schools, but the creation of conditions for further free choice by the student of an individual life strategy, whether it will be associated with the nomadic way of life or rejection

of it. In the situation of industrial development of the northern territories and the process of globalization, children need to have equal opportunities both to run a traditional economy, continuing the work of their parents, and to receive vocational education with subsequent work in their specialty. Vocational education Young people who want to continue their education after school, in most cases, enter secondary vocational education institutions located in the regional capitals: Yamal and Salekhard multidisciplinary colleges (Salekhard), Taimyr College (Dudinka), Chukotka Multidisciplinary College (Salekhard). . Anadyr), Naryan-Mar Social and Humanitarian College named after. L.P. Vyucheysky, etc. These educational institutions offer a wide range of specialties: "preschool education", "primary school teacher", "nursing", "decorative and applied arts and folk art", "animal technician", "auto mechanic" , "cook", "carpenter", "seamstress" and many others. School graduates planning to obtain higher education have support under various programs in varying amounts depending on the region. There are targeted places in universities, agreements with individual educational institutions, special scholarships for northern students, but the number of places is limited, so only a few receive this opportunity. In addition to common areas such as pedagogy and medicine, applicants choose law, economics, ecology, and faculties related to oil and gas production as current specialties. The latter are in great demand among applicants and are considered promising. Students express a desire to return to their home region after studying and work in industrial companies. Students explain the choice of this strategy as follows: industrial development of the Arctic is inevitable, but if indigenous people work in this industry, they will treat their land more carefully and cause less harm than visiting workers. Despite such aspirations, oil and gas companies employ only a few indigenous people. Applicants enter local branches of universities and institutes or go to study in large cities: Moscow, St. Petersburg, Tyumen, Novy Urengoy, Tomsk, Norilsk, Yakutsk, Khabarovsk. Since 1999, a branch of the St. Petersburg State Economic University in Anadyr has been operating in the Chukotka District. Training at the branch is conducted by correspondence in the following specialties and areas: finance and credit, state municipal administration, economics of enterprises and organizations (housing and communal services). There are 297 students in total. In 2010, the Chukotka branch of the North-Eastern Federal University named after. M.K. Ammosova. Currently, the branch provides training in the following specialties: applied geology, mining, thermal power engineering and heating engineering, electrical power engineering and electrical engineering, computer science and computer science. In St. Petersburg, the largest number of students from among the indigenous

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minorities are accepted by the Russian State Pedagogical University named after. Herzen and the State Polar Academy. In Moscow, the Russian State University of Oil and Gas is considered prestigious among northerners. I. M. Gubkina. Northern students often experience adaptation difficulties during their studies at universities. Having arrived to study in a big city (St. Petersburg, Moscow, Tyumen, Yakutsk), young people are faced with various problems: independent decision-making, self-organization, ensuring everyday life, etc. Graduates note that after ten years of living in boarding schools, it is difficult to adapt to independent existence: "In the boarding school, we did everything according to a schedule, we were controlled - every day the same schedule. And we always knew that there would be lunch, dinner, and so on. The premises will be clean, all sorts of things will be given out if anything happens, but here you need everything yourself..." You can also quote a statement from an interview with the director of one of the boarding schools: "When children start studying in another city, escape from school and from under the wing of their parents, many cannot cope with the temptations around them. They start drinking, skipping classes, getting into bad company, and then they don't pass their exams and drop out of college." Students also experience financial difficulties. Often, students whose parents live in the tundra or taiga are helped by older brothers and sisters in the village. Difficulties in obtaining higher education are associated, among other things, with low motivation of schoolchildren and an unsatisfactory level of knowledge. Another problem is further employment in the specialty. Returning university graduates find it difficult to find work due to a lack of jobs or employers' preference for visiting specialists. For example, according to the Department of Education, Culture and Youth Policy of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug, The employment rate of graduates in the district is 51%, compared to 44% in Russia as a whole. In specialties opened on the basis of applications from enterprises, the employment rate reaches 90% and higher: these are geology, postal services, medicine, education, and catering. Unfortunately, not all graduates are ready to return to their native villages and work in their specialty. Almost half of the students prefer to stay in Anadyr and work as packers, loaders, sellers, and workers, while renting expensive housing. The reasons for the reluctance to work in villages are the low level of wages for young professionals, working conditions, and the lack of necessary infrastructure for leisure activities (no modern gyms, etc.). Thus, in 2020, 10 specialists with the specialty "senior veterinarian" were graduated, of which 5 people were employed by profession, and three are currently working. The modern education system in the North is not only experiencing positive transformations, but also has a number of obvious problems.

Conclusion

In the process of globalization, large-scale changes are taking place in the economic activities and lifestyle of the indigenous inhabitants of the Arctic. Today, Aboriginal people choose different development strategies, but for most of them, industrial development has become the most important factor in modern life. The activities of enterprises bring huge amounts of money to regional budgets, part of which goes to finance targeted development programs for indigenous peoples of the North, to help the agro-industrial complex, to support indigenous communities, and to compensate for losses caused during the development of territories. Overall, this has a positive impact on the well-being of indigenous and local populations. Modern infrastructure is developing in the Arctic: roads are being built, modern means of communication and energy are being used, residential buildings and social and cultural facilities are being built. This creates conditions so that indigenous peoples do not feel outside the "benefits of civilization" and receive comparable access to education, medical care and culture as residents of other regions of Russia. The process of interaction between indigenous peoples and mining companies is regulated by federal and regional laws. In addition, the districts have developed the practice of concluding agreements and agreements between communities and industrial enterprises. Of particular note is the unique experience of the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug in the creation of the Ethno-Ecological Council, whose tasks include making proposals to local governments to improve the legal framework in the field of regulation of land legal relations, environmental protection, environmental management and subsoil use. It is advisable to apply this experience in other regions. The policies of industrial companies in the North of Russia have been gradually changing for the better in recent years. Their managers and employees come to the realization that they are not pioneers of the northern and Arctic territories, that their activities must not only be carried out within the framework of the legal, primarily environmental, field, but also comply with moral standards. And since industrial development of the Arctic began before the adoption of modern environmental and socially oriented legal standards, companies should use compensatory measures and actively cooperate with local and indigenous populations in the areas of their operations. The management of many enterprises is aware of their responsibility and adopts documents and regulations that define the principles of activity and rules of behavior of employees, especially in places of traditional residence and traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples. Against the background of the material well-being of the visiting

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population employed in the mining industry, the social problems of the aborigines are especially visible. In addition to the fact that the level of wages in fishing, reindeer husbandry, and marine hunting is an order of magnitude lower than in industry, The high level of unemployment among indigenous peoples poses a serious threat to social stability. As a rule, industrial enterprises refuse to hire indigenous people due to low qualifications, and there are no reserves for increasing employment in traditional industries. In the reindeer herding industry of the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug there is even a problem of “oversupply” of deer and shepherds, aggravated by the depletion of food resources. In Chukotka reindeer husbandry, there are other concerns - a shortage of reindeer herders and livestock workers; the desired increase in livestock is not happening, and therefore, the scope of employment is not expanding. The authorities associate the prospects for reducing unemployment and developing the traditional sector of the economy of the North with the development of communities and processing of products from traditional sectors of the economy. Traditional forms of economic management of the Arctic peoples are increasingly involved in the regional economy, and ethnocultural heritage is recognized as an important resource for the vitality of society, which not only needs to be preserved, but also modern forms of working with it must be found. Particular attention in our study is paid to the education of indigenous peoples of the North as the most important mechanism of adaptation. In the educational process, the educational potential of the basic means of the ethnic culture of the northern peoples is widely used (oral folk art, arts and crafts, folk games and toys, traditional physical competitions, festive and gaming folklore). It is probably worth considering the possibility of creating new forms of educational structures that are more adequate to the ethnic needs of northerners, as well as paying more attention to the targeted training of pedagogical specialists in the field of ethnocultural traditions of education. In the context of increasing industrial development, today there is an obvious lack of resources for traditional environmental management. The reduction of pastures and the pollution of water bodies lead to the need to search for new ways of social adaptation in the context of the curtailment of traditional forms of management. Many Aboriginal families see a solution in young people receiving vocational education and specialties that are in demand in the labor market. At the same time, many experts express thoughts about the need for more flexible forms - perhaps nomadic, primarily primary - education for children of reindeer herders in order to mitigate the stress that is inevitable for younger schoolchildren when parting with their parents and during the first years of life and study in boarding school. It is also important to understand that further development of traditional sectors of the economy is

impossible without a sufficient number of Aboriginal people who have received both basic and professional special education. Today you need not only to herd deer, fish, hunt animals, but also have knowledge of management, marketing, accounting, and be economically and legally literate. So far in the North there are very few such specialists among indigenous peoples. After all, one of the reasons that communities cannot develop successfully is associated with financial reporting issues. A useful measure could be closer interaction between industrial companies and educational institutions in cities and boarding schools. Familiarity and constant communication between the indigenous and visiting populations are of great importance. Their rapprochement would contribute to the establishment of a favorable psychological climate and would help graduates of boarding schools find their place in the future, including in industrial enterprises. In Russia and the world there are examples of successful participation of industrial companies in educational programs for indigenous and local populations in the Arctic and training programs for activists of indigenous social movements, which would be useful to be widely covered in the media. Measures of targeted government support for the development of indigenous peoples in combination with assistance to various forms of their self-organization are necessary. Such a policy of interested federal and regional authorities could guarantee movement towards limiting state paternalism, forming partnerships and mastering negotiation procedures by all their participants. The monograph proposes legal measures as mechanisms to overcome risks for indigenous peoples of the North associated with the industrial development of areas of their traditional residence and economic activity. Among them are the improvement of legislation, primarily the adoption of a special Federal Law “On assessing the impact on the ancestral habitat and traditional way of life of indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East”, introducing changes to land and resource legislation that correspond to the legal rights and interests of indigenous peoples, tightening environmental regulations in the Arctic. To improve the effectiveness of the proposed measures, monitoring of law enforcement practice will be required. It seems to us that in such work, an interdisciplinary approach is especially important, the joint work of anthropologists, lawyers, ecologists, and possibly the involvement of biogeographers, economists and other specialists. An effective means of improving the quality of life of Aboriginal people could be the development by industrial companies of a policy focused on interaction and dialogue with indigenous peoples, studying and taking into account their interests. A fruitful practice in this regard appears to be the practice of campaigns, recognized in many countries, to accept obligations on social corporate

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responsibility, based on international standards formulated in the UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007) and the Guiding Principles for Business Development in the Context of Human Rights (2011). Company policies based on these principles should combine direct financial injections into the regions in which they operate with targeted competitive projects aimed at developing communities and families of indigenous peoples, supporting their cultures and languages. In this case, primary importance should be given to the social sphere - education and health care, construction and support of enterprises for processing products of traditional industries. Special measures are needed both in relation to Aboriginal people living in cities and towns with a mixed population, where different economic and cultural structures coexist, and in relation to ethnically homogeneous communities of the indigenous population leading traditional environmental management. The multivariate approach proposed in the book takes into account the

ability of people of any culture and social environment to innovate and gives preference to individual strategies of people, their fundamental desire to provide better personal and social living conditions. At the same time, the industrial development of the Arctic zone can contribute to the development of the indigenous peoples of the region if government authorities provide a legal framework and socio-economic guarantees, increase the efficiency and quality of education, realize the right of people to reliable information, which in total will certainly contribute to the formation of a favorable social climate. Only taking into account all these circumstances is it possible for the free, preliminary and conscious participation of indigenous peoples in decision-making that affects their interests, full control over the activities of industrial enterprises, and the application of high standards of social and environmental responsibility to their activities in the Arctic.

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Article



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HISTORICAL SPECIFICITY OF THE CONDITION OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF THE NORTH (INN) LIVING IN THE REGIONS OF THE ARCTIC ZONE OF THE RF

Abstract: *in the article, the authors explore the features of the Arctic territories of the country, where more than half of the total number of indigenous peoples of the North live, the study of whose way of life becomes a separate object of scientific research. The purpose of this article is to study the development of scientific approaches to the study of the traditional economy of indigenous peoples of the North in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation. The main research method was a comparative analysis of publications from the beginning of the 20th century to the present period of both domestic and international scientists studying the traditional types of economy of the indigenous peoples of the Russian Arctic. The analysis of publications was carried out in all available branches of scientific knowledge, not limited to a strictly economic focus, since the economy of the traditional economy of the indigenous peoples of the Arctic is inextricably linked with technology, technical and organizational equipment of farming and other areas. As a result of the study, high research activity on the topic under study was revealed, especially since the increased attention of government authorities to the development of the Arctic territories. However, it was determined that there is no comprehensive approach to studying the economic development of the economies of indigenous peoples living in the Russian Arctic.*

Key words: *traditional farming; indigenous peoples; Russian Arctic; sustainable development; comparative analysis, indigenous peoples, Arctic aborigines, traditional way of life, types of traditional economic activities, Russian legislation, Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation.*

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Introduction

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The article offered to the reader is devoted to the study of the indigenous peoples of the Russian Arctic in the context of industrial development. State policy in the field of subsoil use, hydrocarbon production, and the very presence of industrial companies in the Arctic regions today have a powerful impact on the livelihoods of northern aborigines, determining the need to adapt to existing conditions and, to a large extent, socio-economic and ethnocultural prospects. The world community is concerned about the situation of indigenous peoples and is looking for ways to solve their problems, ensure free development, preserve cultures and languages, use the achievements of modern society and modernization. This can be judged from a number of UN documents, numerous international conferences, and a large number of scientific studies. The main focus of the UN in 2013 was on the topic "Creating Indigenous Alliances: Compliance with Treaties, Agreements and Other Constructive Agreements." Its isolation from the entire spectrum of issues affecting indigenous peoples is not accidental. The living conditions, lifestyle, and worldview of these peoples place them in a special position, which the world community increasingly has to take into account. In the Russian Federation, the issue of "control over one's destiny" is also relevant for indigenous peoples. Indicative are the numerous discussions of this problem in the State Duma and the Federation Council and the adoption of such important documents as "Fundamentals of state policy in the Arctic for the period until 2035", "Strategy for the development of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation and ensuring national security for the period until 2035"). state program "Socio-economic development of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation for the period until 2035." The authors set themselves the following tasks: to study the interaction of indigenous peoples of the North and industrial companies in the context of international, national, corporate and customary law; consider the current economic and sociocultural practices of the Aboriginal people; identify risks associated with industrial development and propose ways to overcome them. This approach is new for domestic science and allows us to raise the question of responsibility for the Arctic, as well as consider the social and environmental policies of companies as a platform for establishing a dialogue with indigenous peoples. Today in the Russian Federation, indigenous organizations of indigenous peoples of the North

demand the right to prior, informed and voluntary consent to carry out industrial activities in areas of traditional residence and to receive fair compensation for damage caused. Industrial companies have their own vision of this problem. In some regions, particularly where multinational corporations operate, interactions between indigenous peoples and businesses are established as part of broader social dialogue. Aboriginal protests are evidence of the existing contradictions between traditional and industrial environmental management, folk beliefs, skills and utilitarian-commercial knowledge and approaches to the environment and its resources. That is why achieving a genuine partnership between indigenous peoples and industrial companies in the Russian Arctic today is becoming one of the conditions not only for the social well-being of representatives of these peoples, but also for achieving stability in Russian society, as well as protecting the geopolitical interests of the state. In our book, we sought to reflect the positions of the main actors in the processes of interaction in the Arctic zone of Russia. For a detailed analysis, two Arctic regions were selected - the Yamalo-Nenets and Chukotka Autonomous Okrugs. The authors drew up a research program that included interviews with different groups of aborigines (reindeer herders, fishermen, marine hunters, employees of agricultural enterprises, teachers, doctors), with representatives of government agencies and industrial enterprises. The work was carried out in Moscow, Salekhard, Anadyr, in regional centers and villages of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug and Chukotka Autonomous Okrug, as well as in the camps of reindeer herders, fishermen, and hunters. The formulation of questions and interpretations of answers were based on the authors' previous work experience in the North. Each ethnographic study allows us to take a different look at the problems from the point of view of new practices that arise in the process of industrial development of the Arctic, so we consider this book as an analysis of a certain stage of interaction between indigenous peoples and industrial companies. The choice of study regions was determined by a number of factors. First of all, the fact that large-scale industrial projects related to the development of natural resources are being developed and implemented in these autonomous okrugs. At the same time, nomadic reindeer herders, sea hunters and fishermen live there. Among them, the original features of ethnic culture have been preserved to this day in their most "pure" form. At the same time, against the backdrop of industrial expansion, the

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traditional way of life of the northern aborigines is being transformed. They were faced with a choice: either preserve and develop their unique culture, or abandon it and live like the vast majority of the country's citizens. The ethnic situation in the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug has been the focus of attention of the authors since 2008. The Yamal and Tazovsky districts of the district became the base for our research. Their choice is due to the dominant population of indigenous peoples and active industrial development. Great attention to Yamal among scientists made it possible to attract additional information and take into account the positions of other authors on the topics raised in the work. Another region of the study was the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug. The impact of industrial development on the indigenous peoples of Chukotka has been studied to a lesser extent, although indigenous public organizations have accumulated some experience in interacting with mining companies. Coming in 2021 Field research was carried out in the city of Anadyr and the Chaunsky, Anadyrsky, Bilibinsky, Providensky districts of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug. As in the Yamalo-Nenets Okrug, this data was collected among indigenous communities, in various state and municipal government structures, and industrial companies. The subject of special consideration was the activities of the Kupol Fund, created by Kinross to financially support the most promising projects in the field of traditional environmental management, preservation of ethnic culture, and languages of the indigenous peoples of Chukotka. Particular attention in the monograph is paid to the state and changes occurring in the sectors of the traditional economy of the indigenous population (primarily nomadic). An analysis of the practices of interaction between aborigines and industrial enterprises made it possible to identify positive and negative factors that influence the development of reindeer husbandry, fishing, and marine hunting. The views of indigenous people about the risks and prospects associated with the development of extractive industries in the regions were studied. The role of public organizations of indigenous peoples in the formation of new relationships with industrial companies is shown. The problem of unemployment among indigenous peoples, which is relevant for the northern regions, was subjected to a special analysis. A fundamentally new approach to employment issues was the study of various areas of activity in which the cultural heritage of the peoples of the North is in demand: ethno tourism, souvenir production, organization of museums and holidays, work as coordinators in industrial companies, etc. Separate studies are devoted to problems of education. The study of key approaches to the form and content of education of northern aborigines is extremely relevant in the modern period, since it not only reveals problems of a direct

pedagogical orientation, but also shows the ideas of the aboriginal community itself about the life strategies of the younger generation. In recent years, a search for new ideas in the field of education has begun in the Arctic regions. Modernization affected the boarding school system, and new educational forms appeared - nomadic schools and kindergartens. We hope that the book will be useful in defining the principles, goals and specific objectives of policies regarding indigenous peoples of the Arctic and will find a response from our research partners - numerous informants and experts, to whom we express our deep gratitude. The historical specificity of the indigenous peoples of the Russian Arctic lies, on the one hand, in the fact that several thousand years ago they mastered the unique natural environment of this region, created a kind of "Arctic civilization" with its characteristic identity and unique way of life and life support systems. On the other hand, the so-called indigenous peoples of the North have long been firmly rooted in the Russian state and in Russian history. Moreover, Aboriginal people of circumpolar latitudes are one of the brand characteristics of the image of Russia as a northern country. Is it necessary to adapt the way of life of Arctic residents to the general Russian one? Or is it a world that it is desirable to preserve in its unchanged status? Or is a third option possible, which we once called culturally oriented modernization? All this makes us think about what our policy in the Arctic should be in the context of sustainable development, environmental safety and the national interests of Russia as a whole. The own history of the indigenous peoples of the North goes back many millennia, but speaking about the history of the Russian state, it is necessary to note the periods of a kind of allied (based on trade) relations of the indigenous population with the authorities of the Russian Empire, their involvement several centuries ago in the Russian tributary system (through the payment of yasak), a period of complete or partial Christianization, recall the total and rigid form of Soviet modernization, which included both the cultural revolution and a partial transition to settled life, as well as forced collectivization and the severe social problems of the Soviet era. In general, policy towards the inhabitants of the Arctic has long been subordinated to utilitarian economic interests, ideological guidelines and military-strategic calculations. It remains so in many ways to this day, although the new concept of state policy in the Arctic is more sensitive, so to speak, in nature. In this context, let us consider some of the sociocultural realities of today's Arctic residents. Academic research into the history and culture of the Arctic peoples has a long and remarkable history, starting with the first scientific expeditions and descriptions of the peoples living in the region. The Soviet scientific school of studying the peoples of the Arctic has special merits. Work in this area was devoted not only to issues of history, social and

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ethnocultural development of the indigenous peoples of the region, but also contained a search for ways of their development based on the preservation of traditions and state paternalism (see, for example, numerous “memos to decision-making authorities” by employees of the Institute of Ethnography USSR Academy of Sciences for the 1950-1980s). The socio-economic and political processes in which representatives of these peoples are involved pose new challenges for science. These include determining further prospects for the development of Arctic communities in the context of modern projects of an economic and military-strategic nature. This problem is receiving serious attention all over the world. The main thing that human society has come to is the awareness of the need to abandon the policy of paternalism in relation to “backward” peoples, to recognize the originality and intrinsic value of their cultures. Today, the study of the peoples of the Arctic has intensified. Since 2014, within the framework of the Basic Research Program of the Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the project “Indigenous peoples and industrial development of the Arctic: overcoming risks and development strategies” has been carried out. A large number of regional historical, cultural and ethnographic studies are being carried out, and joint international projects are being implemented. The Arctic zone of our country was defined in 2014 by Decree of the President of the Russian Federation No. 296 “On the land territories of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation.” It includes the territories of nine subjects of the Federation:

- 1) Murmansk region;
- 2) seven municipalities of the Arkhangelsk region;
- 3) Nenets Autonomous Okrug;
- 4) urban district “Vorkuta” of the Komi Republic;
- 5) Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug;
- 6) urban district of Norilsk, Taimyr Dolgano-Nenets municipal district and Turukhansky district of the Krasnoyarsk Territory;
- 7) five uluses (districts) of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia);
- 8) Chukotka Autonomous Okrug. The area of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation is about 9 million km², its population is more than 2.5 million people, which is less than 2% of the population of Russia and about 40% of the inhabitants of the entire Arctic. In the Russian Arctic live 82.5 thousand representatives of indigenous peoples, out of a total number of this category of the Russian population of approximately 250 thousand people. In terms of their ethnic composition, these are the Nenets, Chukchi, Khanty, Evens, Evenks, Selkups, Sami, Eskimos, Dolgans, Chuvans, Kets, Nganasans, Yukaghirs, Enets, Mansi, Vepsians, Koryaks, Itelmens, Kerek.

Some of them lead a nomadic or semi-nomadic lifestyle associated with traditional types of environmental management - reindeer herding, fishing, sea hunting, hunting, gathering. The majority are settled residents living in towns and cities. According to our estimates, about 20 thousand people roam the Arctic part of the year or all year round, that is, about a quarter of the aboriginal population. At the same time, about 60% of the country’s nomadic population is in the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug. About the demographic situation and social problems. Not long ago, our scientists and the public sounded the alarm about the decline in numbers (and even “extinction”) of the indigenous peoples of the Arctic. However, recent census data indicate that these fears are exaggerated. In fact, the number of the largest, by Arctic standards, groups (Nenets, Chukchi, Khanty, Evens) is even increasing, while very small groups manage to maintain more or less stable demographic dynamics. At least in the medium term, we do not see any dramatic demographic changes among this part of the Russian population. Moreover, there is no reason to expect that some kind of vast administrative territory will arise with a predominance of representatives of Arctic groups, as, for example, this happened in Canada and led to the formation of the new autonomous territory of Nunavut, whose population is dominated by Canadian Aborigines. At the same time, social problems related to the organization of healthcare in remote areas of the Russian Arctic are very relevant, since for the nomadic population access to hospitals and clinics is difficult, and the only means for ambulance remains sanitary helicopter transportation. The nomadic inhabitants of the tundra today often do not even have access to general therapeutic care, let alone specialized care. Alcoholism remains the most acute social problem - one of the reasons for the increased mortality among northern aborigines, their low life expectancy and social maladjustment. From the point of view of ethnocultural development in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation, there is a tendency to reduce the number of representatives of local ethnic groups who speak their native languages, due to centuries-old contacts with neighboring peoples and carried out since the 1930s. integration policies. In relation to the small peoples of the North, this tendency is especially acute, since in their environment ethnic languages, primarily due to their vocabulary specificity, represent one of the mechanisms of adaptation to survival in harsh natural conditions. Questions about languages and ethnic identity (nationality) have been invariably present in all domestic censuses since 1920. These data and scientific research have shown that among the small peoples of the North, ethnic languages are subject to the process of being replaced by dominant languages, primarily Russian. Thus, according to the results of the 1989 census, it is known that that on average

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linguistic assimilation was at least 35% (this was the proportion of aborigines who did not speak the language of their group). The real scale of linguistic assimilation is even greater, since domestic censuses, due to incorrect wording of questions, poorly reveal the degree of linguistic competence of the population. Degree of proficiency in languages of indigenous peoples of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation based on the results of the 2020 census.

It was found that only 37% of those participating in the census indicated proficiency in the language of their ethnic group, and 96% - in Russian. Our field materials show that the Khanty, Nenets, Selkup, Chukchi and Eskimo languages most fully retain their positions as the main means of communication. More than 85% of the representatives of this people can speak the Nenets language. In general, the language situation described by linguists in the 1990s remains the same. For the largest northern peoples: typical for her was and remains a fairly stable command of two languages, for example, Nenets and Russian, Chukchi and Russian. However, today for the vast majority of representatives of the indigenous peoples of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation, Russian is the main language of knowledge and communication. The general situation is that almost all Arctic aborigines of Russia speak Russian and almost 30% call it their native language.

However, if we consider the main language of knowledge and communication to be native, and not just a language that coincides with nationality, regardless of proficiency in it, then the real share of representatives of the indigenous peoples of the Arctic North, for whom Russian is their native language, will be noticeably larger. As for the indigenous languages themselves, the situation is extremely heterogeneous: relatively large peoples, for example the Khanty, Chukchi and Nenets, who also have titular ethno-territorial autonomy and live in areas of relatively compact settlement, preserve the languages of their nationalities to a fairly high degree, including teaching in these languages in primary school. Evenki, no less numerous, but scattered over vast territories (about half of them live in China) and having different dialect groups, have preserved the Evenki language noticeably worse. Sociolinguists, educators and educators make a great contribution to the preservation of the languages of the Arctic peoples. They study endangered languages, record and publish vocabulary, folklore texts, prepare teaching aids, radio and television programs. It is necessary to understand the so-called language transition, that is, the transition to bilingualism or completely to the Russian language, as a result, first of all, of individual choice and one of the strategies for modernizing this part of the Russian population. What is important here is not so much the fact of the mandatory preservation of minority languages in their full functioning, but rather the preservation of ethnic identity and the prevention of

assimilation in favor of others. According to our data, the process of assimilation on a noticeable scale is not occurring in the Russian Arctic. A significant part of the cultural heritage of the peoples of the Russian Arctic is still alive, which is especially evident in the methods of economic activity, artistic crafts, folk memory, spiritual culture, and folklore. This helps preserve the ethnic self-awareness of the people, even if knowledge of their native language is lost. Certain elements of aboriginal cultures became symbols, signs characteristic of a particular people (a Nenets on a reindeer team with a trochee in his hands, a Chukchi with a lasso, an Evenk riding a deer, a Khant in a dugout boat, etc.). Socio-economic status. The impact of industrial development on the indigenous peoples of the North today is ambiguous. Despite the fact that part of the funds of industrial companies goes to support these peoples, the standard of living of a significant part of the aborigines is below the Russian average. The unemployment rate here is 1.5-2 times higher than the national average, which was noted in the "Concept of sustainable development of indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation" (2009). The most acute problems remain in employment and housing. Unfortunately, industrial development of the Arctic sometimes has a devastating impact on the natural environment and on indigenous communities. The situation is complicated by the fact that industrial activity began before the relevant legal regulations were adopted, protecting the interests of indigenous peoples. In Russia, the necessary parity in relations between aborigines and industrial companies has not been achieved in terms of bilateral consideration of interests, mutually beneficial development and risk neutralization. Our and other studies indicate the need to develop special government requirements for the activities of companies - requirements that take into account the vulnerability of the Arctic nature and the special rights of population groups engaged in traditional natural resource management. The current legal and sociocultural status of the indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East is regulated by the Constitution of the Russian Federation and a large number of regulations. First of all, these are the federal laws "On guarantees of the rights of indigenous peoples of the Russian Federation", "On the general principles of organizing communities of indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation", "On the territories of traditional environmental management of indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East Russian Federation". Certain rights and benefits provided to the indigenous peoples of the North serve the purpose of their social adaptation to the conditions of a market economy, as well as the preservation of group integrity. It is government guarantees and benefits - social preferences and quotas for the use of resources - that

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often become the main argument for people from mixed families choosing ethnicity in favor of the aboriginal one. This, by the way, is one of the sources of replenishment of this category of the population. It should be said about the ethnopsychological, symbolic features of environmental management in the Arctic zone by its indigenous inhabitants. They are determined by their traditional ideas about the land, and from this arise many contradictions regarding approaches to industrial development. Let us note that the aboriginal population is socially heterogeneous; only a part of it seeks to preserve the lands for conducting traditional farming and developing their culture. But it is with this group that hopes for preserving the unique northern nature and culture are associated in the public consciousness. It is the natives who lead traditional economies who have conflicts with industrial companies. However, many authoritative studies of Arctic communities show that the development of the Arctic at all times was built on partnership rather than hostility, and sea and tundra nomads played a significant role in this. And northern multiculturalism has historically been based on the dynamic interaction of cultures and implies a high potential for movement. Ideas about land reflect the legal ideals of the indigenous peoples of the North, which are characterized by compliance with measures in the use of resources, the need to monitor the land and the awareness of the "law of the land" as an effective normative regulator in relations between people. Aboriginal environmental management is also characterized by the idea of permeable boundaries, mobility of people and, at the same time, limited developed space. Such boundaries of the area, which are called "original habitat" in legislation, are the natural, economic and cultural features of the cultural landscape. In modern conditions, indigenous peoples combine ideas of themselves as "part of the North" and the need to coexist with newcomers. To create a fair system of interaction, industrial companies should show more trust in indigenous peoples and include the norms of traditional environmental management in the country's legal system. It seems important to create a kind of "negotiating platform" where the state (legal system), industrial companies (corporate law) and aborigines (customary law) would receive not only the right to vote, but also a system of principles and mechanisms that would ensure their interaction. Within the framework of common law, relations regarding land use are characterized by a public nature. This refers to collective and individual rights, the separation of the social status of developed territories and property interests, the inalienability of land use, when land and water areas can be inherited or within a group, but not sold. The alienation of land for purposes other than traditional environmental management is perceived negatively by the indigenous inhabitants of the North, especially when it comes to the destruction of reindeer pastures.

Today, pastures are threatened not only by anthropogenic impacts associated with the activities of oil and gas enterprises, but also by climate change. In these matters, it is important to take into account the views of indigenous peoples, combining scientific and traditional understandings with the goal of partnership in the "production" of knowledge, as well as for joint management of the Arctic region. The Association "Reindeer Herders of the World" initiated a special project "EALAT" - "Reindeer Herding in a Changing Climate", most of which was carried out in Russia. Other studies are being conducted, but their results are poorly coordinated and little used in practice. Chairman of the Board of the Association "Reindeer Herders of the World" M.A. Pogodaev emphasizes: "Although reindeer herders, in principle, are not against economic development and understand its necessity and inevitability, their concern is growing in connection with the growing needs of society and the need to ensure a balanced development of such activities in conjunction with interests traditional forms of economic activity of the peoples of the Arctic and conservation of biodiversity." One of the ways to transmit traditional knowledge can be ethnological examination. Our experience of working within the framework of Ethno Consulting LLC on Sakhalin and Yamal has shown the usefulness of scientific expertise by ethnologists and anthropologists. For many natives of the Russian Arctic, the idea of sacred places has become an important aspect of environmental management. They can be natural reserves or places of ritual and communication with gods and spirits. Sacred places are considered especially important - certain cherished "points" that connect parts of the living space. According to the customary law of the peoples of the North, they are sacred precisely because people constantly (sometimes mentally) perform certain actions in relation to such places to ensure the well-being of their families and the continuity of the cultural space. Experts know that such especially revered places can only be identified by ethnographic methods; moreover, people often do not want to attract the attention of outsiders to them, fearing negative consequences. These and other elements of the intangible cultural heritage of northern Aboriginal people require legal protection. The status of sacred places is not defined in federal legislation, and the required historical and cultural expertise is limited to archaeological research; it needs to be strengthened by ethnological monitoring in cooperation with indigenous peoples. At the same time, sacred places are part of the territory of traditional environmental management, and as such their legal status is defined and protected at the federal level. According to Articles 10 and 16 of the Law "On the Territories of Traditional Nature Use of Indigenous Peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation", objects of historical and cultural heritage, including places of worship, places of ancient

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settlements, burial places of ancestors and other objects of cultural, historical, religious valuable, are allocated within the boundaries of territories of traditional environmental management and they are subject to protection. Here we can talk about a gap in the legislation, since in this law sacred places are not named, although they are implied. The main thing is that not a single territory of traditional nature management of federal significance has yet been created, and within such regional territories the protection regime is often subject to adjustments by industrial companies and authorities. When conducting ethnological examinations in the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug, we encountered situations where the statements of the aborigines were not enough to protect their rights to their culture and veneration of sacred places. In such cases, the work of anthropologists is necessary, including conducting research, drawing up expert opinions and attracting public opinion to these issues. However, the process of conducting ethnological examination is not legally regulated. The most acute contradictions arise in connection with the ideas of industrialists about “no man's land”. You can often hear that a company has issued a license for the territory where, as it turns out, reindeer herders roam. Industrialists often do not know and do not take into account the peculiarities of the nomadic lifestyle, and Russian laws do not require them to conduct an examination. Only a mandatory ethnological examination will be able to determine potential threats to the industrial development of a particular territory. The greatest rejection on the part of indigenous communities is caused by the irrational use of resources, as well as everyday pollution of the forest and tundra, a huge amount of waste - industrial and domestic, which cause the death of deer. This causes deep stress for the indigenous inhabitants of the tundra, who, in such conditions, sometimes forget the rules of behavior and violate them. It also happens that the behavior of “educated” oil and gas workers becomes a model for the aborigines. As for development prospects, according to researchers and indigenous peoples themselves, government policy should be based not on one-time assistance, but on a system of measures of state protectionism and active cooperation with indigenous peoples. Neither compensation, nor subsidies, nor sponsorship can solve the problem of sustainable development of the indigenous population. The measures and programs being developed should be aimed at creating conditions for the independent development of traditional economic sectors and culture of the indigenous population of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation. For a significant part of it, awareness of their identity, connection with their native land and their people is associated with the preservation of traditional culture. At the same time, there is an understanding that in modern conditions it is important for aborigines to establish a closer

dialogue with authorities and industrial companies. Today, the concept of culturally-oriented modernization and multivariate self-development of indigenous peoples of the North is relevant, implying not just “ethnic survival”, but ensuring conditions for the sustainable development of northerners with a combination of different types of economic activity, including the development of modern professions, the establishment of self-organization mechanisms and state assistance. The culture of the indigenous peoples of the North is a strategic resource for the development of the Russian economy, based on knowledge, innovation, and creativity. It should be noted that the “Strategy for the Development of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation and Ensuring National Security for the Period until 2020” provides for more active use of the experience of indigenous peoples in the practice of economic activity, municipal and state administration. It is important that the integration of ethnic culture and the development of ethnotourism, the development of original trademarks, urban planning (architectural design of Arctic cities) provide support for the traditional knowledge of the peoples of the North. For long-term development goals of the Russian Arctic, it is necessary to establish partnerships between all participants in environmental management and economic activity. State control is also needed, but the activity of the northern aborigines themselves is no less important. Over the past two decades, they have acquired authoritative organizations, have strong leaders, ensured representation in government at various levels, and achieved success in the field of culture, in the development of crafts and arts. However, while the “big economy” is passing by the aborigines, they are still deprived of the right to participate in it, and there is no truly profitable local business. But eternal problems remain related to ensuring public health, training and employment of young people, decent support from private mining companies, compensation for caused and potential damage. All these issues need to be resolved urgently so as not to accumulate socio-cultural risks in the development of the Arctic and in the national security system as a whole. At the beginning of industrial development, the indigenous population of the North developed an image of geologists, gas and oil workers as “romantics with a guitar, singing songs around the fire.” At that time, few of the aborigines imagined what would happen to the land and forest as a result of these “songs.” Since the 1990s a social movement of indigenous peoples of the North is taking shape in the country, and the preparation of special legislation begins to protect their rights in accordance with the Constitution of the Russian Federation of 1993. To a large extent, the lawmaking process at the federal level relied on the potential of the regions, in many of which this work was even more constructive than in the center. Today we see that the legal protection of

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indigenous peoples needs not only laws, but also new tools and mechanisms. Over the years, the position of industrial companies has changed noticeably, some of which proclaim a desire to work at the level of world standards. Within the UN, such standards are articulated in the Global Compact and the Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights: Implementing the UN's "protect, respect and remedy" framework. The role of the Arctic in world politics is determined primarily by the perception of the region as a storehouse of natural resources. Moreover, in the Russian Federation, which produces about two-thirds of all wealth created in the circumpolar Arctic, general trends are especially pronounced: the formal economy is based on large-scale exploitation of natural resources, processing plays a relatively small role, and often the advantages obtained during industrial development are used outside the Arctic. The Arctic Human Development Report, prepared at the initiative of foreign ministers as part of the Arctic Council activities in the early 1990s, provides an analysis of the economic situation in the Arctic in its most general form. It outlines general trends and challenges, in particular "the need to deepen the relationship between economic and social development in the Arctic, rather than following the principle that what is good for companies is good for societies. In domestic ethnographic literature, the main attention for a long time was paid to the problems of Arctic discoveries and the exotic lifestyle of the inhabitants of northern latitudes or making recommendations to government authorities. The task of studying the dynamics of the processes of interaction between indigenous peoples and industrial companies, changes in the indigenous community, and the formation of new policies of the state and the business community remained marginal for socio-cultural anthropology. At the same time, for most regions of the Arctic, since the second half of the twentieth century, industrial development, the activities of industrial companies have become a social field for the existence of indigenous peoples, the development of their culture and self-awareness. Recently in Russia, special attention has been paid to the scientific and technical development of the Arctic and the environmental problems arising in connection with this. For scientific and technical study of the Arctic, the priority region is the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug, which is quite well studied anthropologically. Today, it is also of interest to study other Arctic regions in order to identify patterns in the situation of indigenous peoples and determine strategies for their further development. Arctic policy in relation to the indigenous peoples of the North. Historically, the Arctic regions were inhabited by peoples whose life support system was built on the integrated and sustainable use of natural resources. In the 20th century, industrial development in the region led to explosive population growth and widespread strain on resources. In 1996, Arctic ministers adopted

the Inuvik Declaration on Environmental Protection and Sustainable Development in the Arctic, which recognized "the importance of the Arctic regions for each Arctic country, for indigenous peoples and other Arctic inhabitants, and for the world." This circumstance imposes special obligations on the Arctic countries and the need for them to develop special policies. The development of the Arctic can be considered not only as a strategic resource, but also as a geopolitical responsibility of Russia. Arctic policy should include ensuring the environmental safety of the region and effective guarantees for the socio-economic and cultural development of the local and indigenous population. The definition of conceptual approaches and strategic objectives of state policy in relation to the peoples of the Arctic, their socio-cultural adaptation to the processes of globalization and industrial development is based on the analysis of international standards, norms of international law, Russian and regional legislation, as well as the most important documents recently adopted that define the state national policy and strategy for the development of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation. In this paper, the relationship between indigenous peoples and industrial companies is considered as a process of active interaction, causing various consequences and carrying mutual risks. Today, public organizations of indigenous peoples and their activists are increasingly involved in this process. The policies of industrial companies have also gradually changed in recent years, with the realization that they are not pioneers of the northern and Arctic territories, that their activities should be included not only in the legal framework, primarily environmental, but also in accordance with moral standards. And since the industrial development of the Arctic began before the adoption of modern environmental and socially oriented legal norms, Companies must implement compensatory measures and actively engage with local and indigenous communities in the areas where they operate. The management of many industrial companies is aware of their responsibility and adopts documents and regulations that define the principles of activity and rules of conduct for employees, especially in places of traditional residence and traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples. State authorities can create the necessary legal, socio-economic guarantees for this, as well as a favorable climate through the media and the education system. For the Arctic, the role of state policy, enshrined in a number of documents, is especially important. International law and public policy of Russia The modern period of public policy has a fundamental difference from the previous one. In the Constitution of 1993, the Russian Federation proclaimed guarantees for the protection of the original habitat and traditional way of life, the rights of indigenous peoples in accordance with the generally recognized principles and norms of international law and international treaties of the

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Russian Federation (Article 69). The special competence of state authorities was recognized as “the protection of the original habitat and traditional way of life of small ethnic communities” (Article 72). In development of these provisions, three federal laws were adopted defining the legal status of indigenous peoples: “On guarantees of the rights of indigenous peoples of the Russian Federation”, “On the general principles of organizing communities of indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation”, “On the territories of traditional environmental management of indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation.” Articles concerning indigenous peoples have appeared in other laws. From this moment on, we can say that indigenous peoples turned from an object of policy into its subject. They gained control over their destiny. This circumstance could not but affect both research ethics and the policies and ethics of industrial companies operating in areas of traditional residence of indigenous peoples. The adoption of the 1993 Constitution for the Russian Federation meant the desire to take into account in its legislation those fundamental approaches to protecting the rights of indigenous peoples that were developed by the international community, provided that they do not conflict with the provisions of the Constitution. The need to address the international legal status of indigenous peoples when considering issues of interaction between these peoples and industrial companies is dictated by a number of circumstances. Industrial development itself in the modern world is of an international nature; international companies or national ones operate in the Arctic, but are closely connected with international business and the international obligations of the Russian Federation. Indigenous peoples form part of the world community, similar peoples stand out in different countries.

International law proceeds from the fact that the rights of indigenous peoples are related to ensuring their access to certain territories, which both in themselves and the resources located on them form the basis of life support: “No people can in any case be deprived of the resources belonging to them existence.” In 2007, the UN General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which sets forth provisions that characterize general norms for nation states in which indigenous peoples live. The Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples defines their rights to preserve and develop their distinctive culture, and the obligations of states to develop and implement mechanisms that promote the preservation and development of indigenous cultures. The most important and valuable thing in this international document is the proclamation of the principle of free, prior and informed consent when making decisions affecting their interests. According to Article 19 of the

Declaration, “States shall consult and cooperate in good faith with the indigenous peoples concerned, through their representative institutions, to obtain their free, prior and informed consent before adopting and implementing legislative or administrative measures that may affect them.” The legal literature substantiates the position that these peoples are subject to three-level international legal regulation: general norms that apply to all peoples; the norms that the world is guided by in relation to national minorities; norms that take into account the specific life activities of indigenous peoples. Attention to international norms, declarations and other documents, including those developed by financial circles and the business community, determines the most important direction of state policy. One can agree with the opinion of V. A. Kryazhkov that such norms reflect the expectations of indigenous peoples. “At the same time, nothing prevents the use of such norms by courts (as, for example, is the case in the practice of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation, which in its decisions is based not only on legally binding international legal acts), public authorities and industrialists. In any case, it is obvious that declarations, resolutions and other similar international documents are aimed at improving public relations; The more often they are used (and this should be encouraged), the faster the norms contained in these documents will acquire the status of international legal custom and generally binding.” In the Russian legal system, priority is given to the Law “On Guarantees of the Rights of Indigenous Minorities of the Russian Federation,” which defines the basic rights of these peoples to protect their ancestral habitat and traditional way of life. Let us first note their following collective rights: to participate in monitoring the use of lands of various categories, necessary for the implementation of traditional management and the practice of traditional crafts of small peoples, in the places of traditional residence and economic activity of small peoples; receive from state authorities of the Russian Federation, state authorities of constituent entities of the Russian Federation, local governments, organizations of all forms of ownership, international organizations, public associations and individuals material and financial resources necessary for the socio-economic and cultural development of small peoples, the protection of their ancestral environment habitat, traditional way of life, farming and crafts; for compensation for losses caused to them as a result of damage to the ancestral habitat of small peoples by the economic activities of organizations of all forms of ownership, as well as individuals. The latter right is also granted to persons belonging to these peoples. Also, a special article of the law defines the rights of persons belonging to indigenous peoples to preserve and develop their original culture. At the same time, it should be noted that modern federal legislation is

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based on the definition of indigenous peoples as leading a traditional way of life. The issues of their adaptation to modern conditions associated with urbanization, industrial development of northern territories, migration processes and modernization processes in general are given little attention in the legislation, which necessitates the adoption of programs and other documents at the regional level. A modern, relevant approach is demonstrated by the State National Policy Strategy of the Russian Federation, adopted in 2012. This document contains a number of provisions directly related to indigenous peoples. Four main issues of state national policy that require special attention from state and municipal bodies have been identified, including ensuring the rights of indigenous peoples and national minorities. One of the principles of national policy is to ensure guarantees of the rights of indigenous peoples (small ethnic communities), including support for their economic, social and cultural development, protection of their original habitat and traditional way of life. Along with other objectives of the national policy to improve public administration, the following are named: - creating conditions for the participation of indigenous peoples in resolving issues affecting their rights and interests; — promoting the development of folk arts and crafts in order to increase employment of the population, including in rural areas, in mountainous and other remote areas, in places of traditional residence and traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples; — increasing the level of adaptation of the traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples to modern economic conditions, taking into account the protection of their original habitat and traditional way of life; — development of ethnographic and cultural-educational tourism, health and recreational areas, expansion of state support for national sports, holding the Spartakiad of the Peoples of Russia; — improving the system of training national personnel in the field of culture; — development of additional measures of state support for scientific research, popular science publications, creation of works of literature, art, cinema and television, Internet products covering significant historical events, promoting the common achievements of the peoples of Russia; — introduction of educational courses into the programs of general education institutions, including information about the cultural values and national traditions of the peoples of Russia; — the use of bilingualism and multilingualism in the education system as an effective way to preserve and develop the ethnocultural and linguistic diversity of Russian society; — development of ethnocultural infrastructure, including friendship houses, centers of national culture, and other state and municipal institutions whose activities are aimed at solving the problems of the state national policy of the Russian Federation. Thus, in relation to indigenous peoples at

the federal level, two-pronged tasks are set: - preservation of their culture, way of life and adaptation of their traditional activities to modern economic conditions; — preservation and development of ethnic languages and the consistent use of bilingualism and multilingualism, as well as the creation of conditions for the promotion and development of the cultural achievements of these peoples. Among all indigenous peoples, a special place belongs to the Arctic peoples who live in extreme natural conditions. The adoption of the State National Policy Strategy presupposes the further development of the legal system of the state. For indigenous peoples, the question of their actual control over the use of resources that form the basis of their livelihoods is particularly acute. This political and legal complex problem requires both a restructuring of public opinion and a change in the scientific anthropological paradigm. It is important to move from the formal proclamation of the equality of all peoples to providing them with the right to informed, preliminary and full consent to make decisions on issues affecting their legitimate interests. And this means for officials a departure from ideas about the inferiority of indigenous peoples, and for researchers - from the division that persists today into works devoted to the study of the “traditional way of life” and the study of the “modern situation of indigenous peoples.” Besides, as funny as it sounds, All works are based on modern field research. One can have different attitudes towards the assessments of such scientific approaches, but their destructiveness for the creation of a scientific base focused on making managerial and judicial decisions is obvious. And this problem is also international. Moreover, we have to admit that while in Australia trials of land claims have caused a wide scientific discussion, in Russia such problems are discussed to a greater extent within the Aboriginal community and among a small part of researchers. History shows that judges and anthropologists alike often base their arguments on established or perceived established models, without considering whether they are consistent with local Aboriginal practices and beliefs. In Russia, when the main source of law is the law, it is especially important that decision-making is based on current ethnological expertise Knowledge of indigenous peoples of the Arctic and issues of industrial development Currently, the development of national regulatory documents that will make international documents more effective in the Russian Federation is becoming increasingly important Federation. Thus, back in 1992, the Convention on Biological Diversity was adopted, which states that states ensure respect, preservation and maintenance of knowledge, innovations and practices related to the conservation of biodiversity and the sustainable use of its components. The global community has recognized the importance of this knowledge for sustainable development. The United

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Nations Conference on Environment and Development states: "Indigenous people and their communities, as well as other local communities, have a vital role to play in managing and improving the environment, taking into account their knowledge and traditional practices. States must recognize and duly support their identity, culture and interests and ensure their effective participation in achieving sustainable development." The conference resulted in the Agweigu Voluntary Guidelines for the Conduct of Cultural, Environmental and Social Impact Assessments of Proposed Projects on Sacred Sites and on Lands and Waters Occupied or Used by Local and Indigenous Communities. This document allows for the possibility of combining cultural, environmental and social impact assessments into a single process. The cultural impact assessment considers: "...possible impacts on the ongoing customary use of biological resources; potential impact on respect, conservation, protection and maintenance of traditional knowledge, innovations and practices; possible effects on the locations of shrines and associated rituals and ceremonies; respect for the need for privacy for cultural purposes; possible impact on the implementation of customary law." For the harmonious development of the Arctic in the context of industrial development, the traditional knowledge of indigenous peoples must be taken into account. In the scientific literature, quite a lot of importance is attached to the ecological knowledge of indigenous peoples when conducting traditional environmental management. Thus, Article 8 of the law defines "objects of cultural heritage of indigenous peoples of the North, namely:

1) family, tribal and national sacred, religious places of indigenous peoples of the North in the Autonomous Okrug (hereinafter referred to as sacred places of indigenous peoples of the North);

2) family and ancestral burial places of the indigenous peoples of the North in the Autonomous Okrug (hereinafter referred to as the burial places of the indigenous peoples of the North);

3) family, ancestral and national memorial places;

4) places of existence of folk crafts;

5) other objects of exceptional value for the indigenous peoples of the North." The law also defines the rights of these peoples to protect sacred sites, including in accordance with their customs.

The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of 2003 plays an important role for the preservation and development of the culture of indigenous peoples, which notes the manifestation of "intangible cultural heritage" in the following areas, which are certainly relevant for indigenous peoples, namely:

a) oral traditions and forms of expression, including language as a carrier of intangible cultural heritage;

b) performing arts;
c) customs, rituals, festivals;
d) knowledge and customs relating to nature and the universe;

e) knowledge and skills related to traditional crafts. The preservation of the intangible cultural heritage of indigenous peoples of the Arctic requires a lot of work to identify, study and organize state protection of such objects, taking into account their customs and traditions. It is obvious that for peoples practicing traditional religious beliefs, traditional holidays and rituals, preserving the significant role of folklore in everyday life, as well as the knowledge and skills that determine modern environmental management, the concept of intangible cultural heritage is not only academic, but also applied. In the conditions of active industrial development of the North, this problem acquires special significance. It must be taken into account that in modern conditions, issues of protecting the cultural heritage of indigenous peoples directly depend on the protection of their ancestral habitat and the ability to control the territories of their residence and economic activities. In modern conditions, climate change makes the problem of interaction between indigenous peoples and industrial companies more acute. It is no coincidence that, along with academic institutions, indigenous organizations, for example the Association of Reindeer Herders of the World, are actively involved in this problem. Their projects highlight the role of traditional indigenous knowledge to inform long-term forecasts, adaptation strategies and resilience of local reindeer herding communities. Reindeer herders propose to develop "Arctic" ethical norms, agreements and principles that should be applied in the process of industrial development. And finally, a special problem is strengthening the economic foundations of an industry that has historically been built on family forms of labor organization.

In 2020, a detailed document was developed to develop the Fundamentals of Arctic Policy - "Strategy for the development of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation and ensuring national security for the period until 2035." The Arctic development strategy is aimed at realizing the sovereignty and national interests of the Russian Federation in the region. The document identifies risks for the development of economic activity and human habitation in the Arctic, arising from extreme natural conditions and a high level of accumulated environmental damage, technical, economic, and transport difficulties in the development of natural resources. Along with the priority directions of state policy for the economic development of the Arctic, the Russian Federation confirms its humanitarian interests in improving the lives of the population living and working in the Arctic, including indigenous peoples: improving the education and healthcare systems, balancing the labor

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market and ensuring employment of the population through the retraining of able-bodied unemployed citizens, state support for various forms of self-employment and entrepreneurship, especially in single-profile cities and towns of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation and among indigenous peoples. The Arctic Development Strategy pays significant attention to: ensuring the ethnocultural development of indigenous peoples, protecting their ancestral habitat and traditional way of life; ensuring rational use of natural resources and the development of environmentally friendly types of tourism in places of traditional residence and traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples; development of a set of measures for the development of traditional economic sectors, ensuring the strengthening of employment and self-employment of indigenous peoples based on the mobilization of internal resources of households and communities, their active support from the state, commercial and non-profit organizations, including the use of a public procurement system for products of traditional economic sectors of indigenous peoples. Thus, improving the state management of the Arctic involves improving the quality of life of indigenous peoples simultaneously with solving economic problems and developing the resource base. Improving the quality of life of the indigenous population involves improving health care systems, education, infrastructure, introducing modern information and telecommunication technologies and communication systems (including mobile ones), and creating conditions for expanding the labor market. The mechanisms for implementing the tasks set in the document are government programs. Tasks regarding indigenous peoples are included in the list of specific measures: preserving the traditional way of life and ensuring the ethnocultural development of the indigenous population of the Arctic will be carried out on the basis of the Concept of sustainable development of indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation approved by the Government of the Russian Federation. Measures will be implemented to improve the legal regulation of traditional fishing, the creation and functioning of communities of indigenous peoples, the use and protection of lands in places of their traditional residence and traditional economic activities. When determining the level of socio-economic development and the state of national security of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation, macroeconomic indicators are proposed, including an increase in the life expectancy of the indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation living in the Arctic zone. Control over the implementation of strategic tasks is entrusted to the government and a special body created by it that carries out monitoring in the Arctic and prepares an annual report. Such detailed citation of the document

is due to its novelty and poor representation in scientific research. At the same time, documents called “strategies” require more careful attention from both politicians and scientists and can serve as certain guidelines, standards with which both subsequently adopted laws and specific management measures should be compared, especially since in this The document notes continuity with the Concept of Sustainable Development adopted by the Government of the Russian Federation. It is only important that implementation is more effective and that the assigned tasks are supported by the adoption of legal documents, as well as specific management decisions. For comparison, let us consider the Arctic policy strategy of Canada as a country in the Arctic region close to Russia in many respects. The document “Canada’s Northern Strategy: Our North, Our Heritage, Our Future” was adopted in 2009. To ensure the socio-economic development of the Canadian North, annual subsidies in the amount of \$2.5 billion are proposed for the development of the education system, health care and social services. The main sources of wealth will be the development of oil and gas fields in the Mackenzie River valley and diamond mining. The issues of environmental protection and adaptation to climate change are highlighted separately. And what is especially important is that the development of self-government, economic and political activity of the northern territories is indicated as the direction of the strategic development of the North. In addition to federal subsidies, revenues from mining are used for these purposes by transferring ownership of profitable properties to indigenous communities. The latter direction is reflected, for example, in the pipeline development project in the Mackenzie River valley. In 2000.

Now it is difficult to judge how events will develop in reality. The aborigines themselves speak out both for and against industrial development in the Arctic, but it is obvious that today they are already participating in the process of co-management of resources, although this does not mean that their socio-economic and cultural needs are fully satisfied and their problems are solved. For example, during field research, the director of a language center in Inuvik, when asked about the prospects for the Inuvialuit language when the pipeline starts working, said: “The language will die.” The situation with this gas pipeline and the rights of indigenous peoples to land and other resources has attracted the attention of many researchers, as it represents, perhaps, one of the options for future interaction between industrial companies and indigenous peoples in the Arctic. The organization of public hearings was highly appreciated by experts, although M. Nuttel also notes the contradictions that arose during the discussions, namely:

firstly, many young people spoke out against the construction of the gas pipeline;

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Secondly, the project was opposed by the De Cho First Nation of the central Mackenzie Valley (which represented thirteen communities). Its representatives did not agree with the decisions made and believed that their rights were being infringed.

The Dene Tha' First Nation of Northern Alberta was also dissatisfied with the hearing process and filed a lawsuit against the project. De Cho's position caused a negative reaction from the federal ministry, and became a topic for widespread discussion in society. A study of the experiences of indigenous peoples interacting with industrial companies in various northern countries shows that local residents are interested not only in paid work, but also in the opportunity to use "resources that have sustainable food, cultural and economic value." It is with the use of local resources that the prospects for sustainable development are associated. In any case, with different models of interaction, we see that the aborigines give preference to local renewable resources and their work to develop them. Industrial development is most often perceived by them as risky, from which they expect a lot, but there is no confidence that these expectations will be met. The ability of indigenous peoples to participate in resource co-management processes, decision-making, compensation or profit sharing largely depends on constitutional guarantees and the security of land claims. In northern Canada, the process of interaction is ensured by the Constitution Act of 1982 and agreements concluded with the federal government. The Inuvialuit signed such an act in 1984, the Gwitchin in 1992, and the Sahtu Dene in 1994. These documents guarantee the rights of peoples to resources and the obligation of governments and industrial companies to coordinate with them any activity on their lands. In Russia, there is also the practice of concluding agreements, but so far in the Arctic regions these are most often agreements between a company and authorities or local government, or between a company and indigenous organizations. The transition to trilateral agreements is a matter of the future. In the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug, work has begun on the creation of a Plan for Assistance to Indigenous Peoples under the NOVATEK project - the construction of a plant for liquefying Yamal LNG gas. So far, almost nothing is known about this project, and such secrecy raises concerns about its future effectiveness. To achieve such agreements in Russia as in Canada, serious legal and organizational work will be required, but a significant difference between the emerging practices of interaction lies in the fact that in Russia usually no conclusions are drawn from conflicts in the field of environmental management, and recently the rights of indigenous peoples have been diminished peoples This is evidenced, for example, by the removal of territories of traditional natural resource management from the category of specially protected natural areas, which caused great

criticism from activists, as well as many lawyers. Such changes result in companies' rights ultimately being more meaningful and enforceable than those of indigenous peoples. At the same time, insufficient legal regulation of issues of interaction between indigenous peoples and industrial companies necessitates greater attention to issues of social responsibility of industrial companies in the Arctic. Social responsibility of business in the Arctic Speaking about the prospects for interaction between indigenous peoples and industrial companies in the context of globalization, it makes sense to point out a number of documents recently adopted in the world community regarding the interaction between society and business and the protection of human rights.

Currently, environmental problems associated with the pollution of the Arctic and, more broadly, regions of the North and the withdrawal of significant areas of reindeer pastures and fishing grounds from traditional environmental management, as well as issues of the possibility of harmonious development of this naturally and socially complex region, are gaining more and more weight in the public consciousness . The Nuuk Declaration on Environmental Protection and Development in the Arctic, signed in 1993 by the environment ministers of a number of countries, including the Russian Federation, specifically notes that in order to "achieve sustainable development, environmental protection must be an integral part of the development process and cannot be considered independently of it." In the last decade, international documents that define the principles of social and environmental responsibility of industrial companies have become increasingly important. Many companies subscribe to the Global Compact, which includes ten principles, two of which are: "Businesses should support and respect the protection of internationally proclaimed human rights; Business communities should not be involved in human rights violations", define the position of companies in the field of human rights. In accordance with this document, the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs initiated the "Social Charter of Russian Business," which specifically highlights issues of business participation in the development of local communities and adherence to the principles of corporate citizenship. Along with other provisions, the charter expressed the following interesting idea: "... the acceptance of social obligations by the Russian business community and individual companies is not altruism and not the purchase of a "social license 11 for commercial activity." Social responsibility of business can and must be useful for the long-term success of the companies themselves to the same extent as it is useful for society as a whole." Voluntariness is the basis of social responsibility of industrial companies. For many years, banks in the project finance sector have been looking for ways to create uniform rules that

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reflect social and environmental considerations that apply worldwide to projects across all industries. As a result, a document was adopted, called the “Equator Principles,” which regulates the terms of financing in accordance with accepted standards. Of particular interest to indigenous peoples is that the document sets out procedures to determine the responsibilities of borrowers regarding the protection of the environment and communities affected by the financed project. These are ten principles that define environmental and social assessments, consultations with local communities, action plans aimed at mitigating project impacts, as well as monitoring, independent assessments, etc. It is very important that the organization adopting the Equator Principles every year publishes a report on how she performs them. The documents of the association of these organizations (“EPFI organizations”) emphasize that they accept and implement the principles voluntarily and independently. Such initiatives are voluntary, but effective in terms of public control. Oil companies often operate in different countries and are sensitive to issues of image, as evidenced, for example, by their websites and statements by top managers in the media. The World Wildlife Fund (WWF) implemented the project “Contribution of Russia's largest companies to sustainable development.” Oil companies responded most actively to the questions of the questionnaire prepared by the fund - 100%. When comparing these companies with other industries, it is concluded that they can be considered the most integrated representatives of the business community into the global economy. In 2014, a new project was launched by WWF and the Creon rating agency to determine the environmental rating of oil and gas companies, according to which the companies themselves provide information about their activities in the environmental sphere, the degree of impact on the environment and the efficiency of resource use.

By adopting this document, an authoritative coordination mechanism was created. It is based on three premises, namely: first, states have a responsibility to ensure that human rights are protected from abuses by third parties, including businesses, through appropriate policies, regulations and judicial resolution of disputes;

second, corporations have a responsibility to respect human rights, which means that businesses should exercise due diligence to avoid violating the rights of others and to address adverse impacts in which they are involved;

thirdly, there is a need to increase access for victims of violations to effective judicial and extrajudicial remedies.

Each premise represents a fundamental element within an interconnected and dynamic system of preventive and remedial measures: the State's duty to protect, as this is at the very core of the international human rights regime; corporate responsibility to

respect human rights - since this is what society expects from human rights entrepreneurs in the first place, and access to legal remedies - since even the best concerted efforts cannot prevent all violations. The document is informed by extensive discussions with all stakeholder groups, including governments, businesses and associations, communities and individuals whose rights are directly affected by businesses in different parts of the world, civil society organizations and experts in many areas of law and policies to which the Guidelines are relevant. It should be noted that some provisions of the Guidelines have already been tested in practice. Overall, their purpose is not only to serve as a practical guide, but also to be based on contemporary experience. They do not create new norms of international law, but can serve as the basis for developing recommendations for organizing the activities of industrial companies in places where indigenous peoples live. It is precisely because of their general nature that they can be used to develop policies in relation to specific population groups, which may include the indigenous peoples of the North of the Russian Federation. At the same time, UN documents indicate that when determining the situation with respect for the rights of indigenous peoples, both general documents and those documents that are adopted specifically in relation to these peoples should be taken into account. To exercise corporate responsibility to respect human rights, enterprises must address, prevent, mitigate and, where necessary, compensate for adverse impacts, as the commentary to the Guiding Principles makes clear. In order to carry out their functions, enterprises must assess risks based on their own expertise or that of independent external experts and in consultation with potentially affected groups. Moreover, the document proposes to monitor the effectiveness of measures taken by enterprises to eliminate adverse consequences. In terms of the practical application of this document, its sections on access to legal remedies are especially important, where, along with state judicial and extrajudicial mechanisms, non-state mechanisms for redressing complaints are considered. The document notes: “In order to promptly resolve complaints and provide direct redress, businesses should establish, for the benefit of individuals and communities who may be adversely affected, effective grievance mechanisms at operational level or to participate in their work.” The criteria for the effectiveness of out-of-court grievance mechanisms are: legitimacy, accessibility, predictability, fairness, transparency, compliance with human rights standards. These mechanisms should be based on interaction and dialogue and serve as a source of continuous learning. Thus, the international norms under consideration represent both UN documents and voluntarily assumed obligations of the business community and financial circles, which in modern conditions consider human rights and the rights of

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indigenous peoples as part of their interests. In Russia, awareness of the social responsibility of industrial companies in connection with the rights of indigenous peoples is just beginning, and to a greater extent in the scientific community, and not in government structures. Timid attempts by the former Ministry of Regional Development of the Russian Federation to influence the process of interaction between indigenous peoples and industrial companies turned out to be ineffective. The project "Russian standard of social and environmental policy of industrial companies operating in the places of traditional residence and traditional economic activity of indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East", developed by scientists in 2009 and posted on the Internet, remained without any steps with authorities to improve and adopt it. Currently, corporate social responsibility in relation to indigenous peoples is receiving more attention. Only in the fall of 2014, several discussions took place in Moscow with a wide representation of industrial companies: in the Committee of Nationalities of the State Duma, in the Public Chamber, in the UN House in Moscow. These discussions are planned to continue and, possibly, to develop criteria for corporate social responsibility as guidelines for industrial companies. The experience of conducting ethnological examinations in various regions of the Arctic today makes it possible to point out the most acute conflict-producing points, analyze them and propose options for the development of events. As is known, the concept of "ethnological examination" is defined by the Federal Law "On guarantees of the rights of indigenous peoples of the Russian Federation" in 1999: "Ethnological examination is a scientific study of the impact of changes in the ancestral habitat of small peoples and the socio-cultural situation on the development of an ethnic group." Today, materials from examinations conducted in the North provide insight into various practices of interaction between industrial companies and indigenous peoples. Their diversity is caused not only by the large size of the country and the socio-economic, natural and ethnocultural characteristics of the regions, but also by the lack of federal legal regulation of this issue. As practice shows, the provisions that are in the Land Code, the laws "On subsoil", "On production sharing agreements", "On guarantees of the rights of indigenous peoples of the Russian Federation" and others are clearly not enough. Currently, the Committee of Nationalities of the State Duma is developing the Law "On assessing the impact on the ancestral habitat and traditional way of life of indigenous peoples of the Russian Federation," where it is planned to provide legal definitions for the process of organizing and conducting ethnological examination.

Regulations and norms of corporate law Another tool for establishing interaction between industrial

companies and indigenous peoples can be the regulations of companies, voluntarily assumed obligations in accordance with the principles of international law. One must recognize the initiative of Gazprom Dobycha Nadym LLC as interesting and valuable - the publication of the booklet "Do No Harm," which describes the rules of conduct for employees, primarily shift workers, working at the Bovanenkovskoye and other fields of the Yamal Peninsula. It contains the following rules: it is prohibited to move on the tundra outside of fishing roads; tear and destroy any terrestrial plants; carry firearms and fishing gear with you; litter in the tundra; dogs cannot be transported to the field; take radios and tape recorders with you into the tundra to avoid noise; It is prohibited to disturb or distract reindeer herders when the herd is crossing the field. During touching (moving deer), any photography or video shooting is prohibited. Responsibility for the implementation of these rules falls on the heads of enterprises carrying out any types of activities at production facilities. The difficulty is that this document, as our research in the areas where the company operates has shown, has not become a valid rule of their work. During the course of Ethno Consulting's ethnological examinations in the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug in 2008-2011, we were faced with the fact that corporations do not seek to advertise their activities in relation to indigenous peoples, even if they carry them out. Employees of companies who are responsible for such activities speak very constrainedly about their work, indicating that their task is to exchange information between the company and the administration. It seems that company management is making no effort to recruit more qualified personnel for such work, and has little control over it. And perhaps the oil and gas enterprises of the district do not have a clear idea of what this activity should be. Only a few employees in this area clearly understand their functions in the company. Such employees know where the company operates, what proposals are made by representatives of the association and the local population at public hearings, have information about how many people live permanently and seasonally in the area affected by the company's activities, and what problems these people have. It should be noted that such workers are often activists of the public organization of indigenous peoples "Yamal to Descendants". As a typical example, consider the situation with the oil company LUKOIL - Western Siberia. The Yamalneftegaz Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the youngest enterprise of the holding, operates in the Tazovsky district. It was founded in 2004 and carries out the exploration and development of gas fields in the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug. In April 2005, the Nakhodkinskoye gas field, the first LUKOIL field in the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug, was put into operation. In 2009, LLC LUKOIL - Western Siberia began production drilling and active development of a

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new promising field - Pyakyakhinskoye. During the field research, meetings were held with the company's employees, in particular at the company's representative offices in the village. Tazovsky and in Salekhard, where employees responsible for environmental issues and personnel management were present. None of them could clearly say what the company's policy is, what measures are taken to interact with indigenous peoples. No documents were presented to us, no one knew about any regulations in the company's work. This lack of purposeful activity is fully consistent with the situation, primarily in the village. Nakhodka, which is located 20 km from the fields and facilities of the company. But at the same time, in theory, the LUKOIL company has a special policy and allocated positions for people who are responsible for it. We received these materials during an ethnological examination from the company's head office in Kogalym. Let's look at the presented documents in detail. Firstly, this is the General Cooperation Agreement for 2008-2015. It defines the general framework of interaction; basically, the company undertakes to comply with the law and pay taxes, as well as provide charitable assistance and employ local residents. We requested information from the company about the implementation of the agreement in 2010-2012. and received it. It would be advisable to collect such information in a collegial body (administration and indigenous peoples) and constantly monitor it. The following document is the Rules of Conduct for employees of the Yamalneftegaz Chamber of Commerce and Industry and contractors in the territory inhabited by indigenous peoples of the North. These rules were approved by the General Director in Salekhard in 2009 and could significantly improve the situation if applied in practice. To what extent are they being implemented, if not in the village? Tazovsky, not in Salekhard did any of the employees invited to the meeting with the experts know about their existence? It seems to us that these rules should be in all offices, everyone should know them, otherwise they have no meaning. Moreover, some workers even spoke at our meeting about their hunting in aboriginal territories as valiant actions. The Rules of Conduct contain the following provisions: "Employees are prohibited from: - importing, storing, selling alcoholic beverages, narcotic and other toxic substances; - import, store and use ammunition, firearms and other types of weapons, tools for catching game and wild animals; — import and use fishing gear; — travel to the territory of fields and deposits by personal transport, as well as movement along internal field roads without special passes; — bring, breed and keep domestic animals; - enter into barter relations with the indigenous population (purchase and sale of goods, except for the goods of traditional crafts of indigenous peoples of the North); - cut down forests and bushes; - light fires; — collect wild plants; — unauthorized departure and movement

of any motor vehicle and tractor equipment at any time of the year outside the designated roads and territories; — allow fuel and lubricants to spill onto the terrain; — release of garbage and other waste, as well as industrial waste." In cases of violations, an internal investigation should be conducted with full information provided to the relevant departments and groups of the enterprise for taking disciplinary action. Measures are also being taken to enforce access regulations and combat stray dogs. The rules end with the phrase: "In any contact with the local population, respect the original culture, way of life, customs, beliefs and language of indigenous peoples." As an ethnological examination showed, there are no special departments or groups in the Yamalneftegaz division, and many company employees have no idea what the Nenets culture is. Sometimes there are direct violations of the company's stated policy: during our visit to a maintenance point in the Nakhodkinskoye field area, we saw a dog. For this document to be effective, employees must undergo training; It may be advisable to prepare handouts (booklets, brochures, etc.) about the Nenets culture and their constitutional rights. The next step should be monitoring the implementation of these rules. The LUKOIL company has developed and approved a job description for the "assistant general director for work with indigenous peoples of the North and municipalities of the administrative building in the village. Tazovsky" (strange wording: the building acts as a social institution? - N.N.) and the job description of an engineer for working with the indigenous population. It must be said right away that we were never able to find out on the spot - in the region and Salekhard - who this engineer was. There is one person working in Tazovsky who sees his task as exchanging information between the local population and the company. In general, these documents are subject to the company's policy in the field of industrial safety, labor protection and the environment and are poorly adapted to the situation of the indigenous peoples of the Tazovsky region. It seems that some points of these instructions have been transferred from the relevant documents concerning the Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug, where indigenous peoples have a different legal status. Since we could not find an engineer to work with the indigenous population, it is impossible to evaluate his work. Neither in the district administration, nor in the department for working with the population of inter-settlement territories, nor in the association does anyone know about such a position. Meanwhile, this engineer's job description contains a number of constructive provisions, in particular, among his job responsibilities are the following: "Takes into account the interests of the indigenous population, preservation of original culture, customs and traditions; promotes regular medical examination of the indigenous population; provides assistance in finding employment and acquiring a profession;

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organizes the delivery of indigenous people and their children to their places of permanent residence; knows the location of pastures and routes of their movement; provides assistance to the indigenous population in purchasing vouchers to sanatoriums, rest homes, and children's health camps; organizes the collection and transportation of children from their place of residence to their place of study and back; takes an active part in the implementation of environmental protection measures at the enterprises of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry; submits a quarterly report on its activities to the board of the Association "Yamal - Descendants!"¹¹, the department of the peoples of the North and the administration of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry." Both the adopted regulations, and especially these job descriptions, show that the company is aware of the need to pursue a special policy in relation to the indigenous peoples of the North. However, it is obvious that such documents should be developed by specialists in the field of social anthropology/ethnography or with their participation, and these specialists should have a good understanding of the socio-economic and legal situation of the indigenous peoples of the North, their culture, know and take into account the ongoing changes and local features. And such specialists can certainly be found or trained, since a large number of school graduates from the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug graduate from universities in the relevant specialty and often cannot find work in the district. Thus, the company could fulfill its obligations to employ the local population. There are also experts in this field in the country who can provide advice. Probably, the company's management also sees difficulties in organizing work with the indigenous population, so special measures are planned to improve work and the creation of a specialized department in the company. The experience of some oil and gas companies in developing operational regulations and job descriptions can be taken into account when developing professional standards in the industry, which, in accordance with the Decree of the Government of the Russian Federation "On the rules for the development, approval and application of professional standards," are applied by employers and educational organizations. Field materials collected in Salekhard and the village. Tazovsky about the company's activities show that it is necessary to significantly change the attitude towards interaction with indigenous peoples. Those half-hearted measures that the company takes today turn out to be largely ineffective and sometimes meaningless. The company spends a lot of money without proper return. In modern conditions, the social responsibility of business, compliance with human rights by industrial companies, and attention to these issues on the part of the state are becoming an imperative of Arctic policy. In September 2014, the United Nations hosted the "World Conference on Indigenous Peoples", the final

document of which reflects all the most important aspirations of these peoples. The document recalls the obligation of business enterprises to comply with laws and international principles, especially the Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights, to work on the basis of transparency, social and environmental responsibility to prevent violations of the rights of indigenous peoples. The laws adopted by the Russian Federation are not enough to achieve true parity of interests of indigenous peoples and industrial companies. This is aggravated by the fact that recently norms have been introduced that further derogate the rights of these peoples. In addition, legislative and law enforcement processes are quite "heavy", requiring time and financial costs to be effective. And as experience shows, there is a lack of professional personnel to implement effective Arctic policy. These circumstances dictate the need to consider corporate social responsibility as another mechanism for protecting the rights of indigenous peoples during the industrial development of the Arctic. Such an integrated approach will make it possible to take into account local legal, ethnocultural and historical practices that have developed in various regions of the North in order to assess the situation of the indigenous and local populations affected by industrial activities. Applied ethnological research conducted using the methods of participant observation and interviews will help to see a more adequate picture and understand the attitude of the indigenous population to the ongoing changes. But not only. During an ethnological examination, it becomes equally important to study the corporate culture of companies and the ideas of its employees about the indigenous peoples of the North and traditional environmental management. In modern conditions, it is the study of the legal culture of the state, the normative culture of indigenous peoples and the regulations of the corporate culture of industrial companies that creates the field for dialogue in the Arctic. Legal anthropology studies the legal forms of human life and the activities of organizations. The methods of this science as an interdisciplinary study make it possible to analyze not only norms, but also processes and consider the compliance of these norms with the needs of people. Thanks to this, mechanisms can be proposed for the policies of industrial companies when operating in the places of residence and economic activity of the indigenous peoples of the North in accordance with the concept of human rights. In addition, this approach will make it possible to develop regulations for the activities of companies regardless of the legal status of indigenous peoples, extending them to all peoples of the North and the local population. The study also revealed pain points: inconsistency between the norms of indigenous legislation and resource law, insufficiently strict control on the part of the state over the implementation of legal norms and social and environmental obligations by industrial companies. In

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modern conditions, lawyers and politicians propose various integration projects - the Aboriginal Code, proposed in the speeches of S. N. Kharyuchi, the Arctic Code. The task of anthropologists is to try to make these legal systems adequate to the aspirations of the transforming indigenous community.

Conclusion

In the process of globalization, large-scale changes are taking place in the economic activities and lifestyle of the indigenous inhabitants of the Arctic. Today, Aboriginal people choose different development strategies, but for most of them, industrial development has become the most important factor in modern life. The activities of enterprises bring huge amounts of money to regional budgets, part of which goes to finance targeted development programs for indigenous peoples of the North, to help the agro-industrial complex, to support indigenous communities, and to compensate for losses caused during the development of territories. Overall, this has a positive impact on the well-being of indigenous and local populations. Modern infrastructure is developing in the Arctic: roads are being built, modern means of communication and energy are being used, residential buildings and social and cultural facilities are being built. This creates conditions so that indigenous peoples do not feel outside the "benefits of civilization" and receive comparable access to education, medical care and culture as residents of other regions of Russia. The process of interaction between indigenous peoples and mining companies is regulated by federal and regional laws. In addition, the districts have developed the practice of concluding agreements and agreements between communities and industrial enterprises. Of particular note is the unique experience of the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug in the creation of an Ethno-Ecological Council, whose tasks include making proposals to local governments to improve the legal framework in the field of regulation of land legal relations, environmental protection, environmental management and subsoil use. It is advisable to apply this experience in other regions. The policies of industrial companies in the North of Russia have been gradually changing for the better in recent years. Their managers and employees come to the realization that they are not pioneers of the northern and Arctic territories, that their activities must not only be carried out within the framework of the legal, primarily environmental, field, but also comply with moral standards. And since industrial development of the Arctic began before the adoption of modern environmental and socially oriented legal standards, companies should use compensatory measures and actively cooperate with local and indigenous populations in the areas of their operations. The management of many enterprises is aware of their responsibility and adopts documents and regulations

that define the principles of activity and rules of behavior of employees, especially in places of traditional residence and traditional economic activities of indigenous peoples. Against the background of the material well-being of the visiting population employed in the mining industry, the social problems of the aborigines are especially visible. In addition to the fact that the level of wages in fishing, reindeer husbandry, and marine hunting is an order of magnitude lower than in industry, The high level of unemployment among indigenous peoples poses a serious threat to social stability. As a rule, industrial enterprises refuse to hire indigenous people due to low qualifications, and there are no reserves for increasing employment in traditional industries. In the reindeer herding industry of the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug there is even a problem of "oversupply" of deer and shepherds, aggravated by the depletion of food resources. In Chukotka reindeer husbandry, there are other concerns - a shortage of reindeer herders and livestock workers; the desired increase in livestock is not happening, and therefore, the scope of employment is not expanding. The authorities associate the prospects for reducing unemployment and developing the traditional sector of the economy of the North with the development of communities and processing of products from traditional sectors of the economy. Traditional forms of economic management of the Arctic peoples are increasingly involved in the regional economy, and ethnocultural heritage is recognized as an important resource for the vitality of society, which not only needs to be preserved, but also modern forms of working with it must be found. Particular attention in our study is paid to the education of indigenous peoples of the North as the most important mechanism of adaptation. In the educational process, the educational potential of the basic means of the ethnic culture of the northern peoples is widely used (oral folk art, arts and crafts, folk games and toys, traditional physical competitions, festive and gaming folklore). It is probably worth considering the possibility of creating new forms of educational structures that are more adequate to the ethnic needs of northerners, as well as paying more attention to the targeted training of pedagogical specialists in the field of ethnocultural traditions of education. In the context of increasing industrial development, today there is an obvious lack of resources for traditional environmental management. The reduction of pastures and the pollution of water bodies lead to the need to search for new ways of social adaptation in the context of the curtailment of traditional forms of management. Many Aboriginal families see a solution in young people receiving vocational education and specialties that are in demand in the labor market. At the same time, many experts express thoughts about the need for more flexible forms - perhaps nomadic, primarily primary - education for children of reindeer herders in order to

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mitigate the stress that is inevitable for younger schoolchildren when parting with their parents and during the first years of life and study in boarding school. It is also important to understand that further development of traditional sectors of the economy is impossible without a sufficient number of Aboriginal people who have received both basic and professional special education. Today you need not only to herd deer, fish, hunt animals, but also have knowledge of management, marketing, accounting, and be economically and legally literate. So far in the North there are very few such specialists among indigenous peoples. After all, one of the reasons that communities cannot develop successfully is associated with financial reporting issues. A useful measure could be closer interaction between industrial companies and educational institutions in cities, schools and boarding schools. Familiarity and constant communication between the indigenous and visiting populations are of great importance. Their rapprochement would contribute to the establishment of a favorable psychological climate and would help graduates of boarding schools find their place in the future, including in industrial enterprises. In Russia and the world there are examples of successful participation of industrial companies in educational programs for indigenous and local populations in the Arctic and training programs for activists of indigenous social movements, which would be useful to be widely covered in the media. Measures of targeted government support for the development of indigenous peoples in combination with assistance to various forms of their self-organization are necessary. Such a policy of interested federal and regional authorities could guarantee movement towards limiting state paternalism, forming partnerships and mastering negotiation procedures by all their participants. The monograph proposes legal measures as mechanisms to overcome risks for indigenous peoples of the North associated with the industrial development of areas of their traditional residence and economic activity. Among them are the improvement of legislation, primarily the adoption of a special Federal Law "On assessing the impact on the ancestral habitat and traditional way of life of indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East", introducing changes to land and resource legislation that correspond to the legal rights and interests of indigenous peoples, tightening environmental regulations in the Arctic. To improve the effectiveness of the proposed measures, monitoring of law enforcement practice will be required. It seems to us that in such work, an interdisciplinary approach is

especially important, the joint work of anthropologists, lawyers, ecologists, and possibly the involvement of biogeographers, economists and other specialists. An effective means of improving the quality of life of Aboriginal people could be the development by industrial companies of a policy focused on interaction and dialogue with indigenous peoples, studying and taking into account their interests. A fruitful practice in this regard appears to be the practice of campaigns, recognized in many countries, to accept obligations on social corporate responsibility, based on international standards formulated in the UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007) and the Guiding Principles for Business Development in the Context of Human Rights (2011). Company policies based on these principles should combine direct financial injections into the regions in which they operate with targeted competitive projects aimed at developing communities and families of indigenous peoples, supporting their cultures and languages. In this case, primary importance should be given to the social sphere - education and health care, construction and support of enterprises for processing products of traditional industries. Special measures are needed both in relation to Aboriginal people living in cities and towns with a mixed population, where different economic and cultural structures coexist, and in relation to ethnically homogeneous communities of the indigenous population leading traditional environmental management. The multivariate approach proposed in the book takes into account the ability of people of any culture and social environment to innovate and gives preference to individual strategies of people, their fundamental desire to provide better personal and social living conditions. At the same time, the industrial development of the Arctic zone can contribute to the development of the indigenous peoples of the region if government authorities provide a legal framework and socio-economic guarantees, increase the efficiency and quality of education, realize the right of people to reliable information, which in total will certainly contribute to the formation of a favorable social climate. Only taking into account all these circumstances is it possible for the free, preliminary and conscious participation of indigenous peoples in decision-making that affects their interests, full control over the activities of industrial enterprises, and the application of high standards of social and environmental responsibility to their activities in the Arctic.

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Article



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SMALL EPIC GENRE IN RUSSIAN AND UZBEK LITERATURE FROM THE ASPECT OF CYCLICALITY (USING THE EXAMPLE OF LITERATURE OF THE 20TH CENTURY)

Abstract: In the article, the author writes about the significance of the Small Epic genre in Russian and Uzbek literature from the aspect of cyclicity (using the example of literature of the 20th century) as a great writer of the 20th century and points to the main directions of his work.

Key words: Small epic genres, words in style, plot, composition of the work, documentary, individual, Humanism, ethical categories, social enmity.

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Introduction

The first (initial and very short) period of development of epic genres is associated with an attempt by literature to realize itself in the conditions of a cultural and historical fracture. The circle of people who determined the appearance of the literature of these years is directly related to the pre-revolutionary cultural and historical situation; most of its representatives will soon leave Russia or lose their lives under tragic circumstances. However, the range of problems raised during these years will remain important over the next decades. The extremely time-limited period of literary development demonstrates the diversity of ideological, genre-style aspirations, and their alternativeness.

A. Serafimovich. The destinies of these writers, the works they created at this moment are signs of different writer's biographies and different trends in the further development of prose. A. Tolstoy sailed from Odessa in the spring of 1919, in 1919 - 1920. will create the first novel of the Russian diaspora - "Walking in Torment", which will be known to the Soviet reader in a later edition as the first part of a trilogy called "Sisters"; in 1923 he will return to Russia, where the socio-psychological novel of the

realist Tolstoy will be included (after revision) in the composition of the novel - epic - the most revered genre of socialist realism. Alexei Tolstoy will return to become the "Red Count", the second man of the Soviet literary world after Gorky. A. Tolstoy will continue the traditions of realism in their classical version, act as the direct heir of the elder Tolstoy, and in the future create one of the most significant works of the XX century - the novel "Peter the Great". Fueled by the general need to master the new state of the world in the forms of life itself, realism, associated with such figures as M. Gorky, L. Leonov, M. Sholokhov, A. Tolstoy, will show amazing vitality in the twentieth century; a realistic type of generalization will be able to expand the scope of a person's vision and update the traditional system of genres, adjust the system of artistic coordinates, using the experience of "non-classical" prose. However, by the end of the literary era, realism will be represented by K. Fedin, whose prose, according to the fair remark of M. Chudakova, seeking to inherit the great novelists of the second half of the 19th century and "demonstrating (let's give her due) an understanding of the narrative tradition and fidelity to models," will be "gradually degenerate under his pen into what soon

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became epics by authors with signs on office doors.” “The Naked Year” by B. Pilnyak will be one of the first works of large epic form, picking up the achievements of Andrei Bely, who quickly went from symbolism to the avant-garde. Pilnyak will stage a kind of artistic experiment that reveals the productivity of ornamentalism (in particular, motifs as a means of organizing the artistic whole), neo-mythologism and grotesque imagery.

The phenomenon of the cycle and the process of cyclization are of increasing interest to historians and literary theorists. The study of literary cyclization is carried out using the example of texts from different eras and different gender affiliations. Undoubtedly, more attention was paid to the lyrical cycle, as a result of which a number of classifications of cyclic unities were created and the characteristics of cycles were highlighted. As for prose, and especially postclassical prose, in this area much is still unclear, controversial and requires careful consideration. The study of various manifestations of cyclization in Russian and world literature helps to understand the nature of what is new that appeared in prose at the turn of the century and successfully developed throughout the 20th century. The prose of the first half of the 20th century was characterized by a steady desire for various kinds of experiments, the negation of existing canons and attempts to implement new principles of organizing literary text. This is typical both for authors prone to modernist and avant-garde types of constructing an aesthetic phenomenon, and for writers who follow traditional narrative techniques. The structures of the realistic novel no longer correspond to the aesthetic demands of the time. This was one of the reasons that many authors turned to the cycle as a kind of transitional way of combining plots, characters, and ideas into a single whole at a time when returning to the old model of the novel did not seem fruitful, and new principles were just being established.

Materials and Methods

The word “cycle” appears in Russian artistic culture and literary criticism, apparently, no earlier than the 19th century. M. Darwin gives the first, according to his data, examples of the use of the word “cycle” as a historical and philosophical concept. V. Belinsky, in an article about “Twilight” by E. Baratynsky, expressed himself this way: “Our Russia has outlived a whole cycle of life.” K. Sluchevsky already wrote about the possibility of “a whole cycle of the most original poems,” which could arise from the images, feelings, moods of F. Dostoevsky. As for literary criticism itself, the time when the concept of a cycle appeared in science is a controversial issue. M. Darwin believes that this concept becomes commonplace in literary criticism, starting with the works of A. N. Veselovsky, i.e. approximately at the turn of the 19th century - XX centuries, and sees two

ways to further develop the concept in the twentieth century:

1) the path of free application of the concept of a cycle to various phenomena of literary creativity. In other words, a cycle is synonymous with any unity. Most likely, this type of literary cyclization is meant, which V.V. wrote about. Vinogradov, i.e. classification of literary works with the aim of constructing a truly scientific history of world literature. In this regard, the scientist combined the works of different authors into cycles.

2) the way of applying the concept of “cycle” to one object: a group of interconnected works of one poet.

The question of how wide the scope of use of the term “cycle” is not fully understood. И Lyapina, for example, proposes to separate two concepts: cycle and cyclization, saying that cyclization is an objective process that gives rise to various types of artistic unities, the main of which is the cycle itself. In turn, the cycles themselves are divided by researchers into those conceived by the authors in advance and those resulting from the subsequent combination of works written at different times and for different reasons. In M. Darwin’s terminology, these are primary and secondary cycles⁵ (primary is a cycle that is created by the poet from the very beginning as an artistic whole. Individual texts are written specifically for the cycle; secondary is a cycle that arises from the combination of various poems written by the poet more often all at different times and for different reasons; in our opinion, such a division is quite applicable to cycles in prose - as are the definitions given by the authors below), in I. Fomenko’s terminology - author’s and reader’s⁶ (the author’s cycle is a lyrical ensemble consciously formed by the poet, in which poems are united by a common concept. It has a system of mandatory features that fundamentally distinguish it from adjacent poetic forms, regardless of the author’s genre designation - department, chapter, book, novel in verse, poem, super story, notebook, series, etc.; reader’s, or editorial cycle, accordingly, is deprived of the unifying force of the author’s plan), in E. Khaev – bound and free (according to the researcher, the bound cycle was initially set by the author: both key and peripheral texts are equally saturated with invariants; in the foreground there are not radial connections, but linear ones, determined by a given sequence of texts; The concise cycle is not built by the author, it has a concentric composition - this means that key texts are identified that form the semantic center of the structure and correlate with peripheral texts).

One of the little-studied aspects of the writer’s work, as already noted, is the genre aspect. Meanwhile, attention to the problems of the genre is one of the fruitful trends of modern literary criticism. For genres as “forms of vision and understanding of certain aspects of the world” consolidate the objective

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content of the material of a certain era, the originality of the author's position, in which the "memory of the genre" and the transformative power of the writer's creative talent are fused together. Here the genre acts as a "crystal through which life is analyzed."

Results and Discussions

Having made an undeniable contribution to the development of the theory of the small genre, these studies nevertheless do not exhaust the problem. All of them consider each individual genre - essay, short story, short story - without connection with other genres. Thus, the life of the genre - in its formation, dynamics and development, in attraction, repulsion and interaction with other genre forms - remains outside the field of view of researchers.

The changing characteristics of the genre are determined by the uniqueness of the country, era, and author. That is why the genre should be considered in "dynamics, in the complex of ideological and aesthetic reasons for its emergence, development, modification, impoverishment, in connection with the historical and social situation of the era, in two-way connection with the development of a literary direction, movement, with intraliterary a process of continuity and negation of what was achieved before, with the development of criticism and theory."

The concept of "genre" also takes into account the specifics of national literatures, the national climate ("each genre expresses the content of the era in its own way"18), which makes it possible to further concretize and narrow the concept of "genre" according to its "nationality": Italian short story of the Renaissance, German romantic novella, Russian novella from the turn of the century. Further concretization of the concept goes along the line of "author, creative individuality."

"Thus, the very concept of genre combines the stable and the changeable," writes N.F. Kopystyanskaya in conclusion. - Genre is stable as a general theoretical concept. The genre is variable in continuous historical development and national identity. The genre is uniquely individual." At one time, F. Schlegel noted that "each poetic work is a separate genre in itself."

Cyclization in prose of the first half of the 20th century was a process whose scope expanded, and artistic possibilities were increasingly clearly understood. The result of cyclization as one of the most important transformation processes in the literature of the period under study was the creation of more or less closely related unities from a collection of short stories to a novel. The cycles of prose works of the early 20th century have been studied in much less detail than the lyrical cycles, but at the turn of the 19th - 20th centuries. was a turning point for Russian prose, a period that gave rise to a whole series of artistic unities of a new type, genetically descended from the cycle. Writers abandoned the classical forms

of the story and novel (consciously or unconsciously), developing new principles for constructing an aesthetic phenomenon. Let us emphasize once again the most important names and texts that indicate the objectivity of the process in the work of writers, traditionally of a realistic orientation.

The idea of a cycle was embodied in the prose of modernism in a number of structures of varying degrees of coherence - from a simple collection of stories with some signs of a cyclic composition to novels of a mosaic nature. Russian modernism as a unique literary phenomenon has also been studied more in terms of verse than prose; this also applies to the cycle. Having studied a large number of modernist prose texts, we come to the conclusion that the prose cycle in one form or another was necessarily present in the work of the vast majority of modernist writers, structuring both "large" and "small" prose. It seems that the works selected for detailed analysis, in the totality of their specific features and general principles of construction, serve as sufficient evidence of the objectivity of theoretical calculations and hypotheses. The most important conclusions concern the following artistic structures. One of the varieties of the new genre was the "patchwork quilt" novel (primarily "Navy Chary" by F. Sologub), which perfectly corresponded to the needs of the time and was reflected in the works of many modernist writers. The same form is felt in Mandelstam's prose ("Egyptian Brand", "Fourth Prose", etc.), and in Balmont's novel "Under the New Sickle", and in Bryusov's stylized novels, etc. Another "subspecies" of the genre - Sologubov's cycle "Fairy Tales", a universal phenomenon, a unity, potentially capable of entering into intertextual relationships with works of different eras and cultures - like any fairy tale, because the basis of such texts is very often myth, mythological images and connections. Myth generally develops cyclically, modifying itself and changing appearances from era to era, but each time returning to its unchanged essence. Such is the relationship of the Fairy Tales both with each other and with the literary tradition. An artistic invariant, implemented in all the stories of the book "Decomposing Masks" and serving to create a cyclical unity of a new type, is a meeting of a character with a mystical (divine or devilish) being, a test through which the characters (as embodiments of a single hero) pass successfully or unsuccessfully. Sologubov's earlier cycle, "The Sting of Death," organizes something similar. Each text in any of the two cycles is undoubtedly complete and aesthetically whole, but the themes chosen by the author - life, death, their opposition and inseparability, inseparability from each other - are most deeply revealed precisely in the structure of the cycle, based on the principles of inseparability and non-fusion of plots, characters, images.

The work examines cycles as unities, the tendency to transform the cycle into a more rigidly

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connected structure, the relationship of cyclization as a technique with the genre searches of Russian writers; the uniqueness of cyclic constructions of different writers, the dominants of the structure of the text at different levels, general trends and individual manifestations of each writer, the role of various integral elements in the specific functioning of cycles as aesthetic unities are studied; the connection of new phenomena with the Russian literary tradition and the global literary process is demonstrated.

The continuity of the search for genre synthesis, complicated by constant interaction, interpenetration of creative practice and the author's reflection on his own experiences, makes it difficult to comprehensively and systematically comprehend the genre uniqueness of Prishvin's prose. What is important here is the choice of a research position, which will provide the opportunity to explore the writer's genre quests in a new way. In our opinion, this approach requires the inclusion of historical-literary and historical-cultural components in the research methodology; an objective understanding of genre processes is possible only in the broad context of artistic quests of the early 20th century.

It should also be noted that the lyrical principle manifested itself in a real way in the work of A.I. Kuprin only due to the fact that the author achieved the harmonious conditioning of a harmonious canonical plot and an organically accurate descriptive texture of the work, which seem to be inseparable from each other; moreover, they, by interacting, enhance the dynamism and emotionality of Kuprin's prose.

The direction chosen by the artist at the beginning of his creative career turns out to be decisive in the mature years of his work. Examples from short prose by A.I. Kuprin, exemplary from the point of view of the obligatory plot and compositional resource, represent an organic fusion of epic and lyrical principles. The emotional-associative plan in his stories is formed by a number of stable techniques, which are:

- symbolic character naming;
- antithesis and interdependence of rationality and emotion ;
- a dominant issue that brings the internal form of the whole into the lyrical plane, as well as a number of others, described in detail in specific chapters of the work.

All of the writer's works, to a greater or lesser extent, are permeated with a special lyrical feeling. The ways of forming a lyrical plan of content in a writer's works are varied. However, the main thing is attention to the life of the soul, not to events as such, but to the description of the experiences of these events, moreover, to the dynamism of what could be called a lyrical plot.

The following provisions are put forward for defense: the cycle as a structure and cyclization as a

process are closely related to the birth of new genre formations and therefore have always been the focus of attention of Russian writers and poets (as well as foreign ones), especially at the end of the 19th and first half of the 20th centuries. Cyclization was necessary for literature at moments when genre forms experienced a crisis under the influence of both internal and external factors. The model of the novel that emerged in the 19th century did not always satisfy both writers and readers and seemed to them insufficiently artistically fruitful and not in keeping with the spirit of the times at the beginning of the 20th century. Transformational processes in the structuring of genres among different writers are visible so clearly and clearly that this allows us to talk about the patterns of development of genres and super-genre unities; the general tendency towards cyclization in Russian realistic literature of the described period is undoubted, and the degree of cohesion of the resulting artistic unities, in which the previous typical forms move to the role of constituent parts and elements, forming a structure of structures or a complex, multilateral system of motivations, depended on the aesthetic task of the writer and his focus genre-style searches; in artistic unities, a new level of typification of heroes, forms of life and social relations appears on the basis of various incarnations of the invariant model of the cycle; the idea of a cycle was embodied in the prose of modernism in a number of structures of varying degrees of coherence - from a collection of stories with some signs of a cyclic composition to novels of a mosaic nature. F. Sologub was one of the first Russian writers who showed at the beginning of the 20th century the role of new prose structures in the development of literature in various genres - from the cycle of fairy tales to the novel.

Conclusion

Thus, on the one hand, forgotten works are studied, their role in the literary process is shown, and little-known and forgotten texts are introduced into literary circulation. On the other hand, much attention is paid to the theoretical principles and methods of genre analysis; different approaches to epic genres are proposed, focused on semantic, formal content, inter-generic and inter-genre components.

As for foreign postmodernism, the situation around the cycle as an element of the artistic consciousness of the era is correlated with everything said above. This kind of observation of literary cyclization in modern postmodernism is, of course, sketchy in nature, since the study of prose of the second half of the 20th century is not included in the scope of this work, because the variety of genre forms of modern prose requires separate classifications. However, we can confidently assert the further development and modification of cyclization processes in the latest literature, which indicates the

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richest aesthetic potential and wide distribution of the cycle phenomenon.

Analyzing not equivalent and not identical, but interdependent literary forms in small genres, such as prose and poetry, lyric and epic, we come to conclusions that give an idea not only of the individual style of A.I. Kuprin, but also about the style of the era,

the bright exponent of which was the writer. Studying the synthesis of the lyrical and epic in the writer's stories and tales, analyzing linguistic mastery, structuring methods of lyricization in a prose work - all this is necessary for the most complete comprehension of the essence of the unique phenomenon of Russian literature.

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Article



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NEW MONETIZATION OPPORTUNITIES FOR PRINT MEDIA

Abstract: The article describes what opportunities have opened up for traditional media to monetize content. The author describes the main types of monetization, formulates the provisions that must be taken into account when introducing a paywall. The article analyzes the situation with the monetization of content in the print media of Karakalpakstan and identifies new opportunities for monetization of content.

Key words: mass media, content monetization, traditional media, social networks, advertising model.

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НОВЫЕ ВОЗМОЖНОСТИ МОНЕТИЗАЦИИ ДЛЯ ПЕЧАТНЫХ СМИ

Аннотация: В статье рассказывается какие возможности открылись перед традиционными медиа для монетизации контента. Автор описывает основные типы монетизации, формулирует положения, которые необходимо учитывать при введении пэйволла. Анализируется ситуации с монетизацией контента в печатных СМИ Каракалпакстана и определяется новые возможности монетизации контента.

Ключевые слова: СМИ, монетизация контента, традиционные медиа, социальные сети, рекламная модель.

Введение

На сегодняшний день обеспечить устойчивость в финансовом плане традиционных медиа самая серьезная проблема. Экономическое обеспечение деятельности печатных СМИ Каракалпакстана с помощью печатных версии издания. Но тиражи традиционных медиа падают с каждым годом, потому можно сделать вывод что традиционные методы ведения бизнеса не дает желаемого эффекта.

Сегодня вопрос о монетизации СМИ рассматривается бизнес-консультантами и теоретиками менеджмента СМИ: В. Д. Марковой, Л. Боссиди и Р. Чаран, Д. Дебелак, С. М. Гуревичем, И. Н. Деминой, В. Л. Иваницким и др. (Боссиди, Чаран; Гуревич; Дебелак; Иваницкий; Маркова).

По мнению экономиста и лауреата Нобелевской премии по экономике Кеннета Эрроу, одну и ту же информацию можно

продавать много раз, в то время как обычный товар продается только один раз [1].

С. М. Гуревич рассматривал производство информации как разновидность духовного производства. «Журналистская информация имеет двойственную природу. С одной стороны, это продукт духовного производства, создаваемый с целью воздействия на сознание человека, побуждение его к определенной деятельности, изменения его представлений о мире или просто для лучшей его ориентации в его жизненных ситуациях, в которых он находится. Но, с другой стороны, эта информация поступает на рынок и становится товаром» [2].

Монетизация - это процесс конвергенции чего-либо в законное платежное средство. Традиционно экономическая цепочка по привлечению прибыли в СМИ выглядела так: «контент – аудитория – рекламодатель – прибыль», но с развитием интернета произошли серьезные изменения. Как отмечает Е. Л.

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Вартанова, информация все больше приобретает свойства потребительских товаров, основные секторы экономики оказываются связанными с сектором информационно-коммуникационных технологий, само потребление в значительной степени перемещается в сферу информации и коммуникации [3].

А. Мирошниченко, который считает, что подписная модель в СМИ традиционно была основана на отсутствии информации у людей, а рекламная – на отсутствии у рекламодателя прямого доступа к аудитории. Теперь СМИ надо научиться работать в ситуации, когда оба дефицита исчезли [4].

Многие медиа работают над новыми возможностями монетизации контента, но есть несколько общих методик монетизации. Например:

Жесткий пэй волл, пользователи платят деньги для прочтения контента, но такой метод монетизации уменьшает количество подписчиков.

Мягкий пэй волл, аудитория может пользоваться лимитировано.

Премиал пэй волл. Медиа дает возможность ознакомиться только лентой новостей, но интересный контент закрывает под замком.

Александр Амзин в статье «Paywall: краткое руководство к действию» выделяет четыре типа paywall, присущие современным интернет-СМИ: жесткий, мягкий, гибридный и премиальный. Жесткий paywall разрешает доступ к контенту СМИ только после оплаты. Мягкий paywall позволяет потреблять часть контента бесплатно. Этот тип обычно реализуется по модели meteredpaywall, который ограничивает количество материалов для свободного чтения. Гибридный paywall сочетает оба способа. Например, The Wall Street Journal некоторую часть статей позволяет читать, а некоторую делает доступной только для платных подписчиков. Премиальный paywall предполагает доступ к дополнительным продуктам. В The Financial Times премиальным контентом являются разные колонки и аналитика [5].

В. Л. Иваницкий сформулировал универсальную бизнес-концепцию масс-медиа следующим образом: «любое предприятие масс-медиа работает как бизнес только на основе продаж контактов со своей аудиторией. Причем эти контакты одновременно предлагаются в качестве продукта и собственно аудитории СМИ (реализация тиража, сигнала), и рекламодателям, и группам влияния» [6].

К тому же на сегодняшний день многие медиа больше всего используют рекламную модель монетизации. Здесь возможность шире – это баннерная реклама и нативная реклама. В этом формате медиа вместе с коммерческими структурами производят контент.

Оно хорошо вписывается в формат издания и отвечает запросам аудитории, потому что такие контенты готовятся по запросам и интересам аудитории. В выигрыше все три стороны: аудитория получает качественный контент, издание – деньги рекламодателя и лояльность аудитории.

Теперь попытаемся анализировать ситуацию монетизации печатных СМИ Каракалпакстана, в контексте использования новых методик монетизации. По данным управления информации и массовых коммуникации Республики Каракалпакстан государственную регистрацию прошли 41 издания. Газеты и журналы республики в основном спонсируются разными структурами. Основная их финансирование проходит через подписную компанию, проводимый с начала октября до конца декабря. Доля рекламного поступления очень мизерная, основная рекламный контент, это короткие рекламные объявления.

Выше мы рассуждали о новых модулях монетизации и для печатных СМИ, и для онлайн СМИ, потому что многие печатные СМИ в давно ведут двойную работу и в бумаге, и онлайн формате.

Если анализировать ситуацию перехода печатных СМИ Каракалпакстана в онлайн вариант, вырисовывается плачевная картина. Во первых все (исключением некоторых СМИ) печатные СМИ республики проводили политику развитие подписной монетизации контента, но подписка на газеты падает с каждым годом. В 2022-году тираж самой влиятельной газеты как «Еркин Каракалпакстан» в начале года составил – 1005 экземпляров, а газета «Каракалпакстан тонги» выходила тиражом 242 экземпляра [7].

Не своевременной переход печатных СМИ в онлайн формат обусловлено несколькими факторами, важными из них являются следующие:

- Не знание или не понимание возможности онлайн формата. Это в основном связано с голодом молодых кадров в редакции. Многие молодые кадры не стремятся трудоустроиться в местные газеты, потому, в местных газетах работают журналисты пенсионеры или предпенсионного возраста специалисты.

- Финансовые составляющие. Для поддержания онлайн варианта СМИ нужны квалифицированные кадры, знающие специфику работы в онлайн формате. А поддержания финансово таких кадров нужны дополнительные вложения.

- Психологические моменты. Многие специалисты старой закалки не понимали возможности, которые открываются в онлайн формате газеты, потому они всячески препятствовали развитию формата.

Но есть примеры плавного перехода в онлайн формат. Например, республиканская газета

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«Жеткиншек» [8] предпринимает попытку трансформации контента. Для перехода в онлайн формат редакция газеты участвовала на грантовом конкурсе организованный Центром развития современной журналистики и получила поддержку для трансформации сайта и социальной сети.

По ходу реализации проекта редакция газеты провела несколько конкурсов в телеграме [9] и инстаграме [10] и начала продвигать контент в онлайн формате.

Мы полагаем первые шаги редакции в онлайн пространстве и поэтому в начальной стадии целью журналистов является привлечение

потенциальной аудитории в телеграм канал и в страничку инстаграме. Это первые этапы к монетизации контента в онлайн пространстве, целью редакции является в будущем привлечь потенциальных рекламодателей, заинтересованных в детской аудитории.

Таким образом, рассмотренные стратегии монетизации контента печатными СМИ Каракалпакстана не используется. Но мы уверены что если учесть некоторые факторы редакциями, дела в этом направлении продвигались бы. Если бы монетизация в качественных каракалпакских СМИ эффективна при совмещении их общественных и рыночных интересов.

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Article



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UZBEKISTAN IS THE CRADLE OF CIVILIZATION

Abstract: This article is based on numerous testimonies demonstrating the great past of the Uzbek people. These are unique monuments of material and spiritual culture, which have become the property of history, thanks to the widespread deployment of large-scale archaeological excavations on the territory of Uzbekistan. These monuments stand out for their high artistic merits, and allow us to talk about Uzbekistan as one of the cradles of human civilization. The article is illustrated with photos of exhibits from the collection of the State Museum of the History of Uzbekistan (Tashkent).

Key words: Sel ungur, Zarautsai, Teshiktas, Jarkutan, Sapallitepa, Chust, Ayrtam, Fayaztepa, Dalverzintepa, Amudarya treasure, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Ayrtam, Fayaztepa, Varakhsha, Afrasiab.

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УЗБЕКИСТАН - КОЛЫБЕЛЬ ЦИВИЛИЗАЦИИ

Аннотация: Настоящая статья основана на многочисленных свидетельствах, демонстрирующих великое прошлое узбекского народа. Это уникальные памятники материальной и духовной культуры, ставшие достоянием истории, благодаря широкому развешиванию на территории Узбекистана масштабных археологических раскопок. Эти памятники выделяются высокими художественными достоинствами, позволяют говорить об Узбекистане, как одной из колыбелей человеческой цивилизации. Статья иллюстрирована фото экспонатов из собрания Государственного музея истории Узбекистана (г. Ташкент).

Ключевые слова: Сельунгур, Зараутсай, Тешикташ, Джаркутан, Сапалитена, Чуст, Айртам, Фаязтепа, Дальверзинтепа, Амударьинский клад, зороастризм, буддизм, Айртам, Фаязтепа, Варахша, Афрасиаб.

Введение

Во всем, что касается древности, таится волнующая загадка. Когда смотришь на находки археологов, невольно пытаешься представить жизнь людей в далеком прошлом, понять, что их волновало, страшило или радовало, угадать, насколько похожи или непохожи были их чувства и отношение к миру. А когда путешествуешь по прекрасной земле Узбекистана, подобные мысли посещают чуть не на каждом шагу, ведь страна так богата свидетельствами жизни древних культур. Недаром территория Узбекистана по праву считается одним из очагов зарождения человеческой цивилизации (Рис.1).

Уже в каменном веке (2 млн. – 4 тыс. лет назад) горы и долины Сурхана, Ферганы, других регионов были заселены племенами охотников и собирателей, чьи стоянки эпохи палеолита обнаружены в различных районах нашей страны. Самая ранняя из таких стоянок открыта в 1985 году академиком Академии наук Узбекистана археологом У.Исламовым в пещере Сельунгур у селения Хайдаркан в Фергане. При исследованиях были найдены классические каменные орудия труда – ручные рубила, хопперы, бифасы, а также фрагменты черепа человека, возрастом до 1,5 миллиона лет. [1, с. 76-79; 6] Из других стоянок известны Ходжикентская, Нижнебозсуйская,

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Акташ, Обирахмат, Кульбулак в Ташкентской области, Иджант, Учтут в Бухарской, Мачай, Тешикташ в Сурхандарьинской, Аман-Кутан в Самаркандской областях, Калача в Ферганской долине и другие.

Одной из самых сенсационных археологических находок стало в свое время захоронение мальчика-неандертальца в пещере Тешикташ (100 – 40 тыс. лет). Интересно, что оно было окружено несколькими парами установленных вертикально рогов горного козляк-ийка. В связи с этим ученые высказали предположение о существовании у неандертальцев зачатков религиозных представлений, в частности, поклонения солнцу. [2-3, с. 8]

В эпоху неолита на территории Узбекистана появляются первые оседлые земледельческие поселения, начинают развиваться керамика и ткачество. Памятники этой поры исследованы в низовьях Заравшана и Амударьи (Дарбазақыр-1, Дингильдже, Джанбаскала-4 и другие). В них найдено большое количество ножевидных кремневых пластин, фрагментов керамических сосудов и других свидетельств жизни первых земледельцев.

Древнейшим памятником изобразительного искусства на территории Средней Азии являются около 200 рисунков на стенах труднодоступных гротов ущелья Зараутсай в горах Кухитанг. Они уникальны и признаны памятниками мирового значения. Рисунки Зараутсай развивают основную тему – мотивы охоты древнего человека. Большинство изображений относится к ранним стадиям эпохи бронзы, но некоторые из них могут восходить и к концу верхнего палеолита (12 – 5 тыс. лет до н.э.). [4-6, с. 14-26]

Рисованные или выбитые в камне изображения людей, козлов, кабанов, оленей, архаров, сцен загона животных и ритуальных танцев обнаружены во многих областях Узбекистана, в том числе, в Бостанлыкском районе Ташкентской области, Ходжикенте, в урочище Текеташ в Маргузарских горах за Джизаком, в сае Сармич (17 км к северо-востоку от Навои), в ущелье Паракандасая на северном склоне Кураминского хребта (6 – 8 км к югу от Алмалыка), а также ряде других мест. Эти немного наивные, но всегда яркие, выразительные и динамичные образы без слов рассказывают нам о прошлом.

В эпоху бронзы (III – сер. I тыс. до н.э.) на территории Узбекистана возникают первые центры протогородской культуры. Классическими являются поселения прогородского типа Сапаллитепа (1750 – 1500 гг. до н.э.), Джаркутан (1500 – 1400 гг. до н.э.), Моллалитепа и другие, исследованные археологами в Сурхандарьинской области. Здесь выявлены дворцовые сооружения,

храм, кварталы ремесленников, множество захоронений с богатым погребальным инвентарем. Найденные бронзовые косметические сосудики, иглы, булавки, браслеты, украшения из сердолика и агата, печати, предметы вооружения, деревянная, керамическая и бронзовая посуда свидетельствуют о ярко выраженной специализации ремесел и высоком мастерстве безымянных мастеров. Найденные предметы, наряду с другими материалами, свидетельствуют о формировании на юге Узбекистана во II тыс. до н.э. высокоразвитой культуры племен эпохи бронзы. Некоторые исследователи называют ее цивилизацией Окса. [7-8]

Свыше 10 памятников эпохи бронзы выявлены в Ферганской долине, среди них Чустское поселение (II – I тыс. до н.э.). Значимость открытия заключалась в том, что Чустское поселение для того времени являлось единственным памятником этой культуры на территории Узбекистана. Раскопные работы и предварительный анализ находок позволили ученым отметить в хозяйстве обитателей Чустского поселения наличие древнейшего земледельческого хозяйства. Было найдено огромное количество предметов производственного и бытового назначения. Судя по находкам, его жители были не только земледельцами, но и умелыми гончарами, литейщиками, камнерезами, ткачами. [9-10, с.40-49; 11-48]

Одно из свидетельств, воплощенное в незаурядной художественной форме, хранится в Государственном музее истории Узбекистана. Это амулет из хризолита в виде двух пятнистых змей. Он был выполнен в конце II тысячелетия до новой эры, в эпоху бронзы. Найден в 1895 г., во время проведения земляных работ в кишлаке Сох Ферганской области (Рис. 2). Художественные достоинства и культурная значимость находки сделали ее одной из жемчужин музейной коллекции. В 1986 г. амулет экспонировался на выставке в Японии, в 2003 г. побывал на выставке в США «Искусство первых городов: третье тысячелетие до нашей эры с берегов Средиземного моря до Инда», проведенной Метрополитен Музеем в Нью-Йорке. В 2022-2023 гг. экспонировался на международных выставках «Сокровища оазисов Узбекистана. На пересечении караванных путей» (Лувр, Париж) и «Археологические сокровища Узбекистана. От Александра Македонского до Кушанской империи» (Берлин, «Музейный остров»).

Амулет представляет собой достаточно крупное изваяние, выполнено в технике выпиливания с последующей полировкой поверхности. Две змеи изображены переплетшимися в виде подковы. Дугообразная

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часть амулета служит его ручкой, – вероятно изображение участвовало в каких-то ритуальных процессах. Поверхность камня покрыта правильными спиралевидными рядами овальных углублений, частично заполненных гипсом. Пасти змей повернуты друг к другу и широко раскрыты, в небольшие ямочки для глаз, возможно, некогда были вставлены драгоценные камни. В отверстиях для зубов видны кристаллы белого кварца, но сами зубы, видимо, некогда из него изготовленные, не сохранились. [11-12, с. 48-55] Уникальное изображение напоминает нам о тотемизме, одной из самых древних форм религиозных представлений. Парные изображения змей встречаются в наскальных рисунках, на изделиях из камня, металла, глины, а также как орнаментальный мотив. В ювелирном искусстве известны серебряные браслеты с изображением змей, которые также представлены в музейной коллекции. Они были найдены в Чиназе, Сиджаке, Сайрам-су и других населенных пунктах Ташкентской области (в X в. это была территория средневековых государств Шаш, Илак). Браслеты парные, массивные, утолщающиеся к середине и суживающиеся к концам. Эти суженные концы оформлены в виде змеиных головок. Известна и другая форма браслетов – в виде пары свившихся змей с единым туловищем и головками, повернутыми в противоположные стороны. Парные изображения змей несли в себе сакральный смысл. Видимо, они выражали представление о взаимодействии мужского и женского начал, связанного, в свою очередь, с представлениями о жизненной силе и плодородии.

С наступлением эпохи металла расширяются культурные контакты между народами, складываются системы сухопутных и морских путей, связующих культуры Среднего Востока, от Месопотамии до Инда и от Средней Азии до Аравийского полуострова.

В I тыс. до н.э. на территории Узбекистана складываются высокоразвитые центры цивилизации в Хорезме, Фергане, бассейнах рек Зарафшана и Чирчика, Бактрии, долинах Сурхандарьи и Кашкадарьи. Священная книга зороастрийцев Авеста и греческие историки сообщают о существовании двух крупных государственных образований – Большом Хорезме и Бактрийском царстве, упоминают Согдиану. С этими тремя культурными областями связано одно из древнейших религиозных учений мира – зороастризм. [13, с. 27-40] Исследователи называют родиной зороастризма древний Хорезм.

Огромную роль в зороастризме играет почитание природных стихий – огня, воды, земли и воздуха. Особенно свят огонь. Он мыслится идеальной субстанцией. Даже солнечный свет считался производным от света и тепла огня.

Поэтому в древности в каждом городе и селе последователей зороастризма имелись алтари и храмы огня.

Зороастризм оставил глубокий след в истории и культуре Средней Азии. Об этом говорят и многочисленные археологические находки.

Уникальный по своему научному значению общественно-культурный центр – протозороастрийский храм огня вскрыт археологами на городище Джаркутан. Остатки так называемого «Дома огня» обнаружены в Хорезме при раскопках памятника Джанбаскала. Подобные «Дома огня», где постоянно поддерживалось священное пламя, существовали в Бухаре, Самарканде и других согдийских городах. На монетах бухарского Согда изображены основные символы культа огня – алтари, а также тамги и знаки, имитирующие их изображения. В музейной коллекции можно увидеть и орнаментированные очажки из терракоты, найденные при археологических раскопках. Как считают ученые, они служили своеобразной «иконой», перед которой возжигали жертвенный огонь. По виду эти подковообразные очажки напоминают сад, обнесенный глинобитной стеной. Внешняя и внутренняя их поверхности часто покрывались орнаментом.

При раскопках городища Канка в Аккурганском районе – первой столицы древнего Ташкентского государства, известного под названиями Юни, Чач, Шаш, в слоях середины II тысячелетия археологами были обнаружены руины фундаментального сооружения с большим залом, площадью свыше 200 квадратных метров. Ученые считают, что сооружение служило храмом огня и поминовения предков [14, с. 138]. В кладовой храмового хозяйства обнаружены мелкие сосуды, остатки тканей, хлопка, плодов, обгоревших во время случившегося здесь сильного пожара. Наиболее интересной находкой являются именные буллы, которыми опечатывались дары, приносимые храму. На них изображены мужские портреты с украшениями на шее – гривной или пекторалью. Скорее всего, персонажем булл является жрец и правитель в одном лице.

Еще одна принадлежность древнего культа огня – глиняные курильницы в форме башни со стрельчатыми прорезями, найдены при раскопках археологического памятника первых веков новой эры Актепа Чиланзарское в Ташкенте. Здесь археологами выявлено двухэтажное глинобитное здание с круглыми угловыми башнями. [15, с.119,120].

Городской храм, представляющий собой сложный многослойный комплекс, функционировавший в течение длительного времени, был вскрыт при раскопках крупнейшего

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городища Еркурган на юге Узбекистана. Здесь также были найдены культовые предметы, связанные с почитанием огня: керамические курильницы, плитки, светильники, алтарь огня. [16-17, с. 460-452; 49-57]

В античный период (IV – III вв. до н. э.) в Средней Азии из бронзы выделывали котлы, служившие для приготовления коллективной жертвенной трапезы при похоронах царя, вождя или другого знатного лица. Среди подобного рода так называемых «сакских» котлов, хранящихся в музее (рис. 3), выделяется один, с изображениями по верхней кромке козликов и соляных знаков. Котел найден в 1939 г. на строительстве Большого Ферганского канала на глубине более трех метров. [18-20, с. 8; 49-50; 45]

В V – VIII вв. зороастризм оставался основной религией в Согде, Хорезме, Фергане, но уже в измененной форме. Сохранившаяся настенная живопись, выявленная в ходе археологических раскопок, передает мифологические сюжеты далекого прошлого. Среди музейных коллекций хранятся терракотовые статуэтки, изображающие Анахиту – богиню благоденствия, воплощавшую животворные силы природы. Анахиту считали покровительницей плодородия, изобилия (обычно она изображается с плодами и злаками в руках). Со временем в Анахите концентрируется собирательный образ многих местных богинь авестийского круга: Аши, Хайрватат и других. Терракотовые статуэтки Анахиты обнаружены при археологических раскопках почти на всей территории Узбекистана – в Хорезме, Кашкардарьинском оазисе, Бухаре, Самарканде. [21-22, с. 64-65]

Одним из важных в научном отношении открытий стало обнаружение в 1928 г. М.Е.Массоном и Т.Миргиязовым зороастрийского кладбища недалеко от современного города Тойтепа. Здесь были обнаружены оссуарии, а также фрагменты погребальных корчаг-хумов. Уникален оссуарий в виде керамической погребальной статуи, передающей облик молодой женщины, сидящей в статичной торжественной позе. Оссуарий был найден археологами в развалинах Кой-Крылганкалы (Каракалпакстан), одного из выдающихся памятников древнего Хорезма, являвшегося некогда храмом погребального и астрального культов. Памятник просуществовал несколько столетий, с IV в. до н. э. по IV в. н.э. [23] Здесь же был найден статуарный оссуарий, изображающий сидящего мужчину (ныне хранится в одном из российских музеев). Возможно, что в нем передан образ Сиявуша – бога умирающей и воскресающей природы, тесно связанный с культом мертвых.

В VII – IV вв. до н. э. появляются укрепленные города, развиваются ювелирное, гончарное, литейное и другие ремесла. Необычайно высокого уровня достигают архитектура, скульптура и живопись. Основным занятием населения оставалось орошаемое земледелие. Широкое развитие получает внутренняя и внешняя торговля.

«Сокровища Окса» – самое выдающееся собрание среди громадного количества памятников искусства и культуры, завещанных им Британскому музею», – так писали о сэре Огастесе Уолланстоне Фрэнке, занимавшем с 1866 по 1896 гг. пост хранителя Отдела древности и средних веков Британского музея. Завещанные им музею коллекции предметов значатся в описи как «большое количество утвари и художественных изделий, преимущественно из золота, присланных в Англию некоторое время тому назад с северо-западной границы Индии». Среди них видное место занимают так называемые «Сокровища Окса». Оксом древние греки именовали Амударью, отсюда другое название коллекции – Амударьинский клад (Рис. 4). В 1889 г. русские археологи А.Толстов и Н.Кондаков опубликовали описание части предметов из Амударьинского клада, а в 1905 г. Дальтон издал его полное иллюстрированное описание. Туркестанский кружок любителей археологии в Ташкенте провел специальное заседание, на котором предметы клада сопоставлялись с найденными в Средней Азии древностями. Как предполагают специалисты, предметы Амударьинского клада происходят из зороастрийского храма на Оксе (Амударья). Их возраст охватывает период с 600 по 300 гг. до н. э. Клад состоит из около 200 предметов и более 500 монет. В нем имеются художественно выполненные изделия из золота и серебра – статуэтки, сосуды, браслеты, гривны, перстни, пластины с изображениями людей и животных, и многое другое. Среди предметов Амударьинского клада особое место занимают золотые пластины с выполненными на них изображениями. Здесь можно встретить этнические типы жителей Бактрии, историко-культурной области, располагавшейся по обеим берегам Амударьи от Гиндукуша (Афганистан) до Гиссарского хребта (Узбекистан, Таджикистан). В состав Бактрии входил и юг Узбекистана. «Сокровища Окса» оказались подлинным кладом для ученых разных специальностей, – искусствоведов и археологов, иранистов и знатоков эллинистической эпохи, специалистов по семитским языкам и исследователей древней культуры, нумизматов и историков ремесел, палеографов и металловедов. [24]

Богатства региона не раз привлекали взоры завоевателей. В VI и IV вв. до н. э. народы

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Узбекистана вели упорную борьбу с персами и войсками Александра Македонского.

В III – II вв. до н. э. юг Узбекистана входил в состав Греко-Бактрийского царства. [25] Из памятников этого периода особенно интересны крепости Малый Чингиз и Чингизтепа в старом Термезе (III – II вв. до н.э.), где сохранились крепостные стены, сооруженные на месте древнейшей переправы через Амударью.

О высокой культуре Греко-Бактрии дают представление прекрасные образцы серебряной и глиняной посуды, произведения медальерного искусства, монеты. Совершенную технику ювелирного искусства демонстрируют изделия, найденные на памятниках Чирик-рабат, Бабиш-мулла, Кюзелигыр, Токкала, Кызыл-кыр и других.

Поистине уникальным по обилию найденных предметов является погребение знатной женщины, обнаруженное на городище Кок-тепа в Самаркандской области и датированное II – I вв. до н. э. Это оригинальные керамические сосуды, курильница для благовоний, украшенная резным орнаментом, китайское зеркало из бронзы, железные ножницы, металлическая чаша. Особый интерес представляют золотые бляшки (их более 300), которые были нашиты на платье умершей.

Во II в. до н. э. начал складываться Великий шелковый путь. Транзитная торговля способствовала росту благосостояния античных городов Средней Азии. Одними из интереснейших музейных экспонатов являются бронзовые китайские зеркала, попавшие на территорию Узбекистана на рубеже новой эры по трассам Великого шелкового пути, и медные монеты. Последние сегодня служат важным источником для понимания того, как развивались политика и экономика древних государств среднеазиатского региона. [26, с.16-18; 94-100]

Яркая страница истории Узбекистана в этот период связана с Кушанской империей – одной из крупнейших в мире (I – III вв.). В кушанский период на территории Сурхандарьинской области получили развитие такие крупные города, как Дальверзин, Термез, Зартепа, Хайрабадтепа, Халчаян и другие, а также культовые буддийские комплексы Айртам, Каратепа, Фаязтепа в районе городища старого Термеза. Находки археологов поражают воображение. Здесь найдены многочисленные предметы искусства, архитектуры, монетного дела, торговли, керамические трубы от древнейшего водопровода. Для кушанского искусства характерен синтез индийских, эллинистических и собственно бактрийских традиций. Особенно живо это ощущается в архитектурном декоре, в частности, знаменитом Айртамском фризе с изображением музыкантов и участников культовых празднеств [27, с. 72-76].

Во время проведения раскопок на городище Дальверзинтепа в Сурхандарьинской области (предполагаемая первая столица Кушанского царства) в 1972 г. был обнаружен клад из 115 золотых предметов. Это открытие стало сенсацией мирового масштаба. Клад состоял из дисковидных золотых слитков, брусочков с указанием веса, выполненным индийским письмом кхароштки, ювелирных заготовок в виде толстых цилиндрических или миндалевидных обручей, серег, блях, шейных украшений, браслетов. Среди шейных украшений выделяется гривна (мужское украшение), пектораль (круглый золотой обруч) с геммой, изображающей Геракла. Клад находился в грубоватом по выделке керамическом кувшине. Общий его вес составил 36 килограммов. Датировка предметов восходит к первой трети I в. н. э. Дальверзинский клад оказался находкой мирового значения, помимо материальной, он представляет огромную научную и культурную ценность. Он позволил обоснованно судить о культуре, искусстве, художественных стилях, уровне мастерства и эстетических предпочтениях предков среднеазиатских народов, их связи с северо-западной Индией и культурами кочевой степи. [28, с.41-42, 205] Дальверзинские находки в значительной мере помогли переосмыслить историю художественной культуры долины Сурхана как яркого и самобытного явления античного периода, имевшего специфические бактрийские черты. Сегодня клад входит в состав коллекции Института искусствознания Академии наук Узбекистана. Здесь же, на Дальверзине были обнаружены фрагменты настенной живописи сюжетного и орнаментального характера, резное обуглившееся дерево, монеты. В том же году, что и клад, обнаружены две миниатюрные шахматные фигурки – слона и зебувидного быка, которые также произвели своего рода сенсацию среди ученых и любителей шахмат. Фигурки из слоновой кости, установленные на подставках, восходят к протошахматной игре «чатуранга», бытовавшей в древней Индии. Находка удревнила историю игры в шахматы на 400 лет, заставила пересмотреть представление о месте ее возникновения. Теперь оказалось, что еще в середине II века н. э. шахматы были известны в Северной Бактрии. [29, с. 39-40] Раскопки на Дальверзинтепа, проводившиеся на протяжении целого ряда лет, начиная с 1960-х годов, Узбекстанской искусствоведческой экспедицией Института искусствознания под руководством всемирно известного ученого Г.А.Пугаченковой, раскрыли основные этапы истории этого очень древнего крупного города. [30-32, с. 26-28; с. 197; с.81-95] Здесь были вскрыты руины жилых домов, в которых обнаружено немало предметов материальной и художественной культуры I – II вв. Среди них –фрагменты настенной росписи и

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скульптуры. Из находок Дальверзинтепа огромный интерес представляют скульптурные головы буддийских персонажей, выполненные из гипса на глиняной основе. К числу подлинных шедевров не только среднеазиатского, но и в целом древневосточного искусства можно причислить сохранившуюся часть статуи юного принца в конусовидном, украшенном драгоценными камнями головном уборе. Полнее всех сохранилась статуя вельможи из «зала царей» (Коллекция Института искусствознания Академии наук Узбекистана).

Находки произведений древнего искусства из Дальверзинтепа – яркое свидетельство высокого уровня развития художественной культуры на территории Южного Узбекистана на рубеже новой эры.

Одним из интереснейших памятников является храмово-монастырский комплекс Фаязтепа. [33, с. 53-57] Здесь в 1972 г. были найдены уникальный известняковый барельеф, известный как «Триада» (Рис. 5), фрагменты настенной росписи и образцы древней бактрийской письменности. Барельеф представляет рассказ о просветлении Будды. Он запечатлел Будду под деревом Бодхи (древо познания), ветви которого образуют нимб над его головой. Будда сидит в позе медитации и его лицо исполнено спокойной силы и достоинства. Складки монашеской накидки-сангити плавно обтекают тело, не скрывая его линий. Рядом, по обеим сторонам от Будды, изображены два стоящих монаха – его ученики. Изображение священного дерева Бодхи, под которым Будда достиг Просветления, входит в круг образов буддийской иконографии. находка скульптурной группы на Фаязтепа, этого великолепного памятника культуры и искусства, получила мировую известность. Барельеф является одним из самых совершенных образцов раннего буддийского искусства, обнаруженных на территории Узбекистана.

Большой интерес представляет тонкостенная, с хорошим обжигом, кушанская керамика, отличающаяся изяществом форм и большим их разнообразием. Открытые учеными городища поражают четкостью линий, продуманностью планировки улиц, рациональной системой водоснабжения.

При раскопках в 1950-х гг. буддийского храма VI – VII вв., расположенного на восточной окраине районного центра Ферганской области – Кувы, на месте большого средневекового городища, известного по письменным источникам VIII – X вв., была обнаружена храмовая скульптура, которая отражает круг представлений, связанных с северным вариантом буддизма – тантраяной. Это образы защитников веры, которые своим устрашающим видом

призваны отпугивать злые силы и темные желания. [34]

Исключительно богатый материал дали раскопки дворцового комплекса античного города Топраккала (III – IV вв.) в Хорезме. В одной из парадных зал вскрыты глиняные скульптуры, изображающие царей, сидящих на троне. В жилых комнатах дворца открыты богатые многоцветные росписи орнаментального и сюжетного характера. Крупнейшим открытием стал деловой архив, насчитывающий около 80 документов, написанных на древнехорезмийском языке на коже и дереве. [35, с. 251-286] Среди античных городов Хорезма, сходных с Топраккалой, выделяются Базаркала, Эсеркала, Кырккызкала, Курганчикала, Гяуркала и другие.

В VI в. территория Узбекистана вошла в состав Тюркского каганата. В этот период растет роль городов как ремесленных центров, умножается число сельских поселений, возникает большое количество феодальных замков и усадеб. Памятники этого времени открыты в Самарканде (Афрасиаб, Кафыркала), Бухаре (Варахша), Хорезме (Тешиккала, Яккеперсан, Беркуткала), Ташкенте (Мингурюк), Ташкентской области (Тункет, Абрлыг, Кавардан, Тойтепа, Канка), Фергане (Ахсикет, Кува) и других центрах раннесредневековой культуры.

Многолетние историко-археологические исследования, проводимые учеными Узбекистана, говорят о высоком уровне культурной жизни в VI – VIII вв. Наиболее интересным памятником этого времени является замок Балалыктепа в Ангорском районе Сурхандарьинской области. Здесь были открыты росписи, изображающие пирующие пары с кубками в руках. Тщательно выписанные узорчатые ткани, детали одежды, причесок и украшений говорят о тонкой наблюдательности живописца. [36, с. 126-162] На Балалыктепа найдены также бытовая керамика, стеклянный медальон в серебряной оправе, изображающий женщину с ребенком на руках, курильница, образцы тканей.

Особое место среди исторических памятников Узбекистана занимает городище Варахша, расположенное в 35 – 40 км к северо-западу от Бухары, в пустыне Кызылкум, и являвшееся в VI – VIII вв. резиденцией правителей Бухары – бухар-худатов. [37, с. 66-71] Раскопки 1938 – 1958 гг., проводившиеся Зарафшанской экспедицией АН РУз под руководством В.А.Шишкина [38], дали блестящие материалы по истории Согда. Выяснилось, что дворцовые залы Варахши были богато украшены многокрасочными настенными росписями со сценами охоты и сражений с мифологическими существами, а также прекрасными резными панно и медальонами из ганча. Поверхность панно сплошь покрывают геометрический и

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растительный орнаменты, антропоморфные и зооморфные изображения, композиции со сценами охоты [39, с.150-186]. Сегодня в экспозиции ГМИУ Варахше отведен специальный раздел. Убранство дворца бухар-худатов, в котором сочетались роспись, скульптура и резьба по ганчу, свидетельствует о поразительных достижениях художественной культуры Согда.

В течение многих лет ведутся работы по изучению Афрасиаба – городища старого Самарканда, бывшего столицей Согда. [40] Особое место среди находок занимают фрески, чудесно исполненные древними самаркандскими живописцами. Среди всех памятников раннесредневековой живописи среднеазиатского региона искусство Афрасиаба выделяется виртуозностью исполнения, изяществом рисунка, богатством колорита. Это поистине выдающиеся памятники культуры и искусства народов Узбекистана, а для исследователей – неоценимый источник сведений о быте, костюмах, вооружении согдийцев. В экспозиции Музея истории Самарканда на Афрасиабе можно увидеть фреску, изображающую процессию послов, представляющих самаркандскому правителю.

В X – XII вв. среди ремесел, как и прежде, ведущее место занимало изготовление керамики, главным образом, разнообразной глиняной посуды. Глазурованные сосуды, украшенные сложным многоцветным орнаментом с геометрическими, растительными, эпиграфическими мотивами, украшают ныне коллекции многих музеев. И рядом с ними нередко можно видеть удивительные по тонкости исполнения изделия из местного стекла, – свидетельство развития в регионе стекольного дела.

Искусство изготовления бронзовых изделий совершенствовалось на протяжении веков. Подлинными украшениями музейных коллекций являются произведения торовтов IX – XII вв., покрытые сложным чеканным узором сцен звериного гона, изображений мифических существ (крылатых сфинксов, женщин-птиц, драконов и крылатых львов) среди растительного орнамента. Медные тазы опоясывают надписи-благопожелания, вычеканенные в стиле «куфи».

В X – XII вв. необычайно высокого уровня достигли архитектура и строительное дело. Трудом и талантом мастеров Мавераннахра создавались мечети, дворцы, мавзолеи – выдающиеся памятники зодчества. На рубеже IX – X вв. в Бухаре был возведен мавзолей правителя Исмаила Самани, поражающий воображение замечательной соразмерностью частей, совершенным в своей простоте декором и инженерным мастерством строителей.

IX – XII вв. можно охарактеризовать как «золотой век» культуры Средней Азии. Общий

подъем экономики превратил регион в один из важнейших центров научной мысли Востока. Непреходящее значение трудов великих среднеазиатских мыслителей и ученых – знатока и собирателя хадисов, мыслителя Имама аль-Бухари, правоведа Бурхониддина Маргинони, астрономов, математиков и географов Хорезми и Фергани, философов и ученых-энциклопедистов Фараби и Беруни, выдающегося врача Абу Али ибн Сины и многих других.

Еще раз «золотой век» культура Мавераннахра пережила при Амуре Темуре, создавшем в XIV в. мощное централизованное государство, что способствовало развитию экономики страны, подорванной многолетним господством монголов. Активно развивались ремесла и торговля. Эпоха Амира Темура и его потомков - Темуридов отмечена блистательным взлетом науки, архитектуры, градостроительства, литературы, изобразительного и прикладного искусств. С именем внука Амира Темура Мирзо Улугбека связаны выдающиеся открытия в области астрономии и математики.

Одной из уникальных находок, дающей представление о расцвете искусства чеканки в Мавераннахре, является открытие мастерской торовта эпохи Темуридов в центре Самарканда, на площади Регистан. Мастерская была обнаружена в ходе археологических исследований на глубине 8 м. В ней найдено около 60 изделий, главным образом хозяйственная и столовая посуда. Отлитая из золотистой бронзы, она орнаментирована чеканным узором растительного и геометрического характера, некоторые изделия покрыты прекрасно выполненными надписями, инкрустированы золотом и серебром. [40, с. 181-184] Изделия поступили в Самаркандский музей истории и культуры, затем часть их была передана в Государственный музей истории Темуридов и Государственный музей истории Узбекистана.

Невозможно даже выразить, насколько велико богатство, оставленное нам историей. С первых дней независимости Узбекистана важнейшей задачей, возведенной на уровень государственной политики, стало сохранение этого бесценного духовного и культурного достояния, многовекового наследия узбекского народа, без чего невозможно духовно-нравственное самосознание нации. Шедевры истории и культуры Узбекистана, возвращенные археологами из небытия, сегодня экспонируются в музеях республики, фондах Института искусствознания, Института археологии и других научных учреждениях, даря самой широкой аудитории незабываемые встречи с вершинами духа и народного гения.

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Список иллюстраций



Рис. 1. Керамический сосуд. V тыс. до н.э. Центральные Кызылкумы (Узбекистан, Навоийская обл.).



Рис. 2. «Сохский» амулет. 11 тыс. до н.э.



Рис. 3. Котел, VII в. до н.э. найденный на строительстве Большого Ферганского канала в 1939 году.



Рис. 4. Художественное изделие из Амударьинского клада. VI- 111 вв. до н.э. Копия.

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Рис. 5. «Триада» из Фаязтепа. 11 в. н.э.

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Article



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COMPARATIVE STUDIES OF THE ORIENTAL AND WESTERN ANTROPOLOGY

Abstract: The article examines the similarities and differences of views of Heidegger with the views the outstanding thinkers of the East. Moreover, in this context, it will appear brighter in Heidegger's perception of Eastern thought in general, within the framework of individual national philosophical culture in particular. As part of our thematic and bibliographic review of modern foreign philosophical literature on the problem of Heidegger and Eastern philosophy in the context of comparison and dialogue we attempt to find ways to implement the complementarity of philosophical cultures of East and West. Heidegger is an indispensable part to any mental dialogue and comparisons with a certain Eastern thinkers of the past and the present, or the object of conceptual perception of his work in some contemporary Eastern philosophy.

Key words: existentialism, person, personality, personalization, time, being, being for us, being for itself, Dasein.

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Introduction

There are many great scientists, thinkers and writers in the world. The cultural and spiritual monuments they created and left behind are definitely different from each other. However, there are signs that motivate us and causes to go in a certain direction like a guiding star. One of such outstanding scholars is Martin Heidegger, a bright representative of German existential philosophy. Another one is Muhammad Aziz Lahbabi, who made a great contribution to the spread of existential philosophy in the East and, moreover, in the Muslim world.

There are certain grounds for comparing the views of these two thinkers of the 20th century. They consist of the fact that M.A. Lahbabi in his several works, in particular, "From existence to personality. Personalism Essay" (1954) which refers to the Heideggerian concept of being and time. It conducts comparative analysis in a broad problem space that encompasses ontological, logical-epistemological, aesthetic, ethical, and socio-philosophical perspectives. Of course, Lahbabi does not limit himself to Heidegger, his analysis also includes a

number of Western thinkers (E. Munet, A. Bergson, E. Husserl, J.-P. Sartre, etc.) in his analysis.

Literature review on the topic

Russian researchers S.I. Velikovskiy [2], E.P. Kushkin [3], A.F. Zotov [4], S. Semenova [5], Y.K. Melville [6], etc. we can cite his works, researches, pamphlets, articles as an example. These studies reflect the great thinker's worldview, his teachings about man and his social and moral legacy.

Research methodology

Methods such as systems approach, theoretical-deductive conclusion, analysis and synthesis, historicity and logic, comparative analysis were used during the research.

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

There are similarities in the intellectual biographies of these two thinkers. Just as there was a "turn" in Heidegger's work (1929-1930), Lahbabi's teaching changed from "realistic" personalism (1954) to "Muslim" personalism (1964).

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In his texts, Lahbabi does not refer directly to concrete works of Heidegger, such as "Being and Time" or any other works. In his "From existence to personality. An Essay on Realist Personalism" [1, 352] The works listed in the "Literature" of Heidegger's own words, either directly quoted, or cited in the text or in a reference, are two of Heidegger's works in French translation: "What is Metaphysics?" (1938, translated by A. Corbein, and also translated Heidegger's "Being and Time" into French in 1939). True, the title here is slightly different: the French translation is given as *On Essence and Truth*, with an introduction by Alphonse de Weilhens and Walter Bimel. In addition, Alphonse de Weilhens' French book *The Philosophy of Martin Heidegger* (Louven, 1942) will also be shown. Based on all of this, he found the main information about Heidegger's philosophy in E. Munet's work "Personalism" (in this work of Munet, Heidegger's views on existence, person, identity, presence, "I" and so on are evaluated) [2, 477, 483, 487, 494, 495], as well as from Sartre's "Being and Nothingness" [3, 268-274], where there are many correspondences and inconsistencies with Heidegger. We have mentioned these philosophers because Lahbabi often refers to them both when he describes his concept of realistic personalism and when he mentions a number of other conceptual developments.

At this point, it is appropriate to highlight some parts of M.A. Lahbabi's intellectual biography. Muhammad Aziz Lahbabi is a famous poet, writer, philologist, philosopher, public figure, author of a number of major works. The leading theme in his work is personalism, about which Lahbabi not only names testify to this "From the individual to the existence. Realistic personalism essay", "Muslim personalism", but also "Freedom or freedom? (Based on Bergson's Freedom)" (1956), "From Closedness to Openness" (1971) and a number of other works. This theme is considered to be the main idea of his entire poetic work, his poems: "From Darkness to Light" (1959), "Songs of Hope" (1952), "My Voice Searches" (1974) and others. All these works of Lahbabi have gained international resonance and are being discussed with interest all over the world.

All of Lahbabi's works were preceded by his "From Being to Personality". "Realistic personalism essay". In almost all the structural parts of this work, which consists of three parts, it is possible to observe its compatibility with Heidegger or the matching of the issue. The first part dedicated to "Being and personality" consists of two chapters: 1) Being; 2) Person; each of them is composed of defined paragraphs that are conditionally divided. The second part devoted to the topic "Dimensions of personality" also consists of two chapters: 1) Time. level Transcendence (divinity); 2) Away from me. In addition, there are three to four conventionally divided paragraphs within the chapters. Finally, the third part,

dedicated to depth measurement, covers three chapters: 1) Value; 2) To be saved; 3) Mastery. The study will then conclude with a word. Such a division into parts and chapters allows Lahbabi to substantiate several key ideas expressed in the book's introduction. First of all, he shows the peculiarities of the realistic personalism developed by him, then, by analyzing the teachings of his predecessors (S. Renuve, E. Munet, J. Lacroix), he enriches the categorical apparatus of personalism in general, and finally, his concept of realistic personalism with the problem of freedom connects One of his last works, which he submitted as a supplemental thesis for a doctorate in philology at the University of Paris, was entitled *Freedom or Liberation? (On the basis of Bergson's freedom)* essentially continues to develop the ideas he expressed in the third part of his previous work "From Being to Personality". "Freedom or freedom?" In the introduction to his work, he explains the connection between his two works as follows: "In previous works, we tried to establish the foundations of "Realistic Personalism": ontology, dimensions of personality, and various problems related to research and understanding of personalization. Today's work appears both as an illustration and as a supplement to the first. In both books, the goal is the same: to prove that personalism is a philosophy of liberation. If in the first book we tried to distinguish the real positive elements on which personalism is based, then in this essay it is about showing its negative aspects, that is, distinguishing what personalism is not: it is not satisfied with purely subjective freedom, it is not wrapped in its shell, and finally, free will should be. It recognizes the individual without allowing it to be completely absorbed into itself, it recognizes 'permanence', but only as one of the modes of temporality (transience).

The explanation of this issue as a starting point for determining the relationship between Lahbabi and Heidegger is related to two aspects: 1) Lahbabi in his personalism often derives from Mune's personalism, and 2) as we mentioned above, Lahbabi often looks at Heidegger through Mune's eyes. Lahbabi's attitude towards Munet is usually understood in such a way that Lahbabi takes God "outside the bracket" in his realistic personalism. Lahbabi recognizes Munet's work "Personalism" as a pioneering work in French personalism, in his book "Personalism" (1903) he shows the innovation introduced by Munet in processing this doctrine in comparison with S. Renuve, who first introduced the term "personalism" into everyday life. However, recognizing Mune's services in clarifying the terminology of personalism, Lahbabi Renuve and Munet, such as "person", "personalization", "transcendence" and several other important terms remained unclarified [1, 63-88]. He finds several paradoxical emphases in Mune's interpretation of transcendence. According to Munet, transcendence is undefined, unexpressed [1, 100]. He

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does not consider Mune's personalism as a philosophical system, on top of that he distinguishes the Catholic intention in it [1, 97]. Although Mune's personalism poses the problem of freedom, there is uncertainty and contradiction in its interpretation, Lahbabi states [1, 102]. Lahbabi tries to emphasize the "realistic" character in his interpretation of personalism. He directly expresses his opinion: personalism is either realistic or absent at all [1, 82]. He pushes the concept of personalization and transcendence to the center of realistic personalism. It is based on the triad: existence, personality, a specific reality that represents man.

In almost every chapter of his book, Lahbabi mentions Heidegger, cites one or another of his cases, and expresses his attitude towards him. We agree with him because it provides a clearer picture of the problem area that Heidegger either notes, or reinforces, or argues for the world view that he deems necessary to focus on. As the first such problem area, the issue of understanding existence and its historical fate emerges. But first of all, it should be said that for Lahbabi, Heidegger is an existentialist. Therefore, despite the fact that Sartre came to an agreement with Heidegger's thoughts, he often fell into the same mold with Sartre and seriously criticized many of his fundamental ideas [3, 268]. For example, Heidegger "discovered" a number of aspects, indeed, he revealed aspects that are not separated from each other, including abstraction in "being-in-the-world" that characterizes human reality. These aspects are the concepts of "world", "being in it" and "Being". According to Sartre, "the Mitsein point of view can in no way serve us to overcome the other problem of the spiritual and the concrete" [3, 272], and "Heidegger did not avoid idealism, he avoided himself as the a priori structure of being, and he also made it a priori of our experience." isolates it as a Kantian reflection about its conditions..." [3, 273]. He goes on to say: "Therefore, it would be futile to look for a simultaneous continuation of any idealism and realism in Sein und Zeit" [16, 273]. Heidegger, who considered himself a philosopher of existential analysis and phenomenological ontology, always "fleeing" existentialism, shows that the existentialist Sartre does not clearly explain the situation arising from "Being and Time", Plato's metaphysical thesis about the essence of *Existencia and essentia*, modified by Sartre, "remains a metaphysical thesis" [4, 200]. It is in this place that Heidegger explains the essence of his turn from "Being and Time" to "Time and Being" in his lecture "On the Content of Reality" in 1930.

Lahbabi calls Heidegger a "philosopher of being". He proposes to classify modern philosophers as follows: 1) those who prioritize being (Heidegger) and 2) those who prioritize personality (Renuve, Munet, Lacroix), although there is a significant difference in the understanding of personality among the latter [1, 52]. According to him, Heideggerian

Dasein is used with unequaled authority among different understandings of the issue of existence [1, 14]. In this context, he begins his excursion into the history of the question of existence.

There are many parallels here with the Heideggerian excursion into the history of being, even in the justification of the relevance of such a focus on the past. "Any ontology, no matter how rich and tightly-knit a categorical system it is," writes Heidegger, "if it does not first sufficiently clarify the meaning of being, and accepts this clarification as its fundamental task, is in its own way blurred and distorted in its task." remains" [4, 11]. Heidegger solves this in the introduction, stating in the first paragraph ("The need for a clear renewal of the question of Being") that this issue did not stop the studies of Plato and Aristotle, and has not faded since then as a thematic issue of proper practical research. The achievement achieved by these two was preserved until Hegel's logic among various distortions and "corrections" [4, 2].

He then looks at three groups of assumptions about existence: 1) "Being" is "a very general concept..."; 2) the concept of "Being" is indefinable; 3) Being is a self-realized concept [4, 3-4]. "What is Metaphysics?" (1929) in his lecture, he asked, in a historical context, "Why is there existence at all, and not the opposite?" considers in the question. In a lecture course in 1925, Heidegger spoke about the falsity of the issue of the meaning of being [5, 122].

In "Introduction to Metaphysics" (1935), Heidegger writes that the main question of metaphysics is the most comprehensive and eternal: "Why is there existence at all and not otherwise?" is a matter of Here again we come across Heidegger's late work, where excursions into the history of the question of being are now taking place, and in this period of his work Parmenides, Heraclitus and many other ancient philosophers fall into his field of view. In referring to Parmenides, Lahbabi touches upon the "historical destiny of being" and follows Heidegger to some extent. He writes that, according to Parmenides, the definition of "what is, is being" develops "grammar," algorithms, formal logic, and theological inquiry. In it, existence is mixed with thinking, it is the object and subject of thinking, writes Lahbabi. After that, he looks at the views of Socrates, Plato, Ibn Sina, Descartes about existence [1, 11-12]. In the group of existentialists such as Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, Gabriel Marcel, Camus, he goes back to Heidegger, he finds in the German philosopher some images of the ways of the appearance of being, or, in Husserl's words, a "regional ontology": the self that counts (Dasein); existence of living creatures; the presence of natural scenery; existence of mathematical objects [1, 13].

Lahbabi writes that until personalization, human existence is seen in this crude form. But it passes to the real human existence only through

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personalization, through access, through attraction to the totality of the individual. He cites the following example: there is a piece of marble, and there is a statue that the sculptor worked on this piece; there is a piece of cloth and there is a garment made by a tailor [1, 7]. A person is a being drawn into the continuum of time and space. It is at the same time what it can become as a result of personalization. Lahbabi considers the actualization of "I" in each moment as a stage in personalization. Lahbabi does not agree with the Heideggerian interpretation of transcendence, because it concerns only the temporal problem of the transcendence of the world [4, 364-367], in his opinion, then it should be about the transcendence of human existence, the individual. Where Heidegger hints at the transcendence of the individual, much remains in the dark. For Lahbabi, it is necessary to consider transcendence in the form of some "I" project in the process of personalization [1, 17]. Lahbabi pays great attention to Heidegger's "being in the world" as an important component of human reality. This is something of an existential reality. Lahbabi adds: in its essence, the Heideggerian existence turns out to be compressed in relation to the subject "thrown" into the world that crushes it [1, 25]. For Lahbabi, existence is the foundation on which the individual rises. It cannot be conditioned by anything. Lahbabi defines his position towards Heidegger in the context of his Cartesian cogito ergo sum excursion. It is known that Heidegger never touched on this issue. In the same connection, Lahbabi dwells on the difference between Heidegger, Hegel and Kierkegaard in their approach to this issue. Heidegger's true attitude to Descartes' thesis is described by Heidegger in "European Nihilism" [6, 111-112]. Descartes' thesis makes an excursion into the history of Lahbabi philosophy without going into a detailed discussion of the Heideggerian interpretation. As he takes the Cartesian case of self-knowledge from "consciousness" in the context of the act of thought, he begins with the phrase (formula, in Lahbabi's terms): "know thyself." It then traces the various relations of the Cartesian thesis expressed by Hegel, Kierkegaard, Kant, and others. In doing so, he follows Heidegger's logic to some extent in considering Descartes' cogito ergo sum [1, 35-42]. In this history, some overlaps with Heidegger's ideas expressed in "Kant and the problems of metaphysics" (1929), "Introduction to Metaphysics" can be seen. He may have been directly or indirectly acquainted with these ideas of Heidegger before the publication of his book *From Being to Person* (1954).

Lahbabi focuses specifically on the issue of the transformation of being into a persona, through which he returns to Sartre and Heidegger in the person who strives for perfection in the process of transcendence and always strives to be better than himself. In general, he tries to clarify that Sartre's idea of "Thing in itself" and "Thing for itself" as the main device of the world is exactly the same as Heidegger's idea of

being in the world, and in this attempt he does not find exactly the same thing [1, 49]. He examines the relationship between the concepts of individual, person, and human, and says that the concept of a person expresses the unity of being with a person (biological, physiological, psychological). In this he seems to block it by emphasizing Heidegger's emphasis on the Dasein-Presence. According to Lahbabi's hypothesis, due to personalization, thanks to which the human existence becomes a person, it becomes possible to remove the dichotomy of existence and essence [1, 50]. As a result of the "transformation" of human existence into a person, a gradual change of human existence occurs within the framework of socialization. Lahbabi often uses the two terms "persona" and "person" both in the same sense and in different meanings. In particular, he says that persona is the entire project and the wholeness of the personality manifested in history. Here he says that persona is a complex of individuals. In this case, under the concept of person, he means the achievement of the highest level of social and spiritual harmony, self-knowledge and self-awareness by the persona. For him, the person is embodied as an aspect of personalization, adaptation and "dynamic structure, the structure of the individual's mental system, which determines his attitude to the environment" [1, 67-73].

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

All of Lahbabi's works were preceded by his "From Being to Personality". "Realistic personalism essay". In almost all the structural parts of this work, which consists of three parts, it is possible to observe its compatibility with Heidegger or the matching of the issue. In many cases, Lahbabi juxtaposes Heidegger and Sartre in the interpretation of one or another situation related to human existence. Taking the person as a dynamic structure, he brings different approaches to the person, personality. In particular, according to Lahbabi's point of view, according to Hegel, personality is understood only through its world.

According to Lahbabi, due to personalization, thanks to which the human existence becomes a person, it becomes possible to remove the dichotomy of existence and essence. As a result of the "transformation" of human existence into a person, a gradual change of human existence occurs within the framework of socialization. Lahbabi calls Heidegger a "philosopher of being". He suggests classifying modern philosophers as: 1) those who prioritize being (Heidegger) and 2) those who prioritize personality (Renue, Munet, Lacroix), although there is a significant difference in the understanding of personality among the latter. He believes that Heideggerian Dasein is used with unequalled authority among different understandings of the question of being.

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Article



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THE MAIN MECHANISMS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF CRITICAL THINKING IN THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS OF HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS

Abstract: This article analyzes the mechanisms of the development of critical thinking among students of higher educational institutions. The importance of introducing innovative pedagogical technologies into educational processes in the development of students' critical thinking competencies is substantiated. The development of critical thinking reveals the essence of the development of such skills as independent thinking, information analysis, problem vision and its formulation, asking questions and finding answers to them, finding your own solution to the problem and arguing the most correct ones in relation to others, interacting with other people to gain new knowledge.

Key words: intelligence, critical thinking, motivation, teaching methods, innovative pedagogical technologies, mechanisms for the development of critical thinking, modern education.

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Introduction

One of the actively developing areas of reforming the system of modern higher education is the focus on the development of thinking and critical thinking of the individual, which implies the presence of skills of reflection on one's own mental activity, the ability to work with concepts, judgments, conclusions, questions, the development of abilities for analytical, predictive activities, problem vision, the search for alternative, innovative forms, means and methods that contribute to the rational solution of tasks and problems, and also to evaluate the similar capabilities of other people, which makes the development of this type of thinking an important condition for the formation of a competitive personality of a future specialist.

Recently, significant changes have been taking place in the information field. Trends in the development of modern society: informatization and computerization of all spheres of human activity, including intellectual, and therefore the field of education, ultimately lead to the fact that (and probably in the foreseeable future) the media text will

become the main form of presentation of any information and educational. Already, a significant part of the educational content is presented in the form of media text on the Internet, in various electronic textbooks and educational complexes that offer students materials in text, audio and video formats. In such situations, a modern student exists in a world of oversaturated information, he actively uses the possibilities of cellular communications, e-mail, television, the Internet, and educational information in such an information field occupies an increasingly less significant place.

A modern student receives a stream of new knowledge and concepts every day through information providers who arrogate to themselves the right to teach, show how to live, but do not seek to submit verified, scientifically based, truthful information. The information chaos that the student is increasingly facing requires him to be able to work with information, which in turn implies a high level of development of "critical thinking". However, there is no generally accepted definition of the term "thinking" and "critical thinking" in either foreign or domestic

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scientific literature. However, the phenomenon of critical thinking is not an exclusively scientific category. But it is of great practical importance for modern society, especially in the conditions of the XXI century.

Modern science is characterized not only by the formation of new concepts, but also by the enrichment of the content of long-known concepts, the expansion of their scope. The uncertainty of the conceptual and categorical apparatus, characteristic of modern science, sets the researcher the task of clearly defining key concepts that play a very significant place not only as a concept of pedagogy and theory of psychology, but also as a general scientific concept. In our opinion, considering the concept of "thinking" and "critical thinking" as a scientific category will not only serve to explain the knowledge already gained, but will also play an increasing role in the further development of the cognitive process.

The use of the entire richness of the content of the concept of "critical thinking" is, in principle, carried out only in the entire complex of scientific knowledge and in the very long development of relevant private pedagogical theories. Since not all the content of the concept is currently used in them, this makes it possible to predict the likely development of a particular theory, revealing the corresponding contradictions inherent in it, which have not yet fully manifested themselves in its development. As a manifestation of meaningful cognitive critical thinking, it has attracted special attention from the scientific community since the 80s. of the last century. Over the past almost three decades, a considerable number of definitions of this term have been proposed in the literature.

What is critical thinking?

The category "thinking" refers to interdisciplinary concepts and is the subject of study of various sciences (philosophy, psychology, pedagogy, physiology, sociology, etc.), however, based on the specifics of the work, its consideration was carried out in a philosophical, psychological and pedagogical context.

Analysis of the views of philosophers (Abu al-Walid Ibn Rushd, Averroes, F. Aquinas, Aristotle, F. Bacon, G. Hegel, T. Gobs, R. Descartes, Ibn Bajji, I. Kant, A. Canterbury, N. Kuzansky, Parmenides, Plato, P. Pomponazzi, Socrates, B. Spinoza, etc.) he showed that in philosophy "thinking" is considered as: an immaterial phenomenon characterized by objective relatedness and having several forms; the ability to independently cognize reality, create, solve and act according to certain rules; a necessary element of cognition; the absolute essence of nature, man, and world history, independent of man and humanity.

In psychology, thinking is one of the actively developed categories, and its essence acquires specific features depending on the context of consideration. In many psychological studies, the concept of "thinking"

is considered identical, although not identical to the concept of "intelligence". As shown by the analysis of theories in which an attempt was made to compare or compare the concepts of "intelligence" and "thinking", intelligence plays the role of a concept that combines the cognitive and creative abilities of an individual. And "thinking", in turn, accumulates the intellectual abilities of an individual to solve a variety of problems and tasks. Consequently, the process and result of an individual's thinking depends on his intellectual abilities, but intelligence develops due to an improvement in the quality of cognitive and creative abilities. That is, the development of thinking is simultaneously a process of developing intelligence.

In modern pedagogy, thinking is most often understood as "an indirect reflection of the external world, which is based on impressions of reality and enables a person, depending on the knowledge, skills and abilities he has acquired, to correctly operate with information, successfully build his plans and behavior programs" (Ped. encyclopedia. dictionary). It is determined that along with the term "thinking" in pedagogy, the concepts of "mental development" and "mental education" are often used. Although these two concepts are close in meaning, they have some significant differences. "Mental education" is a process aimed at the subject of education, "mental development" is a process of change inherent in the subject of educational influence. At the same time, mental education largely determines and contributes to mental development, but this happens only if the patterns and possibilities of mental development of the subject of pedagogical influence are taken into account. Therefore, in pedagogy, much attention is paid to the study of the peculiarities of the ontogenesis of personality thinking.

The analysis of the category "criticism" has shown that it is mainly used in two meanings: as a negative, negative attitude towards something and as making an opinion about something based on an analysis of facts. Here, the concept of "criticism" is crucial for the direction of the thinking process and refers to the process of analysis, inference, therefore, we consider criticism in a broad sense, as an analysis of the essence, patterns and results of phenomena, with the aim of making an objective judgment. Today, in the global pedagogical community, one of the most popular sources for answering the question: "What is critical thinking?" is an article of the same name by David Kluster. In this short work, the author formulates five signs of critical thinking, considering it as independent, problematic, analytical and information-based thinking [1]. His colleague Diana Halpern gives a slightly different list of KM properties: controllability and validity, purposefulness, logic, cynicism [2].

Critical thinking works on many levels, not content with facts, but revealing the causes and consequences of these facts. Critical thinking

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presupposes polite skepticism, doubt of generally accepted truths, means developing a point of view on a certain issue and the ability to defend this point of view with logical arguments. Critical thinking involves paying attention to the opponent's arguments and making logical sense of them. Critical thinking is not a separate skill or skill, but a combination of many skills"[3].

I.I. Ilyasov in the article "Critical thinking: the organization of the learning process" considers KM as analyzing, evaluating, problematizing [4, p.50-55]. A similar approach can be traced in the definition of V.A. Bolotov, which is considered as the ability to analyze information from the standpoint of logic and a personal psychological approach in order to apply the results obtained to both standard and non-standard situations, questions and problems [5, p. 67-73]. At first glance, a different approach is demonstrated by A. Veretennikova, in whose interpretation KM is a system of mental states, processes and properties aimed at producing evaluation[6]. However, upon familiarization with the fundamental principles of KM outlined by the author in the same article, it becomes clear that in this case KM is considered as independent, problematic, analytical thinking, etc. [6].

We observe a similar situation in the work of G.V. Sorina "Critical Thinking: history and modern status". The author gives a completely original definition of the term of interest to us: "Critical thinking can be interpreted as a form of practical logic considered internally and depending on the context of reasoning and the individual characteristics of the reasoning subject" [7, p.97]. Further, turning to the question of the skills that form the basis of KM, the author notes that it presupposes the ability to reflect on one's own mental activity, the ability to work with concepts, judgments, conclusions, questions, the development of analytical skills, to assess similar capabilities of other people [7, p. 98]. Which fits perfectly into the previously presented interpretations.

Thus, despite the variety of interpretations of the concept of KM, most authors agree on the fundamental skills characteristic of a critically thinking person. In general, all of them are close to the point of view of David Kluster, who considers KM as a set of five features:

First, critical thinking is independent thinking;

Secondly, information is the starting point, not the end point of critical thinking;

Thirdly, critical thinking begins with asking questions and understanding the problems that need to be solved;

Fourth, critical thinking strives for convincing arguments;

Fifth, critical thinking is social thinking[1].

The importance of critical thinking in literature is usually considered in three aspects: political, social and cognitive. In the latter case, critical thinking acts as a tool for verifying the reliability of knowledge, the

correctness of the decision made. For example, G. Lindsay, K. Hull, R. Thompson believe that "the purpose of critical thinking is to test proposed ideas: whether they are applicable, how they can be improved, etc." [8,]. A similar thought is expressed by Diana Halper: "critical thinking is characterized by making informed decisions regarding whether to reject a judgment, agree with it, or temporarily postpone its consideration"[9, p. 33-37]. In our opinion, critical thinking is understood as the manifestation of student curiosity, the development of one's own point of view on a certain issue, the ability to defend it with logical arguments, the use of research methods. So, critical thinking means evaluative, reflective thinking, it is open thinking that develops by superimposing new information on personal life experience.

When analyzing the term "critical thinking", it was revealed that it arose within the framework of formal logic, however, critical thinking is characterized by a practical orientation, which is why it can be interpreted as a form of practical logic considered inside and depending on the context of reasoning and the individual characteristics of the reasoning subject (G.V. Sorina). At the same time, one of the most important features of critical thinking is that through it an individual learns to analyze and construct reasoning based on logic and objectivity, argumentation of conclusions, obtaining knowledge that is the basis of the professional field of activity, rethinking his own prejudices and stereotypes in behavior, activity and thinking[10].

An effective means of activating the cognitive, reflective activity of students is the use of critical thinking methods.

The main mechanisms of the development of critical thinking

The need to develop students' critical thinking in the process of vocational training at a university, since at this age stage the highest speed of RAM and attention switching is noted, effective solution of verbal and logical tasks, therefore, adolescence is a favorable period for the purposeful development of this type of thinking. The developers of the pedagogical technology for the development of critical thinking through reading and writing (RCMP) K. Meredith, C. Temple, J. Steele generally agrees with the above-mentioned authors, giving their interpretation of KM: "To think critically means to be curious and use research methods: to ask questions and carry out a systematic search for answers. Technology is a system of strategies that combine the techniques of educational work by type of educational activity, regardless of the specific subject content. In other words, the formation of critical thinking means the development of skills such as the ability to think independently, analyze information, see a problem and be able to formulate it, ask questions and find answers to them, find your own solution to a problem

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and argue it as the most correct compared to others, interact with other people to gain new knowledge.

One of the innovative methods that allow to achieve positive results in the formation of mental activity of University students is the mechanisms for the development of critical thinking. Such an effective means of activating the cognitive, reflective activity of students is the use of methods of critical thinking skills.

The use of methods and techniques for the development of critical thinking, while simultaneously activating the mental activity of a future specialist, contributes to the development of: the ability to ask questions; the ability to highlight the main thing; the ability to make comparisons; the ability to establish causal relationships and draw conclusions; the ability to see the meaning in information, to understand the problem as a whole; the ability to search, analyze, to be creative processing of information.

To ensure the fulfillment of the above tasks, a combination of the following pedagogical conditions will be required:

- formation of students' stable motivation to develop critical thinking in the process of educational activities at the University;

- introduction to the educational process due to the variable component of the optional course aimed at developing the critical thinking of future specialists;

- the introduction into the content of general professional disciplines, disciplines of subject preparation of educational and professional situations that require informed decisions based on a critical understanding of the information received;

- activation of the creative potential of future specialists by increasing the share of creative forms and methods of teaching as an important factor in the development of skills for solving non-standard professionally oriented situations and finding alternative ways to solve them;

- The inclusion of special professionally-oriented tasks in the educational practice of students that contribute to the development of critical thinking.

The peculiarity of this pedagogical technology is that students in the learning process design this process themselves, based on real and specific goals, track the directions of their development themselves, determine the final result themselves. On the other hand, the use of this strategy is focused on developing the skills of thoughtful work with information.

In the works of Russian researchers addressing the problems of the development of critical thinking, these components are repeated in different ways. So, according to E.O. Galitsky, critical thinking is the ability to make responsible choices made in the process of joint activity, which implies a high level of information culture, the ability to analyze and draw independent conclusions, predict the consequences of their decisions and be responsible for them.

The technology of developing critical thinking of a future teacher has been developed taking into account the revealed contradictions of educational and professional activities of future teachers (socio-economic, organizational, pedagogical, professional and personal). It includes: diagnostic-designing, constructive-implementing, correctional-analytical stages characterized by relative independence, because they have their own goals, objectives and a set of organizational actions, and on which the transition from a passive to a progressive level of development of critical thinking is carried out. The developed technology has a personal and professionally oriented orientation.

The effectiveness of the development of critical thinking of a future professional specialist at a university is ensured through the implementation of a set of the following pedagogical conditions: the formation of students' stable motivation to develop critical thinking in the process of educational activities at a university; introduction to the educational process through a variable component of an optional course aimed at developing critical thinking of future teachers; introduction into the content of general professional disciplines, disciplines of subject preparation of educational and professional situations requiring informed decision-making based on critical understanding of the information received; inclusion in the educational practice of students of special professionally oriented tasks that contribute to the development of critical thinking; activation of the creative potential of future teachers by increasing the share of creative forms and methods of teaching as an important factor in the development of skills for solving non-standard professionally oriented situations and finding alternative ways to solve them.

Conclusion.

Modern education is focused on the development of professional competence of students, which for higher education can be considered as an integral characteristic that determines the ability to solve professional problems and typical professional tasks that arise in real situations of professional activity, using knowledge, professional and life experience, values and inclinations.

The development of critical analysis skills developed through the techniques of this technology are integral characteristics of a modern specialist, a graduate of a higher school. The formation of critical thinking means the development of skills such as the ability to think independently, analyze information, see a problem and be able to formulate it, ask questions and find answers to them, find your own solution to a problem and argue it as the most correct compared to others, interact with other people to gain new knowledge. Its development is included in the range of tasks of most theories of media education (socio-cultural, environmental, practical, cultural,

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semiotic, protectionist) and is considered as a critical autonomy of the individual in relation to manipulative influence from the media.

Achieving such autonomy is possible with the ability to see problems that need to be solved; the ability to reflect on one's own and others' mental activity; skills in working with concepts, judgments, conclusions, questions; analytical thinking skills; striving for convincing argumentation, etc.

The formation of critical thinking, which manifests itself in the ability to argue one's own statements, find errors in the information received and make suggestions for their correction; perceive alternative points of view and express reasonable arguments for and against each of them; establish associative and practically expedient connections between information messages; isolate the main thing in an information message, separate it from "white noise." The mechanism of formation of students' critical thinking is the transformation of students' tentative research activity into an indicative basis for acquired skills, in the process of which the following research stages are traced (doubt (question) - goal-setting – self-determination – actions - reflection), in

which the transformation of tentative research activity from an external form into an internal one – the thought of the subject.

The results obtained during the formative experiment indicate the following:

➤ the level of formation of critical thinking correlates with success in learning, communication, cognitive interest of the subject;

➤ The formation of critical thinking occurs most intensively in reflexive activity;

➤ The lack of knowledge of the mechanisms of formation of critical thinking and its use as a tool for improving the student's educational process indicates the need to teach the student and the teacher reflexive analysis of mental activity (intellectual, activity and personal reflection);

➤ when drawing up educational programs aimed at the formation of a student's critical thinking, his individual psychophysiological and personal characteristics should be taken into account;

➤ Critical thinking is the basis for the development of creative thinking.

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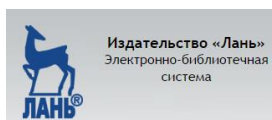
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