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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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