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Article



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ON THE FEATURES OF SOCIAL WELL-BEING OF INDIGENOUS MINORITY PEOPLES OF THE NORTH OF THE RUSSIAN ARCTIC

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

Key words: indigenous peoples, arctic aborigines, traditional way of life, types of traditional economic activity, 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 reveals the situation of indigenous peoples of the North of the Russian Federation, draws attention to unresolved issues of ensuring the collective rights of indigenous peoples in the

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legislative order of determining their nationality, health care, reindeer herding, regulation of industrial development of territories, education, language of indigenous peoples. The activity of the Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation is noted. In conclusion, it is concluded that, despite the existing shortcomings, as a result of self-sufficient public and state, ethno-national policy in the Russian Arctic, a working system is gradually being formed that ensures the observance of the rights of indigenous peoples, their traditional way of life and economic activity.

Main part

The concept of "sociocultural situation" describes a set of trends that determine the state of culture of a given community at a certain stage of its development and reflect the conditions and possibilities of human self-realization and satisfaction of his socio-cultural needs (in education, leisure, consumption of spiritual culture products, communication with others, etc.). The approach that allows analytically dissecting the socio-cultural situation is the anthroposocietal approach proposed by N. I. Lapin and L. A. Belyaeva. The scientific potential of this approach lies in a special research optics, suggesting an organic connection between culture and sociality. N. I. Lapin defined: the category of sociality as a set of methods and results of human activity or another social subject with other subjects of various relations formed in the processes of activity; the category of culture as a set of methods and results of human activity - ideas, values, norms, patterns. The complementarity of culture and sociality allows for the representation of the system of social relations by identifying traditions, values and norms.

The size of the territory, historical features of settlement and federal structure of Russia determine the socio-cultural diversity of its regions. Each region, in turn, has its own characteristics caused by geographical, historical, climatic, demographic and socio-economic conditions. As it develops, the region turns into a special socio-cultural reality with a specific system of world images and cultural communications. On this basis, a certain model of life, value orientations and behavior is formed, through which the group identity of the individual is ensured, the rules for interpreting facts and phenomena from the point of view of the image of the world accepted in the community. Thus, in the formed regional community, socio-cultural factors (values, cognitive schemes and behavioral patterns) form the institutional space in which individuals interact. The results of such interaction have a reverse effect on environmental factors, such as the level of urbanization, the state of infrastructure, the structure and volume of labor resources or investments in fixed assets. This implies the importance of a comprehensive study of the socio-cultural situation in

the Russian Arctic regions as specific socio-cultural realities in their dynamics.

With regard to the regions of the Russian Arctic, we note that the socio-cultural situation in them has its own history of scientific study, but the current stage of research development is insufficient. This analysis is intended to fill the existing gap in scientific knowledge to some extent. Within the framework of a general overview of the socio-cultural situation in the Arctic zone of Russia and its more detailed analysis using the example of the Arctic territories of the Arkhangelsk region, we will consider ethno-confessional processes, social capital and value orientations of the population.

Ethno-confessional processes. When studying ethno-confessional processes in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation as a whole, we should first of all turn to the problems of the indigenous peoples of the North. Over 1 million people live in the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation, of which about 70 thousand are representatives of indigenous peoples who lead a nomadic lifestyle. This is 4% in the Arctic zone of Russia as a whole, but in some regions their share reaches 10-25%. The main goals of the state national policy in relation to the indigenous population are the preservation and development of their original culture and the improvement of their socio-economic situation.

The crisis of the 1990s had a serious impact on the way of life of the indigenous peoples of the North. The collapse of the Soviet planned economy forced the indigenous peoples to return to subsistence farming and subsequently undergo a painful adaptation to market conditions. The social situation of the indigenous peoples of the North worsened due to insufficient medical care and the excessive increase in the cost of transport services. In addition, in the North, Siberia and the Far East, there was a mass closure of cultural institutions (clubs, schools, libraries, stationary cinemas), which also employed representatives of the indigenous peoples. As a result, a significant part of the rural intelligentsia of the indigenous population joined the army of the unemployed. At the same time, this period was marked by the growth of national self-awareness of the indigenous peoples of the North: from the early 1990s, civil society institutions began to form among them. The inclusion of representatives of indigenous peoples in the composition of consultative and coordinating councils under the authorities of the constituent entities of the Federation, and then in the Plenipotentiary Representatives of the President in the federal districts, has become more active.

During the first decade of the 21st century, the situation of indigenous peoples in the Arctic has gradually improved. An indicator of positive changes can be the growth in the number of many of them: from 1989 to 2020, the number of Chukchi in the Arctic zone of Russia increased by 8.3%, Khanty - by

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29.3%, Nenets - by 34.4%, Evenks - by 34%, Evens - by 61.5%. To a large extent, this growth was due to the natural increase in the indigenous population of the autonomous districts. A characteristic feature of the Russian Arctic is the high migration activity of the population. This process was determined by the state policy on labor resource management. Thus, in the 1930s-1950s, forced resettlement methods were practiced, the main contingent of migrants were political prisoners and dispossessed peasants. In subsequent years, the main attraction of the population to the Arctic was carried out through a system of benefits and state social guarantees. At the same time, there is a mass exodus from the territory of the Arctic subjects of the Russian Federation of people from a number of countries of the near and far abroad (Ukrainians, Belarusians, Kazakhs, Moldovans, Poles, Germans, etc.). In parallel with this, there is an increase in the number of people from a number of countries of Central Asia and Transcaucasia (Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Kyrgyz, Uzbeks, Tajiks). Their growth is especially noticeable in the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug and Krasnoyarsk Krai. In the sphere of interethnic relations, there is relative well-being, the absence of open conflicts and high rates of mutual tolerance, however, the structure of migration flows of labor, leading to an increase in the number of people with a high cultural distance in relation to the old-timer population of the Russian Arctic, is becoming a risk factor for interethnic tension in certain regions of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation.

An equally important aspect of the socio-cultural situation in the Arctic zone of Russia is the state of religiosity of the population and the structure of religious identities. According to a survey conducted by the Public Opinion Foundation, religious trends and preferences in the Arctic regions are approximately the same. The exception is the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), where a significant proportion of residents adhere to traditional beliefs. In general, religious people in different regions of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation account for 60-70% of the population. Most of those who indicated their religious affiliation are adherents of Orthodoxy (Table 1).

Now let us take a closer look at the ethno-confessional picture in the Arctic regions of the Arkhangelsk region. The empirical basis of our analysis in this and subsequent sections is the results of a mass survey of the population conducted in the spring of 2024. The geography of the study included all municipalities of the region included in the Arctic zone of Russia (with the exception of the Novaya Zemlya archipelago). The sample is stratified, quota, representative by gender, age, territory of residence (municipality). The sample size is 408 respondents, the confidence interval does not exceed 5%. We also used in-depth interviews with representatives of various religious associations, the scientific community, education and culture (a total of 17 experts) as a source of qualitative data. If other data is used for the analysis, this will be specifically indicated.

Table 1. Religious preferences of the population of the Arctic zone of Russia*, %

Region	Orthodoxy (ROC)	They believe in God but do not practice a specific religion.	They don't believe in God	Traditional religions Indigenous Peoples of the North	Islam
Komi Republic	30	41	14	1	1
Arkhangelsk region	29	32	16	1	> 1
Murmansk region	42	28	12	1	> 1 <
Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug	33	34	15	2	18
Krasnoyarsk region	30	35	15	1	> 1 <
Sakha Republic (Yakutia)	38	17	26	13	2
Republic Karelia	27	44	18	1	> 1

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When asked about their nationality, the majority of respondents (93%) identified themselves as Russians, which generally corresponds to the share of Russians in the region's population (95.6%). This allows us to characterize the Arkhangelsk Region (including its Arctic territories) as a mono-ethnic region. It should also be noted that during 2010–2023, the ethnic structure of the population did not undergo any significant changes (Table 2).

The predominance of the Russian population and the traditionally low level of foreign immigration for the region determine a consistently favorable situation in the sphere of interethnic relations. Thus, according to the results of studies conducted in 2018–2023, 67% of residents of the Arctic territories of the Arkhangelsk region do not feel interethnic tension in their place of residence, and only 9% recognize the potential for conflict in relations between representatives of different ethnic groups. The risk of

violent interethnic conflicts is assessed in a similar way: the majority (45%) doubt that clashes on ethnic grounds are possible in their place of residence, 29% unequivocally state that such clashes cannot happen; only 8% admit such a possibility.

Similar opinions were expressed by the surveyed representatives of ethnic minorities: 88% described interethnic relations in their place of residence as friendly or neutral; only 4% indicated that they felt a greater or lesser degree of interethnic tension. When asked about the possibility of interethnic conflicts in the foreseeable future, the proportion of respondents who stated with more or less certainty that there were no prerequisites for this was 75%. However, the number of those who admit the possibility of such clashes in the near future turned out to be statistically significant - 1.2%.

Table 2. Dynamics of the number of representatives of various ethnic groups in the Arkhangelsk region (including the Nenets Autonomous Okrug)*

Nationality	Census 2010, thousand people	Census 2020, thousands of people
Russians	1258.9	1148.8
Ukrainians	27.8	16.9
Belarusians	10.4	5.8
Tatars	3.3	2,3
Azerbaijanis	3	2.6
Armenians	1,1	1
Nenets	8.3	8
Komi	5.7	4.6
Chuvashes	1.9	1.4

It is also worth paying attention to the differentiated attitude of the Russian majority towards different groups of ethnic minorities. As can be seen from Table 3, with the absolute dominance of neutral assessments, in comparison with positive ones, the share of negative assessments is consistently higher in relation to all groups, except for people from Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova.

Next, let us turn to the issue of the structure of religious preferences of the population and religious

life in the Arkhangelsk region. According to the results of the survey, 23% and 44%, respectively, considered themselves “believers” and “rather believers”, of which 95% consider themselves Orthodox; Islam is in second place in terms of the number of its adherents - 2.6%. These data are generally consistent with the results of a survey conducted in the same territory in 2018. Then, 46% called themselves believers; 18% indicated that they “waver between faith and unbelief”.

Table 3. Respondents' attitudes towards people from post-Soviet countries and some autonomous republics of the Russian Federation (2018, n = 700 people)

Answers	From Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova	From the republics of Transcaucasia	From the republics of Central Asia	From the republics North Caucasus
Positive	197 (28.1%)	96 (13.7%)	76 (10.9%)	82 (11.7%)
Neutral	419 (59.9%)	387 (55.3%)	390 (55.7%)	338 (48.3%)

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Negative	33 (4.7%)	126 (18%)	134 (19.1%)	170 (24.3%)
Found it difficult to answer	51 (7.3%)	91 (13%)	100 (14.3%)	110 (15.7%)

Thus, the structure of religious preferences has remained stable over the past few years (Figure 1). At the same time, only every second respondent indicated that he “trusts” or “rather trusts” the church as an organization (49% by the sum of responses). In other

words, more than 15% of those who considered themselves believers feel distrust of religious institutions.

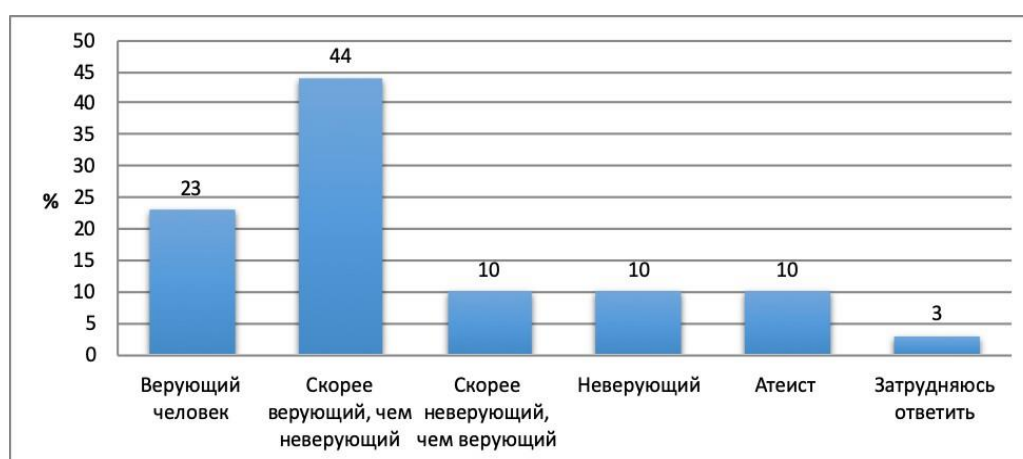


Figure 1. Religious preferences of the population of the Arctic territories of the Arkhangelsk region (2018, n = 408 people)

One of the experts we brought in, a specialist in the sociology of religion, gave the following comment:

"Very often, again, all-Russian studies show this: people call themselves Orthodox because they are Russian, i.e. their ethnic identification is in the first place. They think that they are Russian, so they should be Orthodox. If they were Tatars, then, in fact, they would call themselves Muslims. Here is the logic very often: a Tatar is a Muslim, a Kalmyk is a Buddhist, and a Russian is, therefore, Orthodox. And therefore they call themselves Orthodox because they are Russian, but there is nothing further behind this, again, no knowledge, no ritual side."

Thus, it is permissible to assume that those of our respondents who identified themselves as Orthodox (95%) meant that their religious identity stemmed from their ethnic identity ("Russians = Orthodox"). In other words, their religiosity is attributive in nature, acting as one of the obligatory characteristics of their "Russianness."

Despite the fact that Orthodox Christians predominate among the religious part of the population, the palette of religious organizations in the Arkhangelsk region is quite wide. Thus, in 2018,

212 religious organizations were registered in the region, of which 178 belonged to the Russian Orthodox Church, and 34 to organizations of other faiths. Islam, Buddhism, Judaism had two registered organizations each; Old Believers, Catholics and Lutherans - one each. Various Protestant denominations are widely represented: Evangelicals (7), Baptists (6), Pentecostals (5), Methodists (1), New Apostles (1), Adventists (5). At the same time, it should be noted that non-Orthodox organizations in the absolute majority of cases operate in the "Arctic" municipalities of the region.

Given the presence of religious minorities in the region, it is worth presenting a brief assessment of the state of interfaith relations in the Arctic part of the Arkhangelsk region. Thus, according to the results of the above-mentioned 2018 survey, the absolute majority of respondents believe that they are protected from harassment on religious grounds (59% - "protected", 17% - "perhaps protected"). In this case, an absolute minority considers itself unprotected (2% - "not at all protected", 1% - "perhaps not protected"). (Figure 2).

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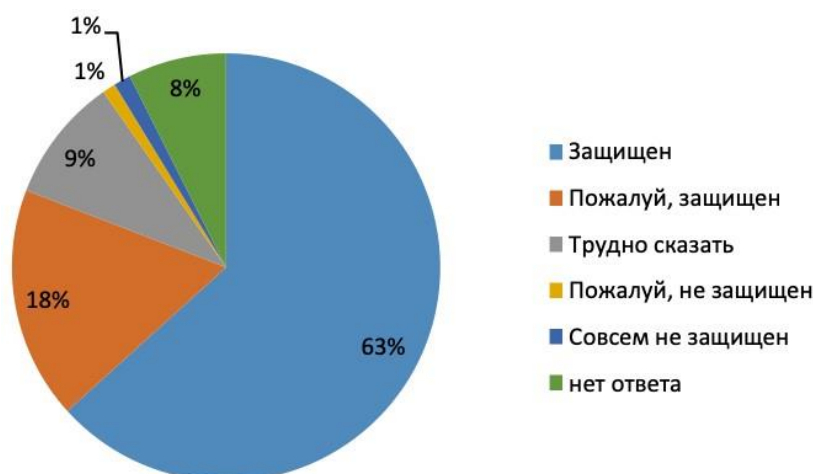


Figure 2. Degree of respondent's protection from discrimination based on nationality (2018, n = 700 people)

The insignificance of the risks of discrimination on religious grounds serves as a guarantee of easing the grassroots tensions in relations between representatives of different faiths. This is confirmed by direct assessments of the situation in the sphere of interfaith relations by the population: according to a 2018 survey conducted by the Public Opinion Research Center under the regional administration, about 90% of respondents assess it positively. At the same time, the interfaith peace recorded in mass sentiments coexists with some signs of friction between religious activists of non-dominant Christian denominations and the clergy of the Russian Orthodox Church. It is especially important to note that these frictions lie not so much in the plane of theological discussions, but rather concern issues of public activity of certain non-dominant religious associations, including their missionary activities.

Thus, the leaders of several Christian religious associations with whom we conducted interviews point to some situations of this kind:

"...they [the Catholic community of Arkhangelsk] started building a church. They were given permission, they were given land, they were given permission to build a church - and they started. Then their permission to build a church was taken away. They had almost half [built] - it was dismantled. Then they took away half of the land that they had [previously] been given" (representative of the Lutheran community Arkhangelsk);

"...we had already been denied permission [to build a church] several times before... when all the design documentation was ready, the city [city administration] allocated a 1,600 m2 plot. And when people then started making noise there over nonsense, the mayor's office refused to give us permission to build on the plot that it had allocated to us... There were probably also political obstacles, including from Orthodox people... there were objections from Orthodox, in quotes, believers..." (Catholic priest, Arkhangelsk);

"...we don't have our own premises right now, so we rent [for worship] some private premises. Not an apartment - we can't live in apartments according to the new law [regional law on missionary activity]... But, for example, we can't engage in missionary activity anywhere" (representative of the Lutheran community of Arkhangelsk);

"...a law on missionary activity was passed. It is a very complicated law, and there are many, let's say, unclear points... basically, this law limits how we carry out missionary activity among young people. I understand why this was done - because in fact, there are quite a lot of different religious organizations and there are really dangerous ones that do not sow eternal good, but dangerous things" (representative of the Church of Christians of the Evangelical Faith).

The representative of the Russian Orthodox Church, in turn, noted the usefulness of legislative regulation of missionary work:

"It [the law] has not affected our activities in any way for the worse - only for the better... it helps us, because at one time we had clashes, certain ones with Jehovah's Witnesses, with Baptists - no one understood who was doing what, what was allowed, what was not allowed. Now everyone just knows that they can do this, but that is no longer allowed. Let's say, you can talk about faith within the framework of simple catechism, educational activities, but if you are already inviting people to a church service, giving out a leaflet, then this can only be done within the framework of the law, and only officials of the organization from which you are preaching can do this... It has become easier for us in the sense that now some people cannot just come to school. And I witnessed how this happened, how the Krishnaites walked and told, called out, and nothing happened to them for it. And they went to the next school. Now it's like this: the school director won't let anyone in, because he knows: there's a law, he'll get a real rap on the head for that."

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In these conditions, representatives of non-dominant Christian religious associations express concern about the curtailment of pluralism in matters of religion – at least in the space of Christian culture:

“I am personally concerned... that the teaching of only one religion is very widespread among us... We practically already have [a monopoly in the religious sphere], and the freedom of spiritual choice that we are talking about, the freedom of choice [of religion], is very little – and it is not increasing” (representative of the Lutheran community of Arkhangelsk);

“In our country we have, let's say, a spiritual hegemon - the Russian Orthodox Church, and those in power act with an eye on the ROC. And since the ROC views all other non-Orthodox as heretics, then there can be no talk of any support [from the state]. Moreover, the legislation is also not standing still ... certain laws were passed when it became impossible to hold spiritual events in cultural institutions, when they banned going to schools, but for the ROC, for example, there are no problems - please, everything is open. Mass media - please, the ROC has its own channels on central television. The ROC is everywhere, there are no other denominations” (representative of the Church of Christians of the Evangelical Faith). The lack of mutual interest in interfaith cooperation is also noted:

“Nobody is interested in my activities, and neither am I... When I personally invited [to celebrate the 500th anniversary of the Reformation] two pastors whom I knew – an Adventist and a New Apostolic one, having written them emails and even called them on the phone, they said that they did not consider it necessary to attend someone else's event. I thought, “Why someone else's? We are Christians, this is 500 years of the Reformation! If you consider yourself a Reformed Christian, then this also concerns you.”

That is, it was like a general holiday, but nevertheless no one came.”(representative of the Lutheran community of Arkhangelsk);

“There was a project called “Feel the Power of Change” ... it was assumed that all Christian denominations would participate in this project. Most of the denominations responded, and we cooperated, that is, the Baptists, we [Evangelicals], Pentecostals, Adventists, Catholics even participated. The Russian Orthodox Church ... Tikhon was still the bishop at that time, he initially responded positively, but when several days had passed and it was time to make a final decision, to sign papers on participation in this project, they began to oppose him. Where is the dog buried? The dog is buried in the dogma of the Russian Orthodox Church: for them, non-Orthodox are definitely heretics, and they have no right to have spiritual communication with non-Orthodox” (representative of the Church of Christians of the Evangelical Faith);

“In the ten years that I have been serving [as a priest], I do not remember any joint projects [with other religious organizations]. This is absolutely certain today... It is clear why we do not intersect at all. We have to run after them – there are so many of them, you can't run away. That is why we have been acting as we did before. And they, having specially split off from us... well, some from Protestants, some from Catholics, some from Orthodox – the same Old Believers. They did it consciously, right? Consciously. When they went there, did they know that it was not Orthodoxy? They knew. And they came there precisely because it is a different religious system, so they bathe in it... So, I think that is why we do not have any particular intersections” (priest of the Russian Orthodox Church).

In conclusion of the topic of ethno-confessional processes in the Russian Arctic, we would like to once again focus on a number of important points, namely:

Firstly, in recent years we have observed a demographic stabilization of the indigenous peoples in the territories of the Arctic zone of Russia, as well as a growth of their national consciousness, which is manifested, among other things, in the strengthening of public associations of the indigenous peoples of the North;

secondly, despite the ethno-confessional diversity in the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation, in general we can observe the widespread dominance of Russian culture and the Orthodox religion (the Russian Orthodox Church). A well-known exception is the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), where the Yakut culture, language and traditional beliefs play a significant role in socio-cultural development;

Thirdly, in the sphere of interethnic and interfaith relations, the situation in the territories included in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation can generally be characterized as consistently favorable against the backdrop of such hotbeds of tension as the North Caucasus and, to some extent, the Volga region.

Social capital and trust in society. One of the most important parameters of the socio-cultural situation in the region, which in a concentrated form reflects the well-being of the regional community and/or individual local communities, is the degree of their consolidation and integration or, conversely, disunity, anomie and social isolation. A high level of consolidation and integration of the community indicates not only the prerequisites for civic solidarity and collective action, which is important from a political point of view, but also the presence of a developed network of horizontal interpersonal and intergroup connections within it. The latter makes it possible to overcome the particularism of individual social groups and ensure social inclusion for the maximum possible number of individuals living in a certain territory. In addition, this ensures the formation and strengthening of a collective identity

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that is more adequate to modern forms of statehood than ethnic, religious, class, etc., and, therefore, the spread of social norms and patterns of behavior that are not associated with religious and ethnic traditions, or the "guild" rules of individual socio-professional groups (officials, "security forces", private business, etc.). The so-called social capital acts as a measure of social consolidation of a regional community and its integration. One of the first to systematically develop the concept of social capital was the French sociologist P. Bourdieu. According to his point of view, social capital is a set of real or potential resources associated with the possession of a stable network of more or less institutionalized relations of mutual acquaintance and recognition. In P. Bourdieu's interpretation, such a network of informal connections is something like a closed "club", thanks to membership in which individuals can convert their social capital into other types of capital, including economic capital. Support - both symbolic and material - from the network, whose members perceive themselves as a community (in other words, have a group identity), is achieved by the individual due to the preservation of trust in him on the part of the group as "one of their own". This is reinforced by the fulfillment of the obligations he has assumed in relation to the group as a whole and its individual members.

The concept of social capital was developed in the works of the American researcher R. Putnam. He interprets social capital as a component of the social system, including established social networks, generally accepted norms of behavior, and mutual trust between members of the community. At the same time, the author emphasizes that social capital is used to facilitate the coordination of collective activities for mutual benefit, including the economic prosperity of society.

R. Putnam builds his concept based on the thesis of the theory of collective action that cooperation is caused by common norms formed by common actions. Particular attention is paid to the norm of reciprocity (mutual exchange), he emphasizes the importance of social contexts of cooperation, in which the norms of generalized mutual exchange are combined with "firm commitments" and, accordingly, with trust. He emphasizes that trust is generated primarily where agreements between people are woven into a strong structure of personal connections and social contacts. In his discussions of mutual exchange, R. Putnam refers to intra-group effects - cooperation and trust. In this regard, R. Putnam analytically divides social capital into "bonding social capital" and "bridging social capital".

"Group-bonding" capital is typical for local contexts of collective action, for example, in a situation of unification and coordination of efforts

within a local community or work collective to protect their narrow group interests. An empirical indicator of the magnitude of this type of social capital can be indices of interpersonal trust.

Bridging capital is formed on the basis of large-scale social networks, a large radius of trust (going beyond a small group or local community) and shared norms and values in society. It facilitates the creation of broad social coalitions, the activity of which is impossible without reliance on various public institutions - trade unions, business associations, religious associations, political parties, etc. The volume of social capital of this type can be indirectly measured through the level of general trust (the tendency to trust people regardless of their affiliation with the immediate environment) and indices of institutional trust.

Sociological research in Russia, conducted for more than twenty years by the Levada Center, shows the dual nature of the phenomena of "social trust" in Russian society. Everyday practical mistrust expressed in relation to surrounding (barely familiar) people is accompanied, or compensated, by high declarative trust in three especially significant symbolic institutions:

- a) to the head of state,
- b) to the church
- c) to the army.

A factor analysis conducted on our data (2018 survey) on institutional trust indicators allowed us to combine them into five groups (Table 33). As a result, institutional trust consists of trust, namely:

- 1) to the institutions of federal power ("national-state institutions");
- 2) to "short-range" public institutions (this includes executive institutions at the regional and local levels, law enforcement agencies and courts, in other words, institutions with which citizens have needs, opportunities and/or a forced necessity for periodic direct interaction);
- 3) to public institutions of the non-profit sector (from the church and the media to trade unions);
- 4) to power institutions - the army and special services;
- 5) to business institutions.

At the same time, the trust indices for individual institutions demonstrate a noticeable spread of values within the selected groups (Figure 3).

Respondents show a high degree of trust in the president (I trust - 41.9% and rather trust - 33.1%), the army (43.6 and 29.7% respectively) and state security agencies/special services (28.4 and 38.8%). Respondents trust the media to the least extent (I do not trust - 36.7% and rather do not trust - 26.9%), political parties (32.5 and 25.2%) and big business (29.8 and 24.2%).

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Table 4. Factor analysis of institutional trust indicators

Actors	Component				
	1	2	3	4	5
Government	0.789				
Prime Minister	0.775				
President	0.771				
Federation Council	0.762				
State Duma	0.745				
Police		0.790			
Courts		0.785			
Local authorities		0.628			
Regional authorities		0.608			
State security agencies, special services		0.527			0.517
Church, religious organizations			0.704		
Media			0.649		
Political parties			0.597		
Trade unions			0.589		
Small and medium business				0.883	
Big business				0.798	
Army					0.768
Extraction method: Principal component analysis. Rotation method: Varimax with Kaiser normalization.					

The president is trusted to a greater extent by women (45%), regardless of age and education; the army is trusted by older people (49%), regardless of gender. The media is distrusted to a greater extent by people aged 30–39 (47%) with a higher level of

education. No statistically significant gender or age differences were found in terms of the level of distrust of political parties. Distrust of political parties characterizes the population's unwillingness to be active participants in the political process.

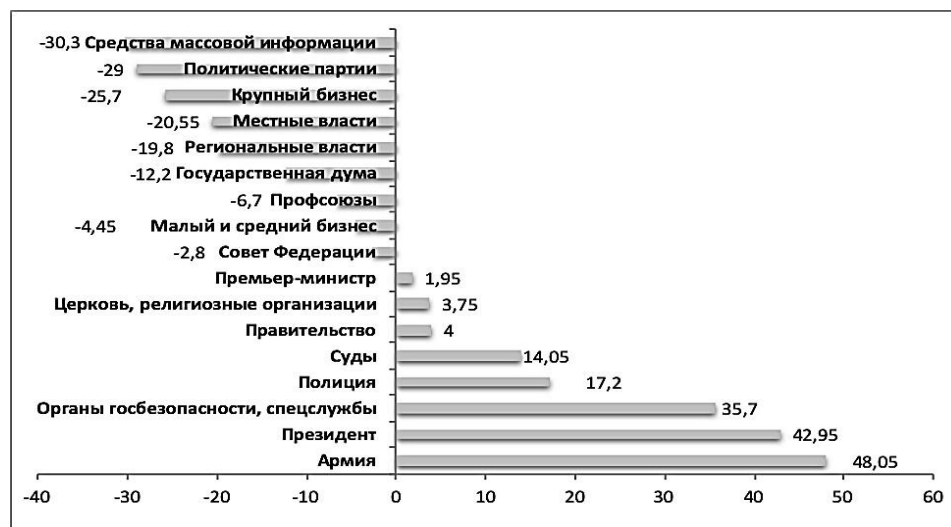


Figure 3. Institutional trust indices (2018, n = 408 people)

In our studies, bridging social capital was assessed through the responses of respondents who agreed with the statement “most people can be

trusted,” and bonding social capital was assessed by trust among people from the personal environment. As for the general level of trust in the Arkhangelsk

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region, although it is somewhat higher than the Russian average (the share of those who agreed with the statement “most people can be trusted” was 28.6% against the all-Russian value of 22%), it is nevertheless quite low compared to countries with a developed network of voluntary civil associations and grassroots public initiatives. Thus, in the USA this figure is 34.8%, in Germany — 44.6%, in Sweden — 60.1% (data from the World Values Survey, 2010–2014).

In terms of interpersonal trust (bonding capital), people almost completely trust family members and relatives (index = 92) and demonstrate a low level of

trust in neighbors (index = 11). In clarifying questions, when a child and taking out a loan are considered as objects of trust, opinions are somewhat divided: respondents would trust their friends and acquaintances with a child (index = 47), but would not take out financial risks (a loan) (index = -46). Respondents demonstrate trust in personal relationships with their friends and acquaintances, but do not trust in financial (business) matters. In the environment of family relationships, the trend is similar, but less pronounced (Figure 4).

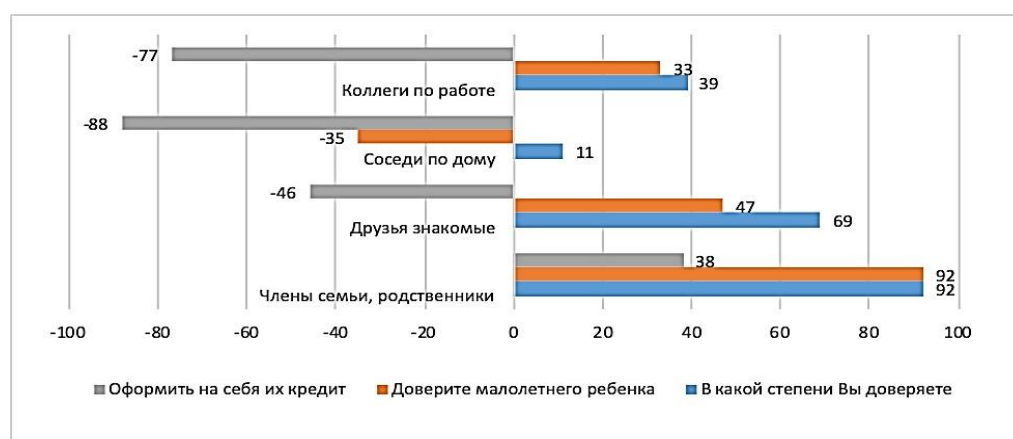


Figure 4. Level of interpersonal trust (2018, n = 408 people)

The study “Trust in Russia: Meaning, Functions, Structure” provides data on the distribution of trust in different social environments from villages to large cities according to the ratio of “trusters”/“distrusters”:

- large city (more than 1 million inhabitants) - 0.73;
- medium city (from 0.5 to 1 million residents) - 0.25;
- small town (from 20 thousand to 0.5 million inhabitants) - 0.32;
- urban-type settlement/village — 0.39.

Distribution can serve as an indicator not only of solidarity in society, but also of processes of social change. In large cities, the level of interpersonal trust is somewhat higher than in medium and small cities. Social capital that arises in megalopolises is of a fundamentally different kind than trust in long-familiar, understandable and predictable people in a traditionalist village environment. The lowest trust is recorded in medium-sized cities, which are the basis of "industrial Russia" (the Soviet version of modernization), which is very conservatively oriented, oriented toward the Soviet model of a planned and distributed state economy.

In our study, the overall level of trust, calculated on a similar basis methodology, is 0.52, which is twice as

high as in a typical average city in the Russian Federation, and is close to the level of trust in a large city.

Thus, according to our data, the population of the Arctic territories of the Arkhangelsk region is characterized by high bonding social capital, and bridging social capital corresponds to the level of average Russian indicators. Respondents note almost complete trust in their families (91%), but show extremely low trust in their neighbors (11%). This indirectly indicates a relatively low inclination of the population of the surveyed territories to cooperate in a broad public field, which is one of the serious barriers to the formation and development of civil society institutions.

Value orientations of the population. To study the value system of the population of the Arctic territories of the Arkhangelsk region, we turned to the classical approach of the American social psychologist M. Rokeach. His methodology involves identifying so-called terminal values, reflecting the target settings of individuals (i.e. i.e. what they want to achieve). For domestic realities, Rokeach's method was adapted by A. Goshtaus, A. A. Semenov and V. A. Yadov. The list of terminal values is presented in Table 5.

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Table 5. List of Values (M. Rokeach)

Item No.	Terminal values	Item No.	Terminal values
1	Creativity, hobby	10	Active, busy life
2	Family, children	11	Pleasure, entertainment
3	Love, relationships	12	Life wisdom
4	Health	13	Peace and security
5	Harmony, calm life	14	Order and stability
6	Public recognition	15	Improving education and general culture
7	Interesting work	16	Freedom, independence
8	Material security	17	Equality of rights, equality of opportunity
9	Having good and loyal friends	18	The beauty of nature and works of art

According to the results of our study, the prevailing terminal values for the population of the Arctic part of the Arkhangelsk region are the following: family and children (80%), health (78%), love and relationships (68%), peace and security (68%). At the same time, family values are a priority to a greater extent for women (86%) and for people aged 50–59 (92%); the value of health as the most important is highlighted by this age group (94%), but without significant gender differences. It should also be noted that statistically significant correlations between the assessments of the importance of values and the self-assessment of the income level of respondents were not revealed (Figure 5).

The priority given to family, health and a peaceful, safe life is not accidental. Such a hierarchy

of values characterizes a very specific value system, which R. Inglehart describes as "survival values", contrasting them with "self-expression values" (in a narrower sense, this dichotomy is described by him as "materialistic/post-materialistic values"). This is typical for societies that are characterized by the vital insecurity of their members (in the economic and physical sense), as well as strict ideological and social restrictions on personal independence. Thus, the analysis of the hierarchy of values serves as an additional (along with various data from socio-economic statistics, as well as data on, for example, the volume and structure of social capital) source for characterizing the social system in which the inhabitants of the Arctic territories of the Arkhangelsk region exist.



Figure 5. Distribution of importance ratings of terminal values, % of those who answered “very important” (5) and “important” (4)

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The dominance of "survival values" (materialistic values) in the structure of value orientations of the region's population indirectly indicates the insufficiency of conditions that ensure the economic well-being of the region's residents and the safety of their lives. Another confirmation of this is the peculiar anti-rating of terminal values: among the least popular were public recognition, creativity (hobbies), pleasure (entertainment), and an active, energetic life (Figure 6). In other words, these are the values that can be attributed to the "values of self-expression", which, according to R. Inglehart and K.

Welzel, are being displaced by "survival values" in societies with a developing economy, social insecurity of the population, and unformed democratic institutions.

Indeed, if we turn to the respondents' assessment of their own purchasing power, the majority of respondents classified themselves as people whose own income is only enough for food and clothing (47%). Consequently, the main concern of a significant part of the population is the satisfaction of basic needs. Resources for self-development, cultural leisure or social activity are no longer sufficient.



Figure 6. Distribution of importance ratings of terminal values, % of those who answered "not important at all" (1) and "not important" (2)

In this regard, the comment of one of the experts we interviewed is indicative:

"Unfortunately, it happens that, especially in rural areas, the level is somehow completely far from learning more, developing, experiencing something new. Well, there is Maslow's pyramid of needs, and it depends very much on material wealth. If material wealth is low, then first of all a person thinks about eating, getting dressed and living in warmth, a person does not rise further. That is why in order to think about the spiritual, about culture, a person must have housing, work - first of all this. If there is an income [high enough] - at a certain stage of life a person will reach [cultural, spiritual needs] himself, because he needs it. But if he is on the verge of survival, then very often there will be no turnaround in his life" (expert - worker in the field of education).

In connection with the above, it is appropriate to move on to the consideration of the issue of the quality of life of the population of the Arctic zone of Russia. On the one hand, various objective factors of social

well-being influence the hierarchy of terminal values, trust in society and the degree of consolidation/atomization of regional and local communities, in other words, to some extent determine the vector of change in the socio-cultural situation. On the other hand, it is through the prism of the established system of values and collective ideas that intersubjective assessments of the quality of life are formed - a key (within the framework of our approach) component of social well-being.

Methodology for studying social well-being. The concept of "social well-being" does not have a generally accepted strict definition - its content may vary depending on the disciplinary area (in psychology and sociology, the interpretation of the category of social well-being will be different). Nevertheless, it can be argued that there is a conceptual core of this term, which brings together its various interpretations. In this case, we can talk about two main approaches: the first is associated with the interpretation of the concept in a broad sense as an

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analogue of social moods, the second - in a narrow sense as something similar to subjective well-being, namely:

The first approach involves considering, on the one hand, the general assessment by individuals of their own lives in the context of their position in society (social adaptation, financial situation, social status, etc.), and on the other hand, an assessment of the state of affairs in the country (the economic and political situation, the activities of authorities and institutions);

The second approach to interpreting the category of social well-being is through measuring satisfaction with life or its various aspects (spheres, domains).

According to Dr. of Sociological Sciences P. M. Kozyreva, social well-being is a subjective expression of the process and result of individuals' adaptation to social transformations and, therefore, should be studied in light of this phenomenon. She also suggests measuring social well-being by means of the following key variables, namely:

- 1) satisfaction and stability of existence;
- 2) status identity (ideas about one's position in the stratification system of the transforming Russian society);
- 3) self-assessment of health status (physical and mental).

Social well-being is determined by a set of objective and subjective factors, the integral indicator of which is the quality of life of the population (otherwise, social well-being). Quality of life is traditionally defined through a set of objective characteristics of a particular society, reflecting its general economic and technological state. At the same time, already in the last quarter of the 20th century, critical judgments were made in scientific literature regarding this approach, the essence of which boils down to pointing out the one-sidedness of the "objectivist" interpretation of the term "quality of life" and the paradoxes generated by this - with high indicators of economic development, the population of a particular country or region can experience pronounced dissatisfaction with life. At present, the fairness of such criticism is beyond doubt. At the same time, the socio-psychological approach, appealing to the concept of "subjective well-being" as a key category for assessing the quality of life, is the opposite extreme (subjective assessments of the degree of satisfaction with life), representing a concentrated expression of the success/failure of the implementation of an individual life strategy, when aggregating mass data, it still reflects the state of the economic subsystem of a particular society. Thus, the task is to find a balance between these complementary approaches.

An important advantage of the sociological measurement of subjective assessments of the quality of life is the ability to record the differentiation of the corresponding indicators by regions, demographic and professional groups, to detect differences in the quality of life caused not so much by the economic parameters of the social system as by cultural norms, collective ideas and value orientations that dominate in a particular community. In this regard, for studying the quality of life in the territories of the Russian Arctic, which represents a special historically formed socio-cultural space, data from mass surveys of the population to identify their "subjective well-being" are a necessary addition to the analysis of economic statistics.

Foreign and domestic researchers draw attention to the fact that the quality of life is determined not only by the material well-being of individual social groups and society as a whole, but also by the level of development of social infrastructure, including institutional opportunities for the multiplication of human capital. In the Russian Arctic, the importance of infrastructure factors is especially great, since without ensuring high-quality social, cultural and leisure conditions for the existence of the population, its retention in the Arctic territories becomes extremely problematic; as a result, without sufficient human capital resources and a qualified workforce, the implementation of many strategic tasks for the development of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation may be called into question.

There are many specific methods for measuring social well-being described in the scientific literature. The most important elements of any such method are a set of latent variables and the corresponding measurable indicators obtained by operationalizing the categories (concepts) describing these latent variables. Having summarized the results of the analysis of a number of methods for measuring social well-being (quality of life), we identified structural correspondences in the sets of latent variables used in them (Table 6). It is easy to see that different methods are not mutually exclusive, but complementary, which allows for the possibility and necessity of developing a comprehensive method that takes into account the increasingly complex nature of the modern world and its regional variations. This means that a comprehensive study of social well-being and quality of life, along with universal variables (health, demography, economic situation, life safety, access to cultural benefits and education, etc.), should be supplemented by variables reflecting the influence of specific regional and local factors on social well-being.

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Table 6. Comparison of methods for measuring social well-being (sets of latent variables)

Methodology/latent variable	WHOQOL (WHO)	The better life index (OECD)	Economist Intelligence Unit quality-of-life index	The Arctic Social Indicators (ASI)	Institute of Philosophy RAS (N. I. Lapin, L. A. Belyaeva)
Health status (physical and mental)	+	+	+	+	+
Relationships with the social environment (engagement in social support networks)	+	+	+		
Material well-being	+	+	+	+	+
Housing conditions		+			+
Employment		+	+	+	+
Access to education	+	+		+	+
Access to health services	+				+
Life safety	+	+	+		+
Civil rights and political freedoms		+	+	+	+
Cultural consumption	+			+	+
State of the environment	+	+			+
Climate conditions			+		
Subjective well-being				+	+
Autonomy of indigenous peoples				+	

The lexical formulations of the same latent variables in different methods differ, while their content closeness is confirmed by the similarity of the sets of indicators used to measure them. In Table 6, for ease of comparison, these formulations are brought to uniformity. In a few cases, when the methodology used fairly abstract or broad categories of analysis, some latent variables were derived from them by aggregating functionally related indicators (the World Health Organization WHOQOL methodology). The list of latent variables included only those that are found in two or more independent methods. An exception was made for the variables “climatic conditions” and “autonomy of indigenous peoples”, since they are important from the point of view of the specifics of the regions of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation.

In the case of the territories of the Russian Arctic, it is important to include in the analysis indicators that record the state of transport, social and household infrastructure, the environment, the local community, traditional culture and the way of life of small indigenous peoples.

It should be noted that to date, within the framework of academic science, there has not yet been a single unified system for annual monitoring of the

quality of life and social well-being of the population of the territories of the Arctic zone of Russia, which would be based on a single methodology for all Arctic regions, reflecting a combined approach to quality of life studies and taking into account the specifics of living conditions in the Arctic. Despite the large number of scientific papers devoted to measuring the quality of life and social well-being of residents of individual territories / regions of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation, their authors use various systems of indicators, questionnaires and methods for constructing integral indices. This complicates the comparison of essentially similar indicators and makes reliable cross-regional studies virtually impossible. In addition, such sociological surveys are not systematic in most Arctic regions. In this regard, this section of the chapter will mainly present the results of the analysis of our data (mass survey, 2023), as well as some state statistics.

Quality of life in the regions of the Russian Arctic. A general idea of the quality of life of the population in the regions of the Arctic zone of Russia is given by the materials of a special study by the RIA Rating agency. According to the data presented by the agency, more than half of the Arctic regions were in the second part of the all-Russian list according to the

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quality of life index. Not a single Arctic region was in the top ten, and the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug was in the worst ten according to this indicator (table 7).

Table 7. Rating of Arctic regions of Russia by quality of life index (RIA Rating agency)

Subject of the Russian Federation	Index (min — 1; max — 100)	Ranking Place - 2017 (Total 85)
Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug	53.30	16
Krasnoyarsk region	46.15	38
Murmansk region	45,52	42
Komi Republic	38.90	65
Nenets Autonomous Okrug	37.74	68
Republic of Karelia	35.95	70
Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)	35.61	71
Arkhangelsk region	34.61	74
Chukotka Autonomous Okrug	27.72	78

It is also appropriate to provide here some more specific statistical data that to some extent characterize the health and material well-being of the population of the Arctic regions, including in comparison with Russia as a whole (Table 7).

The statistics on natural population movement show a polarization of the Arctic regions into those with high rates of natural population growth and those with a recorded population decline. The first group includes mainly subjects of the eastern (Asian) part of the Russian Arctic (the exception is the Nenets Autonomous Okrug), the second group includes regions of the western (European) part. At the same time, the generally high infant mortality rates in the Arctic regions are noteworthy: they either exceed the all-Russian value or are close to it. Infant mortality is significantly lower than the all-Russian value only in the Komi Republic.

In terms of absolute poverty, most regions of the Russian Arctic demonstrate levels above the national average. The exception is the autonomous districts. The Murmansk Region corresponds to the national average in terms of poverty. As for the Arkhangelsk Region, which is the subject of our particular interest, it occupies an average position in comparison with other Arctic regions in terms of most indicators. The exception is the demographic situation: the Arkhangelsk Region (along with the Republic of Karelia) is the leader in terms of mortality and natural population decline.

As noted earlier, indicators based on statistical data, reflecting the living conditions of individuals and the impact of these conditions on individual components (domains) of quality of life, do not provide sufficient complexity for the analysis of social well-being, since they do not contain any information about people's ideas about quality of life standards and their priority needs/goals, with which they relate objective living conditions in everyday life. Therefore, we will further turn (using the example of the Arctic territories of the Arkhangelsk Region) to the assessment of the social well-being of the population through indicators reflecting its subjective well-being and the range of assessments of the socio-economic situation in the region.

Social well-being of the population of the Arkhangelsk region. One of the key parameters of social well-being is self-esteem/individual's health. To identify this self-assessment, we used two indicators - to assess physical and mental health. In general, residents of the Arctic territories of the Arkhangelsk region assess their health extremely positively: the total share of health assessments as "good" and "rather good" for physical health was 78.7%, for mental health - 87.6%. Only 3.7% of respondents said that they have significant problems with physical health, and less than 2% indicated serious problems in the emotional sphere (Figures 7 and 8).

Table 9. Selected statistical indicators of quality of life in the Arctic regions of the Russian Federation

Subject of the Russian Federation	Natural population growth	Mortality rate per 1000 people.	Infant mortality rate per 1000 people.	Share of population with incomes below the subsistence level, %	Living space per person, m ²
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Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug	9.1	4.9	6.6	7.4	21.2
Krasnoyarsk region	0,1	12.3	6.3	18.4	24.3
Murmansk region	-0.8	11.1	5.3	13	25.1
Komi Republic	-0.3	11.8	4.3	16.7	27.1
Nenets Autonomous Okrug	6.6	8.6	6	10.5	24.7
Republic of Karelia	-4.3	14.6	6.6	17.3	26
Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)	6.4	8.1	5.1	19.8	21.7
Arkhangelsk region	-2.7	13.2	6	14.3	27.1
Chukotka Autonomous Okrug	3.7	9.4	10.7	9.1	25.6
Russia as a whole	-0.9	12.4	5.6	13.4	24.9

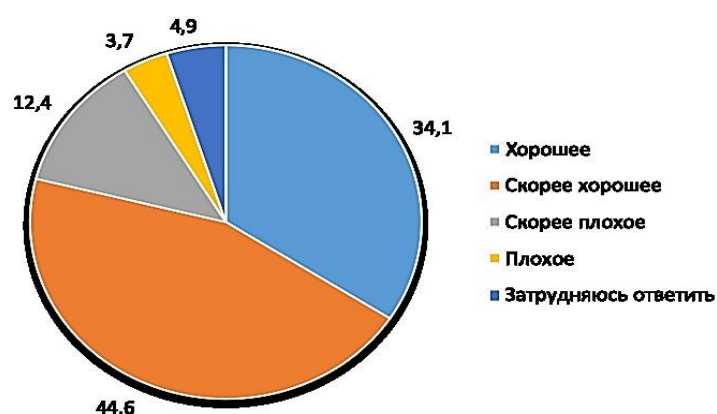


Figure 7. Population's assessment of their physical health, %

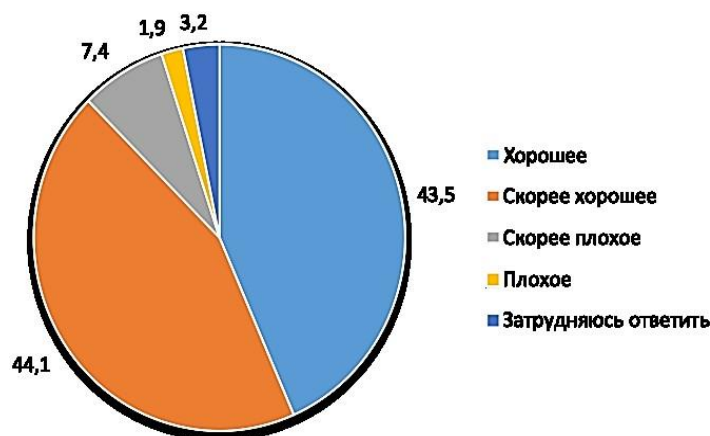


Figure 8. Population's assessment of their mental health, %

The distribution of satisfaction ratings for various indicators that collectively influence the quality of life of the population gives the following picture (Figure 9).

The respondents expressed the least satisfaction with the state of the environment, the quality of housing and communal services, landscaping and the quality of medical care. The highest satisfaction values relate to the sphere of interpersonal relations -

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in the family, a friendly company and a work collective. High values are also found for the indicators "housing conditions", "life safety", "conditions for rest, leisure", "work/study".

In the process of analyzing the obtained data, we identified statistically significant moderate relationships between satisfaction with individual parameters of quality of life and some social characteristics of individuals.



Figure 9. Satisfaction of the population by individual parameters of quality of life

For the indicators "work/study" and "relationships in the work collective", a dependence on age was revealed: in younger age cohorts, as well as among respondents aged 60 and over, dissatisfaction with these indicators is expressed somewhat more strongly. Relations in the work collective are also affected, albeit insignificantly, by the level of education: as the level of education increases, people tend to rate their satisfaction with relationships in the team higher. The number of children has some effect on the assessment of

satisfaction with the "work/study" parameter: respondents with three or more children are noticeably more likely to express dissatisfaction with the conditions of work or study. Gender, marital status, and length of residence in the Arctic territory have virtually no effect on respondents' assessments. Respondents' self-assessment of their own income indicates the relative material well-being of residents of the Arctic territories of the Arkhangelsk Region (Figure 10).

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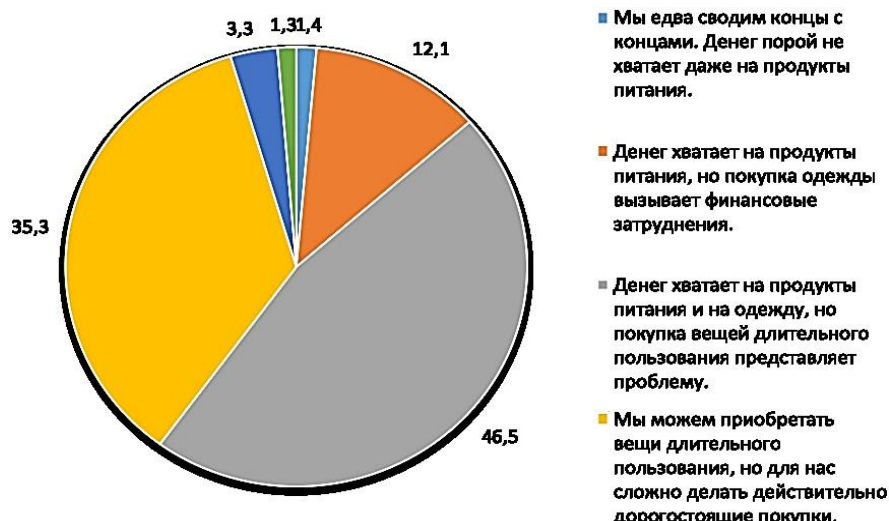


Figure 10. Population's assessment of their purchasing power, %

The share of the most deprived strata of the population, as well as the wealthiest, does not exceed the sampling error. Almost half of the respondents note that they have no problems with satisfying their daily material needs. More than a third of respondents indicated that they can afford to buy durable goods. Only 12.1% noted that they spend almost all their money on food. It should be emphasized that together with the least well-off citizens (1.4%), their share approximately corresponds to the share of people with incomes below the subsistence minimum, recorded in state statistics.

Correlation analysis showed the presence of a statistically significant relationship between self-assessment of income and such indicators as “health care” (Spearman $r = 0.218$), “work/study” (Spearman $r = 0.200$), “conditions for sports” (Spearman $r = 0.342$), “accessibility of cultural institutions” (Spearman $r = 0.306$). It should be noted that all these correlations are weak.

Factor analysis of the indicators by which we initially measured subjective assessments of quality of life allowed us to clearly identify five factors – groups of interrelated parameters of quality of life (Table 38), namely:

- 1) cultural and leisure sphere (cultural consumption, recreation, sport);
- 2) social security (housing conditions, health care, conditions for raising children, safety of life in general);
- 3) education and professional self-realization;
- 4) living environment (housing and communal services, environmental situation, improvement of the urban/village environment);
- 5) relationships in primary groups (interpersonal relationships).

Table 10. Factor analysis of population satisfaction indicators for individual quality of life parameters

	Component				
	1	2	3	4	5
Accessibility of cultural institutions	0.805				
Conditions for sports activities	0.633				
Conditions for recreation and leisure	0.478				
The opportunity to participate in public life, to influence the life of your city (village)	0.472				
Life safety		0.707			
Housing conditions		0.704			
Medical care		0.592			

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Conditions for raising children		0.553			
Relations in the work collective			0.793		
Work/study			0.757		
Improvement of the territory				0.748	
State of the environment				0.735	
Housing and public utilities				0.581	
Relationships in the family					0.766
Friendly relations					0.742
Extraction method: Principal component analysis. Rotation method: Varimax with Kaiser normalization.					

Thus, it is the five identified spheres (domains) that to the greatest extent determine the social well-being of the population, at least in the Arctic part of the Arkhangelsk region.

As noted above, an important component of social well-being is life safety, i.e. subjectively assessed protection from various types of social threats. During our survey, respondents expressed the greatest concern about environmental threats, threats

of unemployment and poverty, and risks associated with abuses by officials and law enforcement officers. With regard to such social threats as various types of discrimination (by gender, age, nationality and religion), as well as loneliness, respondents expressed the greatest confidence in their protection from them (Figure 11).

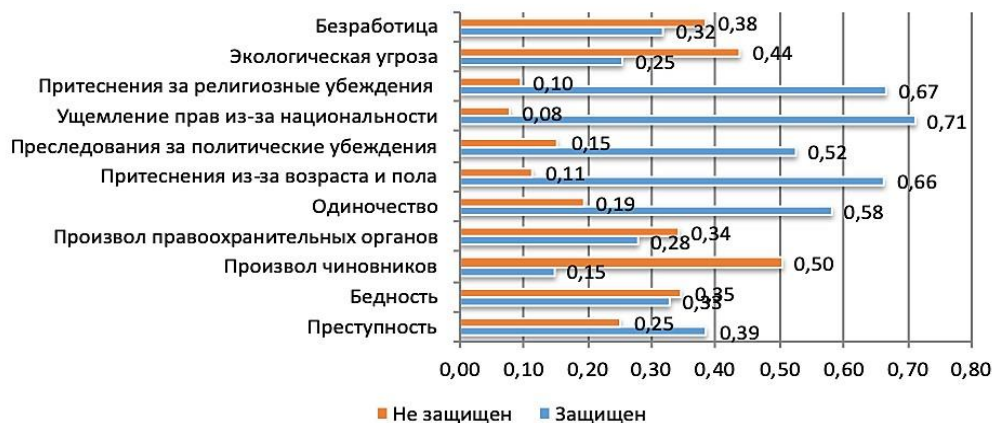


Figure 11. Protection of the population from major social problems

Based on the methodology of N. I. Lapin and L. A. Belyaeva, we calculated the life satisfaction index and the social optimism index, which for our sample were 0.79 and 0.70, respectively. The obtained values are high enough, which allows us to interpret the situation with the social well-being of the population in the Arctic territories of the Arkhangelsk region as generally positive. At the same time, there is a pronounced concern and dissatisfaction of the population with the environmental situation, the quality of social services, corruption in the government apparatus and unclear prospects for the development of the socio-economic development of the region (in terms of labor income, social benefits, the labor market).

Statistical analysis showed that life satisfaction in general is related to marital status: single people and

people in a registered marriage are the most satisfied with their lives, while divorced people are the least satisfied. Life satisfaction also predictably correlates with physical (Spearman $r = 0.271$) and mental (Spearman $r = 0.370$) health, as well as with financial status (Spearman $r = 0.252$).

The social optimism indicator does not depend on socio-demographic characteristics of respondents, as well as their education, while this parameter, like satisfaction with life in general, positively correlates with well-being in the emotional-mental sphere (rSpearman $r = 0.343$), subjective assessment of physical health (Spearman $r = 0.303$) and financial situation (Spearman $r = 0.274$).

The significant role of emotional mood, the presence/absence of anxiety and depression in determining the level of general satisfaction with life,

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as well as social optimism, compared to other ascriptive (gender, age), socio-economic (income) and socio-cultural (education) parameters is noteworthy.

It should also be noted that in the harsh Arctic climate, the natural and climatic factor should make a significant contribution to the local population's assessment of their level of satisfaction with their lives. To confirm this hypothesis, we asked respondents to assess the extent to which the natural and climatic conditions in their place of residence affect their overall well-being, and then determined the rank correlation between this indicator and their level of satisfaction with life in general. As a result, we found a statistically significant, but weak, relationship (Spearman's $r = 0.246$).

The respondents identified the following as the most pressing (for their place of residence) social problems:

- poor road conditions (70.7%);
- increase in prices for housing and communal services (56.4%);
- low income level (53.8%);
- poor condition of courtyards and streets (56.6%);
- environmental pollution (52.6%).

In conclusion of the topic of social well-being of the population of the Russian Arctic, we will briefly consider the issue of migration trends observed in the territories of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation, which can be considered as another marker of living conditions in the Arctic regions. We will dwell in some more detail on the migration attitudes of residents of the Arctic part of the Arkhangelsk Region.

Migration processes in the Russian Arctic. A distinctive feature of the migration movement of the population in the Arctic macroregion is not only the migration outflow of the population that has been continuing over the past few years, but also the fact that the highest coefficient of migration outflow is observed in the group of the population over working age. This feature is explained by the fact that pensioners, having finished their working activity,

strive to move to a more favorable region from a climatic point of view for permanent residence. Among those who left the subjects of the Arctic zone of Russia, on average 47% move within their regions, 49% move to others, as a rule, more favorable in terms of climate.

The vast majority of those arriving in the Arctic regions are internal migrants who leave small towns and settle in large cities. Between 2008 and 2016, the number of people arriving from other regions of Russia increased almost threefold in quantitative terms, and the number of people arriving from other countries doubled. The lowest level of intraregional migration is observed in the Yamalo-Nenets and Chukotka Autonomous Okrugs and the Murmansk Region. From 68 to 89% of those leaving these regions move beyond them. Between 2008 and 2016, the Arctic macroregion annually lost an average of 12,000 people with higher education, 7,600 people with secondary and primary vocational education, and 5,800 people with secondary education.

Migration trends in the Arctic zone of Russia are contradictory: on the one hand, there is an outflow of young, able-bodied population and people of retirement age, on the other hand, there is an influx of people from the central and southern regions of Russia, as well as former Soviet republics. Some of them work on a rotational basis and are the most mobile group of migrants, while another group can remain in the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation for a long time. According to official data, 14% of the total number of employees of organizations work on a rotational basis in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation, in the Yamalo-Nenets Okrug their number reaches 46%, in the Nenets Okrug - 25%, in the Sakha Republic (Yakutia) - 20%.

The average population density for the Arctic regions is 0.88 people/km². This is 9.5 times less than the Russian average. The population decline in the northern regions is observed both due to natural decline and migration outflow. Migration processes are mostly associated with either socio-economic reasons (high poverty level, underdeveloped social infrastructure) or with increased natural and climatic load on the human body.

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Figure 12. Distribution of responses to the question: "What feelings do you have towards your locality as a whole?" (2018, n = 408 people)

According to the results of our survey, the overwhelming majority of respondents noted that they like living in the Arkhangelsk region, but with some reservations (41%) (Figure 12). The answers to this question revealed statistically significant differences by gender, age and marital status. Thus, the answer "I am glad that I live here" is more often chosen by people over 60 years old (45%) and married respondents (68%). Among those who categorically do not like their current place of residence, we can single out unmarried girls aged 20-29. When answering the clarifying questions: "Which living conditions are you not completely satisfied with?" and

"Which living conditions are you completely satisfied with?" - the most popular options were "climatic conditions" and "poor development of the territory" in the first case and "work" in the second.

About half (48%) of respondents note that they would not want their descendants to remain living in the Arkhangelsk region (Figure 13). When answering this question, a statistical dependence on the age of the respondents was revealed: the younger the person, the more against their descendants remaining living in the region.

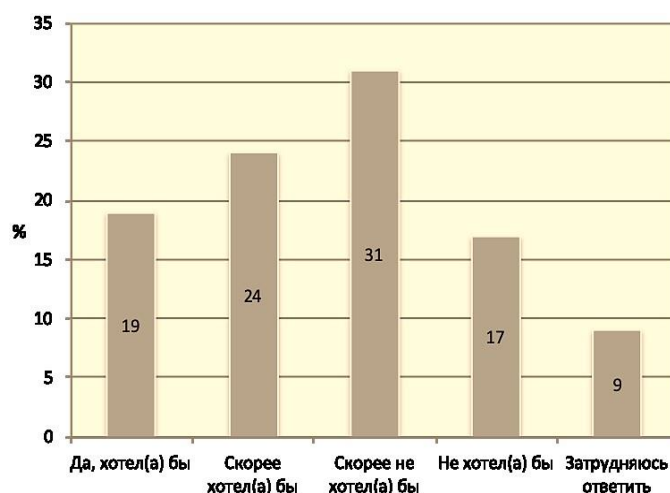


Figure 13. Distribution of responses to the question "Would you like your children (grandchildren) to live in your locality or not?" (2018, n = 408 people), %

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9% of respondents noted that they are actually planning to move, 23% responded that they are considering the possibility of moving, but circumstances do not allow them to do so, and 68% of respondents chose the answer option “I do not plan to move in the next 5 years” (Figure 14).

Among the reasons that can make people stay in their current place of residence, respondents most often noted: family circumstances (43%), availability of highly paid (39%), interesting and promising work (25%) (Table 11).

The research data record the manifestation of high migration activity of the population, it should also be noted that 55% of respondents do not want to see this region as a place of residence for their children (grandchildren). As the main reasons for the current situation, respondents point to the lack of employment prospects for young people, low income levels combined with high costs of housing and communal services, poor infrastructure such as roads, streets, and courtyards.



Figure 14. Distribution of respondents' answers to the question about planned relocation (2018, n = 408 people)

Table 11. Respondents' answers to the question: “Under what circumstances are you willing to remain in your current place of residence?”

Answer option	Share, %
Having a high-paying job	41.5
Availability of interesting, promising work	27.0
Opportunity to obtain education (professional, additional, etc.)	5.9
Creating a family, loved one	20.0
Family circumstances	46.3
Owning your own home	38.6
Opportunity to receive quality medical services	20.7
Increase in additional payments for accommodation in the Far North regions	23.2
The emergence of more recreational areas	7.9
Change of regional/local government	2.6
Under no circumstances	4.2

To sum up, we note that, as was shown in detail using the example of the Arkhangelsk region, socio-cultural processes in the Arctic zone of Russia have their own internal logic of development, associated with the peculiarities of the historical path of this macro-region. At the same time, at present we observe the interdependence of the socio-cultural situation and the socio-economic conditions of life in the territories of the Russian Arctic. Such a relationship is most noticeable between the structure of value orientations, the state of social capital and the social well-being of

the population, expressed in intersubjective assessments of the quality of life.

Conclusion

In the Russian Arctic, there is also an actual departure from the desire for comprehensive development and implementation of socio-economic projects in the interests of the long-term development of Arctic territories (numerous attempts to form a “new” model for solving complex problems in the North and the Arctic — from “comprehensive” programs to “support zones for development” and

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“mineral resource centers” — have not yet yielded positive results). Thus, the dependence of the development of the Russian Arctic on the implementation of large projects is one of the restraining factors both in achieving the necessary multiplier effects and in realizing the potential socio-economic value of its natural resource potential. Not only large projects, new shelf platforms and LNG plants are needed, but also an innovation-oriented environment aimed at the formation of companies of various types. The result and driver of such an environment is small and medium-sized businesses. Small companies can effectively operate in small fields, and the service sector servicing large projects can also become a place for applying the efforts of not only small companies, but also a place for applying

unique local knowledge and skills. Of course, we cannot ignore the terms of the sanctions. First of all, this concerns the development of resource extraction technologies on the Arctic shelf. The specificity of the Arctic shelf is that science-intensive, high-tech innovative technologies are needed at all stages of deposit development and hydrocarbon delivery. Despite serious problems with the implementation and search for investments for projects, they are significant - due to the great potential for the region and for the country's resource sector as a whole. In principle, each project is a contribution to solving the development issues of both a local center of economic activity (to some extent, a support zone), and regions and their combinations (from the North-West to the Greater Urals and Central and Eastern Siberia).

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