

BARE NTS STUDI ES

The title 'BARENTS STUDIES' is rendered in large, bold, blue capital letters. The letters are partially filled with or overlaid by a collage of images. The 'A' and 'R' in 'BARE' show a blue sky with small, colorful balloons. The 'N' in 'NTS' features a yellow balloon. The 'S' in 'NTS' and the 'S' in 'STUDIES' show a white flag with red text, possibly 'Vulcan', and a blue sky with balloons. The 'D' in 'STUDIES' shows a white flag with a red and white striped pole. The 'I' in 'STUDIES' is a solid blue vertical bar. The 'E' in 'STUDIES' shows a blue sky with balloons. The 'S' in 'STUDIES' shows a blue sky with balloons. The 'I' in 'STUDIES' is a solid blue vertical bar. The 'E' in 'STUDIES' shows a blue sky with balloons.

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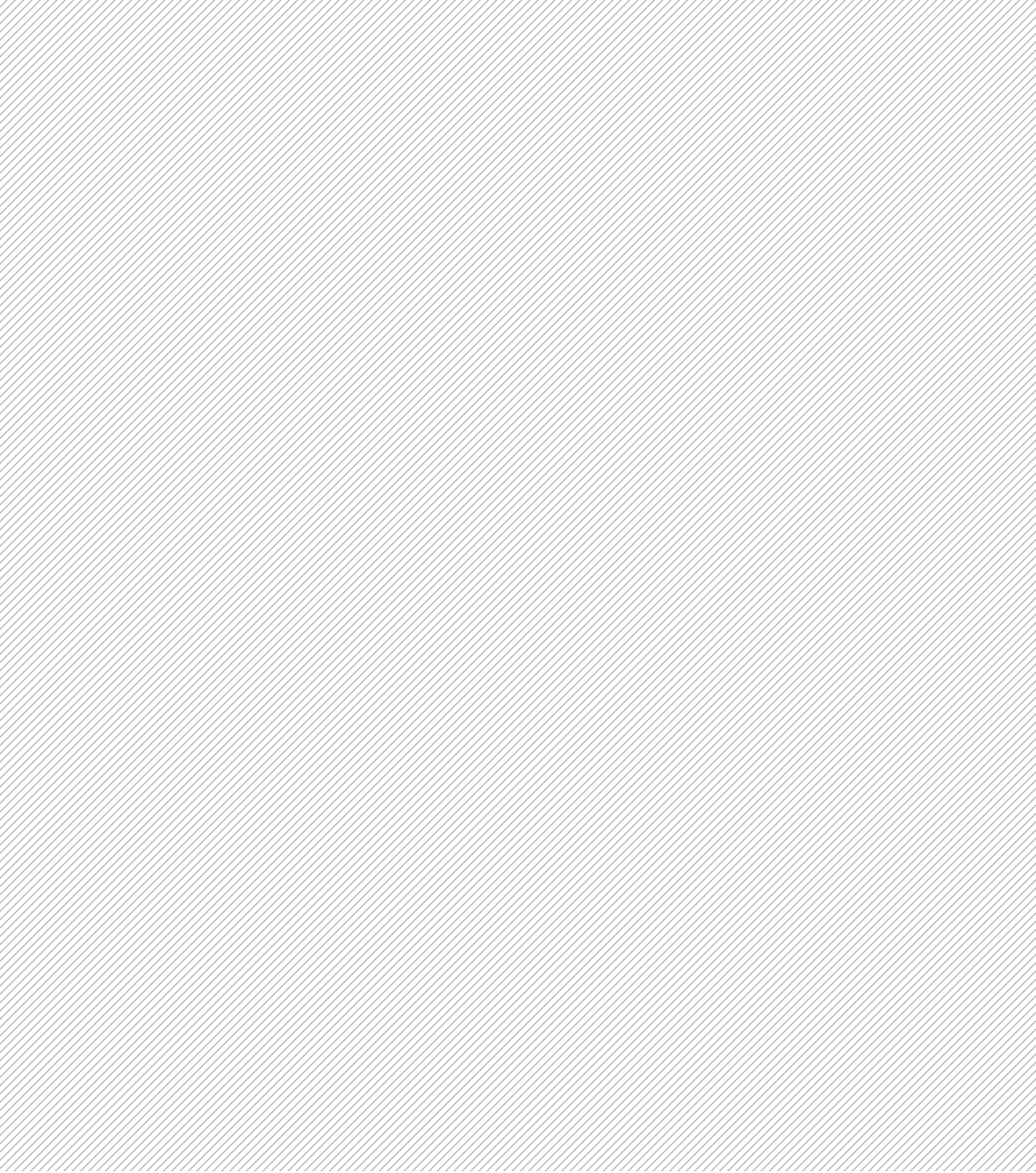
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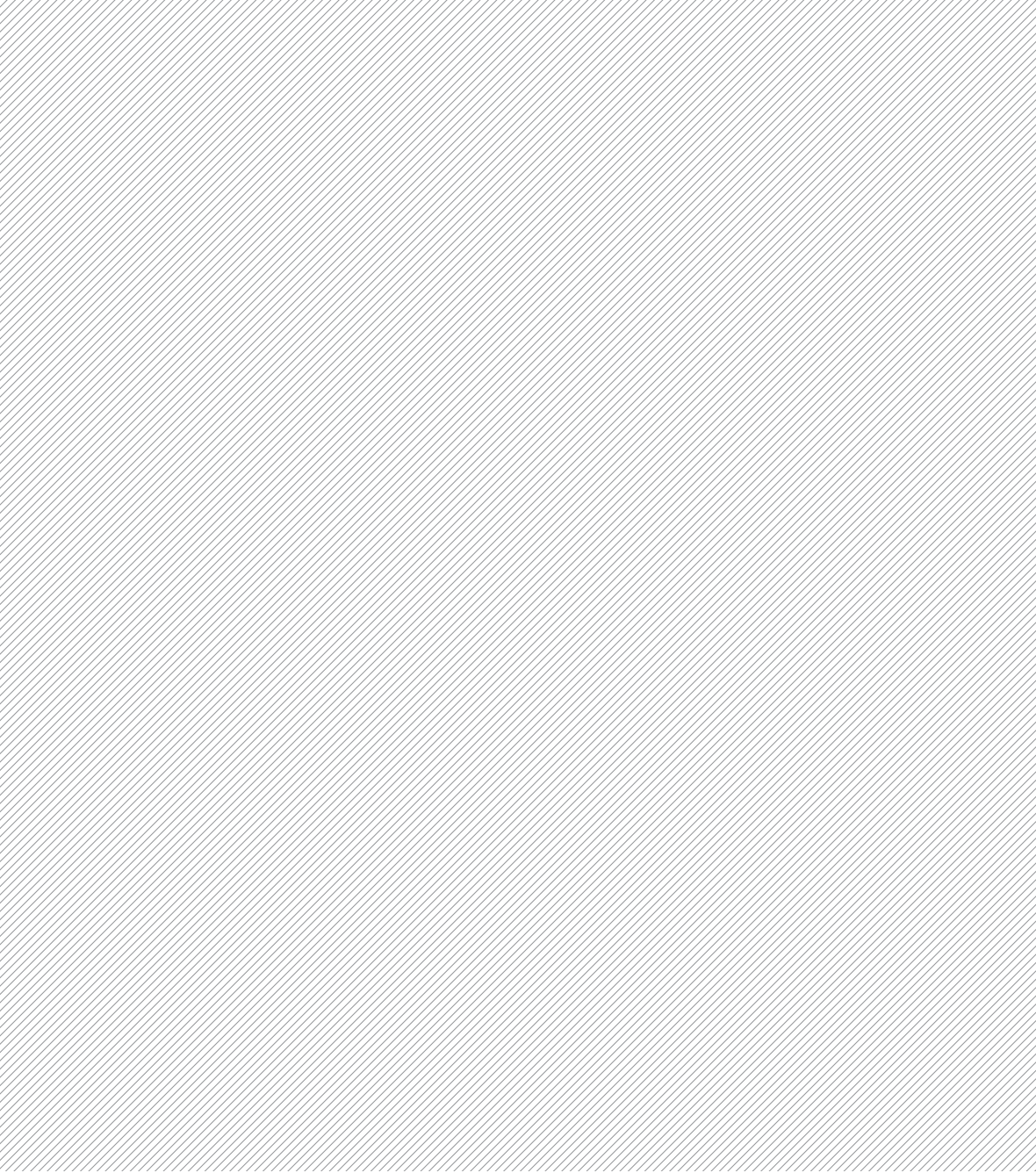
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EDITORIAL



The beginning

MONICA TENNBERG *Chief Editor of the first issue*

This is the first issue of a new academic journal about the Barents Region and its development. The name of the region comes from Willem Barents, a Dutch explorer who sought a sea way to Chinese riches via the Arctic Ocean in the late 16th century. The Murmanskoye Sea, known today as the Barents Sea, was later renamed after him. Today the Arctic is again at the heart of international interest mostly because of its abundant natural resources. The establishment of *Barents Studies* is part of a growing international interest in the Arctic. It is important to provide research-based information about the region and its development to various stakeholders both within and outside the region.

Barents Studies is the result of current regional research cooperation in the Barents Region. Barents cooperation in education and research, once known as a Sleeping Beauty of regional cooperation, has now become more active (Kalinina 2013). There is a strong basis for education and research in the Barents Region thanks to many universities, colleges and other educational institutes. There are many fora and publications dedicated to the region that provide general information about the region, such as Barentsinfo, BarentsObserver, BarentSaga and Barents Mediasphere, but fewer avenues for the publication of research-based knowledge about the region and its development. *Barents Studies* aims to fill this gap.

The establishment of this journal has been made possible thanks to the funding of a two-year project by the EU Kolarctic ENPI CBC Programme. The general aim of the journal is to present and discuss development in the Barents Region from the point of view of sustainable development. The regional focus of the journal is the Barents Euro-Arctic Region, which covers the northernmost counties of Sweden, Norway, Finland and Northwest Russia as well as the Barents Sea. The name of the journal, *Barents Studies: Peoples, Economies and Politics*, gives an idea of its focal point. The aim of the journal is to publish topical articles, research communications, book reviews and other research-related material dealing with the social, economic and political dimensions of development in the region. The environmental aspect of sustainability is included in all of these themes as natural resources and changes in the environment are the basis of all

activities in the region in one way or another. The partners in the project will continue to publish the journal after the two-year project period 2013-2014.

The first issue of this journal is truly a mix of peoples, economies and politics about and from the region. The first article, by Professor Tuija Hautala-Hirvioja of the University of Lapland, introduces the early Sámi artists Johan Turi, Nils Nilsson Skum and John Savio and the representations of the North in their work. At the same time, the author tells the story of the development of Sami art in the Nordic countries. Pia Skaffari and Sanna Väyrynen, researchers from the University of Lapland, tackle the issue of prostitution in the Barents Region in the second article. They analyse prostitution in the region as a social issue by exploring the subjective experiences of Russian women involved in this practice. The third article, by several writers from the Barents Region, considers recent economic and political developments from the perspective of local communities across the region. The article discusses how ideas about sustainability and neoliberal governance meet in recent community development. In the first issue of this journal, we are also pleased to introduce four “academically young” researchers from different parts of the region and their research interests, as well as book reviews that are of regional relevance.

We hope to continue and develop the journal along the lines presented above. You are cordially invited to contribute to future issues of *Barents Studies*. By working together and crossing academic disciplines, borders and cultures across the region, we can make this journal a viable forum of information about the Barents Region.

Please visit our website: www.barentsinfo.org/barentsstudies for more information.

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ARTICLES

Early Sámi visual artists - Western fine art meets Sámi culture

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ABSTRACT

Johan Turi (1854–1936), Nils Nilsson Skum (1872–1951) and John Savio (1902–1938) were among the first Sámi visual artists. The production of their art work occurred between the 1910s and the early 1950s. Sámi aesthetics had its basis in folklore, i.e., handicraft or *duodji*, which did not follow the principle of art for art's sake but combined beauty and practicality. Art was part of community life. Not until the 1970s was the word *daidda*, which is Finnish in origin and which means “art”, adopted into the Sámi language. Turi and Skum became famous through their books. They drew and wrote in order to pass the traditional knowledge of their people on to succeeding generations. They also wanted to introduce Sámi life and culture to non-Sámi people. One typical feature of their work is that they depicted Sáminess in a realistic way and sought to strengthen and preserve the Sámi identity through their art. In Turi and Skum's work, both the documentation of community life and their own personal expression were strongly present and equally important; for this reason their pictures and texts have both practical and aesthetic dimensions. They did not attend school and were self-taught artists. The third pioneer of Sámi visual arts was John Savio, who, unlike the other two, attended secondary school and studied visual arts both independently and under the guidance of a mentor. He expressively combined Western ways of depiction with Sámi subjects.

My article examines what made these early Sámi artists change over from Sámi handicraft, *duodji*, to Western visual arts, how they used Western pictorial conventions in dealing with their Sámi subjects, and the significance of their art for Sámi identity and culture. They lived and worked under cross pressure: the first few decades of the 20th century were characterized by racial theories that denigrated Sámi people, and the period following World War II was marked by demands for modernization and

assimilation. Therefore, I also discuss how the conflicts of the time influenced the art of these three early Sámi artists.

INTRODUCTION

Johan Turi (1854–1936), Nils Nilsson Skum (1872–1951) and John Savio (1902–1938) were among the first Sámi visual artists. The production of their art work occurred between the 1910s and the early 1950s. Sámi aesthetics had its basis in folklore, i.e., handicraft or *duodji*, which did not follow the principle of art for art's sake but combined beauty and practicality. Art was part of community life. Not until the 1970s was the word *daidda*, which is Finnish in origin and which means “art”, adopted into the Sámi language (Bergmann 2009, 61–62).

Turi and Skum became famous through their books. They drew and wrote in order to pass the traditional knowledge of their people on to succeeding generations. They also wanted to introduce Sámi life and culture to non-Sámi people. One typical feature of their work is that they depicted Sáminess in a realistic way and sought to strengthen and preserve the Sámi identity through their art. In Turi and Skum's work, both the documentation of community life and their own personal expression were strongly present and equally important; for this reason their pictures and texts have both practical and aesthetic dimensions. They did not attend school and were self-taught artists. The third pioneer of Sámi visual arts was John Savio, who, unlike the other two, attended secondary school and studied visual arts both independently and under the guidance of a mentor. He expressively combined Western ways of depiction with Sámi subjects. In some art history texts, Oddmund Kristiansen (1920–1997) and Iver Jåks (1932–2007) are also regarded as pioneers (Bergmann 2006, 63). However, in my opinion, the careers of these two artists are part of a different art world which started to become more global following World War II; their most significant artistic activity took place from the 1960s through the end of the 1990s.

My approach in this article is based on the history of art and culture, drawing on the tradition of Erwin Panofsky's iconology. I rely on the third level of his iconological method – iconographical synthesis – according to which content is seen as reflecting the prevailing ideological or historical, philosophical and/or basic attitude of an area (Panofsky 1972, 5–17). Turi, Skum and Savio are well-known in Norway and Sweden but not, for instance, in Finland. Therefore, I will present the main points of their biographies. The sources used in my article vary: Hans Nerhus's book based on his

memories of John Savio and Ernst Manker's text on Nils Nilsson Skum's art. In order to take a more critical approach to my sources, I have combined various texts. My article examines what made these early Sámi artists change over from Sámi handicraft, *duodji*, to Western visual arts, how they used Western pictorial conventions in dealing with their Sámi subjects, and the significance of their art for Sámi identity and culture. They lived and worked under cross pressure: the first few decades of the 20th century were characterized by racial theories that denigrated Sámi people, and the period following World War II was marked by demands for modernization and assimilation. Therefore, I also discuss how the conflicts of the time influenced the art of these three early Sámi artists.

JOHAN TURI – A SÁMI AUTHOR

Johan Olafsson Turi was born on 12 March 1854 in Kautokeino, Finnmark, in northern Norway. The original Sámi name was spelt Thuuri, and later Thuri in Swedish. The Norwegian version of his name is Johannes Olsen Thuri. He was the first Sámi artist in the modern sense, signing his drawings (Salokorpi 2004; Bergmann 2009, 63). According to Harald Gaski, a researcher of Sámi literature, Turi is the most important tradition bearer and the most widely read communicator of Sámi values and the wisdom of the elders (Gaski 2003, 145).

The closing of the border between Norway and Russia in 1852 forced many Sámi families to move to the Swedish side, as the winter pastures of the reindeer became too small (Hansegård 1988, 9; Aikio 1979, 6–7). Around the year 1860, the Turi family started to move south, arriving in the Sámi village of Talma in Jukkasjärvi Parish in Swedish Lapland by the year 1870. The members of the Turi family were reindeer herders, but Johan was more interested in hunting and fishing than reindeer husbandry, and he became a skilful hunter and fisherman. He helped his brothers Aslak and Olof with reindeer herding occasionally; they and their families lived the nomadic life of the Reindeer Sámi (Tveterås et al. 2002, 103; Aikio 1979, 6–7; Svonni 2011, 483). Johan Turi, who never married, lived on a small income and led a simple, modest life. He was a dreamer and lyricist, a kind of wilderness philosopher, who observed life in nature and among people, but he was also a writer and conscious observer of the environment (Manker 1971, 122; Dubois 2012, 108).

Figure 1: Johan Turi: Once the Sámi have reached their winter grounds, about 1910, ink drawing.



CULTURAL CO-OPERATION WITH EMILIE DEMANT

In 1904, Johan Turi took a train trip to Torneträsk along the so-called Iron Ore Line (Kiruna–Narvik), which had opened the previous year. Travelling in the same coach was Emilie Demant (1873–1958), an ethnographer and artist who was accompanied by her sister. They had come to Lapland from Jutland, Denmark. Suddenly Emilie Demant's childhood dream seemed to be coming true: she had always wanted to visit Lapland, and now there was a real Sámi person sitting opposite her. Despite the lack of a common language, Turi and Demant struck up a conversation. A Finn who was on board the same train provided interpretation (Salokorpi 2004; Svonni 2011, 483–484). Like many Sámi people from Jukkasjärvi, Turi could speak Finnish (Hansegård 1988, 14; Dubois 2012, 96).

The 50-year-old Turi told Demant that he wanted to write about Sámi people, but he did not know how to proceed. The young Dane had hoped that sometime she could experience a nomadic life. Turi promised he would help her do so. Demant returned to Denmark and began to study the Sámi language at the University of Copenhagen; she also continued the drawing and painting studies she had started in 1898. In June 1907, she returned to Swedish Lapland and accompanied Aslak Turi's family for a year, participating in all activities related to herding and migration (Kuutma 2011, 500). Without her knowledge of the Sámi language and her familiarity with the life of reindeer herders, Demant could not have assisted Turi in his project (Svonni 2011, 484).

In August of the same year, 34-year-old Emilie and 53-year-old Johan lived in a small fell cabin on the shore of Torneträsk. Turi drew pictures, dictated and made notes, and Demant wrote out the texts. *Muittalus samid birra* was published in Denmark in 1910 as a Sámi–Danish edition called *En bok om lappernes liv (Johan Turi's Book of Lapland; new English translation: An Account of the Sámi)* (Salokorpi 2004; Bergmann 2009, 63). Hjalmar Lundbohm (1855–1926), the Kiruna mine director, was a curious combination of hard-boiled industrialist and sensitive intellectual interested in art and culture. He considered the book to be such an important source of information concerning the life of Sámi people that he funded it. He also wrote the foreword to the first edition of the book (Kuutma 2011, 503; Seurujärvi-Kari 2011, 303).

Turi wanted his book to correct mistaken ideas about the Sámi. The book received a great deal of publicity outside the Sámi area. Demant and Turi became famous, and the book was translated into many languages: German (1912), English (1931), Swedish (1917), and French (1974). In 1979 it was published in Finnish, in Hungarian (1983) and in Italy (1991). The book was widely disseminated in Europe (Bergmann 2009, 63). Turi's book is unique in terms of both its language and its content; it is the first nonreligious book written in the Sámi language by a Sámi person. It is an example of reminiscence literature, which is a vital genre of Sámi literature based on the centuries-old Sámi narrative tradition (Hirvonen 1994, 104; Salokorpi 2004; Seurujärvi-Kari 2011, 303; Svonni 2011, 487).

The text of *Muittalus samid birra* is complemented by a set of pictures drawn by Turi; he wanted to show all the essential things concerning Sámi people's living conditions: life in the forest with reindeer, reindeer enclosures, summer and winter migration, life in camps, church attendance, traditions, hunting for beasts of prey, and Sámi cosmology

(Kjellström 1981a, 104). Turi's drawings have been considered to contain features of traditional Sámi engraving and rock art. Unlike typical Western art, they do not have a central perspective (Seurujärvi-Kari 2011, 314). Turi's aim was to depict the true nature of things in his pictures by combining different areas of life in a single picture. Even though he portrays people and animals as stylized signs, he manages to create a plausible, authentic atmosphere containing events and life in his drawings (Lehtola 1997, 116; Hirvonen 1994, 115). He depicts events simply but precisely and as simultaneously as possible in a manner that is reminiscent of ancient Egyptian reliefs and early northern rock art.

JOHAN TURI'S LATER YEARS

Muittalus samid birra made Turi famous but did not bring him financial success. Tourists visiting Abisko were interested in his art and wanted to buy his drawings. They wanted to have more colourful pictures, so Turi started to use watercolours. His main subjects were reindeer, elk and bears, but fells were also common; Turi rendered them with some degree of depth. To make drawing easier, Turi developed templates, which he cut out of thin pieces of bone. The shapes and sizes of the reindeer bodies varied to some extent. Thanks to the templates, the work of drawing could be done more quickly: the bodies did not take long to make, and only the legs and antlers had to be added freehand (Manker 1977, 128–129; Bergmann 2009, 64). When visiting Hjalmar Lundbohm's office, Turi noticed some stamps on the office desk. To make his own stamps, Turi first used birch wood, and later spruce and pine as well. He made stamps for important and often repeated figures like female and male reindeer, reindeer calves, dogs and people (Tveterås et al. 2002, 104; Kihlberg 2007, 90). Occasionally, he still used templates. Turi combined different methods: he stamped, drew and painted. He tried to rationalise his work and aimed at being an artist (Kjellström 2003, 248; Gaski 2011, 593).

During the years 1918–1919, together with his nephew, the reindeer herder Per Turi, Johan Turi wrote some texts which Emilie Demant-Hatt worked up into a book called *Sámi deavsttat*. Her husband Gudmund Hatt translated the texts into English, and the book was published in an edition called *Lappish Texts*. At the age of 76, Turi produced material for his third book *Duoddaris*, which was published in both Sámi and Swedish in 1931; the Swedish edition was called *Från fjäll (From the Fells)*. The artist Edith von Knaffl-Granström (1884–1956) and Anna Thuresdotter Bielke (1864–1955), a Swedish noblewoman, helped him produce this final book, which tells about Turi's hunting trips



Figure 2: Johan Turi: Lattilahti,
Torneträsk, 1933, watercolour.

on the fells, his two journeys in the North Calotte region, and various ways of herding reindeer in the northern Sámi area (Hansegård 1988, 9–10; Manker 1971, 131–132).

In 1913–1914, Turi had assisted and guided Frank Hedge Butler (1855–1928), an English globetrotter, and Borg Mesch (1869–1956), a Swedish photographer, during two journeys which took them through the Sámi areas of northern Sweden, Norway, Finland and present-day Russia as far as the Kola Peninsula (Lehtola 2012, 105; Dubois 2012, 95). The wealthy Butler wanted to experience the Land of the Sámi by travelling in an ancient way on skis and in a reindeer sledge. He published his travelogue *Through Lapland with Skis and Reindeer* in 1917. The trip offered Turi a chance to observe Sámi

people's life and culture in a vast geographical area. He was, in effect, working as a researcher and, according to Professor Thomas A. Dubois, performed a kind of synthetic, comparative analysis (Kuutma 2011, 499; Dubois 2012, 95, 105).

Johan Turi received official recognition and was granted the Royal Gold Medal and a State Artist Pension (Kjellström 1981a, 104–105). In 1915, he moved to Lattilahti into a cabin donated by Hjalmar Lundbohm, where he lived until his death (Hansegård 1988, 14). He died on 30 November 1936 at the age of 82, and is buried outside the Jukkasjärvi church. His gravestone bears the inscription: “Johan Turi – Samernas Författare” (“Johan Turi – A Sámi Author”; Svonni 2011, 489).

NILS NILSSON SKUM – AN ARTISTIC REINDEER HERDER

Like Johan Turi, Nils Nilsson Skum was an artist and writer who recalled past events but had no formal education (Lehtola 1997, 117). He also belonged to a family that moved from Norway to Swedish Lapland because of the closing of the border in 1852. Skum's parents left Kautokeino, Finnmark for Sweden in 1863. During the spring migration, they stopped at Tjiurutuottar, where Nils was born on 13 April 1872 (Thomasson 2012; Manker 1959, 7). In 1875, the Skum family, together with their reindeer, settled in the Sámi village of Norrkaitum in Gällivare municipality and found a pasture area around Kebnekaise. The summer place was 300 kilometres as the crow flies from the winter place (Tveterås et al. 2002, 105; Burman 2009, 273).

Nils Nilsson Skum had a lonely childhood, so drawing was an important hobby for him (Thomasson 2012). When he first began to draw, he is said to have used a charred straw on white, split birch wood logs. In winter, he drew pictures in the snow. Both of these techniques were ephemeral art forms: the log was burnt and the snow melted. Like other Sámi boys, Skum also carved pictures of reindeer on bone and wood with a knife (Manker 1959, 10–11). Nils Anderson Wasara, his maternal grandfather, brought him a pencil as a present from the Gällivare Christmas market. Now Nils began to draw on pieces of paper and paperboard. By hearing his uncle, Anders Nilsson Wasara, read the Bible out loud, Skum learned letters and thus acquired the key to learning to read. Later he also learnt to write (Manker 1965, 31–32; Manker 1971, 143; Burman 2009, 273).

When Skum was 12 years old, two Englishmen came to visit the Sámi village where he lived. One of them was an artist who drew pictures of reindeer. Skum's father, Nils, saw him drawing and told the man that his son could do it better. The Englishman

was not insulted but wanted to see the boy's drawings. He thought they were good and suggested that the boy could go to England with them and attend art school there. However, Nils had planned for his son to be a reindeer herder, so the boy stayed at home. The Englishmen did not forget the boy who was talented in drawing: the following Christmas he received a packet from England containing pencils, coloured pencils, watercolours and paintbrushes (Manker 1965, 32; Manker 1971, 144).

In 1895, Skum married Helena (Elli) Kuhmunen (1872–1950), the daughter of a wealthy and powerful reindeer herder, and the couple had many children. The number of reindeer increased, and Skum became a man of great power whose physical appearance was also grand. At his heaviest, he weighed about 130–140 kg (Thomasson 2012; Tveterås et al. 2002, 106). Even though he was the owner of a reindeer farm with no time for drawing, Skum did not give up his old hobby entirely. In 1908, Hjalmar Lundbohm, the Kiruna mine director, published some of Skum's drawings in a series of books called *Lapparne och deras land* (*The Lapps and Their Land*). Skum also contributed illustrations to various Sámi publications (Kjellström 1981b, 107; Tveterås et al. 2002, 106; Manker 1965, 57). Two of these publications were Professor K. B. Wiklund's reader *Nomadskolans läsbok* (*Nomad School Reader*, 1929) and the yearbook of a tourist association (1930). At that time, only a few people knew about Skum's artistic talent (Manker 1959, 14; Manker 1971, 146).

CONTACT WITH ERNST MANKER

As Nils Nilsson Skum got older, reindeer herding became too strenuous for him. In 1934, at the age of 62, he gave up his reindeer and moved with his family into a turf hut near Sjisjkavare, close to the railway line along the national border (Kjellström 1981b, 107; Manker 1965, 58). He now had time to draw. He recalled reindeer husbandry during the years of his youth and adulthood and recorded his experiences and knowledge of reindeer and reindeer herding, wanting to preserve and pass this knowledge on to younger people. In April 1934, Skum sent a letter that was received by Ernst Manker (1893–1972), a Lappologist in the Nordic Museum in Stockholm. Manker knew of Skum and asked him for some drawings; this was the beginning of a collaboration between the two men began (Manker 1965, 7–8).

Skum made 98 drawings depicting reindeer herding during the different seasons. He also added texts in Sámi, which Israel Ruong translated into Swedish. The book *Same sita – Lappbyn* (*Lapp Village*) was published in 1938 in the Nordic Museum's ACTA

LAPPONICA 2 Series. The book received a great deal of attention, but it was also criticized. The Sámi orthography was considered to be too difficult and Manker's role unnecessarily large (Kjellström 1981b, 109; Lehtola 1997, 117; Burman 2009, 276–277). The Nordic Museum in Stockholm bought all the works used to illustrate the book for its collections (Nils Nilsson Skum 2007).

Skum's goal was to document his Sámi forefathers' life and work through his book and his illustrations. The drawings drew attention, and there was an interest in presenting them in exhibitions both in Sweden and abroad. Depictions of reindeer and nature were his specialty: he had the ability to create strong overall pictures of wintry wildernesses and the movements of reindeer herds in different formations. As an artist Skum was characterised by spontaneity and freshness. As the years passed, his artistic strength and confidence grew, and the pictures flowed more and more profusely over oil-colour panels and sheets of drawing paper (Lehtola 1997, 117; Kihlberg 2007, 90 & 92).

NILS NILSSON SKUM'S CAREER AS A PAINTER

Skum's art works were included in the *Folklore de Suède (Swedish Folklore)* exhibition displaying Swedish folk art in the cultural anthropology museum *Musée de l'Homme* in 1937; the exhibition was organized by the Nordic Museum, and from Paris it moved on to Brussels. Skum's works were on display for the first time in Sweden in a large exhibition in the *Färg och Form* Gallery in Stockholm in 1940 together with works by Carl Fredrik Hill and Ernst Josephson. Thus, Skum became famous both in his native country and abroad (Burman 2009, 275; Manker 1965, 97). During the years 1940–1958, Skum's works were exhibited almost every year in Stockholm and elsewhere in Sweden: in Luleå, Nyköping, Jönköping, Kalmar, Ystad, and other cities. As for foreign countries, they were not exhibited only in Paris and Brussels, but also in New York in 1946 (Manker 1965, 97).

Nils Nilsson Skum became well known for his drawings and his talent in portraying reindeer herding. When making his art works, he usually used a pencil, crayons, watercolours and gouaches. He also liked to paint with oil colours. He also mastered *duodji*. He was a skilful maker of traditional Sámi knives and also made a few wooden sculptures (Burman 2009, 275; Svedsen 1992, 10). Skum was granted a state pension. Pleased with the recognition he received, he continued to draw and was extraordinarily productive (Kjellström 1981b, 109). He also did well financially, building an atelier and having a house built for himself and his wife Elli and another for his daughter.

The buildings were equipped with electric lights by means of a wind-powered plant (Manker 1971, 162–164).

Skum wanted to create work of lasting value and leave depictions of different ways of reindeer herding with which he had become familiar as a legacy to the Sámi people. He started to draw with concentration and purposefulness. He managed to finish 46 pictures for his new book. To avoid the difficulties caused by orthography, he wrote

*Figure 3: Nils Nilsson Skum:
Herd of Reindeer Running, 1934, pencil.*



the text in Finnish and Gunnar Pellijeff translated it into Swedish (Burman 2009, 277; Manker 1955, 8). Skum did not live to see the finished book, dying on 27 December 1951 at the age of 79 (Thomasson 2012). His book *Valla renar* (*Reindeer Herding*) was published posthumously in the Nordic Museum's ACTA LAPPONICA X Series in 1955 (Burman 2009, 277).

JOHN SAVIO – AN EDUCATED SÁMI VISUAL ARTIST

John Andreas Savio was born on 28 January 1902 in Bugöyford on the shore of Varangerfjord in Finnmark, but spent his early years in Kirkenes, where his parents established a shop (Rasmussen 2006, 28; Rasmussen 2005, 89; Bang 2002, 7). He was descended from Kven and Sámi people. His father Per John Johansen Savio's (1877–1905) Sámi-Finnish family came from Peltovuoma, Enontekiö in Finnish Lapland and was partly also descended from the large Kyrö family. His mother Else Strimp's (1875–1905) father was a member of the Nomadic Sámi, and he was the first one in his family to settle permanently. The Strimp family had sheep, cows, horses and reindeer as well as fishing vessels, a bakery and a shop. The wealthy family belonged to the Sámi upper class (Gjelsvik 2012, 12–13; Nerhus 1982, 14; Bang 2002, 5; Rasmussen 2006, 29).

At the age of 21, John Savio's father Per took part in an expedition to Antarctica (1898–1900) organized by Carsten Borchgrevink (1864–1936), who was born in Norway but lived in Australia. During the trip, Per Savio learnt to speak and write English (Gjelsvik 2012, 14–16; Nerhus 1982, 16). After returning home, he married Else Strimp in 1901 and their first child, John, was born in 1902. Two daughters were born in 1903 and 1905, but died at the age of a few months. John's childhood turned to tragedy: his mother died of tuberculosis in 1905, when the boy was three years old, and two days later his father drowned while fetching a coffin from Vadsø (Lorck 2012, Bang 2002, 5–7; Gjelsvik 2012, 20).

Savio's maternal grandparents took it upon themselves to raise their grandchild, and John moved to the village of Bugöyford on the shore of Varangerfjord. The village was the centre of Finnish-Russian trade, and the Laestadian movement was strong and influential there (Rasmussen 2006, 30). John liked to wander in nature, and he drew pictures of the things he saw; drawing was a good and important hobby. The grandparents encouraged the boy in his art work, even if they hoped he would eventually become a priest. Thanks to his grandparents' wealth, Savio was able to begin school (Gjelsvik 2012, 21–22; Nerhus 1982, 32–34). His native language was Sámi. In Bugöyford, the

people spoke Sámi and Finnish, as well as a mixture of Russian and Norwegian developed due to the Russian Pomor trade; John probably understood these languages as well. In order to attend school, he had to learn Norwegian (Gjelsvik 2012, 22–24); at the age of ten, he had a sufficient command of the language and was sent to primary school in Vardø.

In 1916, John Savio began secondary school in Vardø, where Isak Saba (1875–1921), a Sámi activist and politician, worked as a teacher. He was Savio's first drawing teacher. Saba was a family friend of the Strimps and knew the plans for John's future as a priest. After becoming aware of the boy's gifts, Saba encouraged him to try visual arts (Bang 2002: 8; Gjelsvik 2012, 24–25). John Savio's perception and skill in drawing can be seen in the small pencil drawing *Omakuva peilissä* (*Self-Portrait in a Mirror*, 1917). The picture shows how the 15-year-old artist managed to draw his own features as reflected on the surface of a mirror. After Savio had attended secondary school in Vardø for two years, his health declined, and he moved farther south to Kvaefjord to finish secondary school. He finished lower secondary school in 1919 and during the following autumn started the humanities and natural sciences programme at the upper secondary school in Bodø (Nerhus 1982, 40, 51; Gjelsvik 2012, 26, 29).

MOVING TO CHRISTIANIA

John Savio did not make progress in his upper secondary school studies in Bodø. He drew, painted and dreamt of moving to Christiania, the capital. In the autumn of 1920, he moved to Christiania to complete the upper secondary school syllabus in the English programme at Ragna Nielsen's private school (Nerhus 1982, 51; Gjelsvik 2012, 36; Bang 2002, 9). At the same time, Savio made drawings in day and evening classes in the State College of Crafts and Design; his goal was to become a construction-engineering assistant. He was not interested in copying ornaments, which was part of the instruction in the art classroom, but he considered drawing nudes to be meaningful and useful for his development (Nerhus 1982, 52; Gjelsvik 2012, 42–43).

The explorer Carsten Borchgrevink had moved to Christiania. Savio visited him and got to know his family. Ridley Yngvar Borchgrevink (1898–1981), one of the sons of the family, studied graphic art and painting in Paris from 1920 to 1923. During the voyage to Antarctica, Per Savio, John's father, had saved the lives of Carsten Borchgrevink and the whole expedition, and the grateful family wanted to pay for John Savio's art studies in Norway and later abroad. However, Savio did not want to accept their offer; perhaps

he was too proud and had decided to manage on his own (Gjelsvik 2012, 39–40; Bang 2002, 9).

Savio's health weakened, and in January 1921, a fever and bad cough sent him to hospital, where it was discovered that he had tuberculosis. One of his lungs had to be operated on, and both his physical and mental state of health were poor. In December 1921, Savio was sent for rehabilitation, after which he returned to his home region in Finnmark to spend the spring and summer of 1922 in order to gather his strength so he could continue his studies (Nerhus 1982, 54).

In the late autumn of 1920, Savio's grandfather, Josef Strimp, had died, and Savio and his uncle inherited the remaining property (Gjelsvik 2012, 47). Thanks to the inheritance, he was able to return to Christiania in the autumn of 1922 (Nerhus 1982, 60). According to some sources, Axel Revold (1887–1962) may have taught Savio, and it is possible that Savio attended Revold's private painting school (Bang 2002, 10; Rasmussen 2005, 89; Hanssen-Serck 2002, 268). For the most part Savio worked independently, studying art history and the human body in anatomy pictures in the library and in the National Gallery, where he studied art by the Old Masters and copied their works. He was also interested in newer European visual arts, especially works made after the 1850s. After wood engraving became an important technique, Savio started to study graphic art by Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), a German Renaissance artist. He was interested in both older and newer graphic art, as well as Japanese wood engraving. He became familiar with woodcuts and other graphic art by the Norwegian Edvard Munch (1863–1944) in exhibitions held in Christiania in 1919 and 1921 (Nerhus 1982, 53; Lorck 2002, 19–21). He must have become acquainted with woodcut on his own, because at that time the technique was not taught in art schools. Sámi people's traditional skills in processing wood and bone made it easier for Savio to learn the woodcut technique (Lorck 2012; Lorck 2002, 21).

Savio left Oslo (which was called Christiania earlier) and lived in Karasjok, Tana, and other places in Finnmark during the years 1926–1928. He probably spent the summer of 1927 in Ifjordfjellet and became familiar with traditional Sámi reindeer herding. Many of his best-known works featuring Sámi subjects are connected with the Ifjordfjellet region. During the following summer, he spent a few weeks in Pasvikdalen, immortalizing its sceneries in both woodcuts and paintings (Rasmussen 2005, 89–90). Savio had decided to make a living from his art and tried to sell some of his paintings. They did not sell well, but his woodcuts, on the other hand, were more successful. The making

of art was regarded as a trade in Oslo, but elsewhere in Norway practical trades were held in higher esteem. Art work was associated with spare time and was considered to be a good hobby. People in Finnmark were not used to buying art, and Laestadianism, which had a strong influence in the area, rejected vanity and luxury (Bang 2002, 12; Gjelsvik 2012, 60–61). In Sámi culture, beauty was connected with utility articles, and art was not part of either Sámi or Norwegian folk culture.

In the autumn of 1928 at the latest, Savio was back in Oslo, where he met Hans Nerhus, a student of theology, who bought a large number of Savio's works. The artist was not good at household management, and, being gullible, he lent money and trusted people's promises to pay him back (Gjelsvik 2012, 75–76). He was no fickle bohemian artist and did not drink alcohol (Nerhus 1982, 66).

JOHN SAVIO'S WANDERING YEARS

After the busy year in Oslo, Savio wanted to travel. The years 1929–1933 were the real wandering years. He visited various parts of Norway, going from Bergen via Romsdalen to Svolvär in Lofoten (Gjelsvik 2012, 84). The Svolvär region inspired Savio, and he depicted a large number of landscapes there. After the productive period in Lofoten, the artist settled in Tromsø for a longer period and visited the Bodø region in 1932. He probably travelled extensively, trying to sell his art work. At the end of 1930, Savio had a joint exhibition with Elliot Kvalstad (1905–1938) in the rooms of the Tromsø Art Association, which bought five woodcuts by Savio to give as prizes in a Christmas lottery. The paintings that have Tromsø-related subjects were signed in 1931, and in the autumn of 1932, Savio held a solo exhibition in the town. The exhibition was well received, and Savio's woodcuts, in particular, were considered to be good. *Tromsø* newspaper wrote: "His art work is already so well known that it needs no further recommendation. Among the new woodcuts, there are many good ones" (Cit. Nerhus 1982, 76). On their way to Nordkapp, tourists bought woodcuts from the exhibition, but Savio still had to borrow money and pawn his works in order to get by (Bang 2002, 12; Gjelsvik 2012, 95).

At the beginning of the 1930s, Savio took a trip to the neighbouring countries, visiting Copenhagen, Stockholm and Finland (Rasmussen 2005, 90), probably including Helsinki and/or Turku. He also travelled in Central Europe, where his primary destination was Paris. During his European trip, he spent some time in Munich and Cologne, and on his way back to Norway he visited England. In 1933–1934, he probably studied



Figure 4: John Savio:
Alone (Okto), woodcut.

in one of the free art academies in Paris and held a solo exhibition in the summer of 1936 (Rasmussen 2005, 90; Bang 2002, 14; Gjelsvik 2012, 130).

An article about Savio's exhibition appeared in *L'Illustration* newspaper (11 July 1936). The article was entitled *Un dessinateur lapon (A Lappish Artist)*, and it included a photograph of the woodcut *Lassokaster (Lassoing)*. The text introduces the northern Norwegian John Savio, the Sámi artist of the exhibition, as an example of how it is possible to develop one's own skills without a professional teacher by studying the works of a higher civilization. At the end of the article there are recollections of how Per Savio, the artist's father, had been the right man on the voyage to Antarctica because he had risked his own life in order to save the lives of Borchgrevink and the whole expedition, according to Borchgrevink's book *Le Plus près du pôle sud 1900* (English edition: *First on the Antarctic Continent*, 1901). The article ends with a sentence reflecting the

racial thinking of the 1920s and 1930s: “He [Per Savio] drowned a few years after [the polar expedition], but gave his son John an artistic temperament which distinguishes him from the other representatives of his race” (Nerhus 1982, 81, copy of the original article.).

Savio’s exhibitions did not produce any breakthroughs, but the theology student Hans Nerhus was not Savio’s only supporter in Oslo in the 1930s. Torgeir Sigveland, the head of the Norwegian Immigration Service, organized a small exhibition of Savio’s works in his office and showed his works to diplomats. Anthony Joseph Drexel Biddle, an American diplomat, was in Oslo during the years 1935–1937. He and his wife became interested in Savio’s work, buying hundreds of his woodcuts and creating a Savio collection for themselves, as well as sending them as presents to their friends all over the world (Nerhus 1982, 81, 85; Gjelsvik 2012, 124).

It is not precisely known how often Savio visited his home region after the year 1930. In 1937, he lived in Kirkenes, but returned to Oslo in the autumn, living in an attic room of a hospice there. In the spring of 1938, the tuberculosis of his early years recurred and he was taken to Ullevål Hospital, where he died at the age of 36 on 13 April 1938 after one week of hospitalization (Lorck 2012; Gjelsvik 2012, 144).

ASSIMILATION POLICY AND THE RISE OF SÁMI DAIDDA

The work of the early Sámi artists occurred during a time of strained minority policies. In 1809, Finland became the Grand Duchy of Finland as part of Russia, and a border was drawn between Swedish and Finnish Lapland. In 1826, the Näättämö common area between Norway and Russia ceased to exist. These arrangements made border crossing more difficult for nomads and even prohibited it, but did not yet hinder reindeer husbandry or fishing in practice. The closing of the border between Russia and Norway in 1852 – because of which the Turi and Skum families had to move to Sweden with their reindeer – and between Russia and Sweden in 1889 cut off the long traditional migration routes, leading to mass migrations by the Sámi. The people had to choose in which country they would live henceforth. By the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the Sámi had lost their special rights, and the rights of the Lapp villages became unclear (Lehtola 1997, 36; Lehtola 2005, 309–311).

Social Darwinism, which sees natural selection and the struggle for existence as natural and desirable from the viewpoint of human evolution, emerged in the late 19th century.

According to this theory, a lower race gradually submits to the culture and way of life of a stronger race. This fate was widely predicted for the Sámi in the 19th and early 20th centuries (Isaksson and Jokisalo 2005, 203–206). Scandinavian race researchers took an active part in the development of physical anthropology and race research, as well as in the debate on the racial position of the Sámi at the beginning of the 20th century. For some researchers, the Sámi were the relics of an aboriginal race which had been pushed aside during human evolution; its living representatives were considered to be losers in the struggle for existence. Intermarriages between the northern race, to which the Norwegians, Swedes and Danes belonged, and the Sámi were thought to be detrimental to the races; mixed-race people were considered to be weaker than the rest of the population (Isaksson 2001, 145, 162, 169).

In Sweden, the exploitation of natural resources in the northern parts of the country was connected with racial views and the preservation of the Sámi. It was thought that reindeer could be herded in areas where there were no natural resources or arable land (Isaksson 2001, 170). The Swedish interpretation of social Darwinism led to “*Lapp skall vara lapp*” (“*Lapps should be Lapps*”), a policy of discrimination. According to this policy, the Reindeer Sámi, who had adapted to nature on the fells, were considered to be survivors. Those who became settlers were destroyed in the struggle, so the Reindeer Sámi were separated from society and there was an attempt to protect them from outside social influences. The Sámi had schools of their own (Lehtola 1997, 45; Isaksson and Jokisalo 2005, 207). In Sweden, assimilation was directed not towards the Sámi but towards the Finns, who were thought to be a menace to national security because Finland was under Russian rule (Solbakk 2006, 72). Turi and Skum had both given up reindeer nomadism; perhaps their decision to concentrate on visual art and writing can be seen as attempts to survive as Sámi people among the Swedes and to prove that the patronized ancient people possessed a living culture of their own which was worth developing.

Starting at the beginning of the 19th century, a strong, systematic policy of assimilation was pursued under cover of national security in Norway; its aim was to assimilate minorities into the majority population (Isaksson and Jokisalo 2005, 206–207). This Norwegianization policy was put into practice by means of policies on settlement, industry, language and education, and it was applied legally as well. The first two policies supported the establishment of Norwegian and Norwegianized settlers’ farms and fishing companies; the other two aimed at rooting out minority languages – i.e., Sámi and Finnish – in schools. In 1851, all schools received orders to use Norwegian as the

language of instruction; only Bible-based religious education could be given in Sámi and Finnish. The School Act of 1898 prohibited people from using the Sámi language in the Sámi area; the act was later repealed in 1959. Teachers were paid extra money if they made their pupils learn Norwegian. The right to purchase land was dependent on skill in the Norwegian language. The Government defended Norwegianization by appealing to the security of the country; there was a desire to have only loyal, reliable citizens living in northern Norway (Lehtola 1997, 44–45; Solbakk 2006, 69–71).

THE MISSION OF THE PIONEERS OF SÁMI DAIDDA

Johan Turi and Nils Nilsson Skum were members of the Reindeer Sámi people. John Savio spent his childhood in a village that was the meeting point for all the northern cultures, and later he wanted to know how reindeer herders lived. All three of these artists knew *duodji*, which played an important role in the everyday life of the Sámi before World War II. They were used to a holistic perception of nature. Both Turi and Skum earned their living from nature, and Savio loved to wander and hike in the wilderness. Skum and Savio were interested in drawing even in their childhood.

In the early lives of all three Sámi artists, there were events that influenced their decisions to become artists. Johan Turi gradually lost his reindeer and changed to a bohemian lifestyle (Lehtola 1997, 116), and Nils Nilsson Skum, who was a tall, jolly partygoer, became a reindeer farmer through marriage, but could no longer work as a reindeer herder (Manker 1971, 146). John Savio lost his parents and siblings in early childhood, suffered from poor health, and attended upper secondary school with his grandparents' help; after they died, he was able to work as an artist for a few years by means of his inheritance. All three early Sámi artists travelled both in their native country and abroad, which also influenced their decision to become artists.

Turi and Skum had no formal schooling, aside from acquiring the elementary reading skills that were necessary to read the Bible. In the Karesuando-Jukkasjärvi area, almost all adult Sámi mastered Finnish. The more active members of the community could speak two or three languages (Kuutma 2011, 498). Savio spoke many languages: Sámi, Finnish, Norwegian, English and German, and he also knew some French (Rasmussen 2005, 90; Bang 2002, 14; Gjelsvik 2012, 130). Turi's and Skum's unique personalities, in combination with their excellent observational skills, agreeable presence, thorough traditional knowledge, and distinctive narrative talents, engendered the collaborative projects that established them as Sámi artists (Kuutma 2011, 499).

John Savio received instruction in drawing as early as his school days, and he attended art school, where he drew and made woodcuts of nudes and became familiar with theories of perspective and colour. He familiarized himself with art history and earlier graphic art on his own initiative. He also went to art exhibitions in Oslo and took trips abroad. He depicted his subjects with the kind of self-confidence education and training give. His conscious aim was to become a professional artist, but he never applied for any grants. According to Hans Nerhus, who was Savio's friend and who bought a large number of his works, the artist felt that Sámi people had been passed over and did not regard themselves as anything special (Nerhus 1982, 71).

During the lifetime of the three pioneers of Sámi *daidda*, Sámi culture underwent a transition, and the old, traditional way of life based on natural economy changed. There were also more and more conflicts between the economies of the majority and minority populations. Turi hoped that better knowledge about the situation of the Sámi would lead to better prospects for the immediate and long-term survival of the Sámi way of life (Svonni 2011, 486). Skum recalled and recreated the past in his drawings. Both Turi and Skum wanted to pass their knowledge on to succeeding generations and to introduce Sámi life and culture to non-Sámi people. In their book illustrations, the content was the essential thing; the desire to create clear and understandable pictures influenced their way of composing. Savio wanted to become a professional artist and move among the artistic circles in Oslo, but he felt like an outsider. He sometimes emphasized his father's family, referring to himself as a Kven, but in Oslo, his mother's family and the Sámi background took precedence, due to his concern about the situation of the Sámi. Savio felt that it was his mission to promote Sámi life in his art (Lorck 2002, 26).

All three of the early Sámi artists worked with outside helpers who were of great importance for their decisions to become visual artists. Johan Turi met the Danish ethnographer and artist Emilie Demant, and Nils Nilsson Skum met the Lappologist Ernst Manker. Turi and Skum helped these ethnographers understand Sámi culture through their skills and knowledge. Turi and Demant had an ongoing dialogue while their book was being prepared. He was able to express himself to her, and she was able to transcribe that understanding in a way that brought his voice to all of Europe (Dana 2003, 211). Turi might have never written his book without Demant's help. She was an outsider, an inexperienced foreigner in the Sámi community, a single, middle-class woman who was an amateur in the eyes of professional Lappologists. Without Turi's collaboration, support and friendship, Demant might have never evolved into an an-

thropologist. Furthermore, she could never have earned the trust of the Sámi if it had not been for Turi (Kuutma, 2011, 491, 513).

Ernst Manker became famous as a Sámi researcher in Sweden, publishing many articles and books about Sámi culture and mythology. Skum was a very good informant for Manker. John Savio's drawing teacher was Isak Saba, the first Sámi Member of Parliament. He was a versatile person of culture who was acquainted with music, visual arts, cultural history and archaeology. Saba was also a representative of the Finnmark Labour Party in the Norwegian Storting from 1907 to 1912. In 1906, he wrote a poem called *Sámi soga lávlla* (*Song of the Sámi Family*), which became the national anthem of the Sámi (Nerhus 1982, 38–39, 43; Lehtola 1997, 49). Savio admired his teacher, who encouraged his pupil to familiarize himself with art and culture (Gjelsvik 2012, 25). It is possible that Saba, who was an advocate for the Sámi, hoped Savio would become a successful Sámi artist whose production would prove that even a minority population has a culture of its own and the right to exist. The first few decades of the 20th century were the most oppressive period of Norwegianization for the Sámi people in Norway; at that time Sámi people living on the coast were the ones who were the most strongly discriminated against (Jernsletten and Jåks 1981, 115).

The traditional Sámi way of life had begun to change. It was no longer easy to make a living from a natural economy; the work was hard and provided little income. Turi and Skum were aging men, and Savio had problems with his health. All three of these early Sámi artists tried to earn money through their art.

There were new customers in the North Calotte region. At the end of the 19th century, the Hurtigruten ships began to sail from Bergen to Kirkenes in Norway. The first section of the railway, from Gällivare to Luleå in Sweden, opened in 1888. By 1899, the line had extended to Kiruna, and from 1903 it ran all the way to Narvik. It was easy for tourists to travel along the Western coast of Norway as far as Finnmarken. The tourists on the ships bought Savio's prints. He used both oil and watercolours, but began to concentrate increasingly on woodcuts, the material for which was cheaper (Gjelsvik 2012, 56). Prints made from woodcuts could be sold more cheaply than paintings, because one block could be used to make 50–100 prints. It was also easy to travel to the northernmost parts of Sweden. In the 1920s and 1930s, hiking and skiing tourists discovered the area. Travellers were enchanted with the impressive landscapes and the exotic Sámi culture with reindeer and people wearing colourful clothing, and they naturally wanted to obtain real, authentic souvenirs. *Duodji* productions were quite expensive and pencil

drawings and watercolours were cheaper than handmade articles, which took a long time to make. In his later years, Turi developed his art technology and produced pictures in a way that was almost industrial by stamping. Skum achieved popularity as an artist thanks to his many exhibitions and the efforts of Greta Wenneberg of Kiruna, who introduced him to the open art market (Lehtola 1997, 50; Kihlberg 2007, 90–92).

THEMES, CONTENT AND STYLE OF THE PIONEERS OF SÁMI DAIDDA

According to the art historian Ernst Gombrich, there is no pure perception or innocent eye: everything we have learnt and all routines of perception influence both the artist's and the viewer's perceptions. Gombrich wrote: "The world can never quite look like a picture, but the picture can look like the world. It is not the 'innocent eye', however, that can achieve this match but only the inquiring mind that knows how to probe the ambiguities of vision" (Gombrich 1977, 331). Memory, emotions and experiences construct a subjective relationship with a landscape. In addition to the conception or experience of a landscape, the means of expression chosen by the artist also has an essential influence: one who uses a paintbrush depicts landscapes as masses, whereas one who is working with a pencil renders them with lines. The style chosen by the artist always makes him or her study a landscape from a certain point of view (Gombrich 1977, 56, 73–75).

The pioneers of Sámi *daidda* knew *duodji*, the old, traditional Sámi handicraft, which was – and still is – an important part of Sámi culture. *Duodji* items like knives, cases, wooden cups and so forth were made and meant to be used in the everyday work environment. Beauty of form, sometimes including detailed but harmonious and rhythmic decorations, are a fundamental part of the aesthetics of *duodji*. Turi, Skum and Savio experienced arctic nature in their everyday life. Elements of Sámi culture, animals, mountains and nature are an essential part of their art. Turi's drawings are full of rhythm and detail; sometimes the compositions are similar to those found on shaman's drums or the ornaments on knives. The empty spaces around figures bring to mind the snowy, endless mountain plains. Skum seems to climb up on top of the mountain, depicting landscapes from a bird's eye view. Savio's woodcuts are reminiscent of carved wooden cups and ornaments made from reindeer bone. Of course, all three artists went to church and were familiar with religious pictures in their childhood. Turi was a religious person, and he saw Orthodox icons when he visited the Kola Peninsula (Forsberg and Risberg 1968, 12). Savio's grandmother was a Laestadian.

Later, because of their drawing hobby, the early Sámi artists started to pay more attention to various images. As a boy, Skum met the two English artists and saw European collections of pictures when he was in Berlin in 1909 with a so-called Lapp caravan (Manker 1965, 57). Thus, Turi and Skum were not folk artists, but aimed to develop themselves as visual artists, and they developed their methods of expression to meet buyers' expectations as well. According to the conventional racial ideology of the early 1900s, the Sámi were considered intellectually inferior and incapable of rigorous abstract analysis (Kuutma 2011, 514).

Johan Turi and Nils Nilsson Skum are considered to be ethnographic illustrators or storytellers, and their style is generally defined as naïve or primitive. Turi's images have a strong narrative component, reflecting the same approach to knowledge and storytelling that is evident in his texts. His method of writing is based on stream of consciousness (Gaski 2011, 592). Turi was a good observer who took careful note of details, a fact that makes his narratives interesting as sources of information (Svonni 2011, 486). His first drawings were intended to illustrate texts, but in his later paintings he aimed at artistry and expressiveness. Emilie Demant was an artist, and through her Turi came into contact with Western art. Demant took Turi to see the collections of the National Gallery of Denmark when he visited Copenhagen on the occasion of the publication of *Muittalus samid birra* in 1911. Turi and Skum also visited Hjalmar Lundbohm in Kiruna (Gaski 2011, 539). Lundbohm supported Swedish modernist painters of the early 20th century – such as Karl Nordström, Prince Eugen, Christian Eriksson, Bruno Liljefors and Carl Wilhelmson – by buying their works. In addition, they stayed with him during their painting trips in the north. Lundbohm had a notable collection of their art (Andrén 1990, 14–15). The artist Edith von Knaffl-Granström helped Turi with his watercolour technique (Manker 1971, 131). According to Gaski, Turi's paintings are not ethnographic or naïvistic depictions but expressive; they can be stylistically placed somewhere between realism and expressionism (Gaski 2011, 593).

Turi's ink drawing *Sita vid vinterboplats* (Figure 1: *Siida on winter grounds*, p. 14) – one of the illustrations for *Muittalus samid birra* – has a very open composition with an empty white background. The perspective is simultaneous: some of the details, like the reindeer and the village, are depicted from a bird's eye view, whereas the people and the huts are shown at normal eye level. Using this simultaneous perspective, allows Turi to depict the life of the winter village as a unified whole in a way that is plain and clear. Turi's purpose in the ink drawing was to show what happens when the Sámi reach their winter grounds. As an art work, the picture is an example of the way Turi cre-

ates a compositional balance between rhythmic details and fine details. The lines and shapes are uniform and solid as in *duodji* decorations. The watercolour depicting the fell landscape of Lattilahti in Tornedäsk (Figure 2; Turi lived in Lattilahti from 1915 on, p. 17) was painted in 1933. Its composition was made following the rules of the Western panoramic landscape tradition: the point of view is from above. The entity forms a broad overall view depicted from a high point but not as high as a bird's eye view; the horizon is high, and the picture plane is divided into fore-, middle- and backgrounds. The foreground is painted in yellow and green and contains stamped human figures, reindeer and trees. The three mountains in the middle are painted in shades of blue and green, and the sky in the background is full of pale yellow, white and cold green clouds. Turi uses colour perspective to create an illusion of depth and three-dimensional space.

Nils Nilsson Skum's pictures are natural and unpretentious. A sense of perspective, a clear impression of depth and three-dimensionality are typical of his paintings (Hirvonen 1994, 115). Although Skum often drew from memory, his drawing is lively and expressive (Figure 3: *Herd of Reindeer Running*, 1934, p. 21). He aptly shows the essential nature of animals, especially reindeer, which he depicts in various landscapes (Kjellström 1981b, 109). His paintings are strictly representational, giving his perspectival – and often even panorama-like – landscapes a personal, somewhat tensional and even dramatic appearance (Svedsen 1992, 10). A representational and impressionistically momentary landscape also has a living dimension, a mental existence, which is the result of Skum's firm relation to the scenery he is depicting (Aamold 2013). All of Skum's drawings depicting reindeer herding were inspired by his spontaneous and unreflecting visual memories drawn from a long life as a reindeer herder. With acute attention to detail, he produces suggestive, naturalistic recollections from life in the reindeer forest (Kihlberg 2007, 92). In his great oil paintings he endows the mountain landscape with a monumental aura and harmonious colour schemes. In one picture he depicts a valley – as usual for him – from a bird's eye view. Manker wrote about the painting, which was done in 1936 and provided the cover illustration for *Same sita – Lappbyn*, as follows: "In his memories Skum stood at the foot of Singitsjåkkes and looked over Tjåktjavagge and along Näskevagge towards Unna Ruoska, which is in the background" (1965, 107). The monumental mountains and the large valley are located in Abisko National Park, not far from the mountain Kebnekaise.

An artist may have a relationship with the landscape he or she depicts either as an insider like a local inhabitant or an outsider like a tourist (Relph 1987, 49–50). Skum and Turi depict landscapes from the inside and portray Sáminess through collective groups

of people, but Savio depicts landscapes from an outsider's perspective and portrays Sáminess from an individual viewpoint, focussing on individual people. He portrays these people in a variety of situations: reindeer herding (e.g., catching a reindeer or driving away wolves that are harassing the reindeer), and playing cards or drinking coffee beside an open fire in their spare time. Savio's pictures of working reindeer herders are contemporary with Axel Revold's paintings depicting people at work. It seems that Savio wanted to show work as an equally important part of life among Sámi people and Norwegian workers. The Sámi people he portrays are strong and skilful at their work. In addition to their work, Savio shows the unique culture and human value of the Sámi (Rasmussen 2006, 36–39).

Unfortunately, Savio's artistic and social aims were overshadowed by subjects that were considered to be exotic. His woodcuts depicting Sámi people and scenery, as well as northern villages and seaports, have a clear composition, and as they are rendered in black and white, their atmosphere is effective (Lorck 2002, 25). As an expressionist painter, Savio depicts not only what people see but what they feel. His own loneliness can easily be seen in his woodcut *Okto (Alone)*, Figure 4, p. 26). The sky behind the reindeer is flaming, like the sky in Edward Munch's famous painting *Scream*.

Savio's non-Sámi subjects – for example, his views of the town of Tromsø – correspond completely to the typical style of expression and portrayal of Norwegian art in the 1920s and 1930s. His many trips in Norway and abroad inspired Savio, offering impulses for both style and content. He developed a woodcut technique characterized by a strong composition and controlled lines (Svedsen 1992, 10; Jernsletten and Jåks 1981, 113). His means of expression contains features of impressionistic momentariness and expressionistic emotions; sometimes a landscape quivers, as in paintings by Vincent van Gogh.

In the Norway of the 1920s, woodcut was not a very popular technique. In addition to Munch, only Nikolai Astrup (1880–1928) and Gustav Vigeland (1869–1943) made woodcuts. The productions by these latter two Norwegian artists provided the most important models for Savio (Nerhus 1982, 53; Lorck 2002, 19–21). Savio developed his woodcut technique and bought the book *The Woodcut of To-Day at Home and Abroad* published in London in 1927. In addition to the text, the book contains many illustrations giving examples of woodcuts. Through this book, Savio became familiar with xylography, a woodcut technique in which a block is cut across the grain of the wood, making very thin strokes possible. An abundance of details – as in copper engraving

– is typical of xylography. Savio's woodcut technique was clearly influenced by xylography (Moe 2002, 16).

Savio produced many pictures depicting villages and scenery on the Finnmark coast, the milieu of his childhood and youth. However, he did not portray the life of Sea Sámi people. His mother's family were originally reindeer nomads, and Savio lived in Karasjok and Tana to get better acquainted with the way of life of the Reindeer Sámi. Among people who are interested in culture – artists and those who have studied at universities – there has always been sympathy for reindeer nomads and the free nature of the fell regions. Tourists were also more interested in Sámi people who herded reindeer, considering them more exotic than the Sea Sámi or Kven people. Savio depended on his art for his income, which partly explains his choice of subjects. He depicted the picturesque and fascinating aspects of Reindeer Sámi culture (Jernsletten and Jåks 1981, 115–116). His woodcuts showing traditional Sámi life have been – and still are – used to illustrate books about the Sámi (Lehtola 1997, 117). Nevertheless, there is variety in Savio's pictures of the Sámi. They depict reindeer herders at work, fishermen, children sucking icicles, and people drinking, fighting and playing cards, as well as emotions like love, harmony with nature and jealousy. Portraying the life of Reindeer Sámi people could very well be a sign of Savio's search for his own identity or his desire to make the Sámi visible, since the artist was worried about their situation (Lorck 2002, 26).

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF EARLY SÁMI VISUAL ARTISTS

The tightening of the grip of the majority population and the narrowing of the possibilities to pursue their own traditional livelihoods made Sámi people understand the importance of cooperation. The organization of Sámi associations started at the local level to settle disputes concerning reindeer herding and farming. The first association was South Sámi Fatmomakke in Sweden, which was organized in 1904; similar local associations were organized in southern Norway in 1906–1908, and the first associations in Finnmark were organized in the 1910s. On 6 February 1917, there was a general Sámi meeting in Trondheim, Norway with participants from Norway and Sweden. A year later, a collective meeting was held in Östersund, Sweden that lasted for four days, drawing more than 200 participants. At the same time, the Sámi press began operating (Lehtola 1997, 46–49; Solbakk 2006, 76–77).

The early Sámi artists' works and the publicity they received were contemporary with the Nordic governments' active assimilation or isolation policy, but also with the Sámi

people's awakening and becoming active. The artistic work and the political activity supported each other: if Sámi issues had not been discussed, art would not have been discussed, either, and it was important for the Sámi for their art to become more prominent and widely known. Art increased Sámi people's feelings of solidarity, creating and strengthening their identity. It was also made clear that the Sámi were not a primitive relic but a people capable of producing culture and art who had the right to existence and a language of their own. Turi was a sensitive observer who tried to analyse and understand the situation of the Sámi, the reasons for conflicts with expanding settlers, and the territorial, social and cultural restrictions imposed on the Sámi – their historical predicaments in the tightening grip of the inevitable modernization in the border regions of Sweden, Norway, and Finland (Kuutma 2011, 516). Johan Turi and Nils Nilsson Skum depicted their own ways of life, but also showed differences in reindeer herding in different parts of the Sámi area. They documented their own culture. John Savio depicted what he saw and experienced from an individual viewpoint. He also bore witness to the modernization of Sáminess. At the core of the work of all three artists was Sámi culture, the representations of its essential nature and discussions concerning its significance.

Johan Turi attempted to bridge the gap between the two discursive spheres. Writing and the printed book belonged to the sphere of the colonisers. Up until the point when Turi took up the pen, writing and books had been used to objectify the Sámi. Turi's goal was to inject Sámi content into the colonial form to make the Sámi subjects (Storfjell 2011, 575). He was the first to portray Sámi people as actors, not only as anthropologically interesting objects. Nils Nilsson Skum proved that one could become a noteworthy artist even at a mature age and that a representative of a cultural minority could have significant influence on the cultural front. Despite the fact that John Savio died poor and suffered a bohemian destiny, he showed that a Sámi could become a professional artist and find respect for his art, and that his works could even become part of museum collections: in 1994, the Saviomuseet (Savio Museum) was established in Kirkenes.

The roots of early Sámi visual arts are in old Sámi culture as well as in modern Western visual arts. The tension and harmony between the two different traditions gave a characteristic and versatile nature to Turi's, Skum's and Savio's art. Traditions – the traditional way of life and stories – were the sources of inspiration for all three of these early Sámi artists (Solbakk 2006, 144). Their work provided an important model, especially for the Sámi visual artists of the late 1970s and early 1980s.

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Neoliberal governance, sustainable development and local communities in the Barents Region

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ABSTRACT

There are currently high hopes in the Barents Region for economic growth, higher employment and improved well-being, encouraged by developments in the energy industry, tourism and mining. The article discusses these prospects from the perspective of local communities in five locations in the region, which spans the northernmost counties of Finland, Norway, Sweden and Northwest Russia. The communities studied are remote, relatively small, multicultural, and dependent on natural resources. The salient dynamic illuminated in the research is how ideas of sustainability and neoliberal governance meet in community development. While the two governmentalities often conflict, they sometimes also complement one another, posing a paradox that raises concerns over the social aspect of sustainable development in particular. The article is based on international, multidisciplinary research drawing on interviews as well as

statistical and documentary analysis.

NEOLIBERALISM, LOCAL COMMUNITIES AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

The political rationality of our time is neoliberalism, an approach to governing that has spread in different variations across the globe in the last three decades (Harvey 2005). In simple terms, neoliberalism means the extension of market relations and competition throughout society, including the realm of social interactions. Neoliberalism is not an ideology, nor is it a policy; it is a governmentality for advanced liberal societies, a set of governance practices which, as a political rationality, also endeavours to impart sense to those practices (Larner 2000; Cotoi 2011). Neoliberalism is based on the idea of active use of freedom: the role of the neoliberal state is to secure proper conditions for markets to function instead of letting them operate freely as classical liberalism urges. The main elements of neoliberal governance are support for free movement of goods, people and capital; re-distribution of authority between governmental and non-governmental entities; pro-market regulation; and an emphasis on social innovations that will advance individual freedom and responsibility (Cerny et al. 2005).

Neoliberalism in practice has been woven into a broad range of international, national and regional plans, programmes and strategies in the form of de-regulation, privatisation and rationalisation. However, it is many times paradoxical, a combination of old and new practices of governance. The Nordic countries have adopted neoliberal policies (Kuhnle 2000; Abrahamson 2010; Dahl 2012), but the popular support for welfare-state thinking has led to the states adopting a policy of containing rather than cutting social benefits and related costs. As a result, the countries have entered a new era, that of the “post-welfare state”, characterised by Kuhnle (2000, 118) as providing “a less generous state welfare and with a different mix of welfare provisions”. In Russia, a new model of welfare is under construction, characterised firstly by a considerable reduction of the state’s part in social policy, secondly by an increased role for the regional and local authorities in the provision of social services, and thirdly by substantial changes in the social position of citizens in relation to the state. As a result, individual participation and responsibilities, as well as the role of non-governmental organisations, have grown in providing social services. The role of the state is still important in that it guarantees minimal social standards. (Konstantinova 2009, 51.)

The practical and local manifestations of neoliberal governance depend upon existing social relations and state practices. Yet, neoliberalism cannot be reduced to specific

local organisational practices or policies in municipalities. It works as “an extra-local regime” of rationalities and practices (Raco 2005) changing the nature of interactions between various levels of authorities (Agrawal 2005, 6–17). In practice, municipalities are local units of self-government with decision-making and financial powers of their own but are often dependent on governmental support and decision-making. Municipalities are *regulatory communities* in which social interactions take place locally. Communities are localities comprising a combination of people, resources and practices within or beyond the limits of a municipality. *Governmentalisation of communities* means, as Schofield (2002, 675) suggests, that the discourse of community is presented as one explicit solution to some of the many problems of government. Its insertion into government relations with local people in the form of a managerial technology called “community development” enables the otherwise separate institutional worlds of local and national government to be aligned with the particular interests and needs of specific localities. Community as a new technology of government is used to “shape, normalise and instrumentalise the conduct, thought, decisions and aspirations of others in order to achieve the objectives [authorities of various sorts] consider desirable” (Miller and Rose 1990, 8). The neoliberal “social” is governed by invoking “community as a means to collectivise and organise subjects of government” to facilitate governance itself (Summerville, Adkins, and Kendall 2008, 696–711).

Communities have been a central theme in discussions of sustainable development. In the Rio +20 Earth Summit in 2012, commitment to sustainable development locally was reaffirmed in the final document:

Sustainable development requires the meaningful involvement and active participation of regional, national and subnational legislatures and judiciaries, and all major groups (women, children and youth, indigenous peoples), non-governmental organizations, local authorities, workers and trade unions, business and industry, the scientific and technological community, and farmers, as well as other stakeholders, including **local communities**, volunteer groups and foundations, migrants and families as well as older persons and persons with disabilities. (Report of the UN conference on sustainable development 2012, 8; emphasis added)

In addition, the final document calls for “[communities’] active participation, as appropriate, in processes that contribute to decision-making, planning and implementation of policies and programs for sustainable development at all levels” (Report of the UN

conference on sustainable development 2012, 8).

National strategies for sustainable development in the Barents Region are also committed to sustainable development at the local level. The Norwegian strategy for sustainable development (2008, 87) stresses the responsibility of local communities for supporting sustainable development: “The counties and municipalities exercise authority, provide services and, in their capacity as democratically elected bodies, are responsible for community development. They are therefore important partners in the work on environment and sustainable development.” In corresponding Finnish strategy (2006, 18–19), the stated aim is “to attain functionally diverse and structurally sound communities and a good living environment”. The strategy (2006, 95) also refers to “social inclusion and the opportunities to develop into an active citizen who bears responsibility will be promoted by supporting empowerment”. In the Swedish strategy (Strategic challenges 2005, 22), “sustainable communities” are understood as “[communities that] promote and develop decent living conditions for everyone” in terms of physical planning, regional development and infrastructure. Moreover, sustainable communities are “to encourage participation and co-determination in a society where all have equal rights, opportunities and obligations” (Strategic challenges 2005, 22).

Russian legislation mentions the term “sustainable development” quite often, but its interpretation and relation to the activities of local communities can be found only in the documents dedicated to the development of rural areas. The term “community” in the Western European sense is not used, but some of its aspects are reflected in the notions of “local initiatives”, “local self-governance”, and “activation of civil participation”. The Ecological Doctrine of the Russian Federation (2002) states that “priority should be given to development serving the needs of the local population”; it also refers to “public participation in development and enforcement of the state ecological policy, including the public environmental control”; it aims “to provide support for public participation in discussion and making of decisions that affect their rights and freedoms, their interests, health, life and environment”; and “to provide Russian citizens with the level of information and education that allows active participation in the sustainable development process and provides for environmental safety”. In addition, the document “The Basic Principles of State Environmental Development Policy for the Period through to 2030” (approved 30 April 2012) refers to the increasing role of local communities in terms such as “participation of citizens in the decision-making process as it concerns their rights to a healthy environment” and “the participation of citizens and NGOs in solving environmental and ecological security issues considering

their viewpoints on the decisions about planning and realizing economic and other activities which can cause a negative impact on the environment”. On 20 February 2013, the document “Development Strategy of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation and National Security for the period up to 2020” was approved by President V. Putin. The new strategy defines “the basic mechanisms, ways and means to achieve the strategic goals and priorities for the sustainable development of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation and national security”. The strategy mentions sustainable development in relation to social, economic and ecological aspects of development in the Russian Arctic, and claims that in realising the strategy “consolidation of the resources and efforts of all stakeholders of the state policy of the Russian Federation in the Arctic (the federal bodies of state power, bodies of state power of subjects of the Russian Federation, whose territory includes all or part of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation, local authorities and organizations)” will be effected. The emphasis in the strategy is not on the local level, but rather on multilevel consolidation of all stakeholders to address key issues of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation and the national security in the Arctic.

Sustainable development has been one of the main aims of Barents regional cooperation, which started in the early 1990s across the northern parts of Sweden, Norway, Finland and Northwest Russia. The relationship between sustainable development and neoliberal governance is a problematic one. According to Mike Raco (2005, 329), “sustainable development is a chameleon-like discourse which has been (re)interpreted and deployed by a range of interests to legitimate and justify a range of often contradictory and divergent agendas”. In the view of some, sustainable development is a good example of neoliberal governance, while others maintain that the democratic and participatory elements in sustainable development thinking have the emancipatory potential to allow new alternative policy agendas to develop. Within sustainable development discourses, “a sustainable community” is able to cope with various economic, social and environmental changes in less drastic and more equitable ways while maintaining social cohesion (Raco 2005, 331). However, as Raco (2005, 330) also points out, “the greater attention given to social justice and inclusion which characterized the original foundations of the sustainability movement sit uneasily with neoliberal, trickle-down economics in which development capacities are to be maximised with scant regard for redistribution or social justice” (Raco 2005, 331).

There is no single accepted definition of sustainable communities (Roseland 2005; Marsden, Mazmanian and Kraft 2010). Among their many characteristics, such communities minimise consumption of essential natural resources, diversify economic

opportunities, increase human, social and cultural resources and maintain social cohesion. The literature on sustainable communities reveals different approaches to assessing community sustainability: analysing the different types of capital needed for community development (Roseland 2005); identifying coping strategies (Coping strategies in the North 1998; The Reflexive North 2001); studying community well-being (Aarsaether, Riabova and Barenholdt 2004); and, more recently, resilience leading toward sustainable development (Magis 2010). Resilience has become a popular catchword recently in studying the social dimension of sustainable development. According to the recent interim report on Arctic resilience (2013, 80), “social relations and their underlying social networks are (...) endowments that define the sensitivity of a household, community, and society to risk and vulnerability”.

A number of indicators have been created to assess sustainable community development, but measuring those forms of capital, resources and aspects of well-being or resilience is in itself an instance of neoliberal governance in practice. The extension of market relations makes both communities and their inhabitants’ lives “economical” and calculable, characterised by competition over scarce resources, with assumptions of rational and responsible behaviour. The rationality behind these calculative and evaluative measures is to make life in general less uncertain and more predictable. The resilience approach as a neoliberal governance strategy expects that “communities can and should self-organize to deal with uncertainty, that uncertainty is a given, not something with a political dimension, and the role of government is limited to enabling, shaping and supporting but specifically not to direct or to fund those processes” (Welsh 2012, 6).

REMOTE, RELATIVELY SMALL, AND NATURAL-RESOURCE-DEPENDENT NORTHERN COMMUNITIES

In the Barents Region, “most people live in relatively big urban places, but most places where people live are small” (Aarsaether, Riabova and Barenholdt 2004, 139). The population of the Barents Region is some 5.2 million people (2010), most of whom live in Russia. Communities in the region share a number of characteristics, development issues and challenges. The areas discussed in this article have been selected as representing major economic activities: tourism, the energy industry and mining. They are remote and relatively small, but possess resources that have economic significance or potential. These communities have a mix of population groups, with different languages and traditions, and all have suffered out-migration in recent times, or are still

affected by it today.

Sør-Varanger Kommune is a frontier in terms of nature and culture; it is an area where Norwegians, Russians, Finns and Sámi meet. It has a population of approximately 10 000 people, mostly Norwegians, but many can still claim to be of Sámi and/or Finnish/Kven descent. In recent years, there has been considerable immigration to the municipality from Russia. Most of the population, about 7000, live in the administrative centre of the municipality, the town of Kirkenes. Characterised by boom-and-bust economies throughout its history, Sør-Varanger's economic development has rested on natural resources such as iron ore, fishing, and agriculture; more recently, it has come to rely on tourism (Sør Varanger Historielag 2005). The present vision of Norwegian politicians is one of the High North as a future petroleum province and transport corridor of global importance in which Kirkenes will serve as a hub for the processing and transport of oil and gas or the shipment of goods from Europe to Asia.

Pajala, a municipality with 6 289 inhabitants in the county of Norrbotten, Northern Sweden, comprises a central town and several villages. The loss of employment in forestry since 1950 has led to a 60-per-cent decline in the population (ÅF Infraplan 2011). One of the problems caused by depopulation is a deficit of women and difficulties in keeping the population growth sustainable. The main economic activities have historically been Sámi reindeer herding, agriculture, iron works and forestry (Elenius 2008). Currently, the main sources of employment are public services, agriculture, forestry, manufacturing and natural resource extraction. The region has a long history of mining on both sides of the Swedish-Finnish border, in the communities of Gällivare, Kiruna and Kolari. Recently, an international mining company, Northland Resources, has begun work on developing two mines, one in Kaunisvaara (Sweden) and the other in Hannukainen (Finland). The rise of the mining industry is expected to improve the demographic situation in the community as mine workers move to the region. The municipal vision is to have 10 000 inhabitants again by 2020 (Pajala Municipality 2012).

Inari is a community in northern Finland with 6 700 inhabitants, who comprise three groups, each speaking a different Sámi language, and Finns. The village of Inari is the centre of Sámi administration and education in Finland: the Finnish Sámi Parliament, the Sámi museum Siida and the Sámi Education Institute are all located there. The region is also part of the Sámi Homeland in Finland, but the Sámi are a minority in the region. The reliance of the local economy on forestry has declined, and nowadays the community relies heavily on the tourism industry for income and employment. The

Lemmenjoki National Park (established in 1956) and a local gold-panning tradition dating back to the 1940s are important resources for the tourism industry, as are nature and the local cultures (Lehtola 1999; Partanen 1999).

The study includes two research sites in Russia, **Ust-Tsyla**, in the Komi Republic, and Teriberka, in the Murmansk region. Ust-Tsyla has 12 656 inhabitants (2012). Its capital, together with many villages, is located on the Pechora River. It is one of the oldest settlements in the Russian European North and is known as one of the main centres of a group known as “the old-believers”, who escaped persecution by the Russian Orthodox Church in the 17th and 18th centuries and developed a culture and traditions of their own that were distinct from those of the neighbouring Nenets and Komi-Izhma populations (Dronova and Averyanov 2007). The basic economic activities in Ust-Tsyla have been farming, as well as some industries such as dairy and leather production and logging, but in the 1990s the factories underwent multiple reforms and reorganisations. These economic activities are still important, although there are hopes to develop tourism on the basis of the local cultural features.

Teriberka is a village of 974 people on the Barents Sea coast. It is one of the oldest and historically one of the richest fishing villages on the Kola Peninsula. It has been inhabited for about 500 years by Russian (among them Pomor), Sámi, Norwegian and Finnish peoples. In the Soviet period, specifically the 1950s, Teriberka's development peaked and its population was at its highest, 12 000 inhabitants. Since the early 1990s, the village has experienced a deep socio-economic crisis caused by the Russian socio-economic transformation and the introduction of strong international regulation on fish resources (Aarsaether, Riabova and Barenholdt 2004). Its population has declined by almost half since 2000. The village economy is based on fisheries, fish processing and agriculture. In recent years, the plans for developing the Shtokman gas field dominated the discussion about Teriberka and its future. Today, after the recent decision to postpone the development of Shtokman, the community is struggling with economic transformation and a recession in coastal fisheries, and trying to find new solutions to community development.

Some of the communities chosen have their own local strategies for sustainable development. In **Pajala**, for example, a local project has been set up to engage the community through participation in local development activities and to promote social development across the board. Some examples of activities include events with people



Map 1: The research sites

moving back to the community; activities for local youths; events with students at Luleå University of Technology; an activity week for the long-term unemployed, held jointly with education providers and businesses; and organising visits to local businesses with immigrants participating in a course in “Swedish for immigrants” (SFI). The project seeks to promote social development in Pajala’s many villages, for example by increasing awareness about possibilities for cooperation and promoting networking, by enabling the residents in all villages to feel that they participate and are able to influence local development and by increasing awareness about the importance of social capital in local development. (Pajala Municipality 2011 and personal interviews)

Sør-Varanger has a general long-term development plan for the years 2004–2016. The plan refers to sustainability as one of the key elements of local development, the stated goal being “community development that ensures life quality and resources not only today but also for future generations” (Sør-Varanger kommune: Kommuneplan 2004–2016). The municipality has signed the *Fredrikstad Declaration* of 1998, joining the other signatories, who represent “local authorities, regional authorities and organisa-

tions who wish to ensure that local communities in Norway contribute to sustainable development, and who therefore endorse this declaration". The declaration was an answer to "the call by the UN Earth Summit held in Rio in 1992 for local authorities to mobilise residents, organisations and businesses through local action plans for sustainable development (Local Agenda 21)". The idea was to empower the local level and increase its abilities and responsibilities in ensuring sustainable development. The municipal plan states that Local Agenda 21 "shall be a natural and integrated part of the municipal planning on all levels" and that its principles "shall contribute to the mobilization of the residents and encourage responsibility" (Sør-Varanger kommune: Kommuneplan 2004-2016).

One goal that the Municipality of **Inari** (2012) has set for itself is "to maintain well-being and to foster sustainable development". It has no plan or strategy that directly addresses sustainable development, but its general goals include providing good services, achieving a balanced economy and an employment situation that is better than the average for Lapland and making the municipality a good working environment and an entrepreneurship friendly community. Inari's strategy where welfare policy and management are concerned is to promote the growth of mental and economic well-being in the municipality through its services, co-operative networks and work as a partner improving the conditions for the municipality's inhabitants, entrepreneurs and other economic agents. The development of infrastructure has received particular consideration as a responsibility of the municipality. (Inarin kunta 2013, 5.)

In **Teriberka**, perceptions of sustainable development vary considerably (Riabova and Korchak 2012). The representatives of the regional authorities put a clear emphasis on neo-liberal ideas that urge economic liberalisation, deregulation, distribution of responsibilities between levels of power, and inter-sectoral collaboration. The representatives of the local administration associate sustainable development with long-term planning, stable financing, the availability of working places in the municipality and strong, effective leadership. Questions of social justice, cultural continuity and preservation of the Pomor way of life based on coastal fishing, ecological concerns, and problems of preserving fish stocks for future generations are recurring issues in the community debates. Although these themes are on the local agenda, neither the people nor even the representatives of regional and local authorities associate them with the "classical" concept of sustainability. This is a typical situation for many Russian municipalities, where the concept of sustainable development is either hardly known or is misinterpreted as meaning stable economic growth. Hopes in Teriberka are now

focused on the development of the fishing industry and tourism, as the Shtokman plan has been postponed.

The municipality of **Ust-Tsylma** follows the logic of the federal and regional documents on socio-economic development. Its main goal is “growth of life quality of the local population and development of a spiritually, physically and intellectually rich local community which preserves its own authentic culture and is integrated into the social and economic domain of the Komi Republic and Russia” (Plan of socio-economic development of the municipality of Ust-Tsylma for the period to 2020). The concept of sustainable development is not mentioned in the main municipal documents, which shows that the idea of sustainability has not been fully understood, assessed and accepted by the local authorities as one of the guiding principles of the strategy for municipal development, although some aspects of sustainability are included in the aims and tasks to that end. However, among the principal tasks faced by the local authorities the documents cite a struggle with the lack of financial, human, and infrastructural resources, making it seem that those tasks involve survival rather than sustainable development.

RESEARCH COLLABORATION IN THE REGION

The present study was carried out by five research teams in the Barents Region. The partners in the project are the Luleå University of Technology (Sweden), the Barents Institute at the University of Tromsø (Norway), the Luzin Institute of Economic Studies, affiliated with the Kola Science Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Russia), Syktyvkar State University (Russia), and the Arctic Centre at the University of Lapland (Finland). The present project, *Neoliberal governance and sustainable development in the Barents Region from local communities' perspective* (NEO-BEAR project 2012-), is a collaborative effort that grew from the discussions in the Barents International Political Economy (BIPE) researcher network project (2010–2012 Nordforsk; Tennberg 2012). In the initial stage of NEO-BEAR, researchers analysed local and regional policy documents and plans, as well as information on national and international development policies relevant to the study region, to identify the key discourses and practices of sustainable development. The research also involved participation in five selected communities in the Barents Region, with this including the study of local discourses and practices of sustainable development. The project also organised a series of meetings in the communities in which local stakeholders and researchers could exchange ideas on sustainable development. In the future, more interviews and participatory observation will be conducted at the selected research sites to deepen the understanding of sustainability issues in local communities. The overarching aim of NEO-BEAR is to under-

stand the relationship between neoliberal governance and sustainable development at the community level across the Barents Region. The project also seeks to expand the understanding of sustainability and emphasise local understandings of sustainable development. This article is a report from the first phase of research collaboration, which has comprised the collection of statistical data, analysis of documents and a first round of interactions with local stakeholders.

The project researchers have worked in the focal communities before. The **Inari** region has been a research site for the Arctic Centre for many years, recently for research on climate change adaptation (MISTRA Arctic Futures 2011–2013, Community adaptation and vulnerability in Arctic regions CAVIAR 2007–2009, and ECOREIN 2008–2010). Eleven interviews were conducted for the present study. These comprised semi-structured interviews either in the area of the municipality (the villages of Ivalo, Inari and Saariselkä) or in Rovaniemi, where companies have their regional offices chains and many other regional actors were located as well. One person in Inari was interviewed on the telephone. A stakeholders' meeting was arranged on 24 October 2012 in Ivalo.

As local and national political interests have arguably positioned **Kirkenes** as the centre of the Barents Region, it has become one of the most intensively researched and studied towns in the region. Studies of sustainability and quality of life were begun there by Espiritu as early as in 2007, with a series of open-ended interviews of local business and political actors carried out in 2008 and 2009 in anticipation of the re-opening of the Sydvaranger mine. The Kolarctic-funded project entitled *Public-Private Partnership in Barents Tourism* (BART) also looked at questions of economic sustainability in comparative perspective among the Barents countries. For the *Barents International Political Economy* (BIPE) project, we looked at Kirkenes within the context of globalisation and the global economy, examining the discourses that dominated in the then-current speculation about the new mining boom in Sør-Varanger (which has yet to happen) and gas extraction in the Shtokman field in the Barents Sea (now suspended for the foreseeable future). With these as a backdrop and foundation for the project, we have thus far directed questions regarding sustainable development to three stakeholders in the mining industry, with more interviews planned in the coming months. These studies of the Sør-Varanger region, centred on Kirkenes, have the potential to be a baseline indicating how this part of the Barents is (or is not) attaining community, social, and economic sustainability.

In **Pajala** a modest number of interviews (5) were conducted with local tourism industry actors in December 2012. The interviews focused on challenges for and obstacles to the tourism industry and naturally led to discussion of the new mine and the impacts of mining on the local community. A small stakeholder workshop was also organised. Previous studies (e.g. Auty, 1998; Eggert, 2001) have emphasised the need for strategies to achieve economic diversification, which can reduce vulnerability to individual markets and enhance the long-term sustainability of the community, even after mining ends.

Teriberka has been studied since the mid-1990s, first in the project *Innovation and adaptability of the Murmansk region fishery kolkhozes*, carried out by J. O. Bærenholdt of the Roskilde University Department of Geography and International Development Studies (Bærenholdt 1994) and later, in the period 1996–2002, as part of the work of several international and interdisciplinary research projects, these being *UNESCO MOST CCPP (Management of Social Transformations, Circumpolar Coping Processes Project)* (1996–2002), *Coping Under Stress In Fisheries Community: comparative study on Iceland, Russia and the Faeroe Islands*, *UNESCO MOST CCPP subproject no.A3220* (1999–2000) and *Local coping processes and regional development - Social capital and economic co-operation in Russian and Norwegian coastal communities* (1999–2001). The current study has two aims: on the one hand, it attempts to contribute to a better understanding of the problems and prospects of sustainable development in Teriberka; on the other, it is designed as a longitudinal study that can grasp changes and continuity in socio-economic life in the village over a period of almost 20 years and maintain a tradition of socio-economic research there whose results could benefit the community. Data for the study have been obtained from existing literature, statistics and media sources, as well as through semi-structured interviews conducted during fieldwork in Teriberka and Murmansk on 16–18 December 2012. A total of 12 in-depth interviews were conducted with representatives of the regional government and local authorities, managers and workers at the private fish processing factory “SeaFoodRus”, the head of the House of Culture, members of the Pomor People’s Choir, a handicraft teacher and librarian at Pomor Library, the leader of a Sámi “obshina” (sida), a kolkhoz worker, “grey” tourist guides, a school pupil and others.

The municipality of **Ust-Tsylma** has been an object of research quite often and for a number of reasons, such as the remoteness and pristine nature of the area, one very rich in natural resources, the uniqueness and closeness of the region’s culture, and the self-construction of ethnicity in the community. The current research adds a new dimen-

sion to the knowledge about the municipality by focusing on the ideas of sustainability and neoliberalism implemented in the socio-economic practices of a local community. The study of Ust-Tsylma was based on an analysis of the normative base of the municipality and its main strategic documents, as well as fieldwork including interviews with the individual representatives of various groups in the local community. Plans were then made for more than ten additional interviews and a workshop. These took place on December 21–23 December 2012, but the final number of participants fell to nine, as a severe snowstorm prevented people from remote villages reaching the municipal centre. Among those interviewed by the research team were representatives of the local authorities, the business community and employees.

The following three sections present the findings of the first phase of the NEO-BEAR project. The first describes the recent neoliberal governance practices that affect the local communities of interest, that is, the changes influencing tourism, mining and industrial development in general; the second analyses the increasing economic responsibilities of municipalities; and the third examines the social consequences of neoliberal governance in practice at the local level.

NEOLIBERALISM IN PRACTICE

Neoliberal practices of governance influence economic activities locally in many ways across the Barents Region. The basic idea of neoliberalism is to reduce direct governmental intervention in economic affairs while maintaining governmental support for the economy through legal, administrative and social measures. The experiences of this in different locations in the Barents Region are mixed.

In **Finland**, in the case of Inari, neoliberal strategies in the tourism industry have changed the nature of the sector in many respects. In the past, the role of the state in supporting tourism was prominent. Before the 1990s, a state-owned tourism company, *Matkailuliitto ry* (1887), promoted tourism and developed infrastructure for tourism in Finnish Lapland under the name *Matkailuyhdistys*. Outcomes of this work include Hotel Ivalo in Ivalo and Tradition Hotel Kultahovi in Inari. The depression during the 1990s led to economic difficulties in *Matkailuliitto* and to privatisation of its hotels and ultimately, in 2001, to bankruptcy. In addition, the National Board of Forestry (now *Metsähallitus*) had some 30 cabins for tourists to use in hiking in Lapland. These were sold off and the trademark “Villi Pohjola” was eventually sold to a private company, Lomarengas, in 2012 (Metsähallitus 2012). The role of the state in marketing tourism

has also diminished. Marketing efforts have become fragmented due to rationalisation measures, with the activities of the state-run *Finnish Tourism Board* (MEK) transferred to *Finpro*, a project export agency, in the late 2000s. The interviewees considered this a failure. The loss of the Tourist Board's marketing compelled individual tourism entrepreneurs to build their own marketing strategies and networks, which took resources away from developing other aspects of their businesses.

One of the recent local concerns, and a sign of neoliberalism in practice, is the accessibility of Inari by air. Finnair is one of the main carriers of air passengers to the region and the long distances involved mean that bus and train transportation are not really viable alternatives for tourists coming to the area from Central Europe and Asia. According to the interviewees, Finnair, as a state-owned company, does not appear to be as flexible as it was earlier in providing flights to remote northern locations. According to the local entrepreneurs, Finnair and its actions determine the prices for the services and products of local tourism enterprises. Moreover, the constantly changing schedules make the service unreliable and tourists cannot plan their travel in detail. This leads to tourism entrepreneurs in Inari doubting their own capability and skills to work successfully in the tourism industry.

In **Norway**, the mining renaissance has led to new legislation and to new governmental strategies where sustainable development is concerned. The Minerals Act (2009) represented a considerable simplification of the law, reducing the number of relevant legal documents on mining from five to one and making the legislation less complicated, less fragmented and more transparent. In 2013 another document of importance for the national mining industry, the government's Mineral Strategy was presented (Norwegian Ministry of Trade and Industry 2013). From the point of view of the Norwegian government, promoting mining is good regional policy. It is a way of supporting the Norwegian periphery, which in some places is threatened by depopulation and brain drain. It cannot be emphasised enough that the major reason that the Sydvaranger mine re-opened after its 13-year closure was the Chinese demand for iron ore. This put Sør-Varanger, on the northern frontier of the country, at the centre of the world economy that has led to the rise of China's enormous economy and to the drive of all mineral-rich countries globally to either re-open or establish mines.

Mining in Norway today is in many ways different from what it was before. Here we can speak about a "neoliberal" development, defined by the changing role of the state. Whereas the state previously had an important role in the sector, and in many cases

owned the mines, the industry today is very much privatised and much more international. The role that the Norwegian state plays cannot be underestimated, however. It was the Ministry of Industry that commissioned a 100 million NOK study to map the minerals in northern Norway, with the report and detailed map soon to be available. The intention of the state is clear: if it knows what minerals lie beneath the land, then it can grant licences to private companies to exploit those resources. In fact, exploration is underway in some cases – even before the official maps have been released – with some private prospectors acting on their own analyses.

A survey done by the newspaper *Finnmarken* in 2012 showed that 60 per cent of the population of Sør-Varanger supported an increase in the production of iron-ore concentrate. In Kirkenes, the reaction to the re-opening of the mine has remained mixed. Overall it is welcomed because of the jobs that it has brought to the municipality, with many of the workers who used to work at Sydvaranger enthusiastically going back to their old jobs if they could. Another reason for this positive response is probably that people in Sør-Varanger were familiar with mining; it was nothing new to them. They had also had good experiences of mining and expected that the new era of mining would bring many of the benefits that the old one had. Yet, by 2010 some questions concerning mining and local sustainable development had already been raised in the community. These mostly relate to issues of economic and ecological sustainability that have been debated in the municipality in the last three years. Very few people oppose mining but many would like to see more positive effects locally. Contrary to what many believed initially, the mining did not have an immediate positive effect on the municipal economy. The sale of the mine itself has also been discussed. The local view was, “We are talking about a resource worth hundreds of billions of krone that in practice was sold for 50 million”. The former mayor admitted that the price was “perhaps was too low, but noted that in 2006 [selling the mine] this seemed like the right thing to do” (TV2 2010).

In Sweden, the liberalisation of the Swedish Minerals Act (SFS 1991:45) is an example of neoliberal policy formation. The new act opened up Sweden to exploration and mining by foreign companies and, in addition, abolished taxes and royalties on mining (except the normal corporate tax), thus removing regulatory barriers to the entry of foreign capital. The state's participation in mining enterprises was also discontinued (Mining Journal 2005; Plachy 1994), which enhanced the role of the private sector in accordance with neoliberal principles. This liberalisation of the policy on natural resources can be interpreted as an example of neoliberalism's tendency to release assets

that were previously held by the state onto the market, where capital can invest in, upgrade and speculate in them (Holden et al. 2011). The liberalisation of the Minerals Act contributed to an important increase in exploration for minerals in Sweden through an influx of foreign capital. One and a half decades later, it also enabled Northland (a foreign company) to acquire and explore the properties that would ultimately become the Kaunisvaara Iron Ore Project. In this view, the liberalised Minerals Act has contributed significantly to development.

A global commodity price boom that began in 2004 sparked renewed interest in local mineral deposits and brought with it the promise of industrial expansion and major employment opportunities in Pajala. The mining company *Northland Resources* is developing an iron ore mine in the village of *Kaunisvaara* (Sweden) and planning an additional mine in *Hannukainen* in Kolari (Finland), Pajala's neighbour. The mining plans have generally received a very positive response in Pajala according to our interviews, which is further supported by coverage in regional news media. Some recent financial problems experienced by the mining company may, however, have impacted the local support. A shortage of liquidity forced the company's Swedish subsidiaries to file for reorganisation in February 2013, which created uncertainty about the future of the project until late May, when a new long-term financing plan was agreed upon (see Northland Resources 2013). Our interviews, which were conducted in late 2012 and thus prior to these recent problems, suggested that a sense of resignation regarding Pajala's future had prevailed throughout most of the population; this has now essentially been abandoned in favour of a more optimistic view about the future, which in itself has to be considered a significant contribution to social development. Much of this optimism can be attributed to the rise of the mining industry. The familiarity with mining in the area and the anticipated employment opportunities have led to a very high degree of acceptance for the project locally, which is reflected throughout most of the public discourse about the project. Another observation, which is supported by interviews with local people, is that the mining company has maintained a close dialogue and involvement with the community, which has contributed to keeping stakeholders informed throughout each stage of the project.

Russia has seen significant changes over the past decade, in the country at large as well as in small coastal municipalities in the Barents. These changes have been caused by general socio-economic and political transformations, some aspects of which were the extension of market relations in society, devolution of a growing number of tasks and responsibilities to the regional and municipal levels (processes associated with neo-

liberalism), and constantly changing policies and situations in the fishery sector. The interviews in **Teriberka** suggested that representatives of regional and local authorities, as well as ordinary people in the village, increasingly associate the prospects for development in Teriberka with the heightened role of the regional government in solving the socio-economic problems of the village. This development does not resonate very closely with the neo-liberal ideas expressed in the interviews by the regional officials, who stated that sustainable development of Teriberka means, first of all, as little intervention as possible in the village economy, the distribution of responsibilities between levels of government, as well as inter-agency and inter-sectoral collaboration in order to ensure the inflow of people to the village. People and the village authorities are very much satisfied with these new developments, which involve more attention and actions from the regional level, obviously feeling that they are better governed than before and better supported by the regional authorities. The neoliberal model of governmentality is hardly welcomed by the people of the village. This is understandable, considering the institutional obstacles created, mainly at the federal level: the most serious is the federal tax policy that transfers a considerable part of a region's wealth to the federal level and often creates an artificial dependence of the municipalities on subsidies from the federal and regional levels. Such a situation prevents the village authorities and local people in Teriberka becoming more responsible for the community's socio-economic development and for their personal well-being.

In **Ust-Tsylma**, neoliberalist trends can be found in a growing local small entrepreneurship, which for the local community is becoming a way to survive, given that the municipal trade market almost died in the 1990s, when a market economy was introduced in the country. The small business sector in the area is mostly a developing one. On 1 January 2012, there were 548 individual entrepreneurs, 45 micro enterprises and 17 small enterprises. The scope of small entrepreneurship covers in practice all the main branches of the local economy: agriculture, logging and timber production, the wood industry, the food industry, building, transport, trade and services. It should be pointed out that small enterprises and individual entrepreneurs are entirely responsible for distribution of their products and services to the population in the region. However, there is an imbalance territorially and among the branches of the economy: free enterprise is strongest in the area of trade, and an insufficient level of entrepreneurship is observed in tourism, real estate, production of souvenirs, and the medical and educational sectors. Locally, entrepreneurship is the biggest resource for the fullest realisation of the social and economic potential of the municipality, as it provides employment, job creation and stable income in the municipal budget. (The report of the administration of

the municipality of Ust-Tsylma 2012)

INCREASING MUNICIPAL RESPONSIBILITIES

Municipalities across the region have many and increasing responsibilities for local development. In **Inari**, tourism has been an important economic activity locally since the 1950s. Recently, it has played a major role as a source of income: 70 per cent of the municipality's tax revenues come from tourism directly or indirectly. In the 1990s, the National Board of Forestry (now Metsähallitus) started to privatise its activities, but it still has an important role in providing infrastructure, trails and other services for recreational activities in the nearby national parks. The municipality also plays an important part in city planning by advancing the development of infrastructure, services and products that support tourism. The division of responsibilities is not always clear between Metsähallitus and the municipality, and the question of who maintains the infrastructure remains a contested one as it needs long-term funding. One of the municipal responsibilities in Inari is to secure housing for temporary workers in local tourism businesses, but there are no rooms to rent to seasonal workers in hotels and other tourism facilities. The municipality builds very few rental units, which means that all those that are under construction have already been sold or rented. In addition, there is limited public transportation available to support the needs of the workforce. This is a problem, as the community structure is fragmented. Inari can be described as a group of villages, each with its own special features. The Saariselkä resort is a more artificial village, one which has been built for tourism. The other two main villages, Ivalo and Inari – Sámi and Finnish settlements, respectively – are more authentic. Ivalo is the administrative and economic centre, while Inari is the centre of Sámi culture, with a museum, parliament house and other services for the Sámi.

The Municipality of Inari is involved in two tourism-promoting organisations: *InLike Ltd* and *Northern Lapland Tourism (NLT) Ltd*. The municipality owns 100 per cent of *InLike Ltd* whereas *NLT Ltd* is co-owned with local tourist entrepreneurs. The municipality is highly active in many fields that are not commonly considered to be among a municipality's responsibilities, which can be seen in its support for air transportation, tourism marketing and tourism development in Saariselkä. The role of the municipality is that of a motor of the tourism industry. Its activities have a multiplier effect across the regional borders. In a sense, according to some local critics, Inari is behaving a bit too much like a private company as it tries to 'find its way' in a new situation. Then again, it is also claimed that the municipality has not fully understood the importance of the

tourism industry locally and that it does not treat all local entrepreneurs equally.

Pajala has established a public-private partnership in order to develop new opportunities in connection with recent developments. Known as *Pajala Utveckling AB (PUAB)*, the local business development organisation is owned jointly by the local private sector (51 %) and the municipality (49 %). *PUAB* has aimed at increasing national awareness about the employment opportunities and marketing Pajala as an attractive place to live and work, the goal being to attract an influx of population that can reverse the local demographic trends. *PUAB* has also contributed to increasing the understanding of social and economic issues in Pajala by commissioning a number of analyses which consider various aspects of social and economic development relating to the mining boom and underpin the initiatives launched by the partnership. This can be interpreted as “neoliberal urban entrepreneurialism”, which includes introducing new institutional structures of urban governance, changing the ways cities operate in the direction of business-like strategies, forming alliances to achieve competitiveness and engaging in public-private partnerships. (Sager 2011)

The municipality of Pajala is responsible for supplying a range of services to the public that are financed through tax revenues and government grants. In its budget for 2013, the local government reported that it has yet to see tax revenues increase due to employment at the mine, but that its costs have increased due to investment in new housing, for example (Pajala Municipality 2012). The consultancy ÅF Infraplan (2012) reported during 2012 that approximately 600 persons at the mine site were currently “fly-in fly-out” workers – literally – or commuted by car. Many were part of the temporary workforce during the construction phase of the project and are likely to move on to other projects after its completion. However, as the Kaunisvaara mine is expected to employ approximately 500 workers during full production, as well as several hundred truck drivers, as reported by for instance Ejdemo (2012), the municipality faces a challenge in increasing the supply of housing if a “fly-in fly-out” solution is to be avoided. This is central to the municipal government’s ability to garner tax revenues from the project, as Swedes pay tax in their registered municipality of residence.

In **Sør-Varanger**, the global demand for minerals also affects local development. For most of the 20th century, *AS Sydvaranger*, an iron ore mining company, dominated economic and social life in the region. From the mid-1980s, mining was gradually phased out and in 1996 the mine was closed. In order to compensate for the closing of the mine, Norwegian authorities funded an ambitious local economic restructuring

process. In 2006, ten years after the closure of the mine, the municipality decided to sell the remaining mine works - the mine itself as well as the harbour facilities - to the Oslo-based businessman Kristian Nordberg for 47 million krone (approximately 6 million euros). Four months later, Nordberg sold everything for the same amount of money to the Norwegian shipping magnate Felix Tschudi. He brought in Australian investors and formed the company *Northern Iron Ltd* (NIL), which listed on the Australian Stock Exchange. This company re-opened the mine in 2009 and has since been operating it through its Norwegian subsidiary, *Sydvaranger Gruve AS*. The company is already the largest employer and by far the largest economic actor in Kirkenes, with 350 people on its payroll. Mining is thus back in Kirkenes but in a new form. The global demand for iron ore has driven Sydvaranger to plan to double its operations in order to increase its revenue potential and stock market price. (Trellevik 2013.) The mine has received approval from the Sør-Varanger Municipality Board to do an impact assessment for a proposed doubling of production.

The company regards housing as the responsibility of the municipality, but local politicians have argued against this. The current mayor in **Kirkenes** urged the company to “take some responsibility for community development by taking care of housing for its employees”. The contrast between the old company, which actually made the entire town what it is, and the new company became very clear in the debate about housing. In Kirkenes, commuters and their contribution (or lack of contribution) to local development sparked a debate as early as 2009, when the local newspaper, *Finnmarken*, reported that as many as 50 per cent of the new employees at Sydvaranger Gruve were commuters, many of them foreigners. The newspaper warned about the danger of a “fly-in fly-out situation”, in which the influx of workers would have little or no local economic spinoff. Representatives of the company claimed, however, that the number of local employees would gradually rise. Sydvaranger’s ambition has been to have 80 per cent local employees (Hansen 2009; Jacobsen 2009). Since 2009 the number of local employees has been rising significantly and has now reached about 70 per cent. The commuter issue has thus been solved, according to an interviewee.

In Kirkenes, another municipal responsibility - environmental protection - has been intensely debated. The discharge of chemicals into the fjord in Kirkenes, Bokfjorden, is a contested issue. Norway allows waste disposal in the sea as long as it has been approved by the Norwegian Climate and Pollution Agency. Dumping of waste from the mines has continued for a long time despite the fact that the fjord is what is known as a national salmon fjord, where salmon enjoy particular protection. The environmental

organisations oppose the dumping. The local protestors are not against mining as such but they want it to operate in an environmentally sustainable way. However, due to its shrinking budget the municipality has had to cut the number of persons working with environmental issues, and today only one person does this task full time. Recently, a series of interactions between the stakeholders have been held in Kirkenes to discuss the problem of pollution.

Teriberka has a long history of control by the military. For many years the village was part of the Severomorsk District, which had the status of a ‘closed’ territory, meaning that anyone who did not live in the village was required to have a permit from the military authorities to enter the settlement. Under a planned economy, the military regulations did not hinder the economic development of the village. In the beginning of the 1990s, the village faced a deep socio-economic crisis, caused by the transformation of Russia into a market economy together with the introduction of strong international regulation of fish resources. The new business initiatives since the 1990s have mainly been the result of ties between local and outside entrepreneurs who had either formerly worked in Teriberka or who knew about the village from business partners. The main strategy of the village has been to attract external, primarily foreign, capital to the traditional sectors of its economy. This effort saw the establishment of a joint Russian-Portuguese-Lithuanian fish-processing enterprise and a project of cooperation with the Norwegian municipality of Båtsfjord that included training and work for the villagers at fish-processing enterprises in the municipality. After several years, both projects were discontinued, due in large part to the negative influence of military regulations on possibilities for international business cooperation. Even after 1997, when Teriberka’s status as a ‘closed territory’ was discontinued, foreign visitors were still required for many years to obtain special permission to go there, and this situation continued to negatively affect possibilities for international cooperation in business development in the village. The situation in Teriberka over the past few years has been strongly influenced by high expectations relating to development of the Shtokman gas deposit and prospects for construction of an LNG terminal in the village. However, in 2012 the plan was postponed indefinitely and the expectations of the people in Teriberka were frustrated. The municipality is now looking for alternative, new opportunities for economic development. In the years of intensive preparations for the Shtokman project, the companies LCC “Gazprom Dobycha Shelf” (a 100-per-cent subsidiary of Gazprom created for the development of oil and gas fields) and “Shtokman Development AG” participated in the social development of Teriberka. Despite the fact that the Shtokman project was postponed in 2012 and “Shtokman Development AG” was greatly restruc-

tured, with its office in Teriberka closed, the social programmes of both companies are still at work.

The municipality of **Ust-Tsylma** has become active in promoting local development through various projects such as “Measures for the Developing of Economical Competition”, “Market Development in Ust-Tsylma”, “Development of an Agro-Industrial Complex in Ust-Tsylma”, and “Development of Tourism in the Municipality of Ust-Tsylma”. The most serious obstacle to the development of the tourist business in the area is the lack of modern infrastructure and services as well as connections to the community. Currently, the local entrepreneurs and the regional administration have joined forces for the improvement of infrastructure in the municipality in order to develop tourism. In 2010, investments were made in the development of a tourist base in Bugaevo, the construction of tourist bases, the acquisition of machinery and technical equipment, and facilities for the parts of the local river suitable for fishing. In addition, a hotel was built in Ust-Tsylma – a part of the tourist project “In the footsteps of the old-believers” – and the hotel “Sportivnaya” was renovated.

In Ust-Tsylma, the local population is more and more actively involved in solving problems. This can be also interpreted as a practice of neoliberal governance. Members of the interregional NGOs “participate actively in addressing problems in the region.” The creation of “The Council of NGOs” under the administration of the municipality was a significant event in the year 2012. The major goals of the Council are regular and constructive interactions between the NGOs and the organs of local governance for resolving the most important problems of the socio-economic development of the region; providing assistance for fuller consideration of the interests of the local population and the support of their socially important initiatives; raising the level of civil activity in the community; attracting the local population and the NGOs to discuss the ways and means of social and economic development in the region; and providing informational and methodological support to the NGOs working in the region. In 2012, the Council gave priority in its work to the agenda for improving the region’s rural settlements. In April, in response to an initiative of the members of the NGOs, a roundtable was held on this issue. A plan of activities was drafted and part of that plan has been realised. In addition, a system of social partnership is being developed in the region. In the framework of annually renewable agreements between the administration of the municipality of Ust-Tsylma and “Lukoil-Komi Plc”, sponsorship is provided for the solution of social and economic problems. (Report of the head of the municipal region of Ust-Tsylma 2009).

LOCAL COMPETITION FOR RESOURCES

It is claimed that neoliberal policies lead to the extension of market relations and competition in all social affairs. The situation in this respect is mixed across the Barents Region, but this is typical of neoliberalism. It is full of paradoxes at the individual and community levels. One of implications of neoliberal policies is that the local people and communities should embrace development. In **Teriberka** there are very few people who can be proactive and capable of managing and operating in neo-liberal forms of living, which would involve suggesting and carrying out or, rather, in given conditions, fighting for new projects. But there are some who dare to try new, non-conventional things, such as the representative of the Kola Sámi's "obschina", "Mohkyok", who dreams about a "Saami village" in Teriberka. And there are those, too, who dare to maintain continuity and tradition, both socially and culturally, and in this way refuse to allow themselves to lose their unique identity, dignity and sense of community. One example is a young woman, Head of the Pomor Choir, who works day after day with older women and children in the cold House of Culture, smiling and singing Pomor songs with them.

Neoliberal policies support the emergence of local entrepreneurship. After the closing of the mine in **Kirkenes** in the mid-1990s, the Norwegian authorities' local economic restructuring process led to new business ideas and diversification of the economy. Prominent among the new actors were women who had lived in Kirkenes while it was still primarily a mining town. Independent of each other, they resoundingly asserted that they did not want a male-dominated society that offered very little space for women in business and the community. Local artists and cultural entrepreneurs worked enthusiastically to transform Kirkenes from a mining town into a post-industrial town of art and entertainment. Creative industries such as the *Samovar Teater* and the curatorial art group *Pikene på broen* began their activities in the early 1990s. There were also more women-led businesses that flourished after the mine had closed. (Espiritu 2009.) The recent industrial development in Kirkenes has raised some concerns among women. The community had been masculinised through 100 years of mining, and so there was real concern that once again Kirkenes would become a mining frontier society for men and their activities. Whether it is because the mine has not been a major economic boon to the municipality or because the community has guarded against it, no overt re-masculinisation of Kirkenes solely attributable to the mine has taken place. The common ills associated with mining towns, such as an increase in prostitution, rampant drug use and criminality, have not emerged in Sør-Varanger. Even the commuting workers seem to have very little impact on the everyday life of the community.

Communities in the Barents Region embrace new opportunities brought by the recent development, but the positive impact of development projects locally is questioned by many. Though somewhat difficult to define, the focus on industrial resource extraction dominates the discourses in Kirkenes. Labeled ‘the centre of the Barents Region’, Kirkenes has become a political meeting place to discuss the region and its development. Meetings such as the Kirkenes Conference, held annually and organised by the Kirkenes Business Park, have strongly focused on resource extraction and the logistics of transport to support it, with participants likely speculating on the transshipment of cargo via the Northern Sea Route from Kirkenes to Asia or advocating a railroad between Rovaniemi and Kirkenes that would give industries in Northern Finland easy access to an ice-free harbour. Contrary to what many believed initially, mining has not had an immediate positive effect on the municipal economy in Kirkenes. As a result, some disillusioned local citizens have started to blame the company for “not giving enough back” to the community. Others have criticised the municipality for not being “tough enough” when dealing with the company.

The development of regional entrepreneurship sometimes leads to conflicts affecting both individuals and communities. In **Inari**, the local hotel operators offer different client groups alternative products, but the local culture remains a source of dispute. The Sámi culture, three languages and various cultural services, such as the Sámi museum, are special cultural features of the municipality of Inari. This cultural resource has been actively used in tourism marketing along with the Finnish gold-panning tradition. The ‘renaissance’ of Sámi culture in the mid-1990s created negative attitudes towards tourism that used traditional Sámi clothing and attractions, symbols and reindeer. In many respects, this was related more to past abuse than to the present moment. This negative reaction occurred primarily among some prominent Sámi politicians; those with personal connections to the tourism industry are very open to Sámi-oriented tourism. Nevertheless, the conflict over the use of Sámi culture in the tourism industry shows the value of culture as a local resource over which different actors compete. The local Finnish gold-panning culture has not been used as actively as Sámi culture in tourism marketing.

The major concern for local communities – also already a disappointment in some cases – has been access to new resources generated by development in the region. The communities are disappointed with the tax revenues from successful development projects. Attracting permanent inhabitants to work and live in remote northern locations brings tax income to the municipalities. In **Pajala**, one of the detriments of the “fly-in

fly-out” situation that has arisen in the case of temporary workers with temporary housing arrangements is that there is a risk of social problems that may cause costs for the municipal government that are not compensated by increased tax revenues. In Inari, the same issue is encountered. Some of the enterprises and workers in the region pay taxes to a different municipality, the former where their headquarters are registered elsewhere, the latter due to the temporary nature of their employment. In Kirkenes, the mayor has demanded the introduction of a national mining tax. As she said to *Finnmarken* in October of 2012, “If we manage to introduce a mineral tax it is important that most of the income goes to the municipalities. After all we are the ones who are left with all the rubbish after the conclusion of the extraction, with holes in the ground and pollution in the sea”. She added that “with such a tax we will be able to use the money for the benefit of the environment and for building a sustainable economy for the future” (Kandal 2012).

The same is true for the Russian communities. **The Ust-Tsylma** region today remains highly reliant on subsidies, as only 15 per cent of the regional budget is generated locally. At the same time, the municipality gets only about 6 per cent of the taxes paid by local businesses; the rest of the revenue goes to the federal and regional budgets. The local authorities underline the lack of finances, together with the unjust distribution of the taxes in favour of the federal level of the state. The problem is a lack of balance in the municipal budget. The vast majority of municipal finances go to support the social sector locally. Education, health care, social welfare, culture get 78 per cent of the municipal budget, but this does not seem to be enough to solve the present social problems in the municipality. The local communities have rather limited financial ability when it comes to regional development, a constraint stemming from the tax policies noted above and the current legislation. (Tonkova and Nosova 2012)

The vast majority of those who started a small business in Ust-Tsylma stress that their business is hardly profitable due to several reasons rooted in the shortcomings of the state legislative system and the lack of human resources and infrastructure in the municipality. The programmes offered to the business people by the federal, republic-level and municipal authorities are not sufficient to compensate for the obstacles to the growth of local entrepreneurship. Many of those who represent the small business sector in the area would like to see more support for business from the local authorities. In Ust-Tsylma, both local authorities and business people complain about Federal Law No. FZ-93. The law does not encourage investment in the development of the local business sector and market, since the authorities are forced to contract with companies

that can do the work for less money – and most of these come from outside the region. The strategy introduced and enforced by this law neither guarantees high-quality work nor develops local business in the region. The federal and republic-level programmes seem to be perfectly working *de jure*, but *de facto* they are not sufficient to rapidly and effectively improve the situation in rural areas. What is more, due to poor transport infrastructure, the remoteness of the municipality and its severe northern climate, the region needs preferential terms if its economy and social activities are to grow and develop. The general opinion, according to the local entrepreneurs interviewed, is that a neoliberal approach on the municipal level can be seen not as an advantage to the community but, on the contrary, as a liability.

The same applies in the case of **Teriberka**. One of main obstacles to development is the contemporary federal tax policy, which transfers a considerable part of the wealth created in the regions and municipalities and directs most of the taxes to the federal level; the ensuing redistribution of financial means back to the regions and municipalities is often unjust and creates artificial dependence on subsidies even in the regional leaders as measured by GDP per capita, such as the Murmansk region (Riabova 2012). Large industrial corporations normally register themselves in Moscow or in off-shore zones, which leads to tax outflow from the sites of production and leaves the municipalities with meagre budgets, making them unable to solve urgent socio-economic and ecological problems or to be active in implementing ideas of sustainable development. As a representative of the local administration in Teriberka complained, “The money flies away, to Murmansk, since some companies are registered there”.

CONCLUSIONS

Neoliberal policies at the local level are a mix of new and old government practices that sometimes lead to paradoxical situations. Neoliberal policies release the local natural resources for broader, often more international, exploitation. The policies also compel local communities and individuals to tackle an increasing number of new responsibilities to ensure the economic and social well-being of local communities. When the state relaxes the rules for natural resource extraction, leading to growing international interest, the income from this natural resource extraction leaves the local communities. This has many implications for efforts to secure human, social and material resources for maintaining sustainable community development. The cases from different parts of the Barents Region show the multiple ways in which national, regional and local practices, more or less inspired by neoliberal ideas, manifest themselves.

It becomes a challenge to combine neoliberal practices and socially sustainable development at the local level, especially when sustainable development is equated with stable economic development. Locally, it means increasing competition over resources, not only material in the form of natural resources, livelihoods and flows of money, but also immaterial, including cultures and traditions. The local interviewees emphasised several factors they consider important in tackling barriers to sustainable development: local social and cultural; access to economic resources, such as taxes; and innovations, such as new business ideas. Local communities and their inhabitants become “adaptive opportunists”, responding relatively quickly to new demands and opportunities.

The situation in the Barents Region from the perspective of local communities is paradoxical in many ways. While the popular image of the region is one of rich resources, with many opportunities for wealth and development, the local perspective is dominated by views emphasising a lack of resources and services and people and livelihoods that are struggling to benefit from regional development (See Duhaime and Caron 2008; Glomsrød et al. 2008). From the local perspective, the Barents Region seems poorer rather than richer: there are not enough resources to cover the expenses related to housing, environmental protection, social services, innovation and culture, among many other things. There is constant competition between peoples, livelihoods and resources, manifested in local conflicts between cultures, groups and various related needs. One explanation for the “poverty” of the Barents Region lies in neoliberal policies, with their national variations, which make natural resources accessible to international actors, add local responsibilities and extend competition to all social relations.

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Prostitution as a Social Issue - The Experiences of Russian Women Prostitutes in the Barents Region

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INTRODUCTION

The aim of this article is to shed light on women's subjective experiences in prostitution in the Barents Region. The article focuses on prostitution as a local activity in the Murmansk area in north-western Russia and as mobile prostitution in the northern parts of Finland, Sweden and Norway. We concentrate on examining the prostitutes' experiences as a phenomenon related to individual, cultural and living conditions that, in one way or another, push women towards prostitution. In this article we examine prostitution by studying the individual and societal factors that women attribute to their decision to engage in prostitution and the meanings they assign to their experiences within prostitution.

Prostitution is often studied as a human trafficking phenomenon (e.g., Sipaviciene 2002; Hughes 2005) wherein the women are considered as victims; our analysis differs from this viewpoint because we focus on women's experiences by connecting them to the women's everyday environment, the local and societal factors attached to the status of women and female prostitutes. Furthermore, prostitution is often studied from the point of view of the target country rather than the women's homeland. Localized research on prostitution is lacking, especially in Russia. More research is required on how specific contexts, conditions, features, routines and relationships are associated with various aspects of the everyday lives of specific groups of prostitutes (Vanwesenbeeck 2001, 279–280). Women's local everyday lives are unquestionably related to larger social structures (Smith 2005, 205–206). In order to reach a broader understanding of prostitution, much more information about marginal conditions and life situations is needed. To establish knowledge concerning the causes and effects of prostitution on

a global scale, studies focusing on many different geographic locations and individual experiences are necessary. It is not only a question of generating information; this article is also a call to increase political discussion regarding prostitution (see Phoenix 2012, 229). We endeavour to raise the voices of women in marginal positions in order to recognize the validity of their experiences in a specific place (see Rowland & Klein 1996, 10; Puidokiene 2012, 75).

Eastern Prostitution as a Research Context

Throughout the existence of the USSR, prostitution did not officially exist in Russia, although stories of “currency girls” are familiar to many. During the Perestroika movement, prostitution was associated with the moral degeneration of society and with the idea of selling out socialism and homeland to the west (Shlapentokh 1992). The societal changes caused by the fall of the Soviet Union included liberation of sexual behaviour. This liberation has been compared to the western sexual revolution of the 1960s (Kon 1993; Pankratova 1987). The Soviet system celebrated the socialistic nuclear family, motherhood, reproduction and marital fidelity. The only positive portrayal of women was as caring mothers and wives (Koukarenko & Kalinina 2007, 194). Open discussion of sexuality and contraceptives was unconventional and repressed. This is explained in an interview with an authority in Murmansk:

For years sex didn't “exist” at all, but now sex has suddenly shown up, and, of course, due to the fact that an entire generation has grown up without sexual education. Everything was forbidden and now all of a sudden everything is permitted. It has had all kinds of negative consequences. (Interview with a health care authority, Murmansk)

Over 20 years have passed since the fall of the Soviet Union, but the resulting changes to life in Russia continue to have repercussions in the everyday lives of Russian women; these repercussions include problems with living conditions, residency permits (*propiska*), social security and employment (see Eremicheva 1996, 163). Aleksandar Štulhofer and Theo Sandfort (2005, 4) have spoken of the feminization of poverty in Russia. Although average wages have increased at a rapid rate, the differences in wage levels between different areas and between the genders are vast. Working in the grey economy is often the only real choice for many women.

Many changes and discontinuities in the societal transition from the socialistic Soviet Union to present-day, post-socialist Russia have shaped the structures of women's lives

at the individual, communal and societal levels (Lewin 2005, 12; Hanhinen 2001). Societal changes have transferred societal caretaking tasks and responsibilities from the state to families and most of all to women (Ashwin & Lytkina 2004, 193). Today a middle-class Russian family requires two paid incomes to survive due to the continually-increasing cost of living in Russia. Yet ideals of domestic women who stay home to take care of their children continue to prevail; the Russian government has even encouraged women to return home and give birth to more children in order to increase birth rates (Ashwin & Lytkina 2004, 359; Gerashimenko 2008, interview with an authority).

Possibilities for individual growth can either be increased or limited by marginal societal-cultural conditions (Sen 1999, 13). According to Dorothy E. Smith (2005, 205–206), everyday conventions should be attached to broader social structures. The way in which societies are structured can drive people into risk zones in terms of income: many women face problems in Russia's labour market and limits in terms of their possibilities for action, and are eventually driven to prostitution (Khodyreva 2005). These societally imposed restrictions can result in a lack of future prospects in everyday life. Thus societal structures limit women's possibilities to cope, but at the same time they create different possibilities for action.

The geographical location wherein women practice prostitution has an effect on their experiences in the sex trade. The majority of the women interviewed for this research worked in mobile prostitution in the northern regions of Finland, Sweden and Norway; a few of them worked locally in Murmansk. The women who migrated north to practice prostitution worked in environments where they often had few social ties; furthermore, their opportunities for action in foreign environments were limited by barriers of language and culture. Another important factor is that in the Nordic countries, the spirit of the law criminalizes the purchase of sex rather than prostitution, whereas in Russia earning a living by prostitution is illegal (Skaffari 2010, 50–58).

The local environment was the major factor influencing the way the interviewees practised prostitution. Hiding their prostitution activity from people who were close to them was a concern that was largely eliminated by mobile prostitution. Working locally as a prostitute restricted the women's autonomy, so the work presented different risks than in mobile prostitution. Mothers of small children and those with ties to informal networks were especially limited as to where and when they could practice prostitution.

METHOD

Our theoretical engagement in this article is a feminist approach. Feminist methodology highlights women's experiences and knowledge about their everyday lives as a subject of research. Thus, feminist knowledge is based on recognizing the experiences of women (Alcoff & Potter 1993, 1; Harding 1990, 90–91). We have chosen to present some excerpts from the interview material that highlight the breadth of the experiences of Russian women involved in prostitution in the Barents Region. The reliance on interview data fits well with feminist methodological strategies aimed at 'giving voice' to otherwise muted groups (Ardener 1978). It also helps develop theoretical categories on the basis of women's experience, as described in feminist standpoint epistemologies (Harding 1993). 'Giving voice' and taking women's lived experiences as a starting point are an important strategy. We approach the prostitution of the women who were interviewed for this research through their personal experiences of prostitution and the meanings which they attach to these experiences.

Another important viewpoint is the demand for "situated knowledge" (Haraway 1988) when it comes to the study of prostitution. Since prostitution is a personal experience, a general study of the practice is not constructive; thus, personal information about the everyday reality of sex work is necessary to form a realistic study of the subject of prostitution. Our article focuses on the particular experiences of prostitutes living in Russia, allowing these women to share their particular cultural viewpoints.

Data gathering process

The research material was collected in Murmansk, Russia between the years 2004 and 2008. The women who were interviewed had either moved from other former republics of the Soviet Union to Russia or were Russian. One challenge that the Western researcher faces on foreign ground is the realization that womanhood is not a universal ontological condition (Anttonen 1997, 45). The women we studied have been shaped by Russian culture and history; their agency is shaped by various societal boundaries, conventions and cultural conceptions (cf. Nussbaum 2000, 40). The effort to understand the experiences of women who are living in a culture which is different from one's own necessitates taking an open approach to the women's stories, without any presumptions. Such an approach provides a chance to examine Russian culture and its operational models relatively freely and as told by women.

Collecting research material from a different culture involves linguistic, cultural and trust-building challenges (see Ihmäki 2010, 113). The pursuit of an experiential point

of view and the sensitive, secret and taboo nature of the subject matter pose further challenges. Continued access to the women involved in this study was made possible by a local *key person* (see Bogdan & Taylor 1975, 30–32) who bridged the gap between the women and the researcher. This local psychologist was present throughout all the interviews that were conducted to support the women, who often had to revisit sensitive and even traumatic life events. The psychologist offered the interviewees therapeutic discussions, if necessary. These arrangements ensured that the participants had emotional support in the event that they experienced distress while recalling their sometimes painful experiences.

Data

This article is based on material collected for Pia Skaffari's doctoral dissertation, in which 17 women discuss their experiences in prostitution, as well as observational material (Skaffari 2010). From this observational material we have drawn upon four interviews with Russian authorities for this article. The authorities who were interviewed worked at the employment office, and in social, health, and child care services in Murmansk. This observational material and the interviews with the women reflect the societal attitude towards prostitution and sexuality and provide a measure of women's agency in everyday life. The interviews with the women and the analysis of their experiences were directed by an interest in emancipatory knowledge and carried out with a feminist approach (cf. Smith 1987, 105–106).

The age of the women who were interviewed varied between 20 and 55 at the time of the interview. Their life situations and life stages were diverse. Almost all of the women were mothers (13 individuals), and some of them already grandmothers. There were ten single parents, and at the time of the interview three of the women were married. In practice the married women lived in a similar manner as the single parents, bearing responsibility for the children and the home. Four of the women were single; they were young and did not have children. These women often lived with their mothers and had responsibility for them. All of the women who were interviewed for this research, whether they were living with their children or with their mothers, had to bear the responsibility for the economy of their family units because of the nature of their relationships with their parents and other close relatives.

The women who participated in Skaffari's research practiced various forms of prostitution, from occasional "jobs" to full-time work. The majority of the women worked simultaneously as official or unofficial labourers or small entrepreneurs and as pros-

titutes. There were also unemployed women, and one of the women was retired. Five of the women were no longer working as prostitutes at the time of the interviews. The women are identified by their self-given codenames in our quotations; in the interviews with the authorities we used the names of the individuals who gave us permission to do so.

Analysis

The data sets were gathered using qualitative thematic interviews. Our starting point in this article is that through their stories, the women made sense of their experiences, constructed and communicated meanings (see Chase 1995, 3). The interviewed women told which events or factors they considered to be meaningful in their decisions to engage in prostitution and the life within prostitution which emphasized their subjective experiences. Qualitative content analysis (cf. Krippendorff 2004) was applied in order to gain an understanding of the factors which are meaningful for the women and which are behind their choices, and what kind of meanings they attach to their involvement in prostitution.

During the analysis of the data we looked for phrases which the women used to talk about their life experiences in relation to prostitution. The phrases were then sorted into categories that referred to the societal and individual dimensions of the women's lives. In these categories we found factors and events which the women interpreted as meaningful for their lives and attached to their decision to engage in prostitution and meanings assigned to the consequences of prostitution. The underlying societal factors behind prostitution are connected with women's poverty, the weakness of the social security system, problems with *propiska* (residency permits), and unemployment. At the individual level the women's experiences were connected with divorce, motherhood and personal relationships.

Societal and individual dimensions as consequences of prostitution intertwine so that distinguishing between them is complicated. These factors acquire meaning in the everyday lives of the women who were interviewed for this study through stigmatization, the questioning of motherhood, violence, problematic relationships with officials and the people who are close to them, and changes in their self-image at the end. In addition, there are a variety of emotional elements at the individual level: concealment, shame and guilt connected with stigmatization. According to Krippendorff (2004, 110, 172–173), the purpose of content analysis is to use logical reasoning and interpretation by first breaking down the data and then building it up again to a logical entity.

Different factors construct women's prostitution, and analysis of these factors shows how the women in our study conceptualize themselves, their interactions and their possibilities in the local context and in society at large.

THE SOCIETAL AND INDIVIDUAL DIMENSIONS BEHIND CHOICES

The stories of the women who were interviewed for this study contribute to an understanding of women's position in Russian culture and the gendered conditions in the margins of the labour market, which are reflected in the everyday lives of women and families' welfare (see Ashwin & Lytkina 2004, 193; Tutolmina 2008, interview with an authority). The life situations of the women who were interviewed are, without exception, haunted by a variety of economic problems; some of them live in downright poverty. There is not always enough money even for food supplies. Some of the women who moved from former republics of the Soviet Union to Murmansk have problems related to *propiska* (residency permits), which manifest themselves as difficulties finding an apartment and paid work. In the worst cases, the conditions for getting *propiska* also prevent the women from receiving social security benefits, as the following quotation shows:

Pia: So do you get support now?

Aida: Yes, now I've begun to get it. Earlier I didn't get anything. But that [the child allowance] is the only support I get. I don't have the right to get any other benefits since I don't have the Murmansk propiska, because we moved. We didn't even have a temporary registration. We didn't have any rights. In order to get the child allowance, you have to be registered.

Problems with registration are reflected in many ways in the women's livelihoods and position in the labour market. In the background of their decisions to engage in prostitution there are – nearly without exception – problems involving their livelihood, and their choices are limited by their relationship with the labour market. The employment opportunities for these women are mostly in low-income businesses or in the informal market. Some of the women have difficulties with employment due to their outdated Soviet-era vocational training. The discriminatory mechanisms of the labour market and selection often make women's involvement in paid work difficult and prevent them from earning a sufficient income. The opportunities for women who are over 40 years old in the local labour market narrow even further in the course of time due to their increasing age. Then the informal economy offers the only livelihood option, as the

following quotations show:

Irina: I, for example, have two jobs. I'm not listed there officially [at the workplace]. I go there, I'm paid and then I leave. Officially I'm not working; officially I'm unemployed.

Margarita: No, I haven't been to work for a long time, because I can't get work... And age is definitely the reason. They hire under-40-year-olds. And after 40 years of age, it's practically impossible. Or they don't pay very much.

Women's relationship with the labour market and their chances of getting paid work are problematic in every phase of life, a fact which appears in the stories of the women interviewed for this research. Just as being over 40 years old limits one's chances of finding work, so pregnancy and having little children are often seen, from the point of view of employers, as economic risk factors. Women also see pregnancy as essentially weakening their chances of staying in the labour market. Prenatal dismissals are frequent. The competition for work is fierce, and the opportunities for young mothers to return to the labour market after maternity leave and nursing leave have weakened (Khodyreva 2005; Tutolmina 2008, interview with an authority). In the data collected for this study, the two main age groups were women at the age of about 40 and mothers of small children.

An interview with an authority also revealed that employers do not want to hire new mothers because they fear non-attendance due to new pregnancies and the inability of mothers to be flexible in work-related matters (Tutolmina 2008, interview with an authority). The relationship of new mothers with the labour market is complicated: while these women need to make money, they are discouraged by specific workplaces as well as by public policy in general, which promotes regional family support programs (Gerasimenko 2007, interview with an authority) and the so-called "Putin child money." These programs encourage women to stay home and give birth in order to increase population growth. The official system does not, however, offer sufficient compensation for mothers to stay home, as can be seen in the following quotation from Aida:

Pia: Is it possible to find work here with [your] degree?

Aida: No. Or well, yes, but the problem is the children. If you have children, you don't get work. Nobody will hire you anywhere when they find out you have

children. And it's not necessarily due to the fact that the children are small, if one has three children. Society starts to discriminate. We are like rubbish. Nobody helps us – not society, nobody...

Fees for children's day care are often too high to justify full-time work, and with more children come higher day care payments. The social security system in Russia was primarily created during the USSR and is consequently inefficient today (see, e.g., Skvortsova 2007). The system has been revised since its creation; however, it still does not provide sufficient support to Russian citizens facing individual problems (Gerasimenko 2007, interview with an authority). The importance of close relationships and informal support networks is consequently enormous in Russia.

Official support networks for families with children are either under-developed or inaccessible to single parents in Russia. While day care programs are well organized, they are overpriced in relation to women's incomes. Social security benefits are low and partially discretionary (Gerasimenko 2007, interview with an authority). The legislation concerning liability for maintenance (which is contained in the Family Code of the Russian Federation 1995 N 223-F3, chapter 14) does not support the survival of women and children sufficiently.

Societal and individual factors intertwine in women's life situations. The lives of the women who were interviewed for this research have been negatively affected by strained relationships and divorces. The situation of women and children after divorce is unstable in Russia because men often try to avoid liability for maintenance (see Jäppinen 2006, 72). The legislation concerning alimony after divorce (again contained in chapter 14 of the Family Code) is wanting because it does not sufficiently recognize the position of children.

The fact that their ex-husbands avoided paying child support was a common complaint made by the interviewed women who had gotten divorced. Their ex-husbands refused to take economic responsibility for the women and children after divorce and escaped from responsibility and even parenthood in general (see Jäppinen 2006), as the following statement by Irina shows:

Irina: He [her ex-husband] should, of course, according to law, pay child support. When I applied for support from him, he immediately resigned from work. He now works "privately" [in the informal economy], here and there. He has

no permanent job, no permanent income, so the income can't be checked anywhere, because today he may work somewhere, tomorrow somewhere else. It's impossible to get any money from him.

Matters involving residency permits (*propiska*) may also have an effect on women's living conditions in cases of divorce. In many cases, following a divorce, one of the spouses (generally the husband) remains in the apartment and does not move (see Attwood 1997, 99). In such cases, the husband is still officially registered as living in the apartment for purposes of *propiska*. In one case, the husband had moved out and it was the wife who remained in the apartment, even though the husband was still registered as living in the apartment, so the wife had to pay the local utility bills, which were quite high. When the women apply for social allowances, they are not considered as single parents by the authorities and their applications are refused. In the data, there was also the case of one woman whose husband had not registered her as living in their joint apartment after they got married; after the divorce she was kicked out, along with the children, by her ex-husband.

Due to the fact that many men are unwilling to support their ex-wives in Russia, both economic and caretaking responsibilities often fall to single mothers. In divorce situations, women very rarely apply for legal help because they do not trust the legal system. To avoid divorce-related strains, women in Russia often remain for a long time in problematic intimate relationships. Thus the informal economy, including prostitution, is often the only recourse left to Russian women who wish to escape unwanted relationships (see Ihämäki 2004).

Women usually want to be good mothers, and prostitution is an attempt to solve income problems in a society that will not take responsibility for women and children. This line of thinking is a way for prostitutes to legitimize their work and give it a moral justification: it is done in the name of what is good for their children. Motherhood is a central justification for prostitution in the stories of the majority of the women interviewed for this study.

WORKING IN PROSTITUTION

The context of prostitution

Underlying societal factors set limits on the everyday lives of the women who were

interviewed for this study and construct prostitution as a way of solving problems at the individual level. In the stories of these women *choice* and *necessity* often appear simultaneously. The line between choice and necessity is a thin one. The women's living conditions and possibilities for action in relation to income and everyday life define which it is at any given moment. Freedom of choice is socially tied, because a woman's agency is conditioned and necessarily limited by the social, political and economic possibilities for action that are within her grasp (see Sen 1999, 13 on the agency of individuals).

Wendy Chapkis (1997, 67) classifies choices as either rational or free. The necessity of choosing is conveyed by the concept of rational choice, which is typical in hierarchically structured cultures. Anders Lisborg (2003, 170) notes that the expression "to become a prostitute of one's own will" is often considered to refer to voluntary action, but in reality the choice is not really a question of free will to the women who make it. It has more to do with the point where everyday life and societal structures collide: what choice and necessity mean for an individual and what kinds of meanings are attached to the same concepts in societies that are structured differently (Thorbeck & Battanaik 2003, 9; Nussbaum 2000). The lives of the women interviewed for this research are outlined by their relationship with the conditions in the margins of Russian society, which does not even thoroughly guarantee survival by providing for basic needs. Prostitution can hence be seen as a compulsive option which enables one to take care of oneself and those who are closest. The meaning of prostitution in negotiating everyday life thus brings positive dimensions to the lives of the women who were interviewed for this study. They were happy even about small, everyday things:

Sonja: I have two children. I managed to pay my debts by going there [engaging in mobile prostitution]. I've bought things to bring home, I have clothes. All because I go there. Here I can't give myself something like that. What an income I have! 4500 [rubles]. It isn't good for anything. And you know how young people want to dress. And that's why I...

In other instances, prostitution was a way to earn extra money. In some instances, full-time prostitution was the only way to earn a living. Some of the women who were interviewed had periods of respite from prostitution, but they returned to sex work due to individual life crises: for example, in cases of divorce. The majority of the women worked simultaneously as official or unofficial labourers or small entrepreneurs and as prostitutes.

The relationship between women and the operational environment of prostitution is meaningful. Women's value in the commercial sex market is partially defined by the place in which they work as prostitutes. In Murmansk, prostitution is generally well organized and structured. In some areas, however, the possibility of facing various risks increases: for example, on the streets or in low-grade prostitution firms (see Ihämäki 2010; Pettai et al 2006). Work in hotels, as an escort and for high-level prostitution firms is most valued because it pays better and is safer than working in low-level prostitution firms, clubs, saunas and streets, where drug users and even minors work. The police often raid these less-reputable areas and round up the prostitutes. Meanwhile, higher-level prostitution firms warn workers of raids and thus are safer bets for mothers:

Vera: I try to hang out at the same club: the kind that inspires trust [...], the kind of club about which people say mostly good things. If something suddenly happens in that kind of club, there's always someone to help you. I have two children, so dealing with the police isn't a good thing.

Guarding one's reputation is part of maintaining one's dignity. When choosing local prostitution, the women attempt to minimize the risk of dealing with the police or child protection authorities. Prostitutes recognize the risks associated with getting caught in their line of work: their secret could be exposed, and they could be questioned as mothers and even lose their children. It would also mean stigmatization as a woman and as a societal agent. Mobile prostitution poses less risk to a woman's reputation and motherhood than local prostitution:

Tatiana: All the women practice it only abroad, since they want to preserve the shell of a proper woman. That is, no one knows about it. They are calm due to the fact that no one finds out what happens there, you see.

One good side that the women interviewed for this research see in working abroad is that they can guard their reputations. Working in a foreign culture is not risk-free, however. The women do not understand the language and do not necessarily know the culture, customs and legislation of the environment in which they work. Furthermore, the natural safety network is often lacking, so it is essential to form a supportive network with other prostitutes.

Cultural attitudes toward prostitution

Prostitution can be understood in Russia as a gendered phenomenon through which

women try to solve their income problems. A survey conducted by the Russian Academy of Science (2002) on the way Russian women view prostitutes demonstrates that attitudes vary in accordance with the age of the respondents; the oldest group of respondents was the most critical. However, overall, the attitude toward prostitutes was quite tolerant, but ambivalent. Less than a quarter of the respondents had negative feelings about prostitutes, confirming a generally indifferent or compassionate attitude towards the subject. Prostitution may be seen openly in the city of Murmansk. Unlike in the Nordic countries, condemnatory attitudes towards prostitution in Murmansk are rare. Nevertheless, prostitutes in the region struggle with conflicts between their inner values and common opinion. Women hide their involvement in prostitution in order to maintain social acceptance as mothers and citizens.

Society constructs prostitutes as Others who are willing to transgress against the cultural model of a good woman (Väyrynen 2007). Society's Madonna-Whore complex places prostitutes as debased Whores in a dichotomous relationship with saintly Madonnas. While the Madonna maintains a dominant position, the Whore is othered (Bell 1994, 40). The cultural attitude towards prostitution is often morally condemning and stigmatizing, as the following quotation from an authority shows:

... If we don't achieve any positive results [working with prostitute mothers], and if the mother still wants to continue to practice prostitution, because she can't or doesn't want to live in another way, then we will take such children into custody. (Interview with Child Protection Inspector, Murmansk 2006)

The stigma of prostitution is reflected in the lives of the women interviewed for this research. Deviation from the cultural norm raises a moral conflict between one's personal values and prostitution. The myth of an honourable woman is constructed, maintained and renewed in societal and moral institutions, values, norms, beliefs and the media (cf. Hubbard 1998). A woman's cultural acceptance is based on heterosexuality, marriage and reproduction; prostitution is posited as bad womanhood (Appell et al 1998; Sanders 2005, 324). But in the context of Russia, prostitution becomes a way for women to assume responsibility and guarantee a better life for their children. Prostitution thus allows for good motherhood rather than negating it, which is the opposite of the culturally defined negative stereotype of prostitution:

Vera: I have goals; this is just a survival tactic for me. When I went there [to a local prostitution company], I was already ready for it. I was prepared for the

fact that I needed money: money to feed the children. I did all I could for that. Do you see? And from the beginning, I prepared for it mentally.

Zhenja: Women earn money for their children, to maintain their families. The visitors there [who engage in mobile prostitution] are mostly disadvantaged women, women with low incomes. Women without husbands – most of them are like that – but who have children, and often little children, you see.

In these women's tales, the decision to engage in prostitution is justified by a desire to support their families. This justification supports a personal sense of dignity. Economic need as a reason for selling sex is often said to be a performance of poverty; others consequently accept poverty as an excuse for immoral activity (Ratliff 2004). However, the descriptions of the women interviewed for this research reveal authentic experiences of poverty, not merely a performance of it.

Seeing prostitution as a personal choice allows the women interviewed for this research to preserve a sense of autonomy and dignity. This personal choice creates an internalization and acceptance of sex work as a part of life and a method of survival. The talk of necessity functions to distance the act from the self, placing prostitution in the context of the larger cultural environment and its gendered conventions. Thus the decision to engage in prostitution is given a moral and legitimate basis, which helps the women to accept their situation and live with their choice (see Appell et al 1998).

PROSTITUTION LEAVES ITS MARK

Prostitution leaves its mark on women in both physical and emotional ways, affecting their personal agency and self-image. At the social level, the experiences of prostitutes include deprivation and violence, and at a personal level these women participate in self-abuse. According to Susan Brison (2003), traumatic experiences often destroy a prostitute's trust in men. In the stories of the women interviewed for this study, external deprivation and violence are often attached to practicing prostitution (see, e.g., Farley et al 2003; Farley 2004), but deprivation and violence are also often present in these women's interactions with authority figures and with those with whom they are in personal relationships. In their relationships with authority figures, these women face stigmatization, indifference or abolition. Some of the prostitutes discuss the fact that they often have difficulty being taken seriously by the authorities:

Tatiana: My case [rape] wasn't dealt with at all. The only thing I managed to do was get angry, because I basically had no proof. Well, it isn't like I didn't have anything, but no one wanted to deal with the case and no one believed me.

Pia: How did they react to you?

Tatiana: Well, like a prostitute.

Pia: How many were there – three, four customers?

Victoria: Three, I think. Three.

Key person: She went [to a customer], and there were three customers and she was raped. Thereafter we filed a report with the police. Nothing has been done yet.

Victoria: Not only did they rape me, but they also took my phone and my money.

Being known as a prostitute produces inequality and can hinder a woman's attempt to get help. Groups with questionable social values, such as prostitutes and drug addicts, are often targeted for strong social control and considered to be symbols of physical degeneration and dirtiness (Kristeva 1982). In the Russian women's stories, this reality becomes apparent in their descriptions of their relationships with authority figures. In Tatiana's case, the police did not take the woman's report of an offence seriously. In Victoria's case, the woman had to report the rape along with a support person in order to have the case acknowledged at all. Women who are known as prostitutes often have their needs and rights neglected; the authorities may even downplay or excuse rape when the victim is identified as a prostitute (see Attwood 1997).

The violence encountered by these women can be analysed from the perspective of society in terms of what kind of responsibility society takes for the violence and how, by shaping conventions, it shares responsibility for the victims and the agents of violence, as well as for the service system (Ronkainen 2008, 388). According to a study conducted by the Russian Academy of Science, 13.4% of respondents in a group of 1400 had encountered domestic violence in some form. Institutionalized help for female victims of violence in Russia is limited, and many informal support structures have unravelled due to migration and the break-up of communities (Russian Academy of Science 2002).

The interviewed women's experiences of being ignored by the criminal justice system even when reporting cases of rape can be understood as a form of institutionalized violence. These women are left helpless against violence and outside the justice system. Institutionalized violence represses the agency of women; the self is silenced by others

(Jordan 2012, 261). Within the framework of prostitution, violence is often silenced and is considered a shameful matter, becoming a part of one's self-image if prostitution is seen only as a self-inflicted social problem.

Melissa Farley et al (2003, 34, 58; also see Farley 2004) posit that women who work as prostitutes lose their ability to enjoy their sexuality, at least temporarily. Some of the women who were interviewed for the present study described having this experience: because the prostitutes' relationships with men, their own bodies and sexuality in general are objectified, sex becomes a tool. The instrumental nature of personal relationships for prostitutes is demonstrated in the stories of the interviewed women, in which they forget their own needs, welfare and rights in relationships outside of prostitution (Sanders 2005). The weak economic position of these women causes them to feel a need, even an obligation, to please men in order to ensure their own survival. Economic issues push these women to define their relationships with men based on financial benefits rather than feelings:

Margarita: If you think about returning from there [mobile prostitution] to Murmansk, you don't want to see anybody. I can't, I don't want to become close with anybody here who doesn't support me economically. I'm not interested anymore. In Murmansk men are often penniless. Personally I... I'm just not interested.

Prostitutes often have to face their moral limits and redefine them. Once a moral line has been crossed, it becomes increasingly easy to cross the line again and again. The crossing of moral lines is a process wherein mental resistance slowly crumbles away. The break happens simultaneously through thought, emotions and actions. Zhenja, one of the women interviewed for this study, describes the crossing of moral lines as follows: "You have to step over yourself". Extreme moral compromise signifies a change in self-image and an experience of sexuality that is outside the norm (see Goffman 1990, 9, 13). This can result in feelings of inferiority and self-stigmatization, wherein the self is viewed as being within the category of prostitution. It creates back talking, which is used to maintain a sense of dignity. Talking back is always a dialogue with culturally dominant categorizations (Juhila 2004).

In the lives of the women interviewed for this research, an inner dialogue begins which continuously ponders prostitution and its justifications. Aida expressed a sense of being marked and shamed: "After that, when you have kind of experienced it, there's the feeling

that men won't look at you – I mean, they look at you as a prostitute, but not as a woman. As they say, a fallen woman.” In the stories of the women who were interviewed, prostitution categorizes these women as being outside regular womanhood: they get a sense of being stuck within the Madonna-Whore dichotomy (Bell 1994). They feel that they are treated, touched and encountered differently than “ordinary women.” Lacey Sloan and Stephanie Wahab (2000) describe this type of stigma as ‘a harlot mark’ which identifies prostitutes as negatively related to their choices and environments. The women are marked in such a way that the choices they have made in relation to their environment are seen only from a negative viewpoint.

THE SOCIAL DIMENSIONS OF PROSTITUTION

Prostitution is understood as a social problem in the defining conventions and control mechanisms of which – as well as the intensity of these conventions and control mechanisms – vary in different eras and cultures. Prostitution creates an experience of marginalization and otherness that manifests itself in many dimensions of a prostitute's life. What creates a paradox is the fact that in Russia, prostitution is integrally connected with structural factors. Prostitution is primarily an attempt at self-preservation in Russia: it is used to try to solve income problems and consequently to provide for families.

In the Nordic countries, there has, in recent years, been a shift away from criminalizing prostitution and an emphasis on making the buying of sex illegal; thus the focus is on the male customers, not on the women who sell sex. In Russia, on the other hand, prostitution itself is still illegal but there is no sanction on buying sex; thus, the aim is to try to control the women who work as prostitutes. Prostitution is, therefore, in a legal grey area to some extent, and attitudes towards it are ambivalent, which forces women involved in sex work to keep secrets and take risks. Prostitutes in these areas try to find work in places that pose minimal risk to their reputations. Mobile prostitution in the Nordic countries allows women to preserve their reputations; women who work in their homeland try to gain employment at reputable and protective prostitution firms that will take care of them. But prostitution is not without risk in any context: mobile prostitutes risk being caught in a foreign country and refused the possibility to return to their home country; they also have to deal with unfamiliar fields of activity, lack of language proficiency, and a lack of familiarity with the cultural conventions. But one positive aspect of mobile prostitution is that it allows those who practice it to separate it from their everyday lives.

Local prostitutes who have children fear the child care authorities and the police, but benefit from working in a familiar environment and receiving help from informal networks. According to Elina Ihamäki (2004), prostitutes gain a feeling of autonomy by working in their own cultural surroundings. However, the fear of being marked as a prostitute is more prevalent in domestic sex work than in mobile prostitution (Spanger 2003, 180).

For the women who were interviewed for this study, prostitution simultaneously maintains a woman's social agency and challenges it. Like all Russian women, they are expected to be active citizens, and they are encouraged to have children. But the level of social support in Russia is not always sufficient to guarantee the welfare of mothers of small children. All of the women who were interviewed reported problems with custody or child support and violence in their intimate relationships. These women were forced to engage in prostitution in order to ensure their own and their children's wellbeing. The often-compulsive choice to engage in sex work means crossing a personal moral boundary and initiating a conflicting internal dialogue concerning the justification, consequences, benefits and disadvantages of this choice. Prostitution is often harmful to women and challenges them to reconstruct their identities. A prostitute's experience of stigmatization causes her to feel shame; this is reflected in her non-work relationships – especially those involving men.

Although Russian citizens recognize the prevalence of prostitution in their country, the activity is officially condemned. In the stories of the women who were interviewed for this research, the authorities often refused to help prostitutes. The condemnatory attitude of these authorities fractures the women's trust in the justice system and renders them sceptical of the social services that are offered.

Our article focuses on Russian women's stories of prostitution, but these stories contain a universal truth: prostitution is a product of social structures, a woman's position, the accessibility of support, and the personal, social and economic resources that are available. Prostitution is a way for women to survive. Women who practice prostitution are usually seen only as stereotypes, but the individual paths of their lives and the social contexts in which they live are integral to an understanding of the causes and effects of sex work. The stories of these women create understanding, offering an opportunity to see behind the dominant cultural story.

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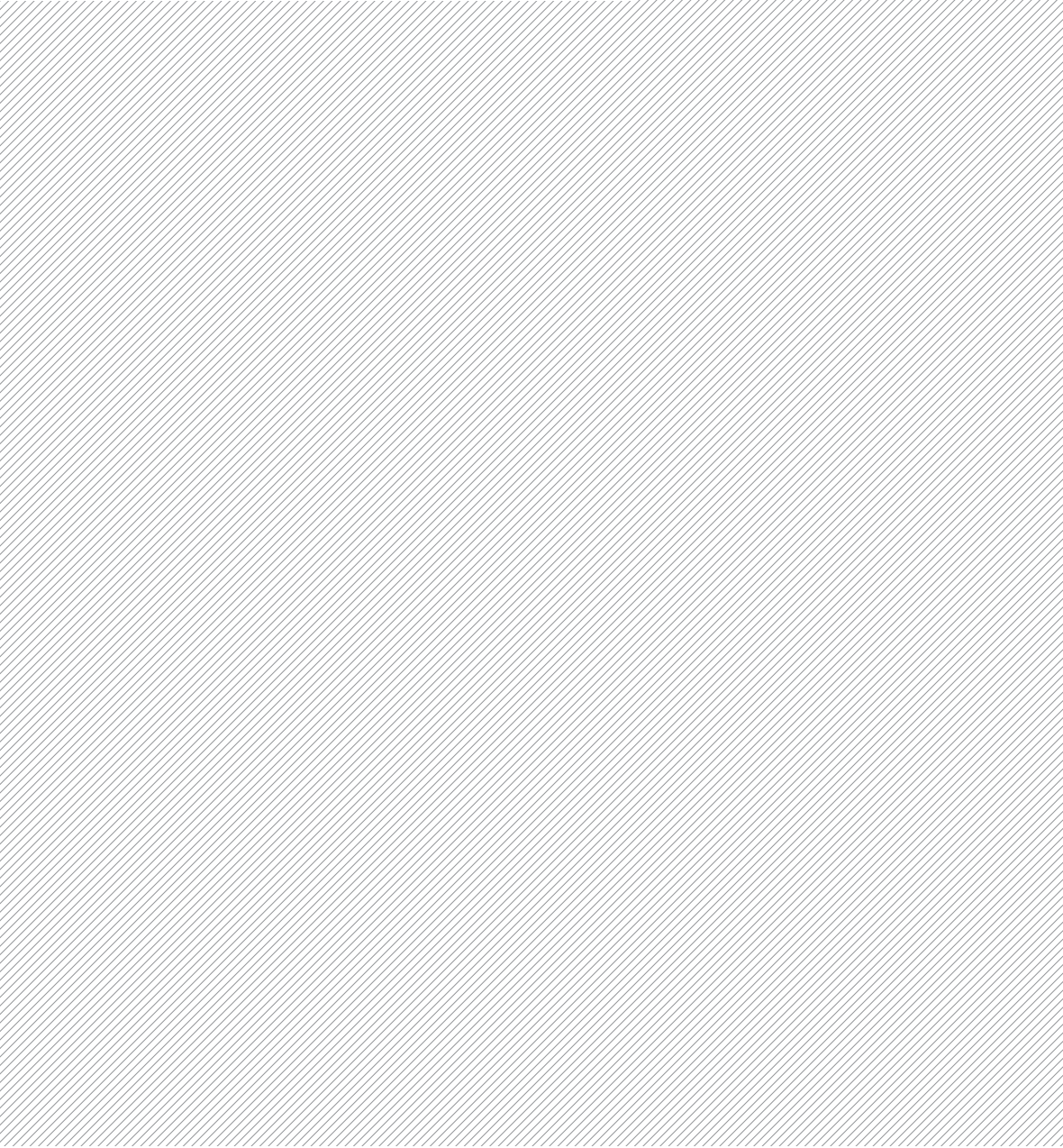
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**RESEARCH
COMMUNICATION**



Turn left for Murmansk:

'Fourth World' transculturalism and its cultural ecological framing

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ABSTRACT

In this paper we review briefly histories and ideologies underlying multiculturalism in Nordic countries, highlighting tensions between integrationist and inclusive approaches. We propose a cultural ecological framework through which we discuss the possibility of a transculturalism based on Fourth World engagement with the environment. Cultural ecology is about the reciprocal interactions and transactions between people and their environments. The Fourth World is a circum-global, pan-arctic region which includes the northern parts of some Nordic countries. We argue that whether or not there is a distinctively Nordic version of multiculturalism, Nordic countries have access to Fourth World ways of engaging with the environment which transcend notions of inter- and multiculturalism and the ideological tensions associated with them.

PREAMBLE

This paper was originally prepared for the conference 'Is there a Nordic version of multiculturalism?' held in Turku, Finland in September 2010. It was written as a direct response to the question raised by the conference. The question arose from the need for the world's industrial nations to find new strategies for incorporating ethnic minorities into the mainstream of their respective societies. Multiculturalism is a contested term; it is both controversial and misunderstood. It comes in a number of versions, reflecting the distinctive imprint of different societal cultures and political systems. In our conference presentation we focussed on 'Nordic' multiculturalism because the term 'Nordic' is associated with the socio-political-economic systems of several north European/

north Atlantic countries, although in the case of our argument, 'Fennoscandian' might have been a more appropriate term, as we concentrated on the systems of Finland, Sweden and Norway. The crucial point of the argument, however, is not the labels we attach to the countries, but rather the fact that all three countries have Arctic territories in the Barents Region, a place in the so-called 'Fourth World'. The notion of the 'Fourth World' has less to do with rigid socio-economic-political boundaries and much more to do with a way of life arising from an engagement with the environment that transcends boundaries and indeed transcends notions of multiculturalism.

INTRODUCTION

"Turn left for Murmansk" may appear to be a somewhat obscure metaphor, but it opens up an important line of argument. It is a metaphor for how worldviews shape the way we engage with our environment and thus how we perceive 'culture'. Travelling south by road from Inari, on the outskirts of Ivalo in Northern Finland, one comes across a sign to Murmansk. To most Europeans (at least to those who have heard of it) Murmansk is some distant outpost in arctic Russia, a place of sub-zero temperatures; it is part of a different world. Travelling from the South, the 'majoritarian' route, one turns right for Murmansk. In turning left, we aim to reverse the cultural metaphor of the dominant South, to take the perspective of the minoritarian North. To the relatively few people who live in those parts, and who enter Ivalo from the north, Murmansk is the next stop on the way to the White Sea. The fact that it is distant place in a different country is of little consequence. What is important is that it is part of the 'Fourth World': a circum-global, pan-arctic region where the ways in which people engage with their environment are cultural in a life-defining manner.

In this paper we first address the question of a Nordic version of multiculturalism by briefly reviewing underlying histories and ideologies. We then outline a cultural ecological framework which forms a theoretical foundation for 'transculturalism' based on Fourth World engagement with the environment. Our argument, which is built up systematically through the paper, is that Fourth World transculturalism transcends notions of inter- and multiculturalism.

PROBING THE QUESTION:

WHAT DO WE MEAN BY A NORDIC VERSION OF MULTICULTURALISM?

According to Greve (2007), the main ethic of the Nordic model of welfare is a form of *universalism* that has its precursors in the Age of Enlightenment, Utopian Socialism, Trade Unionism, the European revolutions of 1848 and Orthodox Marxism. It is deeply rooted in Lutheran Protestantism and concepts of equality. Greve (2007: 45) argues that: "in the welfare state literature different key words have been attached to the Nordic model when analyzing welfare regimes." In the following typology of ideologies, presented by Greve (2007, 45), the 'Nordic' model is embedded in trans-European models of welfarism:

- Social-democratic: high level of de-commodification; universal benefits and high degree of benefit equality;
- Scandinavian (modern): right to work for everyone; universalism; welfare state as employer of first resort and compensator of last resort;
- Non-right hegemony: high social expenditure and use of equalizing instruments in social policy;
- Protestant social-democratic: true work-welfare choice for women; high level of family benefits paid to the mother; importance of Protestantism;
- Scandinavian: social protection as citizenship right; universal coverage; relatively generous fixed benefits for various social risks; financing mainly through fiscal revenues; strong organizational integration;
- Nordic: low percentage of social expenditure financed through personal contributions; high social expenditure as a percentage of GDP; entitlement based on citizenship and labour force participation; use of flat-rate and earnings-related benefit principle.

The key principles to emerge from this typology are related to the interdependence of economic rights and obligations as part of a social compact between a Government and its citizens. But such a model (the Nordic Model) is predicated on ethnic homogeneity, which, according to Andersen et al. (2007, 39), was the norm at the time the welfare state developed and was associated with 'trust', a key ingredient in the 'social capital'

which was widely believed to improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated action. Since then, as Andersen et al. observe, immigration has been substantial and policies have not succeeded fully in integrating immigrants into the labour market and society at large.

Now, there is a widespread perception that the challenges of increasing immigration and of European convergence are creating imbalances in the ethnic composition of Nordic counties. For example, consider the following statement from Andersen et al. (2007, 23): Migration is a natural part of globalization, and flows of labour can support economic growth by, e.g., alleviating specific skill shortages. Immigration could also bring a temporary relief to the demographic challenge – but only under conditions which we believe to be politically unacceptable or unrealistic for other reasons. First, we must reserve the right to admit only young immigrants who are ready to join the labour force quickly and to accept the jobs offered. That puts high demands on the selection of immigrants with respect to age, education, health and language skills. Second, we must not admit dependents (children, parents, relatives) to come with them unless they also fulfil these criteria. Third, we need to ensure that the immigrants do not rely more on the welfare systems than the resident population, i.e., they must not have higher frequency of, for instance, sick absence, unemployment or early retirement. Even if these politically unrealistic conditions could be met, the positive effects of immigration would peter out as immigrants reach retirement age.

The challenges of immigration often result in assimilationist policies (as described by Andersen et al. above) which are in accord with the spirit of inclusion inherent in European Union social policies generally. *The European Index for Inclusion* (Leonard and Griffith, no date; Geddes et al. 2005) states: The duty that falls on states to readapt their societies in order to welcome new communities is immense. Governments must underline respect for the universal values that their states stand for and that attract immigration. But it should not be forgotten that the process of adaptation is not a one-way track. Immigrant communities have to respect the identity of their host society and attempt to develop a sense of integration. (Forward by EU Commissioner António Vitorino)

Integration (in the sense in which it is used in EU policy documents and assimilationist stances) is not the same as inclusion, although generally both terms are used interchangeably. Integration can be seen as a 'simple' process of assimilation and accommodation. The minority group, in order for it to be acknowledged as part of the

majority, needs to change and adopt the characteristics of the majority. The majority group accommodates the minority by changing some of its 'entry qualifications'. Integration does not fundamentally change the cultural characteristics of either group and results in a simple 'mixing' of social groups within given social settings. Integration, so defined, focuses on access and participation. Nancy (1991) talks of the 'inoperative community', whereby membership is defined as a 'given' (by the dominant group) and the conditions of membership of the pre-figured community are also determined in advance. In the examples discussed by Greve (2007), listed above, these social settings are essentially economic.

Inclusion on the other hand represents a series of values which are represented in social structures through emergence. A community comes into being only through the participation of its members. The nature of the community is not pre-figured, nor are membership conditions established *a priori*. Instead, social structures emerge through mutuality, reciprocity and interdependence (Bayliss 2003) and necessarily transcend the merely economic or political to embrace the sociocultural aspects of community.

The view of integration expressed in *The European Index for Inclusion* is based on a complex model of citizenship predicated on a series of dimensions (Table 1) which bear a striking resemblance to the Nordic Welfare Model:

DIMENSION	SHORT-TERM	LONG-TERM
ECONOMIC	Entry into the job market Financial independence	Career advancement Income parity
SOCIAL	Established social network Accessing institutions	Diversity within social networks Engaging in efforts to change institutions
CULTURAL	Adaptation of various aspects of lifestyle	Engaging in efforts to redefine cultural identity
POLITICAL	Voting	Participation in political parties Participation in sociopolitical movements

Table 1. Dimensions of integration (Leonard and Griffith no date: 10)

In the European (and Nordic) project of continuing a universalist welfare system based on citizenship – which, in turn, is based on access, participation and rights – the cultural aspects of *integration* (in both the EU and Nordic systems) are dependent – following from Leonard and Griffith above – on ‘adaptation and redefinition of lifestyles/cultural identities’. The multiculturalism inherent in such a model, which could also be based on a ‘Nordic Model’, attracts such labels as ‘social-democratic’, ‘non-right hegemony’, ‘Protestant social-democratic’, and ‘encompassing’. If the process of integration is integral to the notion of the nation state (or confederations of nation states), then a dominant cultural identity can act as a ‘normative hegemony’ (Bayliss & Dillon 2010) which can be defined, transmitted to other cultural groups, and translated into assimilationist policies which, in turn, create transformations in the cultural minorities (Cowen 2006; 2009). Such a crude ‘multiculturalism’ embraces difference, requires it to change, and then to be assimilated in the majoritarian understanding of the ‘home state’.

Here we would argue that the precursors to the Nordic Welfare system (the Age of Enlightenment, Utopian Socialism, Trade Unionism, the European revolutions of 1848, Orthodox Marxism and Protestantism) are also precursors to a ‘universalist’ multiculturalism that seeks the integration – but not necessarily the inclusion – of ethnic minorities. If we are seeking to move beyond assimilation (of the minorities) or accommodation of difference (by the majorities), we must move towards understanding ‘multicultural’ as something different from a universal model of a ‘common culture’, which may or may not warrant the label ‘Nordic’.

Giroux (1992, 15) observes that the attempt to accommodate pluralism to a ‘common culture’, rather than to a shared vision grounded in the radical possibilities of democratic public life, underestimates the tendency of the dominant culture to eliminate cultural differences, multiple literacies, and diverse communities in the name of one-dimensional narratives constructed around issues such as nationalism, citizenship, and patriotism. Further, he notes that “conservative and liberal discourses that conflate multiculturalism with the imperatives of a ‘common culture’ generally suppress any attempts to call into question the norm of whiteness as an ethnic category that secures its dominance by appearing to be invisible” (Giroux 1992, 15).

For Giroux (1992, 23), ‘borders’ are arenas where big cultural issues may be explored. He sees borders as representing, both metaphorically and literally, how power is inscribed differently on the body, culture, history, space, land, and psyche. Borders, he

says, “elicit recognition of those epistemological, political, cultural, and social margins that distinguish between ‘us and them’”; they create “new cartographies of identity and difference” (1992, 23). In terms of education, Giroux proposes a ‘border pedagogy’ where the relationships between self and Otherness may be explored, allowing educators to “move out of the centre of the dominant culture to its margins in order to analyze critically the political, social, and cultural lineaments of their own values and voices as viewed from different ideological and cultural spaces” (Giroux 1992, 32).

Giroux recognises that communities have emergent qualities which are inclusive, not merely integrative; the implication of self in the construction of Otherness requires an ideological shift from integration to inclusion. Whereas no single theory exists of what multiculturalism is or how it should be at all times and places (Rex and Singh 2003, 116), Giroux offers a route out of crude definitions towards ‘culture’ as a construction which emerges from different ideological (and ideational), political and social spaces.

The distinction drawn by Franz Rosenzweig (1886-1929) between ‘old thinking’ and ‘new thinking’ is helpful here. Old thinking, in seeking universal truth, has a propensity to: abstract from the contexts in which people experience the world around them. Rosenzweig calls this ‘abstraction from time’; reason out a single ground by way of explanation, thereby reducing particular things to something other than what they are. Rosenzweig calls this ‘reductive reasoning’; reason that the ‘All’ can be grasped in its unity. Rosenzweig calls this ‘thinking from an absolute standpoint’ (Pollock 2009).

Culture cannot be understood by abstracting the concept from time, by reducing it through reason to a crude essentialism, or by seeking to understand it from a universal stand-point where ‘culture’ can be apprehended as an ontological object in its entirety. As Pollock (2009) says, “Faced with the reductive tendencies of the ‘old thinking’ Rosenzweig proposes a ‘new thinking’ that pursues knowledge of ‘God’, the world, and the self in their interrelations, *from out of the individual standpoint of the human being in time*” (Pollock 2009, original emphasis).

CULTURAL ECOLOGICAL FRAMING

In probing the question ‘Is there a Nordic version of multiculturalism?’ we have revealed a number of historically based ideological trajectories which account, in part, for the uneasy relationship between integration and inclusion and which underpin widely held views about multiculturalism. In this section we re-frame the question from a cultural

ecological perspective. Such a perspective emphasises the reciprocal interactions and transactions between people and their environments, where 'environment' is taken to mean not just physical surroundings but also psychological, social and cultural dimensions of human engagement. In framing the argument in this way, we also address the tension between Rosenzweig's 'old thinking' and 'new thinking'.

A cultural ecological framework recognises that, on the one hand, people experience, understand and conceptualise the world around them in qualitatively different ways and, on the other hand, there are bodies of collectively agreed, 'disciplined' knowledge. In the first, the meaning arising from a situation is contingent on that situation (i.e., the two are co-constitutional) and it is thus essentially phenomenological. In the second, meaning arising from a situation may be related to disciplined knowledge through a variety of socialisation processes (i.e., it is relational) (Dillon 2008).

In cultural ecological terms, the particularities of the ways in which people engage with their environment – more specifically, the dynamics of the relationship between co-constitutional and relational forms of meaning – define notions of both 'place' and 'worldview'. The western, industrialised worldview places great emphasis on relational categories, on how one thing is defined in relation to another. The ideologies underlying the historical development of the notion of multiculturalism, which were reviewed briefly in the previous section, are an outcome of the systematic categorisation that is typical of relational thinking. Relational thinking, by its very nature, emphasises difference and gives rise to organisational structures that make distinctions and show how one thing *relates* to another. Immigration becomes a matter of assimilation, of 'educating' immigrants or minorities into the ways of the majoritarian culture. This is a relational way of dealing with immigration and ethnicity: incomers and minority groups are seen in terms of what they need to become, the values, behaviours and ways of thinking they need to adopt. In such a worldview, 'multiculturalism' remains a contested construct.

An alternative way of viewing immigration and the situation of minority groups is through what in cultural ecological terms are co-constitutional processes. This means going with the flow of how incomers and minorities engage with their environment. It is certain that this will involve adopting some majoritarian ways, but it also leaves the door open for the emergence of something different, new configurations (co-constitutions) of behaviour and environment. This is not cultural fusion of the type implied

by inter- and multiculturalism, where elements of cultures are brought together either harmoniously or in a state of tension. Rather, it looks beyond cultural fusion for new possibilities. The cultural ecological configurations are locationally dependent; they recognise that human behaviour and the environment co-construct each other in complex ways which cannot be reduced to economic determinism.

The cultural ecological approach seeks to avoid privileging one form of meaning over another (co-constitutional-relational; relational-co-constitutional). Rather it recognises that 'in the moment' experience and established ways of thinking about the world are constantly re-forming each other in ways that are themselves co-constitutional and relational. Systematic understanding of the world is derived through cumulative organisation and rearrangement of experientially acquired understandings of the world (Marton 1993). This is compatible with Husserl's (1954) 'phenomenological tradition' and its more recent representations in, for example, the work of Varela, Thompson and Rosch (1991) and Thompson (2007), who argue that life and mind, experience and cognition, share a core set of formal, self-organising properties. It also offers a new take on Rosenzweig's old and new thinking, seeing them in a condition of dynamic tension rather than as being mutually exclusive. A transcultural worldview recognises a similar dynamic between the relational and the co-constitutional (see also Dillon et al. 2008).

TOWARDS A FOURTH WORLD TRANSCULTURALISM

Pentikäinen (2006,120) suggests that: ...the Fourth World of (arctic) indigenous peoples [...] represents a symbiotic relationship between the environment, ways of life, religion and language, cemented through harsh living conditions where cultural, religious and economic activity focuses on survival. The scarce and varying supplies of natural resources, food and vitamins, the darkness and cold represent risks which people can eliminate if they have access to a wide variety of alternative ways to make a living.

In cultural ecological terms, Pentikäinen's assertions can be framed around a constantly adapting dynamic between co-constitutional and relational ways of being. The western, industrialised notion of the nation state and its confederations (e.g., the European Union) privileges systematic definition and organisation. Policy documents both define multiculturalism and establish criteria through which it may be demonstrated. In one sense this is multiculturalism as the abstracted notion of people who no longer have to worry about their own survival.

By 'survival' we mean conditions conducive to a 'good life'. These include: conditions of the physical environment such as clean water, clean air, acceptable climatic conditions, and minimal contact with parasites and pathogens; dietary conditions concerning the quality of food, calorie intake, a balanced diet, and social norms governing the consumption of food; and conditions of the personal and social environment including sensory stimulation, patterns of physical work and sleeping, opportunities for learning and practice of skills, involvement in recreational activities, opportunities for spontaneity in behaviour, emotional support networks, access to extended family, peer and friendship groups, a social environment that confers responsibilities and obligations, freedom of movement, and an environment and a lifestyle that are conducive to a sense of personal involvement, purpose, belonging, responsibility, interest, excitement, challenge, satisfaction, comradeship, love, enjoyment, confidence, and security (for more detail see Boyden 1987 and Dillon 2008).

Relational structures are 'comfortable' and have defined the Western industrialised notion of a 'good life'. But they dilute the imperative of addressing the particularities of locality, of the 'in the moment' experiences of individuals. 'Survival' is now a matter of access to economic activity (market economics) or support (welfare), both highly regulated and thus relational forms of being. If we see 'survival' in the modern state as a manifestation of the dimensions offered by Leonard and Griffith in Table 1 above, we are in danger of resorting to 'old ways of thinking' where 'survival' is seen as an abstraction from time, reduced to an essentialist position of 'minimum living standards', and seen from an absolutist standpoint of 'the citizen' as defined by the State.

Reconfiguring 'old thinking' into 'new thinking' - thinking that pursues knowledge of 'God', the world, environment, community and self in their interrelations through engagement with a Fourth World cosmology - allows us to revisit the concepts of both 'culture' and 'multiculturalism'.

Thus, the concept of 'culture' has a '*topos*' (Muckelbauer 2008) or, more appropriately, *topoi*. The Greek word *topos* can be roughly translated as 'place', 'site', 'location' or 'space'. If we reject the abstraction, essentialism and absolute standpoint of a majoritarian culture, then the concept of 'culture' has a variety of *topoi*. Scheper-Hughes and Lock (1987) argue in their seminal work on the complexity of the concept of culture that 'culture' can be analysed at different levels of operation: Culture has a 'site': it can operate at the level of the phenomenological 'body' of lived experience; it can operate at

the level of the 'social body' and the 'body politic'; Culture has a 'location': temporal and geographical; It has a 'place': the interrelationship of 'site' and 'location'. Following Rozenzweig, this relates to the 'individual standpoint of the human being in time'; It is situated in a 'space': the ideational/conceptual/historical/cosmological/worldview interweaving of 'place' and its discursive practices.

A 'Nordic model of multiculturalism' might be seen in terms of environment, ways of life, religion and language, cemented through living conditions where cultural, religious and economic activity focus on 'survival' (seen in terms of access and participation). If we re-configure this 'old thinking' into 'new thinking' and ask questions about 'site' and 'place' as relational and co-constitutional configurations of what it means to be human and 'survive', then we might understand 'survival' through the lens of the *dynamic complexity* of the conditions listed above by Boyden (1987) and Dillon (2008) and the possibilities that emerge from this complexity.

Mikkel Nils Sara was brought up as a reindeer herder within the traditional reindeer Sami *siida*. He explains: This meant I had to learn all about the reindeer and the landscape that we migrated through – and to know who my relatives were, both close and distant relatives, and also how to know how others were connected to each other through family of the *verdde* (the *verdde* relation is a Sami institution of mutual friendship and cooperation, including exchange of services, between herders and people outside reindeer herding e.g., settled people by the sea or inland farming peasants), institutional bonds. In all your doings it was a matter of case to keep a broad view of all [these] things, which means both the ecological and social matters that were relevant to your utterances, conduct or uttering" (Sara 2002, 23).

Sara is describing a dynamic between the co-constitutional and the relational, a particular relationship between 'being in the moment' and social and ecological structures. This dynamic relationship might be termed 'transcultural'. It recognises and acknowledges difference but at the same time seeks an accommodation that reflects a temporally dependent dynamic between site, location, place and space. This is adaptive rather than categorised culture. It recognises inclusivity in the collective endeavour.

CONCLUSION

Analysis of the ideological and political foundations of both European Union and Nordic versions of multiculturalism reveal them to be essentially assimilative, driven by

economic imperatives and located within conceptions of universalist national ‘cultures’. Pihl (2010) argues that we need a framework for analysis that transcends the nation state. She adds that taking ‘identity’ and ‘culture’ as primary ontological concepts is not helpful because they can be used indiscriminately by both sides in an argument. She suggests taking ‘difference’ as the primary ontological concept; then ‘all’ are different. Similarly, Faist (2006) suggests that rather than use ascriptive categories (e.g., gender, age and ethnicity), we should look instead at worldviews, dispositions, capabilities, and so on.

In a cultural ecological framework, individuals and groups, no matter how defined, represent different configurations of the relational and the co-constitutional, different configurations between people and the resources of their environment, where ‘resources’ denotes not just material potential but also individual and collective beliefs, skills, capabilities, and so on. The cultural ecological frame is thus broadly compatible with the assertions of both Phil and Faist in the way it is predicated on the possibility of an emergent and adaptive (rather than a prescribed or presumed) accommodation between difference and inclusion.

To return to our metaphor ‘turn left for Murmansk’, the changing of direction signifies a reconfiguration (a Deleuzian ‘deterritorialization’; see Deleuze and Guattari 1987, 1991) of the cultural understanding of the relationship between dominant (majoritarian) and minoritarian, between majoritarian and the Fourth World. We argue that whether or not there is a distinctively Nordic version of multiculturalism as such, or indeed any other bespoke version of multiculturalism, Nordic countries have a place in the Fourth World and as such have access to ways of engaging with the environment which transcend notions of inter- and multiculturalism.

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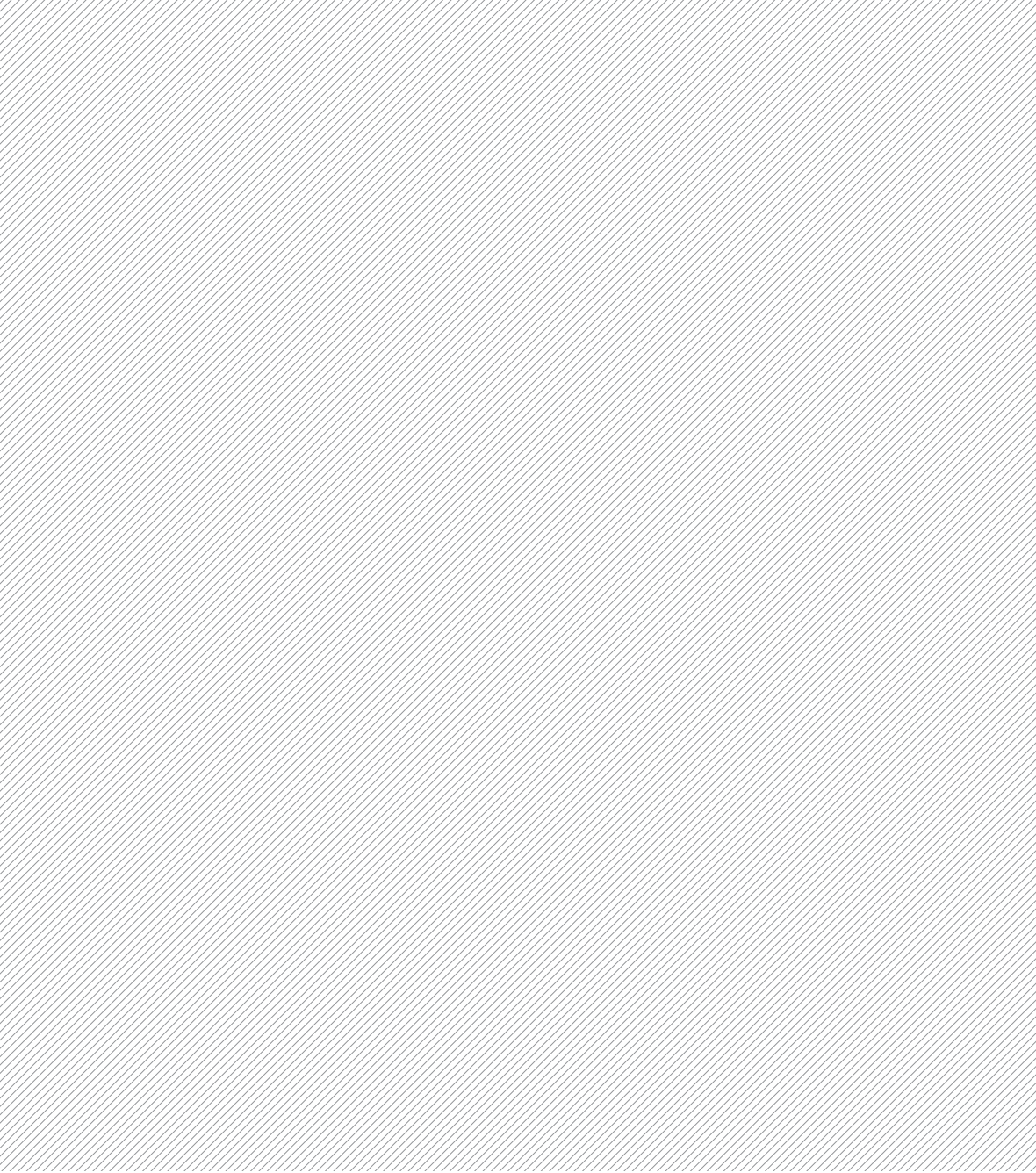
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BOOK REVIEWS



A turbulent twenty years in the socio-economic development of the Murmansk region

KARI SYNBERG *Ph.D. in Geography*

Vladimir V. Didyk and Larissa A. Riabova

Trends of economic and social development of the Murmansk region: Results of the monitoring during the two decades of the market reforms.

Apatity, Kola Science Centre, 2012. 265 p.

The issues in the Arctic today are essentially economic, political and global. One of the most interesting arctic areas for the Nordic countries is the Murmansk region, which is located entirely above the Arctic Circle. The significance of the region may be seen in the fact that there are Finnish and Norwegian diplomatic missions located in the city of Murmansk. The economy of the Murmansk region faces problems associated with the harsh climatic conditions, a crucial factor affecting the conditions for production and the settlement system in particular. On the other hand, the Murmansk region is very rich in natural resources and has deposits of several hundred economically exploitable minerals, as well as the advantage of its geographical location and ice-free harbours. Today the region is industrially quite well developed, with an economy based on the extraction and primary processing of natural resources.

During the last twenty years the development of the Russian North and its regions has been characterized by a sharp increase in the role of economic and social data in the management of socio-economic change. Two researchers from the Kola Science Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Dr. Vladimir Didyk and Dr. Larissa Riabova, published last year a Russian language monograph entitled “Trends of economic and social development of the Murmansk region: Results of the monitoring during the two decades of the market reforms”. This book will fill the need for information on this topic, and it is focused on the general development and social changes in one of the regions of the Russian Far North and the Arctic: the Murmansk region.

The text of this publication is based on a monitoring survey carried out by Didyk and Riabova from 1990 to 2012, but also within the framework of the Russian-Finnish research project “Economic monitoring of North-West Russia” in collaboration with the Centre for Markets in Transition, CEMAT, Helsinki School of Economics. Part of the work was carried out within the project “The Russian Arctic: The modern paradigm of development”, through a grant from the Russian Foundation for Humanities Research (RGNF). This means that the material in this publication has, for the most part, been published earlier, but it has now been collected in the form of a monograph. According to the authors, the book is addressed to a wide audience: researchers, practical specialists, students and postgraduates, as well as all readers who are interested in issues concerning the socio-economic development of the Far North and the Arctic regions of the Russian Federation.

The book can be divided into two main parts: the first part presents statistical and analytical materials, and the second identifies the key trends of economic and social development in the past twenty years from a present-day perspective. During the period of market reforms in the 1990s, there were significant changes in the economy of the Murmansk region and in the Russian economy as a whole. According to Riabova and Didik, the next few years – up to 1999 – were a period of decreasing GDP; the decline in industrial production was -32 % (on the other hand, the decline in Russia as a whole was -50%). This decline was due to the structural features of the region's economy, which was – and still is – dominated by export-oriented companies focused on the extraction and primary processing of natural resources (mining and fishing). In addition, unfavourable market prices for basic goods had a negative influence on the net financial results of all companies in the region. During these years the number of people in the work force decreased due to out migration and unemployment in the region.

Between 2000 and 2010 there was a period of economic development and restorative growth of the industrial output. Favourable price developments for the region's main industrial items contributed greatly to this trend. But there were also some negative features, such as less diversification in the economy and the increasing use of non-renewable natural resources. According to the authors, during the years covered by the study, there was a relatively low rate of capital investment in the region, including a failure to invest in the modernization of the industry. It is obvious that investments are a prerequisite and a major driving force for future economic and social development. The researchers have noted the worldwide economic crisis and its negative effects on the economy of the Murmansk region; similar trends and effects were also observed in

other areas of Russia.

This book identifies the major trends in regional development, among them key trends that could lead to fundamental changes in the regional society in the short and long terms. It also identifies the most acute problems of socio-economic development in the Murmansk region requiring urgent solutions. Some results of the monitoring have already been used by the federal government, the government of the Murmansk region and local administration. One of the principle merits of this book is its long-term monitoring over a twenty-year period, its continuity and its regularity (twice a year). The researchers used a selected range of indicators throughout the period 1992-2012 and used a method that gives an accurate and useful picture of the development of the region. In addition, in 2010 the researchers, in cooperation with CEMAT, established a novel analytical framework for studying the regional economy and anticipating its future developments. This framework is called Dynamic SWOT Analysis (DSWOT). DSWOT provides a table with twelve different categories, some of which may be empty while others include several factors. This analytical tool helps the reader better understand further development in the Murmansk region.

The book discusses social and economic changes during the twenty-year period starting in 1992, and as Didyk and Riabova write, this is a relatively short historical period; however, it was extremely important for the region's socio-economic development, as well as socio-economic development in Russia as a whole. It is primarily associated with the implementation of a market economy in the Murmansk region and throughout the country. These changes have affected not only the economic and social spheres, but have also changed the political sphere.

According to the authors, some positive achievements are obvious, although some negative effects can also be found. For example, in the economic sphere, first of all, the launch of private business and the possibility to more freely implement private initiatives are essential positive achievements. In the political sphere, the development of democracy and civil society, the establishment of local self-governance, and the empowerment of regional and local authorities in promoting the interests of the region's population can be mentioned. As for the negative effects, the authors raise social issues especially: a sharp decline in the standard of living of the majority of the population and the social stratification of society in the 1990s. This includes such phenomena as the appearance of a social class of "new poor", including health care, education and culture workers, the growth of unemployment, a decline in fertility, increased mortal-

ity, and reduced life expectancy. These and other trends, which are analysed in detail in the book, show the high social cost of market reform for the residents of the Murmansk region.

Didyk and Riabova have presented an interesting period of Russian history, an era of chaos and restructuring. The detailed analysis of the transformational socio-economic processes and trends in the Murmansk region is impressive. Even though the book's text has previously been published in the form of separate articles and reports, the monograph gives readers an overall picture of the development and thus holds a well-deserved place among Russian-language publications. To my knowledge, this type of report, in which the development of one area is monitored for almost 20 years, has not been published previously in Russia. This book is therefore highly recommended, and I hope that someday it will also be published in English.

Focus on climate change work on regional and local levels

ILONA METTIÄINEN *Researcher, Arctic Centre, University of Lapland*

Satu Himanen, Jouko Inkeröinen, Kirsi Latola, Tero Väisänen, and Erkki Alasaarela
Analysis of Regional Climate Strategies in the Barents Region.

Reports of the Ministry of the Environment

23en 2012. Helsinki, Ministry of the Environment, 2012. 31 p.

The Finnish Ministry of the Environment published a report at the end of the year 2012 on regional climate change strategies in the Barents region. The report addresses a topic that is gaining increasing interest among both academics and policy-makers: the sub-national – and particularly the regional – level in climate adaptation and mitigation work. The report emphasizes the important fact that climate change is not only an environmental issue, but it has also economic and social impacts that deserve attention. Regional climate change strategies are seen, from a top-down perspective, as essential in achieving national and international (e.g. the EU's) goals on climate change issues. On the other hand, in regional climate strategies also issues that are specific for each region can be addressed.

The purpose of the report of the Ministry of the Environment is two-fold: to evaluate the incorporation of Finland's national climate change goals, as set in the National Climate and Energy Strategy (2008), into the regional and local climate strategies in Northern Finland and, particularly, to identify good practices by describing and analyzing the formulation processes of three regional climate strategies in northernmost Finland: Northern Ostrobothnia, Lapland and Kainuu. In addition, climate change work in other parts of the Barents region, Västerbotten in Sweden and Murmansk Oblast in Russia, is briefly discussed for purposes of comparison, as well as three local climate strategies (Oulu sub-region, Rovaniemi and Kajaani) in Northern Finland. The focus of the report is, however, on the Finnish regions and particularly Northern Ostrobothnia. These regions were chosen because of their rather similar natural conditions. Moreover, the formulation of the strategies took place sequentially or simultaneously in 2009–2011, and contacts were made between the strategy projects.

The lessons learned from among the three regional climate strategies formulated recently in Northern Finland are meant to be utilized in climate change strategy work in other parts of the Barents Euro-Arctic Region. As the authors state, the Barents region – unlike other places in the Arctic – has a relatively dense population, and the region's livelihoods are dependent on weather and climatic conditions. Hence adaptation to climate change is urgent in the region. The report was prepared as part of the Finnish presidency of the Working Group on Environment (WGE) of the Barents Euro-Arctic Council (BEAC) in 2012–2013. The Chairmanship Programme¹ suggests, furthermore, both a Barents-level action plan on climate change and cooperation between member regions in formulating regional climate strategies.

The analysis was conducted based on the strategy documents and interviews with 3–5 key persons involved in the strategy formulation processes in each of the three regions in Northern Finland. The focus is on analyzing the planning processes, and aspects such as the participation of various stakeholder groups, project coordination, funding, management and strategy implementation are discussed. At the time the report was published it was, however, too early to evaluate the success of the implementation phase of the regional climate strategies.

The lessons learned are versatile and practical, even if not entirely unfamiliar in existing literature on participatory planning and strategic management. For instance the identified problems and recommendations regarding stakeholders' participation in the strategy formulation comply largely with the existing body of knowledge on participatory planning. On the other hand, some of the findings are particularly worth mentioning. For instance, a communications plan is recommended to ensure innovative and effective communication concerning the preparation of climate strategies and for the dissemination of climate-friendly practices. Examples of potentially useful tools for communicating about the planning processes and climate-friendly everyday-life practices include versatile use of social media and creative campaigns such as the Climate-Friendly Families experiment from Kainuu Region. Moreover, the formulation of local climate strategies should be synchronized with regional ones in order to achieve more with fewer resources. Regarding human resources in climate change strategy work, a

¹ The Chairmanship Programme of Finland 2012–2013 for the Working Group on Environment of the Barents Euro-Arctic Council, available at: http://www.barentsinfo.fi/beac/docs/WGE_Finnish_Chairmanship_Action_Program_2012_2013.pdf (accessed June 15, 2013).

combination of an “in-house” project manager and invited consultants is considered the best solution for simultaneously acquiring the best expertise for the planning process and ensuring successful implementation of the climate strategy.

From an academic perspective, the report’s lack of references to scientific literature reduces its value. Some extremely interesting arguments made in the report would benefit from the provision of a specific source. Also the research methods and data supporting the sections on Murmansk Oblast and Västerbotten are not specified beyond a reference to the UNDP report on the impacts of climate change in Murmansk Oblast. More transparency concerning the “insider knowledge” of the authors on some of the planning processes analyzed in the report would have been recommended particularly had the report been called an evaluation in a strict sense. However, the report serves as a step towards more in-depth research and opens new research topics to be addressed. For instance, the factors behind the differences between the strategic solutions in the regions (both with regard to the planning processes and the contents of the strategies) remain partly unexplored. For future work on regional climate change strategies in the Barents region, it should be considered how the lessons that have been learned mainly from Finnish cases can be applied in the planning and political-administrational cultures of the other Barents member countries.

To conclude, the report serves well to open discussion and provides a convincing reference for policy-makers on the importance of climate change work at the sub-national level. The report is also a milestone in the work on regional climate change strategies in the Barents Euro-Arctic Council during Finland’s chairmanship of the WGE. Above all, the recommended practices can further promote and facilitate regional climate strategy work in the Barents region.

A multidisciplinary approach to governance in the Barents Region

KAJ ZIMMERBAUER *Post doctoral researcher, Department of Geography, University of Oulu*

Monica Tennberg (ed.)

Politics of Development in the Barents Region

Rovaniemi, Lapland University Press, 2012. 384 p.

Politics of Development in the Barents Region is a new book that aims ambitiously to “go beyond the study of regional institution-building for sustainable development”¹. The book consists of 14 chapters and an introduction; the chapters are organized into three parts: 1) Rationalities of governing (four chapters), 2) Governance in practice (five chapters), and 3) Governing everyday life (five chapters). The book is based on multidisciplinary research co-operation between Russian and Nordic researchers, and followed four workshops and two conferences held between 2010 and 2012. The book is the main product of the researcher network, and it presents a new generation of scholars who are interested in the Barents region and its sustainable development. The book is edited by Monica Tennberg, who is a research professor at the Arctic Centre of the University of Lapland. She is also the coordinator of the researcher network.

The first part of the book discusses issues related to state policy and its transition in post-Soviet times in the Russian North, soft (and softer than soft) law co-operation in the Barents region, legal pluralism and corporate social responsibility in the context of forest companies, as well as political and legal climate governance. The second part focuses on local self-government in the Russian part of the Barents region, pitfalls and

¹ Tennberg, M., Riabova, L. and Espiritu, A. (2012). Introduction to politics of development in the Barents region. In Tennberg, M. (ed.) *Politics of Development in the Barents Region*. Rovaniemi, Lapland University Press.

challenges for Finnish projects in the Murmansk region, sustainable transportation and planning in the Far North, the issue of trust in the timber supply chain, and a multilevel governance perspective on renewable energy policies in the Barents region. The last part highlights the happiness of Northern Swedes, Pomor fishing villages' rights to traditional use of resources, life as an immigrant in Rovaniemi, and the idea of gendered economic development in the North. The last chapter presents some conclusions and outlines suggestions for further research.

On the whole, the book is an important and topical contribution to the issues of governance and sustainable development in the far north. It successfully highlights both the structures of governance in various contexts and the challenges of finding a balance between economic growth, human development and environmental considerations. As such, the book delivers what it promises, going well beyond the official and established structures of the co-operation in the Barents region. Accordingly, the book demonstrates that supranational 'neoliberal' regionalism results in a degree of asymmetry (which is often tolerated by the nation states) and alternative, often competing regional agendas and aspirations that occasionally splinter the region instead of helping in its construction. The chapters underline that there is a multiplicity of scales, actors and interests within the region. In a relational manner, some chapters point out that the politics of development is also defined from outside the region. This is the case particularly in the chapters that focus on the supply chain in the timber industry and state policy in the Russian north.

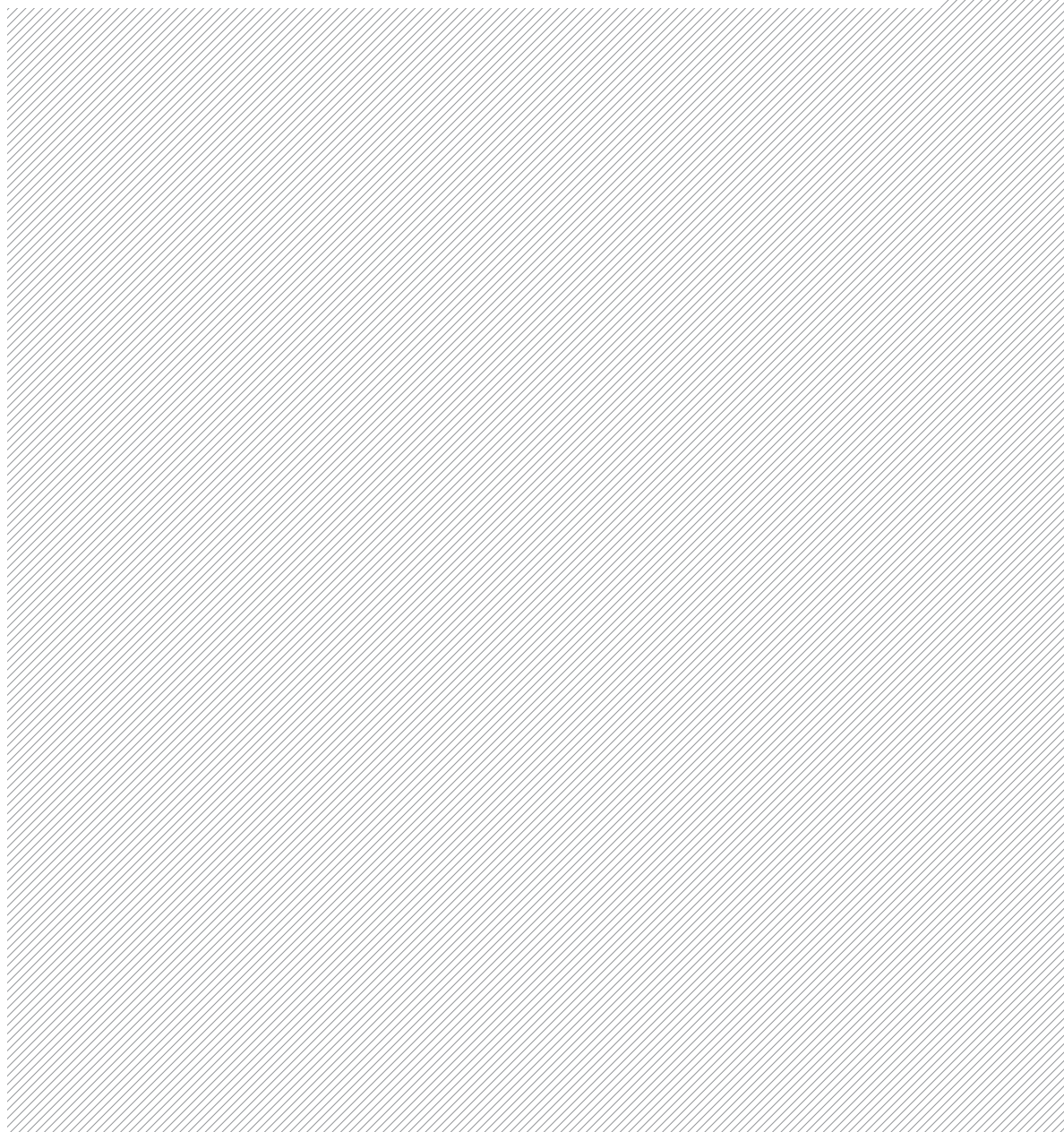
However, some points of criticism must be raised. Thematically, the book is rather loosely organized, particularly towards the end. Some chapters in the last part appear to go somewhat beyond the scope of the book and are not very well linked to the book's main focal points. Although sustainable development is a wide-ranging concept (like the politics of development), better interconnectedness of the chapters would have made the book thematically more uniform. Although the multidisciplinary approach is to be praised, it thus entails some thematic vagueness. Moreover, in a manner that is reminiscent of the fragmented nature of Barents co-operation as a whole, some chapters go well beyond the Barents region and some focus on only a small part of it, not anchoring themselves to the Barents region as such particularly well. With respect to that, it would have been interesting to read more about whether the multi-level governance in Barents co-operation has actually had a transforming effect on the issues associated with sustainable development, given the fact that the recent trend of neoliberalism and geo-economization tends to emphasize competitiveness, business and international

trade networks. However, the chapters of the book are, as single articles, interesting, well written and informative for the most part. They also contribute to the discussions related to multilevel governance.

At the end of the book, some conclusions and suggestions for further research are made. The most tangible suggestion is to develop a joint Barents research program that would enable scholars to critically study the relationship between regional dynamics and sustainable development. Future studies should not only develop long-term Nordic-Russian research partnerships, but also challenge the dominant economically driven discourses of sustainable development and highlight issues related to various governance practices. While this idea deserves full support, it should also be considered whether there is a need for more research on the dynamics of cross-border co-operation and how supranational regionalization occurs through the territory/network interplay.

This book can be recommended to all who are interested in multilevel governance in the Far North. While it could have placed more emphasis on the transformation of the politics of development in the context of the official Barents co-operation since its establishment in 1993, it nevertheless presents several extremely interesting topics dealing with diverse issues of governing and governance in different scales and contexts.

YOUNG RESEARCHERS OF THE BARENTS REGION



Elena Golubeva

Associated Professor

Department of Social Work and Social Security,

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I am interested in international cooperation in education and research, and that is why I have worked as a participant, researcher, and coordinator in more than 14 educational and scientific international (Finland, Norway, Sweden) and Russian projects concerning international social work, public health and social issues of gerontology and the quality of life of vulnerable groups in the High North. In March 1998 I defended my PhD dissertation in human physiology, which focused on morphological and functional characteristics of women's somatotypes in the European North of Russia. After a series of articles on the quality of life of the elderly population in the Russian North, I was named the Best Junior Researcher in the field of gerontology in the Russian Federation by the Russian Academy of Science in 2006.

The main topic of my postdoctoral research in the field of gerontology is a thesis entitled "The quality of life of the elderly population in the Russian part of the BEAR (taking the Arkhangelsk region as an example): Ways of improving the organization of medical and social services". I defended this thesis at the Institute of Bioregulation and Gerontology (North-West Branch of the Russian Academy of Medical Sciences) in St. Petersburg in December 2012. The aim of my study was to establish the characteristics of the process of population aging and make a comprehensive assessment of the factors that influence the quality of life of elderly people living in sparsely populated areas of the Russian part of the BEAR.

The aging of the population is one of the most important global problems facing humanity in the 21st century, exerting a significant influence on social and economic processes. In Russia in the last 60 years the proportion of children in the population has almost been halved, while the proportion of older people, in contrast, has almost tripled. The role of environmental influences, social, hygienic and psychophysiological factors in aging has increased. The concept of successful aging and the development of new types of medical and social services that address the needs of the elderly popula-

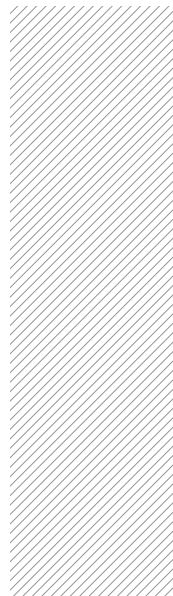
"Aging of the
population is
one of the most
important global
problems"



tion are the subject of an active dialogue between policy makers and scientists emphasizing improvements in the quality of life.

My thesis developed a comprehensive socio-ecological approach to the determination of the influence of health and social services on the main components of quality of life in old age, as well as interactions between social health care and elderly individuals as consumers of health and social services, and how these factors enhance the quality of life of elderly residents of the Russian part of the BEAR. It is shown that the family and close microenvironment of elderly adults are a significant resource that enhances the quality of life and that there is an accelerated decline in the functional systems of people living in nursing homes. Furthermore, it is evident that there is an increase in the rate of biological aging in men, in comparison with women, in the sparsely populated rural areas in the European North. The identifiable major risk factors that reduce the quality of life in different types of accommodation and services in urban and rural areas, including the microenvironment, are alcohol abuse, loneliness, and aspects of aging related to sex in individuals with alcohol dependence syndrome living in residential care, with the highest rate of decline of functional systems occurring in women. The principles for improving health and social care are based on the application of the model of empowering older people through the system of services for sparsely populated territories of the Russian part of the BEAR.

Last year I was appointed Vice-Director of International Co-operation of Integrated Safety Institute in NARFU, worked as a local coordinator of the BCBU Joint Master program "Comparative Social Work", and participated in the UArctic's Thematic Network on Health and Well-being in the Arctic in the framework of a Joint Master program with the University of Oulu in Finland.



"The High North
represents
the potential,
the optimism,
the tensions and
the bridge"

Leif Christian Jensen

*Senior research fellow
Fridtjof Nansen Institute (FNI)
Lysaker, Norway*

My academic background consists of a BA in economics and public relations, a BA in political science, and an MA and a PhD in political science. My employer, FNI, is an independent research foundation engaged in research on international environmental, energy and resource management politics. Our main disciplines are political science and international law, but we also have researchers with degrees in economics, geography, history and social anthropology, and have special language and regional competence on China and Russia. My academic work within this institutional framework has for the most part concentrated on Norway's foreign, environmental, and energy policies in the Arctic region, with a special focus on the bilateral relationship with Russia in this context.

In January 2013, I successfully defended my PhD dissertation at the University of Tromsø, Norway. It is entitled 'Norway on a High in the North: A discourse analysis of policy framing'. The dissertation is a broad and comprehensive analysis of Norwegian foreign policy in the Arctic and how it developed after the Norwegian government declared the High North (the European Arctic) to be 'Norway's most important strategic [foreign policy] target area in the years to come' in 2005. An important feature of the dissertation is its understanding of foreign policy as a bridge between the national and the international. Indeed, the dissertation's analysis makes it possible to understand foreign policy as nation-building on a daily basis because this nation-building creates coherence between – and constitutes – who we are and what we do. The High North and the High North Initiative of 2005 are good cases in point for appreciating this understanding of foreign policy. The High North represents the potential, the optimism, the tensions and the bridge where domestic and foreign policy meet and together constitute Norwegian national identity.

The goal of my dissertation is essentially to facilitate a deeper and better understanding of how the Norwegian High North Initiative has been framed and construed in official and public discourse in Norway. 'Discourse' is understood here as 'preconditions for action at any one time'. Policy discourses are understood and analyzed as public, discursive practices that frame and constrain future political moves. Specifically, the dissertation identifies how and in what ways the dominating discourses act as preconditions for action, setting limits on the kinds of political action that are deemed possible and considered relevant for Norway in the High North in light of this political initiative.

The dissertation consists of five articles published in international peer-reviewed journals, each of which deals with a different aspect of the Norwegian High North Initiative from thematically different angles. These articles rely on different sources of data as well, depending on whether public or official discourses are under scrutiny, but do so from the same theoretical and methodological perspective, anchored within post-structuralist literature in the field of International Relations. My conclusion is that the Norwegian High North narrative is about much more than foreign policy. It is a grand – almost grandiose – identity-building narrative about who we are as Norwegians, who we should aspire to become, and where northern Norway – and indeed the country as a whole – fit into the wider world. Norway is suffering from an identity crisis in the High North, having found it difficult to uphold its identity as an altruistic, credible steward and protector of the vulnerable High North environment – while also earning money

by extracting petroleum in the very same region. When identities come under pressure, they tend to be communicated very actively, in order to survive. That is very much the case when it comes to the colliding identities of Norway as both an environmental nation and a petroleum nation.

This is also where Russia enters the narrative. In the High North, Russia is our significant other. Russia is the *difference* to the Norwegian *self*. Russia is everything that Norway is not. In other words, the othering of Russia in the north is absolutely imperative to the many and often incoherent identities Norway is trying to balance in the North. In relation to Russia in the Arctic, Norway is confirmed as an altruistic, peaceful, environmentally-friendly nation, but the narrative about Norway's identity also constitutes and keeps alive an identity of Norway as a small, vulnerable nation that needs support from its bigger and more powerful friends in the West. Using the case of Norway in the High North and the othering of Russia, I show in my dissertation how identity and policy are mutually constitutive. It is my hope that this study will add texture to the current political literature on the Arctic, which very often adopts a classical political science understanding of politics that takes the constitution of the social as a given, concerning itself more with the outcome of various specific processes, given that the social matrix, so to speak, is already in place.

"I find energy
inextricably
intriguing"



Hanna Lempinen

PhD researcher

Arctic Centre, University of Lapland

Rovaniemi, Finland

My research focuses on energy development in the Barents region. Alongside my dissertation research, I have also been teaching at the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Lapland, giving visiting lectures at other universities, and occasionally publishing non-scientific articles on themes related to my ongoing work with the dissertation.

Whereas energy in general tends to be seen as something clinical, uninteresting and distant, I find it fascinating. There are a wide variety of concerns related to energy, and they are intertwined with all domains of societal life. While energy is a universal concern to human societies, it is also an issue which manifests itself in different ways in different geographical, temporal and social settings. I see energy as relentlessly cultural: the ways of producing, consuming and talking about energy are inextricably interwoven with societal values as well as with conceptions of a 'good life' and a 'desirable society'.

My dissertation focuses on the theoretical debates revolving around the central 'energy concepts' of agency, security and sustainability through a case study on the contemporary Barents energyscape. I see my work as having a twofold focus. On the one hand, it aims to take part in and shape theoretical and conceptual debates on the key concepts in my field of study; on the other hand, my aim is to help build a more socioculturally and environmentally sustainable basis for regional energy policies and development.

In the context of the Barents region, I hope through my own work to broaden the way both energy and the 'political' are understood in regional energy debates. Although international political and popular discussions have focused almost exclusively on a single issue, there is more to the regional energy landscape than the discursive horizon dominated by large-scale hydrocarbon extraction. Among other issues, the potential of and plans for renewable energy development, projected and currently ongoing programs on saving energy and energy efficiency, and concerns related to electricity,

heating systems and the nuclear issue are an integral part of the regional energyscape.

In the same way that energy encompasses more than oil and gas, the concept of the 'political' in the context of energy needs to be re(de)fin ed. Whereas contemporary approaches to energy politics tend to relegate energy-related issues to the domains of markets and 'high politics', thus detaching them from other spheres of societal life, I see politics and the political as taking place in and through the diverse range of voices aiming to participate in shaping regional energy developments. From this viewpoint, energy is profoundly intertwined with broader questions of regional, economic and social development, as well livelihoods and living environments. It is precisely these intertwinements that need to be acknowledged and addressed in order to grasp the elusive social dimensions inescapably connected with all aspects of energy and related developments.

The contemporary Barents energyscape takes its shape from the interplay of a broad spectrum of elements both human and 'nonhuman'. Among other elements, a wide range of collective actors, existing and estimated resources, harsh environmental and climactic conditions, infrastructures, technologies, legislation, political systems and institutions, as well as conventional ways of thinking about and defining energy, all play a part in negotiating the outcomes of regional energy development. To better grasp the diverse manners in which different elements interact and intertwine, I approach the energyscape and agency in it through the notion of situatedness. Rejecting ideas of predefined actor-structure frameworks, generalizable theories and universal definitions of key concepts, my emphasis on situatedness opens up a space for identifying and addressing the variety of themes and concerns which make up the Barents energyscape in all its complexity and diversity.

Gregory Poelzer

PhD student

Political Science, Luleå University of Technology

Luleå, Sweden

Born in Edmonton, Canada, I spent most of my childhood in Prince George, a small city focused on forestry in the province of British Columbia, which piqued my interest in the relationship between natural resources and the community. I completed my BA in 2008 and my MA in 2010, both in political studies, at the University of Saskatchewan. My BA emphasized studies in international relations and public policy, while my master's thesis investigated the change in uranium policy in Saskatchewan between 1970 and 2010. As part of my master's studies, I travelled to Bodø, Norway to participate in a course on Arctic governance. I also had the opportunity to work on a provincial government task force, providing recommendations for a new governance model at First Nations University of Canada. Most recently, I worked as the Senior Ministerial Assistant for the Minister of Advanced Education, Employment, and Immigration for the Province of Saskatchewan from 2010–2012.

Currently, I work as a PhD student in Political Science at Luleå University of Technology in Sweden. I started my PhD research in September 2012 to study the socio-economic impact of mining, a project sponsored by the *Hjalmar Lundbohm Research Center* (HLRC). More specifically, my research focuses on the policy process and the extent to which social and environmental considerations have an impact on decision-making: whether changes in mine licensing and approval reflect the increasingly diverse, and growing, interests. This includes identifying the important and influential actors and institutions to determine whether these new interests transform the roles and responsibilities of the state. These issues remain particularly pertinent for northern communities where new mining development and expansion is currently underway. The shared concerns about environmental protection, indigenous land rights, and the social and cultural sensitivity of northern communities makes my research relevant to the growing interest in the Barents region. In addition to examining the policy process, I also aim to investigate stakeholder influence on the mining development process, factors impacting the formation of public opinion, and the administrative capacity for incorporating change into the development process. Finally, I hope to draw international



"My research goals include providing new perspective on the mining and land use policy process"

comparisons on the policy challenges associated with mining between the Nordic states and other countries facing similar issues, such as Canada and Australia. My research goals include providing new perspectives on the mining and land use policy process and developing conclusions and findings that are useful to policy makers, the corporate sector, and communities.

In January 2013, I became involved in the Sustainable Mining, Local Communities and Environmental Regulation (SUMILCERE) Kolarctic Project. The University of Lapland in Finland partnered with the Luleå University of Technology in Sweden, the Northern Research Institute in Norway, and the Institute of the Industrial Ecology Problems of the North of the Kola in Russia to conduct this work. The project aims to mitigate risks related to mining investment in the Euro-Arctic Barents region by providing advice for public-private collaboration on issues of sustainable development, social licensing, and environmental regulation. My participation in the project focuses largely on social licensing in the mining sector and its impact on mine development and relationships between stakeholders. My work includes outlining the origins and history of social licensing, identifying the intended outcomes, and assessing what occurs in practice.

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Monica Tennberg

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