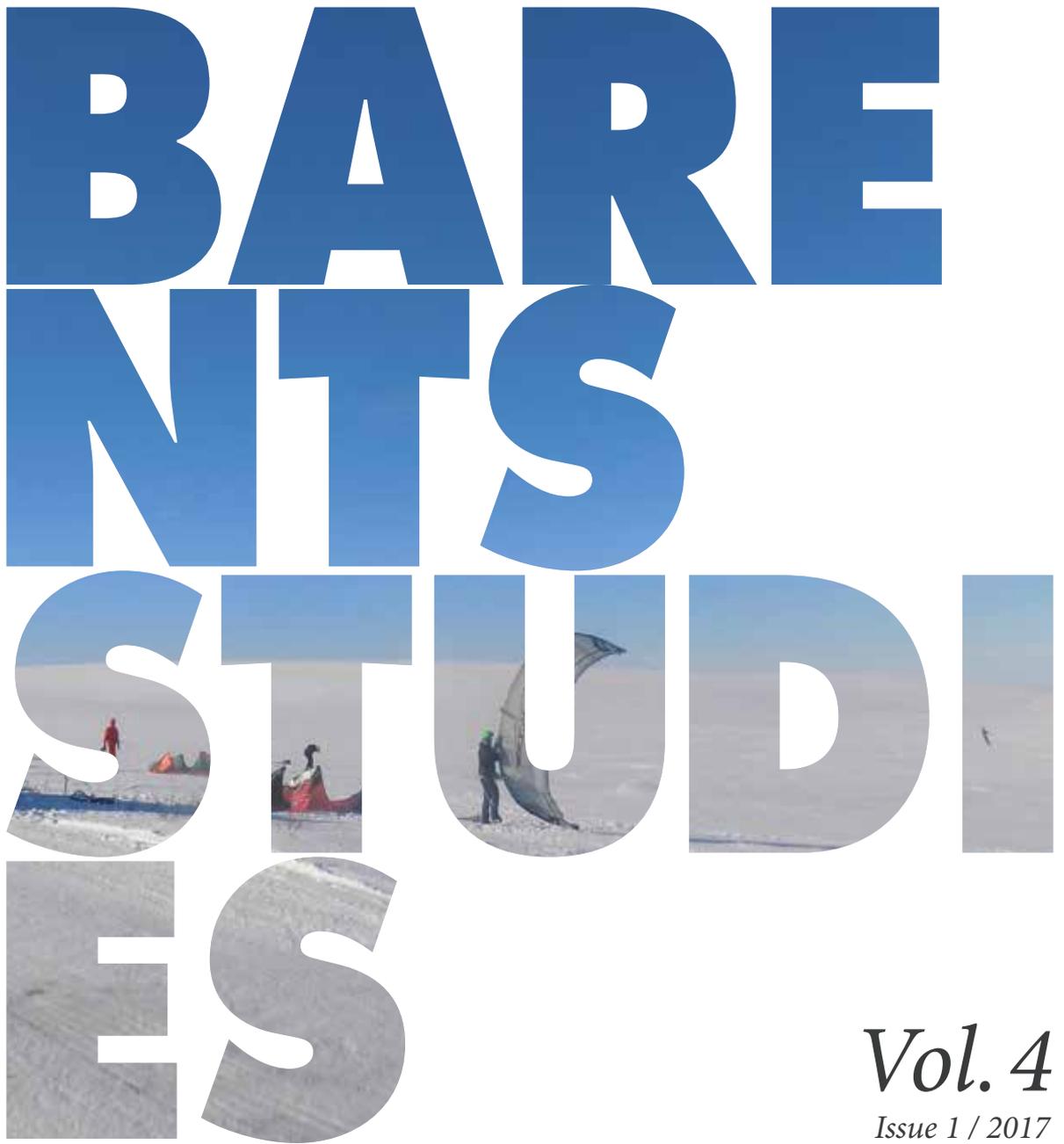


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*Neo-liberalism and sustainable development in
the Barents Region: A community perspective*

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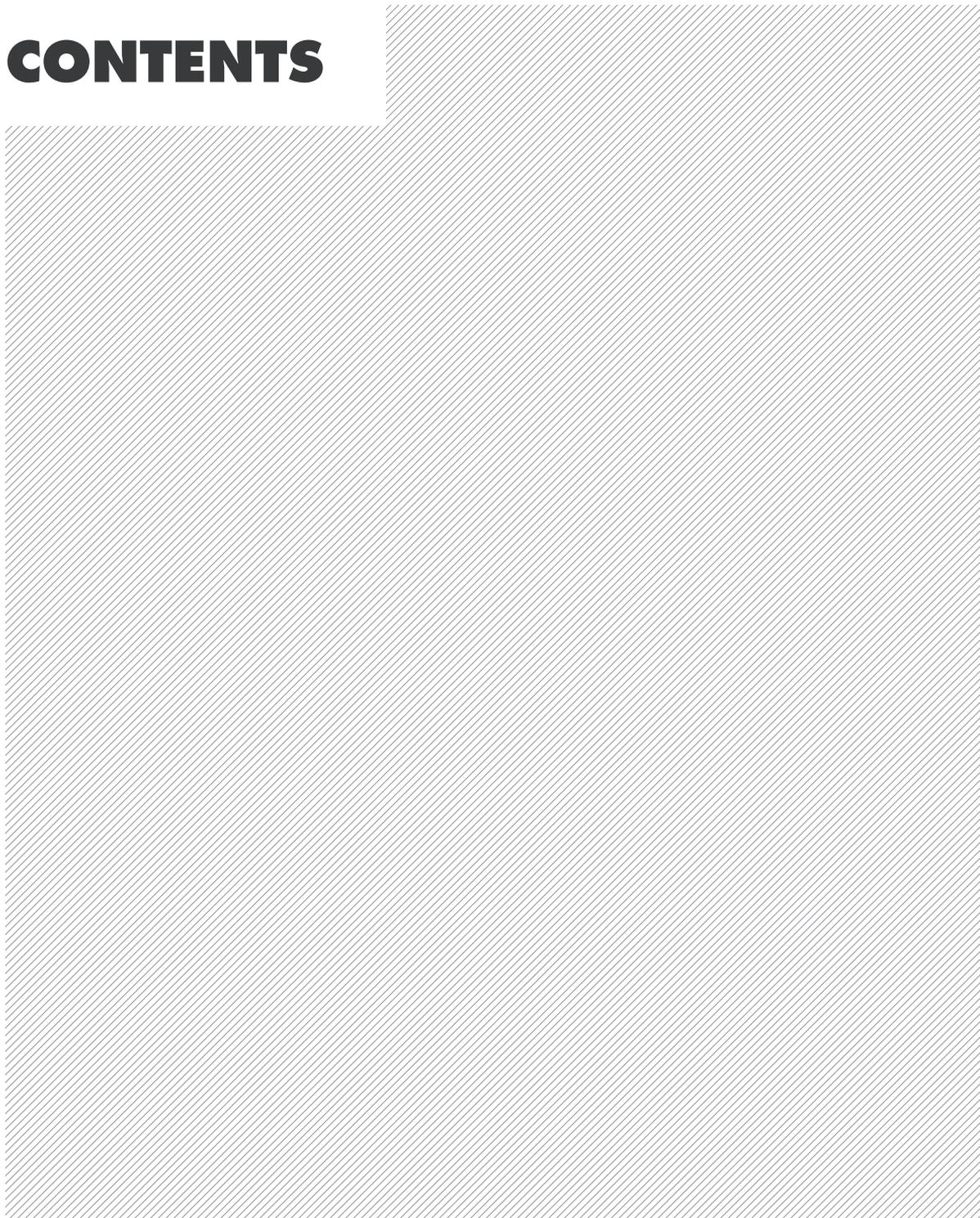
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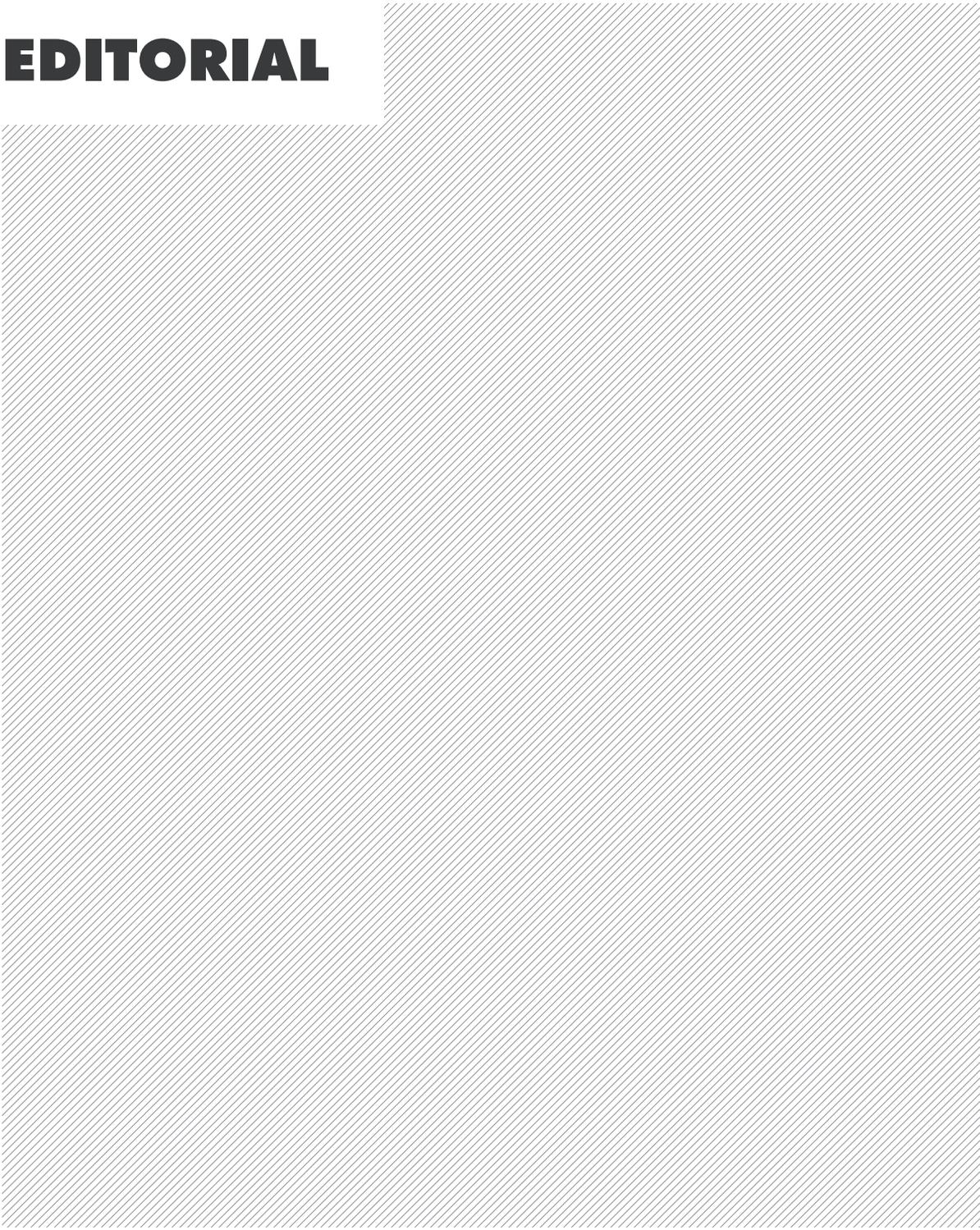
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EDITORIAL



Back to our homes, back to the Barents roots

LARISSA RIABOVA,

Chief editor of this issue

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This issue of Barents Studies is published in the time of the COVID-19 pandemic that has affected our lives in many respects. One of such impacts was bringing us back to our homes, both literally and figuratively. The pandemic reminded us that global challenges need local solutions, and for many researchers in social science, the local level implications of global processes became of greater interest than before.

For Barents social scientists, it was always of relevance to evaluate economic, political and other developments in the region from a local perspective. This issue focuses on small remote local communities in the Barents Region and contains papers based on the results of the NEO-BEAR project – "Neoliberal governance and sustainable development in the Barents Euro-Arctic Region". NEO-BEAR, led by Dr. Monica Tennberg (Arctic Centre, University of Lapland), was conducted in 2012-2015 and involved researchers from Finland, Norway, Russia and Sweden. The project aimed to study the role of neoliberal governance as a catalyst for sustainable development in the Barents Region. Neoliberal policies of government emphasise freedom and competition, and the expansion of the market and private sector engagement in all domains of social life. Ideas about sustainable development and neoliberal governance being spread worldwide are often viewed as conflicting. Rounding out the collection is the addition of one article that was not part of the NEO-BEAR project, but nonetheless is significantly relevant in the discussions of sustainability and infrastructural development and its indelible links with history of the region.

This journal issue was planned to be published by the end of 2017, but for many reasons (financial, practical and others, including the pandemic), it comes out with a delay. Most of the papers, young researchers' presentations, and authors' details contain information as of the end of 2017. This issue features four peer-reviewed scientific articles that foreground four studies located in the Barents Euro-Arctic region,

two book reviews, and three self-introductions of young scholars who dedicate their research to the Barents Region.

The contributions to this issue investigate how ideas about sustainable development and neoliberal governance meet in community development in the Barents Region. The first article, by Thomas Ejdemo from Luleå University of Technology, discusses sustainable local development in the context of a short-lived mining boom. Based on a case study from Pajala in Sweden, the research shows that the mining boom had a significant positive impact on the local economy until Kaunisvaara mine closed owing to bankruptcy. The study concludes that the mining boom failed to provide sustainable development and suggests that the local economy would have been better off without this turbulent experience, as the local effort consumed by preparing for the mining era could instead have been devoted to more lasting activities.

Elena Tonkova and Tatyana Nosova (Syktyvkar State University) examine the cultural policies and practices in Ust-Tsilma municipality (Komi Republic, Russia) from neo-liberalism and sustainability perspectives. This study shows that the cultural sphere in Ust-Tsilma is moving towards the neoliberal principles of organization of life, marked by economic and managerial efficiency, cultural consumerism, state-private financial partnership, and contract-based relations. The authors argue that a sustainability approach to culture (giving priority to social-cultural capital, cultural access and participation) is highly relevant for the Ust-Tsilma municipality and for the rural communities in general because it brings an adaptive potential for local development.

Larissa Riabova (Luzin Institute for Economic Studies of the Kola Science Centre, Russian Academy of Sciences) addresses sustainable development of small Arctic communities through the lens of seven community capitals. A study from Teriberka, a coastal village in Arctic Russia, confirms that the balanced development of community capitals is both a path to and an indicator of sustainable development in communities facing neoliberalism. The study reveals that initiatives undertaken mainly by outside actors have not invested Teriberka's capitals in a balanced way and have thereby not promoted sustainable development. The study concludes that in communities with scarce human, social, and political capital this model can work effectively only if local interests are not ignored by the state and external business actors.

Ritva Kylli (University of Oulu) and Juha Saunavaara (Hokkaido University) investigate transport infrastructure in the Sámi area of Finnish Lapland of 1920-1930. The

paper shows how the modernisation process accelerated the use of natural resources, and the first roads in northernmost Finland facilitated mining industry and logging sites. The study emphasises the importance of understanding indigenous peoples as active agents, some of whom lobbied for plans to build roads. While the Sámi resistance to roads referred to their ability to erode the traditional way of life, the supporters underlined the benefits to be gained from the improved connectivity. The authors note that the ideas which have been discussed more recently – such as remoteness as an asset and the value of being disconnected – were already present in the development debates in the early twentieth century.

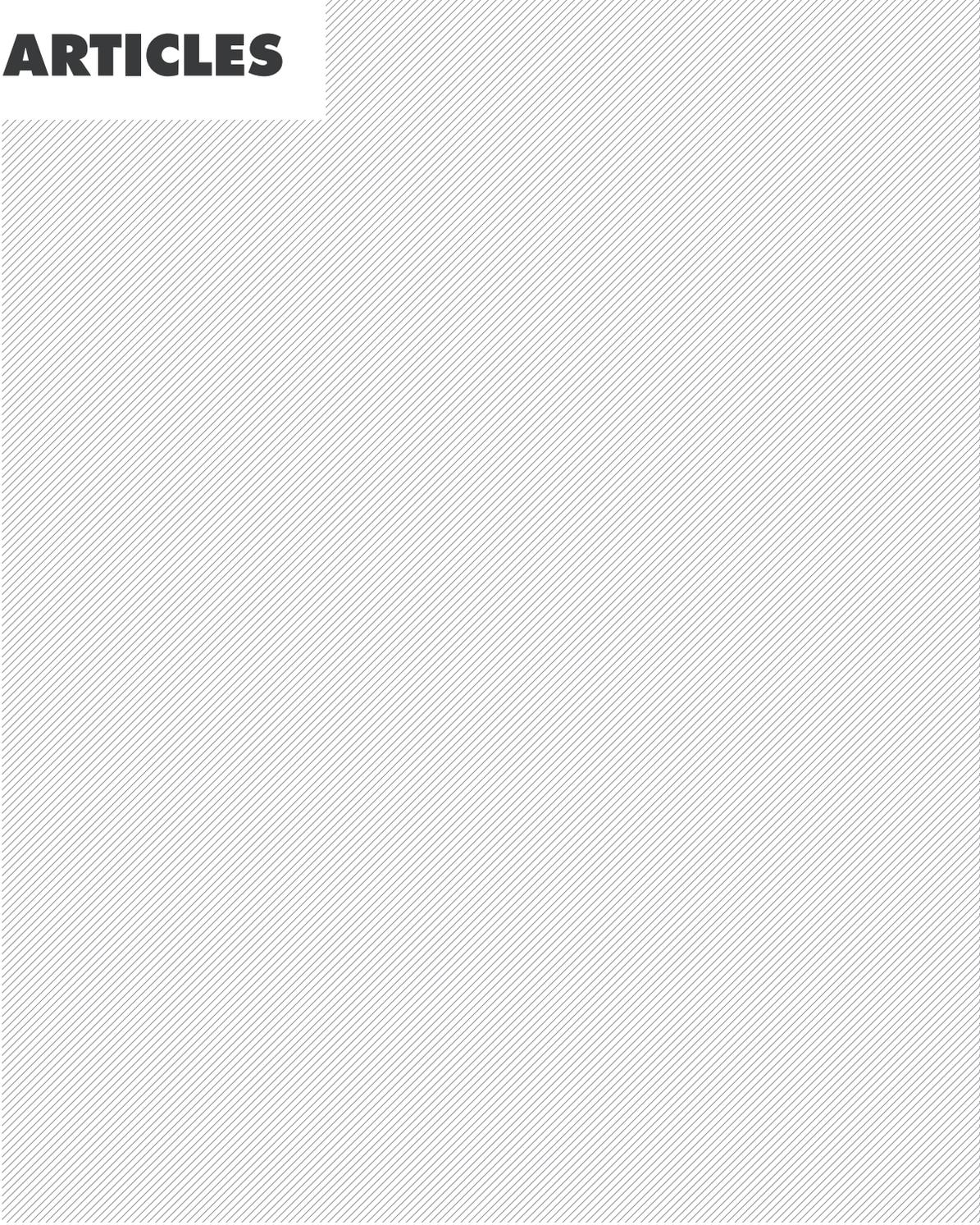
Kylli and Saunavaara remind us that looking back at how communities in the Barents Region responded to the multiple and sometimes difficult challenges can help to plan for the future. In this respect, we believe that this issue, though delayed, has value and gives insights about how small remote communities can develop further under pressing circumstances.

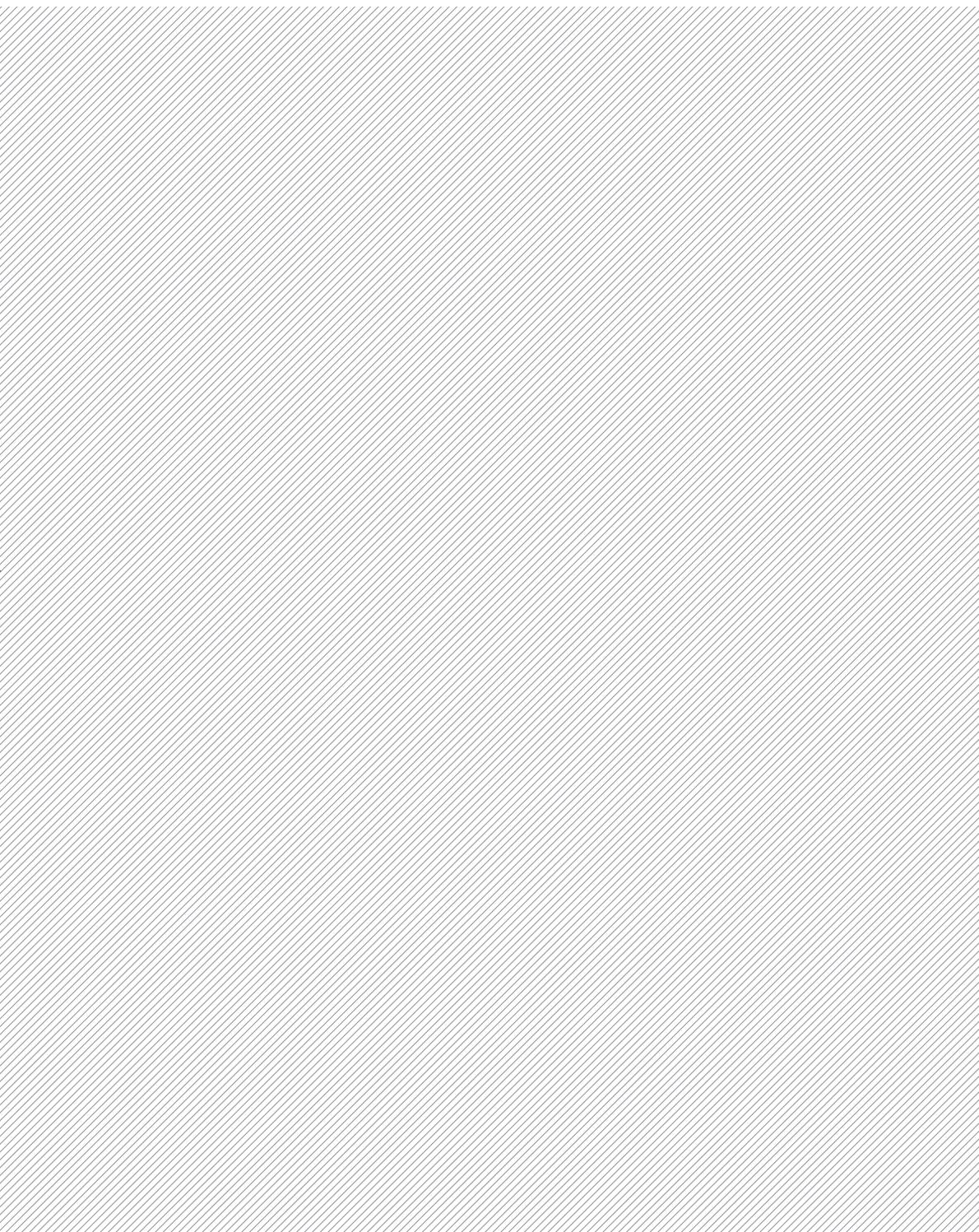
This issue also contains book reviews of *“The Barents Region – A Transnational History of Subarctic Northern Europe”*, chief editor of which is Lars Elenius, Professor of History and Education, Umeå University, the review is offered by Adrian Braun; and that of *“Society, Environment and Human security in the Arctic Barents Region”*, co-edited by Research Professor Kamrul Hossain, Arctic Centre, University of Lapland, and Dr. Dorothée Cambou, University of Helsinki, the review is written by Yulia Zaika. Finally, there are three exciting essays of young researchers from the Barents Region about their work relevant to the region.

We thank the authors for their efforts, patience and understanding attitudes, and the peer-reviewers for the high-quality voluntary service to the academic community. We are pleased with the excellent copy-editing done by Pirkko Hautamäki. And I express my gratitude to my co-editors Monica Tennberg and Aileen A. Espiritu for their continuous support and friendship.

These days, because of the pandemic, many of us stay tied to our homes. In the time of closed borders it is natural to turn our attention inwards, to our Barents roots, and this issue of Barents Studies gives us a chance to do so. At the same time, despite the disconnections, we continue to work together supporting the cross-border Barents cooperation, also by publishing this issue.

ARTICLES





Sustainable local development in the context of a short-lived mining boom: The case of Pajala in northern Sweden

THOMAS EJDEMO, *Researcher, Economics Unit, Luleå University of Technology, Sweden*

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the local economic impact of a recent short-lived mining boom in Pajala in northern Sweden. The case study considers the Kaunisvaara iron ore mine, which started production in late 2012 but soon suffered financial problems and went bankrupt in the autumn of 2014. Mining emerged as a new economic activity in Pajala, and the paper considers how the local economy responded during the short life cycle of the project. The empirical data consists of selected indicators on local economic development and industry specialization, and the analysis is supplemented with qualitative information. Data on the years after the bust are not yet available, which means that the bust can only be addressed qualitatively. The study thus primarily focuses on how the local economy responded to the development of the mine. The results suggest that the local economy in Pajala was revived by the Kaunisvaara mine while it operated. Pajala gained a substantial amount of local jobs during the mining boom. During the period from 2009 to 2014, positive development occurred in overall employment, population, labour market participation rates for men as well as women, and incomes, which showed faster growth than the national average. The local economy became increasingly specialized in mining, and the paper addresses some implications of resource dependency for sustainable local economic development in light of the bankruptcy.

Keywords: *mining boom, local economic development, Pajala*

INTRODUCTION

The global mining industry underwent a boom development during the first decade of the 21st century, onset by the most sustained commodity price boom since the Second World War (Humphreys 2010). Söderholm and Svahn (2015) show that the

global rate of new mine openings increased significantly during the second half of the first decade of the 2000s as a response to the commodity boom. A particularly large number of new mining ventures opened in high-income countries, with Australia, Canada, the United States, Russia, and Chile accounting for 38% of the new mines (ibid).

In many mineral-endowed regions, the expanding mining industry triggered an increased attention to issues such as the impact of mining on local communities in terms of economic and social development. This is also reflected in the academic literature, and some relatively recent examples include Ivanova and Rolfe (2011), Fleming and Measham (2014), Kotey and Rolfe (2014), and Törmä et al. (2015), who have analysed the economic impact of mining on the local or regional level, while recent studies on the social impact of mining on local communities include Petkova et al. (2009), Carrington and Pereira (2011), and Petrova and Marinova (2013). Now that the boom has ended, mining towns and regions are again forced to cope with the downside of the boom–bust cycle that is often associated with the extractive industries.

Pajala in northern Sweden, which belongs to the Barents region, has recently experienced the realities of a mining boom and bust. In 2010, Northland Resources started construction of the Kaunisvaara iron ore mine outside Pajala. Production started in late 2012, and the mine was intended to reach full production a few years later, but financial problems eventually led to the company's bankruptcy in the autumn of 2014. The mine has since remained closed.

This article summarizes the results of a case study on local economic development in Pajala. The case study work took place during the spring of 2015 as part of the NEO-BEAR research project. The case study was originally intended to examine how the local economy responded to the new mine, and it should be noted that the study was planned at a time when it was not known that the mining company had financial problems and would ultimately close the mine. The case study thus focuses on a mining town that had recently experienced a boom and bust, but a weakness is that statistics covering the period after the bust were not available when the work was undertaken. The case study would have benefitted from access to such data.

The purpose of the article is to examine how employment and income – key indicators on local economic development – changed in Pajala during the mining boom, to

assess to what extent the mine generated local economic benefit. A secondary purpose of the case study was the question if the community would have been better off with or without the mining project. Due to lack of data, the article can only address the bust qualitatively. Thus, the secondary purpose is primarily tackled by reflecting on the combination of quantitative and qualitative results.

Previous literature on resource booms has often dealt with macroeconomic effects (e.g., Van Der Ploeg 2011) and sometimes also community impacts (e.g., Bone 1998; and, more recently Tonts et al. 2012). Often, such studies consider the cyclical nature of commodity markets, which poses challenges for resource-dependent economies whether they expand or contract. An important feature of the case study at hand is that mining was introduced as a completely new activity in the local economy, and the paper considers how it responded to a construction phase followed by approximately 1.5 years of production. The bankruptcy in the autumn of 2014 meant the end of mining in Pajala; the case thus reflects a turbulent period in the local economy, with short-term adjustments to a new economic activity which failed to persist – at least under Northland ownership. This paper also reflects on some of the challenges that lie ahead for the local economy, as iron ore prices have remained low compared to the boom period and the mine has remained closed. The discussion is underpinned by recent data and by qualitative information derived from desk studies and semi-structured, in-depth interviews with two respondents from the local economic development office who followed the mining boom closely

The rest of the paper is organized as follows. The next section discusses sustainable development in the context of mining, and addresses some implications for mining towns. Some basic theoretical concepts are introduced and implications of local specialization on mining are reviewed, given the boom–bust cycle often associated with the mining industry. A background description of the case is then given, including a survey of the limited number of project-specific economic impact studies undertaken *ex ante*. The section entitled “the mining boom in Pajala” examines recent data on economic development in Pajala during the boom, and supplementary qualitative information is also provided. The mining bust is then discussed briefly. In the absence of available data, the section is forced to focus only on qualitative aspects of the bust. The last section provides some conclusions of the case study.

MINING, SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT, AND LOCAL ECONOMIES

Mining's potential to contribute to sustainable development remains contested, but the minerals industry has without doubt made important contributions to society over time (Hilson and Basu 2003; Onn and Woodley 2014; Eklund 2015). Mining supplies many of the materials that societal development has depended on, and continues to do so (ICMM, 2012). Moreover, mining has the potential to create significant economic benefits for its host economies (Eggert 2001), but it may also involve difficult trade-offs which should not be neglected. Many of the environmental problems associated with mining are not entirely preventable from the outset (Hilson and Basu 2003).

These trade-offs can be understood in terms of benefits and costs (Eggert 2001). Numerous studies (e.g., Labonne 1999; Azapagic 2004) have pointed to the industry's potential to create jobs and generate income as positives (benefits), while environmental impacts and social disruption constitute some of the negatives (costs). Eggert (2001) argues that taking a general stance is difficult, because the trade-off between benefits and costs is specific to a host community or nation. Thus, mining's sustainable development contribution at the local level can only be understood by carefully considering the context and the relevant circumstances.

The sustainability discourse on mining is further confused by the multitude of different definitions of sustainable development (Onn and Woodley 2014). The research on sustainable development has also pointed out more general difficulties in reconciling local, national, and global sustainability agendas (Voinov and Farley 2007). One of the most common definitions of sustainable development is that of the Brundtland Commission (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987), which defined it as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs". Hilson and Basu (2003) noted that the extraction of non-renewable commodities seems to contradict the very notion of sustainability contained in this definition. They provide a review of sustainability research on mining and minerals which identifies different and somewhat conflicting responses to the implications of mineral depletion for sustainable development: some authors suggest that mineral outputs should be regulated to ensure the needs of future generations, others emphasize the need for investing mineral revenue in other forms of capital to compensate for depleting mineral assets, whereas some contend that metallic minerals are not destroyed when they are consumed and can be recycled. Another direction of research often links sustainable development to exclusively environmental themes

Perhaps the most obvious challenge in achieving sustainable economic development in mining towns is the fact that mineral assets are finite. Still, Eggert (2001) offers several arguments which support that mining is more sustainable than it may appear: mineral exploration and development replaces reserves that mining depletes; improved technology can over time unlock previously unfeasible resources; and the economic benefits created by mining can be sustained through appropriate social investments.

Hilson and Basu (2003) focus on the corporate mining context of sustainable development and aim to provide insight into how sustainable development indicators can be developed for the industry. They propose an interpretation of mine sustainability which also emphasizes the socio-economic dimension, including aspects such as stakeholder concerns, public participation, education and consensus building, and an equitable distribution of benefits generated by mining.

Emphasizing the local community as an important stakeholder has gained increasing support in the mining industry and in academic literature throughout the 2000s. For instance, Solomon et al. (2008) notes that “the increasing importance of sustainable development ideas to the industry has provided a framework for raising the perceived importance of mining’s social dimensions”. Society’s embrace of the sustainable development paradigm has also been identified as a reason behind the emergence of the concept of a social licence to operate (SLO). This is typically understood as “the ongoing approval and broad acceptance of society” of a mining project (Prno and Slocombe 2012).

The interpretation of mine sustainability proposed by, for instance, Hilson and Basu (2003) shares similarities with the one proposed by the International Council on Mining and Metals (ICMM), a mining industry initiative. The ICMM was founded in 2001 to improve sustainable development performance in the industry. In a relatively recent publication, ICMM (2012) proposes seven questions for addressing the sustainable development contribution of mining, which originally emanated from the Mining, Minerals and Sustainable Development project, or MMSD (see IIED 2002). These questions are summarized in table 1 below, based on the ICMM version.

Each question posed in table 1 is important in its own right, but the discussion in later sections of this paper is mainly limited to topic number 4. Moreover, this article will not focus on the reasons for the bust of the Pajala mine, but some brief reflec-

TOPIC	QUESTION
1. Engagement	Are engagement processes in place and working effectively?
2. People	Will people's well being be maintained or improved?
3. Environment	Is the integrity of the environment assured over the long term?
4. Economy	Is the economic viability of the project or operation assured, and will the economy of the community and beyond be better off as a result?
5. Traditional and non-market activities	Are traditional and non-market activities in the community and surrounding area accounted for in a way acceptable to the local people?
6. Institutional arrangements and governance	Are rules, incentives, programs, and capacities in place to address project or operational consequences?
7. Synthesis and continuous learning	Does a full synthesis show that the new result will be positive or negative in the long term, and will there be periodic reassessments?

Table 1. Seven questions that address the sustainable development contribution of mining

tions are given concerning the economic viability of the project. A more distinctive focus is placed on the second part of the question: “will the economy of the community be better off as a result”.

An adverse aspect of mining is the boom–bust cycle that the industry tends to be associated with. This also holds implications for sustainable development. Mineral development projects often take place in relatively remote areas with small population bases and labour markets, and they can thus have large and disruptive effects on small local economies. In a “booming” mining community with sufficient capacity in place to develop economic linkages to the mineral venture, indicators on local economic development may reflect substantial positive effects such as rapid increases in

employment and incomes, but at the same time the local economy becomes increasingly exposed to volatile global commodity markets. Eggert (2001) notes that some of the costs associated with mining, besides environmental and social disruption, include living with market instability and dealing with structural changes during booms. Minerals in the ground are potential wealth, but whether this potential is realized depends on how mining and minerals are managed by governments, mining companies, and civil society (ibid).

There is a rich body of literature on the economic challenges that follow from natural resource dependency, although much of the literature considers the macroeconomic aspects (e.g., Davis and Tilton 2005; Van Der Ploeg 2011). On the local or regional level, boom periods may act disruptively by driving up wages (and thus labour costs) and prices across the board and thereby potentially offsetting some of the positive impacts in regional output and employment (Söderholm and Svahn 2015). In other words, a booming mining sector may hamper growth in other, unrelated sectors. If the local economy cannot achieve (or maintain, depending on the starting point) economic diversification and instead specializes in mining, the mining company's ability to cope with commodity price cycles will have an important influence on the economic well-being of the community. Even if a mine is depleted and eventually closes without dramatic commodity price busts, it is key in sustainable local economic development that alternative sources of employment are developed, or alternatively we accept that the local economy contracts and people move on to other localities.

This section has offered some reflections on sustainable local development and challenges that face mining towns as their local economies are exposed to global markets and risks that are far beyond the influence of local or regional governments. As the Australian valuation firm Propell (2015) put it in their report on house prices in mining towns, "buying a house in a mining town is not so much a real estate decision as a futures play on the global commodity market". There is however an upside to the risks involved in mineral ventures, in the economic benefits that mining can deliver with good governance. Society's dependence on mineral commodities persists (IIED 2002), and the embracement of sustainable development by the mining industry and society can provide avenues for improved management of the social risks associated with mine towns. Recent shifts in governance of mining have aimed at improving the sector's environmental and social performance, and have elevated the local community to a more influential role (Prno and Slocombe 2012).

CASE DESCRIPTION

Pajala in northern Sweden has recently experienced the realities of a mining boom and bust. Pajala is a municipality in Norrbotten County, located next to the Finnish border. The municipality comprises a central town and several villages, and had a total population of 6303 in 2015. The local economy has historically depended on forestry, but new technology and structural change during the 1950s and 1960s caused a loss of employment opportunities and initiated a process of depopulation, as in many similar areas. The population decreased from 15,400 inhabitants in 1954 (ÅF Infraplan 2011) to the current level of 6303.

In Sweden, past responses to weakened local labour markets have often involved state intervention by subsidized new jobs or investments (Tillväxtanalys 2015), but the recent decades have seen a transition towards more neoliberal policies which emphasize innovation and entrepreneurship, and promote cooperation between government, academia, and the corporate world. While labour market policy has undergone changes during the 2000s, various labour market programmes have remained important policy measures. Pajala has since at least the early 1990s consistently had a higher share of participants in such labour market programmes compared to the national and county-level averages (regionfakta.com 2015). The local labour market has thus been rather weak and the local economy has been relatively dependent on unemployment benefits.

The potential for a completely new trajectory appeared when global commodity prices soared. In the final years of the first decade of the 2000s, Northland Resources, a junior mining company initially based in Canada, revealed its plans to develop an iron ore mine in the village of Kaunisvaara located just north of Pajala. This was widely reported in the news media as a potential catalyst to reversing some of the decline Pajala had experienced during the last decades. Northland started construction at the mine site in 2010 and began operations in December 2012 at the Tapuli deposit. The company was developing a second deposit – Sahavaara – in 2014 and ramping up towards full production, when liquidity issues became too severe in addition to falling iron ore prices. The mining company went bankrupt in the autumn of 2014. As mining did not occur in Pajala before the Kaunisvaara mine was developed, the boom reflects a period of adapting to a new economic activity, and this paper primarily addresses how the local economy changed during the mining boom period.

The new mine's potential to create economic development in Pajala was emphasized by various stakeholders, including the local government. At least three economic impact studies were undertaken *ex ante*, mainly focusing on the potential for growth in employment. These reflected quite different results and reported employment multipliers which ranged from around 1.5 (Tillväxtanalys 2010; Ejdemo 2013) to above 2 (Ejdemo and Söderholm 2011): for every 1 job at the mine, 0.5 to more than 1 additional jobs could be created in the local economy. A key lesson emphasized by these studies is that the demographic outcome is central to the impact on local jobs. If non-local labour dominates (such as in FIFO mining operations), the induced impact on the local economy would be modest, but if local labour constitutes a substantial share of the workers and in particular if the project leads to population growth, the final demand linkages to the local economy are stronger, and hence the economic impact is clearly more pronounced (see also Measham et al. 2013).

The local government in Pajala also commissioned studies (ÅF Infraplan 2012), which reflected ambitious goals of increasing Pajala's population to between 9000 and 10,000 residents. Such an outcome could have had substantial impacts on employment, with multiplier effects of up to 3 according to the studies. The municipal budget for 2013 formulated the vision that Pajala would have a population of 10,000 in 2020, which would require substantial investments in housing. Due to the bankruptcy of the mine, this vision has now been abandoned.

THE MINING BOOM IN PAJALA: WHAT DO RECENT STATISTICS TELL US?

This section examines recent official statistics on population, employment, and incomes to analyse how the local economy changed during the mining boom. Key indicators on economic development include change in employment by sector; labour market participation rates for men and women; development of per capita income in constant prices; and location quotients (LQ) as a measure of local specialization.

A useful starting point is to consider the population development. Figure 1 shows this development in Pajala from the late 1960s. The persistent decline in population levels is largely explained by out-migration, which has resulted in a high share of elderly residents.

For the last few decades, the negative population development stems increasingly from the demographic structure ("natural population change"), but out-migration of

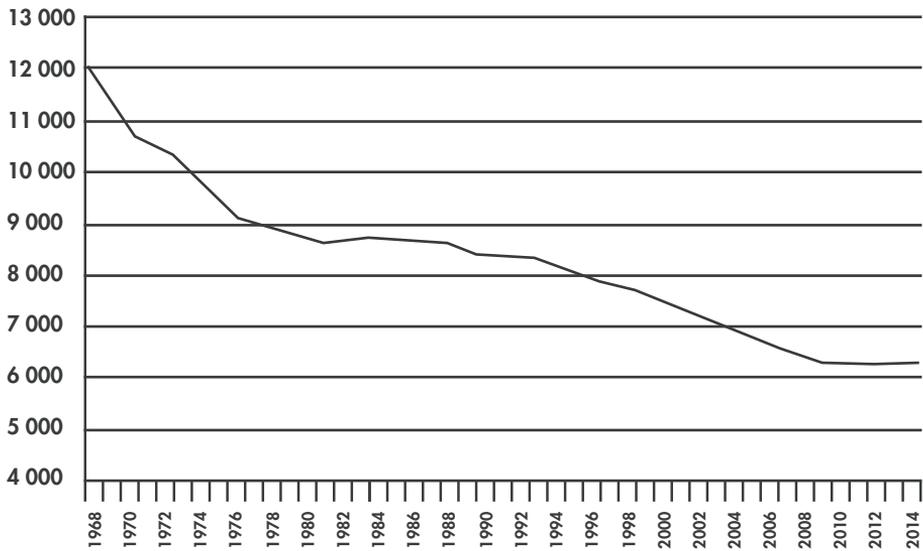


Figure 1. Population development in Pajala, 1968–2014. Source: Statistics Sweden (2015)

young people due to lack of jobs and other opportunities has remained a challenge. This is faced by many other regions in Sweden, in particular in the more rural areas. The negative development which had persisted for decades appeared to peter out around 2010 in conjunction with the development of the mine, but it cannot be assessed to what extent this only represents a temporary shift in the negative trend. As production at the mine ramped up and the permanent workforce started to grow, the population in Pajala even increased slightly.

Employment data provided by Statistics Sweden helps us to examine the change in employment during the mine development. As the only large-scale industry in the area, the mining operation had a significant impact on local employment during its few years in production. The most recent available data only covers 2014 when the mine was still in production, which means that the bankruptcy (the bust) cannot be examined quantitatively.

Table 2 reports the total number of people employed in Pajala by sector. The table compares 2009 before construction of the mine had started, against 2014 when the Kaunisvaara mine was in production. Despite never reaching full production capacity, the mine appears to have had a significant impact on the local labour market. In 2009, the municipality depended heavily on the public sector and public services to provide employment, with around 43% of the local jobs in public administration, education, and health and social care. Other major sectors were forestry and basic manufacturing. However, in 2014 when the mine was operating, the distribution

INDUSTRY (Swedish Standard Industrial Classification (SNI), 2007)	2009	2014	CHANGE, 2009-2014
Agriculture, forestry, and fishing	195	280	+85
Manufacturing, mining, and quarrying	249	464	+215
Energy and water supply	12	18	+6
Construction	147	273	+126
Wholesale and retail trade; vehicle repairs	173	228	+55
Transportation and storage	95	182	+87
Hotels and restaurants	34	97	+63
Information and communication	22	18	-4
Finance and insurance	13	14	+1
Real estate	31	40	+9
Business services	107	180	+73
Public administration and defence	117	115	-2
Education	287	299	+12
Health and social care	529	594	+65
Arts, recreation, and other services	112	96	-16
Unknown industry	31	42	+11
Total	2154	2940	+768

*Table 2. Employment in Pajala
by sector, 2009 and 2014*

of the employment by industry began to look similar to other mine towns such as Kiruna. With the mine in production, employment had increased in nearly all sectors of the local economy; the major growth industries were mining ; construction; agriculture and forestry; and business services.

The public sector remained an important employer, providing around 34% of all local jobs in 2014, but the private sector increased its share of the local jobs significantly, and Northland was the biggest private employer in the municipality. More disaggregated sector-level data (not shown here) reveal that there were no local jobs in mining in 2009, whereas by 2014 the mining industry directly employed 196 persons in Pajala.

The most significant finding is that 786 new jobs were created during the mining boom in Pajala. In an interview conducted for this case study, representatives of the local economic development office stated that most of the new jobs in Pajala during these years (2009–2014) were a direct or indirect consequence of the mining project. One respondent said that “...without the mining project, I’m convinced that we would’ve had an overall decline” [in employment during the period 2009–2014]. One can thus argue that the impact of the project should be assessed against continued decline.

The data provided in table 2 indicates that the local labour market experienced a strong positive development during the mining boom. It should also be noted that the Kaunisvaara iron ore mine never reached full production , at which point the company anticipated having 400 employees at the mine site and another 300 in the ore transports operated by a sub-contractor. According to official data, 196 persons were directly employed in mining in Pajala in 2014, which is equivalent to about half of the anticipated workforce at full production. The transport sub-contractor was at similar capacity by this time.

When examining mining industry employment data, it is important to consider that a mining operation typically utilizes outsourcing of various functions (Knoblock 2013), and these firms may not be classified as belonging to the mining industry. In addition, they may not be local or even regional.

The development of a mine can be divided into three phases: *exploration*, *construction*, and *production*. The construction phase is temporary by nature, and when the

Kaunisvaara mine was developed, the construction period involved mainly non-local sub-contractors, as local firms lacked the capacity to take on such a large-scale project. Construction of the mine started in 2010 with a large and temporary workforce, creating local business opportunities in, for example, lodging, restaurants, and other services. A respondent from the local economic development office said that there had been about 1000 workers at the mine site at most during the construction period. The respondent mentioned an electrical company that had participated in the construction period and stated that they "...were flying in 270 people and that doesn't show in statistics like these, and there were other similar things going on". The respondent continued: "but a construction phase is temporary of course – it is in the nature of the construction industry". As the project transitioned from the construction phase into production in late 2012, new permanent jobs at the mine were added to the local economy and the construction workers moved on to other projects elsewhere.

The data reviewed here, supplemented by semi-structured, in-depth interviews with respondents from the local economic development office, indicate that the mine had a significant positive impact on employment, beyond the direct jobs at the mine site.

On the aggregate level, the positive impact on employment was reflected in improved labour market participation rates for both men and women, as figure 2 illustrates. From 2010 and onwards labour market participation rates for men and women in Pajala exceeded the national average. This represents a substantial improvement, as Pajala had experienced a weak local economy for decades.

Labour market participation rates were 81% for women and 83% for men in 2014. High labour market participation is typically considered positive, but it also suggests that access to local labour was becoming increasingly strained. Continued growth of the local labour market would have required an influx of new workers moving to Pajala or an increased use of non-local labour. One example is the fly-in-fly-out rosters often utilized in the mining industry (Storey 2010). A third option is a combination of local and non-local labour, which resembles the actual development of the local labour market until the bankruptcy of the mining company in 2014.

In an interview in late 2013, the Northland communications manager said that around 50% of their employees were locals at the time, and he anticipated that in five to seven years' time the figure would rise to around 70–80%. On the issue of skills supply, a respondent from the local economic development office said: "some [local]

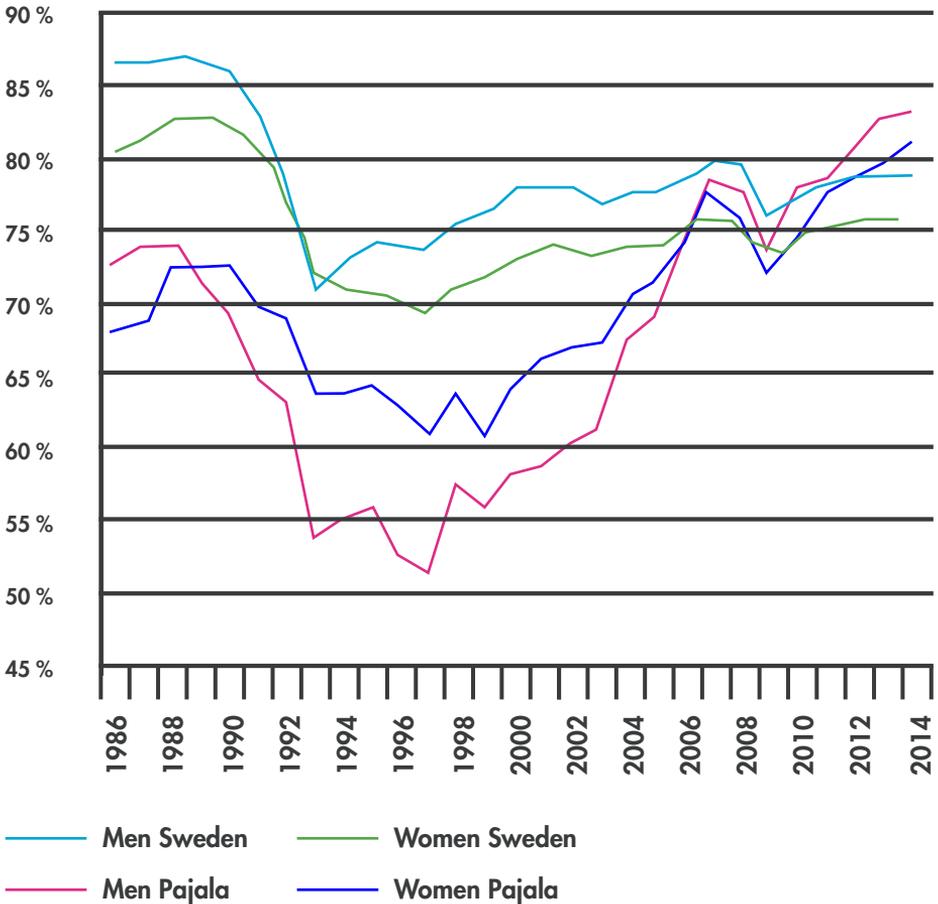


Figure 2. Labour market participation rates (% of people ages 20–64) in Pajala and Sweden
 Source: Statistics Sweden (own adaption)

companies were worried that they would have a hard time competing with wages in mining, but they are actually saying that they have never had as many applicants as during the mining boom. Not everyone moving here wants to work in mining, or can work in mining”.

Figure 3 illustrates the development of incomes in Pajala during the mining boom, reported as the sum of wages per capita in thousand SEK (constant 2013 prices). Data for 2014 was not available. As the figure shows, incomes in Pajala were still lower than the national average in 2013 but the growth rate exceeded the national average

between 2005 and 2013. The average annual growth rate of the sum of wages per capita was 6.5% for Pajala, compared to 2.2% for Sweden as a whole. The growth rate is especially pronounced during the later years in the figure, when the Kaunisvaara mine started producing and permanent jobs were added to the local economy.

The data suggests that the mine had a strong positive impact on the local economy in terms of income and employment. The transition towards a “mineral economy” also changed the structure of the local labour market, which had been dominated by public services.

A more detailed picture of the structural impact on the local labour market can be attained by calculating location quotients, which are used as indicators of specializa-

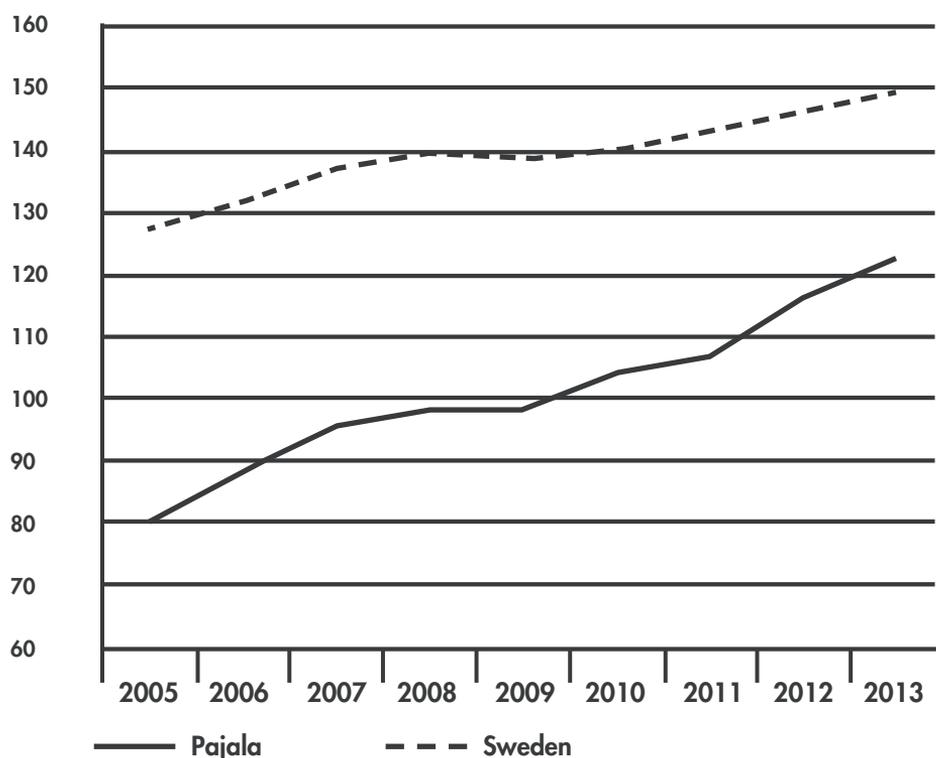


Figure 3. Income (sum of wages) per capita, '000 SEK in constant (2013) prices

Source: Data from Statistics Sweden, own calculation

tion. These indicators measure the concentration of local employment in particular industries compared to the national average for that industry, as applied by Leigh (1970). Using data for 2009 and 2014, location quotients (LQ) were calculated for 51 industries following the notation used by Schaffer (1999) . These indicators are reported in table 3 and limited to industries with $LQ > 1$ to save space. If the ratio for a particular industry is equal to one (1), the industry has the same share of total employment in the local economy as it does on the national level. The location quotient can thus provide a simple indicator of local specialization.

As table 3 clearly shows, mining (extraction of minerals), which did not occur in Pajala in 2009, quickly became an important specialization in the local economy. The very high LQ is simply the result of mining only occurring where the minerals are located .

LQ				
	2009	2014	LQ Change	Employment in 2014
Extraction of minerals	0.00	40.28	40.28	196
Manufacture of wood, wood products except furniture	6.14	5.08	-1.06	80
Agriculture, forestry, and fishing	5.09	5.06	-0.02	267
Manufacture of textiles, clothes	4.25	4.70	0.45	18
Social welfare services without accommodation	3.08	2.59	-0.48	312
Transportation and storage	0.87	1.55	0.68	155
Construction industry	1.01	1.51	0.49	255
Health and social care with accomodation	1.38	1.33	-0.04	160
Unknown	1.34	1.17	-0.17	33
Travel, security, facilities, and office services	1.02	1.15	0.13	94
Repairs and installations of machinery and equipment	0.09	1.13	1.04	12
Education	1.28	1.03	-0.26	263

Table 3. Industries in Pajala with $LQ > 0.9$ in 2014. Data from Statistics Sweden (2015), own adaptation and translation

More interesting is the change in LQ's for several other industries which are clearly in the mining value chain: repairs and installations; construction industry (driven by investments at the mine as well as in new housing); and transportation and storage. Several other industries not included in the table (as their LQ is <0.9) were also affected by the mining boom in Pajala: notably, employment in hotels and restaurants more than doubled between 2009 and 2014, clearly benefitting from the mining project. The 12 industries reviewed in table 3 accounted for 76% of total employment in Pajala in 2013.

Overall, these indicators support that mining had an important indirect impact on the local labour market in Pajala. The local economy appears to have had the capacity to develop certain linkages to the mining project. But, the new jobs made Pajala an increasingly resource-dependent community. The period after the bankruptcy could not be examined in this case study due to lack of data. Further analyses with access to the necessary data are needed to better understand the impacts of the boom and bust. The next section provides some initial reflections based on qualitative data.

THE MINING BUST IN PAJALA: REFLECTIONS ON LOCAL SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

While the local economy experienced a strong positive development during the mining boom, there is also a need to discuss the implications for sustainable economic development. First, it must be emphasized that the timing of the case study was awkward, as the mine had recently closed due to bankruptcy. This makes the bust impossible to ignore, but since data on the years after the bust are not yet available, the bust can only be addressed qualitatively. The study is thus mainly limited to the period when the mine was developed.

Clearly the mine did not lead to sustainable local economic development, as it closed due to bankruptcy. The possibility is however still there, if global iron ore prices recover and new investors emerge, as the minerals remain in the ground. A respondent from the local economic development office recognized that prices had remained unfavourable: "It might take some time, a new owner may need to wait for iron ore prices to recover". The short-lived mining boom in Pajala exemplifies how important a mine's economic viability is for local communities and regions that depend on mining and need sustainable economic development. Crowson (2008, 393) emphasizes that the mineral industries' profitability "lies at the heart of their sustainability".

The Kaunisvaara mine quickly became a dominant force in the local economy. A respondent from the local economic development office said: "...a mine creates large effects, but the community becomes very vulnerable. People take loans, buy houses and things, but if iron ore prices fall, they could be out of a job. But that is market economy, politicians can't manage that." This vulnerability became evident in the autumn of 2014, when Northland's bankruptcy was declared. The mining operation was shut down, and hundreds of workers at the mine and in the ore transports were laid off.

The bankruptcy is typically attributed to significantly overrun capital costs to develop the project, combined with the unfortunate timing of falling iron ore prices. A brief review of literature on the subject shows that overrun capital costs are relatively common in the development of mining projects (Bertison and Davis 2008). Recently, Haubrich (2014) presented research which shows that average capital cost overruns of 20%–60% have been recorded since 1965. He presents a study based on 50 projects, which suggests that the most important factor causing capital cost overruns is the environment in which the cost estimate was generated. A "hot" market typically leads to higher overruns, and "marginal" projects also typically exhibit higher overruns. Haubrich concludes by calling for improved risk identification and management.

The International Council on Mining and Metals (ICM 2012) and the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED 2002) have proposed "seven questions for sustainability" (see table 1) to consider when the sustainable development contribution of a mining project is assessed. One of these questions is particularly relevant to the topic of this case study: *Is the economic viability of the project or operation assured, and will the economy of the community and beyond be better off as a result?*

The fact that the mining project resulted in bankruptcy shows that the operation was not viable at that time. The project was developed when the market was "hot", using Haubrich's (2014) terminology. This drives up the cost of mine inputs, which contributes to capital cost overruns (ibid). This aspect is perhaps something that community stakeholders and financiers need to consider in future commodity price booms. After the bankruptcy, a "receiver" (trustee) appointed by the Swedish court of law has assumed control over the company and Northlands assets have been up for sale, but as iron ore prices have remained low compared to the "boom" period, the mine remains closed and without a new owner. The municipality's annual report for 2014 reflects concern about an uncertain future and a difficult financial situation.

The second part of the sustainability question posed by the ICMM (2012) – whether the community will be better off with the mine rather than without – is primarily relevant before and during project development. It can however be reformulated to ask if the local economy *would have been* better off without the mine. In hindsight, the project and the bankruptcy caused disruptions in several ways. Housing investments were made, workers and sometimes entire families relocated to Pajala, several firms that were contracted by the mining company did not get paid, and private investors lost money on investments in the company. This illustrates some of the risks faced by investors as well as communities that become stakeholders in mineral development, and these losses and social disruptions would have been avoided, if the project had never been realized. The resources that were consumed could instead have been directed at more sustainable activities.

If the mine had been economically viable, these investments would have been rewarded and the community would likely have been better off with the mine. Northland had by most accounts gained a strong “social licence to operate” from the local community (Koivurova et al. 2015), and as the previous section shows, the local economy experienced a strong positive development during the mining boom. A respondent from the local economic development office said that “...a positive aspect of the mining boom is that it vitalized a lot of markets, people could sell their houses if they wanted to, they could change jobs, because there was actually a demand for labour... [I]t was almost a Klondike [gold rush] feel, and it actually remains in a lot of people, that sense of optimism”. This optimism is however likely to diminish the longer the mine remains closed.

When asked if the local economy was better or worse off now, a respondent from the local economic development office said that “[t]he entrepreneurship has absolutely improved. Local businesses are taking market shares outside Pajala. There is still a different mindset here compared to the past, people think more entrepreneurial, the skill level has improved a bit.” The short-lived mining boom was clearly disruptive in many ways, but this statement suggests that it may have left some lasting positive impacts that are difficult to quantify.

The bankruptcy prompted some stakeholders to call for state intervention to support the mine because it was so crucial for the local economy. The most common suggestion was to explore the possibilities for the state-owned mining company LKAB

(Europe's largest iron ore miner) to operate the mine. State intervention of some form could have been more seriously considered only a few decades ago, as was the case in the 1970s, when the state intervened to save struggling companies in the steel and shipbuilding industries (Tillväxtanalys 2015). The contemporary response however reflected a more market-oriented view. The Minister for Enterprise and Innovation reportedly rejected the proposal and was quoted as saying that "...the state should not run companies", and furthermore emphasized that LKAB was a commercial enterprise and should operate accordingly.

In the summer of 2015, the processing plant (but not the actual mine) was sold to a group of private Swedish investors, who hope to resume mining operations at some point. On the topic of a potential restart of the Kaunisvaara mine, a local respondent expressed an optimistic view about the Kaunisvaara iron ore and said that "[i]t may last 100 years, you never know".

CONCLUSIONS

This case study on Pajala contributes to the knowledge about mining and local economic development in Sweden by compiling and examining transparent data on how the local economy responded to the new mine. This issue has mainly been analysed *ex ante* in Sweden, and the results of such studies are easily questioned as they depend heavily on assumptions. The paper shows that the local economy in Pajala was revived by the Kaunisvaara mine while it operated and nearly 800 new jobs were created. The mining boom had a significant impact on the local economy beyond providing direct jobs, until the mine closed in 2014 due to bankruptcy. More recent statistics covering the period after the bankruptcy were not available, which limits the ability to address the impact of the bust. During the observed period, which covers the development of the mine and its few years in production, positive development occurred in overall employment, population, labour market participation rates for men as well as women, and incomes, which exhibited faster growth than the national average. The mine thus clearly generated local economic benefit, while operating. The mining boom initiated a process of structural change; mining and related industries in its value chain became important specializations in Pajala. An important aspect of this transition towards an increasingly resource-dependent economy is the exposure to volatile global commodity markets and international investors, which made the local economy less sustainable as the mine was ultimately not profitable under the prevailing circumstances.

The Kaunisvaara mine clearly failed to provide sustainable development this time. It can be argued that the local economy would have been better off without this turbulent experience, as the local resources and effort consumed by preparing for the mining era could instead have been devoted to more lasting activities. The possibility of a new future mining era remains as the minerals are still in the ground, but these recent experiences have illustrated some of the risks involved in mineral ventures.

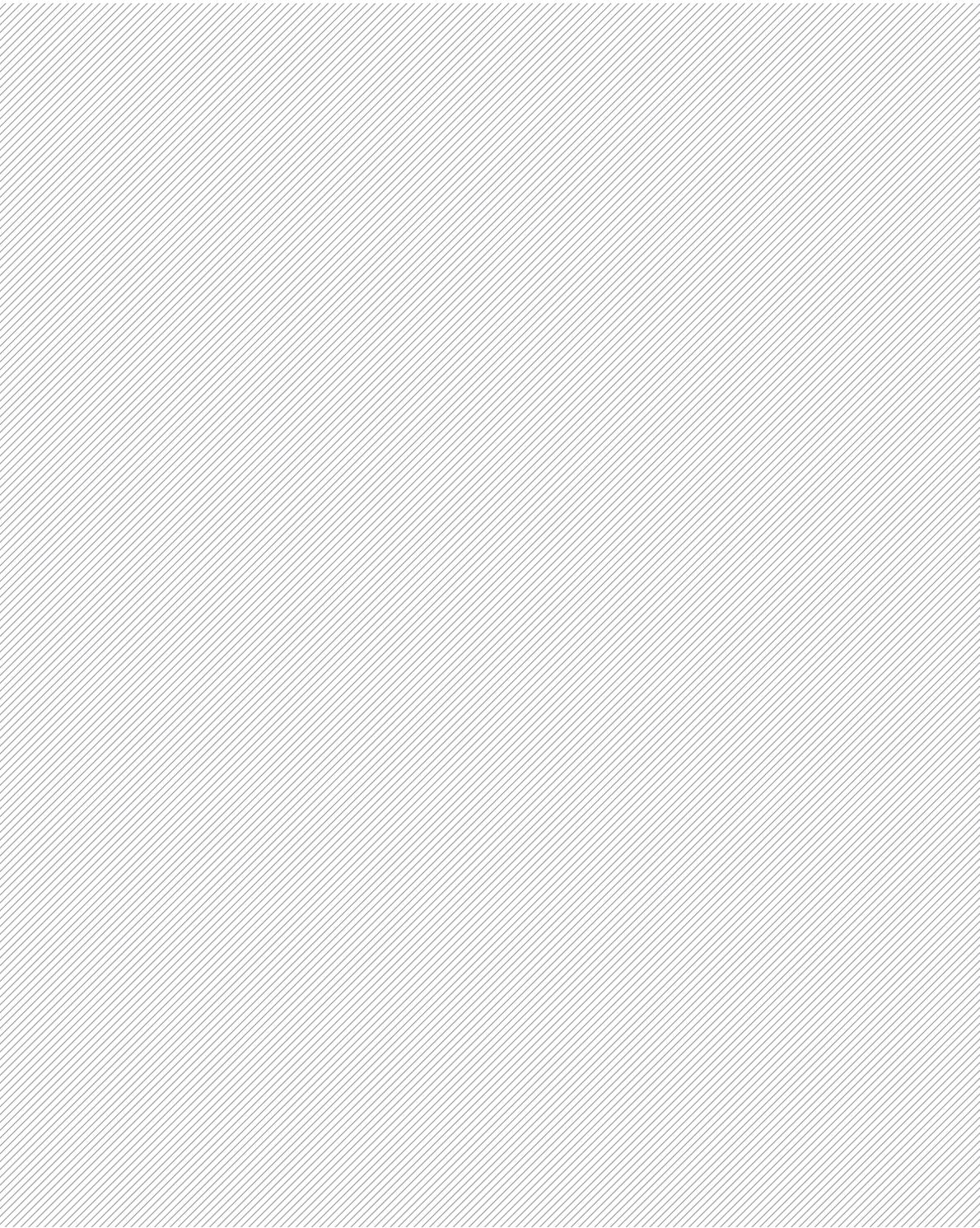
Although purely hypothetically, one can also argue that if the mine had been economically viable, it could have made a positive contribution to sustainable local economic development, as a number of key indicators improved during the short life of the project. With improved demography, incomes, and skills due to the mining project, a longer mining era could have increased the ability to make appropriate social investments, as suggested by Eggert (2001). These might have consisted of investments in related businesses, infrastructure, and human capital, as well as investments in more diversified economic activities that could have been sustained after the end of mining.

More comprehensive studies with access to data on the years after the bankruptcy are needed to provide a better understanding of the impact of the bust and the outlook for sustainable local economic development in Pajala. The future of the mine now appears to be at the mercy of the global commodity market and international investors. Perhaps this is also the case for the local economy, as long as the hope of a new mining era continues to linger as the way forward.

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Cultural policy in Ust-Tsilma (Russia) between neoliberalism and sustainability

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ABSTRACT

The article analyses the cultural policies and practices in the municipal district of Ust-Tsilma (Komi Republic, Russia) from neoliberalism and sustainability perspectives. Ust-Tsilma was chosen as a case study for the broader NEO-BEAR research project¹, which has aimed to establish how neoliberal and sustainability discourses change life in small municipalities in the Barents region. This study shows that the cultural sphere in the municipality of Ust-Tsilma is rapidly moving towards the neoliberal principles of organization of life, marked by economic and managerial efficiency, cultural consumerism, state–private financial partnership, competitive distribution of finances, and contract-based relations. Furthermore, the study shows that, in the context of declining population due to globalization and urbanization, a sustainability approach to culture (giving high priority to social-cultural capital, cultural heritage, and cultural landscape as well as to cultural access and participation) is extremely relevant for the future existence of the Ust-Tsilma municipality (and for the rural areas in general), because it brings a necessary adaptive potential for the survival of rural settlements and for the development of their communities.

Keywords: *sustainability, neoliberalism, cultural policy, Ust-Tsilma*

INTRODUCTION

The principal focus of this article is the cultural dimension of neoliberal and sustainability policies and practices in a rural community of the far north of Russia. The working hypothesis is that local culture is a domain where these new policies meet and struggle – not only with one another but also with conservative managerial practices – in order to find a possible equilibrium. While the neoliberal paradigm currently appears irresistible, a sustainability approach can be seen as a way to balancing the rough ride of neoliberal practices.

During the last decades, localities have been pushed by the State towards the realities of neoliberalism, which have become a cognitive pattern for managerial strategies at all administrative levels in all societal spheres. In remote rural areas, survival is a principal task. When this is combined with policies of market domination and economic efficiency, the result is a major challenge. One is faced with economic issues (new models of budgeting), administrative questions (new managerial strategies), professional considerations (new standards of work and personnel), social challenges (new skills and competences), cognitive trials (new type of rationality), behavioural difficulties (new patterns of communication), axiological matters (new system of values), and anthropological issues (new principles of self-esteem). It is in such situations that strategies of sustainability bring a huge adaptive potential for social and economic existence and for the cultural sphere. The research presupposes that local cultural policies and practices spontaneously and unconsciously reproduce the sustainability strategies that are the naturally most adaptive ones.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The notion of cultural policy

Cultural policy is an umbrella term with variations of evolving meaning. It can be defined as a set of teleonomic activities of public institutions (international, national, regional, and municipal), as well as of private organizations, to preserve and promote culture, to implant certain cultural values in the society, so that they become an indispensable part of the lives of humans and communities and that their support and further development would become a natural human and social need. Historically, cultural policies were focused on the preservation of high culture, or cultural heritage, mainly in the arts, but with time the horizon of aims, objectives, and practices broadened, based on the assumption that culture is “a way of life” (Throsby 2010, 2). This modern trend of “generalization” or “universalization” of

the idea of culture, as no longer focused exclusively on creation and preservation of cultural values within the arts, but rather seen as a content filling human and communal life with day-to-day actions and practices, would justify the growth of public and private investments into the cultural policies, as well as the transformation of the policies themselves (Throsby 2010, 14).

Depending on the dominating social context, cultural policies are represented in many different ways depending on their aims and tasks, subjects and objects, methods and instruments, content and functions. Certain policies are aimed at the sphere of culture in the narrow sense (including the process of creating cultural values and the corresponding institutions responsible for collecting and preserving cultural heritage), or in the wider sense (as an environment of human life, where every artefact becomes a cultural good and every act is seen as a fact of either consuming or producing cultural values), or they can be aimed at the cultural phenomena implemented in other spheres. Cultural policy can include long-term strategic goals as well as short-term tactical solutions.

The main object of cultural policies is the creation of cultural capital, which can be defined as a system of accumulated and structured elements of culture, forming beneficial background and life foundation for a human being or for a social entity (Bourdieu 1986; Axelsson et al. 2013). Cultural capital includes both material and non-material phenomena, which compile its tangible and intangible elements (Axelsson et al. 2013). Tangible cultural capital consists of created (produced type) and modified or affected (natural type) phenomena (Ferreira and Hamilton 2010). All artificial phenomena – built, made, constructed, assembled – can be united in the *produced* cultural capital, whereas the *natural* type of cultural capital refers to the habitat included in the circles of social life and endowed with meanings and functions (for example, the recreational meaning of parks, the protective function of conservation areas, the commercial meaning of agricultural lands). Intangible cultural capital includes cultural norms of behaviour, sets of values, patterns of living, traditions, lifestyles, languages, social practices, knowledge and skills used in crafts, spiritual practices, and intellectual activity (UNESCO 2003; Lenzerini 2011).

The environment in which cultural policies function becomes a battlefield for different paradigms; and while some of them manage to overcome their antinomic character, others stay incompatible. Currently, the principal framework of cultural

development is formed by the paradigms of neoliberalism and sustainability, which are, in many aspects, opposed to each other

Cultural Policy within the Neoliberal Paradigm

Neoliberalism is a complex and controversial set of political ideas, concepts, policies, and practices, with rather different implementations in the reality of different states (Birch and Mykhnenko 2009). There is nevertheless a common principal concept on the neoliberal agenda: domination of the free market. What follows from this is logically consequent, namely a universalized consumer approach (everything can be converted into a service), deregulation, privatization, enhancement of efficiency, cost minimization, shrinking of the social functions of the state, growth of private initiatives, and individual responsibility (Bikbov 2011; Larner 2000; Harvey 2007; Comaroff and Comaroff 2001; Treanor 2005). What also follows is managerialization as an “assumption that public agencies should function like private businesses in order to work efficiently” (McGuigan 2005, 236). Even the neoliberal cognitive model is seen through the modern economocentric phenomenon of enterprise (Scharff 2015) with efficiency as its dominant, essential value. Neoliberal policies seek maximized human freedom, liberalization of trade, increasing mobility of capital, and growing efficiency of local economies as a consequence of diversification of competing free markets.

Culture comes into the neoliberal discourse through debates on the ways of expanding the free market ideology towards cultural policies (Bikbov 2011; Kagarlitsky 2011; Larner 2005). Neoliberalism pushes culture towards commodification of its values and drives cultural policies towards profit-making activities. When this happens,

[c]ultural policy ceases to be specifically about culture at all. The predominant rationale for cultural policy today is economic, in terms of competitiveness and regeneration, and, to a lesser extent, social, as an implausible palliative to exclusion and poverty. (McGuigan 2005, 238)

Thus, the current discourse of both cultural studies and cultural policies is predominantly economic – one speaks of profitability of cultural services, role of culture in a marketplace, production and consumption of cultural goods, overheads elimination, quality criteria of cultural services, competition-based money distribution, short-term contracts, and partnership strategies. The focus shifts from

“high culture” to “mass culture” and then – via “cultural industry” (Adorno and Horkheimer 2002) and “cultural industries” – to “creative industry” or “creative economy” (McGuigan 2010, 122–123). This drastically changes the perception of economic intervention into the sphere of culture, from negative to positive, from critiques to apologetics.

Strategic planning and realization of cultural policy have rapidly won friends, because culture is seen as a powerful tool of economic growth. (Re)branding of places gets a high priority on the local agenda, as the cultural environment becomes a main indicator for a hospitable investment climate. The targeted recipient of cultural policies is the financially reliable consumer (Bikbov 2011), which again impacts heavily on the character of cultural practices.

A well-balanced economic approach to cultural policies, along with the economic value of the produced and consumed cultural goods, should also take into consideration their cultural value (Throsby 2010). In reality this balance is quite often lost – the pure economic value prevails. Neoliberalism also introduces the collaborative model of organization of cultural policies as a replacement of the paternalistic approach. This entails a change in the strategies of financing and development of state–private partnerships, while “public budgets for support of culture are shrinking, without there necessarily being an expansion of private funding to compensate” (Throsby 2010, 4–5).

Sustainability Approach to Cultural Policies

Sustainability, or sustainable development, is another global discourse, implemented in theory and practice by modern states. The political history of the sustainability paradigm starts in 1987, when the Brundtland report *Our Common Future* introduced new rationales and a cautious approach for further developing strategies concerning nature and society. The concept of sustainable development usually sees three pillars underpinning the sustainable world: sustainable economy, sustainable society, and sustainable environment. The notions of sustainability and sustainable development are used as synonyms in the current research as their difference — sustainability being the desired result while sustainable development being the way to reach it — practically disappears in the Russian discourse.

To be defined as sustainable, the economy should become “green” or maintain a balance between efficiency and environmental and social “costs”. Sustainable

development in the social sphere is about implementing the principles of social justice and equity in contemporary social policies and practices. Environmental sustainability means protection of existing biodiversity and natural resources and presupposes the rule of ecological consciousness guided by the principles of conservation of nature, harmonious exploitation of natural resources, and rational nature management (Goodland 1995; Moldan et al. 2012). Because economic, environmental, and social interests do not coincide in most cases, the principal task for sustainability programmes is to overcome the controversial nature of societal sectors or at least to reach a possible equilibrium with minimization of losses and side effects.

The most vulnerable point of the sustainability paradigm is its rather vague character. The broad spectrum of interpretations of the concept often leads to pure academic speculations without implementation into real policies and actions. Thus, a great idea gets quite low practical impact or little “serious on-the-ground action” (Drexhage and Murthy 2010, 7).

In the sustainability paradigm, culture is mostly seen as the “fourth pillar” (Hawkes 2001; Axelsson et al. 2013) with several roles, supporting, mediating, and creating sustainability. This is culture “in, for and as” sustainable development (Dessein et al. 2015, 28–33). Sustainable culture – culture in sustainable development – refers to the self-supporting and self-promoting role of culture with cultural policies adopting the strategies and principles of sustainability. Culture, as a coupling channel – culture for sustainable development – links together the various spheres of society and thus becomes responsible for the possible breakdown between knowledge and its appearance in certain spheres or for the distortion of knowledge. Culture as environment – culture as sustainable development – means that culture is a universal foundation of personal and communal existence through the perpetual creation, preservation, and outreach of knowledge, norms, and values by nurturing, educating, enlightening, and spiritualizing human beings. Therefore, culture is the main source for creating personal and communal identity.

To be seen as sustainable, cultural policies have to make a new turn from profitability in its literal meaning to profitability as a mutually beneficial strategy, and they have to contribute to the social and environmental development, as well as to economic growth (Dessein et al. 2015). Sustainable culture means both the integration of cultural indicators into the criteria of socio-economic development, such as quality

of life, human development index, and index of happiness (Axelsson et al. 2013), and the functional expenditure and actions of cultural institutions. Museums, libraries, recreational centres, and even schools multiply their tasks combining educational, leisure, and sport activities not only for neoliberal cost reduction but for developing their social-enlightening missions (Tartygasheva and Tsybikov 2013). This is why

[t]he best hope for introducing culture into the development policy agenda is by demonstrating how the cultural industries can contribute to sustainable development, through the contribution that artistic and cultural production, dissemination, participation and consumption make to economic empowerment, cultural enrichment and social cohesion in the community.
(Throsby 2010, 196).

It is the cultural environment that allows the promotion of approaches with a specific system of values, be it ideas of sustainability, diversity, or consumerism, or economic, social, cultural, or any other superiority. Adopting cultural instruments by the discourse of sustainable development is a far-sighted policy which helps extend the ideas of sustainability by means of soft power and introduce the values of sustainability bottom-up, making them natural human needs rather than inculcated ideas.

Can Neoliberalism and Sustainability Work Together?

The political discourses of both neoliberalism and sustainability claim to be universal, so that they inevitably meet in social practice. But the goals of sustainability and neoliberalism vary: neoliberal economy is oriented towards efficiency, measured by means of profitability, whereas efficiency from the viewpoint of sustainable economy is seen as adequate satisfaction of the *essential* (but not consumerist) needs. Thus, sustainability turns to the development of infrastructural and industrial projects with innovative technologies, while profit-seeking neoliberalism separates the financial sector from the real sector of the economy and starts making money “out of thin air” by selling and buying without producing actual goods..

Economic efficiency and “marketization” (McGuigan 2005) challenge the fair distribution of economic assets of the sustainable economy, the human equity of the sustainable society, and the protection of biodiversity and natural resources of the sustainable environment. The values of green economy and social justice fail under the pressure of neoliberal demands, especially in the developing countries.

Furthermore, privatization, deregulation, and liberalization give a green light to corruption (Kumi et al. 2014). Economic efficiency, as a supreme neoliberal value, leads to growing poverty and inequality (McGuigan 2005), especially in the rural areas (Reed 2015) and thus contradicts the main principles of sustainable development – a stable economy and social equity. The neoliberal approach grafted into the sustainability paradigm causes the loss of balance among its pillars, reducing all sides of sustainability to economic growth only (Drexhage and Murthy 2010), or to the environmental issues understood through the concept of environmentality, or managerialization and marketization of conservation policies and practices towards nature (Fletcher 2010; McCarthy 2012).

While the neoliberal discourse promotes the idea of individualism, the theories of sustainability motivate active social communication, interrelation, and development of communal and global consciousness. Both sustainability and neoliberal policies seek the development of partnerships, private or state–private. However, the essence of these partnerships differs: for a cooperation to be seen as neoliberal, it must, *prima facie*, stay economically profitable. To be viewed as sustainable, the cooperation must foster a synergetic effect in solving economic, environmental, and social problems.

Hence, due to their rather different goals, neoliberalism and sustainability are hardly compatible within the same social reality: “The neoliberal order is unstable and, ultimately, unsustainable” (McGuigan 2010, 120).

REGIONAL CONTEXT

Russia-specific additions

In Russia, both the neoliberal and the sustainability discourses meet unique challenges of the local economy and administration. Privatization, for instance, comes together with deprivation and redistribution of proprietary rights (Batchikov and Kara-Murza 2008). Economic efficiency is replaced by bureaucratic effectiveness, which is measured by the number and the strength of informal connections in the governmental sector (the so-called administrative resource effect), and this nourishes shadow economy and corruption (Barsukova 2004). The neoliberal discourse with its highly valued short-term contracts and insignificance of the employee as an individual makes the growth of the shadow economy even stronger. In the recruitment of new workers, the price of the work force is the main criterion (“cheaper is better”), and low professional requirements help, too (Slonimczyk 2014).

To avoid a social burden, employers offer informal (unregistered) work or short-term formal contracts (Lehmann and Zaiceva 2013). Small businesses and salaried employees in many economic sectors view survival as a much more important goal than financial growth or stock accumulation. Informal economy, including the shadow economy and even more the “moral economy” of unofficial family/friend-related reciprocal connections and unwritten contracts, dominates the national economy (Barsukova 2004).

The cultural sphere reflects, in one way or another, all these features.

Commodification of culture mostly means budget cuts and the closure of profitless institutions. Altruistic sponsorship and communal involvement are not yet widely developed, and enthusiastic Soviet-style activities – voluntary work with the utmost mobilization of minds and wills and a readiness to face adversities for the radiant future of the coming generations – are no longer widespread. Nor are there any legal privileges for charitable or volunteer work.

The legislation for cultural policies is rather weak and inappropriate for today’s situation. Mainly enacted in the mid-1990s, this legislation consists of the national-level *Fundamentals of Legislation of the Russian Federation on Culture* (No 3612-1, from 9 October 1992 with the additions), regional laws (such as *Law of the Komi Republic “On Culture”*, No 15-P3, from 22 December 1994), and other federal and regional sectoral laws (on museums, libraries, etc.). It also includes general legislation intended to regulate administrative, civil, and labour relations (for instance, federal law FZ-83 from 8 May 2010, which severely limits the ways and means of spending budget funding). The new state law on culture was introduced for public debate in 2011 and has since had the status of a draft. A new fundamental document – *The Basic Principles of the State Cultural Policy of the Russian Federation* – appeared in the national cultural sphere in 2014 (No 808 from 24 December 2014). This document defines the main directions, strategic tasks, and key principles of the development of the state cultural policy. It brings together the development of creative arts, and the preservation and study of the cultural heritage and education with the development of creative industries and activities oriented towards organization of communicative and presentation domains. This document underlines the priority of cultural capital of the state over its economic capital. The document also identifies society as the main subject of the state cultural policy, while the state itself gets an instrumental role. Thus, current legislation in the sphere of culture neither exerts any positive influence on the cultural situation in the regions, nor does it make any contribution

to its development. However, the legislative situation has recently started changing, and the significance of the development of national cultural policy is widely considered an overriding priority. Cultural modernization in modern Russia thus becomes a challenge for all those participating in the process: cultural institutions, regional and municipal administrations, NGOs and other involved groups, and individuals.

Ust-Tsilma municipality: general description

Within the NEO-BEAR project, which focuses on neoliberalism and sustainability in the communities of the Barents region (Tennberg et al. 2014), Ust-Tsilma (Komi Republic), the subject of this case study, represents the northeast of the European part of Russia. While the first part of the project mostly explored the social and economic aspects (with a special focus on tourism), the second part broadens the framework by considering the transitional period in the Russian cultural policies and by examining the processes and challenges of this sphere.

Ust-Tsilma is a rural area in the remote part of the Komi Republic. The settlement of Ust-Tsilma is the centre of the Ust-Tsilemsky municipal district, located in the northwestern part of the Komi Republic on the border with Arkhangelsky Region and Nenets Autonomous Okrug. Ust-Tsilma has 5064 inhabitants, whereas the municipal district consists of 37 rural localities and has a population of 11,898 people (according to the Russian Federal State Statistics Service). The municipal district, together with its centre, is losing population drastically – 1% annually (Pozdeev 2014) – due to remoteness of the area, severe climate, lack of career opportunities, and the general trend of urbanization. Even within the district, there is a distinct trend of migration from the villages to the municipal centre.

Culture is estimated by the local administration and stakeholders as one of the main sources for municipal development, a growth point with big potential. The local inhabitants speak a unique dialect of Russian, belong to the Church of Old Believers, and preserve their traditional lifestyle. They stress their identity by calling themselves *ust-tsilyoma*, which is a claim to be seen as a specific (indigenous) ethnic entity, neither Russian nor Komi – the two major neighbouring peoples. Their constructing the communal (even ethnic) identity on the cultural foundation is highly interesting from the perspective of our research.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The analysis of the cultural life of Ust-Tsilma through the neoliberal and sustainability perspectives is based on a set of criteria with corresponding indicators.

The impact that the neoliberal paradigm has on the culture of Ust-Tsilma municipality is measured by institutional change, commercialization of culture, new strategies of financing, and new types of cultural actors, that is, producer and targeted recipient. The indicators for *institutional change* are a shift in ownership of the cultural institutions (reduction of the state share), growth of the self-financing sector, and transition of cultural management from local administration to separate institutions. *Commodification of culture* can be shown in the growth of paid services (in number and variety), rising prices in the sphere, shutdown of unprofitable projects and institutions, cancellation of measures of support towards specific groups, activation of competition, and (re)branding and self-representation through the cultural environment in order to attract investments. The indicators of *change in financing strategies* are devolution of the financial burden from the state down to the regions, municipalities, and further to stakeholders; budget cuts; short-term contracts; and grant-based distribution of money. The criterion of *new key subjects of the cultural policies* has the following indicators: investments in successful candidates – individuals, teams, companies (previous success of an author or a project guarantees future success; “money comes to money”); price growth (which restricts access for low-paid audiences); rising consumer standards; shift in the targeted recipient of cultural services; and emergence of investors as new consumers of culture.

Among the possible criteria for assessment of cultural development from a sustainability perspective, those suggested by Axelsson and co-authors in their study of Swedish realities (Axelsson et al. 2013) appear to be applicable to the analysis of our case study. On the basis of these criteria, we developed a new set of indicators. These include, first of all, *cultural heritage* (UNESCO 2003), which embraces historical remains and surviving cultural tradition in its tangible and intangible forms. Second, we have *cultural landscape* (Rössler 2000) as culturally enriched natural habitat, a recognizable living environment as an image of the place or as a unique combination of its geography, history, and existing narratives. This also refers to the unique “spirit” and aesthetics of a place, which stem from the preservation of traditional practices such as farming, fishing, hunting, foraging, woodcarving, and folklore performances. Third, there is *cultural access*, the number and variety

of available cultural institutions and services, both free and paid, including public accessibility and outreach scale. And the fourth set of indicators pertains to *cultural participation* or the number of voluntary groups and NGOs, attendance and popularity of cultural events among the audience, number of people involved in various cultural events and activities, and types of participation in cultural activities. The first two “sustainability” criteria have a more qualitative character, where the numbers (of monuments, places, or events) are less in focus. The criterion of *cultural access* is mostly quantitative, whereas *cultural participation* has both a qualitative and a quantitative character.

Methodologically, this research is based on interviews; analysis of the legal base and of documents (reports, plans, grant applications, etc.) and other data collected during fieldwork (in February 2015), and examination of the websites of the municipal and local administrations and other open-access Internet resources of the local NGOs, centres, and other groups. We conducted 20 interviews during the first phase of the research with heads and employees of municipal cultural institutions (museums, libraries, cultural centres), leaders and members of local NGOs, representatives of the municipal administration, and with entrepreneurs.

ANALYSIS

Neoliberal practices introduced into the cultural sphere of Ust-Tsilma

The study on Ust-Tsylma cultural policies and practices through a neoliberal prism creates a picture which is rather indicative of contemporary Russian cultural life.

Neoliberal generalization of the principle of economic efficiency and its demand for increasing profitability of all policies and activities force the municipalities to rebrand their communal identity as business projects. Ust-Tsilma is a case in point of the modern branding of a place, and this particular brand-making project directly influences the local cultural policies and, in a sense, becomes a cultural policy of its own. The municipality brands itself through nature and culture: its pristine nature and location on a high bank of the Pechora river, on the one hand, and vibrant cultural traditions together with the religion of Old Believers (with no priests), on the other, help to create an attractive tourist image, also in terms of inviting investment for the development of cultural initiatives. The best-known cultural event supported by local, regional, and federal financial resources is the summer ritual “Red Hill” celebrations (*Krasnaya Gorka*). “Gorka”, and the places sacred or historically linked to

Old Believers, are the cornerstones for the development of event tourism. However, they are not enough to make this branch of the local economy profitable. While “Gorka” and some other festivals became a successful example of the local brand-making process, it turned out – in accordance with “the Matthew effect”² – that when only previously successful projects are supported (Bikbov 2011; Kagarlitsky 2011), all local endeavours have to include manifestations of folklore to a certain degree to be successful in future.

As underlined by one of the interviewees (a representative of the municipal management), culture is seen as “an essential source for the area, a powerful impetus for the local development”, especially in its direct links to the development of ethnic tourism. All interviewees also drew attention to a lack of finances, caused by “optimization” of state cultural funds³, as the main obstacle for the cultural development in the region.

As cultural renaissance in new conditions is potential for economic growth, these growth points are expected to attract investments and help individuals to become entrepreneurs. For Ust-Tsilma municipality, tourism brings such expectations. Our interviewees, however, indicated that there has been a lack of initiatives among the local stakeholders, even though tourism could make a contribution given the underdeveloped provision of accommodation, transportation, and food services. Local inhabitants offering bed and breakfast facilities could successfully compete with the few hotels of Ust-Tsilma in giving the tourists a possibility to enjoy traditional northern rural lifestyle. Not many locals have done this, possibly because the tourist season is short, there is resistance to try a new activity, and the lifestyle of the Old Believers is rather closed. Also, the vast majority of those who get involved in this type of business do not register their enterprise officially. To avoid taxes and bureaucracy, they stay within the framework of informal relations and shadow economy.

The process of *commodification of culture* can be further illustrated by the growing number and variety of paid services in Ust-Tsilma cultural institutions, even though interviews showed that these paid services are not equally and regularly requested. The most profitable cultural activities have traditionally been leisure events (such as festivals and the cinema) and tourist souvenirs. For example, the A. V. Zhuravsky Historical Memorial Museum opened a visitor centre in 2013, with souvenirs as the main source of income.

Institutional change in the cultural sphere of Ust-Tsilma is reflected by the closure of the department of culture in the municipal administration and by the creation of the Ust-Tsilma Culture, Leisure, and Cinema Centre. Its work has been estimated by the local administrative managers and stakeholders as far more efficient and as “real work” as opposed to the “nominal work” of the abolished department.

Change of financial strategies becomes evident from the analysis of documents and interviews. There are now many more grant activities, and more private sector support from large companies such as Lukoil-Komi and from individual entrepreneurs. According to one of the interviewees (a local administration representative), “as far as state–private partnership is concerned, the municipal administration is still examining regulatory and legislative framework. We have some ideas, but they are not ready to be discussed yet.” The interviewees also said that a grant system was the most optimal source of targeted financial support, even though the application process takes a lot of time and effort.

As for the *new key subjects of cultural policies*, their appearance in rural municipalities like Ust-Tsilma is less obvious. The principal audience of all cultural events is the same, the local inhabitants. The consumer approach to cultural events is not the main approach; local culture still holds its educational, entertaining, and recreational potential. Ust-Tsilma cultural institutions (such as the Zhuravsky Museum and libraries, and NGOs like Rus Pechorskaya) offer cultural activities with a focus on knowledge and skills, providing scientific and educational programmes and activities to preserve and promote an understanding of the cultural tradition. It is the tourist who indeed appears to be the new key subject of the local culture. Tourists make the consumer approach relevant, because they want to be, first of all, entertained. Interviewees pointed out that tourists expect a certain level of service and that their expectations on transportation, accommodation, food, and tour programmes grow from year to year, thus demonstrating a rise of consumer standards.

To summarize, neoliberal practices have been introduced in the cultural sphere of Ust-Tsilma with major changes as a result. The ongoing processes show how the neoliberal demands for efficiency are implemented through the commodification of cultural institutions, actions, and practices, and also through changing financing strategies. As the financial burden of the state is shrinking, continuous investments are displaced by a more flexible yet sporadic and selective model of sponsorship or grant support. Institutional change in the cultural sphere demonstrates the growth

of managerial efficiency. And the very appearance of the new key subject of the cultural policies, activities, and practices – the cultural tourist – signifies the growing influence of the neoliberal approach to cultural policies. These policies turn away from educational activities, sense-creating art actions, and preservation of traditional practices and rather turn to economically efficient enterprises aimed to develop cultural services focusing on programmes of recreation and entertainment.

However, the cultural sphere of Ust-Tsilma still holds on to its main priorities and directions. The traditional patriarchal approach to the local cultural policies recognizes that there are new guidelines and starts entering new discourses without being fully aware of having absorbed something new.

Culture of Ust-Tsilma through the prism of sustainability discourse

The set of criteria applied to Ust-Tsilma cultural policies from a sustainability perspective yields rather interesting results that are far from typical for an average rural area. The criterion of *cultural heritage* sees the past as very much alive and as having a bearing on modern life. In the municipal district of Ust-Tsilma, the past and the present are closely linked. There is the ethnographic village of Garevo with its 18th-century legacy, the Skitskaya village as an Old Believer settlement, the copper and silver mines dating from the 15th century, the Zhuravsky station for agricultural experimentation in the conditions of the far North, and many more. At the same time, the municipality also maintains intangible cultural capital in the indigenous lifestyle, language, sacred places, and folklore tradition. New cultural projects constantly appear in order to preserve the social memory of the area.

The *cultural landscape* of the settlement of Ust-Tsilma is rather remarkable, highlighting both the traditional image of the place (large houses constructed on the terraced banks of a mighty river) and the new projects (such as the Patrimonial House, aimed to support ancestral places of living and strengthening family ties and family memory). If one were to add the specific cultural atmosphere to the characteristics of the landscape, it should include the local parlance, fairy tales, and traditions. Farming, fishing or foraging, costume stitching, knitting, and woodcarving all have their own unique features. Farming, for example, has developed in almost polar conditions. The place is also famous for its sheep and horse breeds, both called Pechorskaya. Traditional crafts are still in demand, not so much for creating useful everyday items, but more for their archaic-symbolic

meaning. There is plenty of ongoing research of folklore, history, traditional practices, costumes, and crafts, which adds an academic touch to the place. Cultural festivities also significantly enrich the cultural landscape.

The criterion of *cultural access* demonstrates the accessibility of cultural services. The municipal cultural life is enriched by the activities of Ust-Tsilma Culture, Leisure, and Cinema Centre, and by the A. V. Zhuravsky Historical Memorial Museum, the children's music school, and the libraries. The cultural institutions work with a variety of people: children, teenagers, young families, women, adults, and pensioners. The vast majority of stakeholders — 96% according to the 2013 report (Pozdeev, 2014) — are satisfied with the quality of work of the local cultural institutions. However, the interviewees agree with the municipal reports that the lack of specialists, such as choreographers, sound engineers, and concert masters, is still a problem. And the need for specialists increases with the remoteness of the villages. The head of a municipal cultural centre mentioned in his interview that “people want to live in the centre of the municipality, and small villages are dying, suffering from lack of young people and professionals”.

The criterion of *cultural participation* includes the number of voluntary groups, NGOs, and participants as well as the results of the work. For example, 1200 local inhabitants are involved in the cultural activities of 120 groups (Pozdeev 2014), including traditional singing and dancing collectives, and the people's theatre. According to the interviews, 16 NGOs are currently working in the municipal district (three NGOs in 2009), and the major one, the interregional social movement Rus Pechorskaya has primarily cultural aims, such as the revitalisation of traditional living culture, and its cultural values respond to the growth of social scepticism and support the development of ethnic and cultural identity of *ust-tsilyoma*. Volunteer activities also grow in number and variety. People get involved in the cultural process as observers, supporters, and participants. As a local administration manager said, “people have become more active and they realized that without their participation nothing can be changed”. The interviews also showed a rise in volunteer work, even though it still has mostly a spontaneous and informal character. People prefer to help their friends, relatives, neighbours, and acquaintances, and participate in something they already know. Cultural participation is expected to grow due to the expansion of social networking and virtual social communication.

Ust-Tsilma at a crossroads of paradigms

A challenge for sustainable development comes from the necessity to skilfully reconcile often contradictory interests and goals of the economy, the environment, the social needs, and the culture. In case of Ust-Tsilma this challenge is crucially relevant. The culture of Old Believers, for instance, attracts with its pristine nature, history of endurance and high level of resilience. The Old Believers' closed disposition has helped to preserve age-old rituals and practices, which has made their culture a tourist attraction with high economic potential. This, however, can dissolve the core of the culture. Traditional culture meets the same challenge: in order to attract more funding, more audience, and more participants, folklore culture becomes "brighter" and more colourful, losing its authenticity, soul, and character, and suffering from simplification.

Tourism in Ust-Tsilma municipality is a domain where neoliberal and sustainability discourses meet. Cultural capital promotes tourism, and tourism helps to make culture economically efficient (Throsby 2010, 146–156), promoting economic sustainability as a result. But at the same time, there is a controversy in the development of tourism: if developed intensely, environmental sustainability could be questioned and the cultural capital devalued and partially lost due to the growing domination of a consumer approach to cultural values. At present, some external reasons, such as the remoteness of the area and the transportation problems alleviate this controversy. Tourism in the region has mostly an events-related and a seasonal character; it does not evolve as intensively as the municipal and regional authorities would wish. As stressed by the interviewees, tourist business is still a sore point in the municipality: "Our northern people, they cannot be rushed; they need time to get into the swing of things, to think, and to start acting".

In general terms, the neoliberal paradigm requires people to work hard, be proactive and creative, show initiative, take risks, and to strive for success. Neoliberalism promotes the new understanding of the human being as an "enterprise" with efficiency measured by the level of success as its main value. People, being subjected to the parameters of efficiency, seek better conditions and better places; remote rural localities get depopulated. Therefore, in order to keep the rural communities alive, to increase their adaptive potential, and to give them sources for revival and development, the neoliberal principle of efficiency should be redefined. The discourse should be changed from immediate profit-oriented solutions towards long-term goals of sustainability balancing the economic, social, cultural, and environmental needs.

CONCLUSIONS

Our analysis shows that both discourses of neoliberalism and sustainability are currently represented in the policies and practices of Ust-Tsilma municipality, even though the local authorities and stakeholders are not necessarily aware of these discourses or the relevant theories. This speaks volumes for the historically logical or unavoidable character of neoliberalism; it also shows that sustainability could underpin the present goals of development. The municipality of Ust-Tsilma combines new policies introduced from higher administrative levels (federal and republican) as a paradigm of modern life with the traditional, customary lifestyle and managerial patterns. In practice, the municipality, struggling with its remoteness and depopulation, has to realign the tasks for development with the goals of survival. The cultural sphere brings a strong, but not sufficient, potential for municipal growth.

The case of Ust-Tsilma shows that investing in culture is investment in the future. This sustainable strategy demands policies of long-term planning, which clashes with the neoliberal paradigm. Areas with a declining economy and population need to find ways of compensating for this, and the models of sustainable culture (promoting strong communal values) can be a source of necessary balance.

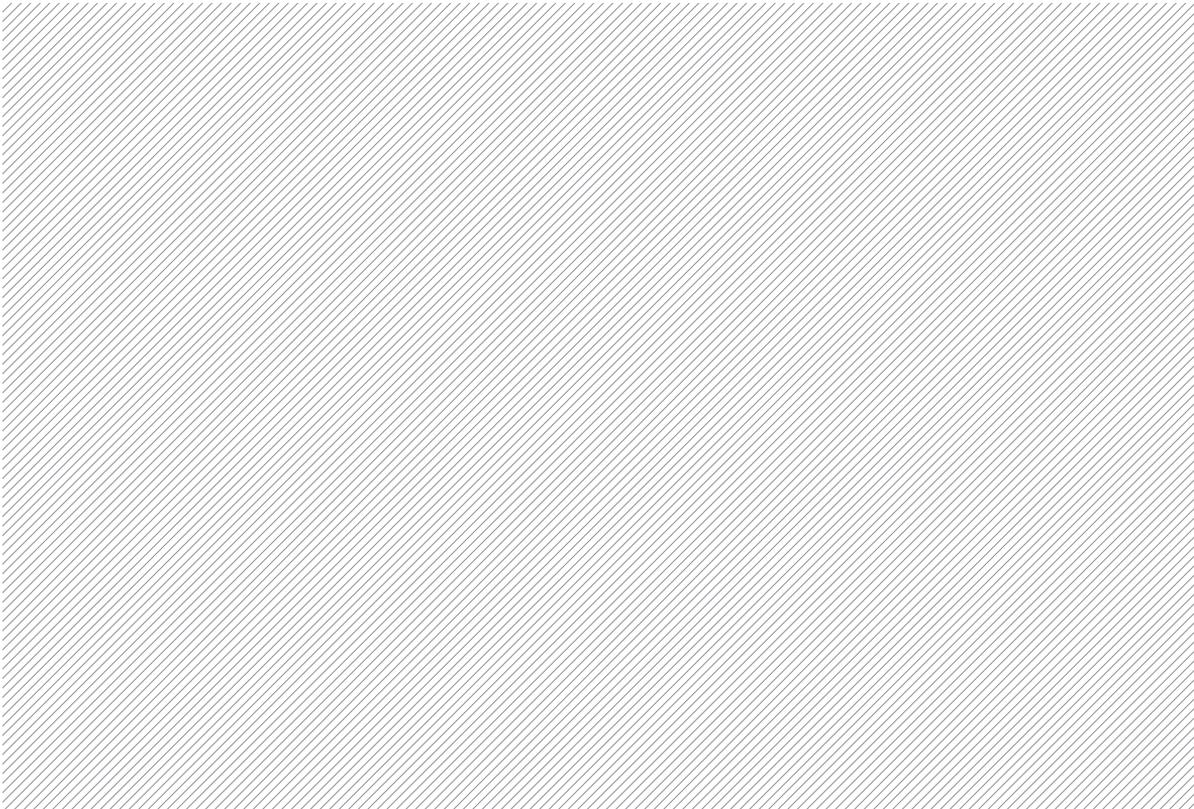
It is important to promote sustainability ideas and values further in the sphere of culture, because culture creates the universal ground for policies and practices of any type: economic, social, and environmental. It is especially important to strengthen natural links and relations between people, institutions, and settlements, and to support individual and organizational activities and partnerships aimed to empower the sense of community.

ENDNOTES:

¹ Neoliberal governance, local communities, and sustainable development in the Barents Region (NEO-BEAR) was an international project based in the Arctic Centre (University of Lapland) and funded by Nordic Council of Ministers' Arctic cooperation programme.

² As a term, "the Matthew law" or "the Matthew effect" descends from the Gospel of Matthew and was first used in academic literature by Robert K. Merton to refer to accumulated advantage: those who have previously received some life benefits, such as money, fame, resources, etc., would most probably get more of them, and those who have not yet got the benefits are least likely to get them.

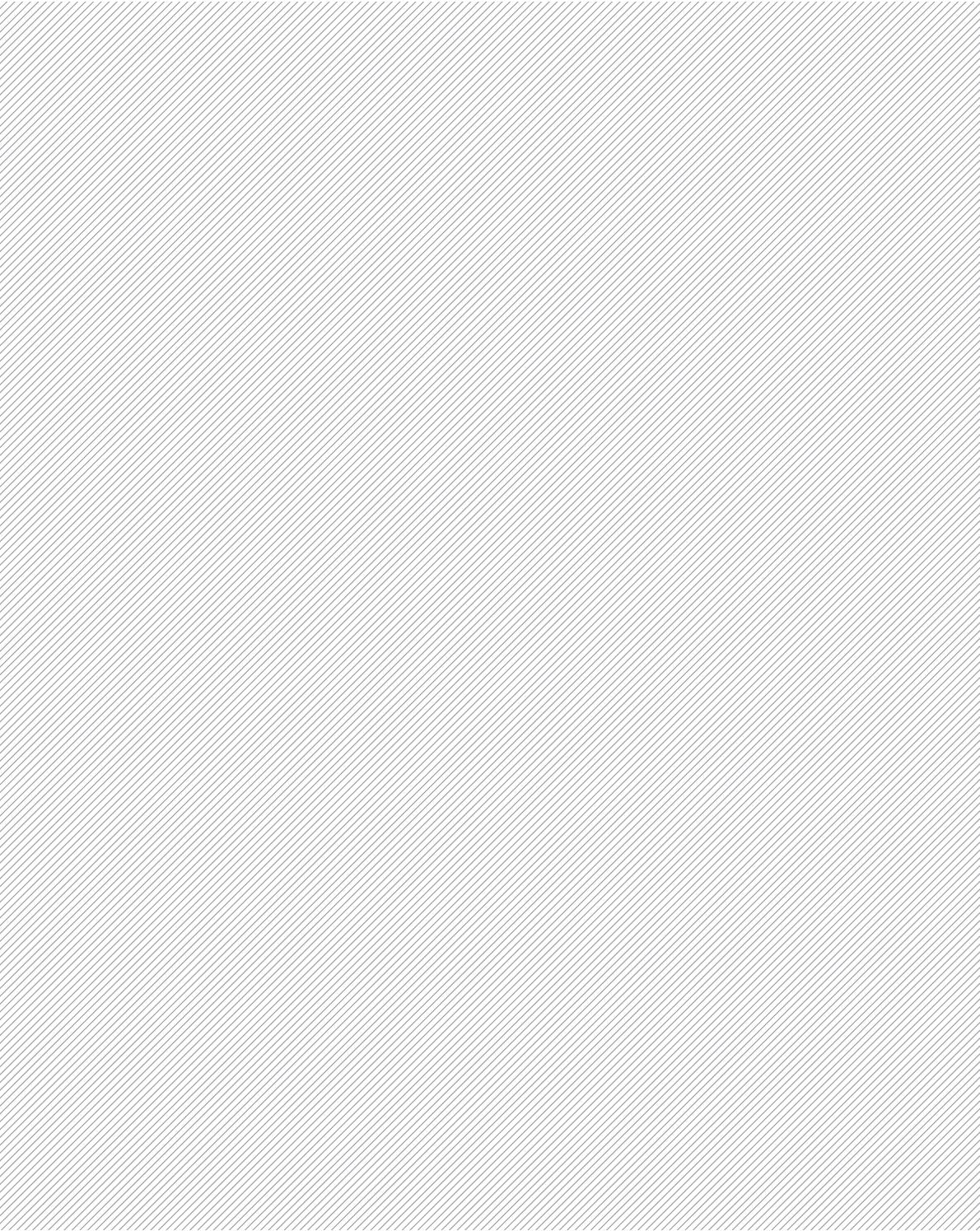
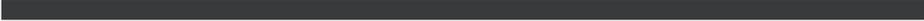
³ Optimization of funds presupposes enhancement of the organizational efficiency through a set of measures, including budget cuts, reductions of employee numbers and (or) of salaries, and shortage of unprofitable projects.

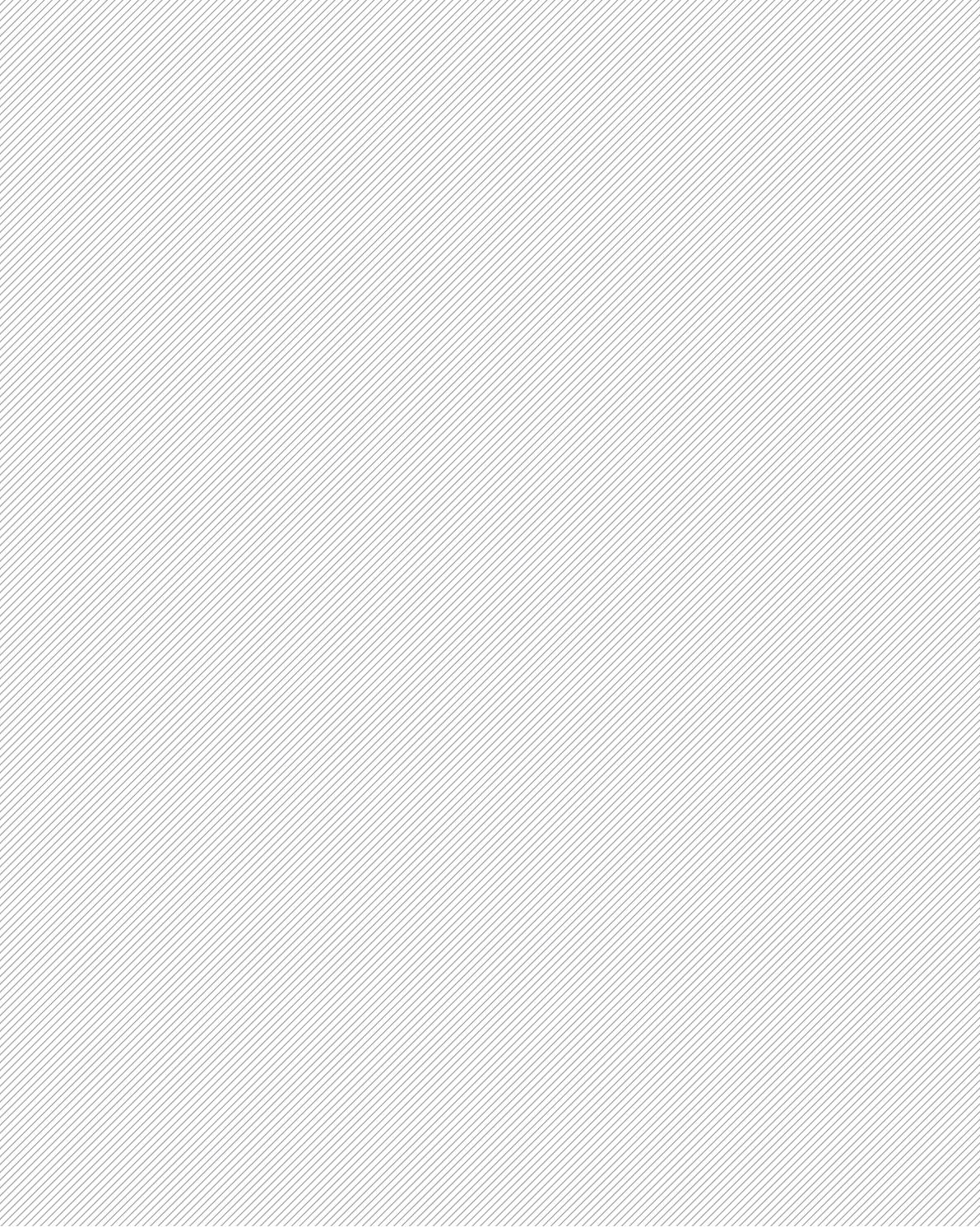


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Sustainable development of small Arctic communities under neoliberalism through the lens of community capitals: Teriberka, Russia

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ABSTRACT

The article discusses sustainable development in small Arctic communities under ongoing neoliberalization of economic and social policies. It draws on a case study from Teriberka, a coastal village in Northwest Arctic Russia. To understand the processes of sustainable development of such Arctic communities, the study applies the concept of community capitals, examines the effects of neoliberal policies on Teriberka, and analyses the impact of local strategies on community capitals. The research confirms that the balanced development of community capitals is both a path to and an indicator of sustainable development in small Arctic communities facing neoliberalism. The study reveals that recent initiatives undertaken mainly by outside actors have not invested Teriberka's capitals in a balanced way and have thereby not promoted sustainable local development. Community capitals are suggested as an appropriate model to discovering what small Arctic communities may do in practice to advance sustainable development in the face of neoliberal change. Also, in small communities with scarce human, social, and political capitals – as is the case in many Arctic communities – this model can work effectively only if local interests are not ignored by the state and external business actors.

Keywords: *sustainable development, neoliberalism, community capitals, Arctic, Teriberka*

INTRODUCTION

This article discusses sustainable development of small Arctic communities in the context of intensified neoliberalization of economic and social policies. The doctrine of sustainable development, which seeks to balance environmental, social, and economic aspects of human activity, drives the contemporary academic and practical debate over the Arctic communities. Small communities in the Arctic are often viewed as less capable of pursuing sustainable development, because they commonly face such challenges as harsh climate, tyranny of distances, high resource dependence, narrow economic base, deficient infrastructure, and loss of population (e.g., Gjertsen 2014, 16). At the same time, these communities are important for Arctic regions for maintaining traditions and ties to nature, as well as for their roles in the regional economies (Aarsæther, Riabova and Bærenholdt, 2004, 139–140). For the rest of the world, small Arctic communities become increasingly important as tourist destinations due to their location in pristine nature, authentic culture, and, after challenges have been turned to advantages, because of their geographic isolation and harsh climate (ibid.; Stewart, Draper and Johnston 2005, 383). Based on the consensus that there is no single recipe for sustainable development, current Northern and Arctic discourses thus focus on a multiplicity of understandings of the concept, and pay close attention to varieties of local perceptions and strategies of sustainable development (Fondahl 2017, 178–185).

In the last three decades, there has been a widespread rise of neoliberal policies of government, emphasizing freedom and competition, and expanding the market and private sector engagement in all domains of social life. With competition and uncertainty as its core features (Davies, 2014, xvi–xxii), as well as with increased market distortions, insecurity, and inequality, neoliberalism is often perceived as a challenge to sustainable development (Reed 2002, 6, 9; Tennberg et al. 2014, 41). It repeatedly creates both problems and opportunities for small Arctic communities, and calls for re-shaping the accustomed development strategies.

This article draws on a case study from Teriberka, a village on the Barents Sea coast in the Murmansk region of Arctic Russia. The village gained worldwide attention as the filming location of *Leviathan*, winner in 2015 of the Golden Globe award for best foreign-language film. The case study was conducted during 2012–2015 within the NEO-BEAR project (Neoliberal governance and sustainable development in the Barents Euro-Arctic Region, led by Monica Tennberg, Arctic Centre, University

of Lapland) and during a post-project period in 2016–2017. Teriberka, formerly a prosperous fishing village now in deep crisis, is a clear-cut case of a small Arctic community seeking sustainable development in uncertain neoliberal reality.

There was also a personal reason to choose the theme and the place for this study. Teriberka was the first small Arctic community where I came for fieldwork in 1996, and its distinct character made a great impression on me: the place kept the spirit of an old Pomor village, the people were open and ready to help, there was a glorious past and present hardships, all placed in a mighty Arctic coastal landscape. For the next twenty years, I kept coming back for research to this community that has been struggling to survive for decades.

Teriberka has been studied in detail since the 1990s, first by Jørgen Ole Bærenholdt of Roskilde University (Bærenholdt 1995) and later in international research projects, many as a part of my work in cooperation with Marit Aure from the University of Tromsø (now UiT The Arctic University of Norway). These include the UNESCO MOST CAPP project (Management of Social Transformations, Circumpolar Coping Processes Project) in 1996–2002; Local coping processes and regional development – social capital and economic co-operation in Russian and Norwegian coastal communities (1999–2001); A new decade: change and continuity in Russian-Norwegian cooperation and labour migration (2012–2015); and others (Riabova 2001; Skaptadottir, Mørkøre and Riabova 2001; Aure 2008; Riabova and Ivanova, 2009). The projects involved local stakeholders to ensure practical usefulness of research. The villagers participated in the fieldwork discussions and events together with people from other communities studied within the projects. The research within the NEO-BEAR project contributed to empirical studies on sustainable development in Arctic communities, made an input into longitudinal research on Teriberka, and maintained a tradition of scientific work whose results could benefit the community (Tennberg et al. 2014, 53).

This paper aims to expand the understanding of processes of sustainable development in small Arctic communities under neoliberalism by applying the concept of community capitals. This concept is focused on several types of community capitals: natural, human, cultural, and other (Flora, Flora and Fey 2004). It accentuates the local dimension of sustainable development, stresses the active role of community, and shifts the emphasis from a problems-focused to a strengths-based approach. These qualities render the concept applicable in both sustainable

development and neoliberal paradigms, and make it a potentially useful tool to study the sustainable development of communities under neoliberalism.

Through this analytical perspective, the Teriberka case study (1) identifies effects of neoliberal policies of the past decades on the community and investigates how the community has responded to the new challenges, (2) analyses whether the recent local strategies have promoted sustainable development in the face of neoliberalism, and (3) discusses how the concept of community capitals can help us to suggest what small Arctic communities can do in practice to advance sustainable development under neoliberalism. The paper attempts to indicate Russia's specificities while addressing the three main questions.

The study is based on official documents, scholarly publications, media materials, as well as 25 interviews with people of different positions in the society, and two focus groups with employees of the local House of Culture. This part of the research was carried out in 2012–2015. Results have been updated in 2016–2017 based on telephone interviews with villagers and local government officials, as well as information from media sources. The key method of the analysis has been the mapping of community assets and strategies in relation to community capitals.

1. SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT, NEOLIBERALISM, AND COMMUNITY CAPITALS

This study is grounded in the conceptual triangle involving the concepts of sustainable development, neoliberalism, and community capitals. Sustainable development is the most powerful visionary development paradigm of our time. During the past decades, governments, businesses, and civil societies in many countries have accepted it as a guiding principle, and related policies have been adopted (Drexhage and Murphy 2010, 2–3). Since the introduction of the Brundtland definition of sustainable development – meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future generations to do the same – debates have produced hundreds of definitions of this concept (Lempinen 2014, 3). While “sustainable development” has often been treated either as an environmental issue or in terms of economic growth “with its social dimension often sitting behind the debate” (Suopajarvi et al. 2016, 62), the understanding has gained ground that a global relationship exists among environmental protection, economic growth, and social equity. Today there is a consensus that sustainable development combines

social justice, protection of the environment and economic efficiency, with the aim to find a long-lasting balance between them. It is recognized that we need to consider the economic, social, and environmental consequences of our actions both now and in relation to future, and that we need to call for strategies ensuring that none of the components negatively impact the others (Whitten 2013).

There is a shift towards a contextual approach to sustainable development. For many, the strength of the concept lies in the fact that the meaning of sustainable development has to emerge out of a process of dialogue and reflection (Weingaertner and Moberg 2014, 1). Also, the concept depends on time, space, and the actors involved. This view implies a focus on a local community-based approach to the understanding, implementation, and evaluation of sustainable development. Current Northern and Arctic discourses emphasize a multiplicity of place- and actors-related understandings and varieties of local strategies. This approach is conceptualized as “Northern and Arctic sustainabilities”, and this research is a part of the emerging sustainability science (Arctic Sustainability Research 2015).

In the 2000s, most of the Arctic states have adopted national strategies for sustainable development, except for the United States and Russia. These strategies stress the role and responsibility of local communities in promoting sustainable development (Tennberg et al. 2014, 44). In Russia, the introduction of this concept at the national level was considered in the 1990s when the issue was raised by two presidential decrees but the national strategy has never been approved. However, legal documents have since used this term and have covered various aspects of sustainable development. These documents include the Concept of Sustainable Development of Indigenous Small-numbered Peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation (2009); the Development Strategy of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation and National Security for the Period up to 2020 (2013); the Strategy of Sustainable Development of Rural Areas of the Russian Federation for the Period up to 2030 (2015); and some others.

Typically in Russia, when used in policy documents, sustainable development as a term “does not necessarily reflect global (dominated by Western discourse) perceptions of it as an idea and call for action” (Lukyanova 2010, 18). Neither is the term “community” used, but some of its aspects are reflected in the notions of “local self-governance”. A clear relation of sustainable development to activities of local communities is rarely found, and the emphasis is on consolidation of stakeholders

to deal with key issues (Tennberg et al. 2014, 45). In the legal documents, interpretations of sustainable development seldom suggest a holistic view. Some cities build their plans on this concept, but as a rule strategic documents of all levels are based on the concept of socioeconomic development. In 2017, Prime Minister Medvedev gave the instruction to work out strategic directions of Russia's transition to the model of environmentally sustainable development for the future until 2050. The transition should become one of the main objectives of the new strategic documents (TASS, 10 February 2017).

Neoliberalism is another highly influential concept of the last three decades. It can be perceived as an ideology, a mode of governance, and a policy package (Steger and Roy 2010, 12–13). Some authors argue that even though neoliberalism is seldom recognized as an ideology, this set of ideas dominates our lives (Navarro 2007, 1, 53). These authors suggest that the main idea of neoliberalism is freedom as an overall value associated with reducing state functions to those of a minimal state (works of Foucault, Weber, and Harvey). Others see competition as the central idea under neoliberalism, and view uncertainty as its core feature (Davies, 2014, x, 29, 73). Some believe that neoliberalism assumes production and exchange of goods as a basic part of human experience, and they treat the free market as a key idea to improving economic and political conditions (Steger and Roy 2010, 10–13).

As a mode of governance, neoliberalism advances the replacement of bureaucratic mentalities with entrepreneurial ones. The core elements of entrepreneurial governance are pro-market regulation and support for free flow of goods, people, capital, and information; redistribution of power between governmental and non-governmental entities; shift of responsibilities from the government to individuals; and a focus on social innovations to advance personal freedom and responsibility (Cerny et al. 2005, 1–32; Tennberg et al. 2014, 42).

As a policy package, neoliberalism stands on the ideal of the self-regulating market. It emphasizes “DLP Formula” policies – that is, those that deregulate economy, liberalize trade and industry, and privatize state enterprises (Steger and Roy 2010, 14).

Many experts agree that Russia applies a specific version of neoliberalism. Some argue that it is inaccurate to describe the Russian state as neoliberal (Rutland 2013, 39), at least in the welfare domain (Rassel 2009, 92). However, most authors agree

that neoliberal governance techniques have been used since the 1990s, manifested in the liberalization of prices, the opening up of international trade and currency flows, the privatization of state companies, and the introduction of monetarist policies (McCann 2004). Some suggest that one of the signs of neoliberalism in Russia has been the shock method of “therapy”, which, according to Naomi Klein, is a typical neoliberal way of preventing people’s resistance (Klein 2007, 147–148). Russian neoliberalism is argued to have two key specificities. First, reformers tend to rely on technocratic methods and bureaucratic hierarchy. Second, absolutes of the market are declared as necessary mediators in achieving any purpose (Matveev 2015, 38–39).

After the heyday of neoliberalism in the 1990s, when it became the world’s dominant economic policy, many countries adopted policies which emphasized the role of the private sector not only in the economy, but in all spheres of society. These policies involved fiscal austerity with cuts in government spending for social services, and due to increased economic and social inequalities, neoliberalism is often perceived as a threat to sustainable development (Crouch 2012, 365–367). Whether neoliberalism and sustainable development can coexist is the subject of much current debate – and is also discussed in this paper.

One more central concept employed in this research is that of community capitals. In this study, the term “community” describes a group of people living in a small settlement (of under 5000 residents) and acting as a political sub-unit. The concept of community capitals was developed by sociologists Jan and Cornelia Flora (Flora, Flora and Fey 2004) as an analytical tool to determine sustainable local development and to understand how it could be achieved. The concept builds on the notion that communities have assets that may be inactive or invested to create more assets. “Community capitals” reveals interactions between parts of community life, and suggests seven types of community capitals that can produce other benefits when invested. They are natural, cultural, human, social, political, financial, and built capitals.

Natural capital is the stock of resources constituted by the environment: natural beauty, forests, local landscapes, etc. *Cultural capital* denotes identity (rooted in place, class or ethnicity), traditions, spirituality, habits, and heritage. *Human capital* means people’s skills, abilities and knowledge, health, leadership, and the ability to access non-local resources. *Social capital* includes bonding networks that build community cohesion (groups and networks in the community, a sense of belonging,

etc.) and bridging networks that create ties among organizations and communities (outside links to regional and federal agencies, to other communities, etc.), trust, and collaboration. *Political capital* is a measure of social engagement, the ability to influence policy and ensure that policies are implemented accordingly, connections to people in power, access to resources and influence to achieve goals. *Built capital* stands for buildings and infrastructure that supports the community (schools, roads, etc.). *Financial capital* comprises financial resources available to invest in a community and to accumulate wealth for future development and access to funding and wealth (Flora and Flora 2013). In addition to identifying these capitals and the role each plays in community development separately, “community capitals” pays attention to the interaction among the capitals and subsequent impacts across them.

For sustainable development to take place, these capitals should be identified and transformed by communities; sustainable local development is understood as the balanced development of all community capitals (Roseland 2012, 12-19). Natural, cultural, and human capitals are seen as the key resources that can be converted into other capitals. Lack of investment in the first three can retard formation of the last four (Flora and Thiboumery 2005, 239). In Russia, the concept of community capitals as a systemic approach to community development is poorly known, though some of its elements (notions of natural, financial, and human capitals) are studied and used in practical work. Few if any empirical studies have been published on Russia’s Arctic communities with a focus on community capitals.

Neoliberalism implies that community development is primarily the responsibility of local actors, based on the use of local competitive advantages. The concept of community capitals stresses the active role of community in reaching sustainable development and shifts the emphasis from a problems-focused to a strengths-based approach. These qualities make room for the concept both in the sustainable development paradigm and the neoliberal one in both academia and policy domains, and point to it as a potentially useful tool to studying and promoting sustainable development of communities under neoliberalism.

A technique to identify community capitals is asset mapping, where inventories of assets are related to each type of capital. Using the concept of community capitals to direct a community’s asset mapping allows us to rely on a strengths-based approach to community development, identify long-overlooked assets, and visualize things which were never seen before (Emery, Fey and Flora, 2006, 10–11). The community

capitals concept also provides a mechanism for setting up a monitoring system to assessing how we might expect policy actions/strategies to impact on communities and to analysing how current or planned actions invest in the range of capitals – both as direct investments and in terms of supporting communities to build capacity-providing opportunities for creativity and entrepreneurship. In this, actions are assessed from the point of view whether they invest in every type of community capital (Hallam 2012, 10–11). A more nuanced approach can entail the estimation of the extent of this influence. The assessment is based both on quantitative and qualitative data received from local documents and through the interviews with local people and experts.

2. TERIBERKA: THREE DECADES OF NEOLIBERAL POLICIES AND THEIR EFFECTS

Teriberka is a village of about 900 people on the Murman coast of the Barents Sea, 450 kilometres above the Arctic Circle. The village is surrounded by mountains and the sea, and connected to the rest of the world by an unpaved road through windy tundra. The nearest cities, two to three hours' drive away are the naval base of Severomorsk and Murmansk, the capital of the region. The district administration is located 120 kilometres away in Kola town, a satellite of Murmansk, and the very distance hinders communication with district-level authorities. In the winter, weather conditions often lead to the village being cut off for several days or weeks, because the road is unusable.

Teriberka is one of the oldest and, in the past, the wealthiest fishing villages on the Kola Peninsula. It has been inhabited for 500 years by Russians (among them Pomors, North Russian coast-dwellers), Sami, Norwegians, and Finns. It had strong international ties through sailors and merchants sailing on the Barents, White and Norwegian seas, especially in the 19th century, at the peak of Pomor trade. The village consists of “old” Teriberka and “new” Lodeinoe, which are five kilometres apart. There is no regular bus connection between these two: “the bank, school, and kindergarten are in one part of the village; the House of Culture and *kolkhoz* farms are in the other. We have to walk a lot every day, often in bad weather” (Teriberka resident).

“Old” Teriberka with its beautiful sandy beaches is a centuries-old settlement, while Lodeinoe, an urban-type product of the 1930s, was built around a shipyard. “Old” Teriberka resembles a wealthy Soviet collective farming village with a Pomor touch

lent by the boats stationed by the houses and fish drying outdoors in the summer. The split of the village in two types of settlement produces a coexistence of two shared yet distinct identities.

In the Soviet era, Teriberka thrived. Its population peaked in the late 1950s with about 5000 inhabitants (Demoscop Weekly 2017a). In the 1960s there were two fishing *kolkhoz*es with their own fleet; two fish-processing factories; a shipyard; a reindeer herd; and several farms. Teriberka's trawlers were fishing on African waters. The social infrastructure was good with two schools, a hospital, and two cultural centres (Riabova 2001, 121–131). The village was known over the country for its culture thanks to the Pomor People's Choir, which was established in 1935 and still exists. Until 2009, Teriberka was a part of a military restricted border zone.

In the early 1990s, Teriberka was exposed to neoliberal policies that involved the shock privatization of state enterprises and a shift of the state's social obligations to the local level. The first neoliberal reforms coincided with the introduction of strict international regulation on fish resources. In a few years, local fish processing became dominated by private businesses managed from Murmansk, Moscow, or abroad, and lost its stability. The privatized shipyard closed down, as it was unable to compete internationally after the borders opened. Unemployment, almost an unknown phenomenon in the Soviet era, increased sharply.

The municipal reform, which the federal government launched at this time, established administrative autonomy of local governance, defined it as an independent activity of the population to solve local issues, and shifted the state's social obligations onto the local level. This was done without allocation of adequate financial resources, and most municipalities across Russia still depend on transfers from the federal and regional levels. The list of local taxes is very limited (Barasheva, 2017, 19).

With cuts in state transfers and a shrinking local base to finance the functions of the community, Teriberka did as many other post-Soviet small communities in the 1990s: it pursued strategies of survival. The local government tried to maintain the infrastructure, while the villagers relied on traditional subsistence to cope with poverty (Skaptadottir, Mørkøre and Riabova 2001, 55). Strategies to attract capital to the fisheries, the main sector of the local economy, were also developed through international partnerships. These resulted in a Russian-Portuguese-Lithuanian

fish-processing plant and a cooperation project with the municipality of Båtsfjord in Norway, thanks to the businessmen who had formerly worked in Teriberka and their partners, and with the help of the local mayor and regional government. Within the project, about 40 villagers worked in the fish-processing industry in Norway (Aure 2008, 13; Riabova and Ivanova 2009, 94). In a few years the joint venture collapsed and the Båtsfjord project stopped, largely because of Teriberka's status as a closed settlement, which foreigners could access only with a permission. By the mid-1990s the situation had become so hard that children would come to the local hospital to ask for a piece of bread (Riabova, 2001, 126–127).

Hopes for the village recovery revived with development plans for the Shtokman gas field. In 2005, Gazprom, Total, and StatoilHydro decided to build a gas reception centre and a liquefied natural gas plant in Teriberka. The plan implied relocation of the old village, but after protests from “old” Teriberka the relocation was called off. Gazprom launched local social programmes, but when corporate policies changed, the project was stopped in 2012. Yet, due to the Shtokman plans, Teriberka's status as a closed settlement was lifted in 2009, and the village became the only place on the shores of the Russian Barents Sea exempt from the border zone regime and reachable by car. This made Teriberka's location unique and opened up the village to the outside world.

In the years of 2015–2017, Teriberka's economy was mainly based on the old Murman *kolkhoz* and the SeaFoodRus fish-processing plant. The *kolkhoz* owns a fleet in Murmansk, and runs pig and cattle farms in the village. SeaFoodRus, a private firm opened in 2012 by a Murmansk owner, uses the premises of the joint venture of the 1990s. It is the main local employer, providing jobs for about 90 people. The municipal budget does not benefit much from the plant. A person at the local administration complained that “the tax money flies away to Murmansk, since companies register there”. This is a typical situation for communities in the Russian Arctic. The SeaFoodRus plant works on and off because of a deficit of raw fish. Because of the stronger euro exchange rate in relation to the Russian ruble after 2014, it became more profitable for fishermen to sell their catch abroad, leading to months of unemployment among the villagers.

The local social infrastructure has been underfinanced since the 1990s, but the major closures happened after the mid-2000s when the state tightened its regime of budget austerity in social services. In 2010, the state policy of “optimized” health care and other services was intensified and inscribed into law in order to reduce “ineffective”

spending (Federal Law no.83-FZ, 2010). Cuts in social services have been the most drastic in rural areas, as the services have been concentrated in larger settlements. In 2005, despite local protests, “old” Teriberka’s school, which was also a vibrant community centre, closed down, followed by the hospital shutdown in 2010.

The effect of almost three decades of neoliberal reforms on Teriberka has been deep and long-lasting socioeconomic crisis. The population has declined from 2338 inhabitants in 1989 to 897 residents in 2016 (Demoscop Weekly 2017b; Goskomstat 2016). Outmigration has been dominated by skilled and young people; housing and infrastructure have gradually collapsed, so much so that in 2015 two-thirds of the houses were unfit for habitation. Ruined buildings and wrecks of boats now dot the landscape. Some residents said that “the village was literally destroyed by the market reforms”, and called their living in the village “life amidst modern-day ruins”.

The effects of neoliberal policies have damaged several types of Teriberka’s capitals. During the decades of reforms, the biggest losses have been suffered by human, built, and financial capitals as a result of the outflow of population, cuts in social infrastructure, dilapidated buildings, and high dependency of local budget on state transfers. The mapping of the village capitals in 2015–2017 is presented in Table 1.

The mapping of Teriberka’s capitals suggests that in 2015–2017 the weakest assets were financial and built capitals. Financial capital consists of transfers from federal and regional budgets, local taxes, funding from regional programmes, and international projects. The means received from these sources are scarce, and the level of personal wealth is low. There is not enough financial capital in the village to invest in initiatives necessary for sustainable development, such as local businesses or support of entrepreneurship. Built capital is unevenly developed, and a big part of it has been destroyed.

Human capital includes educated people who have skills in fish processing, coastal fishing, agriculture, power engineering, communal services, education, and culture. There are also those who have traditional knowledge on harvesting for subsistence.

Table 1. Teriberka’s assets by community capital, 2015–2017

Type of Capital	Assets
Natural capital	<p>Tundra, mountains, sea, lakes on the hills, river, and waterfall Magnificent coastal views and beautiful sandy beaches, strong regular winds</p> <p>Fish and crab stock in the coastal waters, fish in rivers Unique geographical location; the only place on the Russian Barents Sea shore exempt from the border zone regime</p>
Cultural capital	<p>Pomor identity based on association with Northern coastal territories Pomor way of living based on traditional nature management practices: small-scale coastal fisheries, river and lake fishing, hunting</p> <p>Cultural heritage:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • tangible: villagescape, old houses and boats, historical remains (old pier, cemetery of boats) • intangible: values (living close to nature and sea, untouched nature, preserving local culture, traditional nature management practices), old and new traditions (capelin catching by nettles; Teriberka: New Life festival since 2015), local stories, local foods and handicrafts, cultural practices based on Pomor People's Choir (since 1935) <p>Site of <i>Leviathan</i> movie of 2015</p>
Human Capital	<p>Knowledge and expertise in coastal fishing and fishing processing Knowledge on harvesting for subsistence (hunting, fishing, picking berries and mushrooms) and on how to store food</p> <p>Local leders</p>
<p>Social capital</p> <p>a) Bonding social capital</p> <p>b) Bridging social capital</p>	<p>a) Strong sense of belonging, reciprocal networks among friends and neighbours, Internet social networking sites (Internet newspaper <i>My Teriberka</i>)</p> <p>b) Links to groups outside the community, international ties (partnership with Båtsfjord municipality, participation in cross-border development projects)</p>
Political capital	<p>Elected mayor and elected village council Strong attention and development policies from the regional government</p>
Financial capital	<p>Transfers from federal and regional budgets, business investments, local taxes, funding from regional programmes and international projects –at insufficient level</p>
Built capital	<p>Fish-processing factory, harbour, pig and cattle farms, school, House of Culture, hotel, guesthouse of fish-processing factory, restaurant, houses, roads and streets (many in disrepair)</p>

But young people continue leaving, and policy measures to reduce outmigration are lacking. Community leaders (elected or hired civil servants) have the abilities to help the regional government or business to implement programmes or projects, which is the traditional way of performing their duties. However, the leaders are not proactive and they lack knowledge in community self-management. Outmigration risks both present and future human capital, and narrows opportunities for emerging proactive local leadership.

Bonding social capital relates to a strong sense of belonging, especially among people of “old” Teriberka, as well as to reciprocal networks among friends or neighbours, and, lately, to Internet social networking sites discussing Teriberka’s problems. There is love from people for their village; they want to continue living there. Two factors play the most remarkable role in this: the ties among friends and neighbours (“everybody knows everybody and helps as needed”) and attachment to surrounding nature. Olga, director of the House of Culture and leader of the Pomor People’s Choir, says: “Life in our village is a constant struggle for survival. What keeps me here? The view from the window!”

Teriberka’s bridging social capital is based on links to groups outside the community (such as entrepreneurs from other places), international contacts including the revived partnership with Båtsfjord municipality, and participation in cross-border development projects. Both locals and outsiders are interested in the community’s life: the electronic newspaper *My Teriberka* (https://vk.com/my_teriberka) has more than 1300 local and non-local subscribers. Until recently, the stocks of both bonding and bridging social capitals have not been sufficient to produce a change in community development. The latest developments show that bridging social capital has started to play a more important role in connecting the community to new resources; these developments will be discussed in the next section.

The concept of community capitals focuses on community strengths. The estimations based on the mapping of capitals show that the strongest assets that Teriberka has are natural and cultural capitals. Natural capital is rich. There is the sea, tundra, and mountains, magnificent coastal views and beautiful beaches, and fish and crab stocks in the coastal waters. Similarly substantial is the cultural capital, with Pomor identity, the Pomor way of living based on traditional nature management practices (coastal fisheries, river and lake fishing, hunting), and cultural heritage, both tangible and intangible.

The tangible cultural heritage of Teriberka embraces an authentic villagescape with old houses, fishing boats, and historic remains such as a cemetery of boats from the past century. Teriberka's intangible cultural heritage relates to such values as living close to nature and the sea, preservation of local culture and untouched nature, and traditional nature management practices. It includes both old and new traditions, such as the centuries-old practice of capelin catching by nettles in late spring, and the festival "Teriberka: New Life", established in 2015. Intangible cultural heritage also consists of local stories, local foods (such as fish soup with cod liver) and handicrafts, as well as cultural practices largely based on the activities of the Pomor People's Choir. The choir is important in preserving cultural continuity and a sense of common identity within the community. The cultural heritage of Teriberka continues to be influenced by Pomor culture and ways of living, although the everyday practices of this culture are shrinking.

3. RECENT LOCAL STRATEGIES AND THEIR IMPACTS ON COMMUNITY CAPITALS

The question of development relates to values and attitudes, which guides goals and choices of activities (Lukyanova 2010, 6). In this study, I have examined various actors' perceptions on desired sustainable development in Teriberka. The interviews have laid bare the opinions of representatives of regional authorities, local civil servants, and ordinary villagers – women and men working at the fish-processing plant, in the *kolkhoz*, and at the House of Culture, as well as the views of unemployed villagers, and local businessmen. Perceptions on sustainable development varied among the actors.

Representatives of regional authorities emphasized neoliberal ideas of economic liberalization and greater responsabilization of the local level. "Sustainable development of Teriberka means legislative support from the federal and regional levels and maximum non-intervention in the village economy, distribution of responsibilities between levels of governance (with more tasks for the local level), and inter-sectoral collaboration to ensure the inflow of people to the village" (employee at the Government of Murmansk region).

Civil servants at the local administration focused mainly on the economic aspect of sustainable development. They associated it with long-term planning of local development, stable financing of social services from the regional level, availability

of jobs, and a local leadership. “Sustainable development of Teriberka means, first of all, jobs. Also a strong leader is needed to be an engine of development” (local administration employee).

The villagers’ views on their community’s sustainable development were dominated by notions of social justice and a revival of the local economy. People with Pomor roots, and those working in the cultural sphere or involved in coastal fisheries emphasized cultural continuity by maintaining the coastal fishing way of life and Pomor culture, and preserving the fish stock and nature for future generations. Those working at the fish-processing factory stressed developing the fisheries but new activities have also been considered. “Sustainable development of our village means the revival of coastal fisheries, running of the fish-processing plant, restoration of the shipyard for a coastal fleet, and growth of tourism” (fish-processing factory employee).

Neither the representatives of regional and local authorities nor villagers understood sustainable development as a process equally resting on economic, social, and environmental pillars. This is typical in Russia, where this concept is all too often associated only with stable economic growth. However, ordinary people’s perceptions, especially of those whose families had lived in Teriberka for several generations, came closest to a holistic perspective of the concept, and their visions on the goals to work towards in order to reach sustainable development in the community were the most comprehensive.

Most of the interviewees focused on obstacles for sustainable development, rather than on possibilities. Both local administration representatives and villagers associated these obstacles with the deficit of the local budget, the many dilapidated houses, limited access to healthcare services, and issues of delimitation of land ownership between the administrations of Kola municipal district and Teriberka. New local projects are hampered, because coordination of land allotment for building construction takes up to 18 months. One of the major obstacles was identified as hostile to the local fishermen, who were denied practice of commercial fishery by coastal fisheries legislation. The villagers claimed that they should have access to fish resources, and at the time of my fieldwork in 2015, local fishermen pleaded with the state powers to demand adjustments to the federal law on fisheries.

In the recent years, the most serious neoliberal challenges for the village have been increased market distortions in the local fishery sector, continued reductions of state obligations in social services, and growing uncertainty in all domains of village life. The strategies for Teriberka's development under new conditions are defined by several local documents: the General plan of Teriberka municipality up to 2020 and 2030 (adopted in 2009); Comprehensive plan for addressing major socioeconomic problems of the rural settlement Teriberka for the years 2012–2014; and the Russian-Norwegian project "Socio-economic development of Teriberka" of 2012–2014, under the Kolarctic cooperation programme funded by Russia, the EU, and Norway.

The most urgent problems of waste management and the repair of the heating systems were partly solved by implementation of the short-term plan for 2012–2014 in partnership with Teriberka municipality, regional government, municipality of Kolsky district, and the regional Duma (assembly with advisory and legislative functions), as well as thanks to the cross-border Kolarctic project. Additionally, in 2016 the regional programme for resettlement of citizens from dilapidated and hazardous housing built new flats for about 200 villagers in Kola, the municipal district centre. These villagers thus left Teriberka, but more than 90 people chose to stay, and in 2017 they were able to move to a new block of flats in the village. There are plans to demolish 33 dilapidated buildings in Teriberka in the next few years, including those that are part of the authentic villagescape.

According to the long-term General plan, the key development strategies in the village should be 1) construction of the coastal transport-technology complex with the gas liquefaction plant for the Shtokman field; 2) improvements in local fisheries based on reconstruction of the port; 3) development of aquaculture; 4) alternative energy industry development with construction of the tidal power plant and a wind farm, and 5) growth of tourism.

The only efforts which have so far produced results are those in tourism development. Since 2012, the regional government has worked to create conditions to develop the tourism sector across the region. The regional programme for 2012–2015 included allocation of grants for small tourist businesses. In Teriberka, before 2012, there were mainly unregistered "grey" tourism activities such as hiking or fishing tours with local guides. Since 2010, the fish-processing company SeaFoodRus has diversified and has provided accommodation in its guest rooms in Teriberka for tourists attending the kite school run by a Moscow businessman. The

pro-tourism policies of the regional government have had a reasonably quick effect for municipalities in the region, Teriberka included. In 2013–2014, several tourist companies started to provide opportunities for fishing, diving, snow kiting, and kite wave riding.

An increase of tourist products has been followed by the development of local tourism infrastructure. In spring 2015, a Murmansk company built guest cottages and a restaurant on the beach of “old” Teriberka, and a few other small hotels (mainly owned by non-local businessmen) were also opened soon. Possibilities have also been created to develop event-driven tourism: the first art and Arctic food festival “Teriberka: New Life” was organized in summer 2015 upon the initiative of a group of Moscow businessmen, followed by other festivals with increasing visitor numbers; “Teriberka: New Life” attracted up to 4000 people in 2017.

In a life-changing event for Teriberka, the village became a site for the *Leviathan* movie shot by Russian film director Andrey Zvyagintsev. A story about the standoff of a person against the corrupted government machine, *Leviathan* won the Golden Globe award for best foreign-language film in 2015, making Teriberka known as a symbol of abandonment and despair. Tourists from many parts of the world, especially from China, have since flooded the village.

One of the aims of this study has been to understand whether the new strategies in Teriberka promote sustainable local development in the face of neoliberal challenges. For this purpose, I mapped the local strategies against community capitals. The qualitative estimations of the strategies’ effects on types of community capitals considered the opinions of local interviewees. This mapping made it possible to indicate negative and positive impacts of the local strategies on every individual capital, to understand whether the community capitals have been invested in a balanced way that would promote sustainable development in the village, and to trace interactions among these capitals and the subsequent impacts across them (Table 2).

Table 2. Mapping local development strategies in Teriberka of 2015–2017 onto community capitals

Strategies	Positive impact: investing in community capitals		Negative impact on community capitals
	Strong	Weak	
1. Re-profiling of guest rooms of the fish processing firm into a guest house, as of 2010	Built	<p>Human: new skills for locals in services and construction</p> <p>Financial: some jobs/income for local people</p>	
2. Activities of kite class from Moscow, since 2010		<p>Bridging social capital: outside networks thanks to contracts with kite tourists</p> <p>Bonding social capital: free kite classes and sport events for local children</p>	
3. Construction of hotels and restaurant on the beach, several other small hotels, since 2015	Built	<p>Human: new skills for locals in services and construction</p> <p>Financial: some jobs/income for local people</p>	<p>Natural: destruction of nature and scenic views, expanded waste volume, overfishing by tourists</p> <p>Cultural: threatened tradition of capelin catching by nettles due to excessive presence of tourists in the fishing spots</p>
4. Site for the Leviathan movie, winner of a 2015 Golden Globe award	Bridging social capital: the village became known worldwide; networks with non-local entrepreneurs have been established		Natural: damage to tundra surface due to increased number of tourist cars
5. Resettlement of citizens from dilapidated and hazardous housing: -relocation of people to new flats in Kola (200 inhabitants) -construction of a new block of flats in Teriberka for 90 inhabitants -plans to demolish 33 dilapidated buildings	Built		<p>Human: more than 200 people left the village, including young families</p> <p>Cultural: building planned for demolition are a part of authentic villagescape</p>
6. Art & food festival "Teriberka: New Life", since 2015, 4000 visitors in 2017	<p>Bridging social capital: ties to non local entrepreneurs, activists, and artists</p> <p>Political: more access to and attention from regional decision-makers</p>	<p>Cultural: possibility to create new traditions</p> <p>Financial: limited income for locals from selling souvenirs</p>	<p>Natural: excessive amount of waste due to massive inflow of tourists, fires</p> <p>Cultural: sense of intrusion into the community, fear of destruction of local lifestyle</p> <p>Bonding social capital: conflicts between community groups</p>

Negative impacts were indicated for natural and cultural capitals. Natural capital is harmed by the damage to tundra surface by more tourist cars, expanded waste volume, accidental fires, and mutilated scenic views. These are the result of constructing a restaurant and guest houses on the beach, which used to be untouched and is an integral part of Teriberka's history and tradition. Fish stock is endangered because of increased amount of waste dumped along the sea shore and overfishing by tourists. A young man said: "I'm afraid that tourists will simply trample down our village."

Cultural capital suffers, too. The tradition of capelin catching by nettles on the beach shores is threatened by an excessive presence of tourists in the fishing spots. The villagers speak about a sense of intrusion into the community and fear of destruction of the local lifestyle. The plans to demolish old buildings that form the authentic villagescape indicate that this part of the cultural heritage is seen by regional and local civil servants only as a problem (which was also confirmed in interviews). This approach further endangers local cultural capital.

Financial and human capitals have not improved, especially because most of the tourist companies operating in the village pay taxes elsewhere. The local administration was unable to identify positive effects of the new festival on the local budget. For the locals, the benefits are few, as they can only get some small income from renting out flats for a couple of festival days or driving cars for tourists. The programme on citizens' resettlement from dilapidated houses adopted by the regional government led to about 200 inhabitants, especially young families, leaving the village. The resettlement programme thus decreased Teriberka's human capital. Some positive effect could be detected on human capital thanks to new skills in services and construction among those (few) villagers hired by tourists or construction companies.

Built capital increased with re-profiling the guest rooms of the fish-processing firm as a tourist guest house, and the construction of several hotels and a restaurant.

Impacts on social and political capitals have been uneven. Bonding social capital seems not to have grown in the last years, and today it suffers from conflicts between community groups which have different attitudes towards increased tourist inflows and their impact on community life. Perhaps it would be wise not to see this as only a loss, but also as a sign of development in a complex society, where people can be more proximate to people and organizations in other places than to local people (Bærenholdt 2007, 153–156). Still, these new conflicts decrease trust within

the community. Bridging social capital has improved due to extended links to entrepreneurs, activists, and artists from outside the village.

Political capital has somewhat increased since the introduction of local self-government, and with the recent growth of attention from the regional government to Teriberka's development. However, the basis of political capital is unchanged, and it continues to be dominated by connections to and superiority of traditional state power structures, such as regional government, with low involvement of citizens and lack of their voice in decision-making

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This paper has sought to better understand sustainable development processes in small Arctic communities under neoliberalism by applying research insights from the concept of community capitals. The study confirms that a balanced development of community capitals is both a path to and an indicator of sustainable local development for small Arctic communities coping with neoliberalism.

The results show that the effects of neoliberal policies on these communities can be deep and last for decades, leading to a socioeconomic crisis that destroys many types of community capitals and thereby devastates the potential for sustainable local development. The study reveals that neoliberal policies may shatter community capitals with a card-house effect: in Teriberka, an immediate reaction to the first neoliberal shock was decreased financial capital, followed by weakened built capital, and decrease in human and social capital during the next decades.

Development strategies in the village have been mainly focused on involving outside investments in the built capital (first, in fisheries and later in the tourist sector). Focusing on built capital is the most traditional idea of community development. This strategy entails risks in that it may contribute to a decline of natural and cultural capitals, especially if facilities are constructed in untouched areas that are part of local history. The study shows that Teriberka is strongly threatened by this kind of risk. The strategy focusing on investment in built capital corresponds with the views that the main actors – regional authorities, local civil servants, and many of the villagers – have on sustainable development as a process of economic growth. Here, infusions of financial or built capital in the basic sector of the local economy are key to sustainable development. This is still a typical approach to development in local communities in Russia's Arctic.

The study shows that external infusions in built and financial capitals have not catalyzed a change from which other types of Teriberka's capitals would notably benefit. The impact of recent tourism development strategies on community capitals is uneven. Natural, cultural, and bonding social capitals are struggling. Teriberka's capitals have not been invested in a balanced way, and, according to the concept of community capitals, these strategies do not promote sustainable community development.

Based on a focus on the local strengths (as the concept of community capitals suggests) and on competitive advantages (as the neoliberal paradigm implies), the study discovered that the strongest community capitals in Teriberka today are natural and cultural assets. However, natural capital is endangered by flows of tourists, and there is an obvious need to protect the area, for example, by establishing a nature reserve. The tangible cultural capital of the place, such as the village landscape of old houses and other historic remains, is not cared for. The old remains are not seen by regional and local authorities as a strength. Many authentic buildings have recently been demolished as a part of the regional programme for citizens' resettlement from dilapidated housing. Efforts are needed to increase respect for the historic remains in the village. A new strategy for community development could be projects to restore these places and start cultural activities related to the village's glorious past, especially if supported by grants for local people involved. Though there are challenges of such work (performers' vulnerability, for instance, in case of historic enactments), it might also contribute to participants' personal development (Bærenholdt et al. 2004). Increased human capital could be a catalyst to enriching community social and cultural capitals. These three types of capital are assets to advance personal freedom and social innovation, which one needs to survive in a neoliberal reality. Such projects could enhance community capitals in Teriberka in a more balanced way and thus promote its sustainable development.

The study confirms that the concept of community capital helps to analyse community development from a systemic perspective, and encourages practitioners to think holistically about local strategies to promote sustainable development. The concept remains practically relevant, even if the question can be raised from a critical perspective if one and the same community "has" all capitals. Focusing on strengths, the concept offers insights into new, highly time-, place- and actors-specific potential areas of development. It is an especially useful concept in the Russian context, because it draws attention to other than purely economic aspects of development.

Namely, it pores over cultural and social capitals, which are often overlooked and not converted into economic benefits, particularly in small Arctic communities.

The findings show that Teriberka is transforming from a fishing village to a tourist location, but tourism development strategies are mainly projects for outsiders and by outsiders. To promote sustainable local development, efforts are needed to secure involvement of local people in tourism planning and implementation, and to ensure that tourism provides benefits to the community, and local natural and cultural capitals are respected. In Russia, such efforts are needed at all levels, from national to local. Policies providing conditions for local involvement and shared decision-making are of major importance for the sustainable development of small Arctic communities. It is vital to have educational programmes that prepare decision-makers of all levels, business owners, and people in small communities for participation in defining and implementing development strategies that are sensitive to the needs of local communities.

This study suggests that community capitals provide an appropriate model to discovering what small communities in the Arctic may do to advance sustainable development under neoliberalism. The study concludes that the community capitals approach cannot effectively work in small communities with scarce human, social, and political capitals – such as many of those in the Arctic – if state and regional policies, and the actions of outside business actors, ignore their local implications. State policies aimed at establishing rules advancing local communities' interests are crucial for both sustainable development and successful neoliberal transformation. Only thus can solutions be found to conflict and synergy between neoliberal and sustainable development agendas.

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Debate concerning the early transport infrastructure in the Sámi area of Finnish Lapland

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ABSTRACT

This article examines early Arctic transport infrastructure, especially roads, in the Sámi area of Finnish Lapland during the interwar period. The modernisation process accelerated the utilisation of northern natural resources, and the first roads in northernmost Finland also facilitated mining industry and logging sites. In the research concentrating on infrastructure, indigenous peoples have often been depicted one-dimensionally as victims and forces resisting development. While this study introduces the views of various stakeholders, it also emphasises the importance of understanding indigenous peoples as active agents, some of whom actively lobbied for plans to build roads. While the Sámi resistance to roads referred to, for example, their ability to damage and erode the traditional way of Sámi community life, the supporters underlined the economic possibilities and other benefits to be gained from the improved connectivity. Even though the vocabulary of the 1920s and 1930s differs from today's language use, many of the ideas which have been discussed more recently – such as remoteness as a potential asset and the value of being disconnected – were already present in the debates of the beginning of the twentieth century.

Keywords: *indigenous peoples, Lapland, transport infrastructure, roads, Sámi*

1. INTRODUCTION

Increasing attention has been paid to both the development of Arctic and northern natural resources, as well as connectivity in and throughout the Arctic area, but these are neither new nor unrelated issues (see, e.g., Keskitalo et al. 2019). As in other areas around the world, the connection between resource extraction and development of infrastructure is, and has been, strong in the Arctic – including the Barents Region. Roads are typical examples of infrastructure building that affect landscapes and ecosystems. Despite their potential to foster economic growth, roads have contributed to worsened social inequality and caused conflicts regarding land use (Forman and Alexander 1998; Coffin 2007; Perz et al. 2008; Perz 2014; Bennett 2018). Perz (2014, 178) argues that the reality of road impacts is decidedly mixed, and debate about building new infrastructure has intensified in recent years. While this may be true – not least because of the new information and communications technology solutions that have dramatically increased ways of sharing information and expressing opinions in a public forum – our article demonstrates the great number of conflicting interests involved in the road-building processes already during the interwar period.

The location of natural resource extraction sites have typically determined the course of the first roads in the Arctic and other sparsely populated regions (Masquelier 2002, 835). In Finnish Lapland, the discovery of gold in the Sámi municipality of Inari in the late 1800s, and the mining and road building that followed, attracted new people to the area, inflicting damage on the environment (Pari kesää 1873). Other types of road infrastructure projects in the Arctic were initiated only relatively recently. The examples from Finland show that these projects were preceded by vigorous debates, and the various stakeholders expressed arguments both for and against the planned projects.

This article finds inspiration from earlier studies describing the relationship between colonised people and roads (cf. Masquelier 2002), but emphasises the multiple voices of indigenous peoples and questions whether the colonised people have always regarded new infrastructure projects that aim to improve transport networks as a threat. We have sought answers to the following questions: How did different stakeholders, especially the Sámi, an indigenous people of northern Fennoscandia, react to the planning or construction of road infrastructure in northern Finland in the early 1900s; what kinds of arguments did they use to either support or oppose the proposed projects; and how did the Sámi present their case?

Highlighting different views and opinions in the historical context may also provide new perspectives on the ongoing transport infrastructure debates in northern Finland and the Barents Region.

The spatial focus of the study is on the border municipalities of Utsjoki and Inari in Finnish Lapland. The decision to concentrate on Utsjoki is based on the fact that, during the first half of the twentieth century, Utsjoki was the only municipality in Finland where the Sámi were in the majority, and municipal decision-making was in the hands of the Sámi people. Utsjoki had 491 Sámi and 37 Finnish inhabitants in 1920, and the villages of Utsjoki, Nuorgam, and Outakoski covered an area of some 5,000 square kilometres. In the past centuries, some residents from the Finnish areas had moved to Utsjoki, but they had usually quickly adopted the Sámi language and the Sámi way of life. In the interwar period, the Finnish population of Utsjoki consisted mainly of Finnish officials and their families, who had moved there from the south. (Rosberg et al. 1931.) For comparison, many Finnish people had moved to the municipality of Inari, situated south of Utsjoki, and the Sámi lost their majority position there during the early decades of the twentieth century. Many Sámi nevertheless remained active in the municipal administration and participated in discussions about the construction of road infrastructure.

This article consists of five parts. First, we will review research concerning infrastructure development and improved connectivity, especially in the context of indigenous people and road building. Second, the history of early transport infrastructure development in the northernmost part of Finland is described and placed in the context of the history of northern Fennoscandia. The third and fourth part examine the arguments different stakeholders made in order to resist or support the construction of roads. The conclusion summarises the most important findings and highlights the variety of different voices and motives behind them.

2. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK, DATA, AND METHODS

The importance of core infrastructure, such as roads, airports, mass transit, and sewer and water systems, have been central when the relationship between aggregate productivity and government spending variables has been analysed (Aschauer 1989). Similarly, access to infrastructure services has been recognised as a key factor contributing to the reduction of income inequality and inequalities in the fields of healthcare and education. Furthermore, the improvement in the transport and tele-

communications infrastructure should, in principle, help the often underdeveloped remote areas become connected with the economic activities of the core regions (Calderon and Serven 2004; van Zon and Mupela 2016). While the improved connectivity appears to be a general good that produces positive effects in the lives of all community members, there are both contemporary and historical examples demonstrating hesitation about, even resistance to, the transport and telecommunications infrastructure projects.

The presence of various indigenous groups is a factor affecting most, if not all, infrastructure projects in the Arctic, but one should be careful not to oversimplify the relationship between indigenous peoples and roads. During the early 1900s, construction of roads lifted many indigenous groups from isolation and, in some cases, even led to their assimilation (see, e.g., Bodley 2008, 291–292). Ponsavady (2014, 6–9), who studied the introduction of motorised transportation in French colonial Indochina in the 1920s and 1930s, argued that colonial roads penetrating the inland were constant reminders of Western presence, even to the most isolated communities. The roads removed the tax money to colonial capitals and led colonial authorities to their villages. Meanwhile, Bennett (2018, 134–140) has brought this discussion into the context of Arctic indigenous communities, challenging the idea that roads would invariably be top-down initiatives which negatively impact indigenous peoples and their lands. Bennett has shown that the northern indigenous communities have also initiated and lobbied for road projects; for example, this was the case in the Canadian Arctic's Mackenzie Delta, even when there were threats of environmental degradation as well as cultural upheaval.

This research contributes to the analysis of relations between indigenous people and road infrastructure through a study of historical sources dating back to the late nineteenth and, in particular, to the early twentieth century. This was a period when the literacy rate had already risen, and an increasing number of newspaper articles and opinion pieces were produced by the Sámi themselves (Kylli 2012, 214). Furthermore, the publishing channels were also developing. A nonpartisan newspaper called *Rovaniemi: Pohjolan ja Lapin ääni* [Rovaniemi: The voice of Lapland and the North] was founded in Rovaniemi in 1921. The first issue stated that the province's own newspaper was necessary for its development: "After all, who could talk with the same devotion and expertise, for example, *about the further development of our transport vehicles* than ourselves in the columns of our own newspaper" (Lukijalle, 1921. Note: All translations from Finnish to English made by the authors).

The voices of the Sámi had often been silenced or neglected (see, e.g., Rese 1889), but the *Rovaniemi* also wrote about Utsjoki and Inari issues and the inhabitants' wishes related to government actions. The newspaper's relations with the Sámi were manifold. In some of the writings published by the paper, the Sámi were inevitably regarded as an extinct people. Eero N. Manninen, who had worked as a rural police chief in Utsjoki, authored an article in 1929 entitled "There is no need to grind the Lapps down, they will crumble all by themselves". In the absence of a vibrant culture, according to Manninen (1929), the Sámi had no opportunity to maintain their nationality among the more powerful people. At the same time, the *Rovaniemi* occasionally used the word *Sámi* (that the Sámi use for themselves), although it became more common in Finland only during the second half of the twentieth century. During the early twentieth century, the Sámi were still generally referred to as *Lapps* in printed matter (see, e.g., *Rovaniemi* 1926).

This study is based on external and internal source criticism: we have contextualised the historical sources and examined the data in relation to the source's purpose and functional connections. Such contextualisation is a starting point for any historical research, but is made all the more necessary by the presence of various political controversies in Finland. These reflect, for example, the legacy of the Finnish Civil War (1918), which highlights the importance of understanding the context in which the discussion concerning the roads took place. It is also worth recognising that the national historiography, being the product of its own time, still described the Sámi as a primitive tribe which had always stepped aside and made room for the stronger Finnish culture (Lehtola 1999, 18–19)

3. FINNISH SÁPMI IN A MODERNISING WORLD

The Sámi area of northernmost Fennoscandia (Sápmi) covers the area from mid-Norway and Sweden to northernmost Finland and the Kola Peninsula in Russia. The long distances and scattered settlements as well as transport routes serving the need to transport goods for trade and taxation from north to south have always been typical for the region. As rivers and other waterways have traditionally been the key transport routes, they have also played a central role in the colonisation of the area (Forsgren et al. 2016, 420–423). Although the Sámi area of the Swedish Empire (which Finland was a part of until 1809) was protected against settlement by a special Lapland border until the middle of the seventeenth century, as of the late seventeenth century, Finnish settlers were able to cross the border of Lapland.

Lehtola (2015, 25–29) has pointed out that the colonial authorities in Finland repeatedly came out in favour of farming over hunting and reindeer herding, arguing that the settlement was “for the good” of the Sámi. The colonisation spread rapidly to the south of the present Saariselkä mountain range, which is the main watershed of the area. While the rivers south of Saariselkä flow into the Gulf of Bothnia, the rivers of the Inari and Utsjoki area flow north, which supported the tight connections between the Utsjoki Sámi and the coastal communities in Norway. (Nahkiaisjoja 2016, 112.)

While the Sámi in Inari and Utsjoki succeeded in preserving their own culture much longer than the Sámi living further south, the special kind of Sámi politics Finland had, compared with Norway and Sweden, also affected them. The Finnish policy was based on the controversial idea of equality and claim that no special treatment or privileges would be needed if the Sámi were given the same prerequisites for well-being as everyone else. The downside of equal treatment was, however, that the traditions and practices of Sámi culture were ignored and the values and premises of the Finnish society were applied to the Sámi as well (Lehtola 2015; Nyysönen 2009, 167–170).

During the early twentieth century, the last remaining Sámi municipalities in Finland started to face the increasing pressures of modernisation and Finnish colonisation. The government of Finland sought to encourage the settlement in northern parts of the country by the Act of Ground Rent (1909) and the Woodland Settlement Act (1922). It also endeavoured to contribute to northernmost Finland’s road building in order to encourage forestry and other economic activities in the area. As a result, the northernmost areas of Finnish Lapland started to become both culturally and economically more connected to the rest of the country (Lehtola 2015, 26; Elenius et al. 2015, 235–237, 271–302).

3.1 No roads?

The Northern Sámi language term for roads, *geaidnu*, refers to either a road or a passage. The Teno River (*Deatnu*), for example, was an important *geaidnu* for the Utsjoki Sámi, in addition to footpaths (Lehtola 2012, 71). However, from the perspective of Finnish authorities, Finnish Lapland seemed an area without any decent routes, and they had worked since the mid-nineteenth century to build roads in the north (Enbuske 2009, 236–258). The roadless state of northernmost Lapland also attracted public attention and was perceived as a national shame. A Finnish newspaper wrote that “although the population of Utsjoki is small in number, the dignity

of our state (...) requires that a good road should be built there in the near future” (Perimmäisestä 1926). According to another newspaper article, published in 1887, the absence of roads made travelling in northernmost Lapland a life-threatening pursuit. The writer described how roads would be the vital arteries to revitalise the ailing region (F–n. 1887). This vocabulary is not surprising; roads are commonly compared to life-sustaining blood vessels in argumentation for transport infrastructure, and blood circulation has often been used as a metaphor for road traffic (Ponsavady 2014, 8).

When Petsamo (Pechenga District) became a part of Finland after the Treaty of Tartu (1920), Finland had its own corridor to the Arctic Ocean. The building of a road from Rovaniemi to Petsamo – which went through the traditional Sámi areas and the village of Ivalo in the municipality of Inari – was a great source of pride for Finns. Not only did the wide road enable speeds unseen on the narrow roads of northern Norway (Autolla 1930) but the discovery of nickel ore in the early 1920s further stressed the importance of the Petsamo region (Dunkers 1935). This example of Petsamo also underlines the role of the construction of infrastructure in assuming control over Arctic regions. According to Lähteenmäki (2017, 72), Finns began to develop Petsamo in the 1920s by legislation that favoured Finns in land acquisition and settlement, building Finnish schools, developing port operations, subsuming the area under Finnish postal and telegraphic systems, building a road, planning a railway connection, developing tourism, and by opening the Aero Yhtiö (founded in 1923) flight connection from Helsinki to Petsamo.

Petsamo’s railway connection sparked much discussion and hope in the 1920s, but the locals also considered other infrastructure needs. According to Ida Lehmusvirta, a Finn who worked in Inari as the headmistress of Riutula Children’s Home and was interviewed in 1924, the railway seemed like a dazzling dream. While its construction seemed impossible at the time, she underlined the importance of government funding earmarked for roads in Lapland. The road already reached the village of Ivalo and had been extended to north towards the village of Inari, but because of lacking funds, the project had been abandoned. Lehmusvirta further argued that the lack of roads hampered the development of economic prosperity of Inari residents, as it was not possible to transport trout, for example, elsewhere for sale (Mielenkiintoisia 1924). Eventually, by 1926, the road was extended to the village of Inari (Pohjolassa 1926).

3.2 “The most remote municipality”

The Sámi of Utsjoki had traditionally made their living primarily by fishing, animal husbandry, hunting, and reindeer herding. Some reindeer-herding Sámi families had moved to Inari in the late 1800s, but until that time, the Inari Sámi were mainly fishermen who also had some sheep (Nahkiaisaja 2016). In Utsjoki, the population had grown modestly even during the late nineteenth century, when, for example, Inari witnessed a remarkable population growth, and the Finnish settlement had not developed as the climate and soil conditions in the region did not seem capable of supporting a larger population (see, e.g., Buharov 2010, 173). During the interwar period, fishing was still practised to a great extent in Utsjoki, and reindeer husbandry was one of the main sources of livelihood (Kuvia Utsjoelta 1939). Although it was possible to journey from Utsjoki to southern Finland using a narrow footpath, Utsjoki was very much isolated from other parts of Finland. However, Utsjoki’s economic ties with the Norwegian side were quite strong, so much so that the local currency was the Norwegian krone (Rosberg et al. 1931, 358–375).

According to a travel report published by a Finnish magazine in 1889, the “civilised world” was right next to Utsjoki. In other words, there were plenty of telegraph poles on the Norwegian side of the border, thanks to which the guests from afar would have been able to send messages to their homes. The author described how unfair it seemed that, while railways were built in southern Finland every year, northernmost Lapland did not even get one road. In the winter, people in Utsjoki usually travelled along the Teno and Utsjoki Rivers, their sleds pulled by reindeer. This prompted the author to argue the case of a presumably cheap road passing the *Keneskoski* rapids, where many travellers took cold baths during the winter. He did not, however, trust the Sámi to take the initiative: “Do not, however, expect that the residents of Utsjoki will ever suggest it themselves; they have no idea of a road because they have never seen one, and are accustomed to moving throughout the forests and fells” (Rese 1889).

The construction of transport infrastructure eventually started to progress also in Utsjoki during the 1920s and 1930s when the ministry in charge of transport (*kulkulaitosministeriö*) granted funding for the construction of a few bridges (Utsjoen kunnan 1925). As travelling was very difficult during the *rasputitsa* (*kelirikko*), the Utsjoki municipal council approached the governor of the Province of Oulu and requested that measures be taken to alleviate the autumn and spring traffic. It was hoped that the main pedestrian path would be cleared to the extent that travel with a horse-drawn sleigh would be possible (Ahola 1926b; Utsjoen tiekurjuus 1926). A few kilometres of state-

funded roads had also been built in Utsjoki. The purpose of one short stretch of a road was to ease the transfer of boats past the Alaköngas rapids in the river Teno (Kehvas 1934). These roads were accessible only by horse-drawn vehicles and required further improvement before cars could be driven on them (Neitiniemi 1928).

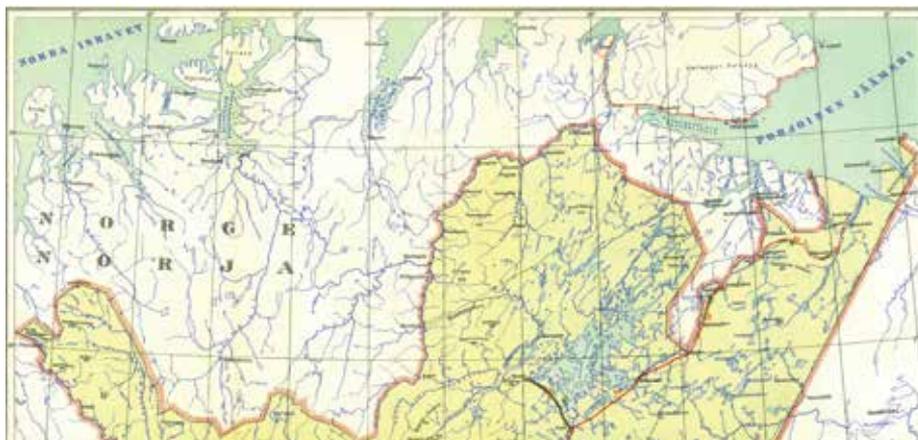
Kaarlo Hillilä, who was appointed governor of the Province of Lapland – established in 1938 – wrote that roads construction was necessary for Finnish Lapland's economic development. According to him, the municipality of Utsjoki especially needed many improvements because it had to rely on the services offered by Norway in many matters:

Utsjoki is the most remote and backward municipality in our country, the development of which is a duty of the state. This is all the more striking not only to the local residents, but also to the many foreign tourists who travel from Hammerfest via Karasjok to the Teno valley or then via Skiippagurra to Nuorgam and have to make comparisons between Norway and Finland. (...) Norway has built a road to the Karasjok Sámi (Lapp) village from Hammerfest. Another road will take you from Vadsø via Skiippagurra to Kirkenes, and in addition, another road from Skiippagurra to Karasjok is being built. (...) On the Norwegian side, Karasjok has also a hospital, a doctor, a daily bus connection, services for tourists, etc. (Hillilä 1939.)

Hillilä also wanted to improve the safety and well-being of the Utsjoki inhabitants through the construction of roads. Utsjoki did not have a doctor of its own, and in cases of serious illness, inhabitants of the municipality had to seek help from the hospitals on the Norwegian side of the border. Health sister Saimi Lindroth (1970, 52–57), who worked in Utsjoki during the late 1930s, recalled later that she had once travelled with a patient to the Norwegian hospital in Vadsø for an appendectomy. To get an airplane rapidly enough was uncertain as Utsjoki had no airport, nor was it possible to land on the lake during the night. A horse carriage trip to Vadsø was therefore considered the safest option, but this proved too exhausting for the patient, who did not survive.

4. SÁMI AREA OF PROTECTION? RESISTANCE TO ROADS

Although water transportation had traditionally been the dominant method of transportation in the area that is today referred to as the Barents Region, technological improvements such as diesel engines made roads increasingly important during the first



Map 1. Autoilijan tiekartta, the Motoring road map of Finland, first published in 1927.

Source: Autoilijan Tiekartta Suomi 1927: = Bilstens Vägkarta Finland 1927. [Helsinki]: [Maanmittaushallitus], 1927.

half of the twentieth century (Forsgren et al. 2016, 421–423). At the end of the 1920s, the *Rovaniemi* newspaper shared with its readers exciting observations concerning the modernisation of traffic conditions and improvement of the overall economic situation. Cars had taken over the roads of Lapland, and horses were no longer used for longer journeys. The so-called backwoods roads no longer satisfied the needs of the travellers after people had become used to the speed and comfort of automobiles. After all, it was now possible to take a bus on the 300-kilometre-long road from Rovaniemi to Ivalo in just 11 hours. The settlements had also spread to new areas, and the roads increased the value of forests in the northernmost part of Finland, as they were now more easily accessible (Autot wallanneet 1928; Peräpohjolan ja Lapin maantieverkoston 1929).

Quick and comfortable travel did not, however, impress everyone. Over the years, doubts about the transport and telecommunications infrastructure projects in northern Finland have taken various forms. One example emerged in 1925 when the municipal council of Utsjoki approached the national Parliament suggesting that the municipality should be codified as a “Sámi area of protection” in which Finnish habitation, roads, or telephone networks should not be allowed. The inhabitants of Utsjoki

left their proposal with A. A. Neitiniemi, who represented Lapland in the Parliament (Huomattawa esitys 1925). According to Neitiniemi, Utsjoki municipality's proposal to protect Finland's "only whole" Sámi population was to be taken seriously. The initiative would not even have slowed down the progress of agriculture in Finland, as it was difficult to establish new farms in the semi-arctic climate conditions anyway (Lehtola 2012, 220–221). Utsjoki had already witnessed many unsuccessful agricultural experiments over the past decades, and some Finns were of the opinion that Finnish settlers had no reason to move there (Huomattawa esitys 1925).

Neitiniemi introduced the proposal in the Parliament of Finland, but the Commerce Committee rejected it. According to the committee, there had not been any disadvantageous changes in the population situation of Utsjoki, and changes were not expected either. As a barren northern area, Utsjoki was, in any case, protected from overly aggressive settlement, and the Finns interested in moving to the north preferred Petsamo. Subsequently, the proposal was ignored in the Parliament, and there was no further discussion (Lehtola 2012, 219–229). Yet, the proposal was seen as a very strange initiative because the general form of argumentation was to blame the government for not spending enough money on the construction of transport infrastructure in the border areas. The newspaper *Rovaniemi* had, for example, regarded the construction of new roads as the most urgent need in Lapland, especially in the municipality of Utsjoki (Nykyhetken kipeimmät 1924). It was an annoying surprise to suddenly find out that the official governing body of the municipality did not want to have a road connecting it with the rest of Finland. In May 1926, *Rovaniemi* wrote on the isolationism of Utsjoki: "Not even a telephone line is allowed to create the connection, not to mention the road. (...) It seems difficult to think that a region (...) opposes something that has definitely meant well" (Utsjoen eristäytymispyrkimykset 1926). The paper subsequently published many articles and opinion pieces related to the resistance cultivated in Utsjoki, and the discussion spread to other Finnish newspapers.

At the same time, Lapland was facing considerable population pressures from southern Finland. Governor Hillilä wrote at the end of the 1930s that population growth in the Province of Lapland had been stronger than elsewhere in Finland. There were many opportunities for work in Lapland's mines and logging sites, and the growing population demanded more farmland and dedicated development of the road network (Lapin läänin tieverkoston). It was within this atmosphere that the contemporaries began to worry about the potential damage the building of transport infrastructure might cause to the traditional way of life in Sámi communities.

Rural police chief Manninen (1929) believed that Sámi culture would die more rapidly, as more of the Sámi residential areas were acquiring transportation vehicles and modern roads. The municipality of Utsjoki also attempted, by resisting transport and telecommunications infrastructure, to ensure that the Sámi population would be fully protected in the future, i.e., Utsjoki would remain a Sámi municipality. The starting point of the proposal was that Finnish people could move to the Utsjoki area as settlers only with the permission of the municipal council. According to the council, Utsjoki was one of the most barren areas in Finland where farming had very poor prospects and reindeer herding was considerably more profitable. The Sámi residents of Utsjoki made their living in the semi-arctic region, but settlers who came from elsewhere did not manage as well. The proposal referred to cases where a Finnish settler had moved to the municipality, started a family, and tried to make living by agriculture. Finally, he – or at least his family – had become impoverished to the point of being dependent on municipal poor relief (Huomattawa esitys 1925).

The proposal was therefore based on the Sámi people's desire to protect their own community and the region from Finnish migrants. During the previous decades, new villages and mining and logging sites had been created in the Sámi residential areas. The municipality of Inari served as a warning to Utsjoki residents: since the early 1900s, roads from south had been built to Inari, leading to many new Finnish residents in the area (V.H. 1939). Roadsides gathered population now the same ways as river stems had before, roads went through the reindeer pastures, and the area started to become more dependent on the southern direction (Lehtola 2015, 29). The Finnish population in Inari had exceeded the number of Sámi in 1915. According to the book *Suomenmaa*, published in 1931, it seemed that lively transit and tourist traffic to the Arctic Ocean, development of animal husbandry, and increasing forestry were strengthening the Finnish culture in Inari even further (Rosberg et al. 1931, 344).

From the Utsjoki Sámi perspective, the Inari municipality, which had struggled with growing poor relief expenses during the 1920s, had more unrest due to Finnish people with “evil manners”. The Utsjoki Sámi had found that lumberjacks and even criminals had arrived from the south. The purpose of the Utsjoki municipal council's initiative had thus been “to prevent inactive human wrecks from arriving to the burden to the municipality” (Utsjoki 1925; Hytönen 1927). Interestingly, some clergymen of Finnish Lapland had also feared that good roads would bring “southern rabble” to the population centres of the north. The log-floating sites offered them examples of social unrest caused by the temporary workforce (Elenius et al. 2015, 284).

The large logging sites and their lumberjack culture were considered particularly threatening to the Sámi culture, and this partially explains the Utsjoki municipality's determination to oppose the road from Finland (Ahola 1926a). Inari Sámi Uula Sarre (1929) described in a newspaper article how reindeer husbandry in Inari had recently faced problems, and the reindeer herds had been reduced. Inari residents had tried to improve the situation and made applications to the governor, but the "mosquito's voice hadn't carried up to heaven". When the number of reindeer became smaller, people were forced to seek a living in forestry, working alongside Finnish lumberjacks. Sarre wrote: "In order to succeed in lumberjacks' working sites, a Sámi must live, talk, and dress like they do. And in order to protect himself in this inhospitable company from mockery, he will naturally try to fully adapt to the environment as soon as possible".

While the Sámi and Finnish values clearly collided in the discussion concerning Utsjoki roads, the debate was also seasoned with political prejudices. The period of Finnish independence had started with a civil war fought between the Reds and the Whites in 1918. This was very traumatic, and fear of communism prevailed in the young Finnish state until the Second World War (Jussila et al. 1999). In the 1920s, some Finns wondered whether it was possible that Utsjoki's isolation efforts stemmed from communism (Ahola 1926a). Unpatriotic thoughts were strictly condemned at this stage, and the possible spread of communism was closely monitored in Lapland. Fears were stirred up by the Pork Mutiny (*läskikapina*), organised by the Communist Party of Finland, in northern Finland near the Soviet border in 1922. However, communism never touched the municipality of Utsjoki (Aatsinki 2008). Utsjoki Sámi J. Guttorm (1929) wrote in the *Rovaniemi* that the Sámi world view was directly opposite to communist principles. Therefore, a good way to keep communism out of Finland's northern borders was to keep the area as Sámi as possible.

Some Finns also suspected that "Norwegian agitation" might be behind the Utsjoki residents' unpatriotic statements. During the First World War, Utsjoki had received food aid from officials on the Norwegian side of the border (Utsjoen oloihin 1926). Subsequently, in 1919–20, proposals had been made concerning the possibility of Utsjoki joining the Kingdom of Norway (Rosberg et al. 1931, 358–375). The *Rovaniemi* newspaper also asked for a contribution to the Utsjoki road debate from Utsjoki's Finnish minister, Juhani Ahola. According to him (1926), residents of Utsjoki were used to being afraid of Finns in the same way the Finns were afraid of the Russians. Residents of Utsjoki had no confidence in Finland, and they saw the proposals and actions by the Finnish government, authorities, and local Finns

only as restrictions on their freedom. For example, Utsjoki residents did not want a telephone line from Finland because they feared that it would be accompanied by the Finnish Border Guard.

Teacher O. J. Guttorm (1926), chairman of the municipal council of Utsjoki, denied that the inhabitants of Utsjoki would have wanted to isolate themselves from Finland. He emphasised that it was in fact a great honour for the Sámi to belong to Finland, the government of which they found much more prominent than the Norwegian government. According to Guttorm, the road from Finland was unwanted because the road-borne carriage of goods would not be advantageous until the railway, which now reached Rovaniemi, was extended at least to Ivalo. A telephone line from Finland was welcome, but the Finnish Border Guard was not. Lastly, Guttorm wrote: “Utsjoki residents would like to develop alongside with the Finns as Sámi.”

The editors of the *Rovaniemi* wondered, after reading Guttorm’s piece, if Utsjoki residents smuggled goods requiring customs clearance, as they refused to have the Finnish Border Guard. In any case, there seemed to be something very unpatriotic and suspicious in the resistance of the Utsjoki residents. According to the *Rovaniemi*, the residents of Utsjoki also showed a tendency towards isolationism by highlighting their Sáminess (*Rovaniemi* 1926). Lauri A. Yrjö-Koskinen (1926), a member of parliament, also commented that Utsjoki had by no means been ignored by the Finnish state. According to him, it was necessary to build a road from Inari to the Church of Utsjoki. He believed that although, at first, the residents of Utsjoki might not need the road leading to the south that much, the road would allow Finnish settlers, reindeer men, fishers, and traders to move in and settle in Utsjoki. It could then be expected that Utsjoki’s salmon, reindeer meat, and berries would move along the road through their own country to global markets.

Juhani Ahola noted that the interpretations made by the Finns concerning the arguments of the Sámi reflected existing prejudices and was of the opinion that the rapid construction of the telephone line would make Utsjoki residents more positive towards Finland. According to him, the Sámi believed that because they were *only* Sámi, the state did not pay any attention to their needs (Ahola 1926a; Ahola 1926c). Eero Maamies, who worked as a border-side consultant, emphasised that the telephone line would also be very important to the trade of reindeer products. The lack of telephones reduced Utsjoki reindeer herders’ competitive position compared to the reindeer owners of neighbouring countries (Utsjoen oloihin 1926).

5. “SAVAGE PEOPLE, WHO DON’T EVEN NEED THE ROAD?” – SÁMI SUPPORT FOR THE ROADS

Although Utsjoki and Inari had been part of the territory of Finland much longer than Petsamo, the roads of Petsamo were better funded and prioritised by the Finnish government. The benefits of the mining and tourism industries were considered more important than the possibility of the Sámi selling more fish or reindeer meat (Neitiniemi 1928; Peräpohjolan ja Lapin maanteitä 1929). While some Finns justified their opposition to the road for Utsjoki by the existence of more heavily populated areas that also lacked roads, there were also those who argued that public funds should not be used in the construction of infrastructure benefitting people whose “cultural level is low” and whose “development potential may be completely non-existent”. However, the Utsjoki road also had its supporters. Inspector Hytönen, for example, wondered why many saw Sámi reindeer herding as an insignificant source of livelihood even if much capital had been invested in the reindeer herds of northernmost Finland and that the area was an ideal location for reindeer herding (Utsjoen oloihin 1926; Hytönen 1927).

The question of roads and telephone lines in Utsjoki split opinions among the Sámi. While some resisted, others hoped for cheaper groceries and new job opportunities. The *Rovaniemi* newspaper published an interview with Hans Laiti, a successful Sámi tradesman who had recently travelled from Utsjoki to Helsinki in February 1925. The journey had lasted 14 days, first by reindeer and then by horse and train rides. It was no wonder that Laiti considered the creation of a decent transport connection with the rest of Finland as the most burning question for Utsjoki inhabitants. He maintained that the considerable rise in the prices of consumer goods and foodstuffs in Norway made the lack of a road even more painful. He also argued that the residents of Utsjoki wanted to have an electrical telegraph such as the people on the Norwegian side had already had for a very long time (Utsjoki, 1925).

Inspector Hytönen (1927) participated in the debate on Utsjoki road infrastructure in early 1927, when the most passionate discussion had already started to die down. He wrote:

Today it is a common wish in Utsjoki to get there a road from the Church of Inari. A little earlier (...) the inhabitants opposed it because of the fear of unsuitable Finnish material flooding into the municipality as a burden to the municipal poor relief. This fear remains, it has not evaporated. But there

have been recent experiences showing the difficulties this region faces if people are dependent solely on Norway.

For example, during the previous winter's severe shortage of fodder, Utsjoki inhabitants had been forced to buy hay from Norway, although the traders of Rovaniemi would have had significantly lower prices. According to Hytönen (1927), Utsjoki municipality's suggestion of a Sámi area of protection was perceived too much as a tendency towards isolationism. The fact that the municipality had tried to protect itself from vagrants and other "bad Finnish material" had only shown "a healthy social instinct rather than unacceptable isolation from the rest of Finland".

Inari Sámi Antti Aikio (1929), who worked in Inari as the head of the municipality, described the pending cases which needed the state's financial support in 1929, referring to the Laanila road and a plan to build a road from Inari village to Sikavuono. The alignment of the first of these was criticised. The road was not serving the needs of the local residents in the best possible way, because it had been built to Laanila at the beginning of the twentieth century after a small amount of gold had been discovered in the area (Lapinmaan kulta 1904). The planned eight-kilometre-long Sikavuono road would have connected Inari residents who lived in the western and northern regions (around the Muddusjärvi water system) to the traditional centre village of the municipality. Inari's municipal council had made its first appeal concerning this road in 1916, but the project had not made much progress in over thirteen years, although the municipal council had continued to submit new appeals. The road would have made it easier for many Inari residents to transport foodstuffs from the central village of Inari, especially in the summertime. Aikio complained: "At present, the only way to transport them is to carry them on one's back, but that, in itself, is already too severe for a person performing the task, and in the modern world these kinds of tasks should belong only to the slaves and savage people". After that, he wondered whether the Finnish authorities thought that the Sámi residents – especially those living in the western and northern parts of Inari – were among these savage people who required no road. The lack of a road was unbearable, especially to the poorest people, according to Aikio, because they could not purchase and transport all the necessary commodities during winter when sleds pulled by reindeer were used.

In 1929, the *Rovaniemi* wrote that the Norwegian state had shown, with great sacrifices made to supply roads as well as telephone and telegraph lines, how much care it had provided for its distant Sámi people. For example, the telephone lines located on

the border next to Utsjoki had not been driven by commercial interests, and they did not generate profit for the state. Instead, they had been built “solely for the well-being of the local population, few in number though the population was”. The conclusion was that, even if Utsjoki was not significant to the national economy, and so far no metal resources had been discovered, the state of Finland was also obliged to take care of its Sámi residents (Utsjoen maantie- ja puhelinkysymysten 1929).

At the end of the interwar period, telephone connections were built in Utsjoki, but only about 10 kilometres of roads existed (Hillilä 1939). This did not mean, however, that there would not have lived modern Sámi in Utsjoki, even though the idea of Sámi modernisation efforts sometimes provoked irritation. According to Veli-Pekka Lehtola (1999, 15–20), some travellers came to Lapland in the 1920s to seek “authentic Lapps” far away from the influence of civilisation. Because the Sámi were considered an archaic tribe, Finns may not have understood that there were also Sámi, such as senior juryman J. E. F. Holmberg living in Utsjoki’s northernmost village Nuorgam, who – according to one traveller – wanted to buy a car, but it was impossible, because there was no road that would have reached his home village (Kehvas 1934).

During the Second World War, the construction of roads, railways, and airports intensified in northernmost Finland and Norway. The snowploughed ice road that was made on the Teno River by German soldiers was also used by the locals. From the south, it was now possible to reach the village of Syysjärvi, 48 kilometres north of Inari, by car. In Utsjoki, the Germans constructed a road from Kaamanen to Karigasniemi which was situated southeast of the village of Karasjok in Norway. This simplified the transport of goods, especially in summer, because the main villages of Utsjoki were easy to reach from Karigasniemi by boat on the Teno River (Aikio 2006, 44–45).

6. CONCLUSION

Indigenous peoples have often been depicted one-dimensionally in research concentrating on infrastructure as forces resisting development. According to Bennett (2018, 137), researchers have tended to focus on confrontations and have seen indigenous peoples as victims of industrial development rather than as active agents. While the indigenous people and their resistance to colonial governments and modern nation states have been romanticised (Abu-Lughod 1990, 41; Bodley 2008,

1–3), the road construction projects have often been described as centrally-oriented, top-down processes in which the indigenous perspectives have been totally ignored (Masquelier 2002, 835; Perz 2014, 178; Smoker 2011, 212).

In reality, the situation has often been much more complicated. In Utsjoki, where the municipal administration was in the hands of the Sámi, the locals were accustomed to taking their own decisions. Neither the construction of a road nor telephone network was desired, as both could potentially increase the Finnish civil servants' or border guards' ability to control the lives of the Utsjoki people. Finnish geographer Ilmari Hustich wrote in 1946 (50–72) that Utsjoki seemed like a republic of its own and did not appear to need Finland for anything.

Although outsiders' views concerning the Sámi might have been constructed on images of primitivity, a Finnish writer who commented on the road question in Utsjoki concluded that the Sámi could present their case very wisely and were not at all as primitive as often presumed (A.G. 1926). Some Finns also noted that citizens of the "Utsjoki Republic", too, were interested in economic benefits: At the beginning of the twentieth century, there were many Sámi merchants in Utsjoki who had permission to bring commodities from Norway to Finland exempt from customs. Besides selling their products to locals, these Sámi merchants were making a good living serving customers from the Norwegian side of the border (Rajakauppa koskevia kirjeitä 1927–1941). These merchants were ready to welcome roads, especially if the roads were built between Utsjoki and Norway (A.G. 1926).

However, many considered the road as a channel through which troubles might arrive. The residents of Utsjoki wanted the population of the municipality to be limited in order to secure the Sámi people's ability to earn their income from reindeer herding and other traditional livelihoods. At the same time, the arrival of the so-called "civilisation" was considered a threat to the Sámi people's old habits and customs (Utsjoki 1925). Also, the discussion concerning poverty and economic possibilities was somewhat distorted. While the Finnish flank emphasised the economic opportunities, and at least some locals deemed the road building as a positive development from the perspective of their businesses, the Sámi community was also fearful that the road would bring poverty in the form of Finnish inhabitants unable to take care of themselves. The Finnish authorities also described the roads as factors increasing the safety, health, and well-being in the northern part of Finnish Lapland. Those Sámi who supported the road agreed with this argument.

All in all, even though the vocabulary used in the 1920s and 1930s differs from today's parlance, many of the ideas which have been discussed more recently – pertaining to remoteness as a potential asset and the value of being disconnected – already seem to have been present in a debate which took place at the beginning of the twentieth century.

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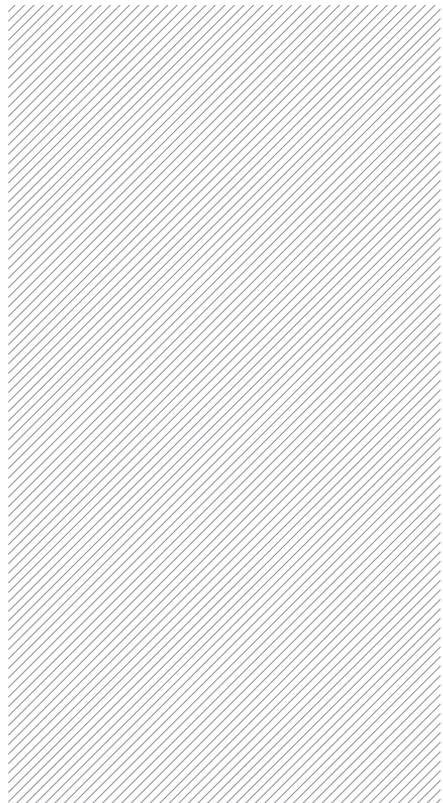
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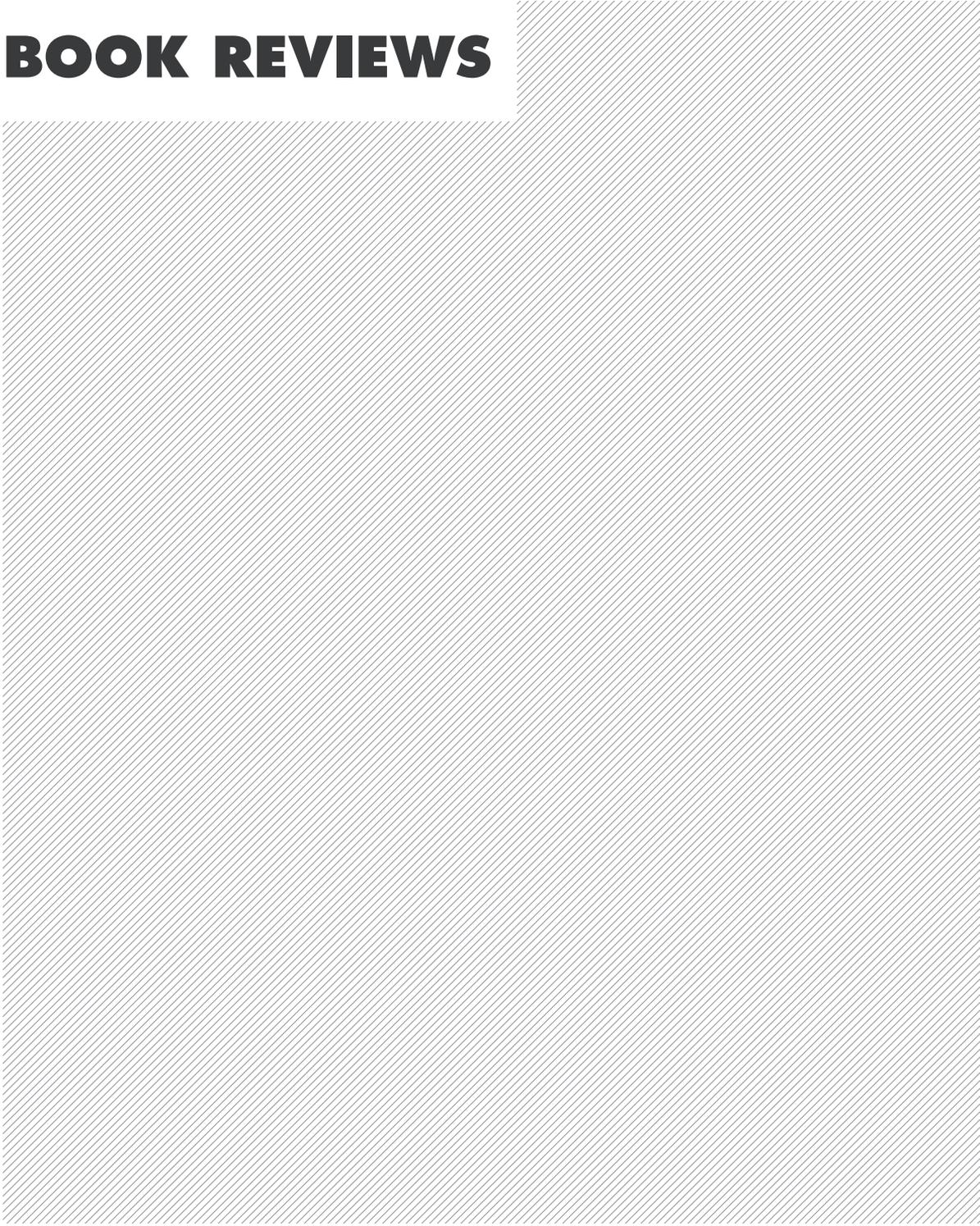
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BOOK REVIEWS



The historical formation of a transnational cooperation: The Barents Euro-Arctic region

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The Barents Region: A Transnational History of Subarctic Northern Europe.
Oslo, PAX Forlag AS, 2015. 518 p.

Lars Elenius (Professor of History and Education, Umeå University, Sweden) the Chief Editor of *The Barents Region – A Transnational History of Subarctic Northern Europe*, in cooperation with 26 other experts from diverse scientific disciplines, outlines a research-based historical summary of the economic, societal, cultural and geopolitical development of the northernmost territories of the Nordic countries Finland, Norway and Sweden and the Northwest territories of today's Russian Federation. The time period considered in the book begins in the year 800 and concludes in 2010, even though the Barents Declaration was signed in January 1993 to institute the Barents Euro-Arctic Region. Hence the authors outline a path for the diverse ethnic groups, cultures and political systems that had lasted for about 1200 years, resulting eventually in the establishment of the transnational Barents Region.

The impetus behind this work is the need for a history book about the Barents Region that did not exist in this form earlier. This need is determined by the fact that there is an immense lack of knowledge about the Barents Region in the global community and even, for instance, in the southern parts of the Barents Region countries.

The authors follow a chronological approach throughout the book, taking the reader on a journey through the centuries of the region's history. However, their approach is

creative, and instead of simply going through the notable historical events, they set seven “turning points” involving important developmental shifts in eras of economic transformation, modernisation, growing regionalism, state expansion, urbanisation, industrialisation and globalisation. These eras are presented in the first eight chapters, which are framed by a preface and introduction and a concluding chapter (Chapter nine) which summarises the content of the entire book. Each of the first eight chapters deals with a strictly defined time period: for example, Chapter one covers the years 800-1550, and the eighth chapter discusses the final years on which this study focuses, the period from 1993 to 2010.

The authors explicitly pursue a thematic variety of historical content in every chapter. They have chosen a couple of frameworks that they consider the most relevant to describe and analyse the history of the European Subarctic and Arctic. As the Barents Region was developed to strengthen economic relations and cooperation among the four Barents Region countries after the fall of the Iron Curtain, it is reasonable to highlight the economic and political developments in each chapter. The city and region of Oulu is a good example in this respect, as the authors show how this area developed into a commercial town in the 17th century, was pivotal in the tar export and shipbuilding industries for many years, and became a pioneer area in the development of Finnish information and communication technologies (ICT) in the 1980s. In the perspective of industrialisation it is well explained how, for example, in Norrböten, Sweden, and on the Kola Peninsula the extractive industries continuously expanded and how progress in the construction of new railways, waterways and roads connected the Northern territories to other parts in the world.

Another achievement of this book is the well-structured depiction of all the ethnic groups that have called the territories of today’s Barents Region home in ancient and modern times. The reader learns how the indigenous peoples, the Sámi, Nenets and Vepsians had to adapt continuously to demographic and geopolitical changes in the region over the centuries. Moreover, the book tells about other ethnic groups like the Komi, who claim to be indigenous as well, but whose official status is still pending. The Kvens, a Finnish-speaking minority in the North of Norway, are an example of an ethnic group that seeks acceptance in Norwegian society.

Other subjects that are considered throughout this work are the changing periods of trade and cooperation and, on the other hand, the periods of conflict and war. Finland

figures prominently and is always at the centre of attention, as it belonged to Sweden for part of its history, and later, as the Grand Duchy of Finland, was part of the Russian Empire (1809-1917), before gaining independence.

Economic developments and demographic changes are consistently underpinned by significant statistics and maps. Moreover, the book includes a diverse set of illustrations and photographs that present the special characteristics of the Barents Region to the reader in a vivid way.

Considering the purpose of the book, which is to address the research community in the fields of history and social sciences, as well as people who are interested in the history of the Barents Region, the work succeeds to a large extent in providing meaningful information and insights. The structure and language allow readers without a special academic background to follow the content easily and consequently gain a better understanding of the development of northern European territories. One of the major strengths of this work is, as accentuated in the title, the fact that the transnational view is perceptible throughout the entire content of the book, and the list of authors comprises natives and experts from all four countries of the Barents Region. Previous works often focus either solely on the Nordic countries or exclusively on the Russian Federation, but paying attention to all four regions in the same book has hardly been done before.

All in all, this work accomplishes the editor's goal of summarising the history of the Barents Region by describing the step-by-step convergence of events, developments and turning points over a 1200-year period to point out how the region has developed, leading to the present-day situation. In this regard, *The Barents Region – A Transnational History of Subarctic Northern Europe* is an excellent contribution to historical science and several other disciplines.

Society, environment, human security: The Arctic Barents region

YULIA ZAIKA

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Kamrul Hossain and Dorothee Cambou (eds.)

Society, environment and human security in the Arctic Barents region.

Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY, Routledge. 216 p.

Society, environment, and human security matter not only in the Arctic but worldwide. In the light of current global changes, however, the Arctic region has a greater focus than ever before. This timely volume – and its scientifically holistic and convergent approach – gives the reader insights into Arctic lives and security issues in theoretical and practical contexts. The geographical pivot of the Barents region provides a case study which can also be shared among other parts of the Arctic. These parts may at first glance appear unique, but are on closer inspection both alike and rather different. The Barents Arctic region is a relatively accessible transborder society with the number of inside and outside stakeholder interests. This brings economic development and prosperity to the region but also leads to the “unequal benefit sharing resulting in tensions amongst the various groups living in the region” (p. XIV).

The book, edited by *Kamrul Hossain and Dorothee Cambou*, is the collective work of 15 authors combining the research outcomes of the project entitled Human security as a promotional tool for societal security in the Arctic: Addressing multiple vulnerability to its population with specific reference to the Barents region (HuSArctic). Divided into two main parts, the book sets the theoretical background to the discussions on practical knowledge and the assessment of the current state of human security in the Barents Arctic.

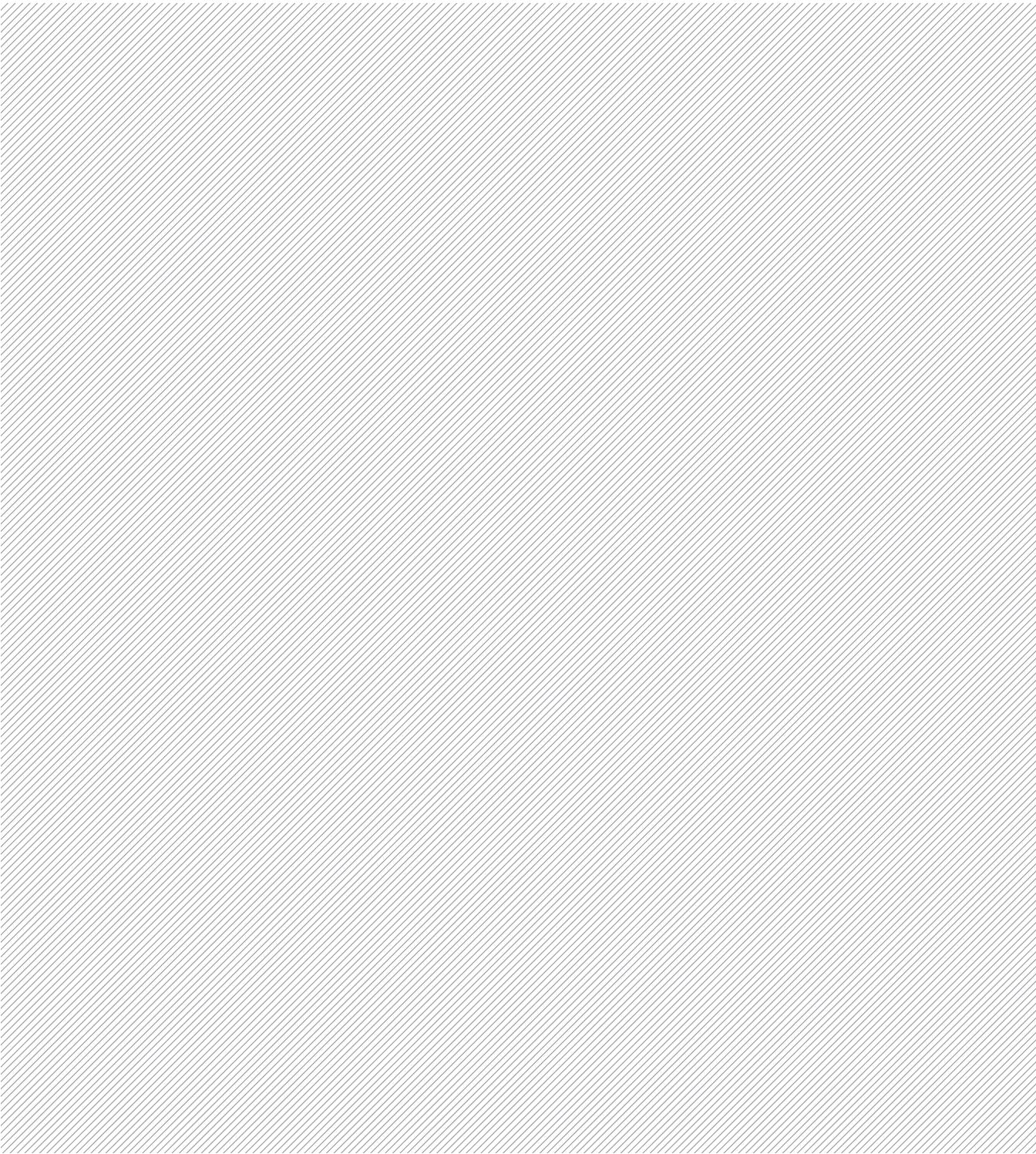
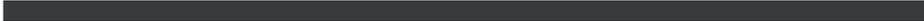
In the theoretical part, *Kamrul Hossain* discusses the triple concept of societal-community-human security in the Arctic by featuring the “we” feeling within the transnational communal identity of the Barents region residents (p. 5). The transforming social structure of the Barents region holds social inequalities and threats, as well as opportunities. Analysis of the changing understanding of the theory of “securitisation”, shifting from narrow military relations towards political, economic, societal, and environmental dimensions, leads the reader to the second part of the book. The main institutional basis, transforming past and current achievements of the geographically broad Barents region, is discussed by *Dorothee Cambou* and *Lassi Heininen* in Chapter 1.2 (p. 19). This institutional outlook reveals the importance of existing cooperation for the strategic strengthening of human security in the region.

The second part of the book is a gateway to the many dimensions of most if not all levels of regional security and safety. In Chapter 2.1, *Sarah Mackie* discusses environmental threats such as climate change and vast industrial and nuclear pollution in the region, and proposes a preliminary action plan to safeguard the environment. Chapter 2.2 analyses the economic security at stake by comparing the main indicators (unemployment, demographics, education, transport, etc.). *Anna Petrétei* and *Dorothee Cambou* conclude by identifying the key needs that the region has, and highlight beneficial cross-border cooperation. In Chapter 2.3, *Susanna Pääkkölä* and *Dorothee Cambou* argue that improved cooperation, digitalization, and new technological solutions will enhance health security in the region, where there are substantial differences within health care and well-being among the presented countries. *Shaun Cormier* and *Dele Raheem* discuss regional food (in)security in Chapter 2.4. The comprehensive overview of the threats to food security is complemented by an assessment of a number of interrelated factors such as climate change, globalization, water and food security, and others. As a case study, the water security in the Barents region is featured in Chapter 2.5 by *Antonia Sohns*. This chapter emphasizes the reciprocal and changing relationship between water security and human security (p. 105) by examining the main insecurity factors identified and underlined by the theoretical part of this book. Energy, one of the essential resources in the world, is discussed in Chapter 2.6 by *Hanna Lempinen* and *Dorothee Cambou*. The societal perspectives on and recommendations for energy security are proposed within the context of the “four A’s” – accessibility, acceptability, affordability, and availability at the individual and community levels. Individual security as an indicator of the umbrella concept of human security is assessed in Chapter 2.7 by *Tahnee Prior* and *Patrick Ciaschi* through three dimensions: suicide, domestic

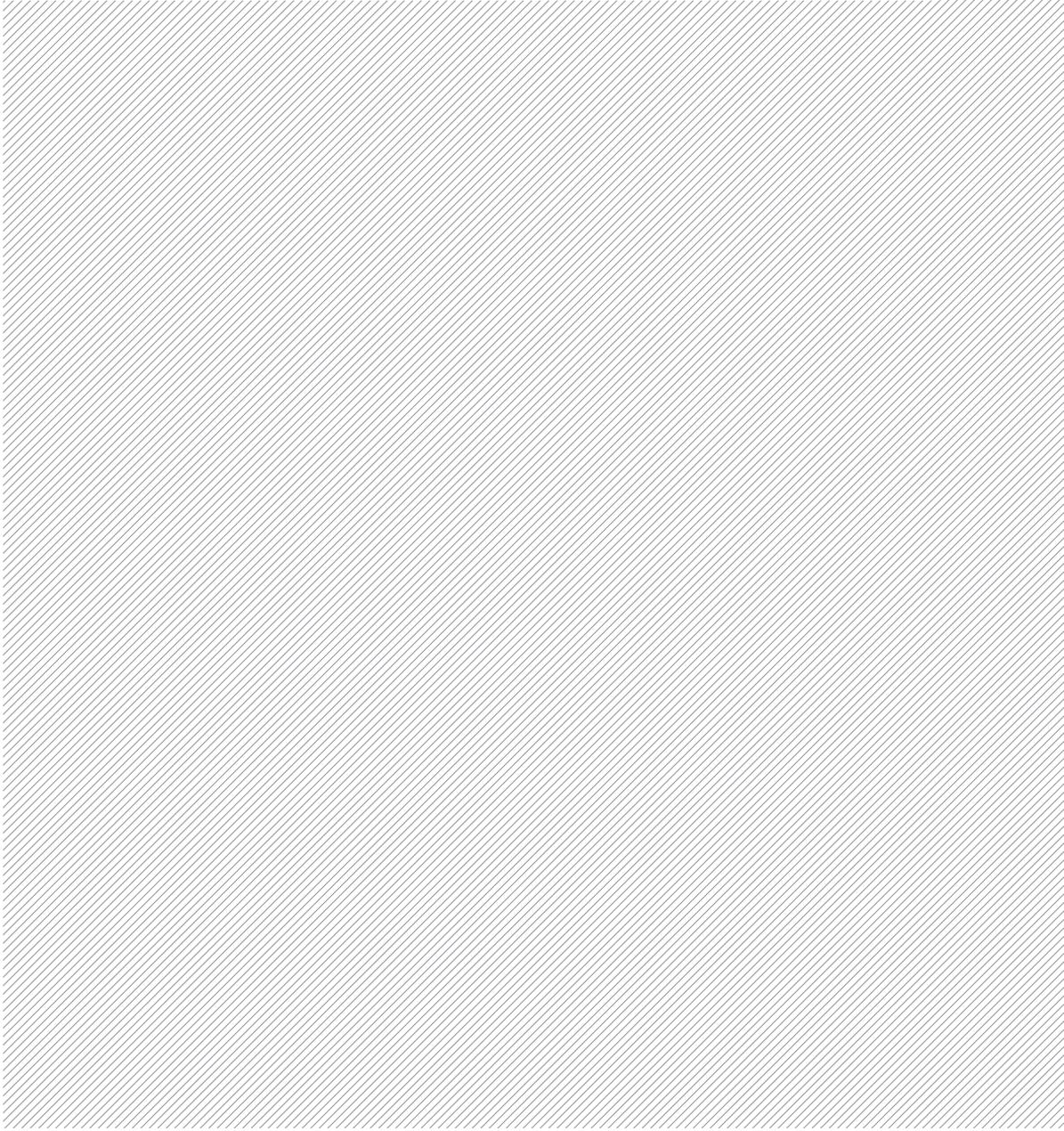
violence, and in- and out-migration (p. 135). Personal security is also interconnected and influenced by other dimensions of human security including community security. In Chapter 2.8, *Giuseppe Amatulli* and *Joëlle Klein* discuss community security in the Barents region and consider the geographic significance of indigenous groups (p.151) living in the area. Their thorough assessment of cultural preservation, justice for language and education rights, and the rights on the use of land and natural resources leads to their recommending substantial improvements in the existing legislation. This takes us to the political security in the Barents region, which is analysed by assessing the contemporary political challenges in Chapter 2.9 by *Dorothée Cambou*. Such challenges include political rights and freedoms, inclusion and self-determination, and peace and stability. In a highly digitalized modern world, digital security also takes its place within the discussion on human security. Chapter 2.10 by *Mirva Salminen* concludes the book by addressing and examining six themes: access to digital networks, availability of digital services, access to information, digital awareness and skills, digital inclusion policies and protection of human rights, and the state of cybercrime and digital abuse (p. 189).

As the book shows, all the factors, levels, and dimensions of human security are interconnected in the very structure of this volume. Each chapter is a part of the logical narrative towards the big picture and a holistic overview of Barents human security. The editors conclude that while all levels and pillars of human security are important, “one thing is certain: the protection of the environment remains a major source of insecurity in the region” (p. 205).

For me, the book was a great reading experience not only as a scientist but also as a resident of the Barents region. It enhanced my understanding of the multilevel security issues for my own well-being. The book is aimed at a specialist audience but will certainly be of interest to the general public and is indeed worth reading by the Barents region residents. It can be recommended as a textbook for college- and university-level courses on human security and the Arctic studies. And, by summarizing recommendations on strategies indicating effective measures for societal sustainability, the book is a comprehensive guide for policy- and decision-makers in the Barents transnational region.



YOUNG RESEARCHERS OF THE BARENTS REGION





Tatiana Ageeva

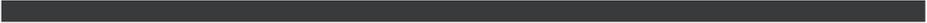
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A doctoral student in Norway, I come originally from Archangelsk in the northwest of Russia. The city is located along the banks of the Northern Dvina River near its entrance into the White Sea. Archangelsk has a great history as a river port, which used to have an important role in the trade between the Pomors (Russian settlers on the White Sea coasts) and the Norwegians. For more than 150 years the Russian settlers used to sail through the Northern Dvina River and the White Sea to Northern Norway to get fish (particularly dry saithe) and other products in exchange of grain products. The trade was so popular that it led to the emergence of Russian-Norwegian language “Moja på tvoja”. This great relationship ended in the 1917 Russian revolution, but there are still many important forms of co-operation between Norway and Russia today. In fact, one of these international links gave me the opportunity to come to Norway and to get to know Norwegian culture

In 2001, I graduated from the Arkhangelsk Fishing Industry College as a Technician/Technologist within a programme entitled “Technology of fish and fish products”. This proved to be the starting point of my career: soon after the final exam I was sent to Finnmark (a county in the northernmost part of Norway) to get a certificate in the fishing industry. The fish company where I worked produced different products from gadoid fish such as cod, saithe, and haddock. During my time in the company, I was trained in all operations of the production process starting from filleting, cutting, quality control, and ending with packing, freezing, and transport.

After five exciting years in the whitefish industry in Båtsfjord, Norway, I applied for admission to The Norwegian College of Fishery Science (NCFS) in Tromsø. As a student of Fisheries and Aquaculture Science, I enhanced my practical experience from the industry with more academic knowledge. I learned a lot about the marine resources and the development of the marine sector (fisheries, aquaculture, and biotechnology) in Norway. In 2014, I graduated as a Master of Seafood Science with the thesis “Comparative *in vitro* digestion of fish and meat”. Two weeks after the graduation one of my examiners offered me a job as a PhD student at Nofima in Tromsø, which I gladly accepted.

Nofima is a one of the largest food research institutes in Europe. The institute has around 360 employees conducting research within the fields of fisheries, aquaculture, and food research. I work with live stored Atlantic cod (*Gadus morhua* L.); the cod is one of the most important commercial fish species in Norway. “Live stored cod” refers to the wild cod which has been caught, selected out immediately after capture,



“The knowledge gained from my research on live stored cod contributes to improved production processes of fresh cod fillets and can be used by the whitefish industry.”

and then transported to shore and transferred into the sea cages. In these cages, the fish can be kept alive for up to 12 weeks after capture, and the Norwegian regulations allow the cod to be held without feed for the first four weeks. The concept of storing the cod live after catch has a history of about 40 years. The first experiences with live storage of cod in Norway come from the 1980s in Alta and the Lofoten Islands.

The cod fisheries in Norway are seasonal, making it possible to catch the cod mainly during the first five months of the year. For the rest of the year, there is a limited supply of fresh raw material. The pattern of supply and landing of fresh cod contributes to low prices and poor profit margins for both fishers and the processing industry, particularly in the high season. In addition, the periods with large supply volumes of cod lead to large amounts needed to be processed in a short time, which may lead to reduced quality of the fresh cod products. Live storage of cod gives the opportunity to solve these obstacles, with new possibilities for market-oriented and sustainable value chains for wild cod where consumers are provided with premium value and satisfaction, while the grocery retailers get long shelf-life products, very high and uniform product quality, and timely delivery.

My work lies at the intersection of physiology and product quality. It is a part of a project called CATCH: Market-oriented and sustainable value chains for cod products based on live storage (levendetorsk.no). My research goal is to increase the understanding of how the raw material quality of live stored cod can be optimized, with a special focus on muscle quality related to harvesting season and handling procedures. Wild cod displays natural seasonal variations in muscle characteristics related to fish size, seasonal feeding patterns, and spawning activity. As such, fillet attributes, including pH, contents of protein, water and fat, water-holding capacity (the muscle's ability to retain its original juiciness), and textural properties will also show seasonal changes throughout the year and therefore affect the fillet quality. Little is known about how the live storage of cod can affect the quality of fillet.

My first study considers how the fillet quality may be affected by the nutritional status of the fish and the time span between slaughter and filleting. In this experiment, spawning wild Atlantic cod were stored live without feeding for almost three months. The fish were sampled 4, 8, and 12 weeks after capture and filleted at different times after slaughter. Their muscle properties were analysed instrumentally, chemically, and by sensory properties. Our findings indicate that the spawning cod

can tolerate being without feed for up to eight weeks, but this can vary depending on the initial nutritional condition and size of the energy reserves (particularly liver) of individual fish. The major weight reduction and muscle quality deterioration was observed during the last month of the study, and it appears that feed deprivation affects females significant more than males. Additionally, the fillet quality was affected by the time span between slaughter and filleting. The results indicate that the fillets produced shortly after slaughter can get an unusual shape. In particular, they may shrink and become broad-shaped. However, this challenge can be solved by different packaging methods.

The knowledge gained from my research contributes to improved productions processes of fresh cod fillets and can be used by the whitefish industry. This makes me feel that my job is important and gives me more motivation every time I think about it.



“As a geographer, I consider interdisciplinarity the key to understanding the intricate issues facing the tourism industry in the Barents region.”

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I'm a French geographer working as a PhD student at the Geography Research Unit of the University of Oulu. I'm a part of the Academy of Finland's RELATE Centre of Excellence, engaged in arctic tourism, imaginaries, and bordering processes. My research has since 2016 focused on social and cultural construction of the Arctic from a tourist perspective. I also take part in PhD activities organized by the REXSAC Nordic Centre of Excellence funded by Nordforsk, where we study how industries such as mining, reindeer husbandry, and tourism are impacting environments and societies of Greenland, Svalbard, and the Barents Euro-Arctic region (BEAR).

I completed my BA in geography and urban planning at the University of Nantes, western France, in 2013. During this BA, I had the opportunity to study Nordic geography for a year (2012–2013) at the University of Bergen in Norway. My trips to northern Norway were my first acquaintance with the North, the Arctic, and the BEAR region. Then followed an MA in sustainable development engineering and Arctic studies, completed in 2015 at the University of Versailles, France, and in collaboration with the CEARC (Cultures, Environment, Arctic, Representation, Climate) Research Centre, one of the non-Arctic UArctic members. My Master's thesis focused on climate change impacts on tourism activities in the Swedish communities of Jokkmokk and Arjeplog, comparing IPCC projections with entrepreneurs' experiences of the field. It also emphasized the potential challenges and opportunities generated by changing climate for the tourism industry. In addition, I had the opportunity to write my master's thesis as an intern at the Department of Geography and Economic History at the University of Umeå in the spring of 2015. A doctoral project in the geography of Arctic tourism was thus a logical next step.

My PhD project explores the borders and the bordering processes in Arctic tourism, as well as the social construction of the borders of the Arctic from a tourism geography perspective. In this, the Arctic Circle represents the main subject of study, as it can be comprehended both as a geographical border and as an object. Indeed, the geodetic line of the Arctic Circle is the most common parameter to delimit the Arctic from the rest of the world, both in popular representations and in academic tourism literature, and is also marked on the ground by different types of landmarks that have become tourist sites. My main argument is that the Arctic Circle is a porous border in tourism studies for two reasons. First, some features commonly characterizing the Arctic as a cold and cryospheric environment or inhabited by iconic wildlife can be found far south of the Arctic Circle. Tourism entrepreneurs take advantage of this by branding themselves as Arctic and thus implant the idea of being in the Arctic in tourists' minds.

Second, the Arctic Circle is not necessarily seen and felt as a border from a tourist point of view, as tourists do not always know the Arctic Circle as a location. This may call into question its relevance as a border line of the Arctic in the scope of tourism.

Another aspect of my project is related to tourist practices around Arctic Circle landmarks. Rovaniemi provides a fruitful case to observe and assess tourists' behaviours and practices, as the Arctic Circle's landmarks are located in one of the most popular sites in the Arctic, namely the Santa Claus Village. The Arctic Circle in Rovaniemi has become one of the most visited and photographed sites in the whole Arctic, where thousands of border-crossings can be studied thanks to an ethnographic approach. The project here is to assess how tourists interact with the Arctic Circle as an object and how its landmarks have become tourist sites that can play key roles in generating common behavioural patterns among tourists, despite the amorphous characteristics of such a social group.

Tourism is one of the world's fastest growing industries, and the Arctic is no exception. All the circumpolar countries have embraced the tourism industry. Tourism in the Arctic is very diversified with various high and low seasons and related activities. The Arctic is also highly vulnerable to human activities, and mass tourism practices have already arrived in some areas of the BEAR region, such as Rovaniemi in December or the Lofoten Islands in summer, affecting both local environments and societies. Tourism studies also entail topics such as commodification of indigenous cultures; land competition with other industries (mining, hydropower, etc.); climate change-related issues; natural areas management; statistics; social and cultural construction of places; tourism as a geopolitical tool, etc.

As a geographer, I consider interdisciplinarity the key to understanding the intricate issues facing the tourism industry in the Barents region. What could be a more interdisciplinary discipline than geography? I locate my project at the crossroads of ethnography, border studies, and tourism geography. Furthermore, because I appreciate the importance of interdisciplinarity, I have participated in several summer schools organized by the Norwegian Scientific Academy for Polar Research in 2015 and 2017, and by the Ecologic Institute in 2015, that have allowed me to develop a broader outlook on the Arctic and worldwide issues at different scales. Interdisciplinarity means always learning from others, which is a significant advantage for an early career scientist and which will hopefully be beneficial also in my future academic career.

Anastasia Gasnikova

Senior researcher

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I was born above the Arctic Circle, in the Russian town of Apatity, and have lived here all my life. I did my Specialist Degree in Management in the Faculty of Economics at the Kola branch of Petrozavodsk State University. After graduation in 2002, I went on to take a postgraduate course at the Luzin Institute for Economic Studies, Kola Science Centre, Russian Academy of Sciences, with a focus on economics and management of the national and regional economy.

From the very beginning of my academic career I have examined questions related to the development of the electric power industry and energy security in the northern regions. Russian energy security research used to be dominated by issues of technology, meeting the needs of the administrative-command economy, but this changed a quarter of a century ago. “Energy security” expanded beyond technology, also encompassing socio-economic aspects of the bigger picture.

Today, energy security is understood as the protection of a country/region (individuals, society, and economy) against threats to the reliable supply of fuel and energy. Possible threats are determined by external (political, economic, or market-related) factors and by the condition and operation of the energy sector. Energy security is a vital component of socio-economic security at the national, regional,



and local levels: energy supply is crucial for any sector of the economy and people's everyday lives. Reliable energy supply is especially important for northern regions. Here, under the severe, cold climate conditions, disruptions in the energy supply can cause a crisis. It is a matter not only of economic damage; the lack of electric and heat energy can also harm the health of the people living in the North.

My doctoral dissertation, completed in 2008, dealt with the "Perspective estimations of energy security of a northern region's socio-economic system (case study of the Murmansk region)". The methodological approach that I proposed allowed the rating of development scenarios of a northern region's fuel and energy sector by energy security criteria. The approach was based on the integrated use of different research methods, most notably the analytic hierarchy process and the scenario method. This approach broke down the problem of energy security estimation into smaller pieces and made it possible to analyse the influence of different elements on achieving energy security in the long term. The methodology was tested by the case study of the Murmansk region.

After defending my dissertation I continued studying problems of energy security as well as questions of the development of the electric and heat and power industry, perspectives of non-traditional renewable energy, and energy policy in the Russian North. These problems are especially pertinent in Russia, as some of the Russian fuel and energy sectors were thoroughly reformed at the turn of the century. The changes in the fuel and energy industries, most of all in the electric power industry, inevitably affected the energy consumers. It is important to pursue an efficient state energy policy, to ensure that the energy companies work efficiently, and to guarantee the consumers' energy security. I believe energy security should be an overriding priority of the state energy policy.

I now work as a senior researcher at the Department of Economic Policy and Business Activities in the Arctic and the Regions of High North at the Luzin Institute for Economic Studies of the KSC, RAS. The Department currently conducts research on "Theoretical and applied problems in the regions of the North and the Arctic under the conditions of transforming global and national priorities of the economy". In the context of this work I study such problems as strategic concerns and possibilities of providing energy security in the Russian North, working out ways to improve energy security of these territories.

“Energy security is a vital component of socio-economic security at the national, regional, and local levels.”

I also have experience of teaching, having taught economics and management disciplines at the Kola branch of Petrozavodsk State University and at the Apatity branch of Saint-Petersburg State University of Engineering and Economics.

I regularly present my research results at academic conferences and other forums, mostly in Russia but also abroad. In 2008, I took part in the scientific excursion “Encountering the Changing Barents”, organized by the Barents Arctic Network of Graduate Schools for PhD students from different countries. During the excursion we visited several places in Finland, Norway, and Russia, learned more about scientific organizations in the Barents region, and gave presentations of our research. I have also participated in the annual international travelling symposium “Calotte Academy” on several occasions. Events such as these provide great opportunities for meeting people from other countries, learning other cultures, and understanding the world better. Listening to different arguments and viewpoints and explaining one’s own vantage point is good for any researcher. International contacts enable us to understand better not only the others, but also ourselves. This is why international cooperation opportunities between young researchers in the Barents region should be maintained and further developed

EDITORIAL

Back to our homes, back to the Barents roots

Larissa Riabova

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Thomas Ejdemo



Cultural policy in Ust-Tsilma (Russia) between neoliberalism and sustainability

Elena Tonkova and Tatyana Nosova



Sustainable development of small Arctic communities under neoliberalism through the lens of community capitals: Teriberka, Russia

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