The concept of social justice in the economy of traditional households of the Kola Peninsula

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Abstract. The article is based on the analysis of ethnographic literature of the late 19th – early 20th centuries, folklore and archival sources and examines the historical and cultural context and the current existence of a specific subjective concept of social justice in the economy of a traditional household, historically formed by the local Arctic population – the Sámi of the Kola Peninsula. When thinking on this concept, criteria of strict equality in distribution, productivity and principles of satisfaction of needs were identified. It is noted that in the conditions of the state colonization policy of the Murmansk coast of the Kola Peninsula, starting with 1860, the region initiated new economic relations, governed by the norms of all-Russian legislation and “colonization” legal acts prepared speculatively, without taking into account the specific rights of the indigenous people. By the example of analysis of archival sources deposited in the funds of the State Archive of the Murmansk region, it is shown that in 1870-1871 in the case of legal way of upholding their ideas about social justice in the process of resolving possessory conflicts the Sámi of the Kola-Lopar district had declarative justice on their side, unlike the colonists though they had state resettlement privileges.

1. Introduction
In the second decade of the twenty first century, the position of the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North is still the burning issue. Recognition of their rights to traditional way of life in the contemporary economic environment is the focus of attention. Throughout the world, the aboriginal population faces the basic challenges in struggling to safeguard their territories, resources, customs and traditions. Industrial expansion in the territories of traditional natural resources management significantly complicates the possibility of positive outcome in the process of defending human and labor rights of the indigenous peoples. This is due to the fact that public at large has lack of awareness about historical, cultural background and current-day idea concerning specific subjective concept of social justice, which was historically developed by every local group of the Arctic population. One may assume that it is the traditional way of living, socio-economic society system of the indigenous peoples, which are in the context of social (in)justice over the course of history. Since 2007 The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples protects their rights to self-determination, as well as their contractual rights and the peoples' right to carry out economic, social and cultural development without restraint.

In the process of historical development, the economy of traditional Sámi households on the Kola Peninsula has been changing under the influence of socio-political and natural factors. A significant role in the transformation processes was played by colonists and ethnic migrants, who brought their
economic culture to the new territory, using the same resource base in their traditional economic practices as the representatives of the indigenous ethnic group, without taking into account the prevailing “norms and rules”. In some cases, such expansion led to a violation of the established traditions of natural resources management of the indigenous population, as a result, people unwittingly began to strive to preserve their interests or “social justice”. B. Russell, noting the growing importance of the concept of justice, emphasized that “there is some kind of necessity, or natural law, which constantly restores balance. This concept of justice is not to transcend boundaries established since time immemorial” [1].

Indeed, before the Soviet regime came to the Kola Peninsula, the Sámi tried to comply with the rules and norms of organizing traditional economic activities, despite the socio-economic measures of the Russian government aimed at developing the border territories of the state at the turn of the 19th – 20th centuries, which inevitably led to an invasion of the existing system of relationship between man and the natural environment of the region.

Modern Russian and Scandinavian discourse in the field of studying the Sámi society, culture and history persists in the context of national characteristics of worldvies, did not get rid of the “colonial” refrain, but substantially evolved from stereotypical descriptions of Sámi “exotic” sorcerers dating from the 17th century to significant empirical research in Sámi history based on a wide range of sources [2, [3], [4], [5], [6], [7], [8], [9], [10].

The article under consideration presents an attempt to comprehend the concept of social justice in the economic structure of the traditional Sámi households, the aboriginal population of the Murmansk region, in the historical retrospective view. Due to the fact that there are many interpretations of the concept of “social justice”, we examined it from the point of view of the quality of public relations, covering the economic aspects of the Sámi’s life.

2. Borders of the Sami’s economic activity on the Kola Peninsula
By the middle of the twenty century, the population of the Kola Peninsula had amounted to 9291 people, which could be divided into two local groups. The first group consisted of indigenous inhabitants, the Sámi, who amounted to 18.8% (at the end of the 19th century newcomers called the Sámi “Lapps”, the same name was used in public documents of the time). The second group was colonists, who included 63.1% of the Russians, 11.5% of the Finns and 6.9% of the rest [11]. Economic working arrangement of the indigenous population was based on the informal norms and regulations, which regulated the social-economic relations within the indigenous community and maintained specific nature of the established traditional life and economic activity. The Sámi were engaged in fishery, hunting, reindeer breeding, plant gathering and other trades.

The basis of the Sámi socio-economic management was defined by the territory of the settlement (“pogos”), which determined the character of management as a distributed household. The territory of dwelling and life-sustaining activity of a family community included winter (permanent) and seasonal (temporary) housing, as well as routes of roaming from place to place, tribal lands, fishery areas. Each settlement had a well-defined location, which had natural geographical boundaries, such as mountains, lakes, stones, rivers [12]. However, the settlements’ location and their number constantly changed due to “exhaustion” of the Arctic areas, which are characterized by hard restoring of biological resources. Different ethnographic researchers of the late nineteenth - the early twenty centuries provided various data on the number of settlements: from 18 to 22 [13], [14], [11].

3. Management, distribution and consumption
The economic issues (or objectives of community holding) connected with consolidation of property rights, administration of property, resources allocation and consumption, and social labor results within the frames of community were based on a traditional law described in the works of Efimenko (1878), Kharuzin (1890) and other authors [14], [11].

Following J.Rolse's justice theory, we can consider the Sámi rural community in the middle of the nineteenth century as a unity of people living on the territory of a certain settlement, “who are conscious
of the specific obligatory code of behavior in their interaction and predominantly follow these rules” [15]. Those rules establish cooperative system aimed at providing welfare for those, who follow the rules; and since the community is bound by the one interest – maintenance of survival – then coincidence of wants within the frames of social cooperation (following Rolse's logic) enables better living conditions to all the people of the community, compared to those ones, which they could have been, if everyone had lived by means of his own efforts.

The distributive role of right had the fundamental importance in the community economic life, which promoted not only the definition of definite rights and responsibilities, but burdens and obligations, as well. Within the given context, social right serves as “social weal” [16]. The research of informal institution arrangement of economic model in the Sámi rural community and specific features household management enables to see that social justice revealed itself by creating general initial conditions for all the community members to participate in economic activity. In other words, one may confirm the existence of egalitarian type of society with equal opportunities for all its members.

In the course of our work on the topic in the historical sources we examined, we did not find examples of the pursuit of material gain or profit, thereby confirming the thesis of the American anthropologist Marshal Salins about the lack of desire to increase the volume of extracted products in the society of hunters and gatherers [17].

Economic activity model and territory arrangement of each settlement, as well as social structure of the community, demonstrated an efficient mechanism, “which had obvious internal logic and interrelation, and allowed to exercise control over the hunting and farming trade acreages in full, carry on fishery and see after a herd of deer, simultaneously”[18].

The Sámi used to have a seminomadic lifestyle, which defined their relative non-financial motivation, and stimulated them to pay more attention to the family and community relations. They have never had private field boundaries. Land was thought to belong to the State, and the Lapps used it in accordance with the established earlier common practice [19]. Land demarcation, which had remained unchanged since the beginning of time, divided the Russian Lapland into the regions in the amount of the Sámi settlements. The members of other communities never violated the boundaries of the trade areas. The farming and hunting acreages, as well as lands, were distributed according to families' number, in a proportionate manner of the staff (the larger was the family – the larger were the allotments of the land), and they were taken by inheritance; only the mountains remained indivisible, they were owned socially [14], [11]. Namely, the Sámi maintained the principles of justice based upon equal opportunities while redistributing family lands, depending on the abundance of resources and/or on increasing or decreasing family membership. At the citizens' meeting (“suim”), after evaluating the number of men-folk, who were responsible for fishing grounds, the fish could be divided by lot (with the exception of salmon) [11].

While studying the economics of the indigenous peoples, the role of the local economic and social institutions is frequently underestimated, as it is expected that the main regulations and mechanisms of their implementation are defined at a higher level. However, the formal and informal regulations and standards at the local level play a significant role, as it was shown above. They establish restrictions and relevant control over the mechanisms of socio-economic processes identifying the specific character of the established traditional farming, compliance with the local traditions and local groups' readiness to innovations. It is worth mentioning that these informal institutions are sure to be the advanced regulators of the Sámi social justice.

Among the generally accepted criteria, which are distinguished by us while creating the concept of social justice in the Sámi community, besides the above mentioned disciplined justice in distribution, there are such criteria as productive efficiency and the principles of satisfying the requirements [20].

While being in a position of an external observer and analyzing the comprehensive samples of small-size genres of the Sámi folk literature accumulated in a single family, it can be said, for example, that the criterion of productive efficiency in the Sámi community, where survival ability is considered to be the motivational impulse for traditional community holding, and strange as it may seem, the achievement of peculiar hedonism becomes the factor of beliefs about welfare/wealth, poverty/ pauperism. Just so,
in the proverbs, a wealthy Lapp is identical to a working one, and a lazy Lapp is a poor one: “Wolves always eat a poor man’s deer”; “A poor man’s she-reindeer never fawns”; “A happy-go-lucky person never obtains wealth”; “When there is concern, there is wealth” [21].

The hedonism category, that is, to live at own pace without restrictions, is reflected in the ethnographic literature about the Sámi in the late nineteenth – the early twenty centuries alongside with the portrayal of the extremely unattractive, miserable, needy, unfavorable and boring existence of a Lapp (a Sámi). In his description of the journey to the Kola district in 1895, the governor of Arkhangelsk A.P. Engelgardt acknowledged: “For as long as anyone can remember, a free son of the wide and boundless tundra, the Lapp, loves this tundra and his unimpeded wandering life”. S.P. Goppen, who was in charge of the State property in the Arkhangelsk governorate and who had visited the Kola district earlier, noticed that when the wealthy Sámi were asked why they did not live “conveniently”, he heard the answer: “What could be compared to freedom, reach of tundra and forest noise, life in a strange hovel (“vezha”) or in the hut (“tupa”)? What could be pleasanter and more healthy than daily summer food prepared from tasty fish <...>? What could be gayer than a snowstorm, when you are dashing along the smooth snow plain in your pulka (“kerezhka”) with four strong and stalwart cock-reindeer to your hut, to your family, where you could find fresh baked venison near the burning fire? No, we would never compare our carefree life with dependent one in the towns; the hovel and the hut are better for us than any stone house” [22].

External observers form an opinion on an individual’s wealth taking into consideration his habitat and feeding, as well. The traditional Sámi inhabitation included: for permanent living, it was a hut with a fireside (“tupa s kamelkom”); for temporary living, they used a tent (“kuoksa” or “kuvaksa”) and a hovel (“vezha”). At winter locations, the Lapps (the Sámi) of various sufficiency levels had Russian peasant's log huts and “tupa”. At summer encampments, they used huts (“tupa”) and hovel (“vezha”): “The first ones served as housing for the wealthy people; the second ones were for the poor”. All the above mentioned buildings were extremely ascetic, rationality in their arrangement prevailed over possibility to be the object of luxury. F.G. Ivanov-Dyatlov, the doctor of physiology, describing the Sámi menu, noted that food was always in great dependence on material wealth. But the difference in the menu for the wealthy (careful) and the poor (careless) was mostly in the amount of the used food and availability of different spices, fats and sugar among the wealthy [23].

4. Justice in a colonial context (based on archival sources)

The Messing around the concept of social (in) justice in the economy of the Sámi traditional community holding on the Kola Peninsula is impossible without taking into account the native policy of the Russian Government in regard to its outlying regions. Social (in) justice in the traditional society, first and foremost, is revealed in the possibilities and restrictions to have traditional lifestyle. “When there are visible and invisible unethical practices within the context of society, it results in socially unjust relations, which encourage inequality and stand in the way of social progress” [24].

Beginning from 1860, colonization of the Murmansk coast of the Kola Peninsula activated new management-economic relations in the region, which were regulated by the statutes of the all-Russian law and “colonization” legal actions [25]. The last-mentioned were prepared abstractedly, without revealing free state-owned lands and allowance for special privilege among the indigenous inhabitants in the fishing areas. For the longest time, the metropolitan and local authorities were confident of advanced farming agriculture development in the Murmansk region and were interested in land utilization extent as much as possible, permitting re-settlers to occupy any lands validly. But after Grand Prince Aleksey Aleksandrovich’s had visited the Murman in 1870, the attitude to farming development changed significantly [26]. And in the process of resolving possessory conflicts, another criterion was taken into consideration increasingly frequently. Namely, the Lapps, who were considered to be state-owned in accordance with the Regulation on State peasants, dated by November, 24, 1866, were acknowledged then as inherited owners of the designated allotment of lands, farming and hunting acreages until the date of legislation [27]. In other words, the declarative justice was in favor of the Lapps at that time, rather than the colonists with their trans-migratory preferential benefits. Nevertheless,
in actual practice, as long ago as in 1890, the provincial authorities advised the district heads “not to respect only the Lapps’ interests to the prejudice of the colonists’ ones at all accounts”. The new renderings of laws had to facilitate the strategic objective of the region colonization entirely by the Russians, but this fact did not justify the displacement of the indigenous inhabitants from their ancestral lands, farming and hunting acreages [28].

By way of highly informative illustration to the legitimate way of defending the conception on social justice among the Sámi of the Kola-Lapp Volost in 1870-1871, two documents can be representative: petition to the Provincial Government and the answer to it, which are kept in the Fund № 1-52 “The Kola-Lapp Volost Government of the AleksandrovskiyUyezd in the Arkhangelsk Governorate” of the State Archive of the Murmansk region [29].

In the recitals to the petition directed towards His High Nobleness, Sir Yadovin, the assessor of the Arkhangelsk Provincial Government, drafted on behalf of the peasants-Lapps (the Sámi) of the Kola-Lapp Volost including the Pechenga, Pazrets and Motovskiy settlements in March, 1870, it was stated that the Lapps are had possessed their demesne completely undisturbed, without any violation until the outlanders’ settlement, who without any permission, as far as they were concerned, captured their demesne and started to use the Sámi's hayfields and fishery areas voluntarily. The Sámi were anxious by the fact that the migrants, who were called colonists, were arriving annually.

After the description of the reasons encouraged the Sámi to apply to His High Nobleness, the very core of the petition was resumed: “we obediently ask to show understanding of our extremely hard-pressed position and to do everything possible that depends on You” concerning imposition of a duty, “the possibility to deprive and use the lodged to us hay-lands and fishery”, carriage inwards and selling a harmful drink rum. “We ask You to release from an obligation 'the Pechenga and Motovskiy Lapps [the Sámi] to send town dwellers’ horse carts’. And if possible, to evict "from our territories the outsiders releasing us from taxing circumstances; to render the right to use our facilities of possession without any restraint: hay-lands and fishery on the same terms, without the colonists' interference, and to show mercy in protecting us and preferential treatment to us” [29].

The petition was attached by the Volost clerk’s certificate, dated by March 7, 1870, in which the village headman Kipriyanov from the Pechenga community testified that different kinds of injustice facts towards the Lapps were also confirmed: “due to which they are deprived of profit resource, and they have become unpunctual payers of duties and obligations” [29].

The resolution answer on the supplications and complaints of the Lapps from the KemskiyUyezd of the Pechenga, Pazrets and Motovskiy settlements was compiled in the clerical office of the Arkhangelsk Governorate in January, 1871 addressed to the Kola-Lapp Volost senior representative.

The answer informed: while listening to the Supplication, the Member of the Attendance, the State Property Administrator Razdelov, announced that the former Governor of the Governorate, Actual State Councilor Kachalov, during his observing the Murmansk coast due to the Lapps’ applications on the colonists' oppression, and having investigated their applications, convinced and explained the colonists that they had not any rights to restrain the Lapps in using their farming and hunting acreages, as well as in the production field. The lodged to the Lapps farming and hunting acreages should be used by them, they had the same rights to carry out fishing activity on the high seas like the colonists [29].

The Kola district police officer and the chief conciliator of the 3-rd Kola district were charged with explaining the colonists that their relocation to the Murmansk coast was not aimed at constraining the Lapps' way of life. It was just the other way round, because the goal of colonization was to set the pattern in developing community holdings and organizing the improved ways of fishing and hunting industries, to engage the Lapps into a settled way of living. The provincial authorities explained that the colonists have not any right for the farming and hunting acreages lodged to the Lapps. They can settle down and use only free places under the State treasury supervision. The text of the analyzed document stated that the rights for fishing activities should be general on the water areas, where the colonists have already settled down and where the water areas were in possession of the Lapps (The State Archive of the Murmansk region 1869-1873 e I-52 il 1 f 30 sh 82-84, 86, 104-106). Hence, any illegal appropriation of the Lapps' community holdings or tightening in fishery, which are free for anyone in accordance with
the law, will be prosecuted with the recovery of all the civil damages. Documented decision should be announced to the Lapps as an answer on their applications. Provincial authorities ordered the Lapps to lodge a complaint to the Police in case of any colonists' violations. The apply for restoring justice with regard to levying the horse cart duty was responded too.

5. Conclusion
The ethnographic literature review on the Sámi in the late nineteenth - the early twenty centuries alongside with folk and archives' sources allows to draw a number of conclusions:

1. Reprocessing of the unfair social relations in the Kola North was determined by the following (historical) prerequisites:
   - firstly, by colonization church efforts and “new” population from more southern regions of the country, which was engaged in developing permanent settlements expanding commercial activity on the territories, which belonged to the indigenous population;
   - secondly, the increase of administrative and fiscal control (they were liable to duties of several states);
   - thirdly, inevitability to be integrated into exchange relations.

2. In the course of trying to make sense of the ethno-social justice concept in the economic structure of the traditional community holdings of the Sámi, the indigenous inhabitants of the Murmansk region, within a historical context, the criteria of tough justice in distribution, productive efficiency and principles of satisfying the requirements have been distinguished. The productive efficiency criterion in the Sámi community, in which survival ability serves the motivation impulse for the traditional community holding, the achievement of specific hedonism, strange though it may seem, becomes the factor in perception of welfare/wealth, poverty/pauperism.

3. In the process of studying the indigenous inhabitants' economy, the role of local economic and social institutions is underestimated in many cases, as it is expected that the main rules and ways of their fulfillment are established at a higher level. However, as it has been shown above, the formal and informal rules and regulations play the significant role. They impose limitations and relevant control mechanisms on social and economic processes defining the specific character of the established traditional holding with due attention to the local traditions and willingness of the local communities to innovations. It should be noted that those informal institutions are the most efficient regulatory ones of the Sámi social justice.

4. Social injustice is known to manifest, firstly, when there is a conflict of interests. On the one hand, there is a seminomadic indigenous population, the fishery, hunting and plant collectors' community, in which there is lack of rushing towards the increase of gaining products. There is even lack of idea to behave like that. On the other hand, there are colonization processes on the Kola Peninsula, which force the indigenous population (the Sámi) to adapt constantly to new conditions.

Currently, there are different systems of economy management in the Kola North. The search for a compromise in a historical context may lead to equitable solution of the question for their coexistence, occurrence of new regulations in the inter-cultural collaboration without prejudice to the powers of the indigenous population. The Messing around the concept of social (in) justice in the economy of the Sámi traditional community.

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