The economic basis for the preservation of the traditional economy and the original culture of the indigenous peoples of the North

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Abstract. The article reveals the current problems of the development of the indigenous peoples of the North. The problems are especially acute in places of intensive development of oil and gas resources of the Arctic zone of Russia. To preserve the indigenous peoples of the North, as an ethnic group, a prerequisite is the sustainable development of traditional industries in their traditional places of residence. The article proposes a differentiated approach to the formation of the most gentle mechanisms for preserving the traditional economy and the original culture of the indigenous peoples of the North in places of development of natural resources. For a population that has not lost its distinctive features in the economic structure and worldview, and does not want to change anything in its lifestyle, it would seem that the idea of creating ethnoparks would be suitable. The second, the main part of the population employed in the traditional economy, will live and work on the territories of patrimonial and communal lands. To enter the market (or coexist alongside it), it is necessary to develop efforts in two directions. The first is marketing, which includes the entire arsenal of tools necessary to identify, create, promote a northern product or service on the market. The second direction is production, containing the organization of production or services. In the production area, in this case, the role of factorories is obvious. For the third part of the ethnos not employed in the traditional economy, such activities are necessary that would be associated with the traditional economy, being its continuation, and thereby do not destroy the unity of the ethnos.

1. Introduction
The problems of the indigenous peoples of the North (indigenous peoples) have recently become extremely important. This is explained not only by the increasing importance of the North and the Arctic as a whole, but also by the widening worldwide scope of national-ethnic movements, the desire of various groups of the population to self-identify as a nation. The main, but not the only, goal of the national-ethnic movement is the struggle for political rights, for territory and resources, i.e. for your vital interests. In the foreign North, dozens of public organizations appeared, formed on an ethnic basis. A significant number of works by both Russian and foreign authors have been devoted to the problems of the development of indigenous peoples [1,2,3,4,5,6]. In our country, there is also an increase in the social movement of the northern peoples, but its scale is much weaker, but the requirements are basically the same. The problems of small nations here and abroad are largely similar, although they have differences caused already by differences in government.

For many small peoples of the North, the problem was compounded by the fact that rich mineral deposits were found on their territory. This circumstance significantly aggravated the problem of the
relationship between the indigenous population and extractive enterprises in the context of the emerging market in its practically unregulated form.

In fact, at present, in the Russian North there are simultaneously small-scale, capitalist, state, and patriarchal orders [7,8,9]. Carriers of the latter are small indigenous peoples. The problem is how at the same time all of these economic structures can effectively develop. And more precisely - how the patriarchal way can develop in market conditions and is it possible to develop the development of commodity production on its basis.

Even extended independent control over natural resources does not provide the northern natives with economic prosperity, therefore, state aid is of great importance. However, life on the “handouts” has its negative side, because it causes reciprocal dependent behavior, and the ethnic group as a whole begins to degrade, because from the point of view of the viability of the ethnic group, any people develops as a producer people. Therefore, to preserve the northern peoples as an ethnic group, it is necessary to preserve its identity through the development of the economic sphere based on the traditional industries of these peoples in the places of their traditional residence.

The main problem is that in a single space two cultures of peoples, standing at different levels of socio-economic development, having completely different economic structures, came into contact. According to the classical economic theory, the well-being of peoples is a monotonous function of their material wealth. This made it possible to arrange all peoples according to the degree of their civilization on the same time axis, which reflects the stages of the development process. In accordance with this theory, all “backward” peoples must follow a path that has already been passed by civilized peoples. However, as can be seen from foreign experience, attempts to introduce the practice of hiring representatives of indigenous peoples' companies by modern companies did not give the desired results, despite the considerable amount of money spent.

A number of foreign scientists put forward the opposite point of view inherent in the ideology of traditionalism of the peoples of the "third" and "fourth" world. According to this theory, the linearity of the development of society and the concept of backwardness of peoples are called into question. In modern conditions, the so-called "backward" peoples can no longer repeat the path traveled by European civilization. Attempts to artificially force them to go this way led to the destruction of the cultural and economic foundations of traditional society.

2. Formation of a differentiated approach to preserve the identity of the small peoples of the North

In our country, there are three main approaches to solving the problems of indigenous peoples proposed by scientists and practitioners [10,11,12,13].

1. Isolation of indigenous peoples from the influence of the outside world through the creation of ethnoparks and thus the preservation of the traditional relations of nature management among some natives.
2. Refusal of the policy of paternalism and guardianship, provision of full independence of the indigenous peoples.
3. Providing the opportunity to solve their own problems, to participate in the process of resolving them with minimal influence from the outside world, but with reasonable care and with the most favored nation policy.

The approaches considered give reason to believe that the truth, as always, is in the middle. It seems an extreme point of view to completely isolate themselves from the problems of the indigenous peoples. It should be noted that such approaches are found less and less, in any case, in official statements.

Obviously, a position involving absolute isolation from the real world is unrealistic. It is impossible to exist near the market and run away from it. Although it is indisputable that the most stable in its existence is an ethnic group that has its own ethnic environment, which includes: traditional economic sectors, living in the usual climatic conditions, and national culture. The usual climatic conditions are of vital vital importance to the indigenous peoples because of the indissoluble connection of these
peoples with nature. For its preservation of the ethnic environment, it provides for the restriction of the penetration of foreign influence, which destroys its foundations.

For the preservation of indigenous peoples as an ethnic group, a prerequisite is the sustainable development of traditional industries. And for this it is necessary to solve the issue of ownership of the main means of production – land [14,15]. World practice has accumulated many options for solving this issue.

Abroad, lands were first granted to Aboriginal people for exclusive use in Alaska in 1971. Then they allocated 11 million hectares (11% of the state’s lands) and $ 962 million, which had to be paid over 20 years. In Canada, this was done from 1975 to 1991 at different times in relation to the various peoples of the North. In addition, a sum of $ 1 billion was paid at one time for 14 years, i.e. 4 thousand dollars per person per year. In Alaska, a little less was paid - $ 700 each. In 1981, small Sami rights to the northern regions in Sweden were declared.

What do these agreements have in common? All agreements make it clear that full rights are given to renewable hunting and fishing resources, but very limited - to non-renewable, mineral. At the same time, the natives receive part of the royalties and deductions from the profits of mining companies.

In the future, there is a tendency to further restrict the rights to non-renewable resources of the subsoil. In Alaska, with the expiration of the 1971 treaty, the legal justification for transferring mineral resources even under the limited control of the indigenous population is questioned. The bowels are considered the property of the whole people, the whole country.

It should be noted that the political and administrative-territorial status of the indigenous inhabitants of the North is a constant object of controversy and disagreement. Within a state where the indigenous population is represented by a small number of relatively newcomers, who made the main contribution to the development of the territory, it is difficult to decide who owns the rights to land and resources of these territories. In addition, the question remains - who should be considered the indigenous population. This problem also exists in Russia. So, for example, in the Nenets Autonomous Okrug, the Russian population living in the lower reaches of the Pechora River since the 15th century can obviously be attributed to them.

One of the most urgent problems that cannot be delayed in resolving them is the problem of preserving the traditional economy and the original culture of the indigenous peoples of the North in places of intensive development of natural resources, primarily hydrocarbon ones [16,17].

For indigenous communities leading a traditional lifestyle, the most important is land, hunting, fishing land, pastures, etc. In our country, the issue of private ownership of this resource for the indigenous inhabitants of the North is not seriously raised. To conduct a patriarchal economy, it is quite sufficient to guarantee the indigenous peoples free and unlimited possession and use of natural resources. In practice, today they are transferred to communities free of charge in a lifetime inheritable possession, or on lease.

In the northern regions, in places of compact residence of small peoples, the allocation of the land fund for patrimonial, communal and family lands was carried out everywhere. During land acquisition, many problems arose. One of the main ones is the poorly developed relationship between land users and subsoil users. So, in the Nenets Autonomous Okrug, the lack of elaboration of the issue largely determines the numerous conflicts between the indigenous peoples of the North and oil companies. However, the accepted system of relations of ownership of natural resources is reasonable. Foreign experience shows that throughout the world, states, especially in recent times, are reluctant to transfer ownership of land to Aboriginal people. There are many arguments against the introduction of private ownership of land. Kurikov V.M. He identifies two main arguments that can have a very negative effect on the structure, which is basic for the northern ethnic group. Firstly, land sales may end up in the hands of people far from traditional nature management. Secondly, this will lead to deep socio-economic stratification among the indigenous population, which, in essence, contradicts the very nature of the patriarchal structure and leads to its decomposition [18]. As for the first argument, the Murmansk region can serve as an example, where the tribal fishing grounds of the Sami, Komi, and Nenets were leased to foreign firms. Often, semi-criminal elements for obtaining tax benefits and
lucrative orders are made by representatives of the natives as fictitious participants or heads of supposedly national enterprises.

At the same time, it is necessary to clearly understand that patrimonial lands are the basis for the preservation of the northern ethnic group, but not the basis for its economic well-being. Traditional industries are inherently not commodity production. Therefore, it is necessary to look for opportunities to create a northern product that could participate in the exchange of goods. In addition, he must be competitive in order to maintain his position in the market struggle.

The problem became most acute in places of large-scale development of natural resources, especially hydrocarbon ones. No matter how the oil companies strive to use gentle technology and take care of the natural environment, the pressure on the natural environment is great. In addition, an active invasion of the aboriginal population destroys their habitual environment, introduces many behavioral norms not peculiar to the ethnic group, thereby undermining the identity of the aborigines and undermining their overall way of life. On the other hand, it is impossible to stop the development of natural resources, especially hydrocarbons, which are rich in the North and the Arctic [19].

The studies made it possible to distinguish three social layers of the indigenous population, in relation to which a differentiated approach is proposed to preserve their identity.

A population that has not lost its distinctive features in the economy and worldview and does not want to change anything in its lifestyle. The interests of this population group are primarily associated with the preservation of the habitat and traditional economy [20, 21].

To solve the problem, it seems, the idea of creating ethnoparks, or territories similar to Native American reservations in the United States, would be suitable. Proposals for the creation of ethnic parks began to arise among specialists, especially after the introduction of family and community patrimonial lands into life did not justify the hope. At the same time, there was an urgent need to stop the process of rapid destruction of the traditional way of life, especially in places of industrial expansion, destroying the habitat of indigenous peoples.

According to this position, a return to a semi-nomadic lifestyle, hunting, and fishing is supposed. In contrast to patrimonial lands, ethnoparks have a greater degree of protection for indigenous peoples and the environment from the effects of oil development. To implement such proposals, a special program is needed to create compact residences where indigenous people would own their resources, be protected from industrial impact, and receive compensation.

Such an idea existed in the 1920s. According to it, the settlement of arriving people was forbidden in the territories allocated for use by the SIMS, and the cultural impact of the surrounding environment was limited. However, the idea did not pass as contradicting the socialist concept of transferring the “backward” peoples to a higher level of social development.

It seems that in modern conditions this idea deserves attention. It is supported by a number of famous scientists and specialists involved in the problem of preserving northern ethnic groups. The legal basis for the organization of ethnic territory is the Federal Law on Specially Protected Natural Territories.

Prerequisites for the creation of ethnic parks:
• the presence on the territory of a sufficient resource and natural base (fortunately, North Russia today still has significant territories that meet these requirements);
• development of traditional sectors of the economy;
• compact residence of indigenous people;
• Preservation by them of a traditional culture and, above all, language;
• The consent of the population and the administration of the territory on which this project will be implemented.

From the organizational and legal point of view, an ethnopark is a legal entity having local self-government bodies. At the first stage of their organization, it is necessary to develop a socio-economic substantiation of the ethnopark.

At the same time, we must not forget that ethnic parks can relate only to a part of an ethnic group. The main part of the ethnic group, engaged in traditional economy, will live and work to a greater
extent on the territories of patrimonial and communal lands in places where oil resources are
developed. This form of organization of the indigenous peoples’ life is enshrined in law at the federal
and regional levels, therefore, in this situation, the question can only be raised about measures to
preserve the indigenous peoples’ living environment and increase the efficiency of the traditional
economy. The state should control the places of residence of the Ministry of Taxes and the
management of traditional economy, in the territory of which large-scale development of natural
resources is or is planned.

It must be clearly understood that patrimony is the basis for the preservation of the northern ethnic
group, but not the basis for its economic well-being. Traditional industries are inherently not
commodity production. Therefore, it is necessary to look for opportunities to create a northern product
that could participate in the exchange of goods. In addition, he must be competitive in order to
maintain his position in the market struggle. To enter the market (or coexist alongside it), it is
necessary to develop efforts in two directions.

The first is marketing, which includes the entire arsenal of tools necessary to identify, create,
promote a northern product or service on the market. The task is not easy, requiring the efforts of
specialists and raising certain funds. It is necessary to create a competitive product and a well-thought-
out system of promotional events. An equally important task is the continuous marketing research of
the market, since the forecast of changes in the situation at prices, sales volumes, existing and new
markets depending on the socio-economic situation, etc. must be constantly provided. At first, when
there is still no product, this direction is costly and requires investment. State assistance and donations
are needed here.

The second direction is production, containing the organization of production or services. An
example of the development of commodity production based on the traditional industry is the
Production Agricultural Cooperative (SPK) “Collective Farm” Izhe
msk Reindeer Herder “of the Komi
Republic. This is an experiment in a joint project between the Arctic Council and the Northern Forum.
The emphasis in the project is not on production technology, although this is undoubtedly an important
component, but on the development of the whole complex of reindeer husbandry and marketing of
manufactured products. The project envisages the development of tourism, as an accompanying deer
husbandry.

In implementing the direction, it is important to consider ways of contacting a market economy. It
seems impractical to establish direct contacts between individual farms and market agents. buffer
systems are needed that would not shield the manufacturer from the market, but at the same time
create favorable conditions for it.

In the production direction, the role of factorories is obvious. The experience of using trading
factories has already been accumulated in the USSR during the NEP. MNF trade with private trading
capital was directly prohibited and carried out through state trading and purchasing organizations -
trading posts. Factories also played a role in protecting the indigenous population from the capitalist
onslaught in pre-revolutionary Russia, although they did not always respect the equivalence of
exchange and did not always stand on the side of the interests of the indigenous population. Over time,
the number of trading posts decreased, and during the period of collectivization, they almost
disappeared.

The modern trading post should not carry out simple commodity exchange of raw materials mined
by the indigenous population for industrial products, as it once was, but must comply with modern
market relations. Its effect will be greater if it engages not only in the sphere of circulation, but also in
production activities. In addition to storage facilities and refrigerators, the factory should have modern
workshops for the deep processing of products from traditional industries, the production of northern
goods, and means of transport and communications. Cooperatio
may become the prototype of the
legal form.

The role of a trading post in this case is not only economic, but also institutional, which allows
creating a buffer zone between non-commodity traditional sectors of the economy and commodity
market relations. This will allow the indigenous peoples to participate in the exchange of goods in
their usual form, and the factories will become direct participants in market relations. To create factories, investments are required, primarily state ones. Due to high costs, traditional farming has always been unprofitable. Reindeer husbandry products in the Soviet period were subsidized by 60%, animal husbandry by 35%, and fisheries by 50%.

The US experience in attracting Aboriginal people to entrepreneurship undertaken in the 70s of the last century is interesting. As a result, the United States abandoned the attempt to introduce entrepreneurship among the indigenous population, which was unsuccessful. Recently, emphasis has been placed on the development of a traditional economy and the strengthening of state aid to the population. In our country, state assistance should be even more substantial, since the indigenous people of the Russian North are least prepared for the transition to market relations.

Here it is necessary to pay attention to a very significant point. It is necessary to subsidize human labor, and not to provide all kinds of handouts in the form of benefits only because this group of the population belongs to the indigenous people. All sorts of benefits and handouts not only leads to the degradation of the ethnic group, since each ethnic group develops primarily as a producer people, but also creates a negative attitude towards them of the rest of the indigenous population.

For objective reasons, part of the ethnos cannot be occupied in the traditional economy. For the third part of the ethnos not employed in the traditional economy, such activities are necessary that would be associated with the traditional economy, being its continuation, and thereby do not destroy the unity of the ethnoses.

One of these activities is traditional crafts and crafts of the peoples of the North. They could provide employment for most of the female population. In addition, these activities correspond to the psychophysical characteristics of the peoples of the North. In national villages, it is possible to develop such folk crafts as sewing fur clothes and shoes, carving in bone and wood, beadwork, national sewing, etc. An important moment in the development of folk art crafts is the preservation of ethnic roots.

Another type of activity is related to deeper processing of products of traditional industries. In addition to creating jobs, the problem of increasing the cost of products entering the market is being addressed. Even the primary processing of meat, fish, wild plants increases the income of the indigenous population.

The modern development of an ethnos is impossible without the development of a social infrastructure: education, culture, health care. For the social sphere, training of national personnel is necessary. However, having received a European education, not all young specialists strive to return to their ethnic group. This problem is very complex, which requires careful study.

Apparently, in modern conditions it will not be possible to preserve the patriarchal order in its original form, and whether this is necessary. Market relations will still penetrate the life of the northern peoples. We can agree with V.M. Kurikov, who believes that market relations should not affect traditional nature management itself, but only its infrastructure, i.e. production, which is, as it were, a buffer between the patriarchal system and the modern market economy (mainly factories) and social (culture, education, healthcare).

3. Conclusion
In our Summarizing the above, it can be stated that the preservation of the indigenous peoples' identity in places of large-scale development of natural resources and the sustainable development of northern ethnic groups is possible by resolving contradictions and due to state regulation, taking into account the peculiarities of the socio-economic development of the indigenous peoples' compact areas.

There are a number of key provisions that must be taken into account when developing measures for state regulation of socio-economic development and preserving the identity of the northern peoples.

Firstly, the traditional nature management and the communal structure of the indigenous peoples have been developed over the centuries and optimally correspond to the existing climatic conditions.
The only question is, integrating into the modern economy, to find a way to preserve the traditional economy and original culture, using the most gentle mechanisms.

Secondly, the rejection of the policy of paternalism has greatly aggravated the situation of the indigenous peoples. In particular, this was facilitated by the position of many scientists, specialists, and government officials who criticized the position of paternalism and saw partnership as the best form of interaction with the state. The composition of the indigenous peoples, as already noted, is very heterogeneous, therefore, the choice of the state approach should be differentiated with respect to various social groups of the indigenous population. Direct state support is needed for the most backward and poor groups of indigenous peoples. In relation to other groups of the population protectionism and partnership are possible.

Thirdly, one of the main contradictions in the North is the issue of relations of ownership of natural resources that has not been fully resolved. The imperfection of these relations is the most destabilizing factor in the northern regions.

Fourth, in order to preserve the traditional nature management of the population living in places of active industrial development, it is necessary to apply a variety of forms, including using foreign experience in creating ethnic parks.

A comparative analysis of foreign experience with Russian, along with similar trends in the development of the indigenous population - the preservation of identity and traditional economy, also has differences. These differences are primarily associated with the regulatory role of the state in improving the living standards of the northern peoples, implemented through social and economic development programs at various levels.

The problem of regulating the development processes of indigenous peoples in places of large-scale development of hydrocarbon resources is extremely complex, its resolution requires the participation of many specialists and practitioners. But it needs to be resolved, and immediately, since it is a question of the fate of entire ethnic groups with a long history, and of the economic development of the country.

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