

CHALLENGES AND CONTRADICTIONS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NORTH AND THE ARCTIC: DEMOGRAPHIC DIMENSION

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The North and the Arctic have been in the focus of attention of the Russian state for centuries. They have been given special attention, provided with socio-economic preferences. There has been a development strategy for the Russian North, a unified legislative base, and the Arctic as its part has been considered mostly as a transport artery and protective borders of the country. The situation has changed upon the separation of the Arctic territories from the North. Since 2014, most of the strategic documents have concerned the Arctic, and, to a lesser extent, the northern territories. Artificial competition has been created between the regions for access to material, financial and human resources. It is hypothesized that the territories of the North and the Arctic will have different demographic development dynamics. The paper identifies the following types of conflicts: between the northern and arctic regions and regions located beyond them; between the Arctic and non-Arctic regions of the Russian North; between indigenous and small-numbered peoples of the North and resource companies; between the indigenous and old-time population and migrants (newcomers). The authors outline that the distribution of the Arctic territories also determined a different development vector of the Arctic and the North of Russia. The Arctic economy is more often represented by large corporations, and the structure of investments in the Arctic regions is dominated by enterprises' own funds; in the Northern regions, the structure of investments is more dispersed, less concentrated and corporate. The Arctic settlement system includes large, medium and small industrial cities and single-industry settlements, stationary and shift workers; in the North, there are more agricultural villages, administrative district centers and service settlements. The Arctic settlement system, compared to the northern one, is generally urban, more concentrated, more industrial and less settled. The point of view about overpopulation of territories and the need to "unload" the already created network of settlements here, about the need for a total transition to a shift model of development has more grounds in the North than in the Arctic.

Keywords: *Russian North, Arctic, development vector, strategies, conflict of interests, preferences*

Introduction

For the Russian economy the North and the Arctic have been and will be the main suppliers of hydrocarbon and mineral raw materials, metals for 'green' technologies and biological resources. The economic interest of the state in development of the northern and arctic territories contributed to the establishment of social and economic preferences for the attracted

population, while the interests of the indigenous and natives were often ignored, which created a conflict of interests in obtaining benefits and guarantees. At the same time, the other part of the country population doubted the fairness of the distribution of state preferences in favor of northerners. The issues of prospects for the socio-economic development of the northern territories with the depletion of natural resources and the closure of enterprises, including the problem of employment of the released labor force,

remained unresolved. Disagreements in the interests of various economic entities were hushed during the Soviet years. The separation of the Russian North and the Arctic was implicit. By default, when talking about the North, issues of social policy, labor law, and economic development were raised, while the issues of defense, maritime affairs, and international environmental cooperation were related to the Arctic. In this scheme the Arctic seemed to «grow» out of the North [1, pp. 4, 21].

New challenges in the development of the Russian North arose with the «appearance» of the Russian Arctic, which for a number of reasons has turned from the global periphery into the global frontier. The state was forced to give a new impetus to the development of the Arctic under the influence of both internal and external factors. Internal factors are the depletion of natural resources in the northern territories adjacent to the Arctic, and the external ones are the increased interest of world powers in the Arctic territories with their huge hydrocarbon reserves. Among scientists, concerns are growing about the redistribution of the hydrocarbon and mineral markets, as well as the scale of the absorption of Russian companies by international corporations [2, pp. 290]. Finally, there are concerns that the northern territories not included in the Arctic will be left without the state attention and protectionism [3, pp. 126], and given the current tax policy, these territories may lose the opportunity for socio-economic development.

The proposed research is based on the opposition caused by the state's declining interest in the Russian North as a common economic space and increased attention to the Arctic. Since 2014, almost all development programs and the regulatory documents have been related to the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation (AZRF). Thus the research is focused on how the current state policy of supporting the Arctic serves as a source of conflicts at various levels and determines the demographic development vector of the Russian North as a whole. The northern and Arctic regions of Russia are considered as the *object of the study*. It is a *hypothesis* that the Arctic territories, due to the special preferences established for them, will have better dynamics in terms of key demographic indicators. For its verification, we will outline the theoretical framework of the study, identify the content of conflicts related to the development of the Russian North, and then make a comparative analysis of the demographic processes in the North and the Russian Arctic.

Theory and methodology of the research

Conflict of interests in the distribution of benefits in development of world civilization is not a new phenomenon. On a global scale we have the 'North-South' confrontation [4, pp. 47]. It is noted that "countries and regions located to the north are considered to be more economically, socially, technologically and innovatively developed" [5, pp. 106]. This approach to the countries of the North allows southerners to make

claims against northerners and demand that they "divide" resources in return for their loyalty. The 'North-South' confrontation also took place in the former Russia. The North, with its harsh climate and remoteness from the country central regions, has always been considered a problematic territory [6, pp. 49, 53]. At the same time, it is the main supplier of the required resources for the country's economy. Over the years, more was taken from the North of Russia than was given back.

The current conflict of interests between the North and the Arctic was preceded by the state organizational and legal activities. In 1932, the 'Far North' was separated from the remote territories, in 1945 – 'the areas equivalent to the Far North' [7, pp. 18–31]. Today, administratively, the North of Russia includes 13 regions, the territories of which are completely the part of the Far North and its equivalent areas, and 11 regions, which territories partially belong to the regions of the Far North and their equivalent areas. Nine northern territories have an Arctic part (Fig. 1).

The nature of the conflict of interests is due to the fact that some territories or categories of population were granted special preferences, while the interests of others were ignored. The first document on granting preferences, the "Provision on special advantages of civil service in remote areas, as well as in the western provinces and the Kingdom of Poland" (1812)¹ laid down the conflict of interests: indigenous and native population was 'excluded' from the field of granted preferences, and was contrasted to the new-comer/visitant population [8, pp. 31]. The

"Charter on the management of nonindigenous (foreigners)" (1822)² also contained a conflict of interests. The document, despite its progressiveness, limited the freedom of movement of foreigners and their engagement in certain types of activities. Most of the articles ended with the words "as permitted by the Civil Governors or regional Chiefs". Conflict of interests arose during the colonization of the North and Siberia, since "when settling territories where the indigenous peoples live there is a need to reconcile opposing interests and to pursue land policy in such a way as not to offend those who want to keep their land, or those who want to acquire it" [9, pp. 5, 6, 10].

Conflicts of interests between the indigenous peoples of the North (IPON) and resource companies are of particular concern. This type of conflict is related to the fact that "a potential threat may be the building up of contradictions between the new-settlers and natives, especially indigenous minorities in terms of: city (immigrant concentration place) – village (territories

¹ Provision on the special advantages of civil service in remote areas, as well as in the Western provinces and the Kingdom of Poland // Code of the Russian Empire [in 16 v.]. – V. 3 / Under Ed. I. D. Mordukhay-Boltovsky. – StPb.: Rus. Publishing house «Deyatel'», 1912. – pp. 330–343.

² Statute of Administration of Foreigners of 22 July 1822 // A complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire since 1849. – V. 38. – № 29126. – pp. 394–416.



Fig. 1. Zoning of the Russian North and the Arctic. Compiled by the Decree of the Government of the Russian Federation of November 16, 2021 No. 1946 and the Decree of the President of the Russian Federation of May 02, 2014 No. 296

predominantly inhabited by indigenous peoples); contradictions between the need for industrial development of the Arctic and the need to preserve traditional way of life of IPON, the effectiveness of which is directly related to the environmental situation, natural habitat, ensuring their rights at the legislative level” [10]. Historically, the traditional way of life of IPON is linked to certain territories for reindeer herding, hunting and fishing. But these territories are quite often rich in oil and gas [11].

The development of oil production leads to a reduction in land for reindeer herding and pollution of rivers, changes in animal migration routes. Indigenous peoples are excluded from the extraction and distribution of oil rents. Oil expansion makes it impossible to preserve the traditional way of life of indigenous peoples and changes their culture. Indigenous peoples are forced to adapt to the oil ideology [12, pp. 71]. The main cause (nature) for the contradictions is the distribution of oil revenues [13, pp. 89]. The conflict of interests is also related to the fact that representatives of the oil and gas business believe that “indigenous people live on the land of the company that the company has issued a license, but it turns out that reindeer herders are roaming this territory” [14, pp. 132-133].

The conflict of interests of the territories was laid down in the 1930-1950s when the North of Russia

was divided into the Far North and the areas equivalent to the Far North. This division led to a conflict of interests between the residents of the “Far North” and the population of “equated areas”, since they got different regional coefficients and northern allowances, different prices for food products. The regional governors developed an unhealthy interest in increasing the “Northern degree”, and today – the “Arctic degree” of their territories.

After the collapse of the USSR, the situation in the northern regions did not improve. Enterprises were closing en masse, unemployment was growing, and the population was leaving the North. In the early 1990s, there were discussions about overpopulation of the North³ and the need to curtail the network of permanent settlements and make wider use of the rotating scheme. In the early 2000s there were well-founded fears that “the capital ready to go to the North, including the state capital, has the only goal: to take everything possible with the minimal costs for the development of the northern territories”. Another threat was that foreign investments began to predominate in the assets of the resource exploiting companies, consequently the added value could flow abroad, which is

³ In the early 1990s, according to various estimates, the excess population of the Russian North was between 20% and 40 %.

Table 1. Analysis of the federal and regional strategic documents in relation to the northern and arctic territories

Documents	Period of adoption	Number of the analyzed documents	Frequency of occurrence per 1 million words	
			«Arctic»/«arctic»	«North»/«northern»
Federal strategies	2006—2014	11	383	1,467
	2015—2021	12	447	467
Strategies of the Arctic regions	2008—2014	9	897	1,748
	2015—2021	6	1,135	1,441
Arctic legislation	2008—2021	8	24,838	2,967

Source: Legal Reference System «Consultant Plus».

a “serious challenge to the Russian sovereignty” [15, pp. 142].

Separation of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation and granting it a special status intensified territorial conflicts between the territories included in the Arctic zone and still remaining only “northern” ones. Conflicts of interest and different development opportunities also arose within individual entities (the Republics of Karelia, Komi and Sakha (Yakutia), Krasnoyarsk Territory, the Arkhangelsk and Tyumen Regions), where part of the territories were included in the Arctic. Today it is possible to highlight the already existing differences between the North and the Arctic:

- Large corporations are more often represented in the Arctic economy than in the North; the enterprises’ own funds dominate in the investment structure of the arctic regions; in the North, the institutional structure of investment is more dispersed, less concentrated-corporative, as in the Arctic.
- The Arctic settlement system is represented by large, medium and small industrial cities and single-industry settlements, stationary and shift workers; in the North there are more agricultural villages, administrative district centers and service settlements; the Arctic settlement system is generally more urban, more concentrated, more industrial and less stationary than the northern one.
- If talks about overpopulation of the northern territories and the need to “unload” the already created network of settlements, the need in transition to a rotating scheme of development have a certain basis, then in the Russian Arctic this carries certain risks due to even fewer permanent settlements. Desertification of the areas long and firmly populated, threatens to undermine Russian sovereignty and to lose the already weak infrastructure and social potential of the Arctic [16, pp. 284, 286].

The regulatory and legal support for the Arctic development and ignoring the Russian North since the 2000ies has also created the ground for a conflict of interests. During the Soviet and post-Soviet periods, a number of strategic and program documents on the northern and arctic territories development were ad-

opted. For example, T. V. Uskova and S. A. Kozhevnikov note that from 1920 to 1989 4 documents were adopted, and 9 more in the subsequent years [13, pp. 102]. With the separation of the Arctic, everything changed. According to B. N. Porfiriev and V. N. Leksin, within only the first four years (since 2014), the legal space of the AZRF included more than 500 decrees of the President of the Russian Federation and the federal laws, more than a hundred decrees and orders of the Government of the Russian Federation [17, pp. 1125]. Many researchers have noted that a review of normative and legal documents (NLD) has shown a shift in the state’s interest from northern to Arctic territories. Thus, since 2014 all development programs and NLD have primarily concerned the AZRF.

In order to assess how the focus has shifted from northern to arctic issues in normative and legal acts, the authors conducted a frequency analysis of the texts of the published documents. Strategic planning documents at the federal and regional levels were analyzed (23 and 15 documents, respectively). The federal documents included development strategies for various sectors of economy (transport, energy, science and culture); spatial development strategies, national, economic and environmental safety, national policy, information society, rural development; concepts for long-term socio-economic development, demographic and migration policy, federal district strategies; decrees on the national goals and objectives. Regional documents comprised 15 strategies for the socio-economic development of the Arctic regions. For comparison, normative and legal acts aimed directly at the development of the Russian Arctic (8 documents) were also analyzed.

An algorithm was implemented in the Julia programming language using the StringAnalysis.jl text analysis package that allowed estimating the frequency of use of the words “North”, “Arctic” and words with the same root before and after 2014. For all groups of documents, the frequency of use of the word “Arctic” increased and the frequency of use of the word “North” decreased, thus indicating an increase in interest in Arctic issues (Table. 1).

Table 2. Main socio-economic indicators of the northern and arctic territories of Russia, 2020.

Indicator	Unit of measure	The Arctic	The North of Russia	The Russian Federation
Land area	thousand km ²	4,769.5	11,810.9	17,125.2
	% of the RF	27.9	69.0	100.0
Number of urban and municipal districts	unit	66	294	2,341
	% of the RF	2.8	12.6	100.0
Population at the beginning of the year	people	2,431,518	9 858 531	146,748,590
	% of the RF	1.7	6.7	100.0
Gross regional product, 2019	trillion RUB.	5.1	13.3 *	94.83
	% of the RF	6.0	14.0 *	100.0

* Only 13 subjects belonging to the Russian North are taken into account.

Sources: Database of the municipal indicators by Rosstat, statistical bulletin «Population of the Russian Federation by municipalities» and statistical information on the social and economic development of the Russian Federation by Rosstat (https://rosstat.gov.ru/storage/mediabank/arc_zona.html).

Even more demonstrative is the comparison of the different strategies of the same regions adopted before and after separation of the Arctic zone. Thus, the strategy of the Komi Republic until 2020 contained only 5 references of the Arctic, whereas the strategy until 2035 contained 102 references. In the strategies of the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Area the number of references increased from 44 to 76, Karelia – from 6 to 19, Krasnoyarsk Territory - from 5 to 15. This testifies to the fact that the heads of the regional authorities have increased their desire to give their regions Arctic status, to integrate their development into the federal Arctic agenda.

Northern and Arctic territories in the economic space of Russia.

The structuring of the Russian northern territories is quite complex, and in the common consciousness the line between the Arctic territories, Polar region, Subpolar region and the Far North as part of the northern space of Russia is very shaky [18]. At present, many regions of the Russian North have different combinations of territories included in their composition, which creates certain methodological difficulties in statistical analysis, as well as in the perception of the information provided. For instance, the Komi Republic is completely included in the regions of the Far North and localities equivalent to them, while the polar Vorkuta simultaneously belongs to the Russian Arctic. There are regions that are entirely part of the Russian North and the Arctic: Murmansk Region, Nenets, Chukot and Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Areas (AA).

The Krasnoyarsk Territory has a special position. Its area is 2,366.8 thousand km², which makes it the third largest administrative and territorial unit in the world after Yakutia and Western Australia. The Krasnoyarsk Territory comprises 61 first-level municipali-

ties, of which only 11 belong to the Far North and equivalent areas, and 3 are part of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation-Norilsk, Taimyr-Dolgano-Nenets and Turukhansky municipal districts. In order to evaluate the indicators for the Arctic part of Russia, complete statistics for municipalities are required. The borders of the North of Russia go far to the south, thus the Perm Territory, which includes the northern territories (Komi-Permyak Area), is part of the Volga Federal District.

In economic terms, it should be noted that the entities that are fully or partially included in the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation differ significantly in development and availability of the scientific and technological potential [19]. Murmansk Region, the cities of Arkhangelsk and Severodvinsk have a base for scientific research and geological exploration, educational institutions that train specialists to work in the Arctic, and a developed production infrastructure for servicing the Northern Sea Route. The oil and gas producing Nenets and Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Areas are economically and financially self-sufficient (sustainable), while in the Arctic territories of the Republics of Komi, Karelia and Sakha (Yakutia), enterprises, organizations and settlements are closing down [20, p. 120]. Therefore, there may be a conflict of interests over access to resources within these entities. There are regional disproportions between the “rich” Arctic territories, which, for example, include the Yamal-Nenets AA, and the poorer ones (the Republic of Karelia) [21, pp. 28]. Table 2 gives a general idea of the North and the Arctic.

Research results and discussion

Demographic development of the northern and arctic territories. It is possible to assess the influence of “conflict of interests” on the development

of the territories by demographic dynamics in four groups of territories within the period of 1989-2020⁴:

- The North of Russia includes: the Russian North, territories of the entities, that partly make the North of Russia, and the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation;
- The Arctic zone of the Russian Federation consists of 8 entities of the Russian North that are fully or partially attributed to the Arctic, two municipal districts and one urban district from territories partly attributed to the northern ones;
- The Russian North includes 13 regions fully classified as regions of the Far North and equivalent areas, of which 4 entities are located completely in the Arctic and 4 ones - partially, and 5 regions do not belong to the Arctic;
- Territories of the constituent entities partially attributed to the North of Russia include two republics, five territories and four regions.

At the beginning of 2020, the population of *the North of Russia*, which includes 24 constituent entities, was 9,858.5 thousand people, which is 2,949.3 thousand people less than in 1989. The most rapid decline in population occurred within the period of 1989-2014: 110.7 thousand people on average per year, within the period of 2014-2020 the average annual losses decreased to 30.1 thousand. As a result, the number of population in 2020 was 77% of the number of population in 1989. In the structure of population decline, the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation made 37.5 %, while its share in the population varied from 27.6 % to 24.7 %.

The population of *the Arctic zone of Russia* within the period of 1989 – 2020 decreased from 3,537.4 thousand people to 2,431.5 thousand people, the losses amounted 1,105.9 thousand people, or 35.7 thousand people on average per year; including before the Arctic period these losses amounted to 41.9 thousand people and in the Arctic period – 9.8 thousand people on average per year. In 2020, the population of the Arctic zone of the RF amounted to 68.7% of the population in 1989, including Arctic territories classified as partially northern – 60.5%, fully Arctic – 73.5%, and partially Arctic – 64.2% (territories not included in the Arctic – 80.1%). We can assume that the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation was losing its population more rapidly than any other northern territory.

The population of *the Russian North*, that included 13 constituent entities, amounted to 7,822.7 thousand people as of January 1, 2020; the decrease in relation to 1989 made 1,870.2 thousand people, of which the Arctic part decreased by 955.8 thousand people, and the non-Arctic - by 914.4 thousand people. The population decline occurred mainly within the period of 1989 – 2014, by 1808.3 thousand people, 895.8 thousand people and 912.5 thousand people respec-

tively. In following years, the population decline decreased significantly. From 2014 to 2020 the decline was 61.9 thousand including by 60.0 thousand people in the Russian Arctic and by 1.9 thousand people in the non-Arctic territories. The ratio of Arctic and non-Arctic territories in the Russian North in 1989 was 32.6% to 67.4% in 2020, the Arctic part decreased to 28.1% and the non-Arctic part increased to 71.9%.

The population of 11 constituent entities, *the territories of which are partially attributed to the North of Russia*, decreased by 1,079.1 thousand people over 31 years, including the Arctic part – by 150.1 thousand and non-Arctic – by 929.0 thousand. The main population losses also occurred within the period of 1989-2014 and were 960.4 thousand people, including in the Arctic part – 151.0 thousand, in the non-Arctic territories – 809.4 thousand people. Against the background of the general population decline, the Arctic territories had a population increase in 2014–2020 in the amount of 918 people (Table. 3).

The population dynamics of the northern and Arctic territories has different “speeds” of population growth/decline. In general, in the North of Russia and its constituent parts it was observed above, we will now focus on constituent entities that have different shares of northern and arctic nature. Thus, the fully Arctic territories lost their population within the period of 1989-2020 slower than the Arctic part of the North of Russia and the Russian North, 73.5%, 68.7% and 69.7% respectively.

Among all constituent entities, that are *completely Arctic* the most loss in population was in Chukot AA, while Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Area had a positive population growth of 10.0%. Among the *partially Arctic territories*, the Republic of Komi ranked first in terms of population decline in relative figures, followed by the Arkhangelsk Region (without the Nenets Autonomous Area) and the Republic of Karelia, and the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) had insignificant population losses. The least population loss was in *non-Arctic territories* (93.0 %), where among the entities the Magadan region showed the worst dynamics (35.8 %), while the best one – Khanty-Mansi AA (130.6 %).

In general, it can be concluded that the Arctic territories of the North of Russia, the Russian North, partially the Arctic and Arctic regions that are partly attributed to the North, lost population more intensively than by the group of territories as a whole: 68.7 % and 77.0 %, 69.7 % and 80.7 %, 64.2 % and 75.2 %, 60.5 % and 65.4% respectively. The result of this trend may be an outflow of population from the Arctic territories due to the introduction of high technologies requiring fewer employees, as well as the use of the shift method [22].

For clearly and better understanding of the population dynamics in the northern and Arctic regions, their rating is constructed by the selected groups and time periods (Table. 4).

Of the four regions that are completely Arctic, only in Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Area the population dy-

⁴ In their papers, authors use the phrase «Russian North» when it comes to 13 northern regions, and «the North of Russia» when all 24 northern subjects are considered.

Table 3. Number of population in the North of Russia and the Arctic, in 1989, 2014, 2020.

Territories	1989		2014		2020		2020 by 1989, %	
	In total, thousand people	Including AZRF	In total, thousand people	Including AZRF	In total, thousand people	Including AZRF	In total	Including AZRF
The North of Russia:	12,807.8	3,537.4	10,039.1	2,490.6	9,858.5	2,431.5	77.0	68.7
The Russian North	9,692.9	3,157.9	7,884.6	2,262.1	7,822.7	2,202.1	80.7	69.7
Including completely arctic regions:	1,877.3	1,877.3	1,404.3	1,404.3	1,380.2	1,380.2	73.5	73.5
Murmansk region	1,164.6	1,164.6	771.1	771.1	741.4	741.4	63.7	63.7
Nenets AA	53.9	53.9	43.0	43.0	44.1	44.1	81.8	81.8
Chukot AA	163.9	163.9	50.5	50.5	50.3	50.3	30.7	30.7
Yamal-Nenets AA	494.9	494.9	539.7	539.7	544.4	544.4	110.0	110.0
Including partially arctic regions	4,650.8	1,280.6	3,610.1	857.8	3,499.0	821.9	75.2	64.2
Republic of Karelia	790.1	82.1	634.4	47.0	614.1	40.5	77.7	49.3
Republic of Komi	1,250.8	218.4	872.1	84.7	820.5	73.1	65.6	33.5
Republic of Sakha (Yakutiya)	1,094.1	149.7	954.8	69.4	972.0	67.7	88.8	45.2
Arkhangelsk region without Nenets AA	1,515.8	830.4	1,148.8	656.7	1,092.4	640.6	72.1	77.1
Including non-arctic territories	3,164.8	—	2,870.2	—	2,943.5	—	93.0	—
Republic of Tuva	308.6	—	311.8	—	327.4	—	106.1	—
Kamchatsk Territory	471.9	—	319.9	—	313.0	—	66.3	—
Magadan region	391.7	—	150.3	—	140.1	—	35.8	—
Sakhalin region	710.2	—	491.0	—	488.3	—	68.8	—
Khanty-Mansi AA — Ugra	1,282.4	—	1,597.2	—	1,674.7	—	130.6	—
Territories of the regions, partly attributed to the North	3,114.9	379.5	2,154.5	228.5	2,035.8	229.4	65.4	60.5
Including Krasnoyarsk Territory	675.5	379.5	448.1	228.5	437.7	229.4	64.8	60.5

Sources: Population censuses of the Russian Empire, the USSR, 15 newly independent States // Demoscope Weekly. — URL: <http://www.demoscope.ru/weekly/ssp/census.php>; Population of the Russian Federation by municipalities: Bulletin. — URL: <https://rosstat.gov.ru/compendium/document/13282>.

Table 4. Rating of the population changes in the northern and arctic regions of Russia, by groups and within the time periods of 1989—2014, 2014—2020

Rank	Change in the population, 1989—2014, %		Change in the population, 2014—2020, %		Change of rank
	Region	%	Region	%	
1	Khanty-Mansi AA — Ugra	24.6	Republic of Tuva Тыва	5.0	+2
2	Yamal-Nenets AA	9.1	Khanty-Mansi AA — Ugra	4.8	-1
3	Republic of Tuva	1.0	Nenets AA	2.5	+3
4	Republic of Sakha (Yakutiya)	-12.7	Republic of Sakha (Yakutiya)	1.8	0
5	Republic of Karelia	-19.7	Yamal-Nenets AA	0.9	-3
6	Nenets AA	-20.2	Chukot AA	-0.5	+8
7	Arkhangelsk region without Nenets AA	-24.2	Sakhalin region	-0.6	+2
8	Republic of Komi	-30.3	Kamchatsk Territory	-2.1	+2
9	Sakhalin region	-30.9	Krasnoyarsk Territory	-2.3	+3
10	Kamchatsk Territory	-32.2	Republic of Karelia	-3.2	-5
11	Murmansk region	-33.8	Murmansk region	-3.8	0
12	Krasnoyarsk Territory	-33.7	Arkhangelsk region without Nenets AA	-4.9	-5
13	Magadan region	-61.6	Republic of Komi	-5.9	-5
14	Chukot AA	-69.2	Magadan region	-6.8	-1

Note. All completely arctic regions are indicated in blue, partially arctic in yellow and non-arctic in green.

Sources: Population censuses of the Russian Empire, the USSR, 15 newly independent States // Demoscope Weekly — URL: <http://www.demoscope.ru/weekly/ssp/census.php>; Population of the Russian Federation by municipalities: Bulletin. — URL: <https://rosstat.gov.ru/compendium/document/13282>.

namics has deteriorated since 2014. The Chukot AA has risen by 8 positions, the Nenets AA – by 3 positions. At the same time, three out of five partially Arctic regions have deteriorated in the ranking (the Republics of Karelia and Komi, the Arkhangelsk region). Among the non-Arctic northern regions, changes in positions have been negligible (within two rating rows).

Conclusion

The conducted analysis of the North and Arctic territorial organization, the normative and legal support for their development, the established relationships between the indigenous and native population and resource companies allow us to make a number of conclusions and generalizations.

1. In territorial and sectoral terms, there are the following types of conflicts: between the northern and Arctic regions and regions located beyond their borders; between the Arctic and non-Arctic regions of the North of Russia for access to material, financial and human resources; between the indigenous peoples of the North and resource companies for the right to own

land resources, for participation in the distribution of the income; between the indigenous and native population and migrants (new-comers) in terms of the level and set of provided preferences.

2. Despite all the efforts of the Russian Government to switch the country's economy from dominance of the fuel and energy sector in the GDP structure to an alternative/innovative development path, the "Energy Strategy of Russia for the period up to 2030" notes that the response to external challenges/threats is to ensure "the contribution of the energy sector of the country to increasing the efficiency of its foreign economic activity and strengthening the position of Russia in the global economic system"⁵. That is, again the stakes are placed on the extraction of energy resources, located in the North and in the Arctic zone of

⁵ Order of the Government of the Russian Federation «On the Energy Strategy of Russia for the period up to 2030» dated on November 13, 2009. № 1715-p. – URL: <https://www.garant.ru/products/ipo/prime/doc/96681>.

the Russian Federation. The conflict of access to raw materials and getting excessive profits will remain.

3. The regulatory framework analysis shows that in almost all strategic documents there is a shift in state and corporate interest from the northern territories to the Arctic ones. The functions of the Ministry of the Russian Federation for the Development of the Far East and the Arctic, reorganized in 2019, do not include coordination of the entire North development, but only its Far Eastern and Arctic parts. It should be noted that the legislative framework until 2014 supported economic development of the North of Russia, including the Arctic territories. [23; 24]. The zoning of the territories of the North and the Arctic has gone through a difficult path and carries many contradictions. In fact, it is not complete even today, since regional authorities do not stop attempts to increase the “northern” and “arctic” nature of their territories.

4. The demographic dynamics in all groups of territories is multidirectional. At the same time, half of the regions that are entirely Arctic improved their positions in the rating of the northern regions by population growth. If until 2014 population of the Arctic was decreasing by 8.0 percentage points (p. p.) faster than in the North of Russia, then after 2014 - by 0.6 p.p., showing the effectiveness of protectionism of their advancing development. Thus, the demographic stability of the Arctic territories has increased. In confirmation of the noted trend, one can cite the results of a study on the demographic stability of the northern and Arctic regions, which have demonstrated higher demographic stability of the entirely Arctic regions [25].

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