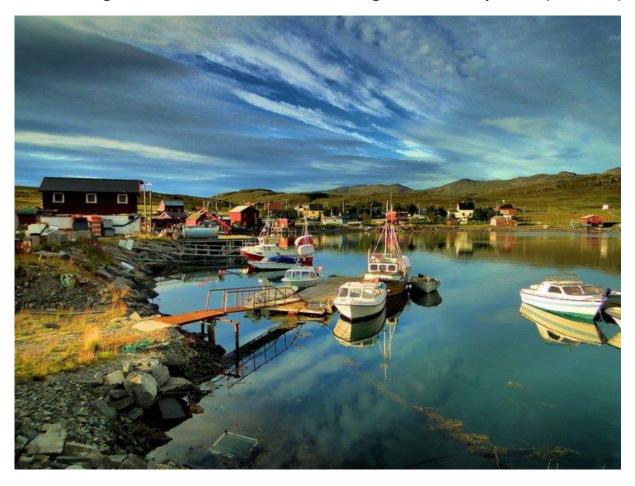
# SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN THE CIRCUMPOLAR NORTH

From Tana, Norway to Oktemtsy, Yakutia, Russia

The Gargia Conferences for Local and Regional Development (2004-14)



Tor Gjertsen and Greg Halseth (eds.)

UArctic Thematic Network on Local and Regional Development

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Photograph courtesy of Oksana Romanova

#### **Moving forward:**

Participants of the first Gargia-Oktjomtsy local and regional development conference and workshop, held June 23-24 2014, in Yakutsk and Oktjomtsy in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia). The title of the conference was "Sustainable Development of Northern Territories: Rural Municipalities in Response to New Challenges, Learning by Examples".

#### **Foreword**

#### **Greg Halseth**

I am very pleased to have attended the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary International Conference hosted by the University of the Arctic's Thematic Network on Local and Regional Development. The opportunities created through these annual meetings in the Norwegian communities of Gargia and Tana over the past 10 years illustrate the best of international collaboration. I have been involved in community development work on six continents and rarely do I see an international network that has the success, the participation, the work on the ground, as well as the ongoing conversations that this one has achieved. International networks are at their best when they accomplish multiple goals – and this is something that the UArctic Thematic Network on Local and Regional Development has succeeded with.

My participation this year is part of an ongoing commitment by the conference to bring in academic researchers who specialize in studying various aspects of community and economic development in small northern communities and regions. Over the years, researchers from a wide number of institutions, and with a wide range of expertise, have contributed to the conference and its many themes. In this year's conference, much was shared and learned from Russian, Scandinavian, and Canadian experiences. Each time, the academic researchers contribute a great deal and also learn a great deal.

In addition, there is also participation by people interested in policy matters. Over the years this participation has come from government, community, and various non-profit organizations. Again this year, there was tremendous participation by a wide range of non-profit and government representatives. The information and perspectives they contributed was critical and helped to widen and improve the dialogue of the conference.

But community development and economic change happens "on the ground" and in communities. That is why one of the key strengths of the international conference is that it also brings representatives from communities so that they can share their stories, listen to the presentations, and participate in the discussion. Again this year, the most valuable part was to

hear from community speakers about the projects they are working on and the successes they are creating.

Together, this range of participation helps not only to broaden our awareness and understanding about matters critical to northern community and economic development, but the creation of this knowledge base is a key tool for successfully dealing with the challenges of change and for taking up the opportunities that they present. In addition, the international conference and the conversations it supports help to foster the creation of new friendships, new relationships, and better understandings. Many projects have been created out of the international conference and its conversations between researchers, policy advocates, and community representatives. Again this year, the excitement created by the conversations is leading to serious discussions about future projects to help better understand the opportunities and challenges facing northern communities and regions.

I must mention the active work of the Network in mobilizing applied projects in Norway and a number of Russian Republics. Applied work on the ground, bringing together the best of the lessons from the international Network conversations, has helped communities develop for the better. It has helped in workshops where they learn to reimagine and re-bundle their assets so as to create opportunities that fit with local aspirations for themselves, their children, their community, and their region. This is the legacy of the Network to date and a terrific foundation from which to start its next era of activity.

It was a great pleasure to attend the 10th anniversary International Conference. I learned a great deal that will help with my own work and I hope my contribution was also of value. But the 10th anniversary meeting also marks a time for growth and change within the Network. I would like to use this opportunity to extend my personal thanks to Tor Gjertsen who has created a foundation of collaboration and action that is unrivaled in international research networks. I know that it has taken a great deal of work and personal sacrifice, but this is a legacy of which he should be very proud. I also wish to extend my congratulations to Oksana Romanova, Vice-Director of the Institute of Finance and Economics at the Northeastern Federal University in Yakutsk, who now assumes leadership of the Network. Times are always changing and there are always challenges to maintaining an international collaborative network. However, I know that in your capable hands the Network will explore new opportunities and

will build upon its successful foundation to create a next generation of legacies and impacts. I look forward to working with you in the future.

We all seek resilient and sustainable communities, economies, cultures, and environments. The success of the Network stands as its own tremendous testament to the leadership and to all its participants. As it moves to new and capable hands, I look forward to its continued success and to its international leadership role within the UArctic as the Network takes up opportunities to share its success and teach others about what can be accomplished by working together.

Greg Halseth University of Northern British Columbia, Canada

#### Introduction

#### **Tor Gjertsen**

There are many big issues facing small communities. Rural and remote regions in most developed economies are dealing with long-term economic and social change. These changes are increasing with the accelerating pace of the global economy. Across the Circumpolar North, this involves many different types of communities, including Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities; places with different levels and types of resource dependence; different histories, economies, political structures, and demographics; different spatial relationships with other places in the region; and different capacities to cope with, and respond to, change. The key question concerns how to best address these changes.

There are several key stakeholders that can play an important role in addressing these changes. For communities, the experiences with economic and social changes can be similar, even if the local details vary. There is a good opportunity to support mutual learning across communities. This mutual learning can be grounded in key lessons learned throughout different stages of the local and regional development process. For government, staff and policy makers are often on the front line to provide assistance and address crises. While they are often challenged by the pace of change, they must respond. For government stakeholders, there are opportunities to learn, to collaborate, and to build collaborative partnerships that can help mobilize supports and resources for small communities. While there is a lot of academic knowledge from different contexts, there are opportunities as well for the research community to learn from governments and communities, to learn from different regional and national settings, and to mobilize and test new knowledge.

#### **An Opportunity**

Through this book, the contributions made by many participating stakeholders are brought together to present and illustrate elements of a more holistic and integrated approach to local and regional development. At its core, the book confronts critical issues and ways to facilitate

Gargia conferences | 2004 - 2014

positive change for communities that are experiencing economic and social transformation. The issues and lessons outlined in this book are grounded in the experiences acquired with the project for local and regional development workshops and partnerships, the Gargia Conference, and the Thematic Network for Local and Regional Development initiated in 2003 by Finnmark University College, Norway, in cooperation with the University of the Arctic. These conferences were structured to tackle specific problems and were supported through plenaries, dialogues, and workshops. The first conference on regional development in the Circumpolar North was held in the spring of 2004 at "Gargia Fjellstue", a guest house and tourist establishment in a small Sami community outside of Alta, where Finnmark University College was situated.

The first Gargia conference was mainly dedicated to planning for the next local development workshop - in the Municipality of Tana, in Eastern Finnmark. In addition to its function as a meeting place and forum for discussion of issues of common interest for the participants and stakeholders in the local and regional development workshops, the conference was used to build knowledge and capacity in the thematic field of local and regional development, among faculty members in the Resource Group behind the new research and development project, as well as the 'practitioners' who took part. People with special knowledge and competences in relation to the different issues raised, from far and near, were invited as keynote speakers at the conference. Each conference strategically selected roughly 40 to 50 community representatives, local and regional government speakers, representatives of development agencies, and researchers in order to facilitate a good discussion about the critical issues facing small places. They were also held in rural settings in order to keep the discussions grounded and focused, 9 out of 10 Conferences were held at "Gargia Fjellstue". The last Conference held in Norway was held in Tana to celebrate where the local and regional development workshops and partnerships started. A decennium later, in spring 2014, the Gargia Conference for Regional Development in the Circumpolar North, together with the UArctic Thematic Network on Local and Regional Development were moved from Alta to Yakutsk, more precisely to the Institute of Finance and Economics at the North-eastern Federal University (NEFU), under the new leadership of Oksana Romanova, Vice-Director of the Institute. In June 2014, she was responsible for the organization of the first international Gargia-Oktemtsy conference, in Oktemtsy, a rural municipality not far from Yakutsk. It was here that the UArctic Network in 2009 organized the first local development workshop and business school in Yakutia.

Detailed later by Tor Gjertsen, the Gargia Conferences were initiated to respond to the social and economic crises being experienced in small places across the Circumpolar North. In the beginning, stakeholders called for assistance, but they asked for assistance that was practical and real. Following the work taking place in these communities, a bigger platform to discuss challenges and opportunities in the new rural economy was needed. The Gargia Conferences provided an opportunity to select and work through specific issues. The conferences and dialogue, however, was not enough. The learnings and capacity that was developed through the conferences needed to be supported by action and application. There was also a strong desire to 'export' the lessons that were being learned to other regions and countries in the Circumpolar North. This led to the creation in 2006 of the Thematic Network on Local and Regional Development through the University of the Arctic.

A second opportunity was to expand and formalize previous local development and training projects into more comprehensive local and regional development workshops that fostered collaborative dialogue locally, as well as with neighbouring communities and distant partners and agencies. These began with rural communities in Finnmark, Norway, but soon expanded internationally. In these communities, it functioned first as a source of experience and knowledge, but they evolved as stakeholders assumed ownership over their own local and regional development workshops. Overall, workshops have been held in 42 communities in Northern Finland (2), Norway (12), and Russia (28) between 2004 and 2014, half of them including business schools for 'start ups', people who wanted to start their own business, but also for experienced social and economic entrepreneurs.

Experience has proven that it is also critical to build capacity and develop training in local and regional development. Apart from the special training programs of the development workshops and business schools, advanced emphasis courses in management of local and regional development have been developed and delivered by the Thematic Network since 2006. Capacity building has been done mainly through the integration of theory and praxis-based knowledge and competences. There are connections to international bachelor and masters programs, summer schools and institutes, as well as student and teacher exchange programs that are supported through national and international relationships within the University of the Arctic.

Through the business schools, organized mainly in Russia in connection with the local and regional development workshops, the international network has contributed to the establishment of many new businesses and workplaces, and other local economic development initiatives. This has involved the delivery of basic business and entrepreneurial training. It has also been accompanied by formal study programs that include applied training activities such as business planning. Building local experience and supporting ongoing education and training has been the most important aspect of the Thematic Network on Local and Regional Development. Overall, the workshops represent a multi-faceted and integrated approach that is applied in purpose and international in scope. They are also built on a foundation of respect for people and diverse cultures. Furthermore, the capacities that are developed through these workshops are mobilized through an emphasis on place-based capacities and assets. Each activity and event initiated and organized by the thematic network has been structured to foster openness, respect, understanding, and trust in order to guide mutual learning towards effective action.

This book is different from other books about local and regional development. It is not the usual academic text. There are contributions from politicians, bureaucrats, and civil administrative staff at different levels of government. There are also contributions by local, regional, and national development agencies. These contributions are assembled alongside voices from the academic, business, non-profit, cultural, political, and broader community sectors. Furthermore, the voices include many Indigenous organizations and governments from across the Circumpolar North. As a result, the form and format of the chapters in the book vary. Some are formal, some are dialogues, but all are committed to sharing experiences, addressing challenges, and mobilizing action for positive change. It is our hope that through its contributions, this book can provide a focal point to share information and build capacity that is grounded in the integration of theory- and practice-based knowledge.

#### **Outline**

The opening section of the book includes a foreword by Greg Halseth, this introduction, and an historical background to the Gargia Conferences (including details of the local and regional development workshops and partnerships) by Tor Gjertsen. To celebrate the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Gargia conferences, and yet share the most up-to-date information, the main sections include as many as possible presentations from the last six conferences (2009-2014).

Section One is focused on the role of municipal and regional authorities in supporting and leading change and development in rural communities across the Circumpolar North. The four contributions are from the June 2014 Gargia-Oktemtsy conference held in the rural municipality of Oktemtsy just outside of Yakutsk in the Sakha Republic, Russia. Contributions are from Oksana Romanova and Klavdiya Barashkova, Vera Smorchkova and Alexey Titovskiy, Galina Knyezeva and Ekaterina Kniazeva, and Tor Gjertsen.

Section Two includes four contributions that discuss the important topic of building capacity for sustainable business and community development in the Circumpolar North. All but one of the contributions are from the Gargia-Tana Conference in 2013. Contributions are from Nils Aarsæther, Julia Loginova, Stig Hansen, and Gunnar Reinholdtsen.

Section Three builds upon the Gargia Conference 2012 on "Youth, Entrepreneurship and Rural Development". The focus of the three chapters in this section is on how to retain and train youth in rural communities to support innovation and entrepreneurship. Contributions are from Tor Helge Reinsnes Moen and Trond Einar Persen, Valeria Gjertsen, and Øyvind Berg and Tor Gjertsen.

Section Four is a collection of four chapters that explore issues related to sport, tourism, and place development in the Circumpolar North. Contributions are from Julia Loginova and Valerij Rochev, Yngve Johansen, Galina Gabucheva, and Eeva-Maarit Aikio.

The Fifth Section presents four chapters that explore the topic of control over natural resources as a prerequisite for social and economic development in Indigenous communities and regions in the Circumpolar North. Contributions are from Svein Lund, Steinar Pedersen, Vyasheslav Shadrin, and Stefan Mikaelson.

Section Six consists of four chapters that are dedicated to exploring coping strategies as small communities respond to the restructuring challenges associated with the global economy. Contributions are from Greg Halseth (together with Don Mason, Laura Ryser, Sean Markey and Marleen Morris), Natalia Okhlopkova, Nils Aarsæther, and Jan Henry Keskitalo.

The final section of the book, includes a conclusion by Tor Gjertsen and an Afterword by the new leader of the UArctic's Thematic Network on Local and Regional Development Oksana Romanova.

Contributor biographies are listed at the end of the book.

Tor Gjertsen
UiT The Arctic University of Norway

The Gargia-Oktemtsy Conferences 2004-14:

Knowledge and capacity building for sustainable business and community development in the Circumpolar North

#### **Tor Gjertsen**

#### **Background**

A new crisis in the fisheries in northern Norway around the millennium added to the social and economic problems coastal communities already were struggling with - bankruptcies in cornerstone fish industries, increasing unemployment, and out-migration. As if that was not enough, local authorities in these remote rural communities of the northern periphery, especially on the coast of Finnmark (the northernmost county of Norway), had to cut back on expenditures on public services. Problems in recruiting competent staff and reductions in the quality of basic public services were common. As usual there were many different causes behind the latest crisis in the fishing communities of northern Norway, from reduction in deliveries of raw material to land-based processing plants, to changes in ownership, and the reorganization of the industry as a direct consequence of dramatic changes in the global fish market. Because most of the fish landed in these small, remote rural communities was exported, they were as affected by globalization as much as central urban communities; or maybe even more. The new crisis situation was understood by many locals as a vicious circle, that they could not find their way out of. Besides, nobody outside the fishing communities seemed to care, not even the central government. Growing pessimism and out-migration was the result. While some coastal municipalities expected somebody from outside to come and solve their problems, others came up with their own solutions, using different strategies for crisis management, and for social and economic change and development.

The main reason and objective behind the establishment of Finnmark University College (FiUC), and other regional university colleges in Norway during the 1960s, was to educate the kind of professionals that the periphery needed and actively contribute to local and regional development. This should be done mainly through the production of more applied courses, study programs, and research. These should be based on the needs and interests of the people

of the regions. This was done only partially, in the best of cases. It turned out that the centrifugal power in academia was as strong as in all other sectors of society. Regional university colleges wanted to become full-fledged universities, not second-best universities of applied science. As a consequence they often turned their back on their original mission: knowledge and capacity building relevant for the people in the periphery.

At the end of the 1990s there was a widespread perception among people in Finnmark, as in many other counties in the periphery, that the reform with regional university colleges had failed this main purpose. In spite of the fact that FiUC was one of the regional university colleges in Norway with the highest number of decentralized course and study programs, it was included in the general criticism. According to its strongest critics on the coast of Finnmark, including some mayors of the crisis-struck municipalities, FiUC was perceived as; "a withdrawn, self-sufficient academic institution as all the rest..., with study programs and research projects completely irrelevant for the business and public sector of the region...".

In the new crisis that appeared in the fisheries and fish processing industries on the coast of Finnmark, at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, local authorities did not even bother asking Finnmark University College for help. FiUC was not conceived as a relevant partner. Even if not all the criticism was equally deserved, and some of it was obviously based on a lack of information and/or misunderstandings about the goals of education and research at our institution, at least some of us thought we should take it seriously. Many at FiUC felt uncomfortable with the situation and wanted to do something to change it. In spring 2003, we organized an interdisciplinary working group, called the Resource Group, at the Institute of Business and Social Sciences, to assist the coastal communities and other small remote rural municipalities in Finnmark dealing with development problems.

#### "Win – or get lost..."

In June 2003, we organized the first local development seminar in Sørvær, the main fishing community in the municipality of Hasvik, on the island Sørøya off the coast of Finnmark. The last three shrimp and fish processing plants in the municipality had gone bankrupt the year before, and 110 workers were dismissed almost overnight. It caused an acute social and economic crisis in this municipality with just over 1000 inhabitants.

We decided to invite Loppa too, the neighbor municipality on the mainland, that was also having a hard time because of the recent crisis in the fisheries. Together with the local authorities we wanted to find out if some of the social and economic problems they were facing could be better solved through more and stronger inter-municipal cooperation. They already had some positive experiences from joining forces in the public health sector, where both municipalities in the past had problems recruiting qualified personnel. The fact that the same political party, Labor (DNA), was in power in both municipalities, was another factor we thought would facilitate inter-municipal cooperation. Secondly, we wanted to use the development seminar in Sørvær to find out if and how knowledge institutions like FiUC could help in the process of solving these social and economic crises. This second point was not obvious, at least not for the political and administrative leadership of the two coastal municipalities invited to the seminar. Their skepticism is reflected in the presentation title chosen by the head of the municipal administration of Loppa; "Win – or get lost". If FiUC could not convince the representatives from Hasvik and Loppa that they actually could help in the difficult change and development processes the municipalities were going through, we should not abuse their time anymore.

Apart from running decentralized study programs, for instance in organizational development and business administration in both municipalities, FiUC was involved in various research and development projects in both municipalities, including in fisheries and fish farming. When this information was presented it not only helped improve the tense atmosphere at the beginning of the development seminar, it opened the door to new projects of cooperation. However, the most positive result of the meeting was may be the re-establishment of trust, so important for any kind of cooperation. By sending 15 administrators, educators, and researchers to the development seminar in Sørvær, to listen and to discuss development problems with the local population, including the political and administrative leaders of the municipalities, FiUC and their representatives had proven themselves as both useful and reliable partners. The development seminar was by any standard successful and had immediate positive spin-offs, first of all in the production of new applied course and study programs 'tailor-made' to fit the knowledge and competence needs of the municipalities and local businesses in a problem-solving, inter-municipal, and regional perspective.

The political leadership of both municipalities realized they could not deal with the social and economic challenges they were facing, without help from outside. They did not have the

necessary human, organizational, or economic resources. Because of the economic problems caused by the crisis in the fisheries and the bankruptcies of the local cornerstone fish industries, the municipality of Hasvik was put on the 'ROBEK'-list, that is, placed under direct state control and administration. But at the same time they got extra state funding to find their own way out of the crisis by re-organization and capacity building in both the public and private sector (omstillingskommune), 2003-08. HUT, a local development agency (Hasvik i utvikling) was established by the municipality in the spring of 2003, to be in charge of the new business and community development projects and processes.

#### Local development workshops and partnerships

The first step of a more binding cooperation between FiUC and the municipal sector in Finnmark was the elaboration of a joint research and development project for local and regional development workshops and partnerships, mainly based on our experiences from the development seminar in Sørvær. Changing the wording from seminar to workshop, and adding 'partnership' we wanted to signal the strong problem-solving orientation, the applied profile through the integration of experience and theory-based knowledge, the combination of capacity building, research, and development work, and last but not the least, the necessity of creating close and continuous cooperation through partnership agreements between the municipalities and knowledge institutions like FiUC, Innovation-Norway, etc. After a while we included a business school into the research and development project because the crisis in the coastal communities was almost always accompanied by an increase in unemployment. Because our resources too were limited, we had to prioritize. First priority was given to small, remote rural municipalities with greatest need for help, not only on the coast, but also in the interior of Finnmark, including the Sami municipalities of Kautokeino, Karasjok, and Tana.

Between 2003 and 2013, we organized 12 local and regional development workshops involving 9 out of 19 municipalities in the county. In some municipalities, like North Cape, we run several workshops during a two year period (2010-12). Bigger, urban centers like Alta, Hammerfest, and Kirkenes (Municipality of Sør-Varanger) could manage on their own. Even if the fisheries were also an important part of the economy in these municipalities, they were not as strongly affected as the smaller and more remote fishing communities thanks to their much more diversified and robust local economies. The main knowledge institutions in the county were also situated here, something the bigger, central municipalities in the county could take full

advantage of. As regional growth centers, they were also supposed to help the smaller municipalities in the periphery develop, mainly through the formation of regional development agencies. But the human and economic resources available for regional development initiatives were limited.

#### Gargia – a suitable meeting place for academics and practitioners

Soon after the project for local and regional development workshops and partnerships was launched in the fall 2003, we felt a need for a common meeting place and forum. The Gargia conference for regional development in the north, established in the spring of 2004, based on the concept and experience of the development seminar in Sørvær the year before, seemed to be the right answer. Apart from planning new local or regional development workshops and the evaluation of former ones, knowledge and capacity building in local and regional development soon became the conference's main objective. Bringing academics and practitioners from all sectors of society to discuss issues of common interest turned out to be a very productive approach, both in relation to the development of new training programs and for concrete problem-solving in the municipalities involved in the project.

After the successful development workshop we run for the recently established Avjovarri Indigenous Region (made up by the Sami municipalities of Kautokeino, Karasjok and Porsanger) in June 2006, and the organization of a new UArctic Thematic Network on Local and Regional Development by FiUC, we decided to internationalize the Gargia conference. In a couple of years the conference in Gargia, a small Sami community outside of Alta, became the main meeting place and forum for the UArctic Network's discussion as well. As mentioned, the financial means and work capacity of the Resource Group at FiUC, that organized the research and development project, the Gargia conference, and the Thematic Network, was limited. Between 2003 and 2008, we run a total of 6 local and 2 regional development workshops in Finnmark, an average of one development workshop per year.

After the UArctic Network was established in 2006 the project for local and regional development workshops and partnerships, including business schools, was 'exported', first to Russia, where the need for help was even greater than in the fishing communities of Finnmark. We started our cooperation for the promotion of social and economic development in rural communities and regions of northern Russia in Arkhangelsk in 2008, continued to Yakutia 2009,

and the Komi Republic in 2010. Between 2008 and 2013, the UArctic Network initiated and/or was involved in more than 30 local and regional development workshops and business schools in rural areas of these three regions of northern Russia, and included a total of approximately 450 participants. The internationalization of education, research, and development activities of the Resource Group and the UArctic Network meant a huge step forward in knowledge and capacity building.

The central hub in this process that accelerated after the UArctic Network was established was the Gargia Conference for Regional Development in the Circumpolar North. Unfortunately, the great success of the project for local and regional development and partnerships on the international level, came at the expense of our research and development activities in small, rural communities in northern Norway, mainly Finnmark. Between 2008 and 2013, we organized only 5 local development workshops in Finnmark, all in the municipality of North Cape. Our human and economic resources were limited, and we had to use them where they were most needed. From the beginning, the UArctic Network prioritized help to Indigenous communities of northern Canada, Norway, and Russia.

#### Tana – a model municipality

The third local development workshop in Finnmark was organized in Tana, a mixed Norwegian, Sami, and Finnish municipality, in the summer of 2004. The people of Tana were struggling to cope with a negative image caused by prostitution, alcohol, and drug trafficking from nearby Murmansk, the biggest city of North-west Russia. Through the local development workshop and partnership organization that was established afterwards, a narrow focus on image building was enlarged to a broader social and economic development process that included people from all the communities in Tana and all sectors of society, public, private, and voluntary. After working together for two years, the partnership presented a local development program to the local authorities that soon became the main steering and planning document of the municipality. The strong social and political mobilization in Tana, beginning as a protest against the issues that were little by little destroying the community's social fabric, was this way capitalized by the local development partnership and the municipality of Tana. It is a textbook example of what we would call a 'governance led' local development process. The Resource Group and the UArctic Thematic Network at FiUC were included in this process through the partnership organization. From the local development workshop, in 2004, we have cooperated



closely in local education, research, and development work. The successful crisis management and development process of Tana was chosen as the main case at the Gargia Conference 2005, on: "Community governance and development". Since then representatives of the municipality and communities of Tana have actively participated in knowledge and capacity building at conferences and in several other national and international research and development projects run by the UArctic Thematic Network.

#### The Gargia-Tana conference: Closing the first development circle

When discussions began about where to organize the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary conference for regional development in the Circumpolar North in 2013, the Municipality of Tana came up as an alternative location to Gargia because of its strong involvement in different Network activities, mainly in education or knowledge and capacity building. The political authorities, business community, and people of Tana in general have been our closest allies and partners in Finnmark during the last decennium. This included the research and development project for local and regional development workshops and partnerships, the Gargia conference, and the realization of the UArctic Advanced Emphasis Course in Management of Local and Regional Development. Therefore, the decision to hold the 10<sup>th</sup> Gargia Conference on: "Ecology and sustainable business and community development in the Circumpolar North" at Tanabru, the municipal center, October 23-25, 2013 was relatively easy. The change of location represented some minor logistic challenges, mainly in relation to funding and the organization of the conference. It was the last international conference for regional development in the North that was held on Norwegian soil, and so it was natural that it be organized where it started. Since Tana is situated in East-Finnmark, the selection of place for the conference also symbolized the move of network leadership and main activities from west to east, from Finnmark in northern Norway to Yakutia, north-east in Russia. The Institute of Finance and Economics at the North-Eastern Federal University of Yakutsk (IFE-NEFU) has been the most active partner in the international education, research, and development network from the very beginning in 2006, so also at the Gargia-Tana Conference in October 2013.

#### From Tana to Oktemtsy: Opening a new development circle

The transfer of network activities and responsibilities from Finnmark University College to the Institute of Finance and Economics at the North-Eastern Federal University of Yakutsk had started long before the Gargia conference held in Tana. The transfer of Network leadership and main meeting place and forum for discussion that followed was just the formalization of the process that had been going on at least since June 2009, when the issue of leadership transfer was first raised at the main Network meeting in Yakutsk. Together with our network partners at NEFU, we had just successfully finished the first local development workshop and business school in rural Yakutia, more precisely in the Municipality of Oktemtsy. The Network's training program initiated to stimulate business and community development has been run in Oktemtsy every year since then, and not only that, but also implemented in close to 20 other rural municipalities and regions in Yakutia, including 5 Indigenous communities, everywhere in close cooperation with local and regional authorities.

Therefore, it was equally easy to decide where to have the first Gargia conference in Yakutia, Russia, as the last one in Finnmark, Norway.

Tor Gjertsen
UiT The Arctic University of Norway

## Section 1 Local governance and development – hand in hand

"It must be both problem and problem-solving oriented, to be relevant to us."



Traditional ring dance, Oktemtsy, Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)

Photograph courtesy of Oksana Romanova

## 1.1 International partnership in development of a local community as a condition of the sustainable development of rural communities in the Russian North

#### Oksana Romanova and Klavdiya Barashkova

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#### Introduction

In 2009, the joint scientific-education project "Innovative Development of Northern Territories of Russia" was started by the Institute of Finance and Economics (IFE) of the Yakutsk State University named after M.K. Ammosov (currently North-Eastern Federal University (NEFU) named after M.K. Ammosov) in cooperation with the University of the Arctic's Thematic Network on Local and Regional Development in the Circumpolar North (led by Tor Gjertsen, professor, Finnmark University College, Alta, Norway). The project was realized from 2009 to 2011 with funding from the federal analytical agency-level target program: "Development of scientific potential of higher education for 2009-2011" (project 2.2.2.1/1054).

The amount of funding during three years was about 4,800,000 rubles. In 2012-2014, the project was extended with funding by the Development Program of the NEFU named after M.K. Ammosov until 2019. Scientific adviser of the project in 2009-2012 was N.V. Okhlopkova, doctor of economics, professor, and in 2013-2014 the project is managed by O.D. Romanova, candidate of sociological sciences, professor of the IFE NEFU.

The main partners of the international project are the University of the Arctic's Thematic Network on Local and Regional Development, Finnmark department of the Arctic University of Norway (Tromsø, Norway), University of Northern British Columbia (Prince George, Canada), University of Saskatchewan (Saskatoon, Canada), Saint Mary's University (Halifax, Canada), University Centre of the Westfjords (Iceland). Regional partners include the Institute of Research in Humanities and in Problems of Indigenous People of the North of the Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the Northern Forum Academy, and the Institute of Applied Ecology of the North.

#### 2009-2011 International scientific-research project

Innovative approaches to the socio-economic development of the northern regions of Russia are the research focus for the 2009-2011 international scientific-research project. Different aspects of the socio-economic development of northern territories of Russia are studied through comparative research analysis with the development of northern territories of Canada, Norway, Finland and other countries. During those years, scientific studies were undertaken in the following areas:

- specificity of northern territories development in Russia;
- evaluation of innovative and organizational potential of northern territories development;
- quality of life and social standards in the North;
- human resources potential of innovations;
- small business in the innovative process;
- development of tourism in northern territories;
- development model of local self-government of northern territories;
- climate change in the Arctic;
- development of human capital in the North;
- ethnocultural education of northern people;
- strategy for adaptation of Indigenous people of the North in conditions of globalization;
- and the role of social sector in organization of rural development.

A total of 12 doctors of science, and 21 candidates of science, PhD students and students participated in the international scientific-research project.

Within the framework of the 2009-2011 international scientific-research project, the sociological research project – "Problems of socio-economic development and innovative potential of municipalities of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)" – was undertaken. The geographic focus of this research project was the rural municipalities of Yakutia. The subject focus of the research was the innovative potential of development within these rural municipalities. Purpose of the research was to define the main problems limiting socio-economic development and to identify innovative potential solutions to support sustainable socio-economic development of the rural municipalities of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia).

To date, more than 2000 people have been part of the sociological research project. The sample framework for the project included rural municipalities of the northern regions, including the industrial regions (Aldan, Nerungri, Mirniy, Ust-Maya) and the agricultural regions (Olenek, Churapcha, Megino-Kangalasskiy, Namskiy, Khangalasskiy).

#### Challenges to Rural and Small Village Socio-economic Development

The research used statistical documents that reflect the economic development of the rural municipalities. In addition, tools were created to contact, collect, analyze, and include the opinions of rural citizens. One of main features of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) is that, for historical reasons, a very large share of the population lives in rural areas and settlements – 37% compared to 8% in other northern regions of the Russian Federation. This rural population is mostly Indigenous – Yakuts, Russian traditionalists, and other Aboriginal nations of the north. Deer-raising, hunting and fur trade, fishing, northern agriculture, and the breeding of dairy and beef cattle make up most of rural livelihoods. The agrarian sector in general makes up a major part of the Republic's gross regional product and employment. In general, by using indicators from the Russian Ministry of Economic Development, Yakutia belongs to the group of regions with higher than average economic development (22<sup>nd</sup> place in the Russian Federation), and by quality-of-life score it belongs to the group of regions with a medium level of development (31 place).

The list of rural municipalities of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) includes 374 denominations. The vast majority of rural municipalities are located in the Central and in the Arctic zones of the Republic. The industrial zone (Mirninskiy, Aldanskiy, Nyerungrinskiy, Lenskiy, Anabarskiy, Tomponskiy Oymyakonskiy, Ust-Mayskiy regions) includes only 35 rural settlements.

Practically all rural municipalities currently experience similar problems in relation to socioeconomic development. The main problems for agriculture are due to the natural climatic conditions of the Republic. The cold climate largely predetermines the high financial dependency of agricultural production. As well, the traditional way of life of the rural population is also breaking down, which contributes to migration to bigger villages and cities, and to an outflow of qualified human resources and youth. One of the main problem that holds back the socio-economic development of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), and the main threat to economic security and sustainability continues to be under-developed transportation infrastructure. The water route of the Lena River serves as the only transportation link for more than 80% of the region's territory. This route, however, functions only less than half of the year and is prone to natural disasters such as flooding. The seasonal nature of goods transportation takes away significant financial resources, which in turn significantly increases production costs.

Another important problem is a high degree of deterioration of many of the main social institutions, especially in rural areas. Thus, 60% of rural schools in the Republic, and 62% of rural social centers, require major repairs. Further, 20% of schools and 21% of rural social centers are in need of emergency repairs. The amount of funding for rural cultural entities is also not sufficient. The material and technical condition of the majority of rural cultural entities is extremely unsatisfactory. There is a lack of qualified professionals in the field of culture and art.

Housing is another area that needs investment. Only 46.4% of rural housing has access to indoor hot water. This means that only 9,473 million square meters of housing is provided with hot water. There are some regions where no part of the existing housing stock has hot water access.

There are also serious problems with staffing in the field of medicine. The unsatisfactory situation with respect to transportation links to most rural settlements dictates the necessity to provide inter-regional Emergency medical centers with specialized air transport and off-road vehicles. While remote telediagnostics and telesurgery services are developing slowly, there continues to be a lack of highly qualified specialists in the rural areas. The relatively high incidence of tuberculosis among the population, especially children, remains a very important problem.

The incidence and rate of alcoholism is higher than average compared to the Russian Federation, and even higher than averages found in other areas of the Russian North. Crimes, incidents, poisonings, and injuries related to alcoholism every year lead to premature deaths among mainly the working population of the Republic. The modern healthcare system of the

Republic, as well as the supporting social services, is not yet adequate enough in the given situation.

Against the backdrop of a breakdown of the traditional Aboriginal lifestyle, and a worsening of the socio-economic situation in some places, one can also observe a crisis of family and marriage. In some remote locations, for example, there are low indicators of family men. For example, among tribal communities up to 89% of the male population (of reproductive age) is described as 'without a family. The 'crisis of family' among northern people is also clear from the fact that the number of single-parent families – mainly single mothers and widows with kids – is growing. Finally, demographic indicators show that the urbanization process of Indigenous people is continuing.

#### **Rural Ecosystem Issues**

As a whole, the ecological situation in the republic, except for the areas of intensive economic development that take a small part of its territory, can be seen as favorable. The rural communities and economies of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), are closely linked to the natural environment. There are, however, some ecological problems in the rural municipalities of the Republic. These include:

- Land disturbance and lack of re-vegetation;
- Lack of provision of quality drinking water for the local population;
- Insufficient solutions for consumer and industrial waste recycling;
- Overexploitation of fish, fur-bearing animals, and ungulates;
- Overexploitation of hayfields and pastures, leading to soil depletion, etc.;
- Increase in the number of forest fires and areas of pest distribution;
- Flooding of lands, damage to settlements and economic assets and infrastructure from rising groundwater levels, collapse of the coastline;
- Unsatisfactory condition of the liquidated industrial enterprises fund;
- Unsatisfactory ecological condition of military bases and of other equipment and objects from the armed forces that were left as a result of their cutting down, reforming, technical rearmament, and for other reasons;
- Disturbance of avifauna and fish fauna habitats;
- Unfavorable epidemic of hepatitis, as well as a number of especially dangerous infections; possibility from an increase of harmful insects in settlements;

- Negative manifestations of global warming;
- Periodic decrease in the thickness of the ozone layer above Yakutia;
- Ecological damage to the Kolym region territory of the Republic due to the construction and exploitation of hydroelectric power station on Kolyma river;

There is also a question of rehabilitating contaminated radiation territories (a consequence of underground nuclear explosions) that is related to these main ecological problems.

The fragility of the balance of northern ecosystems fully puts the question of ecology among priority ones when considering any investment projects and activities related to primary as well as continuous land development. The environment's potential to purify itself is lessened due to low yearly average temperatures and wide scale permafrost. As a result, the persistence of pollutants from mining, oil and gas, and manufacturing industries lasts in the air, water, and soil for a long time. For many rural settlements, the lack of quality drinking water also remains an acute environmental and community problem. In a lot of villages, there are no wastewater treatment facilities for sewage wastes.

#### **Looking Forward – the Foundations for Socio-economic Development**

To move forward with effective socio-economic development, we must understand both constraints and opportunities. From our project, it is worth underlining two key problems that we have discovered:

- In rural municipalities, there are almost no developed innovative programs and projects;
- There is also a low level of inter-regional and international cooperation amongst these rural municipalities.

According to respondents' opinions, there are many factors that can contribute to an increase in wealth for rural inhabitants, and to building the economic potential of rural regions. Some of the main factors are:

- 1. Effective municipal management;
- 2. Work with researchers and use the contributions of science to help resolve the practical problems of local and regional development;
- 3. Stable funding for a logistical support, and improvement of construction designs;
- 4. Increase in safe and quality energy for northern villages;
- 5. Restoration of medical, commercial, cultural, and transport services of northern villages and place all industrial activities according to standards;

- 6. Self-employment in small business and services, food self-sufficiency through animal breeding produce, reindeer breeding, and other traditional activities;
- 7. Stimulating the development of small and medium entrepreneurship, which for many (except for traditional activities) is basically the only opportunity for social and economic development, creation of social and engineering infrastructure, employment of rural population;
- 8. Involvement of municipalities in regional ecological politics;
- 9. Development of state-private partnerships;
- 10. Development of ecological and scientific tourism;
- 11. Development of the system of specially protected environmental territories, which contribute to conservation and restoration of unique environmental complexes and landscapes (today about 28% of the territory), and which can support future ecotourism;
- 12. Ecological education of the population.

At the same time, we attribute a special importance to international partnerships in helping to solve the problems outlined above. Indeed, during the process of our research we found the need for an exchange of experience between the leadership of local self-governance institutions of rural settlements, administration specialists, and organizations with our international partners. This necessity led us to organize the international research conferences and workshops in 2009-2014. Also we organized annual international summer schools and business schools in Yakutsk. These were also delivered in the rural settlements of the Republic. All of these events gave a push for the development of civic activity and an increase in the number of initiatives, including the development of small businesses, coming from the local population.

#### Closing

In both the scientific and educational processes, we attribute special attention to social projects; including support for, and development of, museums in small villages and the activities of schools and kindergartens. Thanks to international knowledge partnerships, schools and kindergartens start to win in Republican and regional contests of innovative projects.

We note that participation of international partners from Canada, Norway, and Finland in the project work directly with the local population of rural settlements across Yakutia. This has influenced the growth in activity, responsibility, innovative thinking, and unity of local population which orients towards both social and economic development. Therefore, international partnerships today are one of the conditions for sustainable development of rural populations in the Russian North.

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### 1.2 International cooperation among northern regions as a factor in improving the level and quality of life

#### Vera Smorchkova and Alexey Titovskiy

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#### Introduction

In recent years, there have been many efforts to strengthen international co-operation between and among governments and organizations across the circumpolar north. Particular attention in this chapter is paid to the Russian Federation's role and participation in international projects supporting the development of local self-government for the conservation of the natural environment and the development of northern areas.

The main motivating factors for international cooperation in the northern regions of the world include a common desire to improve the level and quality of life, to protect the natural environment of the Arctic region, to preserve the Indigenous peoples of the North and their traditional cultural and economic activities based on the land and the use of natural resources. The responsible planning and management of development in northern territories, the purity of the Arctic seas and the northern rivers, and the preservation of reindeer pastures and surface tundra soils all directly affect the health and life expectancy of Indigenous peoples. They also help to protect the region's biodiversity.

Increased concern about the vulnerability of the Arctic's natural environment, the need to protect its unique biological resources, as well as the economic and scientific significance of the Arctic all dictate the need for concerted action among those states bordering the circumpolar north. Specifically, attention is need to the study of the flora and fauna of the Arctic and the impact of anthropogenic pollution on the quality of life of ethnic groups living here.

#### **International Cooperation and the Russian Context**

International cooperation in the polar regions of Russia was already a top initiative of the Soviet government in 1987 ("Murmansk MS Gorbachev's initiatives"). Development of international cooperation in the northern regions of Russia was due to growing environmental problems, transboundary air pollution associated with intensive development of mineral and energy resources, the creation of large-scale mining and metals production, oil production and refining, pulp and paper production, and energy complexes. There were also concerns about the disposal of liquid and solid radioactive waste. The seriousness of the effects of pollution in the Arctic have been realized by all the northern states.

In 1989, Finland offered to host a conference that would focus on the protection of the Arctic environment. This idea was endorsed by the governments of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Canada, Norway, the Soviet Union, the United States, and Sweden. The first preparatory meeting was held in Rovaniemi (Finland) in September 1989. This marked the beginning of "Rovaniemi process."

The first "State of the Arctic Environment" reports were presented at the First Ministerial Conference of the Arctic in Rovaniemi in June 1991. This activity marked the beginning of international cooperation in the field of protection of the natural environment of the Arctic. This process, and these reports, were subsequently adopted by all participants into Nordic Strategy for protection of the natural environment of the Arctic (AEPS). The purpose of the AEPS was made clear in the Declaration of Rovaniemi, as follows:

- Protect Arctic ecosystems and the local population;
- Ensure the protection, improvement and restoration of the environment and rational use of natural resources, including their use of local and Indigenous peoples of the Arctic;
- Take into account the traditional and cultural needs, values and way of life of Indigenous peoples;
- Regularly review the state of the environment in the Arctic;
- Identify, reduce and eliminate pollution.

To implement the Nordic Strategy, five working groups were established:

- 1) Arctic Monitoring and Assessment (AMAP), which would lead monitoring of a number of anthropogenic pollutants and evaluate their impact on all natural systems in the Arctic;
- 2) Conservation of Arctic Flora and Fauna (CAFF), within which was organized mechanisms for the exchange of information, and coordination of research, on biological species and habitats inclusive of Arctic flora and fauna;
- 3) The prevention, preparedness, and response to emergencies (EPPR) working group brought together experts to prepare the frameworks needed for international cooperation in the event of environmental threats or emergencies in the Arctic;
- 4) Protection of the marine environment of the Arctic (PAME), which led the development and adoption of preventive and other measures that would be implemented directly, or through competent international organizations, with respect to mitigating marine pollution in the Arctic;
- 5) The Sustainable Development Working Group (SDWG), where there was a preparation of proposals for measures that governments should take to fulfill their obligations in relation to sustainable development in the Arctic.

After the first Ministerial Conference of the Arctic in Rovaniemi, there were two more AEPS conferences - Nuuk (Greenland) in 1993 and Inuvik (Canada) in 1996. On September 19, 1996 in Ottawa (Canada), the foreign ministers of the eight Arctic countries - Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Canada, Norway, Russia, the United States, Finland, and Sweden - signed the "Ottawa Declaration on the Establishment of the Arctic Council". The purpose of the Artic Council was to promote cooperation, coordination, and integration of the Arctic countries, with the participation of Indigenous communities and other Arctic residents to address common environmental concerns and problems based on practices of sustainable development and environmental protection. After this time, the AEPS program was brought under the auspices of the Arctic Council and the activities and actions of the relevant working groups has continued.

#### **Fragile Arctic Human and Natural Systems**

The special nature of the Arctic is that even a weak effect can result in a significant disruption of fragile ecosystems, the effects of which may cover large areas and may last for a very long

time (sometimes for hundreds of years). The fragility of the Arctic environment, combined with the huge potential for transboundary environmental damage, underscores the importance and need hasten in the shortest possible time the transition to sustainable development within the region in which priority attention should be given to the balance of anthropogenic environmental loading and the carrying capacity of particular natural habitats.

Governments around the circumpolar north have, at the end of the Twentieth Century, stepped up their activities in the field of environmental protection of the Arctic. Against a backdrop of climate change and research into environmental impacts from industrial processes and pollutants, work is underway to increase protection of the Arctic from local and global sources of pollution. How important is it to preserve the ecosystem of the Arctic? We have learned a great deal about its importance based on major oil spills in Alaska and Siberia, as well as the damaging evidence of accumulation in the Arctic food chain of organochlorine pesticides and polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs) which have been brought by water and air mass circulation from more southern regions of the globe.

In October 2002, the Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme (AMAP) presented to the ministerial meeting of the Arctic Council. They tabled a report titled "Arctic Pollution 2002", that had been compiled over the previous 5 year period by 250 experts from the member countries of the Arctic Council (Denmark, Iceland, Canada, Norway, Russia, the United States, Finland, and Sweden) as well as countries with observer status in the Arctic Council. The report provides an assessment of how the transport of pollutants (heavy metals, radionuclides, etc..) is happening, their levels and changes in those levels, and the impact on ecosystems and human health in the Arctic. The report noted that, despite the fact that most of the sources of pollution are far beyond the Arctic, they are transported by air masses, and sea and river currents, and they accumulate in the food chain and adversely affect the health of the population of the North, especially Indigenous peoples.

#### Interdependence and international cooperation

The Arctic is a complex system of interacting regions. It is challenged by the contradictions and problems of creating and managing a functional development economy under the modern conditions of globalization and internationalization. For the foreseeable future, studies of issues related to inter-regional cooperation, about the effective use of natural resources, about the

spatial distribution of social and economic resources, and about the protection of long-term values are all vital for Russia. This can include international cooperation in studying the experiences of other countries and what they have done in relation to their northern territories in the development and implementation of social policies that contribute to improving the level and quality of life in the Arctic. Looking at these questions for local communities and for regions can support a better understanding of impacts on topics like the economic way of life, the customs of the local population, the mental health and well-being of the society, and the sustainability of traditions.

In the northern regions, especially in the Arctic, interdependence is clearly manifested due to the unity of the natural environment and the concentration of the unique spiritual and cultural traditions of the peoples of the North. Development of these areas takes place in the framework of sustainable development, the essence of which will require a sequential behaviour change in society and for individuals in relation to how we use and value natural resources and the environment. This sequential behaviour change should be planned and implemented for the benefit of future generations.

International cooperation in the development of oil and gas resources in the Arctic, the harmonization of the laws of the Arctic countries in the field of ecology, exchanging experiences in managing the development of sparsely populated Arctic settlements, understanding the integration into the market economy of the Aboriginal population, determining responsibility and management structures of power, and the strengthening of international ties all open up great opportunities for social and economic development in the northern regions.

Advancement and progress in recent years has come because of the development and work of northern regional associations. In all their diversity and specificity, they are an important part of the integration process. They fulfill their role in the implementation of the main goals and objectives of this process by working at the scale of a particular region, and they create an atmosphere of good-neighborliness and trust, and they contribute to economic, cultural, and humanitarian cooperation.

## Closing

International relations are important to develop at the federal, regional, and municipal levels. Northern international cooperation shows worldwide responsibility in the management of development in the region, and demonstrates the value of rational approaches to political, social, and economic issues. International cooperation in northern regions intensifies the processes of exchange of scientific information and innovative technologies in the management of the economic and social spheres, maintains a single integrated environmental and economic monitoring of the Arctic, and directly affects the quality and standard of living of the population of the circumpolar North.

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# 1.3 Managing sustainable development of local communities in northern Russia

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#### Introduction

One of the key problems hindering the transition to sustainable development of local communities nowadays is the deficit in involvement of the internal assets, such as business, local initiatives, leadership, and creativity. In developed countries, people's ability to self-organization and their quality of life became the main local community development concern in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. One of the settings for effective regional development is maintaining the connection between the level of local community development and its ability for self-organization. On the one hand, the activities for the development of local communities means bringing people living in the same area together, and having common interests. On the other hand, the establishment of local communities involves activities to improve the infrastructure and economy (through creating jobs, organizing healthcare and education, etc.) so that people feel comfortable in their home territory. Development of a particular area seems to be inseparably linked with the development of local communities and the building of social capital.

The analysis of socio-economic processes taking place in the local community considers social capital as the level of social connectedness of the group living in the same territory. The sustainable development of the Northern territories of Russian under a market economy defines that social capital, and its deriving social networks and partnerships, is of special significance. During the period of industrialization and development of the Northern territories under the planned Soviet economy, the raw materials export model dominated. The efficiency of the economy was determined by the quantitative increase in amount of investments and exports. However, the quality of life in areas of raw materials development was hardly improving despite that at that time the government was responsible for building social infrastructure.

After the transition from a centrally-planned economy to a market economy, Russia is still mostly a resource-based economy. The implementation of major investment projects leads to optimizing the number of workers in the enterprises, or the creation of seasonal jobs. The arrangement and development of social facilities are almost entirely the responsibility of government; business and the population are debarred. Therefore, building social capital in the Northern territories, and thereby structuring the relationships between people, makes the most important foundation for effective self-organization at the local level. At the same time, the capacity for self-organization is understood as the ability for collective approval of the directions for regional development, joint decision-making around those directions, and shared activities for implementing the decisions.

From the governmental point of view, the ability to self-organize can provide the basis for the development of local responses to local problems. Recently, local authorities are beginning to apply so-called 'interactive control', implying greater involvement by citizens in the process of local decision-making in the early stages. In this context, the development of the local community is a development of the ability to start the initiative, and to participate in the elaboration of collective decisions on local issues. Solving these problems requires an understanding of the mechanisms of local community development. That is, the mechanisms of social capital building, finding the sense of belonging and common interests among locals, as well as the ability of people to collectively defend their interests.

### Sustainable development

One of the ways to achieve sustainable development was proposed more than 20 years ago by the UN Conference on Environment and Development, which was held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. At that point, the development and implementation of the "Agenda 21" was proclaimed. When this was applied to a particular area, it was called the "Local Agenda for the Twenty-First Century (LA21). LA21 is simply a framework, the contents of which local authorities can carry out in accordance with the priorities and needs of their territory. This is because Agenda 21 is not a law, it is an international conference accord (United Nations 1992).

As we can see in many countries today, the Agenda 21 - LA21 initiative has become one of the most successful set of measures to bring social development towards sustainability. For example, in 2002 during the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg the

assessment of such work presented data on the 6,500 local initiatives in 113 countries around the world, at both the level of large regions and small towns and rural areas. "Rio + 20" announced the establishment of multi-stakeholder partnerships in 150 countries, 2015 localities (regions, districts, cities) and 20150 communities around the world to strengthen the implementation of Agenda 21 for the achievement of "The Future We Want" (United Nations 2012). A special session at the conference about the expansion and replication of best practices in partnerships for sustainable development was held. It focused on three thematic clusters: energy, sustainable development of urban and rural settlements, and water problems.

The active participation of local communities in sustainable development is caused by the fact that it is the local level, where people, first of all, notice the problems arising not only in economic activity, but also in environment, or the social sphere. Many of the problems in transition to a sustainable development are effectively addressed at the local level. Therefore, each city, municipality, or district can create a unique long-term plan for achieving sustainable development, which should be reflected in the goals, objectives, and priorities for development of the territory according to its own nature. The plan should also refer to specific activities, their duration, responsible persons, mechanisms and tools to achieve the goals, provide control mechanisms and correction plan, and the monitoring system.

The worldwide experience of local communities suggests that the fundamental characteristics of the Local Agenda approach compared to traditional forms of planning and local development are the following (Sivograkov 2007):

- The Local Agenda approach is initiated and developed not only by the local authorities, but often non-governmental organizations, citizens' groups, individual active citizens;
- The principle of partnership between the government, business, and civil society actors in the preparation and implementation of the Local Agenda approach is a key condition for the success of local initiatives;
- The Local Agenda approach is primarily a "process" that focuses on constant action and results. It is not designed as a "document" on the sustainable development of the territory;
- In accordance with the principles of sustainable development, the Local Agenda approach is based on an integrated approach, combining economic, social, environmental, and institutional objectives with the mechanisms for achieving them.

The concept of sustainable development has such an appeal: "Think globally - act locally." This means that when choosing a strategy one must take into account two aspects — on the one hand the global trend of development, and on the other hand the peculiarity and specific features of the territory for which you are developing the LA 21: including it geopolitical position, demographic situation, environmental characteristics, its history, the culture of inhabiting ethnicities, its economic characteristics, and others. Currently, the UN is active in promoting the LA 21 practice, creating for this purpose a special program of the United Nations Human Settlements Programme, UN-HABITAT, which for the past ten years also been actively working in Russia.

### Sustainable development in Russia

Russian regions and municipalities are on the way to forming strategies based on the principles of sustainable development. In particular, the Russian Scientific Research Institute of Urbanism (RosNIPI Urbanistki) explores the possibilities of adapting international practices to modern Russian conditions for sustainable development of local communities in specific model areas: Vyborg, Kirishi, Tobolsk, Tyumen, Pskov, and others (Russian North-West and Siberia). For the first time, the Russian Institute researched public involvement in solving urban environmental problems on the sample of model cities. The Tomsk region has the greatest experience with the institutions and instruments of sustainable development in Russia's Northern territories. The Local Agenda 21 was established for the Tomsk region of Tomsk oblast.

In the Russian Federation, according to the Union of Russian Cities, about 10% out of 2.5 thousand local authorities are involved in activities of LA21 or similar. The experience of the Russian regions, cities, and rural areas shows that for such a large area as Russia, there not enough local initiatives that create LA21. The reasons, in our opinion are, first of all, a lack of awareness regarding the idea of sustainable development and LA21, an insufficient number of publications in the field of sustainable community development, and a lack of information on what already exists.

It may also be indicated that in Russia as a whole, and in its North in particular, the development of local communities and the self-organization of the population are still at the elementary level. The reason for such a state can be assumed in the lack of co-operation skills and experience in the organization of collective action, as well as not understanding common

interests and the effectiveness of a collective defense of their interests. This situation can be regarded as the legacy of the Soviet period, when the general interests of the citizens were not formulated by the people, but were imposed from above. Therefore, it is necessary to show positive examples of collective action in the transformation of the economy and social infrastructure, and to enforce the involvement in positive joint activities for the development of local communities. An important result of people's involvement in joint ventures and the formation of the local community is their emerging faith in their own capabilities and their ability to influence their economic and social development.

An important role in the development of local communities is given to scientific organizations that are able to develop a methodology and adapt the experience gained in OECD countries in managing regional sustainable development. The creation of planning models based on the principles of sustainable development can significantly speed up administrative involvement in the implementation of Agenda 21. There is a great role to be played in the establishment of local communities, and the implementation of Agenda 21, by regional universities and colleges, as they are primarily about education but are not limited to education. Universities are both regional and federal entities that interact with the local communities, the local labour market, and the economy. They also implement federal educational and research policy. The former role of universities in the region consisted only of skills training, but currently the community expects to receive advice from university experts. This is especially important for Northern areas that are remote from major scientific and educational centers in Russia.

#### Sustainable development and social entrepreneurship

The phased implementation of the LA21 approach in the Komi Republic is engaged through the Center for Sustainable Development of the North, based at the Syktyvkar State University (Center). The main area of activity is the study of the Northern territories in terms of their economic, social, and environmental realities, with the goal to building a rationale for the transition to sustainable development. The goals and objectives of the Center coincide with the needs of the region as a Northern territory.

First of all, the Center's activity consists of educational programs and projects, for example, the School of Social and Environmental Entrepreneurship (School). Its experts have developed an authentic program on social entrepreneurship; they have conducted workshops and training

seminars on the development of projects on sustainable development in four rural areas. School audiences discussed projects aimed at solving social and environmental problems of their village or municipal district. As a result, some projects have received grant support from the Government of the Republic of Komi. Currently, experts from the Centre consult with the students of the School, and then monitor the social and environmental projects supported by the governmental financial aid. Social entrepreneurship is a priority educational project of the Center as social entrepreneurship creates and maintains social capital, and unites people and organizations to promote the social and environmental innovations.

The prerequisites of social entrepreneurship in Russia result primarily from the Russian State's decision to support a competitive environment for delivering social services. This decision is related to the following problem: budget allocates more funds to support the distribution of social services, but the service is not improving. This creates a high demand for additional services in childhood education, sports and leisure activities, senior services, and others. Non-profit organizations and social entrepreneurs can now compete with state and municipal agencies to provide social services.

The increased participation of non-governmental organizations in social services could be provided in the following areas (<a href="www.asi.ru">www.asi.ru</a>):

- Growth in the public demand for social services provided by non-governmental organizations.
- Growths in the supply of social services provided by non-governmental organizations.
- Elaboration of mechanisms for public-private partnerships in the social sphere.

The workshops experience allows us to make some initial conclusions about the prospects and possibilities of social entrepreneurship in the Komi Republic. Participants of the seminar represented the government, small business, socially-oriented non-profit organizations, and proactive citizens.

It should be noted that most of the ideas of those who were attending the School of Social Entrepreneurship focused on solving social problems and serving the interests of local communities. However, the proposed valuable social ideas are hardly fulfilled within the business models: social projects do not generate the income needed to support the work of the project's social entrepreneurs over the long term. In this case, the only source of funding is a

gratuitous grant support. In order to proceed from initial idea towards a business model, it is necessary to adapt the idea to a market project. The initiators of the social projects lack some dynamic leadership and vision of an adequate sustainable financial model. One of the ways to solve this problem could be a partnership of private and public organizations. This may help from the perspective of solving social problems, but it is often difficult because of different interests. Therefore, it is necessary to develop and implement a training system for the management of such a partnership.

Some experts define a significant role of local public self-government (LPSG) in the process of establishing of local communities. In the Komi Republic, in May 2014 there were 56 LPSGs and an additional 22 were in the formation stage. The most active involvement of citizens to the LPSG is in the rural areas. Thus, in the different districts of the Komi Republic the registered number of LPSG's is: Priluzsky – 17; Koigorodskiy and Sysolsky areas – 7, Ust-Kulom – 8; in other rural areas – 4. In 2013, the authorities of LPSG in the Republic of Komi implemented 22 local initiatives, more than 43% of which occur in the construction of playgrounds and sports grounds, 26% for the repair of roads and pavements, 17% for the provision of water, 9% for the improvement of the local area, and 4% for environmental protection.

These data indicate that the LPSG activities promote the formation of local communities, and the inclusion of people solving local social and environmental problems. Development of the system of LPSG in the Komi Republic is delegated to the Association of Local Public Self-Government, who provides free services to local communities in the establishment and operation of LPSG throughout the region.

# Closing

There is no clear opinion on the status of public self-government at the present time. There are various views. To some it is about volunteering and fundraising. Lawyers note its dual legal nature: LPSG with the seal and bank account is an NGO, and a community meeting could be given the status of a representative body in a small village. This diversity of opinion comes from a variety of practices of local public self-governance, its forms of implementation, areas of activity, and systems of interaction with business, local government, and regional authorities. LPSG is considered as an actor of social and administrative influence, which is able to initiate and organize habitat change, build relationships within the local community, as well as

interaction with the environment. Therefore, it is very important to study the process of local initiatives that create a LPSG, as well as the future prospects for the local communities of rural settlements.

Nowadays, the Komi Republic has enough prerequisites for the development and implementation of local plans to make a transition to sustainable development that meets international requirements specified in the Agenda 21 initiative. The Center for Sustainable Development in the North of Syktyvkar State University could contribute to necessary organizations and consultations, their design and implementation. This process may include informing and initial training of local communities; establishing a group of stakeholders and partners; data gathering and analyzing existing problems; examining prospects for the local community with a SWOT-analysis; creating the "image of the desired future"; action planning (including financial planning); preparing an integration plan with local regulations; broadcasting the plan to the population to get acquainted and to attract new stakeholders; starting working groups; implementing the plan; monitoring and evaluating the results; making adjustments to the plan, and changing some of the activities.

The main difference between the proposed plan for area management from the traditional plans of socio-economic development is in the active participation of the public in the preparation (from bottom to top) and the implementation (moving authorities and the population towards each other). Testing and adaptation of LA21 to the conditions of rural Komi Republic will contribute to a set of management tools for local development for the benefit of sustainability.

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Galina Knyazeva Syktyvkar State University, Russia and Ekaterina Kniazeva Saint Petersburg State University of Economics, Russia 1.4 Local governance and crisis management in Gamvik Municipality, in Northern Norway: The role and participation of local authorities and voluntary organizations.

# **Tor Gjertsen**

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#### Introduction

This chapter looks at the role of local authorities and civil society in responding to a severe economic crisis in a resource dependent municipality in northern Norway. In response to the challenges of globalization, the long-term community development goal is for such resource-based places to become more resilient, more sustainable, and more diverse. The paper first introduces the municipality of Gamvik in northern Norway, and reviews its historical development and economic challenges. The next part examines the response to this economic crisis by the local government, local economy, and civil society. The paper concludes with a discussion reviewing how the interconnections between economic transition, community transition, and the need to supply supports is crucial for transforming small resource dependent communities.

#### The Municipality of Gamvik

The Municipality of Gamvik (71'8'1"N) is situated on the coast of Finnmark, the northernmost county of Norway. It was established in January 1914, with a land area of approximately 1400 km² (Gamvik kommune - på toppen av Norge). Before this, the territory was part of Tana, a huge municipality covering most of Eastern Finnmark. The population in the newly established municipality was close to 1400. On June 30, 2014, 100 years later, the number of inhabitants of Gamvik municipality was 1116. Today most of the people live in the administrative center, Mehamn (approx. 800). Apart from Mehamn, the municipality is made up by three smaller communities, Gamvik (200), Sjånes (70) and Nervei (40). Fishing and fish processing is the dominant economic activities in all the communities.

Gamvik, the most important fishing community after Mehamn, was the administrative center of the municipality from 1914 until 1968. From early Stone Age people living in this rough northern location have depended on the fisheries for their subsistence and survival. Although life and living conditions for the inhabitants of Gamvik Municipality have changed considerably in the last 100 years, the strong dependence on the fish resources in the nearby Barents Sea is still there.

For the last forty years, more or less, there have been successive openings and closings of fish processing facilities in the municipality, mainly in Mehamn. As a result of this economic uncertainty, the Municipality has periodically suffered high unemployment and outmigration, especially after a series of bankruptcies in the main fish industries in the beginning of the 1990s. Although this has been a common trend for most of the fishing communities on the coast of northern Norway, the way they have handled the following social and economic crisis has varied considerably, from total dependency on help from outside (mainly the State) to solve their problems, to different strategies of self-determination and self-reliance. In the case of Gamvik, the coping strategies chosen by local authorities have evolved slowly along this continuum from dependency to self-reliance. The learning process has been both long and difficult. Until 2005, the main strategy was to find another external owner, preferably Norwegian, with the right knowledge, capacity, and capital to run the business. Heavy state subsidises were usually part of the rescue package.

But there were alternative views among people in the community on how to deal with the fishing industry crisis. Already in 1992, after yet another bankruptcy in a foreign owned (Danish) fish plant in Mehamn, where 200 workers lost their jobs, a local entrepreneur invited some close friends to invest in a small business for buying and selling fresh fish to the market, complemented with some limited seasonal production of salt fish. While the local authorities again were looking for somebody from outside to solve the social and economic problems caused by the fish industry crisis, on his own this person started to build, stone upon stone, what soon turned out to be the most successful fish processing industry in the Municipality. From the start with a handful of workers, he now employs more than 70 persons working two shifts in two modern fish processing plants in Mehamn, with a broad production line from fresh high quality fish, via filet, dried, and salted fish, to sushi toppings. Not once have these locally owned businesses gone bankrupt or been closed, and the profit margins of the two businesses are not only good enough to continue, but also to expand and modernize. Plans are underway



for a new fully automated plant. The owner follows closely the development of new technology in this sector of the economy, knowing that the use of it gives him a competitive advantage.

This entrepreneur is highly respected, not mainly because of his success as a businessman, but for everything else he has done for the community. In addition to two fish processing plants, he is the owner of a bakery, café, and hotel in Mehamn. These additional businesses are important for the social well-being and sustainability of the community. The café, recently built in connection with the bakery, is the most popular gathering place in Mehamn. According to many of the local inhabitants we spoke with, this person has done more for the survival and development of the community than anybody else, including the local authorities. As he said at the local development workshop Finnmark University College ran in Mehamn in June 2005, together with the Municipality; "What is good for the community, is good for business". He is a creative and resourceful social and economic entrepreneur.

The diversification of the local economy that started in 1992 with the establishment of two new locally owned fish businesses. This helped to mitigate the social and economic impact of the 2005 bankruptcy of the main fish processing plant in Mehamn (Nordkyn Products). Most of the 45 workers that were laid off when the industry closed, were soon absorbed by the other fish industries in Mehamn and the nearby fishing community of Kjøllefjord. In spite of the new situation and understanding in the local business community, the municipal authorities again went for an external takeover of the main Mehamn fish processing plant, this time by Aker Seafood, a multinational company located in Oslo, Norway. In addition to the local fish processing plant, the company also got 4 new fishing quotas from the Ministry of Fisheries, as part of the deal, 2 of them were so-called community quotas conditioned on the delivery of fish to the Mehamn plant. This requirement was never fulfilled, and as a consequence most of the year there was no production at the plant. Most of the fish catch through the new quotas was fileted and frozen on board the trawlers owned by Aker Seafood, and exported directly to China. The municipal authorities of Gamvik felt they had been cheated by the company, and asked the Ministry of Fisheries to intervene. This did not happen and a long, troublesome, and costly legal battle to recover the community fishing quotas and the local fish processing plant from Aker Seafood started in 2007. In two consecutive rounds through the court system in 2008-09 the municipality lost their case against the company, and the state, for not fulfilling their obligations in the three-party agreement signed in 2005. They were left with a debt of 2,7

million NOK and a feeling of being cheated and let down not only by Aker Seafood, but also the national government.

## Resource globalization

Like other communities in rural regions of developed nations, Gamvik Municipality has been increasingly exposed to the global economy. One of the responses by the national government to economic challenge was to create community quotas around offshore fishing. In 1998, Jørgensen Holding Company, the external owners of the main fish industries in Mehamn, got 8 'community' quotas from the Norwegian Ministry of Fisheries to secure a continuous supply of fish to the newly built top modern filet plant. In spite of this generous support from the central government, the business went bankrupt a couple of years later.

In January 2005, after two years of inactivity and failed attempts by the municipal leaders to refinance and sell the main fish processing plant in Mehamn, a large trawling company, Norway Seafood, part of Aker, a multinational industrial consortium with headquarters in Oslo, Norway, purchased it. The community quota included in the deal secured access to fish resources in the Barents Sea. However, rather than directing fish to the local filet plant, they soon began to processes and freeze fish at sea for exported directly to Asia. As a consequence, the main fish industry had to close and the workers were laid off

In contrast, a locally owned fish company, Nordkyn Seafood, has not only managed to survive during these difficult years of restructuring, but has expanded its activities and number of employees. The globalization process is not homogenous. In relation to the fisheries and fish industry, it brings with it new opportunities as well as problems or challenges. Both local ownership of fishing boats and companies, and control of fish resources, seem to be important requirements for profitable and sustainable businesses. Even if the local economy is very much conditioned by global trends and forces, there is space for a great variation of responses to the challenges of the global market and economy: "Producing communities scramble to reposition themselves either through finding niches in a new global economy or through resistance to global pressures" (McMichael, 1996, p. 45). In the business community of Gamvik we find both strategies in use. Diversification of the local economy seems to be a good strategy of survival in a world characterized by growing complexity, dynamics and fragmentation.

### Response to crisis

The long term and ongoing crisis around resource dependence was accelerated by an increasing exposure to the global economy. Whenever the fish processing industry in the Municipality of Gamvik got into troubles, the main strategy of the local authorities had been to find another 'competent' and financially strong external buyer and owner. All the bankruptcies they had experienced in the foreign owned plants did not seem to frighten them. But in the local communities, including the business community, more and more people questioned this strategy. It just increased the communities' dependency on external actors, both private and public agencies. Instead of relying so much on 'rescue operation' from outside, from benevolent capitalists and the central government, they should try to solve their own problems by becoming more self-reliant and self-sufficient. This they could obtain by increasing local control of fish resources, improving the services and living conditions for the local fishermen, stimulating local ownership of fishing boats and industry, in short, by implementing a series of measures meant to diversify and strengthen the local economy.

This new problem-solving approach among the people of Gamvik came through as a clear message at the local development workshops Finnmark University College and the Municipality of Gamvik organized together with the local communities in May-June 2005, after Aker Seafood's take-over of the main fish processing plant in Mehamn. People wanted to use the development workshop to reduce their dependency on one strong external actor by creating new alternative businesses, mainly based on the knowledge and competence they had achieved through their principal economic activities in relation to the fish industry. The title we chose for the last common workshop; "From FISHindustry to fishTOURISM, to....?", reflected the change of opinion that had taken place in the community. While the political leadership of Gamvik was underrepresented at the workshop, the youth in the local communities we visited was overrepresented. All the main local voluntary organizations were represented. The strong participation of local businessmen and women, among them the much respected social entrepreneur, came as a positive surprise to the organizers of the development workshops. 'Time is money' they say, and, therefore, it is usually more difficult to get representatives of the business community to participate in this kind of event. The majority of the suggestions, including the most realistic and concrete, for change and development came from youth and business people. Many of them were related to the main economic activities of fishing and fish processing, including improvement of the basic infrastructure in the harbour with focus on the



working and living conditions of the fishermen and fish industry workers. The youth came up with several interesting tourism projects, involving schools and voluntary organizations in all the local communities. Most of the suggestions that came up at the local development workshops in 2005 were followed up by the Municipality - little by little. Retrospectively, we can say that the main functions of the development workshops were to be a meeting place and forum for discussion of issues of common interests, and an important 'tool' and venue for problem-solving, and basis for implementation of social and economic change and development.

The social and economic difficulties mentioned before, restrained the administrative and financial capacity of the Municipality so much that, little to nothing was left for long term planning and development work. The few extra resources available to the Municipality were used to put out 'fires' that popped up almost on a daily basis. This critical situation, which dominated from 1994, started slowly to change in 2007 when Gamvik obtained special status from the Ministry of Municipal and Regional Affairs as a Development Municipality ("Omstillingskommune"). For a five years period, the Municipality had close to 3 million NOK every year in extra state funding earmarked for social and economic development projects. The key change occurred in 2009, when the local politicians after pressure from competent state authorities decided to establish a new independent municipal development agency, Nordkyn Development ("Nordkyn Utvikling"). The agency was directed by a board of five, with a majority of external business representatives, including the owner of a local fish industry. The new director of Nordkyn Development was a socially engaged and resourceful young 'returnee', who worked closely with the political and administrative leadership of the Municipality, the local business community, and the voluntary sector. As many others among his colleagues in the municipal administration, he is an active member of various voluntary organizations. Most of the projects supported by the new development agency were related to fishing and fish processing, including funding of local fishing quotas and fishing boats. One of the most successful projects, Young Fishermen ("Ungdomsfiske") initiated in 2011, resulted in the recruitment of 14 youth to a special theory and praxis based training. Two of them have already have their own fishing boats and quotas thanks to the financial and logistic support from Nordkyn Development. The director and the board have introduced not only new ways of joining forces and working together to obtain the social and economic development the communities want, across public, private, and voluntary sector interests, they have also promoted awareness and understanding of the strong connection and dependency the people and communities of Gamvik have with the sea and its fish resources.

In 2007, Gamvik got a new mayor and political regime. The new leader, a young successful businessman from Mehamn, wanted to 'speed up' the process of political, organizational, and economic transformation that he felt necessary to be able to meet the external challenges they were facing. One of his main concerns was to increase the level of education, knowledge, and capacity building among young and old. A first decision was to open two video studios in Mehamn, at the health center and secondary school. Lack of patience, political experience and most serious, control of budgetary spending soon brought him into trouble, both with the administration of the Municipality and state control agencies. As a consequence of overspending Gamvik Municipality was again put on the "ROBEC" list in 2008, i.e. under direct state administration. In spite of (or because of?) his great ambition and impatience his period as mayor (2007-11), ended in the most severe social and economic crisis in the community in the last twenty years. The optimism created at the initiation of the new 'regime' was almost all gone. After a slow but steady growth in the local population, people were again leaving the Municipality.

Another factor that contributed heavily to the widespread loss of faith in the community was the negative outcome of the two court cases the Municipality initiated against the Aker Seafood and the state, in 2006 and 2008, for not fulfilling their part of the agreement they signed in January 2005 when Aker bought the main local fish processing plant. As part of the deal, Aker Seafood got 4 fishing quotas given to the community earlier (1998), plus 2 new fishing quotas. The only condition made by the Ministry of Fisheries was local delivery of the fish caught through these additional quotas. It did not take long before the new owners broke this part of the agreement and the local plant closed.

#### Discussion

The voluntary organisations, and civil society in general, are important for sustaining and developing communities, culturally and socially. They also have a strong impact on the political and economic life of the communities. The great varieties of voluntary organizations we find in this small, rural municipality have something to offer to everybody. They help solve all kind of practical problems, very often in close cooperation with the Municipality and/or the local

business community. In difficult times, they help people to 'keep up the spirit' and mobilize in defense of their common interests. In this way they also contribute to the development of a common problem-solving orientation and common local identity. Civil society and the voluntary organizations in Gamvik have been directly involved and played an important, if not decisive, role in the Municipality's relatively successful handling of the social and economic crisis caused by the frequent bankruptcies in the local fish industry the last 20-30 years.

The explication and main reason for this success is, according to the leaders of both the main voluntary organizations and the Municipality, the close contact and cooperation that exist between the two and with representatives of the local business community. These mostly informal relations have been strengthened because of the crises in the local fish industry, the court cases against the owners and the state, and the political mobilization in relation to "Kystopprøret", the new protest movement initiated early in 2014 to regain the community's control of fish quotas and fish resources. What we witnessed here resembles in many ways what is described as 'network governance' by Sørensen and Torfing (2007), and even 'metagovernance', in the way it is practiced by local authorities and other political and economic agencies (Triantafillou, O'Toole, Jr., 2007). O'Toole that is mainly interested in the outcome of governance network "analyses the interaction between governance networks and public authorities, particularly with regard to the latter's effort to regulate or otherwise influence policy outputs and outcomes in network settings" (pp. 215). Until the bankruptcy in the main local fish industry in 2005, the local authorities played a relatively small and passive role in handling the social and economic crisis that followed. They expected somebody from outside, the state and/or some other national or foreign company, to come and solve their problems. This attitude was part of a dependency culture, with roots a long way back in history.

The negative experiences with the takeover of Aker Seafood, the resulting court cases, and dealings with regional and national government and bureaucracy, have radically changed the situation in Gamvik. We have seen how the local authorities, both political and administrative, have shown leadership through the latest social and economic crisis and have taken a more direct and active role, both in relation to their partners in local business community and voluntary sector, and vis-à-vis their external 'enemies' or opponents. The protest movement initiated by political and administrative leaders of the Municipality earlier this year, is perhaps the best example of this change in approach, and a good example of 'meta-governance' practiced by the local authorities. The relationships established between the political

authorities and the actors in the private and voluntary sector in Gamvik are not characterized by hierarchical steering, but rather by coordination and cooperation between equal partners. This makes the local governance networks stronger and more efficient. By connecting local (horizontal) networks with external (vertical) ones, they are practicing what Aarsæther and Bærenholdt (2001a and 2001b) are defining as 'diagonal' networking (see also Aarsæther 2004).

In a study of Berlevåg, a neighbouring fishing community to the east, Aarsæther (2008) concludes; "In summary, a series of constructive developments, changes and transformations have been observed in Berlevåg. No doubt there are a number of key players within the fields of politics, administration, the service sector, business life and voluntary organizations, but there are no visible top leaders or local elite running the place.... Despite a series of successful community and business innovations, population numbers show no relief: during the last decade of the twentieth century Berlevåg suffered an annual loss of 13 individuals" (pp. 156). The Municipality of Gamvik, in comparison, has both a visible and strong leadership. Even if this is an important factor, the main explanation of the relative success they have achieved dealing with social and economic problems is the close cooperation between local authorities, the business community, and the voluntary sector. This new approach has its roots in the development workshops organized by the Municipality and Finnmark University College.

In "Transforming the local" Aarsæther and Bærenholdt (2001) use 'coping' and 'coping strategies' as concepts to analyse and describe how people living in small remote rural communities can respond to challenges caused by externally imposed processes of social and environmental transformations. They define coping strategy as a set of practices defined in three dimensions, economic, social, and cultural:

- 1. Innovation: The process of change in economic structure that includes new solutions to local problems, as responses to the transformations of a globalizing and increasingly knowledge-based economy,
- 2. Networking: The development of interpersonal relations that are transcending the limits of institutionalized social fields (connection local and external networks, creating social capital),
- 3. Formation of identity: The active formation of identities, both individual and collective, that reflect cultural discourses from the local to the global.

In our Gamvik study, these concepts explain the relative success of the Municipality in dealing with social and economic crises. The latest crisis in the fisheries triggered innovative activities in all sectors of the local community, in the public (Municipality), the private (business community), as well as in the voluntary sector. Most important, there were new relationships created between actors in the different sectors. The best example of inter-organizational innovation is the way the new "Mehamn rebellion" came about, the initiation, planning and organization of the protest movement. Local and extra-local networking, as well as collective identity formation, was also part of this successful initiative.

Diversification of the local economy has been another successful coping strategy used in Gamvik, as in many other rural communities challenged by globalization. It was first used by actors inside the local business community and was later adopted by the local authorities. This was one of the main issues discussed at the June 2005 local development workshop in Mehamn. In addition to a necessary upgrading of the existing fish processing plants and related infrastructure, we recommended improvement of harbour facilities, the working and living conditions for industry workers and fishermen, and special projects and incentives for the recruitment of youth into this important sector of the local economy. The workshop also focussed on the necessity to support fishing and fish processing activities in all the communities of the Municipality, not only in Mehamn. The local economy and community would be less vulnerable if they had more than one fish processing plant. The tradition with 'corner stone' industries in the fishing communities along the coast of Norway had to be broken, to be able to establish sustainable, robust, and resilient local communities. Local ownership would also help create more stability in the industry, as well as the community. The recommendation of the workshop also included introduction of new fish products, and more efficient use of the fish resource, new production technology, and organization of the production process, etc.

Most of the 2005 development workshop recommendations concerning the fisheries and fish industry have been followed up by the local authorities and business community. Today, there are activities at 6 fish processing plants in Gamvik, 3 in Mehamn, and 1 in each of the 3 remaining communities in the Municipality. Half of the plants are locally owned. Two of them, the most stable and economically successful ones, have been run by the one and the same owner for more than 20 years, the social entrepreneur and innovator presented earlier in the study. In all these years he has been a key player in the development of the whole community, not only his own businesses. As the owner of the only bakery, café and hotel in Mehamn,

important parts of the community's social infrastructure, he contribute greatly to the well-being of the local population, in addition to the employment of close to 80 residents.

The 2005 development workshop also recommended building on traditional knowledge and competences, for instance—some locally embedded variants of fishing tourism. This strategy has been less successful. Today, there are only 4 fishing tourism enterprises operating on a yearly basis, two in combination with other tourist activities and overnight accommodations. The owners of one of these enterprises, from Switzerland and South Africa, have to work part time in the municipal administration and in a local fish processing plant to 'make ends meet'. Tourism has not been the panacea, that is, the solution to all economic problems in the community, which many participants of the workshop, including local politicians and bureaucrats, thought. It seems to work only in combination with other economic activities and/or wage labour.

The last part of the recommended differentiation strategy was to help establish new productive activities and businesses outside the fisheries, mainly in local services and trades, and to provide assistance to the existing businesses. After all, close to 70 % of the local workforce, including those working in the Municipality, were employed in this sector. The potential for establishing new businesses in these sectors did not turn out well. The 2005 economic crisis resulted in bankruptcies in the service and trade sector too. This vicious circle seems to have been reversed lately, mainly thanks to the establishment of new service and trade businesses by immigrants from abroad, for example a local clothing shop, and a combined hairdressing and spa establishment. Even if the fisheries and fish industry still are the most important part of the local economy, through the combined differentiation strategy the local authorities also support the other economic sectors of the community. One of the objectives of Nordkyn Development and the Municipality of Gamvik put down in the community development plan for 2012 reflect the new economic strategy and priorities; the establishment of minimum 10 new workplaces in the private sector, 2 in the fishing fleet, 2 in the fish industry, and 6 in the service, trade and tourism sectors. The goals are being realized.

Apart from differentiation of the local economy, and other initiatives to increase the robustness and resilience of the community in a globalized world, the municipal strategy for survival and development include a whole repertoire of different means and activities, all with the expressed intention to enhance the well-being and quality of life of the local inhabitants.

This has included everything from the improvement of public services, in education, social work and health - for young and old, to promotion packages to 'sell' the Municipality at home and abroad, including a special welcoming programs for the new citizens from abroad, so important for the future development of the local communities. In addition to the recent upgrading of the harbour, the Municipality has put some effort into the 'embellishment' of the local communities, first of all in Mehamn, including a central park ('Place de Concorde'). The rough climatic conditions we have on the coast of Finnmark, on 71 degree north, does not give much room for 'green' experimentation, even if it is a bit ameliorated by the Gulf Stream. The esthetic and physical upgrading of the community is done not only for the local inhabitants to enjoy, but also to attract others from outside, tourists, and more important, potential new immigrants. To change the other communities of Gamvik into more attractive and interesting places, including the recompilation and presentation of local history, was another recommendation put forward at the 2005 development workshops.

The elaboration of a new rough and 'rebellious' image of the Municipality of Gamvik and its inhabitants is part and parcel of the same promotion strategy. It both fits and works, it seems. "Kystopprøret", the new "Mehamn rebellion" is attracting a lot of attention from media and people all over the country, and even abroad. Combined with the celebration of the first hundred years of the Municipality, it has really put the small fishing community on the map. How much it will help in the realization of the goals of the new protest movement to regain control of the fishing quotas and the fish resources is still an open question. However, the inhabitants of Gamvik feel invigorated by all the sympathy and support they and their protest have received. Nobody we spoke to in Mehamn during the last interview round in May 2014 are willing to give up the struggle, even if they know very well that it is against almost all odds. The only viable alternative is to continue the fight until they get back their historical collective fishing rights. Without these, it will be hard to survive.

#### Conclusion

As far as we know, civil society, and more specifically voluntary organizations, has been involved in handling the social and economic crises that has visited Gamvik regularly through its history. They have seldom been in the front of the stage, not even during the latest political events such as the new "Mehamn rebellion" and the protest movement that came out of it. But they have been the backbone of most of the cultural, social, and political mobilization that has

taken place on the local arena, and as such played an important, and sometimes decisive, role in the process.

Until well after the Second World War, the task of 'crisis management' in the local economy was mainly handled by the business community itself, with minimum involvement by the Municipality or other political authorities. The few direct government interventions that occurred, were seldom in favour of the local community and its inhabitants. The outcome of the two court cases the Municipality of Gamvik raised against Aker Seafood and the state, in 2006 and 2008, shows that the distribution of power has not changed very much during the last hundred years. In 'the Mehamn rebellion' in June 1903, where local fishermen destroyed a whaling station in the community, owned by the famous Norwegian whaler, Svein Foyn, the national government sent in the army to crush the rebellion. Then as today, the conflict was about access to and local control of the fish resources in the Barents Sea.

This new radical understanding has affected the social and political organization in the communities of Gamvik dramatically, especially in Mehamn. The best example and illustration of that is no doubt the 'new Mehamn rebellion', a local and national protest movement initiated February 11, 2014, by former and present political and administrative leaders of the Municipality, to regain and secure the community's access to and control of fish resources. Approximately 250 of the inhabitants, that is more than 1/3 of the local population, took part in the public meeting and the torch march organized at the beginning of the protest movement. Seemingly fruitless petitioning of central government and court litigations were almost overnight replaced with direct action and massive popular mobilization. It is still too early to say if the new coping strategy chosen by the leadership of Gamvik will be more effective than the first one. For the time being, most of the odds are still pointing against them.

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Section 2
Ecology, sustainable business, and community development

"Cod fishing in millennia versus oil drilling for maximum 50 more years?"



Photograph courtesy of Inger Elin Utsi

### 2.1 Viable communities in the North?

#### Nils Aarsæther

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#### Introduction

We start by defining the concepts in the heading: First, what do we mean by a *local community*? The answer is "a habited place" — which can be everything from small village settlements (Kongsfjord, population 40, in Berlevåg municipality, Finnmark County) to small urban places (Hammerfest, population 10,000), and even distinct residential areas within larger urban regions (Kroken, in Tromsø municipality, population 5,000). A local community then is something different from, and smaller than a *region*, which comprises several communities.

When raising the issue of how to develop local communities, there is an underlying tension between two radically different versions of policy perspectives, within the area of regional policies. On one side, there is a preference for policies to support future development in places that have so far demonstrated innovative potential and growth, and implicitly to forget about the communities that are losing population and job opportunities. On the other side, there is the more radical challenge of stimulating development in every local community in the North, implying that places that are still inhabited in the post-industrial age are most likely to survive also in the future.

Radically different as these positions may be, they can still be at least partly reconciled, because a regional centre may grow without destroying the potential of the surrounding smaller places, provided that a regional labour market is in operation. As well, a growth strategy for smaller places will demand regional centers to serve them with specialized services and to provide markets for products from the periphery.

From an academic point of view, it is evident that there are losers and winners among local communities in the North, with respect to economic performance, habitation attractiveness, and development potential. Such differences can be illustrated over time by statistics on

demographic development. Statistics Norway issues and updates basic population statistics at the level of the municipality four times a year, and by following the issues over time, one can see ups and downs, but a strong trend can easily be detected. The general the trend is of small places losing population, some larger ones with population stability, and a few urban centers showing population growth. In Northern Norway there are three winners, one in each of the three North Norway counties: Alta in Finnmark (28,000), Tromsø in Troms (72,000), and Bodø in Nordland (49,000). Together, these three places still do not have a lion's share of the total population in the Northern region; today (2014) they comprise about 30 % of the total regional population.

When local community research in Northern Norway started in the 1950s, however, the towns and cities of the North were not the focus. At that time, the cities were quite small, and most of the people were farmers and fishermen, living dispersed along the coastline or in small villages. No wonder then that local community research concentrated on processes of modernization in communities with a male work force within primary occupations. In particular, the works of the Canadian Robert Paine (1965) and the Northern Norwegian scientist Ottar Brox (2006) highlighted the economic basis of life in smaller, fishery-dominated places.

One interesting finding, when looking back, is that the economic back-bone of the local communities of the 1950s, the fishery/farming occupational pluralism, combined with a low-technology landbased industry (drying and salting marine products for export) gradually lost its occupational and economic hegemony, while the settlement structure more or less remained the same. Only a small number of communities were totally abandoned, and when it happened, it was due to lack of harbour or road facilities.

#### **Industrial modernization**

In the industrialization period (1950 – 1970), some places became the locations of more technologically advanced fishery-based production, with ocean-going trawlers and a filleting / freezing industry onshore. In other places, heavy investments in steel, iron ore, or shipbuilding industries created new and full-year job opportunities. This drive for large scale industrial investments tended to create uneven development, with winners and losers among the many fishery-based communities. Uneven development due to a planned (as well as spontaneous)

transition from fisheries/farming based on households, to industrial occupations follows a global path.

But during the 1970s, the welfare state services were transformed from being run by central government agencies, to a system in which local and regional authorities were trusted with public service delivery. With a fine-grained municipal structure, this meant that the region's 90 municipalities were equipped to cater for public services within education (9 years compulsory primary education), technical infrastructure, health, and elderly care. Centralization certainly had prevailed in the modernization of the fishing industry, while the welfare state commitments seemed to bolster a decentralized settlement structure, underpinned by a municipal structure with many small units. In the modernized communities, traditional, small-scale fisheries could still be performed – at least as long as there was a landside infrastructure to process or pack the catches for export.

#### Welfare-driven decentralization

The developments noted above have never been a deliberate outcome, seen from a regional policy point of view. From the 1950s and onwards, policy experts and leading politicians have agreed that: (1) economic transformations were both desired and inevitable, and that the centralization produced by them would have a direct impact on habitation as well; and (2) with people leaving the small places to search for higher incomes in the industrialized sectors of the economy, the settlements that were unable to modernize their economy would be abandoned.

Revisiting the region in question, Ottar Brox in the late 1970s formulated the research project *Regional Integration Processes* to study what processes underpinned a continual dispersed settlement structure, when the economic hegemony of the fisher/farmer-society had vanished. What the research team found was that the resilience of people inhabiting smaller places in the North was a combined effect of the emergence of commuting possibilities in emerging regional labour markets, and local well-being being enhanced by growth in the municipal service production. It is a great paradox that the extension of the welfare state and its intervention into communities of the Northern periphery seemed to sustain a settlement structure that was attuned to the traditional occupational structure.

Ottar Brox formulated the "consolidation hypothesis" linked to his findings of increased commuting and the access to modern public services. Meanwhile, and increasingly, the deindustrialization of the Northern periphery has continued within most economic branches, and to a great extent, young people are being offered educational opportunities that contribute to their being lifted out of their rural home places. Very few young people envisage a future within fishing, agriculture, and even in manufacturing industry today. This also means that to the extent that manufacturing industries survive, they are likely to be operated by immigrant labour rather than locals.

# **Neo-liberalist policies**

The impacts of an increasingly globalized economy, however, have challenged what seemed to be a consolidated settlement structure of the 1970s. A strong public sector can in the long run not sustain habitation if its private sector counterpart fails to provide jobs and economic development. From the 1980s, this has become more vulnerable, in part because neo-liberalist ideology and policies became more prominent on the regional development agenda. A neo-liberalist approach in this respect means that the regions and communities in the periphery should receive support that transformed them into competitive actors on the global marketplace for goods and services, more or less neglecting the structural handicaps like geographical distances, a harsh climate, and a low educational level. WTO and EU frameworks for competition, including a ban on central government subsidies for businesses and a more lean welfare state, have challenged the foundations of what has been regarded as a successful regional policy in the Norwegian periphery.

But as a contrast to many other periphery regions, the local communities in Northern Norway are equipped with strong municipalities — and municipal leaders. Development work then can profit from an institutional pillar, so to speak, that is lacking in regions where the village level and the individual would-be entrepreneurs relate to regional-level development agencies, as is the case in the periphery of Canada. In the Norwegian periphery, people have access both to a system of this kind, in addition to being served by full-time mayors whose main task is to articulate the needs and potentials of their respective communities on a regional and even national political level.

The role of the municipalities can hardly be overrated in this context. Local development is a question not only of business development and positive externalities emanating from successful business ventures, in the form of additional job opportunities. Local development also presupposes a competent coordination of community infrastructure, both hard and soft: transportation, basic public services, and measures aimed at enhancing place attractiveness, often in the form of support for leisure/culture activities. This overall coordination is the task of the Nordic-type municipality and, therefore, the competence of the municipal institution will be rather decisive — also in combating forces of a global scope that almost invariably seem to counteract local development efforts. This happens because local development efforts often combine resources from private businesses, civil society, and public sources in such a way that the principle of clear-cut boundaries between public and private efforts to secure fair competition in the marketplace cannot be observed.

#### The return of resource-based industries

Strategies for enhancing innovation has not been first on the community development agenda – at least not until fairly recently. Much of the effort to sustain habitation has been focused on the maintenance of traditional and manufacturing industries threatened with closure and/or labour recruitment problems. Indeed, perhaps even more effort has been put into the acquisition "game" – trying to attract outside firms and investors to the municipality by offering investment subsidies, no or low pension taxes for employees, and tangible benefits in the form of ready-made factory halls and cleared industrial sites. But as the post-industrial economy has evolved, and the potential for attracting manufacturing industries has been exhausted, both policy makers and local people (resident families, investors, and local authorities) have had to look in new directions for strategies and solutions.

After the turn of the century, however, structural developments in the overall regional economy have shown some trends that have been almost surprisingly favorable to Northern Norway. While almost all attempts at creating or maintaining a more diversified industrial base, with manufacturing firms serving domestic and export markets seem to have failed, a return to nature-based production has occurred. Five economic sectors today contribute to a more promising future for the Northern communities: fisheries, fish farming, tourism, oil and gas, and mineral extraction. These five sectors have all made successful "come-backs" exactly at the moment of a Europe-wide economic recession. What is especially interesting about these

sectors is that they offer possibilities that are accessible for many of the most vulnerable local communities and municipalities in the region.

Fisheries are dependent on competent and authoritative resource management schemes in a time where depletion of resources is always a risk. Since the turn of the century, however, the cod stocks in the Barents Sea are larger than ever, due to a successful management practice within the framework of Norwegian-Russian cooperation. The sheer volume of fish brought ashore has become a problem though, because the demand in crisis-ridden markets is failing, and consequently, the prices for the catches are low. This should be regarded, however, as a minor problem compared to a situation of resource scarcity that most fishery regions experience today. Almost every community along the North Norwegian coastline is linked up to the fisheries, and although the amount of jobs offered is minimal compared to the "good old days", the sheer presence of a local fishery sector represents an economic contribution, also in the context of tourism attractions (see later paragraph).

Fish farming favors small and peripheral places outright. All projects of land-based basins, geographically concentrated large scale production, and full control of all critical environmental parameters have turned out to be unrealistic. Instead, even the remotest fjords now serve as production locations utilizing very advanced fish farming technology, in which manpower now is used to monitor automatic foddering systems. The reason for locating fish farming all over the coastline is to diminish the risk of contamination and the spread of illnesses. The patriotism of the operators/ owners often results in a decentralized management system as well (but these functions of course can easily be centralized). So fish farming has, at least for employment reasons and for its profitability, been a blessing to several small communities in the North. This does not, however, preclude the many disadvantages and challenges following the growth of the fish farming sector in the form of centralized ownership, pollution, and conflict over areas at sea, but as to the competitiveness of many smaller places in the periphery, this sector represents a substantial contribution. And over decades now, the market for salmon seems to be constantly expanding world-wide, in a marked contrast to the slack demand for cod.

Tourism then is more of a contested sector, from a local community perspective at least, as it can be successfully performed both in big cities as well as in the remote, scenic places. Three distinct locations are attracting mass tourism in Northern Norway: North Cape on the Finnmark

coast, several attractions in the city of Tromsø, and the scenic Lofoten region with its romantic fishing cottages for rent. However, every place in Northern Norway, by way of its spectacular landscape, is a potential participant in a plus-sum game for tourists. Increasingly, middle class tourists go for exotic experiences "off the main road", including both the wilderness and reindeer herding traditions of the interior, as well as the romantic fishing villages that can offer authentic scenery. Also, there is the "silence" as well, as the Aurora Borealis in winter time have proved to be a tourist asset that can be offered anywhere in the region.

Oil/gas developments represent a fourth economic sector that is expanding in the Northern area. So far, explorations have resulted in two rather big gas fields, one outside the coast of Nordland (Skarv) operated by British Petroleum on a production vessel at sea; and the gas development industry in Hammerfest, Finnmark based on a subsea pipeline from the Snøhvit (Snow White) well, operated by Statoil. Investments in the latter case amounted to more than 70 billion NOK. In both these cases, the municipalities in question have enjoyed an increase in business activities due to the demand for diverse deliveries to the gas industry. But even though there is by now an understanding that oil/gas developments cannot be everywhere, local business lobbies and their respective local and regional authorities develop strategies to become the location of the next oil/gas investments. And, at the time, there is a highly controversial question about opening up of the seas surrounding the tourism magnet of Lofoten for oil and gas explorations.

*Mineral extraction* is also expanding in both Finnmark and Nordland counties. Like the other economic sectors in expansion, this sector is definitely located outside urban centers and will thus benefit – or harm – some of the smaller communities or municipalities of the North.

From this overview, it is interesting to notice that decentralized localizations seem to be a precondition for investments and activities in the expanding economic sectors. While forces of centralization certainly prevail, due to expanding higher educational institutions and the growth of specialized services, the return of resource-based industries represent an alternative for many smaller municipalities and communities in the region.

Also outside the areas of the larger cities in the region, we have witnessed the rise of the "Sami nation" in the North. The location of the Sami parliament in the municipality of Karasjok, Finnmark (population 2800), and the location of the Sami University College in the

neighbouring municipality Kautokeino (population 2900), plus diverse other cultural and nation-building institutions have contributed substantially to the consolidation of habitation in the very vulnerable reindeer herding communities in the interior of Finnmark county. Also, a number of other small municipalities outside Finnmark, like Kåfjord (Troms) and Tysfjord (Nordland), have benefited from the rise of Sami nation-building.

## The innovative municipality

Against this backdrop of historical phases in economic and policy developments, how do local communities perform? The answer today is: all municipalities are searching for and stimulating innovative and entrepreneurial activities of almost any kind. This has been possible, to a great extent, by a local government that commands substantial organizational and economic resources to stimulate innovative activities in these communities. Even the smallest municipalities have a repertoire of local development tools that at least from an outside perspective should be impressive enough:

- Comprehensive, but flexible planning system (mandatory): This is a potential tool for democratic participation as well as a tool for determining land uses and the municipality's investment strategy. To follow up the comprehensive plan, there are sectoral plans, planning for public health, for the environment, for business development, etc.
- 2. Fund for business development and at least one development officer: A rather small sum is given by the regional/central authorities on an annual basis to municipalities, and the municipalities distribute these sums to help start up small business initiatives.
- 3. Strategies for place attractiveness: Awareness that the outlook of a place matters for tourism as well as for in-movers, most municipalities today have a program for place development. In practice, this strategy is about improving architectural standards in the built environment, but also improving the functionality of a place, creating meeting places.
- 4. Strategy for identity and culture: Here, the municipality supports more than commands the activities of annual festivals and other cultural events often with the aim of attracting out-movers to return.
- 5. Innovative public services: As many of the municipalities in question are quite small, with very few specialists in each service area, municipalities tend to integrate local services by lowering the sectoral boundaries and thereby reducing costs, as well as

- improving the services by cross-professional cooperation. The public sector arrangements are well known for their positive effects upon habitation, e.g. by finding ways to keep small schools in communities with few children.
- 6. Innovative democratic participation: Village boards, elected by villagers or made up by representatives of voluntary organizations, are linked up to the municipality. Many municipalities have a demanding geographical distribution of their inhabitants, and support by annual grants such village councils is important. They are often named "development associations". Also, support for local newspapers and radio stations are common, to enhance opinion-formation and overall citizen participation.

All these 6 tools are today in operation in almost all municipalities – even the smallest and most remote ones. In the context of the favorable economic trends then, one should expect also small municipalities in Norway's Northern periphery perhaps not to flourish, but to show some signs of a positive demographic development; in practice this means to halt the downward demographic trend.

#### Viable communities?

Analyzing the updated reports from Norwegian Official Statistics, there is an interesting development during the last 5 years. Of the largest 6 towns of the region, only Narvik (population 19,000) experienced stagnation, while the others have population growth. In the middle ground, the municipalities with about 10,000 inhabitants have also grow in population numbers. More critical to the settlement structure is the situation in the 70 smaller municipalities of the North. From the 1970s and to 2008, the situation in this segment was one of gradual population decrease. But during the 5 last years, this situation seems to have changed. Demographic stabilization today is the overall trend outside the urban settlements of the Northern region.

We should, however, be careful not to exaggerate the effects produced by the positive turn in resource-based industries, and by the instruments deployed by the municipalities to promote local innovative action and entrepreneurship. A closer look at the demographic statistics reveals that a vital stabilizing force in the small municipalities is the presence of an increasing number of immigrants from abroad. These are both labour immigrants from the European Economic Area (mainly Swedish citizens, and citizens from Poland and the Baltic states), and

naturalized refugees coming from Africa and the Middle East; in addition Russian citizens have moved to places in Finnmark county. This development illustrates an expanding Norwegian economy, a vital municipal institution, but also processes emanating from a mismatch between the preferences among the highly educated young Norwegians, and the manual jobs offered in resource-based production, as well as in-person services in the expanding elderly care and kindergarten sectors. Thus, an important factor determining the future viability of the smaller municipalities seems to be the immigrants' well-being and integration within the local community.

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# 2.2 Local and regional development towards more sustainable communities and regions in rural Komi

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#### Introduction

A complex palette of understanding and interpretations of the meaning, purposes, and implementations of such a broad concept as sustainable development is detected when applied to the context of the Circumpolar North. Both diverse and unique natural and social systems of the region influenced by multiple processes at the local, regional, national, and international scale underlie the understanding of this phenomenon. This chapter addresses the question of sustainability in the Circumpolar North at the community level and aims to highlight the role of local and regional development in this regard. The research and development project of the University of the Arctic's Thematic Network on Local and Regional Development in the North which has been implemented in the Komi Republic since 2011 is used as a case study. This chapter does not focus on particular results of the project, but on its capability to contribute to sustainability in northern rural communities, specifically in Russia.

#### Sustainable development paradigm

The concept of sustainable development is problematic given its ambiguity. It has been defined in various ways across numerous disciplines. The definition which is most frequently used as a starting point for further discussions is from the Brundtland Report. It defines sustainable development as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (Brundtland, 1987, p. 27). The definition stresses the long-term aspect of sustainability and introduces the principle of achieving equity between generations. Despite criticism, sustainable development as a concept spread rapidly and became central to the mission of modern society.

Some authors, particularly Young (1998), consider sustainable development as an analytical framework intended to provide a basis for systematic thinking about human/environment relations. He places an emphasis on development, stressing that priority should be granted to human concerns pertaining to health, education, and welfare.

There is a shared sense that sustainable development brings new insights into the linkages between economy, society, and the environment. These are often seen as three pillars: economic development, social equity, and environmental protection.

## Community development and sustainability

In recent decades, the concept of sustainability has entered the discussions over community development. Understanding of sustainable community development is parallel with the general concept of sustainable development discussed above, with the difference in geographical scope. In this vein, a sustainable community meets its own economic needs, protects the local environment, and enhances local social relationships. A sustainable community has the ability to use its resources to ensure equity for community members and future generations while maintaining the integrity with the local ecological system on which their life depends (Maru and Woodford, 2007). Sustainability of a community is defined in a long-term perspective — one that is focused on both the present and future.

Community development focuses on a specific location. It capitalizes on the strengths of the community and individuals within that community to improve its conditions. It is expected that the residents exhibit high level of participation in the decision-making. Literature review has revealed several elements that are crucial for sustainable community development process.

Local economic diversity is among the main aspects of sustainable community development. Diversification generates local employment opportunities and contributes to community self-reliance (Bridger and Luloff, 1999). The development of local markets, local production, local processing of previously imported goods, and greater cooperation among local economic actors are vital for communities to successfully govern their own lives and economies. Self-reliant communities are still linked to larger economic structures and processes, but they are more independent and resilient to external changes and interventions.

There is a common understanding that participation in the decision-making process based on the traditions of democracy and cultural appropriateness is critical for community sustainability (Fraser, Dougill, Mabee, Reed, and McAlpine, 2006). Building new types of social relations involves equal participation from the public, private, and voluntary sectors: municipal authorities, educational and research institutions, regional authorities, associations of entrepreneurs, NGOs, etc. Sustainable community development is born on the convergence of their interests and competences. The implications of such a shift in thinking about participation are far-reaching: it requires new participative methods and partnership organisations. The strategy cannot be a one-off initiative; it needs to be an ongoing participatory process, with monitoring, learning, and continuous improvement. In the absence of such efforts, narrow economic and/or political interests are most likely to dominate.

The role of local capacity to create more sustainable societies is a major area of interest within the field of community development. It is assumed that building a community's stock of *social capital* enhances efforts of sustainable community development. Social capital studies call for the strong and reciprocal horizontal and diagonal ties between the members of a community (Aarsæther, 2004). Trust and cooperation have been recognised as the critical components in building and bridging social capital (Adger, 2010; Bærenholdt and Aarsæther, 2002; Stirrat, 2004).

Another fertiliser that fosters community development is *networking* (Virkkala, 2007). Good relationships between individuals and organisations are often the first step towards effective collaboration. Networks are shaped around a common sense that one can assist others in leaning, experiencing, and sharing contacts. A well-connected community aims to strengthen and extend informal networks, support partnerships, and promote social cohesion.

The role of local government is the contribution they make to social and economic development. The position the local authorities take towards a particular initiative often underpins the outcome of local development. As it is not a mandatory function for local governance, municipal authorities can take diverse roles in enabling local development to take place in commercial or civil life, ranging from comprehensive support to being inaccessible or even an obstacle. For numerous reasons, municipal authorities can perform differently towards different initiatives and change their attitudes with time (Aarsæther, 2004).

Sustainable development on a community level may be a more effective means of achieving sustainability than when the concept is applied in broader national or global scales. Community development places sustainability in a specific context where the odds of achieving concrete results are increased. A community-level approach towards sustainability allows for the design and implementation of policies and practices adapted to local opportunities and constraints.

#### **Unravelling sustainability in the Circumpolar North**

Applying sustainable development principles in the Circumpolar North in general follows closely the 1987 Brundtland Commission definition. However, an understanding of sustainability is limited without acknowledging the diverse and unique natural, social, and cultural systems of the region along with rapid changes induced by anthropogenic and natural drivers. The northern ecosystem is usually defined as fragile because of its high susceptibility to disturbances and slow regeneration. The social conditions vary, but in many places they include acute economic hardship, deepening poverty, rising unemployment and inequity, poor infrastructure, human insecurity and regional disparities, and youth out-migration. Reindeer herding, fishing and other traditional livelihoods of cultural importance often conflict with other land uses, such as intensive resource exploitation or tourism.

The need for sustainability practices is pressing in this vibrant environment. The reality for the northern communities is how to make the wisest use of a situation and find satisfactory ways to cope with changes. However, forms of development that may be applicable as sustainable in other parts of the world could be culturally unsustainable in the region. Therefore, sustainable development requires new practices, institutions, and legal frameworks that is responsive to local and regional needs. Moreover, circumpolar communities need the human capacity on individual, institutional, and societal levels to tackle important local and regional issues.

#### Local and regional development in the Circumpolar North: From theory to practice

The goal of the Thematic Network on Local and Regional Development in the North is research and development for local and regional development in rural municipalities of the Circumpolar North. Developing and introducing new ways of decision-making and capacity building, its

projects aim to provide local communities facing complex socio-economic situations with the knowledge and means to handle the challenges.

The extensive knowledge base, competences, and experience of the Thematic Network's leaders and partners accompanying with study programs made it possible for the Thematic Network to implement local and regional development projects in various Circumpolar countries. Among these Circumpolar countries, the socio-economic and environmental challenges for northern rural communities and the imperative for capacity building are considered to be greatest in Russia.

With the purpose of development of Komi rural areas, the Thematic Network on Local and Regional Development together with Russian partners initiated the project "Izhma development partnership and workshops". The decision was made during the Gargia 2010 Conference where representatives of Komi-Izhemtsy and regional administration participated. Since 2011, when the project was commenced in Izhma region of Komi Republic, the experience has been spread to Ust-Tsylma and Kortkeros region due to support from the regional Ministry for National Policy of Komi Republic as well as interest from regional administrations and other stakeholders.

#### The Olympic results in Izhma

Izvatas, or Komi-Izhemtsy, is the most northern ethnic group of Komi people living in the Pechora river basin and its main tributaries Izhma and Usa. The Izhma region is seen as a periphery in the Circumpolar concept. Komi-Izhemtsy make up the largest share of total population (up to 87%) in the region. The process of formation of Komi-Izhemtsy as an ethnical group was principally completed during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. As a result of long-term reciprocal ethno-cultural interaction, the Izhma obtained certain Indigenous features and also developed a specific dialect of the Komi language.

Komi-Izhemtsy sustained a complex economy with different sectors therein complementing each other; the entire system was relatively flexible and adapted to the environment. Reindeer herding was the main form of subsistence for the people – they had borrowed and adapted this approach from the Nenets, taking not only the method of keeping animals, but also the entire cultural complex, including clothing, mobile homes, vehicles, and folklore. In addition to

reindeer herding, they were also involved in hunting and gathering, fishing, animal husbandry and, to some extent, gardening; they traded across the entire northern part of Russia and west Siberia and supplied their goods to Moscow and St. Petersburg. The economic and practical application of these skills seemed to be more efficient than that of the Nenets, or the Sámi, or the Khanty. In addition, Komi-Izhemtsy assumed the role of buyers and market suppliers for products from Nenets (and also Khanty and Sámi) households. Therefore, the Nenets and partly other ethnic groups considered Komi-Izhemtsy as competitors (Sharapov and Shabayev, 2011).

Throughout the history, Komi-Izhemtsy demonstrated innovative and adaptive capacity as well as ability to combine traditional and modern cultural ideas and values. Nowadays, in a situation where industrial development and a reduction in central government transfers have occurred, the people in the periphery have to respond to the challenges of the post-industrial era and globalization in innovative ways.

The innovative and adaptive capacity of Komi-Izhemtsy was considered as an asset for the success of the local and regional development project. Three communities were selected for the development workshops: village Sizyabsk (1,232 people), village Diur (745 people), and the regional center of Izhma (3,753 people). The business-school was held in the regional center and lasted for 2 weeks.

The Izhma development project, first of all, intended to help start new businesses and develop already existing entrepreneurial initiatives by joining the forces of community, local public authorities, the business community, civil society, external development agencies, and educational institutions. The business school has provided locals with missing knowledge in the sphere of management, entrepreneurship, accounting, and business psychology. Participation was open for any community member who had ideas for productive or/and social projects and intentions to bring the ideas to life.

At the end of the Izhma business school several projects were presented. The majority of the developed projects are in the category of micro and small business enterprises with a strong social and/or ethnic component. Projects are mainly in the spheres of tourism (based on sport, ethnic, cultural, and educational activities), farming (animal breeding, milk and meat processing), wood processing industries (production of blockhouses, plank wood, window packages, parquet floor, etc.), construction (mainly interior repair works, reconstruction),

information and transport services, seen separately or in relation to other social, cultural, and/or economic activities. A need for commercialisation of national holidays and festivals of Komi-Izhemtsy, including the annual "Lud" festival held in July that is supported by the Izhma administration and republican government was expressed.

Evaluation and conclusion seminars are an important part of the project allowing the organisers to get feedback from participants and attendees in order to analyse their own role in the work. Partners and participants who have already been involved in the project were asked to evaluate the process, announce concrete results, and plan further cooperation and development. New attendees were asked to present their resources, capacities, and relevant experience, as well as tasks and challenges they want to solve, and their vision of collaboration. At the final seminar, it was concluded by most of the participants that the Izhma project had been a great success and was a model of local and regional development worth spreading to other Komi regions. In other words, the region became an "Olympic" champion on the hard road of capacity building.

# How local and regional development workshops contribute to sustainable community development?

The project on local and regional development opened a new perspective to bring the principles of sustainable community development to life. It comprised a set of coordinated processes that offer a communicative platform to develop the vision, goals, and means for local development, and to coordinate implementation and review. Based on the project implementation process, and its goals and outcomes, a number of conclusions have been made.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The word "Olympic" is not an empty sound for local people. Olympic champion Izhma skiers are a source of pride and admiration for all Russian citizens and amateurs of professional sport. It is a phenomenon that Izhma region with population of 23,560 people have three Olympic champions. In this connection, the Izhma development partnership pays great attention to traditional sport activities due to their crucial importance for the community. The sphere of sports is represented in the partnership by famous sportsmen originated from the region. They are Raisa Petrovna Smetanina and Vasily Pavlovich Rochev, both former world champions and Olympic champions in skiing. Raisa Smetanina, "White Queen", is a leader of world ski elite. Both of them play roles of idols for skiing sportsmen.

#### Role of entrepreneurship for diversified economy and self-reliance

The Thematic Network considers entrepreneurship as a strategic and realistic mechanism that provide basis to sustainable rural communities. Small businesses are sources of employment; they are providers and consumers of goods and services that sustain the local economy and improve local quality of life. Production projects in the sphere of diary and meat products, wood-working, etc. can have a long-term influence on the prosperity of a community.

In the northern rural context, small businesses also play an important role of solving problems related to social and environmental sustainability. Such socially oriented businesses measure performance not only in profit and return, but take into account a positive return to society. The majority of the projects developed on the workshops, and during the Summer business school in Izhma and Kortkeros, has a strong social and/or cultural element. Many projects are in the sphere of services, tourism and sport, and leisure activities. Projects in information and transport services, construction, and wood-working are also strongly connected to the social needs in these communities.

#### Participative methods

A lack of mechanisms and institutions of civilised decision-making and problem-solving is the main obstacle for development in the northern periphery. Moreover, the participative methods are relatively new in the Russian realities. Historically, people have not participated in decision-making processes, but are used to trusting leaders and relying on external help. It was one of the reasons why the potential of the development partnership established in Komi Republic has not yet been fully realised.

The participation on democratic principles underpinned the function of the development partnership and workshops in Izhma region. The role of facilitators and moderators was crucial in developing and applying participative methods. It was important to create an atmosphere of mutual understanding, trust, and respect in order to establish a communicative area for civilised decision-making and problem-solving. This role of establishing dialogue and negotiations between stakeholders can be implemented by local administrations, research and educational institutions, and non-governmental organisations. Each of the institutions has

specific knowledge, competences, skills, and resources, the rational combination of which can greatly contribute to sustainable community development.

#### Social capital and networking

The local and regional development project in Izhma region has revealed the power of networking and the value of social capital on different stages and levels of the project's implementation. At the community level, close relationships and friendships have contributed to generating new knowledge of the business environment and government support of local initiatives. People have shared their own experiences and were open to collaborating and establishing connections. On the level of stakeholders, the project's approach has raised an interest among regional research and education institutions, NGOs, regional authorities, and other municipalities. It has led to resource sharing, and establishing connections and collaborations across various spheres of activities. New initiatives have been developed in educational programs, culture and sport activities, entrepreneurship, and tourism.

#### Role of local government

Local authorities, especially in northern rural communities, are crucial to initiating and implementing effective strategies for the future development. The rural development projects in Komi Republic demonstrated how different the role of municipal authorities can be in its capacity. In several communities where projects have been implemented, local municipalities have performed as a partner and coordinator. They have been actively involved in projects' activities and shared competences and resources crucial for the community development process. However, the project has witnessed another type of local government's role, when ignoring project's initiatives has not contributed to uncovering the potential of local and development workshops for sustainable community development.

#### **Capacity building**

The preparation and implementation of local and regional development workshops in rural communities in the Komi Republic have demonstrated the crucial importance of knowledge and competences for sustainable community development. Consequently, capacity building among partners, moderators, and participants has become a central focus of the project in order to

ensure the success and continuation of the work in Komi Republic. The emphasis was set on training in rural development, project management, business education, social entrepreneurship, public innovations, as well as more practical skills like how to run rural development workshops and business schools, and how to help establish functional development partnerships in communities and regions.

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# 2.3 The municipality of North Cape, a 'fringe' community under development.

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#### Introduction

I would like to begin by explaining how I am able to speak to you about North Cape and its potential for business development, by giving you a little background information about myself and my involvement in the area. I was born and brought up in Honningsvåg, and have experienced changes which have, amongst other things, led to a reduction in the population of the area from over 5000 people to 3200 today. My work experience includes teaching, in primary and secondary schools, project leadership within the fishing industry, insurance advisor, business manager for North Cape Municipality, and Daily leader for North Cape Business Park. This last position I have held since 2007. We have 43 member businesses, locally and regionally. Our network includes both commercial industries and official institutions/organisations. Besides this, I lead the civic network of business managers in West Finnmark, and am leading the Business Park Network in Finnmark. I also work closely with the University in Tromsø, the High School in Finnmark, University in Trondheim (NTNU) and one of the most renowned research institutes in Norway, Sintef. As an active sportsman and a representative at the highest level of our local, 600 strong sports club, I feel I also have very good knowledge in this field. In this chapter I will comment on the current status and challenges within our main businesses of fishing, tourism, oil, and culture.

#### **Fishing**

North Cape has always been a fishing community, and I believe that the changes which have taken place are largely related to the fisheries. Large on-shore fishing plants with several hundred employees in the 1960s and 1970s are today vastly reduced. Improved efficiency and technology has also affected the structure of the fishing fleet. Even though North Cape is today one of the largest fishing communities in Finnmark, with the most registered fishing vessels

(119) and number 2 on the list with regard to "Sheet 2" fishermen (119), the fisheries are no longer the businesses which can sustain the population.

The fishing industry is a complicated activity with many variables. We have previously had a varying raw material situation. This is now improving, thanks maybe to successful regulation and better control of what 'catch clause' lands, or in other words — what the fishermen deliver to the industry on land. In the last few years we have experienced a restructuring of the fishing fleet with merging of quotas, purchase and sale of quota vessels, etc. This has resulted in better profitability, but despite this recruitment is still wanting. This is maybe because the entrance ticket for young fishermen is too expensive. I don't want to expand further on all the variables which affect the industry; my focus is to look at the potential.

In a survey carried out in 2009 (Kystflåten i Nordkapp, En utredning om verdiskaping og Ringvirkninger – Polar Consulting) found the following:

Many of the owners admit they have a good life, even though the work can be hard. The desire to fish in coastal waters, so they can spend more time at home is an important factor for the fishermen themselves. Some are sorry that the big fishing vessels have disappeared but most are happy to carry on as they do today. 'We row to the fish. We don't travel to the fish'.

Most of our fishermen in the survey have fewer working days than the national average, but a higher income. This shows that that they have leisure time as well as a good income. Several of the owners experience that being a fisherman is associated with low status despite good income and well run plants. One explanation for this could be a lack of knowledge about the industry and what it means to the local community. Informants in the survey, at all levels of the production chain, highlight that both the general population and officialdom need more knowledge about fishing as a business.

Of those surveyed, in the 10-15 metres vessel size group an average of 2.2 'man labour years' per vessel is recorded which is 0.5 'man labour years' more than the national average. The owners are very keen to use local businesses when delivering and buying services. Coastal fishing makes this possible. The interviews show that some of the positive factors of the coastal fleet are the possibility of a good income, closeness to home, and what the owners describe as 'a good life'.

Some of the challenges experienced are renewal of the fleet, uncertainty with regard to limit/quota conditions, uncertainty about community services in the fishing villages and the required infrastructure such as quays and servicing provision, the lack of knowledge amongst the population and politicians regarding the business, and the recruitment new fishermen to the business. North Cape follows the national trend with fewer fishermen and challenges with regard to recruiting. So we are in no worse position than other areas, on the contrary when one looks at the survey which was carried out. If we can increase our efforts in renewing the fleet and clarify limit factors, fishing can continue to be a good local and growth industry. If we also invest on new products then the fish processing industry will remain a central part of the economy in the future. There are signs that local contributors are developing in the right direction with regard to the production of split cod and king crabs.

The question is, are these contributors thinking big enough? Large fishing vessels with shift patterns and other comforts on board recruit better than smaller coastal vessels. Are we becoming too concerned with 'the good life' as opposed to building a future oriented industry and local community? Is it the lack of capital which is slowing this development or is it the lack of good entrepreneurs, or is it simply a cultural thing?

#### Tourism

The North Cape plateau is one of our greatest tourist attractions. It has a long history. Ship traffic round North Cape goes right back to Viking times. North Cape was an important landmark for the eastern route to the White Sea and north to Svalbard. In the 1600s, the first travelers to North Cape appeared. Hurtigruta was established in 1893, but the real cruise traffic, the so called 'floating hotels' started so early in the 1880s. Up to the opening of the North Cape road in 1956, tourists had to access North Cape on foot from Hornvika where the ships anchored. In the 1970s, Honningsvåg became the cruise destination and tourists were taken to the plateau by bus. Right from the start, Honningsvåg was an international destination for cruise traffic. In the summer of 1882, the British ship 'Ceylon' one of the world's first specially built cruise ships sailed to North Cape and Vestlandet.

The shipping traffic increased with more and more contributors from many countries up to the First World War, when the tourist traffic suddenly stopped and it was many years before it got going again.

The turnover from tourism today is approximately 200 million NOK and it employs 420 people. The later constitutes 160 'man labour years'. This all sounds very positive, but it is proven that the business lacks profitability. Touring tourism is going down and structural changes in the market weaken profitability and competitiveness. A few large contributors dominate so strongly that they are in fact becoming monopolies. This reinforces a previously weak development capability and desire for innovation on the destination as a whole. Furthermore analysis shows that cooperation is too random, and that there is a lack of expertise and economic resources. There is no common arena for debate.

At the same time North Cape has a competitive advantage that few in the region can compete with:

- Geographically Europe's most northerly mainland;
- Impressive natural beauty;
- Lively local community (one of the world's most northerly communities);
- Good opportunities for both fishing and bird watching (North Europe's largest sea bird colony);
- Strong local history;
- Well-built infrastructure, contributors with resources and competency, long experience and presence in the market.

In the process taking place locally on Magerøya, it is clear that North Cape be seen as the world's most experience-rich cape destinations. The North Cape of the future will continue to be known as Europe's most northerly point and Norway's most important and talked about tourist attraction – the North Cape plateau. The North Cape of the future will be known for giving its guests strong personal experiences associated with nature and distinctive meeting places on the whole island throughout the year. Those who are observant have maybe noticed that the tourist industry on the island is better organised than the fishing industry. But there are common threads:

- Lack of capital/resources;
- No common arena for strategy debates;

Lack of expertise and entrepreneurs.

Do these weaknesses make tourism a driver in the development of our community or are there other businesses which will bear the brunt?

#### Oil

We who live on the coast of Finnmark have rightly or wrongly had great hopes for the oil activity in the Barents Sea. In 2011, this activity increased and we had expected great ripple effects. There has been a great need to create new workplaces in the last few years. North Cape was early in signalling its desire to sharpen expertise and investment in oil emergency readiness. The background for this was a secondary school in the area with expertise and equipment for this purpose. This included amongst other things a very advanced sailing simulator and the addition of facilities for training in connection with oil safety. There was also a local private company within this field.

The oil industry is a demanding business, and craves much over and above what the business people in large parts of Finnmark are used to. The business people in the smaller coastal communities have great challenges in offering their services, even though there is an expected ripple effect. In this case, oil safety readiness can be a good example. This is a maritime area where fishermen have basic expertise. Instead of using this possibility and creating a readiness based on local expertise and workforce, there has been a long way to go. Today we maybe see some possibility, but the willingness to pay leaves a lot to be desired.

#### Culture

Culture-based business development on the coast of Finnmark is more and more in focus. Coastal culture and experiences become more important in the development of exciting and attractive products and places in Finnmark. The government has an aim, that coastal culture can be used as a resource for business development on the coast. Analysis shows that cultural businesses in Finnmark are 3.9% of the total employment. In speaking about this one needs to give some explanation of the concepts. Culture businesses include companies with products which communicate meanings and messages to the consumer. Cultural products are another form of communication. In this category we find announcement and advertising businesses, architecture, libraries, museums, books, newspapers, and magazines. Culture-based businesses

are ones where the artistic and cultural dimensions are foremost. These are primarily businesses which are highly dependent on investment contributions (goods and services) from culture companies. Also included here are tourism and recreation, as well as small scale food and restaurant arrangements. The interaction between culture business and culture-based business maybe gives the greatest possibilities to trigger the culture industry's potential for value creation whilst also increasing the number of culture-based businesses.

With regard to culture and businesses associated with it, North Cape is neither better nor worse than other communities in Finnmark. My experience from within the sports movement shows that there are possibilities for value creation in the traditional way in this area. We have no football team to draw thousands of spectators hence returning large revenues. Our sports teams are most concerned in financing their own activities, which they do by means of sponsors, raffles, volunteering, etc. There are also some business leaders amongst the volunteers in the sports movement.

How widely these establish worthwhile networks, making a difference in business life I don't know, but it is reasonable to believe that this could be the case. As a member in the largest sports club, I have some experience of organizing fundraising events. The sports club organizes an annual revue/show between Christmas and the new year for 6-700 people which raises approximately 2-300,000 NOK. From this environment, a commercial group has been established which travels round Norway. This has been ongoing now for approximately 10 years and has a constantly good income. The development of this group has led to them all moving away from the area and established themselves at a more central location in the country.

#### Conclusion

So which common challenges do we meet in these businesses and which to a greater degree can hinder the development in North Cape? I will point out some central challenges as I see it.

Both within the fishing and tourist industries, the lack of expertise at differing levels can be seen as a challenge. This also applies to the oil industry. It is largely only Alta and Hammerfest which follow the national trend with regard to university or high school education (27%). For the remaining communities in West Finnmark this figure varies from 12-16%. Besides this, there is roughly double the number of women in West Finnmark with higher education than there are

men. The lack of expertise is, therefore, central to the further development of the North Cape community. To the extent that there is expertise within the various sectors, it can also seem that the will or ability to develop and grow is limited. One can only speculate on the reasons for this.

#### There are also difficulties with:

Available venture capital. It is a known fact that this has been a challenge in Finnmark. Those who for one reason or another earn large sums are not particularly keen to invest in new development projects/new growth. Luckily there are exceptions and they are very important. The official funds under the direction of 'Innovation Norway' means that the Finnmark county and council becomes more important.

Entrepreneurs. There are limited settings for the education of entrepreneurs in the community. In such marginal areas as ours, efforts should be completely different. Our future will not be created by others but by ourselves, and is rarely adopted in the council offices. The council can and should organize this with respect to the infrastructure, and it ought to quite clearly increase efforts to grow the number of entrepreneurs. The most important single factor is the entrepreneurs themselves, and the culture they can establish.

In our work in North Cape Business Park, we work with networks. We endeavour to ensure that businesses collaborate and work together on the innovations process. This is challenging and demands a high degree of cooperation and openness. We see that we are successful in some ares, but also have examples of failure. The reasons are complex, but sometimes so simple that the whole issue depends on one person.

In conclusion it is important to emphasize that even though we have great challenges around business development, North Cape is a fantastic community to live in. We have good schools of high quality. We also have excellent leisure opportunities and many varied cultural opportunities. This means that the community continues to be attractive with good hopes for the future.

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# 2.4 Norwegian development politics for the north, and for the future of Finnmark

#### **Gunnar Reinholdtsen**

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#### Introduction

Popular participation in the development of policies has strongly declined over the last decades along with membership in political parties<sup>1</sup>. The current level of paying members is only 5% of the voters. This is a matter of concern. Professor of political science Knut Heidar points to a potential situation where the players are a small number of professional politicians on one hand, and ad-hoc voters on the other. Broad political discussions among ordinary people are decreasing, and we are losing the arena for political debate among ordinary people. This is a democratic dilemma since regional development needs to include broad political involvement.

In the current situation, democracy within the Norwegian parliamentary system is being more and more dependent on "Non-Governmental Organizations" (NGOs) to be the counterpart to politicians in the necessary debates on a multitude of topics. As an NGO, the "Norwegian Society for the Conservation of Nature" (NNV) has no power, but can use our freedom of speech to shout out warnings, to point at possible risks, and to pray for caution. We hope to open the eyes of policy makers when we point out the hidden aspects of upcoming plans that the industries have no interest in disclosing. Nature needs protection against ruthless exploitation. Unless NGOs provide additional views and complimentary information, the basis for political decisions may be strongly biased and incomplete, and political decisions could be disastrously wrong for our future.

Today the county of Finnmark, and the Arctic region, is facing a number of important questions with great opportunities, big consequences, and possible serious implications. We must try diversifying the prevailing optimistic perception of the situation, by throwing a glance at the reality that we are facing: What makes our circumstances so unsecure, where are the risks, and what can go wrong?

# There is a "run" for the resources of the North

I start with a glance at the current situation: During the last decade we have seen continuous pressure for exploiting the resources in northern Norway. The offensive strategy of the government was stated officially by Prime Minister Stoltenberg in his "High North Policy", of 2005<sup>2</sup>. There is a complex background behind this, and as usual money and politics are the big drivers. **Primarily** the pressure comes from industry. The World is beyond "Peak oil", the oil and gas industry is eager for more, and the mineral industry is knocking on the door. **Secondly** the areas of the North are sparsely populated, and the current development trends accelerate centralization and migration, with an unknown long-term impact. The "High North Policy" of the Norwegian government hence raises a crucial question: Is this a strategy just for the government or a strategy that also benefits the North?

In addition to the general policy, the Minister of Industry has released a *Mineral Strategy*. He was, however, outspoken enough to admit that the focus of the strategy<sup>3</sup> was to facilitate for the industry.

#### Where will the current strategy lead us?

A strategy only focused on two industrial avenues, is far less than what the region needs. We need a long-term plan for a sustainable future, including the post oil era. This plan must include far more than just a few decades of mineral exploitation. A strategy for the North should describe the main national goals, and define where the development of the northern societies should end up. National policymakers cannot just "facilitate", avoid describing where to go, and leave the means and the end result to the industry.

On top of this, local political communities, in most of the municipalities, seem to have only one matter on their agenda, to exploit all possibilities for jobs <u>now</u>, and local growth <u>now</u>, no matter the cost, the sustainability, the consequences, and where it will eventually bring the municipality and the region. By the first glance any new jobs may appear as a good development, and thus appear to be a sound measure. But is it sustainable, will it help the local community, and how will it change the regional structure and society in the long run?

Since we do not yet know what the new strategy will lead to, there are a lot of important questions to answer:

- Is all this good, or may it possibly be bad for the North?
- What will be the end of this "run"?
- Will this be a robbery that in the end leaves Finnmark empty of resources?
- Will it bring us a region in balance, with prosperity and happiness to us all?
- And for the ongoing process: how can we secure the best outcome for the region?

#### The best process gives the best outcome

The best way of securing a good result is often to make sure that we apply the best possible process. A democratic process is one that is open, transparent, honest, and takes into account who the players are, and which side of the game they are playing. We must be attentive to different positions – different perspectives. To start, one has to realise that local interests, national interests, and global interests may not be identical, and that different segments of the industries also have their own different goals.

The investors often claim that their interests coincide with the public interest. That is at best only part of the truth, mostly a very small part, and more often than not - there is a direct contradiction. What we experience is that investors and their companies want to extract and consume the resources with as high a profit as possible and as fast as possible. This seldom coincides with long term social growth and sustainable development for local arctic societies, or for the region as a whole. Politicians should not accept industry's definition of the situation as the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. But our biggest challenge is convincing officials and politicians to take this reality into account, and find their own answers. They must consider the totality and long-term impact of the projects in question, and independently check the balance and benefit for the society and for the public interest.

#### The presented facts – and the real truth

The second big challenge is to establish what the true and significant scientific facts of the matter are. The basic background for decision making is most often provided by the developer. Thus, the quality and completeness of the information should not be taken for granted. Unfortunately, a healthy scepticism seems to be a scarce commodity among politicians. The

local public management bodies have a duty to provide independent data, not only relay on what is provided by the developer. However, research costs money, time, and resources, and we mostly find that alternative assessments are not provided. We fear that the political wish for more jobs can shade their insight and make politicians turn the blind eye to the risk involved. This makes consequences from the lack of external insight and objections even more severe.

## Deficiencies in today's political development processes

We have noted a lack of political respect for our legal framework. To our great surprise, we have experienced that the limits of the law are not necessarily fixed limits for political actions, not even for established politicians and local political parties.

A desire to change the current law is democratic freedom. But when the current legislation is being bent and circumvented, or simply ignored and broken by politicians themselves, their attitude is dangerous and far from democratic. We have seen numerous examples, e.g. when the County governor executes his duty and cancels municipal decisions made contrary to national law and regulations, he is met with anger by top level politicians on the municipal level.

We experience that science, knowledge, and international conventions are not necessarily the main basis for decisions. Our experience shows decisions being made contrary to scientific advice and conventions:

- When the national "Institute of Marine Research" strongly advised against allowing subsea tailings in Repparfjord – they were ignored, their objections not even considered in the municipal process.
- When the Red King Crab was imported from the Pacific by Russia, the Norwegian government protected it<sup>4</sup>, although the UN convention on Biodiversity commits us to eradicate alien species<sup>5</sup>.
- The majority of the government wants to drill for oil in the nursery of the north Atlantic cod in spite of professional advice from marine research<sup>6</sup> and the relevant ministries.

Even when the sum of national law, international conventions, scientific advice, and recommendations from administration points the same way, and great risks are being pointed

out, they can all be ignored. When politicians are focusing sufficiently narrow minded on their shortsighted ambitions, they may ignore the inconvenient truth.

# Necessary changes in the political decision process

The people of the North need to know that the national strategy leads towards a sustainable future for them. They also need to be able to trust the facts, the process, and the decision makers. Better oversight and transparency is necessary. To obtain this the public must have access to the scientific documentation of facts, and of the possible consequences. The people should always know what the unbiased administrative recommendations are, and the politicians should not be allowed to tamper with the professional recommendations. The purpose of this is to make the public, the political opponents and the administration capable of finding the real and true basis for the political decisions – and it will be possible to make the political decision makers politically responsible for what they do.

# Global consequences and responsibilities

The world society has a number of vital questions to solve. Because of their grave consequences, it is necessary that we all take universal responsibility for the big questions now. The UNESCO advisory body COMEST (the World Commission on the Ethics of Scientific Knowledge and Technology) states in the Foreword to their "The Precautionary Principle" that:

In today's environment of rapid scientific research and technological development, different ways to apply new knowledge and innovations are constantly being engendered that present us with ever more possibilities and challenges. We stand to benefit from the greater range of options this progress brings. However, with more choice also comes more responsibility. Conscious of our roles as stewards of the world in which we live, notably on behalf of future generations, we must therefore take care in exercising these options.<sup>7</sup>

So the UN has determined that we all have global responsibilities. Sustainability for life on earth is at stake, and two of the most imminent risks are unquestionably climate change and decreasing biodiversity. Erna Solberg's new Norwegian government platform<sup>8</sup> states that:

The government will base its policy on stewardship and the precautionary principle. We have a responsibility to ensure that the world we leave to our

children is in at least as good a state as it was when we inherited it from our ancestors. We must step up the development of renewable energy. The Government will pursue a proactive climate policy and will strengthen the agreement on climate policy reached in the Storting.

Very wise words, but will they be followed by the necessary action to match our obligations for the future?

#### Climate sceptics hamper vital actions

When climate change is the subject, and the limits for CO2 emissions are discussed, we often hear opponents of action say that 'we don't know for a fact that human activities affect the climate'. A university study of 12,000 scientific reports in a 20 year period found that 4,000 of those reports had a conclusion on cause. The study also found that 97% of these reports concluded on human activities as the cause. Even this was not enough to make the newly appointed Norwegian Minister of Agriculture reconsider her previous stance as a "climate sceptic" when questioned on national broadcast 10.

Consequently a crucial question is, "What should you do if you do not know the magnitude of hazards ahead?" For most people the answer is easy: Take care - better safe than sorry! Let us exemplify this: Should we protect our babies from chemicals like Phthalates when they are only suspected to cause hormonal disturbances, reduced fertility, and birth defects? Or should we continue exposing them to a possible risk until we through experience have obtained 100% evidence that the hazard is real?

No, of course, we should not! The risk is to grave to accept, even when the probability is low. Instead we must use the Precautionary Principle, as we should do in all high risk situations.

#### **The Precautionary Principle**

The UN has recognized the need for ethical guidelines in situations where risk is involved, and UNESCO has, through the COMEST, provided an answer<sup>7</sup>: "When human activities may lead to morally unacceptable harm that is scientifically plausible but uncertain, actions shall be taken to avoid or diminish that harm".

Morally unacceptable harm refers to harm to humans or the environment that is threatening to human life or health, or serious and effectively irreversible, or inequitable to present or future generations, or imposed without adequate consideration of the human rights of those affected. When in doubt, the only morally acceptable choice to avoid grave risk is: **DON'T DO IT!** 

#### What is the global context in which to use the precautionary principle?

What is the context in which we have the challenge of doing the right choices to obtain sustainability on earth? We can clearly see the effects of climate change. Man has disturbed the balance, and we now experience the hottest climate in 4,000 years. The diversity of nature is rapidly decreasing, and species die out a 1,000 times faster than normal. We can measure a record high CO<sub>2</sub> level in the atmosphere, and it also results in an ever increasing ocean acidification<sup>11</sup>. The main answers are also known: Stop emitting greenhouse gases! Stop burning fossil fuels! Stop destroying habitats! We know what to do – but where is the responsibility, and where is the action?

#### Use of the land: Should we choose short-lived industry or sustainability?

In addition to global questions, dilemmas also occur on the regional and local scale when politicians are tempted by the opportunity of establishing new industry, and often forget the long-term perspectives. Finnmark is the largest county in Norway with 49,000 square kilometres populated by 75,000 people. Finnmark is slightly bigger than Denmark with 5.6 million inhabitants and a population density 80 times higher. But we still experience conflicts of interest over the use of the sparsely populated land.

The important conflict lines are often drawn between sustainable activities on one side, and resource consuming activities on the other. The lifespan of consuming activities like the oil- and mineral-industries are relatively short, typically between 5 and 50 yrs. Contrary to this, the sustainable activities yields an endless output – if we take care and protect their sustainability:

• We know that cod fishing off the Norwegian coast has taken place for more than thousand years. Oil production in the Norwegian North Sea started less than 50 years ago and is now on the decline. Short-lived "fun" and "easy money" in oil is a grave hazard to the fisheries that are able to supply endless production of food.

- The current development is also a threat to the historical settlement patterns designed
  to simplify exploitation of the sustainable resources of the sea. Wages in the oil sector
  sets a standard of living that customary trades cannot compete with. This undermines a
  sustainable future.
- When locals lose their right to harvest the fish swimming by their doorstep, as they have done for millennia, this is a threat to the basis of a stable population in the arctic.
- A drastic toll is being taken on living space for Sami reindeer herding.
  - Reindeer herders lose their land to mineral extraction, cottage building, snowmobile trails, windmills, and power lines.
  - The level of awarded mineral exploration rights in Sami areas is alarming.
- Mines and mineral excavation destroy areas of traditional sustainable use, by occupying the land, destroying habitats, disturbing the wildlife and reindeer, and release poison and harmful particles in pastures, fjords and out in the sea.

The sustainability and diversity of nature crumbles. The development leads to loss of species and habitat at sea and ashore. The current development strategy puts the historical and future mainstay of the sustainable livelihood in Finnmark and the Arctic at risk.

#### How do we act in the face of this?

Norway used to be an environmentally responsible Nation. Our "Mother of the Nation" – Gro Harlem Brundtland, paved the way on the global scale – but in Norway we have lost the track. The state has ratified a number of important international conventions, laws, and regulations – but we don't always respect and abide by them:

- Another example is the internationally agreed reductions of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions. We have been increasing when we should start decreasing<sup>12</sup>, and even now Norway plans upscaling of petrochemical production, one of the biggest contributors of greenhouse gases.
- We are legally bound by "The EU Water Framework directive", but it is often being ignored.

- The Bern Convention compels us to protect endangered species. Even so the Norwegian predators are killed far beyond sustainable levels.
- We have an international obligation to protect the North Atlantic Salmon, but we still
  pollute fjords where they should be given a safe haven. And the producers of farmed
  salmon present a danger of genetically polluting the Indigenous populations of natural
  salmon.

#### The challenges are grave – we need action now!

Most people recognize that life on earth is facing a number of significant challenges. Most of our politicians also do, but too many seem to be overwhelmed by the magnitude of the challenges, and don't look further than the tip of their noses to find what is best in the long term. And even if they have serious environmental ambitions, there are a lot of tripwires around:

- Environmental management in the municipalities is often downsized, overworked, and they are unable to manage all their challenges. They may lack both information and environmental education, and those who are qualified are often being used for other administrational purposes.
- A lot of the politicians who should provide the good solutions, lack the will and the courage to prioritize the environment and its sustainability over short-term gain by unsustainable industries.
- Their close proximity between the voters and local politicians may prevent them from making good decisions that may be unpopular in their local constituency.
- The handling of environmental issues in the Norwegian government ministries is reorganized. The previous power at the Ministry of Environment has been pulverized by dividing power in environmental issues between all ministries. Their environmental competence is lower, and so is their will to prioritize environment at the cost of their main political responsibilities. The fact that central control is unpopular in the regions, also dampens political will to preserve natural values.
- Populism is prevailing, and votes seem to be more important than environmental issues. Politicians do not increase their popularity by being doomsday prophets. Reducing airtravel and traffic on the roads will not make voters happy in the near term, and will not

motivate them to re-elect – even if the right actions may cause the current politicians to be the heroes of the future.

## The responsibility for the future belongs to us all!

Norway needs political authorities with better quality, integrity, objectivity, and independence when handling environmental and developmental issues. We have pointed out flaws in **political processes**, but we must also make sure that the politicians themselves have a sound personal basis for their decisions:

- They should not participate, and especially not be key players, when they have a personal economic interest in the results
- Politicians are also responsible for making sure that objective facts support their decisions, they should not be allowed to trust facts provided by the developer alone, but they do
- Investigators that provide research and science as a basis for environmental decisions should not be paid by the developer. Instead, we should change our system and let the investigations be designed, contracted and managed by the authorities. Only the bill should be taken care of by the developer.

In today's practice the developer designs the questions in the investigation, and the developer is the source of the livelihood of the investigator:

- Is there no reason for caution in this situation?
- Do investigators always provide an objective picture of the consequences?
- May market forces influence investigators to provide the answers that the market wants?
- Or can we be sure they are never tempted to deliver a slightly colored picture of reality? Administrative management must secure an unbiased basis for the political decisions, and give the public a chance to provide to this by sharing their information and knowledge. NGOs should be used as a source for alternatives. Research should be used as a tool to find the truth and the best options, not as a tool case where you pick and choose, and take only the arguments that fits your previous assumptions or political ambitions, and to hide the truth and suppress the opposition.

The system needs a change, and the World needs **you** to take action. We all need to take part in discussions of local issues, provide information, provide knowledge and local arguments, and give power to local NGOs that provide alternative views. We need to question the impartiality of management, investigators and politicians. And we have to elect politicians that are willing to see longer than the next election, and have the wisdom to prioritize the next generations and the future of earth.

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Gunnar Reinholdtsen Friends of the Earth Norway, Norway

# Section 3 Youth, entrepreneurship, and rural development

"Without youth no future"



Photograph courtesy of Toril Olsen

# 3.1 Work and entrepreneurship in Alta 2009-2012

# **Tor Helge Reinsnes Moen and Trond Einar Persen**

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#### Summary

This project represents a **unique joint effort** to strengthen the entrepreneurial culture in Alta, Norway. We are not aware that it has been completed through similar initiatives in communities around the country to strengthen the entrepreneurial culture and the basis for the establishment of new companies.

In this project, businesses, schools, and the municipality found areas where they can work together and simultaneously strengthen each other's efforts. The ambition is that more should have – and realize – the desire to start their own business rather than being employed. It is an ambition that there should be greater employment growth in the private sector than in the public sector when the project is finished.

Many of the attitudes and values that are important in entrepreneurship are also important for society as a whole. Initiative, enthusiasm, and creativity are important to encourage young people and adults in both the private and public sector to see new opportunities in the future. Therefore, this project is not just an isolated focus on entrepreneurship, but a broad effort to strengthen local communities.

The programs that "Young Enterprise" offers (student business and youth enterprise) are conducted at all schools. These programs are incorporated in the project and collaboration in the project will, in our opinion, strengthen the foundation for their educational programs to succeed. There will also be increased awareness of the programs in the entire local community.

#### History

The idea of a larger effort to increase entrepreneurship came in connection with the municipal plan "Alta vil". A brainstorming session was held to specify the challenges and possible solutions. The conclusion was that there was a need for an initiative that included the entire community. The municipal plan was ambitious, and it pointed out six priority areas that were considered particularly important to ensure continued development and growth. "Work and Entrepreneurship" was defined as one of these key areas with the following objectives:

- Alta will have a business life and the knowledge that is characterized by innovation and development.
- Alta will have a strong entrepreneurial culture in schools, workplaces, and the local community.

#### Background

The main project was the result of an extensive process in which many actors in the Alta community participated. The ideas were developed in connection with the municipal plan "Alta vil" and it was implemented through a pilot project with participation from various stakeholders to develop a master project.



The project consists of pilot projects and initiatives that together will provide a stronger entrepreneurial culture in Alta. Some of the measures already exist, but by putting those into context reinforced the measures significantly. We have prioritized **two pilot projects** that ran throughout the project period.

#### Vision

We want the Alta community to be a leader in entrepreneurship and innovation, and that this should permeate every part of society.

#### **Goal and targets**

Goal 1: Several business start-ups in Alta.

- a. There should be more business establishments in 2012 than in 2008.
- b. There shall be a larger growth in employment in private companies than in the public sector in the municipality of Alta in 2012 than in 2008.



Goal 2: Increased knowledge about entrepreneurship and business creation among the population in Alta, with particular emphasis on youth and women.

- a. Students in elementary school in Alta receive information on business creation and the private sectors role in the local community, as well as initial skills in business administration.
- b. Students in the secondary school in Alta are encouraged towards business creation and entrepreneurship, and gain increased skills through practical experience with youth enterprise (YE) as a pedagogical method.
- c. Students at Finnmark University College are encouraged towards business creation and entrepreneurship. In addition, students will be offered practical training in business creation through the student enterprise (SE) as a pedagogical method and they will receive guidance and assistance in business creation.
- d. Entrepreneurship skills shall be offered to potential entrepreneurs who are not students.

Goal 3: Better conditions for entrepreneurship.

- a. It should be easier to establish your own companies.
- b. Business Cases should be prioritized in the public proceedings.
- c. Workshops will help develop closer cooperation between stakeholders so they can work toward common goals.
- d. Business incubator services in Alta will be strengthened and further developed.
- e. Innovation will be encouraged to ensure that local ideas are connected to relevant expertise and capital.

f. There will be an increased motivation for the establishment of businesses in the population, particularly among youth and women.

#### **Audiences**

The project has the entire community as a target group, since the ambition is to develop positive attitudes towards entrepreneurship and that it should be allowed to have success. But there are some groups that will be specifically focused on:

- Young people who can establish their own business at some point in life.
- Women and young girls who can develop their own jobs.
- Immigrants with ambitions to start their own business.
- Persons in the workforce who can develop their own ideas into businesses.
- Companies that can focus on innovation or establish new companies.
- Persons without work who can start their own business as an alternative to seeking employment.
- Public enterprises, to support local innovation, support staff, who will start their own business and assess the establishment of new companies based on their own business.
- Educational institutions, which have a very important role in awareness-raising efforts in addition to offering expertise in business development and industry.

# **Pilot projects**

The project included two pilot projects that went throughout the project period of three years:

- One pilot project was to strengthen the foundation of entrepreneurship based on youth culture. This is a national pilot project which we believe could be ground-breaking for other similar environments.
- The second pilot project was to strengthen cooperation between schools and businesses, particularly at the secondary level. We see this as an important local pilot project.

## Pilot project "Youth culture and entrepreneurship"

#### **Background**

The market for music and other forms of cultural expression is growing rapidly and has national and international potential. Therefore, we want to facilitate the development of local actors and companies that are competitive. At the same time we must retain the creative and resilient youth community, and it is this combined challenge that we want to solve through the pilot project.



"Huset" (The youth house) is a cultural activity centre that is owned and operated by Alta. It has been an innovative environment supporting over 200 young adults. "Huset" has given young people the motivation to create their own expression and belief in their own abilities. "Huset" has recently provided high-quality results in rhythmic music, dance, and drama. The challenge is to ensure that the young talent does not leave the municipality and the region. Therefore, the focus was on further artist development and commercialization through measures related to "Huset" and Finnmark University College, and the establishment of commercial support.

One of the most important measures in the pilot project was to support people with ambitions and potential, either as artists or in support. There was cooperation with Innovation Norway to develop specific offers to those of young people who would like to develop their own businesses. It may be necessary to carry out all or part of the "Profitable culture of youth" or offers based on the experience of these measures.

#### **Objectives**

- Develop commercial support that can lift the artists and events to higher level.
- Establish at least two companies per year during the project period.
- Create a trend-setting environment within youth culture by bringing in other creative expressions (film, design, drama, etc.) in addition to international cooperation.

• Finnmark University College will develop and start up a three-year course for young people who want to work with rhythmic music. The program will qualify students to the music and event industry, and include economics, music, and other creative expressions.

Offer entrepreneurial training for youth who want to establish their own business based on

their (or others) talent.

#### **Activities**

#### Huset

- Summer School where youngsters will carry out a production.
- Workshops with a focus on collaboration between creative expressions.
- International cooperation in which at least three local bands/artists participate every year.
- Development of support for artist development.

#### Finnmark University College

• Develop three-year courses in youth culture, innovation, and entrepreneurship with a link to Business Administration.

## Commercialization of support

• Develop and adapt commercial support for artists and their development.

## **Development program**

• Expertise offered for the (potential) entrepreneurs based on the experience of "Profitable Culture of Youth" and similar measures.

HUSET 🚺

## Pilot project "Entrepreneurship in the middle school"

#### **Background**

Pupils in the youth school are an important target group to strengthen entrepreneurial culture. Whatever educational and career choices they want to take forward, it will be important to have knowledge of the business life and focus on attitudes that initiative, creativity, and drive.

## School projects

- Our communities 9 years old
- Zig zag Europe 11 years old
- Pupils enterprise 13 years old
- Young enterprise 16-17 years old
- HIFM Educate Rock`n Roll Entrepreneurs

#### **Objective**

The objective of the pilot project is that all students in the Municipality of Alta shall carry out educational activities aimed at entrepreneurship.

#### Content

Pupils will have the opportunity to practice entrepreneurship by implementing one of these options:

- Student businesses in line with the concept of Young Entrepreneurs.
- A locally developed concept for students to try entrepreneurship in existing firms with a high degree of market orientation.

The initiative means that all students in juvenile stage will be working with entrepreneurship in the youth school.

#### **Activities**

## Aimed at the students

- Equity at 500 NOK to all companies that the students organize.
- Establishment of a fund of 30,000 NOK to the supplemental funding.
- Motivation measures in the form of annual kick-off and distribution of image effects to the students.

• Arrangements for internships where it may be desirable.

## Aimed at the teachers

- The development of teachers as promoters.
- Provision of one-year training in entrepreneurship for up to 10 teachers per year.
- Participation in courses run by Young Entrepreneurship or others.
- Implemented measures to inspire and motivate teachers to emphasize entrepreneurship in their educational activities. This will include developing a collection of examples of how business entrepreneurship can operate.

### Aimed at business life

- Information to at least 200 possible practice firms in Alta municipality.
- All parents of pupils in school will get information about the project and how they can contribute.
- Establishment of three-year partnership agreements between at least 50 companies and Alta Municipality.

## Dynamic project development

This project plan is based on input and ideas from the pilot project. The process has been creative, because it constantly encountered new ideas and opportunities in the community and between the parties.

The plan described the first year of the main project in some detail. There was less detail in project years two and three because experiences from the pilot projects showed that new information and new ideas are coming to the project and that it is very important that a project of this type has room to choose what measures are important and correct accordingly. The pilot projects and some of the measures continued throughout the project period of three years.

The detailed plan for the project's second year was designed in the autumn of 2009, when the funding is available. The scope was almost the same level as Year 1, so that we ensured that the project was ambitious, innovative, and targeted. By choosing a dynamic approach to project development, it created a better basis for influence and commitment among the participating

actors. It is an independent point that a project of this type allow for creativity and innovation when it comes to measures and instruments of implementation.

Already in the project's first year there were measures that go beyond the dynamic development. This is done to ensure the freedom to grasp and perpetuate ideas and suggestions that come up during the first year.

It was a goal that the measures that provided the results be part of the normal operation of the various participants after the project period. Some of the measures will, already during the project period, be integrated into the operation. These will then be financed from the regular budgets of the players. In this way the project served as a venue to test out the measures those participants in the community agreed on.

#### **Evaluation**

At the end of the project a tender for project evaluation was announced. We did an internal evaluation during the project, but we saw that we were not able to capture all aspects that the project affected. To get a broader evaluation and simultaneously refine the mission, it was focused on youth, women, and project partners. To collect data, 33 representatives from the partners were invited to a process called the "six thinking hats". A total of 363 random women in Alta were interviewed, and 425 youth between 13 and 18 answered a survey. The evaluation report shows some interesting results. We will not be able to describe them all in this document. We will only give some examples of positive results.

#### Effect 1-women

The goal was to give women increased knowledge in entrepreneurship. The interviews shows that 16.89% had more knowledge as a result of the project. And about 14% had increased their knowledge and motivation to establish a company. We are pleased to see that the project created a positive effect in the municipality. However, motivation is not the same as action. We have not been able to follow up if the motivation has resulted in real companies.

#### Effect 2 - Youth

The project had many goals with regard to the youth. The survey shows that the youth know a lot about the project. When we look at knowledge and motivation to establish a company, about 18% of the youth are more positive to go into business because of the project. The most positive result is that 42.15% says that it's necessary to have a business plan to start their own company. This shows that we have had a great impact on the youth during the project.

## Effect 3 – New Bachelor program of study at the University

When the project was established, we saw there were many youngsters in Alta who wanted to start their own business, and many of them did. A lot of them had courage to start their company, but there was a lack of support and competence. To meet the need of competence we have developed a new bachelor program of study, which provides "hands on" small business experience. This bachelor program supports micro companies with competence on how to develop and succeed.

## Effect 4 – "Connecting young Barents"

We have established a new project between Russia, Finland, and Norway to increase the number of stages for youth cultural entrepreneurs. The new project is called "Connecting young Barents" and has an overall objective to make contributions to the building a collective identity of the people living in the northern regions via culture. The specific objective is to create a network among young people and among youth workers to stimulate the identity between people interested in youth sub-cultures and self-

realisation in the Barents region. The main actions in the project are to show young people that everything is possible in the north, and give them the motivation to stay and develop their own region instead of moving to the big cities further south. This project goes until 2015.

Tor Helge Reinsnes Moen Alta Municipality, Norway and Trond Einar Persen Alta Municipality, Norway

## 3.2 From Izhma to Kortkeros, building development partnerships and networks in the Komi Republic: Challenges for young entrepreneurs

## Valeria Gjertsen

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#### Introduction

In this chapter, I am going to describe two community development projects that the University of the Arctic's Thematic Network on Local and Region Development (TN) ran in the Komi Republic of Russia in 2010 – 2012. The first one covers the Izhma region and the second refers to the Kortkeros region, both in Komi. My special concern is to introduce some of the essential ideas the TN activities stands on, as I see it. I will use the project conducted in Kortkeros "Organizing of regional partnership for social and economic development, local and regional workshops and business school in Kortkeros region of Komi republic" (PWBS) as an exemplifying case. Ideas that I will describe in Part I were the basis for PWBS in Kortkeros in 2012, which I am going to focus on in the second part of this chapter. These ideas were fundamental for all the four community development projects the TN cooperated with in the rural territories of Komi republic – Izhma (year 2010-2011), Ust-Tsylma (year 2012), Kortkeros (year 2012), and Ust-Kulom (year 2013). I will also highlight how PWBS influenced young entrepreneurs in Kortkeros who participated in the business school.

## Part I

Cooperation with the republic of Komi started for the TN partners in Izhma region, which is a home for Izhma Komi Indigenous ethnic group. In early fall 2010, a first "gentleman's agreement" of cooperation in community and economic development between the TN and Izvatas, the Izhma Komi people's regional voluntary movement, was achieved (Gjertsen 2010). The main reason for establishing the relationship with Izhvatas and offering it ownership of the project was the strong position of the movement in the Izhma region. Inhabitants trusted Izhvatas and relied on it in defending Izhma Komi's interests. This was the best way to anchor

the project. However, I have to mention that regional and local public authorities were initially offered the role of coordinator of the project, but at that time the head of the region and his team were coming up for reelection and did not have strong support from the population.

• Therefore, the first idea that secures successful implementation of community development projects is that one must find a way to anchor a project firmly in the community one is planning to work with.

The network chose two representatives from Izhma to participate in the annual international Gargia conference 2010 — a forum for practitioners engaged in northern community development all over the Circumpolar North. The leader of the Izhvatas civil movement, Green Peace activist Nikolay Rochev, and Irina Koroleva, Izhvatas member and Head of the Department of Agriculture at the regional administration, reported on the social, cultural, and economic situation in the region "with emphasis on positive and negative tendencies in the regional development process going on the time" in October 2010 (Gjertsen 2010, p.1). During the brainstorming session followed their presentation, the participants helped to sketch an action plan for initiating the Izhma development partnership, workshops, and business school. Participants from Finland, Norway, Canada, Yakutia, and Archangelsk in Russia contributed with their experience and ideas. Here is a comment by Nikolay Rochev on participation in the Gargia conference 2010:

The international level of the Gargia conference let us realize one important thing: different countries systematically face very similar challenges in the sphere of Indigenous people issues, but what can be useful is the experience of each country dealing with these challenges. With no doubts, all the knowledge we have managed both to get and contribute with during these 5 fruitful days in October on the generous Norwegian land will serve as a solid basis for development of our native Izhma region and Komi Izhma people (Rochev 2011).

Therefore, the second idea to support a successful community development is:

 Once a project is getting its form and content, take it to forums where people with rich experience in community development on different territories can comment on the project and introduce it to networks where needed competences for successful implementation can be gained.

The next step was to secure start-up funding for the Izhma-project on both the Russian and Norwegian sides. The network applied for funding to the Norwegian Barents Secretariat, an institution "aiming at developing the Norwegian-Russian relations in the north by promoting and funding Norwegian-Russian cooperation projects" (<a href="www.barents.no">www.barents.no</a>). Support was granted to cover the expenses of Norwegian participants going to take part in the initial meeting with Izhma development partnership members, mapping of potential productive and social projects for the business school, and planning two local and one regional development workshop. Izhvatas managed to secure local, private, and republic funding to cover some of the internal costs.

Initial meeting with Izhma development partnership members had as its goal to present the concept of collaboration between three sectors of society - municipal authorities, civil organizations, and the business sector (Aarsæther 2004). According to the Norwegian experience described by Andersen and Roeiseland, if the development partnership is functioning right, it can be an efficient tool for successful community development. The need for such partnerships has emerged as an answer to social and economic challenges the global environment offers generously to sparsely populated northern territories — territories which as a rule tend to lack infrastructure, human resources, knowledge, and competence. Development partnerships aim to unite efforts on sharing and coordinating available resources to overcome difficulties which one sector — municipal, voluntary, or business — cannot deal successfully with on their own. Partnerships are important tools when the issues one is trying to cope with are complex, but one is uncertain what they consist of, "or one faces complex coordination problems" (Andersen and Roeiseland 2008, p. 17). This is exactly the case of community development in the Nordic periphery. Therefore, a third key idea for successful development partnerships is the idea of synergy:

 Community development projects need all the partners on all the levels of society to learn to function as a team to produce an overall better result than if a single partner was working toward the same goal individually. Only by uniting forces and focusing on finding solution to a complex challenge together positive results can be achieved. The Izhma development partnership consisted of fifteen persons represented public authorities, volunteer organizations, social institutions, the business community, knowledge and competence agencies, sport and culture institutions on local, regional, republican, national, and international levels. The partnership was supposed to be a coordinating body for connections in horizontal, vertical, and diagonal networking between different levels of power and social sectors. This kind of networking turned out to be an essential condition for successful community development in northern remote areas, as the research carried out by Nils Aarsæther and his team of social scientists showed (Aarsæther 2004).

The development partnership in Izhma coordinated mapping of potential productive and social projects for the business school. The mapping process together with planning of local and regional development workshops and business school took place during the winter 2010-2011. This preparatory work is a key to another fundamental idea behind the way TN acts:

Development workshops and business school have to be linked to each other.
 Workshops provide a great deal of information on strengths and weaknesses, opportunities and threats for community development and make visible the environment where potential productive and social projects developed during business school are going to be established.

It is extremely important to map the project ideas beforehand so the business school organizers can adjust the education program to the peculiar needs of participants and meet their demands more accurately. The mapping process provides an overview of spheres and market that the projects are going to evolve within. It helps to see what spheres are possibly overloaded with similar productive ideas and what spheres are lacking activities. This process gives a chance to participants to reconsider and improve their concepts which, therefore, increase their chances to succeed in the future.

The Syktyvkar business incubator developed an education program for the Izhma summer business school considering TN's recommendations. This institution had been working for a long time on training new beginners in rural entrepreneurship and obtained experience of extremely importance. It was the Incubator that provided the Izhma business school students and students of the follow-up business schools in Kortkeros and Ust-Tsylma with certificates documented their new knowledge and competence. These certificates guaranteed access to

the financial support instruments the Ministry of Economic Affairs of Komi had at its disposal, and to municipal and regional funding programs.

The next idea, therefore, is:

 Ensure connections with existing networks and institutions of support on all possible levels and in all possible dimensions for community projects' participants after the project is over. This is immediately essential for the development of new projects.
 Moreover, it is the task of development partnership to secure and coordinate these connections.

The Syktyvkar business incubator played an extremely important role in the education of young entrepreneurs under all the projects the TN engaged in Komi in 2011 - 2012. I should mention that the TN had from the beginning the intention to involve higher education institutions. Representatives of Ukhta State Technical University and its Department of Economics, Syktyvkar State University and its Department of Finance, had mainly an observer role under the Izhma school and workshops, and were engaged in follow-up arrangements after the school and workshops were over.

Two local and one regional workshop followed by the business school took place In Izhma region in June 2011. Workshop took up to 5-6 hours each. SWOT analysis and alternation of plenary sessions and smaller group work served as the structure for the events. Representatives of village public authorities, civil society organizations, educative and cultural institutions, and the business community discussed the main challenges the region was facing, looked at the resources and opportunities they had, and debated weaknesses and threats for implementing specific steps towards community development. The Izhma development partnership was responsible for following up of the conclusions the participants came to.

The business school in Izhma educated 22 persons who wished to develop their own projects. Initially around 50 inhabitants from the region desired to take part in the school, and 31 project descriptions were mapped during the winter of 2010-2011. Here is a comment on the local and regional development workshops and summer business school by Izhvatas leader Nikolay Rochev:

We consider it to be a good result. The very fact of holding a business school in Izhma has aroused interest to the region not only within its borders but within the republic as well. ... In general, we evaluate the business school and the workshops positively. Such kind of partnership is crucial for the development of the region because the relationships between the municipality and the business community are rather stiff. Participation of local and regional authorities' representatives in the workshops and business school is the first step to establish productive relationships with entrepreneurs and "Izhvatas" movement (Rochev 2011).

Yulia Yushkova, the Syktyvkar business incubator trainer and director of "Marketing project" private consulting firm, evaluated the Izhma school as an effective and open high-level project:

In my opinion, the project of cooperation within the Barents region has opened up great opportunities for development in Izhma: creating trustworthy relationships among international and local partners, experience exchange, creating of new knowledge and competences in entrepreneurship. I want to mention in addition that the project has allowed to get new competence and knowledge not only for entrepreneurs but also for representatives of the public sector and civil society, it leads to broader development of the region in general (Yushkova 2011).

Nikolay Rochev's and Yuliya Yushkova's reflection on the community development project in Izhma confirms the next idea that has already been mentioned earlier in this article:

Public authorities, voluntary organizations, and the business community must find a
way to cooperate above all the conflicts and disagreements if they want their
community to evolve positively in both social and economic senses. The culture and
mechanisms of such cooperation are learned and trained while the community
development project is run.

The opportunity of expanding the Izhma-project to the other rural regions of Komi was on the TN's agenda from the very beginning of cooperation with the Komi republic. Therefore, representatives of Ust-Tsylma and Kortkeros regions were invited to the final reporting and evaluating seminar on Izhma-project in Syktyvkar in the autumn of 2011. The main task for the reporters and speakers during the final evaluation was to analyze the project's process, share concrete results, and then plan future cooperation. Observers from Ust-Tsylma and Kortkeros had to present their relevant experience with community development, the tasks and challenges they wanted to solve, as well as their expectations and vision of collaboration.

Participants of the final reporting and evaluating seminar discussed another fundamental idea behind the development partnership's functioning. This was still a "sticking point" for the project participants, but here is how I see the reason: the partnership is "steered by the logic of networking ... where participants are mutually depend on each other, but there's few hierarchical relationship to base interactions on" (Andersen and Roeiseland 2004, p.19). Meanwhile hierarchical relationships are very much the basis of the way Russian society is functioning today. Control and hierarchy are the two concepts that penetrate everyday social and economic life in the country. This is the reason for the slow development of civil society and its mechanisms. The whole idea of partnerships for local and regional development is mainly based on democratic principles where creating a trustworthy and open environment is essential. These principles are still very much in the formative process in Russian, both among people in remote rural areas and central offices of public authorities and governmental institutions.

Control, and a hierarchical approach, has created rather passive attitudes among rural inhabitants through the years. A great number of people are used to waiting for support, especially financial transfers, from public authorities. It is a huge mental challenge for many northerners to learn to rely on their own resources that are available here and now.

I can conclude that the six ideas that have introduced some of the principles behind the TN activities in northern sparsely populated areas were of great importance under the PWBS – community development project in Kortkeros region of Komi republic. I will illustrate it in the second part of this article. Let me first name these ideas briefly once again:

- 1. Anchor a project firmly in the community it is planned to cooperate with;
- 2. Introduce a project to other networks and forums that can give useful feedback;
- 3. Develop synergy by teaching partners to function as a consentient team;
- 4. Make the multiple facets of the social and economic environment that participants are working within as visible as possible;
- 5. Secure that participants will be connected to existing networks after the project is over;
- 6. Make sure that public authorities, voluntary organizations, and the business community learn that they must cooperate above conflicts and misunderstandings.

#### Part II

Kortkeros region took over the challenge of creating the development partnership and organizing development workshops under the supervision of the Izhma project initiators, mostly Izhvatas leader Nikolay Rochev who had a well-developed network of partners in the republic. Thanks to Nikolay, the Ministry of National Policies represented by Galina Gabusheva, the Minister, and Ministry of Environmental Protection represented by Tatyina Tyupenko, head of Ministry's International Cooperation Office, guaranteed their support to this daring takeover. The head of the republic, Vyacheslav Gaizer, requested thorough information on promoting social and economic changes in rural Komi by development partnerships. TN partners were quite happy with the fact that republican authorities were interested in the community development projects and found these efficient and worthy of support.

## **Anchoring the PWBS project**

Project transition from Izhma to Kortkeros was one of the desired results of collaboration within the TN in Komi. In contrast to Izhma, which is located in the northern part of the Komi republic, Kortkeros is a satellite region of the capital town of Syktyvkar. On one hand, it was a great research and development opportunity for the TN members to carry out a community development project in a region that lies in a shadow of a big city. On the other hand, it was not exactly the priority of the TN to engage "southern" regions of Komi. However, Kortkeros was in great need of a business school and received a lot of good will from national and regional public authorities at that time. It assured the TN partners that the project had got reliable anchoring in the community of Kortkeros. In Izhma region, the voluntary organization of Izhma Komi people

had more legitimacy among the region's population, while in Kortkeros it was the regional authorities whom the population trusted enough.

On the level of regional authorities, it was first the head of Kortkeros region Vasiliy Goncharenko, former republican minister of sport, who supported the PWBS. As we know from the research carried out by Nils Aarsæther and his colleagues at the University of Tromsø in Northern Norway the coordinative role of municipalities in social and economic development has recently became of high importance. The so-called "new regional policy emphasizes research and development, innovative activity by local people and the role of municipalities as facilitators of economic development" (Aarsæther 2004, p. 85). Therefore, PWBS got a good start with regional authorities as coordinator of the project. The TN partners were aware of the risk that PWBS could be steered "from top-down", but it was emphasized from the very beginning that the project activities had to a "down-to-top" approach.

## Social and economic challenges forced partners to cooperate in a new way

Kortkeros is a vast forest region consisting of 18 municipalities with a total population of about 19,000 people, and about 6,300 of them are young people between 14 and 30 years old. The number of registered individual entrepreneurs in January 2012 was 447 persons (www.kortkeros.ru). Forestry and agriculture are the main sources of income.

An industrial forestry giant joint-stock company "Mondi" was about to stop some of its activities in Kortkersos at the time the TN cooperated with the region. The forest had been turning unprofitable for large-scale industry. This meant that a large number of people were about to lose their jobs as were a number of young people. Those hoping for a stable job in forestry had to find something else to live on or move to the capital city of Syktyvkar. This was possibly the most important and urgent reason to hold the business school and development workshops — to help inhabitants work out coping strategies for these social and economic challenges.

I would like to mention that republican authorities obliged Mondi to provide financial support to help those who lost jobs get new knowledge and competence so that they would have better chances of new employment or establishing private businesses. In 2012, Mondi sponsored

1,614,000 rubles for this purpose, and republican authorities came up with 1,617,000 rubles. This kind of support is a well-known strategy and it was partly useful, but it did not answer the challenging social and economic situation the Kortkeros region faced. A much deeper and complex approach was needed.

Public authorities, voluntary organizations, and the business community had to find new ways of cooperation if they wanted to achieve prosperity and economic growth in the region. The TN had exactly the right kind of knowledge the situation in Kortkeros demanded. The nordic periphery had faced that kind of big industry crisis and accumulated good experience in overcoming those challenges that the TN partners were happy to share. A special education module on this experience was included in the business school and development workshops.

#### **Complex Social and economic environment**

Attempting to answer the challenges Kortkeros was facing, the regional Department of Economy and its advisor Ella Podorova identified a list of priority small and medium-sized entrepreneurship needs in the Kortkeros region for 2012-2014. They were:

- Production of food and manufactured consumer goods;
- Small forestry, timber processing;
- Construction and installation works;
- Public services;
- Folk-art crafts and handicrafts;
- Tourism;
- Innovative technologies;
- Industrial and biological waste recycling (Danilova 2012).

The threats the municipality was aware of at that time were poor infrastructure for the support of small and medium-sized firms; imperfect local and republican legislation; limited access to financial resources in the form of loans; the absence or lack of start-up funding for business creation and development; a lack of qualified personnel; and an immature entrepreneurial consciousness among the population. In this way, some of the multiple facets of the social and economic environment of Kortkeros were emphasized. This was the environment that project participants were going to work within and focus on. Development workshops had as their goal

to create a more nuanced and deeper picture of the social and economic environment of Kortkeros.

## Introducing PWBS to networks of support and trying to make synergy work

Having these priorities and challenges in mind, municipal authorities worded a short explanation of what the development partnership, the workshops, and the business school in Kortkeros were and spread this message across the region and beyond its boundaries. The goal was twofold. Firstly, "to form an effective team of people who are genuinely interested in the development and prosperity of the Kortkeros region and willing to try new forms of cooperation" and secondly "to come to shared vision of social and economic development of the region based on the sustainable use of local resources, combining efforts, knowledge and desires of local population" (Danilova 2012).

Getting feedback from the local population and external experts on the PWBS' goals and activity plans allowed for adjustments in the way of approaching partners and participants to help them work more smoothly together. I can call it an initial stage of synergy formation: people with different backgrounds, tasks, and competencies were working on team building and forming a development partnership.

#### Conducting development workshops and business school

The TN announced early during the initial meeting with regional authorities on PWBS that the youth of the region should be a focus under the business school. The regional departments of economy, youth, and culture joined forces and recruited 60 persons to participate in two development workshops and 31 persons, also primarily youth, to participate in the business school summer in 2012 (Danilova 2012).

Participants of the workshops represented a combination of younger generations and community elders. That caused a lot of hot discussion on how youth saw a future and how mature inhabitants expected it to be. Despite the intense discussions, youngsters and elders both benefited from the workshops and left the locality enriched with a better understanding of each other.

Young people recruited to the business school had project ideas to work with that belonged to one or another development priority that had been identified the regional Department of Economy mentioned above. Nineteen students showed up when the business school started. Aware of the social and economic environment in the region after taking part in the workshops, they produced in total 14 business projects in the field of agriculture, provision of services in rural communities, production of construction materials, social services, and low-cost shops.

## Securing connection to networks of support

When the workshops and business school were conducted, the Kortkeros regional authorities had managed to review their budget and raise republican money to support some of the business ideas. One of the means of support was a long-term municipal funding program "Development and support of small and medium-sized enterprises in the Kortkeros region". It included 3.2 million rubles for business project funding in 2012, compared with 1.8 million rubles for this purpose in 2011. The plan for 2014 was 4.8 million rubles for supporting entrepreneurship in the region. Along with financial support, entrepreneurs were also going to get consulting services (accounting, juridical assistance), help with property and business rent, marketing assistance, and help with the search for qualified personnel. Thirteen entrepreneurs got support of 1.5 million rubles each in 2012 from this municipal funding program. Five of them were the students of the business school the TN partners planned and conducted. One more student got a special grant of 800,000 rubles from the republican Ministry of Agriculture (Danilova 2012).

Two another important actors got interested in TN activities in Komi after the project was over. The first was the Center of Sustainable Development of the North under the Syktyvkar State University. The second one was the voluntary organization "Native Komi women". Both had Professor Galina Knyazeva as a leader. The Center provided follow-up support for workshops and business school participants. Several follow-up sessions were run in Kortkeros communities. The Center's experts provided renewed information on forms of support in the republic and in the country that was available to Kortkeros students via the Center. "Native Komi women" ran several village assemblies to get feedback on the challenges and successes the business projects experienced. The Center had also this kind of cooperation with

neighboring regions, such as Ust-Kulom where the TN continued its activities after PWBS was over. In that way, Kortkeros was embraced by the networks the voluntary organization of Native Komi women and the Center for Sustainable Development of the North had at their disposal.

I would also mention that more and more self-governance groups were emerging in the villages of Kortkeros at that time. Many of those who participated in the development workshops and/or business school continued to work with their ideas on social and infrastructural improvements for the well-being of inhabitants of the region. Self-governance groups of different villages interact with each other, share experiences and enthusiasm, and support one another when the challenges seem too demanding.

#### Conclusion

I would conclude that the six ideas of successful community work I shaped out in the first part of the article were of great importance for the PWBS project conducted in the Kortkeros region of the Komi republic. Anchoring the project at regional and republican levels of government allowed using public authorities as a coordinator of the project. Introducing the community development project to existing networks and forums on regional, republican, and international levels allowed useful feedback and improved planning and implementation of the development workshops and business school and helped create a feeling of ownership and higher engagement among the local population. The focus on teamwork (not conflicts and misunderstandings) let participants to get as close to the synergy effect as was possible and produced better results that if a single partner was working alone towards a goal. Analysis of resources, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats in the social and economic environment also allowed project participants to work with better and more appropriate business ideas and social initiatives. Connecting PWBS's participants to existing networks of support and providing follow-up solutions created a feeling of solidarity, kept enthusiasm high, and helped to hold the focus on the implementation of concrete ideas. All these have led to better cooperation between local and regional public authorities, the business community, and voluntary organizations in the Kortkeros region of Komi republic.

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## 3.3 The Gamvik project for youth fishing

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#### Introduction

Even if the number of people employed in the fisheries and the fish industry has dropped gradually over the last 20-30 years, the municipality of Gamvik and its inhabitants still depend very much on the fish resources and the different economic activities the fisheries generate in the four local communities that make up the municipality. The number of fishing boats and fishermen has been reduced by 40 % in this period, not only in Gamvik, but also in all the other fishing communities along the coast of Finnmark, Norway. Many people have left these communities because of repetitive crises in the fisheries and the fish industry, caused by changes in the global market for fish, but also by sudden, dramatic reduction of the fish resources ('Black sea') in the Barents Sea, at the end of the millennium. The 'Black Sea' problem was caused by natural variation and over-exploitation of the most common and most commercial fish species. As a consequence local fish processing plants, often so-called 'corner stone' industries, had to close, and many workers were laid off. However, bankruptcies in the local fish industries in Gamvik were nothing new. It had been more the rule than the exception over the last 20-30 years.

All these ups and downs in the fisheries and the fish industry have had a negative effect on the image and reputation of this important part of the economy and livelihood of the people in these communities. As a direct consequence, both the fisheries and the fish industry have experienced problems with recruitment, especially in relation to local youth. Even in good times, as nowadays, with plenty of fish and high prices in the market, the recruitment problem continues.

The problem is aggravated by the fact that most of the people that leave the fishing professions are under 30 years old. According to national statistics, the number of fishermen under this age

dropped from 6,924 in 1990 to 1,740 in 2008 (The Norwegian Directorate of Fisheries, 2010), in other words a 75% reduction in less than 20 years. Those left are getting older, with an average age of 55+ for the local fishermen in Mehamn, the municipal center of Gamvik.

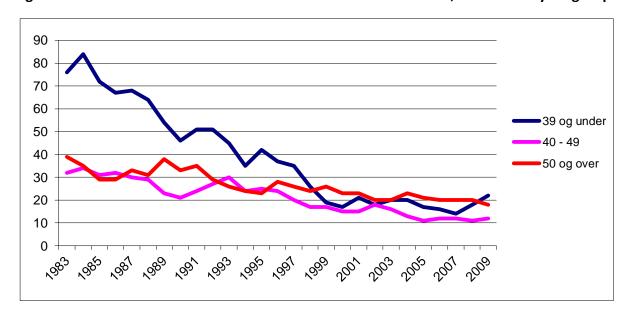


Figure 1: Number of fishermen in Gamvik between 1983 and 2009, divided in 3 year groups

Aware of the problem, both the Ministry and Directorate of Fisheries and local authorities in the fishing communities mostly affected have since the mid-1990s tried different means to solve the problem of recruiting youth to the fisheries. The project for youth fishing, that we are describing here, is one of them. Between 2010 and 2014, it has been implemented in 49 municipalities along the coast of Norway, including Gamvik.

## A flying start

In 1995, just after a new crisis followed by a series of bankruptcies in the fish industry all along the coast of Norway, including a newly built modern fish filet plant in Mehamn, the Norwegian Ministry and Directorate of Fisheries implemented several measures to strengthen this important sector of the national economy, including capacity and image building to attract and to train young people for the fishing profession. One of the new youth projects was called "Summer fishing", and later "Youth Fishing" project. By giving youth who were not registered as

professional fishermen, the possibility to fish and earn good money during their summer vacations, the authorities hoped to increase the recruitment of youngsters to the profession.

The project was popular among youth in many coastal communities, but it did not solve the problem of increasing number of 'drop-outs' from the fishing profession and other fish related businesses, nor the problem with recruitment of young men and women. Why? Maybe because the political and organizational framework of the project was to narrow, there were too many legal and practical limitations on the fishing activity itself, funding was insufficient and short term, and the "Summer fishing" project was not always well conceived and sometimes lacked support from the local business community and/or the municipal authorities where it was introduced.

When the Municipality of Gamvik launched their own project for youth fishing in 2010, the situation was completely changed. The legal and practical framework for who could participate and how much you could fish per boat and person, was made more flexible. The local project leader had long experience working with youth, as head of the culture department of the municipal administration. As well, the local authorities supported the project politically and financially. They realized how dependent the community was on the fish resources in the Barents Sea, and the fishermen that brought the fish on shore. This new understanding had taken hold after the last bankruptcy in the main local fish process plant in 2005, and takeover of the multinational fish industry and trawler fleet company Aker Seafood. The physical infrastructure of the harbour, and services to the local and foreign fishermen using the harbour as base for their activities, were also upgraded considerably by the municipality.

They actually started the youth fishing project and process in Gamvik the year before, in 2009, as an experiment to find the best way of organizing the project. After advertising for youth the municipality rented a 35 fooot long fishing boat from a local fisherman. In spite of short notice, 8 young men between 16 and 20 years old, signed on. During 1½ months in the summer of 2009 (July 7 to August 14) these youth caught a total of 5,700 kilos of fish. The 'pre-project' turned out to be a great success in other ways as well. It had no doubt made the fisheries and fishing profession more known and attractive among local youth. Based on the encouraging results from the pre-project, the municipal council decided to keep up their support, and granted 134,000 NOK for the following year. Between 2009 and 2013, the local project for

image building and recruitment of youth to the fishing profession received a total of 839,000 NOK from different sources, approximately one-third from the municipality of Gamvik.

For the period 2008-2012, the Municipality of Gamvik received in total 15.26 million NOK from the Finnmark County Administration earmarked for local business and community development. To this external funding, the municipality added 3.25 million NOK (approx. 300,000 to the Youth Fishing project) from their own budget.

							Total
	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2008-13
Image-building							
and well-being	221,000	220,000	175,500	460,000	178,000	75,000	1,329,500
Business							
development	670,000	120,000	432,000	408,000	768,000	295,000	2,693,000
Increase in local							
fishing fleet	245,000	486,000	675,000	675,000	178,000	600,000	2,859,000
Youth Fishing		100,000	134,000	150,000	295,000	160,000	839,000
Youth Project		100,000	75,000				175,000
Tourism projects	230,000	375,000					605,000
Visit Nordkyn		100,000	177,500	177,500	120,000	120,000	695,000
Administration	668,800		1,475,000	1,190,000	1,433,909	150,000	4,917,709
Slettnes							
lighthouse							
(tourism project)		30,000	200,000	400,000			630,000
Maritime							
Infrastructure		100,000	7,500		50,000	150,000	307,500
	2,034,800	1,631,000	3,351,500	3,460,500	3,022,909	1,550,000	15,050,709

## The main objectives

In earlier days, youth in the fishing communities along the coast of Norway were actively involved in fishing and fish processing activities, together with the rest of the local community.

Gargia conferences | 2004 - 2014

It is different today. Because of regulation, modernization, rationalization, and professionalization, but also the reputation of this sector of the local economy, youth have turned away. A combination of difficult access, because of the high cost of fishing boats and quotas, and low status for the fishing profession, there has been a dramatic drop in youth recruitment over the last 20-30 years. The youth have in general preferred other professions when they have made their career choices, very often encouraged by their parents, school teachers, and local authorities in the fishing communities. Even parents working in the fish industry or as fishermen/-women, very often direct their children toward other careers. Because of the crisis in the fish industry and fisheries and the insecurity it caused, they could not see a future for their kids in this sector.

The head of the Culture Department of Gamvik Municipality, a former fisherman, together with some activists among the local fishermen, wanted to do something to change this negative trend. The best way of changing the reputation of the fishing profession and the negative recruitment to the fisheries, was in his opinion through praxis, and not a theoretical approach in school. In the spring 2010, he decided to rent a fishing boat and invite local youth to go fishing during the summer months. In spite of short notice, 13 young men and 1 girl signed on. The ages varied from 12 to 25 years. The initiator knew most of the youth who signed on from earlier cultural projects run by the municipality.

The main objective of the Youth Fishing Project was to recruit and train local youth in the fishing profession. Indirectly the Municipality of Gamvik also wanted to use the project to improve the image of the fishing profession in the community, especially among youth. The high number of participants, together with the positive results in both fish catch and number of youth who finished the training program, secured the success of the project already in that first year. Good publicity for the project in different local, regional and national mass media helped as well.

## The training

The first and most important learning task was about security routines and equipment on board the fishing boat. All participants were drilled in handling different emergency situations that could occur on board before they were authorized to go out fishing. The youth also had to learn

how to angle the fishing lines, and kill and prepare the fish for delivery at one of the local fish plants. The procedure was developed in cooperation with the owner of the local fish plant with the highest quality requirements. Security, quality, and hygiene were all important goals in the training program. Navigation at sea was another important learning experience.

Even with the most modern equipment on board, fishing was a tough experience for everyone. The weather in the Barents Sea, on 71 degree north, can be extremely rough even in summer. All the youth, except one, finished the two month training program. This gave them an incredible boost in self-confidence, and quite a lot of money in their pocket. The most active ones easily earned around 20,000 NOK. The possibility to earn good money was no doubt a strong motivation factor for the first participants, and for recruiting new ones the following year.

But it was not easy money, far from that. The youth learned the hard way that the fishing profession is not a normal 8 to 4 job. Sometimes they had to spend up to 24 hours at sea, usually working in 4 or 6 hour shifts. This was no doubt their biggest challenge, especially for the youngest ones. They learned to be precise and responsible in their work. Negligence could have serious consequences for yourself and your co-workers on board the fishing boat. The lessons learned also helped the youth in many other ways as some were drop-outs from school, or had other problems with social adaption.

#### Both a social and economic focus

According to the initiator and leader, Øyvind Berg, the social aspects of the Youth Fishing project in Gamvik were as important as the economic ones. As head of the Culture Department of the Municipality he had long and varied experience working with youth in the community, including young people with social problems. The summer fishing project actively targeted this group of youngsters. And it was successful in engaging many of them, mainly thanks to the respect and confidence the project leader enjoyed in the group, as well as among local youth in general. He not only motivated and engaged them in the Youth Fishing project, but he also helped them connect better with the community, and to go back to school after the summer season was over. Every year since the project started, the project leader and the project have

motivated some of the participants (2 to 4) to continue their education at high school level, most of them with some kind of maritime specialization.

The self-confidence and discipline they acquired through their short but very successful experience as fishermen not only helped them re-integrate in relation to school and society, but also for almost any kind of work in the fisheries. While most of the youth that took part in the Youth Fishing project in Gamvik between 2009 and 2013 went back to school, some signed on as crew members on bigger fishing boats and/or started to work in the local fish industry on a permanent basis. Two of the participants have bought their own small boats, and have started fishing on their own. Nowhere else where the Norwegian Ministry of Fisheries' Youth Fishing project has been implemented can they show the same good results, both socially and economically, as in the Municipality of Gamvik. From the beginning, the project was 'anchored' in the municipal administration, from 2011 in the Nordkyn Development Agency, a consultant firm owned by the Municipality. This secured stability and continuation in the Youth Fishing project, both in the organization and funding of the project. Of the 49 communities along the coast of Norway that took part in the Youth Fishing project only Gamvik and Lebesby, the neighbour municipality on the Nordkyn peninsula, had chosen this model. All the others placed the Youth Fishing project inside the local fishing community, at the Association of Fishermen in most of the cases. However, this other model had problems with leadership, organization, access to fishing quotas, and fish deliveries. Both Gamvik and Lebesby were on the top of the list of quantity and quality of the fish brought ashore, and most successful in realization of the main goal of the project, recruitment of youth to the fishing profession, fish industry, and other maritime activities and businesses. The success also came as a result of both formal and informal cooperation between the two municipalities and project administrations. The leaders of the Youth Fishing projects in the municipalities of Gamvik and Lebesby, Øyvind Berg and Martin Ellingsen, are friends, and cooperated closely. They also complemented each other, Øyvind as the experienced youth worker and Martin as the young professional fisherman with his own 50 foot modern fishing boat. This cooperation across the municipal borders contributed to the success of the Youth Fishing project in both places.

#### The Youth Fishing project in Gamvik, discontinued in spite of success?

Good leadership and funding secured the continuation of the Youth Fishing project in Gamvik for four years, from 2010 to 2013. The project evolved smoothly - as if running 'on rails'. The number of youth that participated varied between 14 and 18 during this period. The project gave the youth important and useful practical experiences, skills, and competencies that could be used to get a job in the fishing profession, in the fish industry, or in the service sector. Half of the youth who participated followed the main goal of the project, directly or indirectly, by joining the local fishing fleet or going back to school to specialize in fishing, fish processing, or another maritime field of education.

The quantity of fish, mainly cod, brought into the community through the project increased every year from 2010, up to 20 tons in total in 2013. As mentioned, the fish from the Youth Fishing project in Gamvik had very high quality, and were much preferred in various exclusive markets in Central Europe because of this.

Both Nordkyn Development Corporation, the formal 'owner' of the Youth Fishing project, and the Municipal authorities of Gamvik, that partly funded it, got a lot of positive publicity and good-will on local, regional, and national level because of the impressive economic and social results. The first summer the successful young fishermen often figured in the media, on the front page of regional newspapers, in reporting on radio and even national TV. The good work of the young fisherman and their instructor helped improve the reputation of the fisheries, especially the fishing profession, among the youth, their parents, and the local population in general. It also helped in the formation of a more positive, but at the same time a more realistic and relevant, image of the local community as a predominantly fishing community. The self-confidence and pride of the participants in the Youth Fishing project was contagious, it 'infected' a part of the local population, as well as their representatives in the municipal council.

After the first season of the Youth Fishing project in Gamvik, Øyvind Berg and Stein Arild Olaussen, director of Nordkyn Development, travelled around the county presenting the project to anybody who wanted to listen. They visited Finnmark county administration, the regional branch of Innovation Norway and NHO, the national association of businesses. In Fall

2012, they presented the project at the Gargia conference on: Youth, Entrepreneurship and Rural Development.

Preparation for the Youth Fishing project of 2014 started not long after the summer season of 2013 was over. It was the most successful of all, with the best catch of fish and earnings. After 5 years of experimentation with the 'Gamvik-model', including the pre-project of 2009, the project was well defined and established. A total of 14 local youth had answered the invitation of the project leader. In the beginning of June, as usual, all the practical arrangements with the project's fishing equipment and boat were done. The youth who had been recruited were determined to beat the fishing record of the previous year.

On June 12, only one week before the summer fishing of 2014 was supposed to start, came a counter order from the Municipal authorities of Gamvik. Because of the difficult economic situation of the Municipality they could not afford to run the Youth Fishing project any more. No need to say that the disappointment was great among the youth who had signed on, the project leader, the owner of the fishing boat, and all the people in the community that had supported the project.

There were also some indignation and anger among the stakeholders, because of the last minute decision of the municipal authorities. After all, the Youth Fishing project needed only 100,000 NOK in support from the Municipality to be able to go for another season. Even though it was an insignificant sum of money in the overall Municipal budget, and the budget of Nordkyn Development Corporation, it was critical for the continuation of the project. The Youth Fishing project was not only operating in accordance with the central objective of strengthening the main economic activities in the community, fishing and fish processing, its first intent of recruiting young people to the fishing profession in Gamvik was also showing positive results.

Why then was the Youth Fishing project not continued? There are many different answers to the question. One has to do with the media. When the media after some time lost interest of the project, unfortunately, the same happened to some of the local decision-makers. Without the media 'spot light', it became "out of sight, out of mind".

The problem of 'small money' and 'small projects' in the Municipal administration is another plausible explanation for the discontinuation of the Youth Fishing project. It was administered by Nordkyn Development, but funded by the Municipal authorities. In the budget process between these two public entities, the project could easily fall 'between two chairs', and be sacrificed in favour of other more pressing or important issues. Apart from the project leader, and head of the Department of Culture, the Youth Fishing project did not have an advocate inside the Municipal council or administration who could champion and defend the project all the way through the budget process. This is strange; knowing how much the future of the municipality as well as the local business community depends on the recruitment of youth.

The Municipality of Gamvik had been going through a very tough time with bankruptcies in the main fish processing plant and many related service businesses. There was unemployment, outmigration, political conflict, and a growing budget deficit in the Municipal administration. Because of the severe social and economic situation, the Municipality was put under direct state administration in 2007. But at the same time they got extra funding from the central government to initiate a broadly organized change and development process in the community. Nordkyn Development Corporation was established to lead this process. When the Youth Fishing project started in 2010 the worst part of the social and economic crisis was over, and from there on the general situation in the community was improving. So, this could not have been the reason for the discontinuation of the project in the summer of 2014.

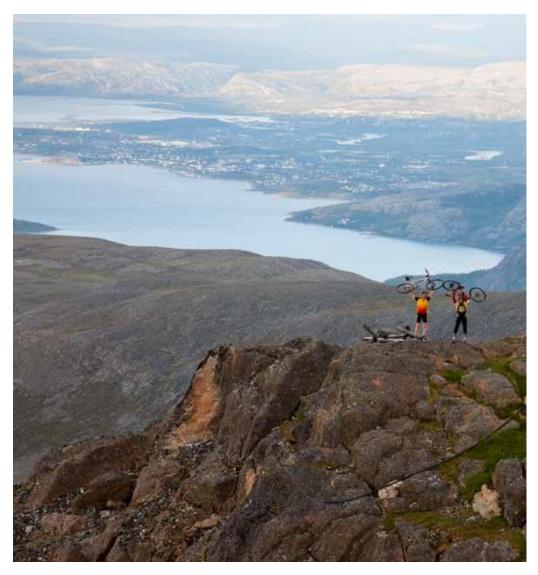
All things that end well are well, they say. The decision of the municipal council was, as mentioned before met with a mixture of disbelief, anger, and protest from participants and supporters of the Youth Fishing project inside and outside of the Municipality of Gamvik. As a consequence of the strong criticism the executive committee of the municipality soon after decided to include the project in the municipal budget again, from the summer of 2015. Through the debate that followed the closure of the Youth Fishing project, the decision-makers

and people in general became more conscious of the value of this kind of projects, not only for the recruitment of local youth to the fishing professions, but also for the reputation of the fisheries and the image of the municipality of Gamvik.

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# Section 4 Sport, tourism, and place development

"North Cape not only a tourism icon and destination"



Photograph courtesy of Tor Gjertsen

## 4.1 Sport, tourism, and community development: The Izhma case

## Julia Loginova and Valerij Rochev

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#### Introduction

In northern remote settlements, distances are measured in days but not kilometers and survival often depends on physical abilities and agility. Hence, the essential elements of the way of living and education of northern residents include physical activities and skill games. Historically, skiing and tynzey (lasso) throwing have constituted a significant part of everyday life for Komi-Izhemtsy. Gradually, they have been evolving into professional and amateur sports. The story of Izhma sportsmen is considered as one of the most successful in crosscountry skiing and national sports<sup>2</sup>. Drawing on the historical roots of traditional Komi sports, the article discuss the role of skiing and national sports in community development in Izhma region.

#### Izhma development partnership and workshops 2011

This study was conceived during the "Izhma development partnership and workshops 2011" project. The initiative belongs to the Thematic Network on Local and Regional Development of the University of the Arctic in partnership with a number of Russian non-governmental and educational organizations. The purpose of the project was accelerating socio-economic development of rural areas in the Komi Republic.

Sport activities in Izhma region had a big potential to become a focal point in the partnership-for-development building. However, the main representatives of the sport and sport enthusiasts have not been available to participate in all workshops and partnership meetings.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> National sports include: axe throwing of; tynzey (lasso) throwing on a horey (pole); sledge jump; triple national jump; cross-country running with a stick.

At the same time, the importance of sport-related activities for the community has been outlined already at the preparation stage of the project. A large number of social projects and entrepreneurial initiatives of local people have been linked to some sports activities. Among the ideas were such projects as ski rental services, weekends sport clubs, ski races, expanding national sports, extreme tourism, sport activities for adults, winter outdoor activities, etc. many of which held a potential to entry into the profitable sector.

The major objective of this study was to develop an understanding of the role of traditional sports in the community development process of the settlements of Izhma region. Drawing upon historical development, the paper explains the connection between the livelihoods of rural people and their engagement in sport activities, both on the professional and amateur levels. Further, the study assesses the potential of tourism development and other entrepreneurial sport-related activities initiatives in community development. The study was exploratory and interpretive in nature. The main sources of information have been the interviews with a physical education teacher, a trainer at a sport club, and sportsmen. Sport instruction, official documents, and media-content have complemented the sources of information.

#### History and roots of traditional Komi sports in Izhma region: cross-country skiing

Skis have been used in northern remote rural communities of Izhma region for a long time. Local hunters have been using fur-covered skis (lyampy). Skis have also served as a means of mobility and transportation connecting reindeer herding camps to villages where schools and public services have been located.

The development of skiing as a sport activity has been induced in the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> Century. It was the beginning of the formation of the regular army of the Soviet Union. Since then, young men have been recruited and equipped with army equipment, including wooden skis. Villagers used to bring skis with them to their homeland after the end of their military service. This marked the start of skiing competitions. Later, Komi-Izhemtsy took an active part in propaganda campaigns which stimulated the sport's development. A skiing tour Izhma-Syktyvkar (about 500 km) was one of the main projects. The outside temperature reached -40°C at night and skiers were moving 40 km per day.

The first sport school club "Belka" ("Squirrel") in Izhma region was opened in 1965. The number of young sportsmen increased each year. During several decades after the school opening, numerous local sportsmen took part in National Ski Championships, World Ski Championships, Olympic games, and many of them demonstrated outstanding results. Three of them have reached the level of Olympic champions in cross-country skiing. It is surprising for a region of nineteenth thousand people.

It has been suggested that livelihoods based on reindeer herding and appropriate way of living have contributed to the success of Izhma's sportsmen (Shomysova, 2008). Biography of the skiers informs us that they were born and raised in reindeer herders' family. Raisa Smetanina<sup>3</sup> spent all her childhood in harsh conditions of northern tundra. When she was three years old, Raisa got her first primitive wooden ski and skiing became a part of her everyday life. Raisa was found skiing to school and back home dozens kilometers per day. During her school time, it was a "big competition" between local schools in cross-country skiing which was a very effective tool in training and helped her to achieve good results. Raisa is a very industrious and hardworking person. These traits came from her reindeer herders' childhood and genes. After her achievements she has been called "White Queen". She became a part of world ski elite and a role-model for many generations of skiers.

From the point of view of Northern multisport coaches, sportsmen with reindeer herder's origin show better results, especially in the sledge jump, national triple jump, and tynzey throwing. It could be partly explained by physical features of body inherited from ancestors. Reindeer herders have always used special ski covering with "camus" (reindeer' hard fur) that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Raisa Petrovna Smetanina (born February 29, 1952 in Mohcha, Izhma region) is an honored master of sports of the USSR. Smetanina took part in five Olympics. In particular, Smetanina won two gold and one silver medal at the 1976 Winter Olympics, becoming the most successful athlete there. In the 1992 Winter Olympics, at the age of thirty-nine, Smetanina won a further gold medal in the 4x5 km, becoming the first woman to win ten Winter Olympic medals and at that time the oldest woman to win a Winter Olympic gold. Smetanina also had successes at the FIS Nordic World Ski Championships, winning four golds (20 km (1982), 4x5 km (1974, 1985, and 1991)), four silvers (10 km (1978), 20 km (1978), 4x5 km (1982, 1989)), and four bronzes (4x5 km (1978), 5 km (1974, 1978), and 20 km (1980)). In 1979, Smetanina received the Holmenkollen medal. She was also awarded Order of Friendship of Peoples (1984) (Shomysova, 2008).

require a special skiing technique. Skiers must make strong efforts with their big toe to move the ski. The technique had being used for many generations of reindeer herders and has caused a specific transformation of the foot that is passed on to generations.

# **National sports**

National sports have been mainly developed as a system of physical education of young generations for work activities such as hunting and reindeer herding. They were held in the form of games and competitions. Children played the games every day; adults took part in them during holidays after fieldwork, after deer calving, during weddings, and during traditional festivals and fairs. Simplicity and emotionality are the main features of the games.

Later, many of the games have been practiced as national sports (often performed as a complex and called the Northern multisport program). There are five kinds of national sports that are included in the program: five sports for men and three sports for women.

# Axe throwing (men only).

An axe weights over 350 grams and has a metallic part and a handle. The recommended size of the metallic part is 140-160 mms (length of blade), 30-35 mms (width of blade), 55-60 mms (length of butt), 30-35 mms (length of butt). A handle is made out of any wood material, preferably birch, pine, or larch. The recommended size is over 50 cm for length, 3.5 to 6 cm for width and 1.5 cm for thickness. The axes are made considering characteristics of a sportsman (leading hand, height, speed, etc.) The activity is held on a 50 meters wide open field. A sportsman has three attempts to throw the axe in order to achieve the best result.

# Tynzey (lasso) throwing on a horey (men only).

A tynzey is a lasso for reindeer catching made from skin. Its maximum length is 30 meters. A horey is a three meters high wooden stick. The distance between the throwing point and the horey ranges from seven meters (for children of age 8-9) to fifteen meters (for sportsmen above 16 years old). Sportsmen have three attempts to throw the tynzey in order to achieve the best result.

# Sledge jump (men, women).

The size of sledges for adults is 50 cm (height) x 50 cm (width above) x 70 cm (width below) x 120 cm (length). For children and girls the sledges are smaller (40 cm x 40 cm x 60 cm x 120 cm). Ten sledges are located on a straight line with 55 cm between each of them. A sportsman has three attempts to jump. The goal is to jump over all 10 sledges avoiding long pauses, to turn at the end (waiting period of 5 seconds is allowed), and to jump back. The sportsmen should make as many jumps as he can until he stops or moves a sledge.

# National triple jump (men, women).

Triple jump consists of three jumps without pauses. The movement of both legs should be synchronized. Each sportsman has three attempts to jump.

# Cross-country running (men, women).

The goal is to run with a stick in hand within a populated area or in rugged terrain. The distance is 5 km long for men and 3 km for women. The stick should be made of metal, wood, or other material and be less than 130 cm in length.

Natural, social, and cultural factors influenced the development of national competitions. Some of these sports were developed because they contributed to the development of specific physical qualities needed in the herding profession. For example, an axe has always been an attribute of hunters, reindeer herders, or fishermen. A reindeer herder could strike a reindeer leg with the axe in order to catch him. "Long hand" is the second name of a tynzey. Herders need just several seconds to catch a reindeer in the large herd. Tynzey throwing is the first test for a young herder, while tynzey throwing on a horey is the test for maturity. Another example is running with a stick on rough terrain. A stick has been used to cross swamps, ravines, and mountains, as well as during long walks (slogs) to relax shoulders and back. These are examples how a working attribute becoming a sport.

Other disciplines have been practiced with a reference to legends. For example, it is believed that a national triple jump emerged as a part of a legend informing us how hunters used to escape from wild animals, like wolves: a man was doing three jumps from stone to stone using his both legs and crossing a river.

# **Sports education and institutions**

In small communities, where many opportunities available in the big city are absent, the sports institutes fill in an important part of everyday life. Additional education for children and teenagers is on the mass form of development, occupation, and recreation. The institutes do pedagogical work with large number of children who are in need in recovery, occupation, and personal development during the time after school and in summer.

National sports have been recognized officially in 1928 when the Komi Regional Council of Physical Culture approved 7 different national sports. They were reindeer racing, axe throwing, cross-country running, tynzey throwing on a horey, sledge jumping, and the national triple jump. All of them were included in the Northern Reindeer multisport competitions. Usually, the competitions were held two times per year when reindeer herders were returning from pastures in villages and gathered together in Izhma center. There were 24 reindeer herders on the holiday "Reindeer Herder Day" in 1946, while the number increased to 60 in 1948. Men and women participated equally in the competitions.

Lessons of national sports at schools for children and youth within the Komi republic were opened only in the 1970s. The first republic festival of traditional games and national sports took place in 1990 with the purpose of preserving identity and reviving traditional physical culture, including national sports in education, and attracting youth to national sports. Since 1993, regional competitions in Northern multisport program were annually held in Izhma with participants from Syktyvkar, Naryan-Mar, Salekhard, and Inta. Since 2000, the Izhma team has been taking part in competitions of national level and many Izhma sportsmen have demonstrated good results. The Izhma team took part in the Russian Championships in Salekhard in April, 2000 (taking eighth place); the Russian Championships in Naryan-Mar, 2003 (taking second place); the Cup of Russia in Labytnangi, 2003; the Cup of Russia in Hanty-Mansiisk, 2008; Open Championship and the Cup of Russia in Yamalo-Nenets a.o., 2009. The Championship of national sports of the Komi Republic took place in Izhma in April 2010. Currently, Izhma is the only one area in Komi where national sports are still practiced.

Nowadays, the main activity of the Sports school for children and youth is skiing. Since the opening of the school, two skiers became international Masters of sports; twenty-five skiers

became Master of sports of Russia. There were 497 young sportsmen from 15 schools in 2010/2011 year. There are 10 full-time coaches and 10 part-time coaches. Annually, the Sports school conducts 12 or more local competitions, and 2 competitions of regional importance. Sportsmen from the School take part in regional and national competitions. There are three groups of the Northern multisport programs in the Sports school: at Kipievskaya school, in Izhma, and a new group in the Brykalanskaya school is opened since 2010. Three trainers have been educating 89 young sportsmen.

The development of national sports in Izhma region has demonstrated that Komi-Izhemtsy was able to continue practicing the traditional activities unlike other regions of the Komi Republic. People's wish to preserve their own culture and identity, as well as remoteness and isolation from the regional center, all contributed to sports development.

# **Sport and Community development**

Izhma region represents an example where community development processes can be linked with residents' involvement in traditional sports-related activities. Numbers of studies have shown that sports activities positively affect public health and contribute to the solving of social problems (Bowtell, 2006; Coalter, 2002). Moreover, sport is a very important factor of personal development and a part of the educational process. However, there are other dimensions of sports contribution to community development.

# Reinforcing identity

Relatively high levels of practicing traditional sports in Izhma region is a result of the strong identity of the people. As well, it is an important factor for reinforcing identity. On the one hand, Komi-Izhemtsy wishing to keep its own culture and traditions during the process of assimilation with Russia during Soviet times, and the process of globalization in the present time, have maintained and developed traditional sports. On the other hand, the practice of traditional spots allows younger generations to identify themselves with Komi-Izhemtsy as reindeer-herders. Traditional sports also brings the feeling of belonging to own nation and own culture.

# Formation of a "trademark"

The identity has another dimension. Sport education serve as a "brand", a "trademark" of the Izhma region that gives the community recognition and puts the community name "on the map". It creates attractiveness for the region and opens doors to the future. Initiating businesses on the image of traditional sports, like skiing and national sports, could have an enormous multiplicative impact for both community and economic development. Such "trademark" would give a reputation of being forward, and will attract new entrepreneurial initiatives and people to the region.

# Bridging social capital

Community development is connected with the active participation of community members in strengthening the community through involvement, mutual help, and cooperation (Coalter, 2002). Local sport institutes serve as bridging social capital for the local development in Izhma region. Geographically based Sports schools attract people of various backgrounds with the common interest in sports, especially for their children. The Sports institute equips individuals with skills, knowledge, self-esteem, motivation, and social relations which people can use in other contexts as well. Komi-Izhemtsy taking part in local competitions in traditional sports build social relations, characterized by democracy, openness, reciprocity, and trust, which facilitate the entrepreneurial spirit and contacts between various actors within the community. Moreover, sports activities might build social capital in the form of regional cooperation. Sportsmen from different regions participating in competitions build social cohesion between each other.

# **Traditional Sports and Tourism**

As traditional sports are an important part of Komi-Izhemtsy' history and culture, they hold a potential for tourism development. Among perspectives of tourism development in the region there are event tourism (the traditional holiday "Lud"), cultural tourism, and historical tourism that could be developed for tourists from inside and outside the region. Traditional sports could be a part of these tourism activities.

Nowadays, interaction between traditional sports and tourism could be found only during th traditional "Lud" festival. Besides many cultural activities, guests and local people are welcome to take part in national sports. Last year, the Republic championship in Northern multisport program was linked to the "Lud" festival. The main purpose was to attract more attention to the sports. The initiative is also interesting from the side that it involves sportsmen from outside Izhma region as tourists to the "Lud" festival. However, there were two main problems. First, as it is the Championship of the Komi Republic level and there are no traditional sports schools in other Komi regions, there were just a few sportsmen from Ukhta (former Komi-Izhemtsy) competing with Izhma-sportsmen. Secondly, the championship took little attention compared with other cultural events.

Earlier, sports were a part of the Reindeer herder Day. Reindeer race and national sports were essential attributes of the holiday. Unfortunately, since 2000 this event has not been held. Since reindeer herds became registered in Naryan-Mar, fewer reindeers approach into Izhma.

#### Perspectives of traditional sports in Izhma region

The rich history of traditional Komi sports in Izhma region, their background with reindeer herding, and the strong identity of people with their traditional way of life all indicates that traditional sports is one of the main assets of the community. Therefore, its further development has strategic importance for the region. It is also important to harness the power of traditional sports in developing community engagement and building community capacity (Bowtell, 2006).

Perspectives on traditional sports depend on local initiative as well as the involvement of people and administration support. Administrative support of traditional sports facilitates development. It is crucial to create a Department of Sports and Tourism Development within the administration of the region. A department with corresponding functions existed in the past, but was closed.

National sports education would also bring benefits if it were expanded further into remote settlements. This is also important from the point of view that reindeer herders' families live in such settlements and national sports will be popular among youth. Moreover, it will be possible

to find new talents in national sports. Izhma coaches and sportsmen could take the initiative to spread national sports among other Komi regions, such as Inta, Vorkuta, and other reindeer herder settlements. Demonstrating national sports in traditional festivals and providing master-classes, the Izhma' sportsmen could arouse an interest among the regions and contribute to the creation of national sports branches there.

Revival of the Reindeer herder Day could make a significant contribution to tourism development. Reindeer races have the potential to attract many tourists not only from Izhma region, but also from neighboring regions and big cities. For this purpose, it is necessary to breed a small herd of reindeers especially for tourism purposes. Practicing national sports should be an important part of the holiday. The attempt to make the activities "paid" could raise a wave of indignation because local people are not used to paying for such activities. The Reindeer herder Day should be intensively promoted in neighbouring regions and big cities of the Komi Republic. A well-organized and interesting holiday has a chance to be a successful initiative.

# **Program planning**

Sport development in the region should be built on planning process producing a strategy and action plan. Meanwhile, community participation in its development will be a critical factor in its successful implementation. Firstly, the program should be developed taking into account interests of all stakeholders: coaches, sportsmen, parents of young sportsmen, local people, businessmen, administration, civic society organizations, etc. Public hearings, individual and group interviews, and surveys are important tools to take into consideration stakeholders' interests. Moreover, the practice of creating a partnership that includes representatives of all stakeholders' groups and which operates on principles of equality, mutual trust, respect, and understanding, could be effective. Participating in all steps of the program development, implementation, and evaluation, the partnership will facilitate effective sport development.

Secondly, the program should focus on not only sports, but also community development. Thus, the program should have at least 2 dimensions: development of sport, development of community through sport. Development of sports inclusion could have the following desired outcomes:

- Active propaganda of sports activities;
- Removal of barriers to traditional sports participation in the community among population;
- Expansion of traditional sports in remote settlements;
- Training and support of leaders and coaches;
- Establishment of links between local schools, sports institutions, and the community;
- Intensification of national sports development, etc.

The main community development aim through sport is social inclusion. Such development will be more 'needs based', using sport to address broader aspects of social inclusion and as a means to promote aspects of personal, social, and community development. These projects aim to use sport to achieve social outcomes such as:

- Improving the fitness and health of population;
- Addressing issues of community safety and reducing levels of crime;
- Contributing to improved school attendance and educational performance;
- Developing social and technical skills, and increasing employability;
- Reducing level of alcoholism and suicide;
- Making the community attractive for living.

And thirdly, the program should be based on existing and potential projects, both productive and social-oriented, in the sphere of sport. Productive projects such as creation of a new ski rental services, popularization of national sports, extreme "touristic path", fitness centers, and others should be considered as a backbone for both sports and community development.

# **Summary**

Through analysis of historical roots of traditional Komi sports in Izhma region and its current situation, we have identified that sports has an important role in community development in Izhma region. Our conclusions are mainly:

1. Izhma region has rich history of traditional sports development. Cross-country skiing is the most important sport for the community. Due to their strong identity and reindeer herding background, Komi-Izhemtsy were able to maintain the practice of national sports unlike other Komi regions.

- Reindeer herding background is considered as one of the main reasons for the high professional sport results of Komi-Izhemtsy sportsmen. Analyses of Olympic champions' biographies and coaches' findings indicate that sportsmen with reindeer herding origin more often show better results.
- 3. The role of traditional sports in community development process in Izhma region consists in reinforcing Komi-Izhemtsy' identity, forming a regional "trademark", building social capital, assisting in solving social problems, and contributing to personal development.
- 4. Tourism application of traditional sports in Izhma region is in the process of development and is characterized as event-supplement for main cultural activities.
- 5. Further development of traditional sports has strategic importance for the region. Establishment of the Department of Sport and Tourism in the local administration, expansion of national sports within remote settlements of Izhma region and other regions of the Komi Republic, and revival of the Reindeer herder Day increase opportunities for the development of sports and tourism in the region.
- 6. Sport development in Izhma region should be built on a planning process producing a strategy and actions plan. Meanwhile, the community participative element of the development is a critical factor in its successful implementation. The program should focus on both sports and community development and be based on existing and new productive and social projects.

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# 4.2 Sport, enthusiasm, and industrial development in remote rural places?

# **Yngve Johansen**

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This chapter has its origin in the "Gargia Conference 2011" during which I gave a lecture on "Sports and image building in Finnmark". The purpose was to try to show how sport in smaller towns may have a positive impact in the community. This chapter is also done in collaboration with the industry.

# My background

We all have different backgrounds, but my background is probably unique. I grew up in a place without roads, and where the boat was the main transport. In my home, everything was what we today might call a private business. Revenues came from a combination of fishing, farming, hunting, carpentry, and other small tasks. It is also worth mentioning that I have Sami origin, both in terms of language and culture. I have all my years in school been living away from home, boarding in private accommodation as a tenant. I have teaching experience at the primary and secondary school level and at college. I am an Assistant Professor in sport and physical education. In addition, I worked for 10 years as project manager for various projects. I also have an active career as a player, coach, judge, and manager in volleyball. This chapter is based on the experience I have with volleyball through a period from 1973 to 1993.

# Alta – Teacher training at Finnmark University College, and Alta Sport Association

I came to Alta as a student at the then Teacher Training College. Here students came together from all over the country and some were also interested in volleyball. Volleyball quickly became the main activity in the student club. In these early years all five teams were in the league in Finnmark. The 1970s was a politically active time in the student community, and this also affected the operation of the student club. It was reflected in the fact that anyone who wanted to play was allowed to play in league matches and participation was not necessarily based on

training attendance or skill. For some of us who wanted to invest more in volleyball, this was not a form of organization that developed performance. This meant that some players who wanted to focus more on the sport got together and formed a subset of Alta IF. Sports that were in focus in Alta IF then, as now, included football, handball, and skiing. Those who initially played on the team, were people who moved here. In addition to the volleyball team that did well in the men's league, it was also invested in having a wide range of teams so that the group had many active players and a nice tone among them. Afterwards, I think Alta IF's volleyball team has been very important for visitors to Alta, through education, employment, or military service. This was an arena where they met their visitors with an interest in sports. Many who showed up were athletes from other sports who had a desire to train in an inclusive environment.

# Karasjok – IL Nordlys

In my student period in Alta, I chose Karasjok as the place for my first job as a teacher. This was done because the site had a good volleyball environment. But in 1979, the place had very poor training conditions. As a coach and player I had to make the best of the situation, and we developed a fast game and more specialization of individual players. In the period before the sports hall was opened in Karasjok in 1981, we played our home matches in Lakselv, which is 75 km from Karasjok. When the hall was opened in Karasjok, it showed that the volleyball interest in the population was big. In the most there were about 500 people in the hall watching our matches, and the other matches were also well attended. IL Nordlys was the best volleyball team in Finnmark, both among men and women, over many seasons. In the 1981/82 season, IL Nordlys won the Division 2 championship for men in Northern Norway, and played the qualification to the top division, but lost 15-13 in the final set. Karasjok is located only 18 km from the Finnish border, and this was an advantage because we had players from Finland and had both good practice and new ideas from there.

Businesses in Karasjok have rarely been based on sales outside the municipal boundaries, except the knife forge and sales related to tourism. Industry sponsored the volleyball team, and the team paid this support back with ads in the program, advertising sails on walls, advertisements on jerseys, and by getting positive reviews in the newspapers in northern Norway. In addition, visiting teams used something of what in the village could offer when they

came for games and tournaments. It is difficult to measure, but it seems that success in sports brings pride among the residents, something which also can create optimism and perhaps greater performance in their work.

# Båtsfjord - BK Sats 72, Sats 72 Båtsfjord, Båtsfjord sportsklubb

Båtsfjord wanted to focus on volleyball, and I was asked to come there and be a playing coach. Since most volleyball players in Karasjok in the men team were moving from the place and could pretty much only play the matches, it was impossible to maintain a good level. I did not really want to move to Båtsfjord, but at the time it had rather a lot of good players and the place is really just 70 miles from my home. So in the autumn of 1986 I moved to Båtsfjord and stayed there for five years. What was special about Båtsfjord, was that the private sector was clearly visible as many had their work in the fisheries and fishing industry. In addition, the export value of the fishing industry was quite high, even in this period there was a reduction fisheries.

This meant that the economic conditions were better for each player, with less time going to voluntary work and there was no need for user fees for traveling. I was also coach of the women's team that eventually played in all-Norwegian 1 Division. For the men's team, things went even better with games in the 1991 European Cup. During this period, Båtsfjord's four clubs merged into one, with the purpose to make the place name more well-known, and to coordinate resources better and professionalize the administration by hiring a daily manager. This merger also supported the business community in the municipality. Since there was also a decline in the fisheries, as the volleyball team began to achieve good results it was our accomplishments on the volleyball court that helped as a way of maintaining optimism on the site. This was reinforced by the municipality and the private sector which provided good conditions for that sport to develop, including when new players were bought.

# Theory based on my experiences in sport

In closing, I look at some features of which are based on my experience over a 20 year active period as a player, coach, referee, instructor, and administrator (including three years chairman of Finnmark volleyball circuit). Figure 1 shows that the awareness level of sports performance

under the international level decreases in relation to site size. This means that an equal sporting achievement will be more noticed in the villages than in larger places. This is because sports performances in bigger places struggle with many other achievements for attention, which is less in smaller towns.

—attention

Rural Small town Big town

Figure 1. Awareness Level for sports performance in relation to size on site

Figure 2 shows that sports performance over at a certain level (Norwegian Championships, etc.) will in smaller towns be remembered longer than in larger sites. This is because the larger places have more wins, and the expectation of large areas is also larger because such performance will be repeated more frequently. In addition, it is not expected that the smaller sites will be able to obtain peaks, it is especially true in team sports. If a smaller place can do it, it is almost seen as "unnatural."

to size on site.

Figure 2. Value of sports performance among the population in terms of perspective, related

Value of sports performance in relation to time Rural Small town Big town

Table 1 indicates that it is easier to achieve athletic success in bigger places than in smaller towns. In larger sites, there is basically more talent and larger places in Norway also have higher institutes for education, which provides access to talent (often coming from small towns for that education). Having good "neighbors" makes it easier for athletes to compete as they have short travel distances, meaning less time and fewer expenses on travelling. When it comes to access to money and sponsorships, this will not only be dependent on site size but also on local businesses and the level of sports activity. In this area, the club's ability to market will also have a major impact on access to funds or other benefits. My contention is that the smaller the place is, the greater is the local enthusiasm and the greater the percentage of the population who are engaged around the team or as spectators. This also applies when it comes to media attention.

Table 1. Positive and negative aspects of sport in smaller towns compared to major cities.

	Smaller places	Larger cities
Population, access to talent	-	+
Opportunities for education	-	+
Attention from the media	+	-
Travelling, spending and access to the	-	+
competition		
Access to sports facilities	-/+	-/+
Local enthusiasm	+	-
Access to money, sponsorship	-?	+?

Yngve Johansen

# 4.3 National holidays as a multiplier of ethno-tourism in the Komi Republic

#### Galina Gabucheva

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#### Introduction

The Komi Republic has a vast territory, and a rich historical and cultural heritage. There is untouched wildness in most regions, which is a prerequisite for the development of various forms of tourism.

A relatively new, but actively developing, sphere of tourism industry in the republic is ethnic tourism linked to the lifestyle and traditions of the Komi people. People increasingly want not just to travel in comfort, but also through a special experience where they learn and try something new. How did our ancestors live without electricity? How did they stoke the stove and light up the house? What tools and objects did they use in everyday life? How did they cultivate crops, hunt, and fish? How did they conduct holidays and feasts, what did they drink and eat, how did they sing and dance?

Due to the geographic isolation of the Komi Republic, this Northern European ethnic culture is preserved in the form of traditions and customs, ideas about the world and beliefs, used instruments of labour, clothing and housing, monuments of antiquity, and legends and epic tales. This certainly provides a good basis for the development of ethno-cultural tourism in our region.

## Ethno-tourism in Komi

Today, a number of ethno-tourism projects have been developed by some travel agencies within the republic. They are oriented to acquaint visitors with the culture and way of life of the Komi people. One of these recognized projects in our region is the private estate "Voyvyv Sikt" ("Northern village") located in the village Sizyabsk of Izhma area. The project is aimed to

explore the reindeer-herders culture of Komi-Izhemtsy. During the year, the estate is visited by about 1,000 people, including tourists from the Finno-Ugric regions of Russia and other countries.

Nowadays tourism is recognized as one of the priorities of socio-economic development by the government of the Komi Republic. State support of traditional national holidays that are the hallmark of the republic, promotes the formation of ethnic tourism as a new resource for the development of our region. I would like to present a number of national holidays that are the base for important ethno-cultural projects in our region:

Ust-Tsilma Gorka (Ust-Tsilma Hill) is unique for its original dances, preserved from time immemorial. Gorka is a traditional festival designed to encourage conservation and the unique culture of Old Believers of the Ust-Tsil, a people living in the north of the republic. The roots of this holiday evolved from the archaic representations of pagan worship to the sun — "Yarilagod". People gathered outside the village on a hill and greeted the sun with songs and dances. The Gorka ceremony was an important part of the spring-summer cycle and belonged to the category of so-called "sacred holidays". Today the "Gorka" is led on St. Peter's Day (July 12). In the evening, all the villagers gather together on the shore of the Pechora River, kindle fires, cook porridge, commemorate the dead, and compete in agility and strength. Then the Gorka begins in the morning on July 13, the bright, colorful dance of the Ust-tsilema people.

Holiday of the Komi-Izhemtsy "Lud". Since ancient times in every Izhma village, people came out to celebrate this event before going to cut hay. The "Lud" is held in early July in Izhma village and includes a number of different national ceremonies and holiday items, including "Round dance of Brides", where young girls not only present national costumes, but also the knowledge of traditional culture. This action is an improvised presentation of meeting potential brides and grooms from different villages of the region. An impressive spectacle of celebration is the demonstration of sportsmen in national sports. Horse-riding races on callow makes the "Lud" unusual and original. This competition presents the transformation of traditional the wranglers' run before festivities. Similarly, the grass was trampled and the place for festivities was leveled.

The Hunter's holiday "Voralysyaslon Gage" is held in late September every two years in the village Eremeevo within the Troitsko-Pechora region. The holiday presents the unique hunting culture the Komi people have kept for a long time without any transformation and loss of the rich experience of many previous generations. Historically, Komi-hunters lived in the Eremeevo village, which was founded in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. Hunters from other villages gathered together in that location before expeditions over the Urals. Hunting dynasties were formed in the village. Today, Eremeevo' people still hunt and fish, maintaining the traditional way of life. The hallmark of the village is the "Eremeevsky march" that is traditional dance-outdoor fête of whole village. In the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> Century there were 60 figures of traditional dances performed in the march. Now, according to local residents, there are about 20-30 figures kept. Among them there are special figures as "salmon fishing net braiding".

Holiday "Komi book" takes place in Udora region, each year in a different village. This year the holiday was held for the 25th time. The aim of the holiday is preservation of national traditions and popularization of the works of writers and poets from the Udora region. The holiday is a meeting place of writers and poets with young and adult population. Summaries of local content "Keen on reading", creative laboratories, and concerts are parts of the holiday. The main activities of the republic holiday, such as writers and poets meetings, book exhibition, national cuisine, arts exhibition, gala-concert "My unforgettable Udora", concert "Young Udora" are held in Koslan village.

**Reindeer herders' holiday** is held in Izhma and Inta regions in March, and in Vorkuta in November. The Reindeer herders' holiday is a colorful event, which expresses the ethnographic features of a region. The peoples of the Far North and their ways of life are of interest for city people and are exotic for people from other regions. During the holiday, reindeer herders compete in the national sports like reindeer racing, sledge jumps, and axe and lasso throwing.

There are national festivals which are of big interest for tourists. These include:

- International Festival "Zavalinka" that takes place in early July in Vylgort village of Syktyvdin region. Every summer the festival brings together dozens of art groups and professional artists. Despite its "young" age, the festival "Zavalinka" won the All-Russian professional award "Faces of Theatre of the masses" in 2011. "Zavalinka" is a music festival aimed at the revival of interest in native land, its music and culture.

Traditionally, the celebration of this musical festival includes talented youth groups, a festival of street rap bands and disco teams, as well as the performance of Russian and foreign "stars".

- -Festival of modern Komi songs "Vasiley". It has been held on the eve of St. Vasilii since January 1993. The founders of the festival are three men from Ust-Kulom region.
- **Festival "Shondiban"**. This includes bright, original bands and individual performers who present music, songs, stories, rituals, and folklore preserving all local Komi people traditions. Each year the festival is held during Komi Republic Anniversary.
- There is also the orthodox religious complex of sacred sources in Yb village (Syktyvdin region), Trinity-Stefano-Ulyanovsk friary, Ust-Vym Mihail-Arhangelsk friary, and Kyltovsky convent, which attract visitors. As well, the heritage of the GULAG period also interests tourists.

Ecological tourism is in the process of development. The project "Manpupuner rock formations" in Troitsko-Pechora region recently became one of the "Seven wonders of Russia". The biggest projects of United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in Russia designed to strengthen the system of protected areas and eco-tourism development is implemented within the National park "Yugyd Va" territory and Pechora-Ilych reserve.

This year the Komi Republic is celebrating its 90th anniversary. It was the impetus for the presentation of a number of tourism projects, including:

The "Finno-urgish ethno-cultural park" in Yb village of Syktyvdin region. The park is a multifunctional year-round complex with functions that include cultural, educational, sport, and entertainment centers. The main idea of the park is the application of ethnocultural features with consideration of the cultural, intellectual, and social needs of modern population of the Komi Republic and its guests. Nowadays, the park is the biggest project of the region. The first turn of the park was introduced during the Komi Republic anniversary. In the near future there will be additional entertainment, educational, and sports infrastructure. The range of activities will allow the park to become a favorite place for recreation and leisure activities for both children and adults. The park has attracted great interest among citizens and guests of the republic. During two months, about 50,000 people visited the park.



The tourist train "Northern Lights". This project is a journey in luxury carriages tied on to the regular trains. The carriages follow the route Syktyvkar-Vorkuta railway, as well as branches to the Udora region and the Troitsko-Pechora region. Excursions are included in the routes. Tourists will be able to visit Syktyvkar, the historic village of Ust-Vym, Ukhta, Sosnogorsk, Inta, National Park "Yugyd Va", Pechora-Ilych Reserve, as well as to fish and hunt in Udora region and also visit the Malpupuner plateau. Tourists may visit reindeer herders, ride reindeer, try national cuisine, and come down into a mine. The carriages are designed according to a special project and they have everything for exacting travelers: irreproachable interior, security, and telecommunications.

The route "In the footsteps of Old Believers" allows visitors to take a ride to the places of old believers on a tourist boat for 14 people. The tourists will have an opportunity to take part in the celebration of "Ust-Tsilma Gorka", to catch fish, visit Skitskaya village, which is on the site of the Velikopozhenskogo monastery built by the old believers.

The project "Untouched heart of the Urals" gives unique opportunities for ecological tourism development. This is one of the most interesting routes. The route passes through the national park "Yugyd Va". It begins in Inta. The next day tourists go to the foot of the "Narodnaya" or "Managara" mountain. A tour-guide is available. There are excursions to the "Ghelanyi" mine where rock crystal and silica were extracted. Crystal druses are the hallmark of the Polar Urals and are highly appreciated by specialists. Another excursion, "The Legends of gray Urals", includes visits to sacred historical and cultural sites and natural monuments, such as "The Old Master", "Stone Woman", and "Shaman Mountain".

Nowadays, ethno tourism for the Komi Republic is the combination of various types of tourism and ethnographical expeditions. It is impossible to imagine it without national holidays and festivals that allow for the discovery of the history and culture of Indigenous people, and to

meet masters of crafts and tradition keepers. Such events attract people interested in ethnic travels and help to stimulate the influx of tourists in a particular area. Ethnotourism is needed already today, and will be more needed in the future, due to its uniqueness and originality that provide great opportunities for the Komi Republic development.

Galina Gabucheva Government of the Komi Republic, Russia

# 4.4 Tourism development in Saami communities in Finland

# **Eeva-Maarit Aikio**

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#### Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to give first a short theoretical background about the situation of tourism as a livelihood in Saami communities and after that to present the challenges Saami tourism entrepreneurs are facing in the Saami communities in Finland. It is based on work and interviews with Petteri Valle, a Saami tourist entrepreneur and chairman of the Saami tourism and entrepreneur association.

Saami communities' economic development and modern livelihoods have not been researched very much. Communities are facing modernization and globalization, which means also the coexistence of traditional and modern livelihoods. Reindeer herding, fishing, and hunting are not anymore the main livelihoods for the majority of Saamis, but they still have very important roles in Saami communities. The Saamis are an Indigenous people living in the region called Sápmi, which is located in the area formed by parts of four countries: Finland, Norway, Russia, and Sweden.

Saami tourism is a modern livelihood, using Saami culture as a basis of tourism products. On the one hand, tourism has a long tradition in some Saami regions, and nowadays you can find tourist destinations referring to Saami culture in all of Sápmi, and even wider. In Finland, Saami culture is also commodified in tourism by non-Saamis and the souvenir industry. This has not been seen as very acceptable among Saamis, especially when the traditional Saami costumes used in tourism businesses are not authentic and they are being worn the wrong way (such as the women wearing pieces that belong to the men's Saami costume). As well, the use of traditional Saami symbols in hotels and products has been under critical public discussion. This has also affected some Saami entrepreneurs who felt it is not acceptable to use their own Saami costumes in the tourism business, where they present their own culture for others.

Utsjoki is the only municipality in Finland where the Saami people are the majority. It is traditional a Saami living area, where reindeer herding, fishing, and hunting have still important roles for local inhabitants and in the local economy. The Teno River, which is a border river with Norway, has had a dividing and uniting roles in the history. The effect on the local culture can be seen easily. Tourism has over 100 years of tradition in the Teno River area, mostly based on salmon tourism during the short summer season. At the moment, tourism is seen as the only livelihood which has some potential to develop in Utsjoki, at the same time when traditional livelihoods are giving less and less income to the local population. This chapter discusses the challenges that Saami tourism is facing in Utsjoki. This will be discussed through the transformation of the tourist destination and the role of innovations in tourism development.

#### Transformation of a tourist destination

Tourists seek experiences and they have various channels to find information about possible tourist destinations. After reading the destination webpages, brochures, or guide books and tourism literature, tourists have expectations when they are going to the tourist destination. Perhaps they have also seen movies or documents dealing with the destination, or heard from friends or from social media about the destination. When they come to the tourist destination, the tourism experience is formed from different services (including accommodation, food, transportation, attractions, program services etc.) which are independently provided in that same location (Asworth 1991, in Gordon and Goodall 2000). This should match the expectations the tourist has created before she or he comes to the destination.

The described "discourse of region", together with "discourse of development", together form the identity of a tourist destination (Saarinen, 2001). The discourse of region includes the information the tourist gets from the material produced for marketing or other purposes, but also from other tourists. Saami culture and Saami people has been widely commodified when marketing Finland, or Lapland, or individual tourist destinations. It has created expectations that Saami culture can be seen and experienced in the tourist destination. This is not always the reality. The discourse of development includes institutional practices and policies that are affecting how the destination will be developed and how tourism is seen as part of the development. Saarinen based his theory on the idea of the region (Sack, 1992), which does not

tie the region to artificial boundaries. This makes it possible to think of the destination as geographically flexible, but also to research destinations from different time perspectives, including the future. In this chapter, I discuss how the discourse of development has affected the tourism development in the Finnish part of Sápmi.

# Saami tourism as Indigenous tourism

Saami tourism is usually included as Indigenous tourism, which has been researched quite widely. Indigenous tourism has been seen both as a possibility for Indigenous people and their economies, but also as a threat to them and their culture. Butler and Hinch (1996) have defined Indigenous tourism as an activity in which Indigenous people are directly involved. This involvement can be in two very different ways: either through direct control, and where their culture serves as the focal point of the activity or attraction. For example a woman, in a dress that looks like a Saami costume, dancing with Santa Claus in the Arctic Circle, is classified as "Culture Disposed" tourism, where the Saami have a low degree of control but where the Indigenous theme is present (www.visitrovaniemi/...). We can also talk about "Culture Controlled" tourism, where the Saami have both control and the Indigenous theme is present, like in some reindeer herding farms.

#### Innovation in Saami tourism

Tourism business needs innovation to develop, but innovation in the tourism sector has not been researched much. Innovation is generally a new idea, product, or process of production that has been implemented. It has been innovation, for example, when Saami culture has been commodified for marketing tourist destinations, the souvenir industry, decoration, costumes, tourism products, etc. This is a kind of traditional way to look at innovation as giving information about how the Saami culture is commodified in tourism businesses, and how successfully, in economic terms, it has been done.

Innovations can also be researched from a wider perspective, when innovations are seen as reforms that improve social and economic capacity. This includes social innovations referring to changes which aim to support ecological sustainability, social cohesion, social equity, or balanced development of the region (Virkkala, 2008). This definition makes it possible to study

the commodification of Saami culture in the tourism industry from a Saami community perspective, or to discuss the role of tourism in Saami community development.

Nyseth and Aarsæther (2005) have studied innovations in the municipalities of Storfjord, Kåfjord, and Kautokeino with an aim to analyze whether ethnic context makes any difference to innovations in the local context. They found that while some of the innovations that were introduced were not especially remarkable, it was the introduction and focus upon an application of innovative processes that was making a difference. They also noted a wider impact on the local (and wider) Saami society from participation in the tourism sector. By helping to make Saami identity more visible, there was a growth in pride about both community and culture. Luthje (1995) also brings up the attitude around impacts of using Saami culture in tourism in Finland and has pointed out that in addition to the negative impacts, tourism has also positive impacts like forwarding knowledge about Saamis and their present position and culture, strengthening Saami identity, as well possibilities to develop culture, heritage, and livelihoods.

In Jokkmokk, Sweden, Müller and Huuva (2009) found some challenges to the growth and expansion of Sami tourism in Sweden. They focused their research among reindeer herding tourist entrepreneurs, and found that the stronger the culture was embedded, the more difficult it was to develop tourism as an alternative source of income.

It looks like that tourism is not clearly accepted as a Saami livelihood among Saamis. If we look at the tourism innovation theories, and Saami tourism and entrepreneurship research, it can be assumed that there are specific conditions both for innovations and social innovations in Saami tourism. This raises the question about whether tourism based on Saami culture could be that kind of reform for Saami society that improves Saami communities' social and economic capacity.

#### Saami tourism - a Saami livelihood?

As mentioned earlier, the identity of a tourist destination is dependent on the policies and development activities targeted to that destination. If we look at how interpretation of the Finnish legislation and Saami parliament policy reflects the growing commodification of Saami

culture in tourism and Saami tourism entrepreneurs, it can be told that there is a discussion and change going on. This is related to the ongoing global discussion on the development of Indigenous cultures. According to Heinämäki (2010), minority cultures should have the possibility to change and develop. If the protection of culture in international law systems is tied too strongly to traditional livelihoods and ways of living, the change and development of culture are problematic for Indigenous peoples. Self-determination should mean peoples' right to decide their own development, according the principles of international law.

It looks like the constitutional Law committee of Finland has widened the meaning of Saami livelihoods to include, inaddition to traditional livelihoods, the livelihoods that have been derived from traditional Saami livelihoods (PeLV 38/2004). Also, the Finnish government has referred to this statement (HE 154/2004). The Saami parliament is acting according Saami parliament law and the definitions and interpretations of Saami livelihoods in the law have meaning for its activities. Saami tourism as a livelihood is mentioned in the Saami parliament's work programs, as well as in the various statements parliament has given for authorities and projects. In the action plans, tourism has received more and more attention. It has been mostly mentioned as a combination livelihood together with traditional livelihoods. Parliament sees that modern industries give young people the opportunity to stay or return home. This requires, however, the possibility that Saamis self-manage their living conditions and support economic development policy through the essential elements of the Saami culture. (Saamelaiskäräjien toimintaohjelma 2004-2007, Saamelaiskäräjien toimintaohjelma 2008-2011).

In addition to statements and negotiations with authorities, the Saami parliament is preparing separate Saami sections to some of the regional development programs. For example, in the rural development program of Lapland is mentioned (Lapin liitto):

The aim is to develop Saami tourism livelihood according the Saami sustainable development —program, based on Saamis' own culture and its traditional knowledge and know-how capital. Tourism is seen as significant mean to secure regions employment and economical development, as well to maintain and regenerate cultural destinations. The objective is to further tourism based on small volumes and when possible as supplementing traditional livelihoods. Additionally authentic and high-quality Saami nature and cultural tourism will

especially be supported. Saami tourism trademark will be created. Development of tourism offers livelihood and possibilities to live in home regions for many Saamis. (Freely translated by author).

According to previous documentation, it looks like the discourse of development that is affecting Saami regions as tourist destinations will be more and more identified through Saami culture, or at least the institutional policies are giving more space for tourism activities based on Saami culture. If this livelihood is accepted within the Saami community, it is easier for Saami entrepreneurs to use their own culture in tourism business. Valkonen (2009) has written that traditions and unity, like 'one nation – one culture' grouping, were used to strengthen the nation and Indigenous nation building. This on the one hand can give self-confidence, but on the other hand may make those Saamis who are not working in traditional livelihoods feel like outsiders of their own culture. But this also gives opportunity to have discussions within the Saami community about the relations and acceptance of livelihoods, and thus Saamis are themselves creating their own future. These discussions and creation is going on.

There are also new actors in the development discourse, responding to discussions about Saami nation building, Saami community development, and creating a future for Saami communities. The Saami tourism and entrepreneurship association was established on 2009 in Utsjoki to further the rights of non-traditional Saami livelihoods in Saami living areas. The activity has been based around Saami tourism until now. Entrepreneurs felt that the policy of Utsjoki municipality and Saami parliament did not support tourism as a Saami livelihood. The association brings out alternative economic activities, in order to keep the Saami culture and living area alive. The association's activities include statements to ministries like Agriculture and Forestry Ministry, for legislative initiatives, and for the Saami parliament (Valle, 2010). Petteri Valle (2010) is very concerned about the preservation of Saami culture and its vitality, not only in Utsjoki, but also throughout the Sápmi. He suggests open discussion about what Saami people and communities really want: Saami culture should be a visible part of the region's business development activities, and thus keep the Saami culture alive, as well transfer traditional knowledge to young people. Traditional Saami handcrafts and knowhow is dying. For example, reindeer herders are no longer using traditional cloths, but Goretex. In this context, it is about ethics. If they offer tourists historical reindeer trips to the mountains, is it ethically right for tourists to wear Goretex? Using traditional Peski (reindeer fur coat) and shoes would

also give livelihoods to local craftsmen, but there is strong opinion that Saami handicrafts are not allowed to be sold for tourists or tourism purposes. So the debate should take place, if there is a need and willingness to have Saami tourism as a Saami livelihood.

# Saami tourism and community development – between tradition and modernity

If we think about Saami culture and tourism, there is a change going on. Traditionally non-Saami tourism entrepreneurs, as well regions and even the state have been innovative in using Saami culture in tourism marketing and in tourism business. At the same time, tourism has not been seen as an acceptable livelihood within Saami society in Finland. Until now, the Saami tourism has often been "Culture Disposed" tourism, where Saami culture has been used by non-Saami entrepreneurs. This has meant that Saami communities have not benefited.

Globally, interest towards tourist destinations with an Indigenous presence is growing, with demands for authenticity. This makes it possible to reconsider the commodification of Saami culture in the tourism industry within Saami society, but also wider. There are possibilities to take tourism as an accepted Saami livelihood and see it as a social innovation, which is supporting living possibilities in Saami regions and simultaneously supporting a living and developing Saami culture. It looks like that tourism will be more and more accepted as a Saami livelihood, at least among interpretations in legislation, Saami parliament policy, and among Saami tourism entrepreneurs.

Real acceptance of tourism as Saami livelihood would most probably change the identity of Saami culture-based tourism from "Culture Disposed" tourism to "Culture Controlled" tourism. But this would need the commitment both from policy makers within the Saami community and the Regional authorities to direct the policy and development strategies and means towards authenticity. When commodification of Saami culture is done by Saami tourism entrepreneurs, it is possible to define within the Saami community what to show and tell for tourists. As long as the Saami community is not accepting tourism, this defining will be done by others, because when there is a demand there are also those who want to respond to that demand.

As Butler and Hinch (1996) have argued, the pace, scale, speed, and form of development is generally determined by those exercising the greater degree of control. This is a big question for Saami society and it is good to remember that changes always take time and sometimes need generations. But this is also a big question for whole Finland, where commodification of Saami culture in tourism purposes has a long tradition.

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# Section 5 Development challenges in Indigenous communities and regions

"Between tradition and modernity ... "



The foreign participants at the Gargia conference in 2010 listening attentively to the introduction to Sami reindeer herding and tourism given by Brit and Lars Mathis Gaup in their 'bealljegoahti' in Hillagurra, Tana.

Photograph by Gunnar Sætra, courtesy of UiT-Finnmark Faculty

# 5.1 The nature of Finnmark between traditional use, international capital, and central political power

# **Svein Lund**

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#### Introduction

Finnmark is the largest county in Norway. It is also the county which both absolutely and relatively has the most nature which so far is not destroyed. Nature is the base for fishing, reindeer herding, agriculture, and outfield harvesting. Nature is also the base for – and exposed to – leisure and recreation activities like hunting, sport fishing, hiking, and snow scooter driving. In nature there is also the foundation for profitable activities like mining, power plant building, etc.. This has made Norwegian and international capital put its eyes on the county. Government as well has its plans for the county. In the meeting between all those who are interested in using nature in Finnmark in different ways, the environment can be squeezed and become the great loser. Traditional uses of the land can also easily become a loser in the meeting with big money and state power. Today, nature of Finnmark is more threatened than ever.

In the Finnmark Act it's written in §2: The act applies to real property and waterways with natural resources in Finnmark county. In the shoreline the act applies as far out in the water as the private proprietary right reaches (to where the marbakke or the steep underwater slope close to the shore line starts, or at a depth of 2 metres). But the nature of Finnmark does not end there. The coastal inhabitants have always lived from the resources found in the fjords and the open sea, both the ones found more or less stationary on the sea bottom and the ones moving in greater areas. If the fjords are depleted of fish and the sea tangle forest disappears, an essential part of the nature of Finnmark would disappear.

The exhaustion of the resources in the fjords, decided and defended by the power in Oslo / Bergen / Sunnmøre, has led to traditional fishing being reduced to a tiny fraction of what it was,

and the traditional adaptation to fisherman farmers to scarce remnants. This is both a loss of resources and nature, and as such also an issue for us as a nature conservation movement.

#### Traditional use - what is it?

In Sami tradition, traditional use is called "árbevierru", meaning a custom you have inherited. It means that this custom has been used by at least one generation before yours. Although, for instance, reindeer husbandry went through great changes as direct and indirect consequence of the introduction of the snow scooter in the 1960s, there is still an unbroken tradition of the knowledge which is needed for the herding within the families, and in the siida organization.

In referring to traditional use in Finnmark, I mean the ways in which the local population use the nature for grazing for animals, cultivating and harvesting fodder for those animals, for hunting and catching, fishing in the sea and the lakes, picking berries and other edible plants, wood chopping, and gathering materials for duodji/handicrafts etc.. What can be considered as tradition is a much-debated question. Recently a debater asserted that the spring duck hunt in Kautokeino cannot be considered a Sami tradition, since the Sami have not produced shotguns themselves. With such exorbitant demands one can define away all traditions, and consequently overrun them. The traditional use of the nature is practiced by members of a local population, who have felt closely connected to the terrain and landscape they use, and consider that they have the right to such a use, often an exclusive right or first claim, whether this right has been fixed by law or not.

In older days, there was no clear distinction between livelihood and use. People harvested from the nature, ate what they picked, fished, or caught, and traded or sold what they did not need themselves. To a great extent they lived from a combination of livelihoods, or subsidiary income, as it is called. To the extent they had paid employment, it was often temporary, seasonal, or part time. Now paid employment has become the main livelihood for most people, but simultaneously many have continued to harvest in the traditional manner. In order to speak about traditional use it is, therefore, not necessary that it is the main income or a registered income as a lot of traditions are connected to what we refer to as "matauk" (increasing the household's food supplies by harvesting from nature).

According to tradition, when one went to the outfields it was because one had something useful to do there, not for sport or recreation. Hiking just for the sake of hiking, different kinds of sports, and hunting and fishing for sport are not part of the tradition. Ways to use nature which have been introduced recently also do not belong to the tradition in Finnmark, whether it is fish farming, fishing for king crab, or gathering mushrooms and shells for eating.

Traditional use of the nature can roughly be divided into four branches, which traditionally have overlapped: reindeer husbandry, agriculture, saltwater fishing, and use of the outfields (hunting, freshwater fishing, gathering of berries and plants).

# Reindeer husbandry - for whom?

Reindeer husbandry has been a greater or smaller part of the compound basis of existence for many, as either the main or subsidiary source of income. Though there is often greatest focus on those who have reindeer husbandry as the main source of income, I will say something about reindeer husbandry as a subsidiary source of income.

The old verdde-system (system of exchange of goods and mutual help) meant that a family or a siida living from reindeer husbandry had special contact with a family living on the coast and often one living in the inland area. These families owned a few reindeers in the herd, and took part in the work with, for instance, dividing, slaughtering, and moving the herd to pastures on islands. This arrangement was abolished by law in 1978, something which contributed strongly to destroying the solidarity between the nomadic Sami and the settled population, and led to growing contrasts between these groups. Little is left of the verdde-system today, and to the extent that it still exists, it is more informal as the settled population is not allowed to own reindeer. Today reindeer husbandry as a subsidiary source of income is mostly a phenomenon within the reindeer herding families, when someone in the family has reindeer husbandry as the main source of income, while others make a living from other jobs and just take part in the reindeer husbandry in the seasons when they have the possibility to do so.

Ever since reindeer husbandry on a larger scale developed in Finnmark, most likely in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, it has been organized in siidas. Every reindeer herd was assigned fixed grazing areas for different times of the year and fixed routes of transhumance between these. This system

has been continued and is now referred to as reindeer grazing regions, which are regulated from the Reindeer Husbandry Act and the Reindeer Husbandry Administration. But there have often been conflicts between the internal systems the reindeer herding the Sami themselves have created and the authorities the government established to regulate reindeer husbandry. This can be seen in the winter pastures in inner Finnmark, where the siidas traditionally had their respective areas, but these have not been fixed by law. Formally there are large cooperative pastures, something which has contributed to conflicts among the reindeer herding Sami and to overexertion of the pastures.

Reindeer husbandry is a complex system, and not easy for third parties to understand. It is not possible to measure reindeer pastures in square kilometers and do a calculation of percentage, as mining supporters in Kvalsund do when they assert that the mine will occupy only 3% of the reindeer pastures and it would be sufficient to give compensation for 3% of the reindeers, or as when a politician during the Alta-struggle happily concluded that the entire expansion of the watercourse would only affect the pasture for 21 reindeer. Different forms of pastures and landscapes need to be available at specific times of the year, and one must also be able to move the reindeer herd between them. If there is only one open passage between two pastures, what happens if this passage is closed? As one reindeer owner put it: If you have a house with two floors and remove the staircase between the floors, you haven't reduced your net living space by 5%, but by 50%.

# The fisherman-farmer versus the agronomist

Traditional adaptation of livelihoods has been typical for Finnmark, when ways of living adapted to nature and to each other. For a long time it was not uncommon for people in the fjords to have a double pattern of moving: One moved between 2-4 dwelling places changing by the seasons, and one changed some of these dwelling places every 10-20 years when certain local resources had been exhausted and needed time to come back. The increase of population led to more permanent settling with time. But still the farming was mostly extensive low impact: one cut the grass, but neither ploughed nor sowed, and did not fertilize beyond what the animals themselves left behind. Also seaweed, sea tangle, gurry, branches and heather were used to fodder the livestock. This comprehensive adaptation made it possible to use so-called marginal areas and run the farms with small capital expenses.

This way of living was in conflict with the southern-Norwegian farming tradition and the ruling power's ideas about what was "modern". That a great part of these fisherman farmers spoke a different language than the official one was seen as just another proof of how old fashioned and outdated they were. Through deliberate colonization strategies, great parts of Troms and Nordland were populated by farmers from the south, often smallholders or farmers' sons who were promised their own land in the north. The regulations of the Land Act of 1902 states:

"Proprietary rights must only be given to Norwegian citizens and under the particular considerations to promote the population of the district with what to the district, its cultivation and further utilization is a suitable population, which can speak, read and write the Norwegian language and make use of this in the daily life."

The legislation, loan, and support systems, and the system of municipal and county agronomists and fishery directors were used to favour those who focused on either agriculture or fishing rather than those who made a living from a combination of the two. What in the end ended most of this old adaptation of livelihoods along the coast was a combination of ideological campaigns and the lengthy influence from harsh juridical and economic realities.

### Small smack versus trawlers

As far back as we have historical sources, there have been conflicts concerning who has the right to fish in Finnmark. In the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century three main groups fished along the coast of Finnmark:

- Sami, who in large part fished in the fjords in combination with livestock breeding and livelihoods of the outfield,
- Settled Norwegians, who in large part lived in the outer fishing villages, and
- Seasonal fishermen from Troms and Nordland.

Until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the right of the local population to fish locally was mostly respected. But fishermen from outside exerted pressure to open fishing everywhere, and as they succeeded there began an endless line of clashes cover the use of these areas and protests from the local population about ruined fish stocks, seabed vegetation, and the fishing tackle of local

fishermen. There have been conflicts between fishermen of the fjords and fishermen of the sea, between fishermen from Finnmark and North-travelers, and also between Norwegian and foreign fishing boats. Russians and Finns have been fishing, in particular in Varanger, from olden times. From the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, English trawlers have been fishing along the coast of Finnmark despite the protests from the local population.

If one would summarize this history briefly, one could say it has been very difficult for local fishermen to get support from the central authorities for necessary regulation to protect fish stocks, vegetation in the fjords, and the livelihood of the fishermen in the fjords. The northern fisheries have had little influence on the legislation and regulation of fishing by the Ministry of Fisheries and Directorate of Fisheries. Among the fishermen in Finnmark, only a few shipowners on the outer coast have had significant political influence. The result is that the Sami fishermen in the fjords to a great extent have lost their livelihood. A decisive blow occurred when new quotas on coastal fishing were introduced and many small fishermen were denied a quota.

When the government in 2006 appointed the Coastal Fishing Committee, many trusted that this injustice would be corrected. The Committee did their job, but after pressure from the ship-owner-dominated Norwegian Fishing Group, the government rejected the entire report. The development has instead gone in the opposite direction, with Acts to reduce the fishing fleet and transferable quotas which have excluded a great part of the population of fishermen and prevented the continuation of local fishing traditions.

# Livelihoods and use of the outfields

From as far back as we have archeological evidence, nature has been used for food, building materials and heating, clothes, and different essential utility articles. This is of course true everywhere, but we can say that Finnmark is the county in Norway where these traditions have been best preserved. There are rich natural resources here, the population has been small and earlier the settlement was rather scattered, and there has been no significant power preventing people from making use of local resources.

In relation to plans for establishing several protected areas, a recent survey in Guovdageaidnu on the extent to which people made use of the natural environment showed that a great part of the population actively uses nature for personal well-being and for access to local, good, and healthy food. Only a small part of the population sells enough of what they gather that it produces a registered and taxable income. But many exchange or sell informally and surely many contribute to their own households through gathering food, firewood etc. which they otherwise would have had to pay for. If one asks why people are out in nature, it is often this aspect of utility which is brought up.

Just as the state has wished for solely specialised farmers, fishermen, and reindeer owners who are dedicated to these livelihoods full-time, the state has also wished for livelihoods in the outfields to be carried out on a large scale, making a big economic profit. For instance, a rule has been introduced demanding that in order to get dispensation for driving in the outfields for trade purposes, one must have a registered taxable income of at least 50 000 NOK from this specific livelihood in the outfields, for instance fishing or picking berries. Those who do not fulfill this criteria are then reduced to tourists by the regulations, even though they harvest in areas which have been used by their families for generations.

### **International capital in Finnmark**

International capital in Finnmark is not a new phenomenon. The rich resources of fish and marine animals attracted interest from further south since the 14<sup>th</sup> century when Hanseatic merchants based in Bergen bought fish from the north for exported into Europe. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Dutch ran whaling stations, and more recently foreign trawlers have been a threat to fish stocks and inshore fishermen. The fishing industry has more or less operated under Norwegian ownership, the most important exception being the Swiss company Nestlé, which ran the Findus-factory in Hammerfest from 1962 to 2000, and which also owned trawlers connected to the factory. In negotiations with the EU and EEA, an important question has been whether the free right of establishment also should apply to the fishing industries.

Traditional livelihoods in the county have to a great extent been protected from foreign acquisition, both because the law sets restrictions and because they have not been very

profitable investments. But this does not mean that the areas used for the traditional livelihoods have been left alone – especially when it comes to mineral industries.

The first mine in Finnmark of considerable size was the copper mine in Kåfjord, opened in 1826 with English capital and leadership. Later, Swedish investment replaced the English. Sydvaranger mines were run with German and Swedish capital from 1906 to the Second World War, and after some decades of state management the mine is now owned by an Australian company. The nepheline mine at Stjernøya is now being run by Sibelco, which according to their own information is a "truly multinational business, today operating 228 production sites in 41 countries". The quartzite quarry in eastern Tana was started by a Norwegian company, but has now been bought up by Chinese capital. Of the two mining companies with projects now competing for permission to start, one (Arctic Gold) is a Swedish company with significant elements of German capital, the other (Nussir) is formally Norwegian but with substantial elements of British, Canadian, and Belgian capital. Of the companies which have secured rights to lease in Finnmark, Canadian Dalradian Ressources is by far the biggest.

# Finnmark and the central political power

"Finnmark has therefore since ancient times been regarded as a colony." This is what the Ministry of Finance said of Finnmark in a letter of 1848. Later it has not been regarded as acceptable to speak about Finnmark as a colony, but the comparison makes sense for both the time before and after this letter was written. The Vikings did not only make Viking-raids towards the east and the west, but also to the north. The "Finn-raids" meant seeking out the Sami, trading with them, and robbing them or demanding taxes from them. Northern Fennoscandia was a victim of ravaging and tax demands from at least three states contemporaneously: Norway (later Denmark-Norway), Sweden (including Finland), and Novgorod/Russia.

Gradually larger and larger parts of what is now Finnmark became an established part of the (Danish-) Norwegian state, but it is not possible to single out one specific year as the date the county was incorporated. Still, the county kept a unique position since almost all the land was considered state property. How did the county become state property? The above mentioned letter of 1848 gives this explanation: "The original Finnmark has in fact been considered as

belonging to the king or the state since olden times, because it originally was populated only by a nomadic people, the Lapps (Sami) with no permanent dwellings." This quote demonstrates how one thought: use does not give right to land if one does not have a permanent dwelling and cultivate the land. This is actually the only known explanation of what later was called Statens umatrikulerte grunn (state owned land not written into cadastre).

When the land was defined as belonging to the state, the state could use the land, and sell the land to whomever it wished, and that was most often not the ones using the land. The state could also decide who had permission to hunt, fish, and pick berries. And since those who used the land locally did not have the documents for it, the state was free to construct roads, power plants, military camps, etc. without having to expropriate. While the outfields in southern Norway were in a patchwork of private properties, where only a few chosen people could hunt and fish, Finnmark was open to everyone. As communication and transportation improved, the county became an Eldorado for anglers and grouse hunters from the south. The plain was open to everyone. Who cared that some people without formal legal rights lived here and had been using the resources to subsist for generations?

## Did the Finnmark Act change anything?

But Finnmark has values under the earth. The Mining Act makes a division between the minerals of the state and the minerals of the landowner. But in Finnmark this division did not make any difference, since the state was the landowner. After 25 years of clarifications and many years of quarrels, in 2005 the Storting passed an act to transfer the land of the state in Finnmark to an agency elected by the Sami Parliament and the county council.

The expectations for the act were great, as well as the fear that the act could lead to racial discrimination, privatization, and exclusion of the general public. But after having observed the practices of the Finnmark Estate Agency (FeFo) and the Finnmark Commission, we have to say that neither expectations nor fears have been fulfilled. The administration of Finnmark seems to have continued as before, just under a different name. Of the changes that have taken place, several have been counter to what was expected.

It is claimed that with the Finnmark Act, the population finally became the master of its own house. But did it? While the Sami rights committee proposed that the public administrative agency should be called the Finnmark Land Administration, the Storting rejected this and passed the name Finnmark Estate — a name which in itself was a provocation to everyone who doubted that the agency really held the proprietary rights to 95% of Finnmark. But they did get the proprietary rights, although there is the reservation that those who wish to claim proprietary rights to some of Finnmark can report these to the Finnmark Commission. The decisions made by the Commission do not indicate that this percentage will be particularly reduced.

Several questions remain: what this proprietary right includes, what FeFo has the right to do with its property and what they have the right to deny others to do? These are comprehensive juridical questions. As mentioned before, the property of FeFo finishes at the marbakke (the beginning of the steep underwater slope, which is normally a few metres out in the sea). Therefore, FeFo has no authority when it comes to fishery regulation, threats against life in the sea, or oil and gas extraction.

In the Finnmark Act, §19 states "Land owned by the Finnmark Estate, can be made into national parks following the rules in The Nature Diversity Act". Resolutions concerning national parks or other protected areas are made by the Storting or the Ministry of the Environment. When a protected area has been established, the centrally-determined rules concerning the use of the area are put into force. In practice, this means that when an area is protected, the government takes back administration of this area from FeFo.

The Mining Act establishes that most of the minerals in Finnmark are minerals of the State, independent of the proprietary owner of the surface land. The rights to these minerals was, therefore, not included in the proprietary rights passed on to FeFo. Permission for searching for minerals is still being given by the Directorate of Mining in Trondheim, and the ultimate permission for extraction is given by the Ministry of Environment under instructions from the Ministry of Trade and Industry.

Development of water power on the land of FeFo can happen upon obtaining a license from the Norwegian Water Resources and Energy Directorate. The proprietary owner can object, but

does not possess the rights to anything but financial compensation where economic loss can be proven.

The administration of hunting and freshwater fishing is to a great extent executed according to central laws, such as the Nature Diversity Act. The Finnmark Act also sets strict restrictions on the extent to which FeFo can control this administration.

Several EEA regulations against discrimination of EEA-citizens can also put limitations on what FeFo can decide about priorities to or exclusive rights to the natural resources for the local population, the inhabitants in the municipalities, counties or Norway. The conclusion, when it comes to important matters which can influence nature in Finnmark, the population in Finnmark has not become the master of its own house.

# FeFo in practice

Although FeFo does not have an absolute right to self-determination, it has certain latitude and can provide an opinion on many important matters where others have the final word. To what extent have these options been used, and in what direction has this use pointed? This is also a very complex question, and I will not attempt to give any fixed conclusion, but I want to show a few examples, which in my opinion do not bode well:

- While Statskog (the Norwegian state-owned land and forest enterprise) always distributed small areas for collecting firewood to people living in the countryside in Finnmark, FeFo introduced a fee for these. Not great sums, but the principle was more important. The people felt that these areas were their right, not something they could most graciously be given the consent to use. From FeFo's side, this became a demonstration of power: We have the property right now and common people only have the rights we consent them.
- Until the Finnmark Act was introduced, there was a law establishing that foreigners could only go freshwater fishing up to 5 km from public roads. One of the first things FeFo did was to remove this law, making it possible for foreign anglers to drive on public bare ground trails and snow scooter trails far into the mountains to go fishing. Already

there have been complaints that Finnish anglers are emptying the lakes. FeFo claims that the EEA agreement required them to change the legislation, but they have still not attempted to insist on their demands and possibly take their case to court.

• In a number of cases the FeFo-management decided to give permission for bigger environment interventions, such as mining and development of waterpower, and contemporaneously in principle rejected any establishment of new protected areas.

In conclusion, the interaction of proposals from the Sami rights committee and the Finnmark Act has intensified many old conflicts in Finnmark. It has led to many quarrels and caused bad blood, both in the newspapers, within most of the political parties and organisations in the county, and among the common people. Compared to this the practical results of the Act, thus far, have been minimal. One could ask whether it all has been worthwhile.

### Nature in Finnmark, before and now

Against this backdrop, the time has come to have a look at how nature in Finnmark has changed, or been changed through time. Such research has never been carried out, so this will only analyze few elements. As I know the changes of the past 30-40 years best, I will put emphasis on those years. I hope someone will follow up and make more thorough, scientific, and precise research. Most of the environmental changes in Finnmark result from human influence, and include both direct and indirect influences.

I consider indirect the changes that are caused by climate changes. We do not have the complete picture of these changes, and it is difficult to determine to what extent some of these are caused by climate changes or other factors. But at any rate, notable indirect changes can be mentioned, including:

- The plain is overgrowing, the tree line is moving higher, and the plain is becoming more grass and less lichen,
- Warmer water in the sea, fish stocks transfer, new stocks arriving from the south (king crab, mackerel etc.), and
- New animal species arriving or spreading (elk, roe deer).

Among the changes which are more directly connected to human interventions are:

- New roads,
- More tracks in the outfields, both regulated and unregulated,
- Snow scooter wear and tear and disturbance of wildlife,
- Decline of cultivated land, the strong reduction of sheep grazing in many areas, reduced goat stocks, abandoned fields being used for reindeer grazing, intensifying agriculture, and the end of haying in the outfields,
- Increased destruction of vegetation from reindeer husbandry due to a high number of reindeer, fences, and use of motor vehicles,
- The reduction of fish stocks in many fjords,
- Aquaculture industry impacts such as pollution of the sea and seafloor, genetic pollution of wild salmon through mixing with escaped farmed salmon,
- Large fluctuations in fish stocks due to overfishing affecting herring, capelin, codfish, halibut, redfish, and others.
- Disappearance of the sea tangle forest along a great part of the coast, increase in stocks of sea urchin,
- Shifts in forestry creating more strain in some places,
- Tourism, cottage areas, grouse hunters, sport fishing in freshwater and the sea,
- Military sites (German from the war and Norwegian later) has impacted the environment and excluded reindeer husbandry / livelihoods in the outfields, pollution from artillery ranges,
- Development of water power at Pasvik, Porsa, Porsanger, Repvåg, Alta, Kvænangen affects reindeer husbandry,
- Mines and the search for minerals/shale around Sydvaranger, Repparfjord,
   Austertana, Biedjovággi, Stjernøya, Alta, Loppa, and Laksefjorden, and
- Actions of preservation have reduced the strain in some areas, such as natural parks and reserves, but have led to an increased strain in popular hiking areas.

### Conclusion

The nature in Finnmark has always been used by the people who live here. It is not an untouched nature, it is not wilderness, and we should quit using expressions like this in environmental management or tourist advertising. But the county has had, and still has, a

relatively large area that has not been struck by industrial intervention. This area is in great decline and threatened strongly in many places. At the same time, virtually the entire county is threatened by the reduction of the quality of nature due to smaller interventions such as the constructions of cottages, the increase in motorised traffic in outfields, and changes in grazing. The nature in the fjords and on the coast outside Finnmark is important and is threatened by petroleum and gas activities, discharges from mines, and overfishing.

A lot of the nature in the county has already been destroyed, and a lot of the destruction which is taking place on a daily basis is very difficult to put a stop to overnight. Some destruction is irreversible. Yet, we must still have roads in Finnmark, we need bridges and harbours, residential areas, and factories. Most of the currently operating power plants should probably be allowed to continue to run, although I have to admit that my big dream is to demolish the dam in Čávčču and start a great project to restore the nature to make the Alta River and valley as it once was. A closer project, which my local group of the Norwegian Society for the Conservation of Nature has introduced, is to restore and re-vegetate Biedjovággi, to return the mining area to nature and reindeer husbandry.

If we wish to take care of the nature in Finnmark for future generations, both of population in Finnmark and tourists, we should call a "time-out" for further expansion projects now. Furthermore we should return rights to the traditional livelihoods and uses, and ensure that this use will be hindered neither by actions of expansion nor by actions of preservation.

Simultaneously we must not forget that the traditional livelihoods also leave traces. A book about Sami history is called "On soft leather shoes in the history." But Polaris and Yamaha do not wear soft leather shoes, although the person seated on top of the snow scooter wears a lasso around his neck and chants a joik while driving. We should set an aim of strongly reducing the use of motorised vehicles within the reindeer husbandry and the livelihoods of the outfields, both out of consideration for nature and the people who live by these livelihoods themselves.

There are many ways of using nature, both traditional and non-traditional. Traditions which exist in some places are unknown elsewhere. Lastly, I will argue for the non-traditional uses of the nature, for collaborations between science and the local population to also utilize the

nature resources in less traditional ways. We already find a few examples in Finnmark, we have firms producing herbal teas, spices, syrup, and pesto from natural products. We have production of cordial and wine from crowberries. This is still on a very small scale, and is only making use of a negligible amount of the resources. If you would like to buy candied Norwegian angelica, cordial of meadowsweet, or other delicacies you might be lucky to get hold of it in Sweden.

Finnmark has a long tradition of use of certain medicinal plants, but this has largely disappeared today. Simultaneously, our nature is full of other medicinal plants which do not have traditions in the county, but which for instance have been used in Russia, Finland, and other countries. There are also our enormous resources of mushrooms, which rot if not eaten by reindeer or cows. There is a great potential in both traditional and non-traditional uses of nature. A great part of these resources can be harvested for sale and produce income. Just as important is the use of natural products in households. This makes life and health better in two ways, both by harvest and use. I would also like to argue for the mixing of private and commercial use, and the exchange of natural products both with neighbours and acquaintances who live in areas with different natural resources.

But if we are to make use of, and further develop, both traditional and non-traditional ways of using nature, we need to confront the idea that only full-time, year-round work is good enough. The environment in Finnmark provides a foundation for seasonal work and combined livelihoods. I think we need to return to this approach, and back to the mentality where there is no clear division between work and leisure time, between occupation and ways of living. This, of course, means facing the challenge that this approach fits neither with international economic interests nor with the national power in the south. But people in the north have struggled against these forces for centuries, so we should be prepared to continue to fight for yet some time to come.

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# 5.2 The right to traditional resources and development programs

# **Steinar Pedersen**

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## Introduction and some reflections on exploitation of resources in the North

In this chapter, I intend to say a few words about development programs, the vital importance of securing traditional natural resources for those who always have used them, and addressing an example from Norway – concerning fisheries – which is not in accordance with that principle. But first, a few words about the general policy towards northern, Arctic, and Indigenous societies, the way resources have been exploited here, and how our regions have been looked upon in the different Arctic states. It is no secret to any of us that the northern parts of the Arctic countries today often are characterized as regions in need of subsidies from the south. On the other hand, it is not taken into account that people living in the north and their local communities, are facing a situation where their traditional resource base to a large extent is getting out of their own control. That is true concerning both maritime and terrestrial resources.

It does not count that Indigenous peoples of the North have been living on the shores, along the ice edge, along fjords and river valleys, in the mountains, and in the forests of the Arctic and subarctic area for more than ten thousand years. And why have they been able to stay and survive for such a long time? It was because they did not exceed the limits of nature's sustainability. Their management of the renewable resources was normally adapted to the carrying capacity of nature.

The competition for traditional resources is not a new phenomenon. People in the North faced that situation already for hundreds of years, when people from outside started exploiting both the renewable and non-renewable resources in the North. Those who came had one single ideology: to maximize economic profit for themselves. Different species of mammals and fish were almost entirely eradicated in some ocean waters. But those responsible for these acts

could move away from what they called a frontier area, and leave the negative consequences to the peoples who had been living there from time immemorial – and who still wanted to do so

In that respect - let me remind you about the firm connection between Indigenous peoples and their home communities — an observation from Western Finnmark, made by an outstanding eighteenth century author, Knuud Leem. He simply stated that: "A Sámi is as little willing to leave his domicile, as a person sentenced to death is to go to the scaffold".

In many Indigenous areas, it has been made more and more difficult to stay in the local communities where people were born. One of the reasons is that people are getting less access to make a living off the traditional resources. An example is the coastal Sámi of Norway. The marine resources have been the most important basis of existence along the coast and fjords of northern Norway for more than 10-12,000 years. In fact, Sámi fishermen and hunters are the first people ever described in a written source, on the coast of northernmost Norway, at the end of the 9th century.

During those 10-12,000 years of settlement, and until the last few decades, people living along the northern coast of Norway had an unconditional *right* to fish in their local and regional waters. During the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Century, there also existed several formal regulations which ensured that the inhabitants of the county had the prerogative to fish in the nearby waters. What in fact has happened within the management of fisheries is that a large part of the

coastal Sámi population, along with other small scale fishermen in the same region, gradually have lost the *right* to make their living off the traditional local and regional fish resources. They have always pursued a sustainable fishery, but this ideology of sustainability gave no reward when a new fishery regime was introduced. In 1989, those who had acted according to the principle of not overexploiting the cod stock were excluded from getting their fair share when the so-called vessel quotas were introduced. They had not fished enough!

Since then the quotas have been made tradable, privatized, and thereby increasingly become a private profit making commodity. According to the Sami Parliament of Norway, established in 1989, those regulations have disregarded both customary and Indigenous Sami rights to

traditional fisheries in the local waters. This development poses qualitatively new challenges to the coast Sámi and other small-scale fishermen with regard to maintaining culture and settlement structures in the coast and fjord areas in Norway, north of the Arctic Circle.

Another distinguishing feature of the fishing history of Finnmark, and other North Norwegian sea districts for more than one hundred years, is the intense struggle of the fjord populations to secure local fishery resources against overexploitation from outsiders using big vessels and ships. In this struggle, they usually had to fight both government fishery agencies as well as those who had economic interests in maintaining this kind of non-sustainable fishery.

Until recent years, the big vessels and the purse seine ships had unrestricted access to the fjords to catch herring and capelin. It is easy to understand that when the capelin and herring were swept away – species which are the food basis of the important cod – that stock would leave the fjords, too. The outcome was that the fjord fishers with smaller boats were left empty-handed. Likewise there has also been a very strong local resistance among the public and local authorities, against the big purse seiners catching coal fish in the innermost parts of some fjords in Finnmark. The resistance against the use of Danish seine, and automatic long lines in the fjords, has also been strong.

This kind of exploitation of fjords and local waters for generation after generation has had grave consequences for local fishermen with smaller boats, many of them being Indigenous Sámi or belonging to the *kven* national minority. It is a fair guess that this fishery policy is the reason why many coastal Sámi communities have been deserted, and large fjord areas in the north are left with no inhabitants. However, during the last ten years things have been improving and the fish stocks in the fjords have got better protection from being depleted by the fishing ships with an enormous catching capacity.

Over the last few decades, Norway has adopted a new and supportive policy towards Sami culture, and has also in a proper way promoted Indigenous rights and issues internationally. Therefore, it is likely that this new attitude from the authorities, combined with the vigorous work of the Sámi Parliament, has resulted in a better understanding of not overexploiting the fjords. Anyway, there still are big unsolved questions: the basic fundamental *right* to fish.

## **People without rights**

The fishing rights questions for Finnmark were in 2008 clarified by the Coastal Fishing Committee for Finnmark (*Kystfiskeutvalget*), with the honourable professor Carsten Smith as the chairperson. (Norwegian Official Reports 2008:5, *The Right to fish in the Sea along the Coast of Finnmark*). The committee proposed enacting an Indigenous and regional *right* to small-scale fisheries in the county of Finnmark:

- Everybody along the coast and fjords in Finnmark, should have a *right* to fish adequately to make a decent living for a household, without having to buy a quota.
- The quota should be personal and non-tradable.
- The basis of this right was historical utilization and international and Indigenous law.
- The *righ*t should be independent of fishery regulations, but sustainable use had to be taken into account.
- This right should be formalized in a separate act.
- Furthermore, if it was necessary to limit the fishery, coastal Sámi fishing-activity should have the prerogative.
- People along a fjord should also have a stronger fishing-right *there*, than others in this regard. Outside the fjords, also fishermen from other regions should have access.

However, the resentment to changing the pattern of tradable quotas established over the recent decades, and returning some of the fishing *rights* back to the coastal Sámi and the local communities, was strong. The consultation round after the report from the Coastal Fishing Committee showed that many agencies and organizations wanted the prevailing system to continue. The refrain was that neither Indigenous rights nor use based on time-immemorial prescription, had created any fundamental fishing-right for the Sámi or other inhabitants of Finnmark. Some government bodies and influential organizations made strong efforts to cement the current situation, claiming that there are no other fishing rights than such which could be bought by those who could raise the necessary capital. The Attorney General was among the government bodies being extremely negative to the Committee's conclusion that people in Finnmark possess a *right* to fish.

On the other hand, the main principle stated by the Committee, that people in Finnmark have a legal *right* to fish in the fjords and along the coast of the county was supported by most

municipalities in Finnmark, the county council of Finnmark, the Sámi Parliament of Norway, and other institutions.

# **Updating**

At Gargia conference in 2010, I was still optimistic and expressed that *it will be no more than a scandal if the proposals from the Committee are rejected. The legal basis of formalizing the rights should be very safe.* Those were *use from time immemorial* together with *Indigenous and minority rights.* In that respect, I pointed at a few older law measures, too. Among those was an Act from 1775, still being Norwegian law, were the people living in Finnmark were given the priority to fish in the waters around the county. Another important document I pointed at was the UN declaration on Indigenous rights from 2007.

I must admit that my optimism was weakly founded, taking into account what happened soon after the general election in September 2009. Then the Government decided not to follow up the main proposals from the Coastal Fishing Committee. The conclusion of the Government was that people in Finnmark have no basic legal rights to sea fisheries – quite in accordance with advice from the Attorney General. Anyway, it was announced there would be a continued process on the proposals from *Kystfiskeutvalge*t (The Coastal Fisheries Committee for Finnmark).

On that ground, there were established consultations between the Ministry of Fisheries and Coastal Affairs and the council of the Sámi Parliament. Those consultations went on until May 2011. Some limited results were agreed on, but the Government maintained that the population along the fjords and coast along the northernmost Norway had no rights to sea fisheries – be it on the ground of immemorial usage or Indigenous rights.

The plenary meeting of the Sámi parliament dealt with the consultation results June 9, 2011 – The Right to Fishery in coastal Sámi areas. The majority could join the concrete elements which were agreed on, but could in no way accept the Government's rejection of the basic rights. The claim was that these had to be dealt with in the announced Bill about Sámi fisheries. The plenary majority especially mentioned the Lap Codicil of 1751, and the abovementioned internal Act from 1775 which granted people in Finnmark a prerogative to fish in the local

waters, the decision of the International Court of Justice (1951) in the fishing limit case between Norway and Great Britain, and the UN declaration on the rights of Indigenous peoples (2007). On the other hand, a substantial minority could not support the result at all, and claimed that the Sámi Parliament should involve international human rights fora.

The concrete results of the consultations between the Sámi Parliament and the Ministry of Fisheries, which the Sámi Parliament had dealt with, were presented to the Norwegian Parliament in Bill 70 L (2011-2012) March 16, 2012. There it was — in favour of small-scale fishers — proposed to make minor amendments in three specific acts, although it was maintained that the practice of Norwegian fishery administration was fully in accordance with international law. Concerning the legal basis of fisheries, the Government still denied that people in Finnmark or others in the north had any right to fisheries on the ground of ancient historical use. Neither was such a right created by international Indigenous law or a combination with that and historic usage. In the Bill, the Government neither did explicitly comment on any of the specific acts, decisions or declarations, which the plenary of the Sámi Parliament had mentioned as being of special importance.

One of the arguments for not accepting that the costal Sámi population had any protection from international human rights instruments concerning minorities, was that their way of fishing was defined as not differing from other groups. The Bill pointed at Article 27 (protection of the culture of minorities) in the UN convention on civil and political rights (1966), and stated that there was no legal source basis for interpreting that article as a protection for industries which could not be regarded as traditional or culturally specific. It was in fact the same as the Attorney General had come up with during the hearings, namely that it is doubtful whether the obligations of the state goes any further than protecting the practice which is specific for the culture.

The Bill 70 L (2011/2012) from the Government was debated in the Norwegian Parliament – Stortinget - on June 4, 2012: Recommendation 336 L (2011-2012) from the Standing Committee on Business and Industry. The principle laid down by the Government that there are no basic, customary or Indigenous rights to fisheries in the north, was unanimously approved by the Parliament. The minority parties even expressed their thankfulness to the Government for having cleared the stage for unsolved questions, and that the Bill gave good clarification for the

fishing fleet (Read: Thanks to the Government for stating that people in the north have no basic rights to fisheries).

The majority of the Parliament – the Government parties - adopted the proposals from the Government about amendments in a few acts, meanwhile the minority parties, only with minor exceptions, rejected the proposed concrete amendments.

One of the elements adopted was that the act about participation in fisheries should be practiced according to international law concerning Indigenous peoples and minorities. Another amendment was that persons living in Finnmark, and in certain municipalities with Sámi settlements, in the counties of Troms and Nordland, should have the right to fish cod, haddock, and coalfish with conventional fishing gear. But to obtain such a right you should own an officially registered fishing vessel under 11 metres, and be registered as fisher in the so-called fishery census (a formalizing of prevailing practice). Furthermore, in the act concerning management of wild living marine resources, it was opened up for establishing an advisory fjord fisheries committee for the three northernmost counties — Nordland, Troms, and Finnmark. Another amendment in the mentioned act was that Sámi interests should be duly taken into account when allotting quotas and other ways of managing the wild living marine resources.

In the Finnmark Act from 2005, it was laid down that a commission should be established, to clarify whether people had existing rights to land and water, on the ground which the Finnmark estate then took over from the state. When the Parliament dealt with the Sámi fishing issues in 2012, the mentioned Commission was given an additional mandate, namely to clarify claims of collective or individual rights to fishing grounds in sea and fjord areas in Finnmark — If anybody with legal interests came up with claims like that. During the amendments in 2012, the Finnmark Commission was given a clear mandate in that matter.

As a part of the law package it also was decided that fjord lines should be established, where fishing vessels over 15 metres should have no access — but, with the possibility to make exceptions. And that 3,000 tons of cod should be transferred to the so-called open group, consisting of fishing vessels with no quota of their own, in Finnmark and other Sámi areas in Northern Norway.

These measures look positive, but the reality is that there are no guarantees for their permanence as long as the principle of basic rights built on immemorial usage (10-12,000 years) is totally rejected, and the coastal Sámi are defined as having no protection of their Indigenous rights under international law. It means that the law paragraphs amended in 2012, can be changed overnight if a new political majority finds it appropriate.

# **Community development**

We all know that the state puts in a lot of money to the north, under the umbrella regional development policy, and many of the local community development programs are financed by money from that umbrella. The aim of many of these programs is often to "learn" people how to make new jobs. Of course, there is a need for new jobs when the traditional basis of living is undermined, e.g. when people no longer have their inherent access to make an adequate income from the fish resources along the coast and fjords where they live. And I am quite sure you will find many similar examples in other northern areas.

What new and innovative options could be developed in a fishing village on the coast or in a small fjord community, which has been almost totally dependent on the fisheries in nearby waters? Maybe some of the answer is to be found in the strong decrease of population in many fishing communities. Not only have they experienced loss of quotas among many individuals living there, but some of them have also lost the so-called trawler quotas. Those quotas were originally given to specific trawler companies under the condition that the quotas, the catch, should be landed and processed in certain communities, thereby maintaining and creating jobs on land. Experience has shown that those arrangements have been very weak. We also have experienced that some municipalities have taken the companies which have not fulfilled their deliverance obligations to the court, with no result, and with heavy expenditures for the municipal budget as the final outcome.

Those communities have – for hundreds and thousands of years had the sea, the fish, and other marine species as the main basis of their living and well-being. Now, during a period of a few decades, that has changed entirely, facilitated by official regulations and measurements. In settings like that it is appropriate to ask one question concerning community development: Are

job-making programs in communities which have been negatively exposed to the effects of the new fishery policy some kind of agent activity – relieving the bad consciousness of the authorities (at least it should be bad) for a policy which has put those communities in a need of "artificial" help to safeguard their existence.

From Greenland, I have heard an interesting name about outsiders working within community development programs. They are simply called file animals — a concept denoting persons coming from Denmark, making some notes, leaving, and filing the report. I don't claim that being the general picture, but anyway I am quite convinced that many of us have met representatives resembling the file animals from Greenland.

If the ancient northern right to fish is not secured, and the deliverance obligations of the trawlers are not fulfilled, more and more of the local communities which have been depending on fisheries, will be in need of assistance from outside to create new jobs. And again we will hear the outworn refrain about the northern region as a consumer of subsidies. Is that fair, when the working places in the fishing boats and thereby in the processing industry, are removed because of official regulations?

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# 5.3 How are Indigenous peoples and communities in northern Yakutia affected by industrial development?

# **Vyasheslav Shadrin**

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### Introduction

To secure the survival of Indigenous peoples is now one of the key global challenges. The importance of its solution is emphasized in many international documents, including the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, ILO Convention 169 on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent countries, the UNESCO Declaration on Cultural Diversity, and others.

Today, the Indigenous peoples of the Russian Federation are called in Russian legislation: "the peoples living in areas of traditional settlement of their ancestors, preserving the traditional way of life, economy and trading, numbering in the Russian Federation at least 50 thousand people and considering themselves as independent ethnic communities". Currently, in 28 Russian regions there live 41 peoples of the North. According to the census of 2002, the total number of Indigenous peoples of the North is 244,000 people, while the population of individual nations ranged from 41,500 people (Nenets) to 22 people (Kerek). According to the 2002 census, 33,133 of them lived in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), about 65 percent of them living in rural areas — traditional territories. Those are 81 localities in the 21 districts. Five peoples of Yakutia are recognized as Indigenous: Dolgans (1,272 out of 7,330 in Russia, that is, 17%), Chukchi (602 out of 15,827, 4%), Evenki (18,232 from 35,377, 52%), Evens (11,657 from 19,242, 61%) and Yukaghirs (1,097 of 1,529, 72%).

The main occupations are reindeer herding, hunting, and fishing. The area of reindeer pastures is 36,769,000 hectares, which is much less than in previous years. In recent years, the number of reindeer has increased steadily, the reindeer population today is 200,500 head (01.01.2010), but it is significantly less than in 1985 (when it was 360,000 head). In the republic, there are 110

deer farms, the number of all herders is 2,255, and their average monthly salary is 7,600 rubles. The hunting territory is 308.3 million hectares, which accounts for almost 95% of the republic. The main objects of hunting are sable (43,300 pcs.), squirrel (65,400 pcs.), muskrat (180,700 pcs.), moose, and wild reindeer. More than 20 species of fish are caught by fishermen, and the annual catch is about 3,200 tons.

The presented data show that the traditional industries are in crisis due to different reasons. However, traditional economic activities of the Indigenous peoples of the North remain crucial. Production of traditional economic sectors, meat and fish, are the staple food of the local population, and the skins of ungulates and fur are used in sewing garments, footwear, manufacture of household items, souvenirs, and also as barter goods. The deer are year-round means of transport for herders, hunters, and fishermen. In the coming years, only the development of traditional industries, trades, and crafts of Indigenous peoples, including setting up some business and self-employment can provide some stability in the labour market.

The ethnic role of traditional industries must be considered as well. Thus, herding provides an opportunity for sustainable development of Indigenous peoples in four aspects:

- 1. Socio-economic: as a source of cash and in-kind income, and providing employment for Indigenous people.
- 2. Demographic: associating with reindeer the herding way of life provides a relatively isolated living for nomadic families. It promotes marriages with representatives of their nationality and education of children in the traditional ethnic culture.
- 3. Cultural and ethnic: for most of the northern peoples of Russia, home deer are the main symbol of culture. In addition, deer-breeding creates a favorable environment for communication in their native language, the transfer of traditional knowledge, spiritual and cultural values.
- 4. Political: Indigenous peoples are exclusively engaged in deer-breeding, which is the most favourable field for their constructive self-organization. This is an opportunity to unite representatives of different Indigenous peoples on the basis of common professional and economic interests. It is the protection of their professional interests which help the Saami, reindeer herders of Norway and other Scandinavian countries, to gain experience in various forms of social and political activity, and finally to form the Saami Parliament.

Displacement of traditional industries breaks the traditional livelihoods of Indigenous populations, leading to the extinction of ethnic culture and later to the dying out of the ethnic peoples themselves. Ignoring these facts, as well as the role of traditional knowledge in sustainable environmental management, is a result of the alienation of Indigenous inhabitants from the competent management of their development.

# Modern challenges and adaptation strategies

Now we can speak about 5 main modern challenges for Indigenous peoples. These are:

- 1. Globalization;
- 2. Industrialization;
- 3. Ecological problems;
- 4. Climate change; and
- 5. Geopolitics.

Let us consider their impact on Indigenous peoples and suggest variants of adaptation strategies to them.

### **Globalization**

A distinctive feature of the modern world is its ethnic and national diversity. At the beginning of the third millennium on this planet, there were some 5,000 ethnic groups and more than 600 community representatives who speak the same language. However, according to some predictions, by the end of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century more than half of currently existing ethnic languages may disappear forever. This means that many cultural values, as well as much of the knowledge presented in these languages, will be lost forever and will be simply inaccessible to future generations.

Linguistic assimilation of the Indigenous peoples of the North is expressed very strongly. According to a sample survey in the mid-1990s, among the rural population 69% of Saami, 87% of Evenki, 39% of Evens, and 94% of Yukaghirs considered the language of the other nationality as their "mother tongue". So, today less than 200 out of 1,509 Yukaghirs speak their native

language. Only 23 of those 200 speak Yukaghir fluently, among them 3 speak in Forest dialect and 20 speak in Tundra dialect.

The process of globalization of culture has led to the commodification of culture. Such an effect is determined by the fact that the laws of market and competition ("mass culture") are felt more and more in the sphere of culture. The impact of mass culture through the mass media is pushing traditional cultural values and native language out.

Cultural assimilation is probably not less in its scope and language, and it is also expressed very strongly. The traditional system of values is being actively reviewed. Western individualistic values, rationality, the desire for material well-being and self-assertion in society, founded on the primacy of consumption are spreading wider and wider. At the same time such values as social responsibility, community teamwork, mutual support, respect for elders, environmental awareness, and others are being actively displaced and lost. This destroys the continuity of generations and leads to the loss of linguistic diversity as well as to the loss of much of the traditional knowledge necessary for human survival.

The internal policy of some countries is also aimed at the assimilation of traditional communities. There, children are brought up in isolation from their families. The state language, the one of the dominating group of the population, dominates in all the spheres of communication. This also undermines the established ways of transmission of traditional knowledge to future generations.

The ethno-cultural aspect of adaptation is connected with the necessity to preserve the cultural and ethnic diversity in the course of the social and cultural modernization of the population. Thus, it is necessary to ensure the prevention, or at least slowing down, of the processes of natural assimilation (cultural, linguistic, ethnic) of the peoples in the North by other nations.

An important role in this direction belongs to bringing Russian legislation in accordance with international standards on the rights of Indigenous peoples to preserve their ethnic identity. The legal practice and an active government policy to support the language and culture of Indigenous peoples are especially important. Thus, in the Republic Sakha (Yakutia) languages of Indigenous peoples in their "places of compact living" have official status and are equal to the Gargia conferences | 2004 - 2014

state ones. Only activation of the population in the area of cultural and linguistic policy in such settlements for the actual use of their granted rights is required.

A special role belongs to the educational system, where conditions should be created to study the native language and culture. In the Republic Sakha (Yakutia) more than 40% out of 6,033 school-age Indigenous children have an opportunity to learn their native language. New models of educational institutions have been created: nomadic schools organize their work on the principle that it is a traditional economy which creates the natural conditions for the preservation of cultural and linguistic identity and ethnic identity among the Indigenous peoples of the North. Now in the Republic Sakha (Yakutia), 9 schools of such type are operating. All of them have been opened at the initiative of parents.

Thus, the decision to open an elementary–kindergarten nomadic tribal community school has already completed construction of the building. The question of its opening became important in the mid-1990s, because 15 children were born in ten families of the community those years. Before, the children of the community employees were traditionally taught at Kolymskaya National School, which is located 230 kilometers away from the community's territory. Parents wanted their children to be educated. The main goal of the work is to connect the educational process to the nomadic lifestyle of the parents, and the preservation of the native Chukchi language, traditions, and customs.

There are some achievements in the realization of language building programs:

- More than 30 books, manuals, textbooks about the language and culture of Yukaghir people were published in 2005 - 2009. It is more than the number of such books published in 1970-1990.
- There is TV and radio studio of the "Gevan" Indigenous peoples on Sakha television.
- There is also a monthly national newspaper "Ilken".

Despite this, the potential of the media in the field of languages is not used enough. The Internet space remains completely untapped.

### Industrialization

The consequences of industrialization are the following: focus on mining, the acceleration of assimilation, the reduction of traditional subsistence territories; unprofitable traditional industries, low attractiveness of the traditional economy for young people; violation of ecology. Currently, Indigenous people are no longer threatened by foreign colonization. But even in countries that have freed themselves from colonial rule, where the Indigenous population constitutes the majority, such as in Africa or in Asia, the communities leading traditional lifestyles are threatened by the so-called "internal colonization". Now Indigenous people are threatened not by physical extinction, as it was in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries, but by assimilation and the destruction of their habitat. The traditional territory of Indigenous peoples is reduced every day, with each new project of industrial development in pristine areas.

The Arctic and the North of Russia is the vast and important area of our country. Two-thirds of the Russian Federation is the North and its territories. With only 7% of the population of our country, it generates 27% of national GDP. However, this land contains around 80% of all minerals in Russia, 80% of water resources, 90% of forests, 100% of diamonds, 90% of oil, gas, gold, coal, and other mineral resources. The widespread commercial development of natural resources in the Russian northern territories has greatly undermined the foundations of the existence of traditional economic activities of Indigenous peoples of the North, since reindeer grazing areas (more than 20 million ha) were removed from circulation, hunting areas, and hundreds of rivers have lost their fisheries value due to pollution. Northern ethnic groups are put under the threat of dying out because of their continued exclusion from native habitat, traditional lifestyle, and ethno-cultural values.

Traditional branches of the economy (reindeer herding, hunting, and fisheries) were not ready for the conditions of the market economy, and they are still in deep crisis. For example, the reindeer population has been reduced by half compared to 1990. Moreover, reindeer herding, which used to be one of the gainful sources of the traditional economy, has become economically irrational.

The recent year's analysis of the economic sustainability of traditional land in the North shows that in the absence of continuing government support, the traditional economy is gainful only Gargia conferences | 2004 - 2014

for reindeer herds of more than 2,500 animals, with mass production of valuable fish and the harvesting of eggs, etc. In this case, the economic effect is achieved due to two factors. Firstly, due to bio-resource products mass processing leads to a sharp increase of pollution and always contains environmental risks. Secondly, the economic impact is impossible without the introduction of new technologies and productivity growth.

But the problem is that new advances in science and technology should be adapted to the North, and production in this region should be not only about economic growth, but also about the conservation and development of traditional livelihoods of Indigenous peoples. In this direction, the community of Nizhnekolymskiy district started implementing a project called "Solar panels for reindeer herding" since 2009. The aim is to use modern technology to improve the living standards of herders, reduce production costs, and support nomadic schools. We also need to develop and maintain a system to regulate economic activity in the Arctic, to ensure the preservation and development of traditional culture and traditional economic activities of Indigenous peoples in response to climate change and industrial growth in arctic regions.

The main task is to provide for participation of Indigenous people at all stages of development of such systems: from research to implementation, as well as their participation in all decisions that one way or another influence the situation in northern regions. The Indigenous population of the North cannot be happy when large mining companies do not teach the locals how to work in this modern type of economy. But it is not just for the admission of Aboriginal people to work, which occurs infrequently, it is also about receipt of income from the exploitation of mineral resources. Small nations can become full participants in the industrial development of the North. For that, mining companies must give them a certain number of shares. In addition, the business entities must be prohibited by law from making development decisions on the traditional territories of Indigenous people without their consent.

The integral part of this process, which deserves special attention from the federal government, should be the following: improving the regulatory framework to ensure the rights of Indigenous peoples of the North to use the land and its natural resources, ensuring legal protection of native habitat and traditional ways of life, development and approval of valuation methodologies and damage to habitats and ways of life caused by the negative effects of

industrial resource development, improving the efficiency of conservation and development of northern cultures, and the creation of standards for nature-saving technologies.

Of course, some steps have already been made. The Ministry of Regional Policy of the Russian Federation in December 2009 approved the experimental methodology to assess and redress impacts on habitats and ways of life caused by the negative effects of the industrial use of natural resources. The State Assembly (II Tumen) of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) in April 2010 adopted the Law "On Ecological Expertise in traditional residence and traditional economic activities of the Indigenous peoples of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)", and so on.

The most important condition of adaptation of Indigenous peoples is the growth of social activity of these people and their participation in all decision-making process in their interests.

## **Ecological problems**

Modern industrial production is still aimed primarily at large-scale development of mineral deposits. This development does not take due account of any peculiarities of the Indigenous peoples, nor their traditional needs, nor the unique circumpolar ecological systems, nor their centuries of experience with nature. As a result, such activity has led to several negative consequences that affected the lives of Indigenous peoples. It led to a marked reduction of traditional subsistence territories of Indigenous people at the expense of removal and destruction of land, and because of pollution. Civilization brings new tools and methods which are not friendly to nature (guns, traps, machines, oil pollution, etc.) and destroy traditional livelihood (youth prefer to live in villages, to have conveniences in everyday life, etc.). It has also rendered traditional livelihoods unprofitable. For example, beginning in the 1970s hunters started to use snowmobiles and helicopters to reach hunting places as opposed to traditional transport using reindeer. For some people, like the Forest Yukaghirs, reindeer herding disappeared in the 1980s. But this system only works with state support. When the Soviet system was destroyed and replaced by market economics, hunters could no longer afford helicopter or sometimes even snowmobile transportation. The result is that many hunters cannot go hunting in distant hunting places, and they cannot use reindeer because the reindeer have either disappeared or people have forgotten this traditional way of travel.

Throughout the North, man has formed large deserts areas usually as the result and impact of industrial activities. A striking example of the violation of ecology is Sakhalin, where oil and gas development goes together with foreign companies, which would have to produce according to modern international environmental standards. Today, in the northern part of Sakhalin, 60% of the land is a degraded landscape, and 90% of the reindeer pastures are covered with negative manifestations of human activity.

This situation naturally causes great concern for Indigenous peoples in relation to the implementation of industrial mega-projects in Siberia and the Far East. There are now, in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), 15 mega-projects that will be implemented in the territories of their traditional land.

An example of the first of them is the oil pipeline: "Eastern Siberia - Pacific Ocean" (ESPO). In early 2010, the public was extremely alarmed at the news of accidents on it. The length of the ESPO across the territory of the Republic is more than 1,500km, the pipeline is not in uninhabited lands, according to industrial companies, but directly passes through the traditional lands of Indigenous people - Indigenous peoples of the North and rural residents who have reindeer pastures and hunting lands, territories of breeding and walking the unique breed of Yakut horse, muster vegetable and non-timber natural resources, grasslands, and crosses large and small rivers with valuable species of fish.

Implementation of this project, which is of great geopolitical significance for the Russian Federation took place under unprecedented haste, the client company OAO Transneft, from the design stage, constantly ignored environmental and resource laws, regulations, and construction regulations. Designers and builders assured all about the complete reliability of the pipeline and emergency protection systems, as well as a full guarantee of ecological safety of the entire project. Transneft has always stated that public concerns are groundless, that the pipeline is a technically perfect object: "The new pipeline system is created, taking into account the best achievements in the design, construction and operation of oil and has a high level of reliability and minimal impact on the environment" (as described by ESPO on its website).

Mistakes in design, inadequate accounting for geoclimatic extreme conditions (as referred to after the accident by CEO LLC Vostoknefteprovod Vladimir Bronnikov) led to the logical result an accident at ESPO. The first accident occurred near the town of Lensk, where the accidental discharge of 450m<sup>3</sup> of crude oil occurred in the Nyuya watershed just 12-13 km from the river mouth. There is a real threat to falling oil and polluted water during the spring thaw in the river Lena. The second accident was on the territory of the Amur region, near the Skovorodino station. The third accident was not far from Olekminsk. In light of the first accidents, the VSTO project solutions to ensure environmental safety cannot withstand any criticism now. Greater concern is the possibility of the recurrence of accidents in other places, particularly where the pipeline runs along the bottom of rivers, including and on the bottom of the Lena River. These accidents clearly indicate the absence of an automatic system for public notification, the opacity of the company, positioning itself public, and blatant negligence of the attendants at the oil spill response. Fixing the facts of the accident and the first steps in oil spill response, as is customary in the practice of Transneft in other regions, were launched in total secrecy. It turned out that even the regional authorities have no authority on environmental control of the pipeline.

Implementation of this project has shown relationship problems between the operating companies of mega-projects and Indigenous peoples. It turned out that most Indigenous communities do not have appropriate registration and the documents necessary for the activities. This fact has formed the basis for the company "Transneft" to deny the majority of communities any compensation for land taken. On the other hand, the communities in which all the documents were in order had a stronger position in discussions and negotiations with Transneft. They were able to receive better compensation / disbursement for lands taken by the pipeline. It was also found that the oil pipeline project ignored the traditional use of natural features by northerners — as the draft plan does not provide crossings for herders, hunters, and wild animals. Thus, the hunting territory of Kornilov's community was divided by the passing pipeline, so hunters have to make a significant detour to get to another part of their territory.

The basis of the adaptation strategy in these conditions should include the development of environmental protection legislation and legal education of the local population. It is very important to develop various forms of local government, and to secure land for the Indigenous communities and to issue the relevant documentation. This requires improved social activity

and development of the social structures of Indigenous peoples so that they can represent and protect their rights. Indigenous communities should be active participants in industrial decision-making at all levels.

# Climate change

Changing climate worsens existing conditions and generates new threats and risks to the Indigenous peoples of Arctic regions. Climate warming increases problems for people and animals because of changing weather patterns, deteriorating water quality due to the strong thawing of permafrost, and the emergence of new species. Arctic ecosystems are destroyed and there is permafrost degradation, which leads to a change in the traditional conditions of food storage. Changing the water regime of rivers and lakes leads to later periods of ice, more frequent floods, increased coastal erosion, and accelerated freeze-out of the remains of the mammoth fauna. So, some Arctic villages, such as Andryushkino, Argahtah now have autumn floods that cause great damage to existing infrastructure – incapacitated airports, washed out roads, damaged houses increased because of melting around pile foundations. This also dramatically speeds up wear and tear on utilities, and power and communications lines. For residents of remote settlements, reducing the duration of winter roads and ice crossings poses problems with delivery of food, consumer goods, petroleum products, and reduces the opportunities for contact with the outside world. The rapid erosion of river banks raises the question of closing or moving some settlements. Local residents drew attention to another threat – there is a possibility of erosion of the burial sites for cattle that died many years ago of anthrax, and the old cemeteries with the graves of people killed by plague and smallpox.

Traditional branches of industry – reindeer breeding, hunting, fishing, and gathering are also subjected to serious threats. Most vulnerable to climate change impacts is herding. The main problem is pasture degradation. For the tundra zone, a disaster has been the rapid spread of shrubs, forming in some places, impenetrable thickets. As a result, some communities such as "Turvaurgin" in Nizhnekolymskiy district have today lost up to 30% of their pastures. As well, sustained increase in precipitation in recent has formed a deep snow cover which creates difficulties in procuring the reindeer lichen. As well, the later onset of cold weather has led to difficulties in passing deer to winter pastures.

Abnormal rainfall in November 2005 at Tomponsk and Srednekolymsk, and in December 2006 in Nizhnekolymsk District, resulted in the formation of a dense ice crust which became an extreme test for herding. In Khalarcha, rain in December 2007 formed an icy crust across a 90km wide band of the tundra, making it impossible to use much of the pasture. Only highly competent professionals, councils of elders, and dedication have helped to avoid the loss of reindeer. Uncertainty in predicting weather makes it impossible to plan in advance the more efficient migration routes.

Climate change is causing great difficulties for hunters. Due to the later freeze-up, there is the need to go around unfrozen lakes and rivers. This extends travel and transport routes leading to excessive consumption of gasoline and, consequently, more expensive costs. This also causes rapid wear on snowmobiles and its component parts (tracks, rings, pistons, etc.). Many hunters may, as a result, sometimes miss the autumn (November) transition of fur animals, which usually makes up 40% of the total commercial take. In addition, wild deer are changing the routes and timing of their migrations. As well, abundance of water also broke the usual routes and timing of the spring flights of geese and ducks.

For fishermen, the change in water regimes has changed the seasonal behavior, composition, and abundance of fish. In Andryushkino, 2 families had difficulties in connection with the "care" of fish lakes that are their ancestral fishing grounds. The reason for their disappearance was the thawing of the permafrost. As a result, these families had little or no traditional fish food. There are also problems due to the late freeze-up period and missing some ice fishing, etc.

Access to resources is closely linked to security, which is provided by traditional knowledge accumulated over millennia. But climate change alters that reality, and Indigenous peoples are increasingly finding themselves in situations where their practice, experience, and knowledge cannot help them. This leads to an increase in the number of accidents, especially those related to the late freeze-up, early frosts, and floods.

Climate change results in deteriorating conditions within the traditional economy of Indigenous peoples. In addition, the warming Arctic climate is favorable for its industrial development, so an inevitable consequence of climate change is the growth of industrial loads in the territory. This multiplies the environmental risks produced by the already existing industry: rising levels

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of pollution, and landscape and geological changes that may lead to habitat destruction through the release of hazardous substances or oil pipeline ruptures. The greatest danger of industrial development in the Arctic is the unknown and unpredictable changes, which can be extremely negative for the nature of the region and the Arctic Indigenous peoples.

The current processes show that the communities themselves are unable to effectively resist the effects of warming. Therefore, it is necessary to adopt national and regional programs to minimize the negative impacts of climate change. This should be implemented in the program to reduce the negative human impact on nature, and which includes the introduction of modern eco-friendly and environmentally sound technologies. Standard practice should be the participation of Indigenous peoples in decision-making on climate change at all levels. There remains a considerable role for traditional knowledge to help us adapt to these processes.

## Geopolitics

The recent years have seen a great increase in the influence of geopolitics on the lives of Indigenous peoples. The future of the northern territories is increasingly dependent on global economic and political trends. These include the continued importance of the extraction of mineral and hydrocarbon resources. In this case, the production volumes of non-renewable natural resources, and the related transport infrastructure, will inevitably grow, predominantly from the northern regions. Thus, in the Arctic are concentrated up to 30% and 12% of world reserves of gas and oil, respectively.

In the Russian Federation, the main political trend in recent years was centralization, which was expressed for northerners in the elimination of national regions by merging with bigger administrative regions. This led to a dramatic reduction of local authorities to oversee both the economy and land use.

Particularly painful for Indigenous people is legal unification. Amendments to the federal legislation on fishing and hunting in 2009 abolished without compensation the allocation of fishing grounds for Indigenous peoples in areas of their traditional lands so that now fishing sites and hunting areas should be allocated through auctions. The first auction of fishing

grounds in the lower Indigirka in early August 2009 showed what the law threatens Indigenous peoples. Of the four sites auctioned, the largest and richest bidders won the Lena river basin, bypassing the communities of "Allayiha" and "Russkoye Ustie". Outraged fishermen together with the district office of the Association of Indigenous Peoples of the Sakha Republic (Yakutia), August 9-10, picketed the district administration in Chokurdakh, and wrote a letter to the President and the Sakha Republic (Yakutia). The action of the fishermen had a resonance and drew the attention of authorities – President Medvedev, after treatment Shtyrov VA, instructed to prepare and submit relevant proposals to integrate the interests of Indigenous peoples.

As a result, spring 2010 Interdepartmental Working Group of the Federal Fisheries Agency had drawn up proposals. However, contrary to hopes the proposals are worsening the situation. It is proposed to prohibit the sale of products of the traditional fisheries of Indigenous Peoples of the North, to prohibit fishing for Indigenous people in any place, and limit the places where one can use Indigenous traditional fishing gear. The first sentence practically deprives the members of the community their livelihood, and the second significantly impairs the possibility of fishing for personal consumption, while the third allows you to prohibit the use of motorboats, purchase online, etc. Unfortunately, the latter is not a joke, because in 2008, the prosecutor's office banned the use of snowmobiles in the Primorsky Territory conservation area as being inconsistent with the concept of traditional land. Completed proposals the Federal Fisheries Agency appalled Indigenous people and caused several calls to higher authorities of the Russian Federation.

Given the unfortunate experience of fishing grounds, the Association of Indigenous Peoples of Sakha (Yakutia) has initiated their own process on the consolidation of hunting grounds. They want to do this before the Law on Hunting comes into force on 1 April 2010 and the lands go up for auction. During the winter of 2009-2010, they did a lot of explanatory work. However, these actions have caused dissatisfaction among some persons who contacted the Office of the Federal Antimonopoly Service in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) with a claim of monopolization

by Indigenous peoples and their communities of the rights to hunting grounds. In this case, it is important to develop international and local law, which requires recognition of human rights, priority, and people. The urgent problem of contemporary Russia is the development of real federalism and civil society, especially among Indigenous peoples. It should facilitate the participation of Indigenous peoples in decision-making at all levels.

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# 5.4 Development challenges in Indigenous communities in Swedish Sapmi

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### Introduction

The Sámi parliament general assembly is the only legitimate representative for the Sámi peoples. Three Sámi parliaments have been established within Sápmi but also in the three Nordic countries; in the republic of Finland, in the kingdom of Norway, and in the kingdom of Sweden. The informal process of establishing a people's elected organ on the Kola Peninsula within the Russian Federation is now in the progress.

The Sami parliament in Sweden held elections on 17 May 2009 and was inaugurated on 25 August by Victoria Tauli-Corpuz, chair of the UN Permanent Forum of Indigenous Issues. It was the first time that the UN chair was able to open an Indigenous people's parliament. We were proud in her presence.

We, the Sámi people, are the Indigenous people of Sápmi. Our land is divided into four countries and stretches from northern Scandinavia all the way to the Kola Peninsula. Our people have lived here since time immemorial managing the lands and waters with great care and respect. Our culture is based on a life in which humans and all other living beings are interrelated. We view nature as a soulful living being. Our view of nature stands in sharp contrast to the western view of nature. Only through deepened mutual understanding and increased cooperation can we create a common future.

Our deep relationship to nature is difficult to put in words. To live in nature, and to live directly from what nature can give, creates an immediate relationship between us and nature (animals, each other). We rely on a living relationship to Sápmi, our home. If we — or someone else — destroys nature, it will also harm our culture.

Professor Lars Bäckman at Umeå University has through scientific research on Mitochondrial DNA established that the Sámi people do lack relationship with any other known people in the world. The only relationship with other peoples that can be found is in the relation that various peoples that do live in the same area for a longer time will establish.

The environment in Sápmi is delicate. A resilient nature is the basis for our culture and existence — it requires that we use it with outmost care. Land is life! Healthy, largely unfragmented ecosystems with high biological diversity as well as thriving small scale trades are the very basis for a sound development of our culture. The natural conditions in Sápmi have changed at the same time that modern materials, new technologies, and vehicles have become part of our lives. Nature is increasingly exposed to wear and tear, resulting in damage which cannot be repaired in the foreseeable future. Sami customary rights are challenged and even dwindle through court decisions. Lands were altered through expansion of forestry and disappeared due to hydropower development.

Of course, positive changes and essential technical means have also been introduced in modern times. All these changes together have strongly impacted our patterns of life and us. It is important that we distinguish innovations that affect our lives in a positive way from those innovations that make us increasingly dependent on the global economy and the availability of cheap gas and oil.

The global warming and escalating climate change have already changed the everyday life for the Sámi people. The possibilities for the global market and actors with no, or very low, standards of ethical or social responsibility to intrude on Sámi traditionally territories have increased. The Indigenous way of life is very clearly connected to nature whether it concerns culture, languages, livelihoods, or just the joy of being a healthy human under the sun, moon, and the stars. Everything is connected to the land and waters. And the land and waters are inextricably connected to us, the Sámi people.

The spirituality of the Indigenous peoples and their close connection to nature is recognised in the ILO convention no. 169. The convention singles out that dominating people should invite the Indigenous people and begin a process of establishing methods of consultations on the issues that affect the Indigenous peoples. This is based on the two basic principles: respect for

the Indigenous peoples, and respect for their participation in decision-making processes. Respect and participation in decision-making will also make it clear for all citizens, (also among the dominating peoples) that the Indigenous people existence is a valuable contribution in the country in which we do live.

Sweden and Finland have for a long time rejected efforts to strengthen Sámi rights, claiming that it is not in the interests of the dominating people in the republic or in the kingdom to ensure other rights than what the law already grants to the Sámi peoples. This was more or less informally confirmed especially during the Swedish chairmanship of the European Union during 2009, where activities that involved the only Indigenous peoples within the boundaries of the EU, could not be seen.

### The Kimberley declaration says:

Since 1992 the ecosystems of the earth have been compounding in change. We are in crisis. We are in an accelerating spiral of climate change that will not abide unsustainable greed. Today we reaffirm our relationship to Mother Earth and our responsibility to coming generations to uphold peace, equity and justice. We continue to pursue the commitments made at Earth Summit as reflected in this political declaration and the accompanying plan of action. The commitments that were made to Indigenous Peoples in Agenda 21, including our full and effective participation, have not been implemented due to the lack of political will.

The European Union's internal market seeks to guarantee the free movement of goods, capital, services, and people anywhere within the 27 member states. This allows not only for the free movement of goods amongst member states, also the free movement of the factors of production. It is intended to be conducive to increased competition, increased specialisation, larger economies of scale, and to allow goods and factors of production to move to the areas where they are most valued, thus improving the efficiency of the allocation of resources.

The situation on Swedish side of Sápmi has escalated quite seriously after Swedish membership into the European Union. The government has taken a decision to focus on the production of energy, and that can be both as fast-growing trees and production of electric energy ready to be transferred down to the biggest cities of the European continent by the end of 2015.

The slow growing trees that could be found in old forests with a rich diversity and with many small rivers containing fresh waters, was once the source for a limited production of high quality timber. This kind of Sámi forests have now been replaced with forests of fast-growing trees of low quality. Along with a loss of diversity is a loss of the old Sámi culture.

The decreasing average age of forests reduces the production of lichen, both in trees as well as on the ground, and severely affects the food chain for the reindeers. The possibilities to hold a large herd of reindeers grazing in any area where it earlier was possible to do so, are diminishing. Fewer numbers of reindeer, more widely spread herds, lower production of both reindeer calves or kilos of reindeer meat, and more work from the reindeer herders is the result.

The production of energy with tens of thousands of windmills located in various windmill parks all over Sápmi, is what we can face in near future. The fragmentation will increase and reach levels beyond what is possible to control or accept, especially in the coastal areas. Not only the single windmills, but also roads and power lines will limit the area available for reindeer pasture.

The domestic law allows the intrusion and I shall give one remarkable example of the authorities' attitude. A sub-commission in the regional government in the northernmost county in Sweden stated: "If interest of windmill companies and the Sámi peoples can't adjust to each other, than the Sámi peoples have to stand back to benefit the interests of the dominating society". The Swedish government later decided to allow the establishment of a windmill park consisting of 1,101 windmills occupying 10,000km². The Sámi legal property rights to reindeer pasture, confirmed and verified by the Supreme Court in various cases, has so far been neglected by different entities of the Swedish government. The local Sámi village has so far rejected the offers for economic compensation offered by the windmill company. No wonder that the company was not especially keen to come to a deal with the Sámi village with that kind of support from the regional government.

However, there is a small light in the dark tunnel. Samiid Rikkasearvi, Sami Association (SSR) has together with Swedish Vindenergy received financial support for a project with a time span for

2 years; 2009-2010. The aim is to bring forward guidelines such as a code of behaviour, and manuals for prospecting, building, and operating wind power within reindeer herding areas. These guidelines are focused on limiting the negative impact at the Sámi villages, and also to make it easier for cooperation between companies and Sámi villages. Another advantage is to bring forward a best practise and good example of how windmill parks within reindeer herding areas can increase the mutual benefit. Knowledge is an important part of the project in order to increase the understanding between energy companies and reindeer husbandry.

Two seminars have already been held, and the third and last one will be held in the last month of 2010. The result of the project, with all its findings, will be gathered and documented and will be made available for future use. Various companies, Sámi villages, local governments, regional governments, and various state authorities can use the documentation. It is not possible to foresee what the final result will become, but so far does this project looks very promising.

Another example of industrial expansion is the increased numbers of permits of prospecting minerals in northern parts of Sweden and Finland, both member states of European Union. Thanks to the economic recession several of the permits not been used, and they will soon expire. But it will be possible to apply for new permits in due time. It has not been shown to the Sámi representatives, in any way, if the company applying for the permit is a responsible company with a reasonable and needed amount of competence, technique, and financial support. Neither has it been shown if there are any reasons to estimate that findings will occur, in the areas that will be investigated, that motivates the company to apply for the 3 year permit to receive the special right to investigate the area concerned.

When the process of drilling in some cases initiates, it may result ground water contamination from drill holes, the spreading of dust from the drilling processes, and also the leaving samples on the ground instead of gathering them all. This can be very hazardous if the findings are contaminated by uranium. And where can the waste be deposited? This part of the investigations process, as well as the process of granting permits, must be changed.

"Health is not only absence of damage or injury, but a totally physical, mentally & social well-being". This is the World Health Organisation (WHO) definition of health that has been in use

for more than 40 years. How is it possible to be in a good mood, to be healthy, when we see how our neighbours, how our neighbours reindeers are going down in numbers? And how can we enjoy living in the midst of a dominating society that so clearly shows how it values and appreciate the Sámi culture, livelihood, and us?

We wish to live in a resilient Sapmi that is rooted in a healthy natural landscape and a living Sámi culture. People and nature shall have a long term capacity to renew themselves and to sustainably evolve even in times of significant changes. Both, nature and culture shall be experienced as enriching for the surrounding world. A resilient living environment is the basis for people, animals, and plants to thrive and evolve. What we take from nature must be in balance with what it can give. Nature conservation and environmental protection must be given highest priority in all planning processes.

We are sustainable experts. Sustainability has always been a necessity for our culture to continue and for our society to go forward. We will use this knowledge in our effort to create a long-term sustainable society. Sustainable development builds on a careful balance between traditional and modern knowledge. As long as innovative technologies are used within the framework of our value system they will neither destroy the living environment nor our health.

Only if we all act together and believe in the future can we handle the challenges before us, we have no time to loose. The world is a beautiful place and we do need to take care of it. What do we want and what do we choose: the easy life or the good life? 1.1 billion people worldwide are overweight and many suffer from diet-related diseases, 925 million people worldwide suffer from hunger and malnutrition. Together we can establish locally produced, organic, and fair food systems for all. 75% of agricultural crops have been lost in the last century; 36 out of 40 of the poorest countries export cereals to feed animals in rich countries; more than half of the food we produce is discarded or lost.

The Sami Parliament's Living Environment Program EALLINBIRAS / IELLEMBIRÁS/ JIELEMEN BIJRE was adopted by the Parliament on 19 February 2009. The programme is very comprehensive and includes various aspects as well as responsibilities into the plan of action. The purpose of the program is to:

Provide a foundation for all of the Sami Parliament's operations;

- Set goals for a sustainable and resilient Sami living environment; and
- Inspire ourselves and others with the Sami Parliament's environmental perspective and initiatives.

I will briefly mention some of the aspects in the programme:

Biebmu (Food): the Sami Parliament will encourage

- Promotion of Sami food production and food processing (both in quantity and diversity),
- Increased use of seasonal natural foods (e.g. slow food),
- Resistance (boycott) to genetically modified goods, and the
- Purchase of organically produced and fair trade certified foods (applying to foods which cannot be produced in Sápmi).

The living environmental programme has also brought forward requests for each single individual to consider, such as:

Biebmu (Food): The Sami Parliament asks you to

- Question your food habits and to use Sami traditional foods when possible,
- Eat as much seasonal and natural food as possible,
- Avoid genetically modified products, and
- Make sure that the food products you buy which cannot be produced in Sápmi are organically produced and fair trade certified.

With this programme, Sami activities/trades/products will become visible and known as environmentally friendly, sustainable, and for being a healthy and nutritious food. We believe that everyone has a fundamental right to the pleasure of good food and consequently the responsibility to protect the heritage of food, tradition, and culture that make this pleasure possible.

Slow Food's approach to agriculture, food production, and gastronomy is based on a concept of food quality defined by three interconnected principles:

LOCALLY PRODUCED fresh and flavoursome seasonal diet that satisfies the senses and is part of our local culture;

ORGANIC food production and consumption that does not harm the environment, animal welfare, or our health;

FAIR accessible prices for consumers and fair conditions and pay for small-scale producers.

The opening and closing ceremonies of Terra Madre 2010, from the 21<sup>st</sup> to 24th of October, will be held in Turin. Five representatives of native populations from each continent will also give a speech in their mother tongue: an Australian aborigine, a Gamo (Ethiopia) representative, a Kamchadal delegate (Kamchatka, Russia), a Sámi (Sweden), and a Guaranì (Brazil). Slow Food also has a branch located in Sápmi, Slow Food Sápmi, and it is open for Sámi entrepreneurs who produce traditionally, for instance, products of reindeer and fish.

The last years' financial crisis has revealed that major values can lay also in small and slow growing enterprises and local entrepreneurs. If we can show that the Sámi traditional way of living and our traditional knowledge is appreciated in the large countries of the European Union, with that discovery will also spread a feeling of satisfaction, happiness, and make us to be more proud of our origin and our qualities. The international interest as well as the participation of Sámi entrepreneurs in slow food will benefit us all together.

Laponia, the World Heritage area in Lapland is a Sami cultural landscape with traces of human activities which go back all the way to the Ice Age. From time immemorial, the Sami have lived in this area, first as hunters and fishers and later as reindeer herders and settlers. The World Heritage area is also an important natural landscape with mountains, deltas, virgin forests, hundreds of glaciers, and Western Europe's largest marshlands. It is also an area rich in animal and plant life that has several species on the verge of extinction. 95% of the land is in state ownership and under very strict national park and other nature conservation legal control. There are three main stakeholders in the management; the Sami society, two municipalities, and the County Administrative Board who is responsible for the overall management of the site.

Both due to the Sami culture and the natural value of the environment, this region merits its inclusion in the World Heritage list. A world heritage area is a place of cultural or natural importance, or both as in this case, which is of such value that its preservation is a priority for

the whole world. Laponia covers a surface of 9,400 km² and consists mainly of two kinds of landscapes. To the east there is a flat area with enormous forests and marshes while the western area is a mountain area that consists of a variety of natural environments. The management coordination of the World Heritage Site was identified as a key issue in the early stages of the nomination process. In 1996, the World Heritage Committee recommended that the Swedish authorities continue to work with local Sami people and consolidate the management plan for the site. Many of the overlapping nature conservation regulations lack legitimacy in the eyes of the local community and there are fundamental conflicts concerning management that arise from disputed ownership, for example over restrictions placed on the Sámi community over land and resource use.

A few years after the inscription, the Sami representatives questioned the conservation approach in the County plan and submitted their proposal for a management plan to the government. It focussed especially on enhancing Sami culture aiming at a Sami World Heritage management plan. The municipalities, the County administration, and the management drafted parallel nature conservation programmes with the result that a range of development proposals came to a standstill. It was not until almost ten years later that a new initiative by the County has gathered all stakeholders in a "Laponia process" and an agreement on management objectives has been reached.

The proposed management structure includes one coordinated delegation body with representatives from the Sámi society, the municipalities, the County, and the National Environmental Protection Agency. It will deal with the different authorities on all matters concerning the Laponia World Heritage site. The Laponia delegation will meet regularly and does not deal with operational issues. Thematic working groups who meet monthly to develop proposals for current management issues will develop these. While the process leading to a coordinated management plan has been lengthy, the stakeholders now recognise that it has taken time to learn about each other's needs and development objectives.

Today there are 878 World Heritage sites in 145 different countries. Of these, 679 are cultural heritage sites and 174 are natural heritage sites. Only 25 are combined cultural and natural heritage sites like Laponia. Sweden has 14 World Heritage sites and according to the population we have the most World Heritage sites per inhabitant! Heritage is our legacy from the past,

what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations. Our cultural and natural heritage is both irreplaceable and a source of life and inspiration. They are our touchstones, our points of reference, and our identity. What makes the concept of world heritage exceptional is its universal application. World Heritage sites belong to all the peoples of the world, irrespective of the territory on which they are located. By signing the Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, countries recognize that the World Heritage sites located on their national territory, without prejudice to national sovereignty or ownership, constitute a world heritage "for whose protection it is the duty of the international community as a whole to cooperate".

It will not be easy to make the long journey together in for instance Terra Madre or in Laponia, or in any other activity and become successful, but if it were easy your presence here wouldn't be required. You are here because there is tough work that needs to be done and you are the ones who can do it. With these words I do wish you all a good, healthy, and long life. I will end my statement by quoting the Sámi poet Paulus Utsi:

"As long as we have water, where fish live
As long as we have land where reindeer graze and walk
As long as we have land where the wild hides
We have consolation on this earth
Once our homes don't exist any longer and our lands are destroyed,
Where shall we then live"

Stefan Mikaelson Sámi Parliament

# Section 6 Constructing and reconstructing rural places in a globalized world

"We must ask the right questions..."



Photograph courtesy of Tor Gjertsen

# 6.1 Constructing rural places in a globalised world: Place-based rural development as seen from northern British Columbia, Canada

### Greg Halseth, Don Manson, Laura Ryser, Sean Markey and Marleen Morris

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### Introduction

Rural and small town places around the world are experiencing dramatic change. These changes are driven by the increasing pace and complexity of the global economy. With a focus upon examples from northern British Columbia, Canada, this chapter reviews issues of rural change and the transition towards a more place-based approach to local and regional development as rural and small town places reposition themselves in the global economy.

### **Restructuring Toward the New Rural Economy**

Historically, after the Second World War in most OECD countries, natural resources industries experienced a significant boom. An industrial landscape was emerging such that humanity had never seen before. It had to be supplied with resources on a massive scale: food, wood, mineral products, and energy products. This economic activity supported small places because they were labour intensive, and the post-war re-settlements ensured that there were lots of workers with good wages to help keep local economies moving along. But more importantly, government understood that to have those industries working in more remote places, the workers needed to want to be there. As a result, the state invested heavily in health care, services, and infrastructure to create the 1960s and 1970s version of a good quality of life. The restructuring that occurred economically and politically after the 1980s and 1990s has changed these basic circumstances.

The source of the accelerated change being experienced by rural and small town places today is driven by the global economy. Today, the global economy is more connected and complex than at any time in the past. New transportation, communication, and information technologies

allow the economy to work at a faster pace than at any time previously. Recent economic booms and the global economic recession beginning in 2008 highlight the pace at which those changes can occur and the extent of their impact.

As rural and small town places experience change in the global economy, there are a series of generalised pressures underway. First, industry is global in scope, and rural and small town places must compete not only for economic development, but also for shares of the jobs and benefits that may come from that development. Second, traditional industries and activities are caught up in a more general process of shifting production to lower-cost production regions. OECD rural economies are increasingly sites where commodity economies are transitioning to include a mix of commodities, economies, and values that draw upon local amenities and unique assets. In this sense, the new rural economy is very much bound up within the global economy. In order to react, rural and small town places need to have a vision for where they wish to go. They need to be aware of their assets and how these might mesh with their aspirations.

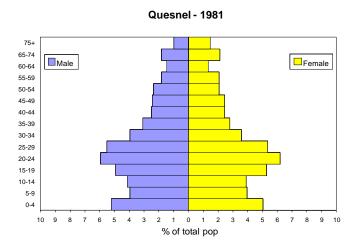
In response to these general pressures, restructuring of industrial resource activities has dramatically affected rural community viability. This has been exacerbated by government and private sector service cutbacks that reinforce reciprocal processes of decline. In other cases, a lack of investment in needed social and physical infrastructure limits the ability of rural and small town places to react to restructuring. Lastly, environmental change now presents a new suite of challenges for rural and small town places.

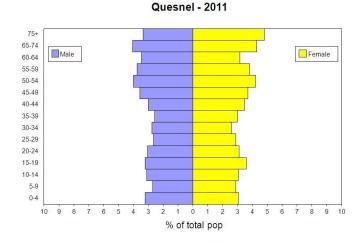
If those challenges were not significant enough, there are also pressures on our capacity to respond as small places. By definition small places are small. They have limited fiscal resources, and do not have access to a broad range of human capacity. In addition, central government has very often contracted, closing the services available in smaller places. When this happens, skilled people leave, taking with them not only their families and their spending power, but also their knowledge, skills, and capacity – and the community is drained further.

The impacts of industrial resource development, and subsequent industry and government restructuring as noted above is clearly evident in Quesnel, a community with a present population of approximately 10,000 people (2011), located in northern British Columbia (Figure

1). In 1981, Quesnel's population pyramid still resembles that of a booming industrial resource community. In this case, a large inflow of young families in search of employment opportunities is leading to population growth. By 2011, the workforce continues to "age-in-place", but limited new job opportunities now means that there is significant out-migration of youth (see also Ryser *et al.*, 2012; Hanlon and Halseth, 2005).

Figure 1
Population pyramids
Quesnel, BC





So how can small communities respond? They respond with who they are and what they have. Competitive advantage now is driven by a host of new factors; including innovation, learning,

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quality education, good institutions, and the capacity to manage the assets of place. All of the traditional variables of comparative advantage are still necessary, e.g. good infrastructure, appropriate location, and economic support. Now, however, communities and regions require social capital and social cohesion to identify and leverage the factors of competitive advantage. How rural and small town places respond to change and leverage their unique assets and amenities will influence their success in the new economy.

### **Place-Based Development**

From the previous section, it has become apparent that in today's global economy the notion of space or distance has become less important in the locational decisions of capital. Capital can locate virtually anywhere. As a result, decisions about where it will locate depend even more on the characteristics and unique attributes of individual places. In shorthand, as space has become less important in the global economy, place has become more important. Places serve as the meeting points for both global and local institutions. Places are equipped with unique sets of assets and characteristics. They are also embedded in social, economic, and political systems (Massey, 1984; Markey *et al.*, 2012).

The literature on place-based development highlights that while an economic focus remains, there is now greater consideration of local environmental, cultural, and community issues (Savoie, 1997; Porter, 2000 2004; Pezzini, 2001). Coincidentally, these latter three issues are now increasingly sought-after assets in the global community. A place-based focus also supports a greater diversity of values (and understanding of values) in both social and economic development. In other words, there is a potential appreciation for a more comprehensive or "whole" economy that had been previously externalised in the more narrow "space-based" interpretation of hinterland resource exploitation.

But place-based development demands more of local capacity (Bryant, 1995). Local actors and local institutions need to be reorganised and must take on additional and sometimes different roles. This local capacity must be accommodating of new relationships and new partnerships as efforts to seek out support and innovation. The outcome will create social and economic variability across rural landscapes. As we look forward, the question has become "how to equip

rural and small town places to exercise their place-based advantages and meet development opportunities or challenges on their own terms".

### **Northern BC**

Northern BC can be characterised as a resource periphery (Barnes and Hayter, 1997; Markey, *et al*, 2012). It was recently industrialised (post-1950) using a model of industrial resource expansion. Today, the economy is still very much dependent upon limited-manufactured resource exports. It is situated within a provincial structure that shows strong metropolitan/non-metropolitan division. In this non-metropolitan north, the regional centre of Prince George dominates with a population of over 80,000 people. Most other communities are in the order of 3,000 to 20,000 people, and most of these have limited economic diversification.

In understanding the current transitions being experienced across northern BC, it is important to understand that this landscape is, at its foundation, a First Nations landscape. Prior to European colonial arrival, this landscape was fully occupied and organised territory (Harris, 1997). The First Nations within the region conducted legal, administrative, and trading alliances that moved goods and people over long distances. In many respects, that early economy was a global economy as it traded goods throughout the entire area of the Americas.

Beginning in the 1950s and moving through to the early 1970s, the British Columbia provincial government engaged in a coordinated public policy initiative to industrialise the province (British Columbia, 1943; Mitchell, 1983; Markey *et al.*, 2012). By leading with this broad and coordinated public policy approach, the initiative was also able to lever significant and complimentary private sector investment in both industrial and community sectors. Drawing upon the global economic model of the time, the province recognised that massive Fordist-style industrialisation would need inputs of large volumes of raw commodities. The success of this policy initiative created the "long boom" in British Columbia lasting until the early 1980s.

The scope and scale of this public policy initiative was significant. The principal lesson is that while our economic vision and model for the 21<sup>st</sup> century would be different from that used in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, the success of that early policy initiative was that it extended across

government and included every facet of public policy making. Today, by contrast, it is unfortunate that most solutions to address rural and small town transition are "one-shot" policies or programs delivered and/or abandoned over a relatively short time frame.

### **Theorising Rural Development Transition**

To understand the differences between BC's approach to rural development in the 1950s versus what is needed today, we need to draw upon some theoretical foundations. In the 1950s, British Columbia's industrial resource development approach was built upon a notion of comparative advantage as its abundant resources were marketed into expanding industrial regions. Critical to mobilising rural resources was addressing the challenge of space. In BC, this involved critical infrastructure investments in roadways, rail lines, and ports that could link interior resource regions to markets. In addition, there was a need to create new resource extraction sites by building "instant" towns and growing regional centres (Halseth and Sullivan, 2002). These instant towns required extensive social, service, and quality of life investments in order to attract and hold an industrial workforce.

Following decades of success with relative growth, the space-based comparative advantage economy encountered the crisis of global economic recession at the start of the 1980s. Resource industry responses to that crisis of restructuring involved reducing costs. Primarily, this focused upon a substitution of capital for labour and putting a price squeeze on independent contractors and suppliers. Throughout the 1990s, there was a focus upon "the core business" of industrial resource companies, and this involved selling additional assets and activities to focus on short-term investor benefits instead of long-term investor fortunes (Edenhoffer and Hayter, 2013). Some firms active in BC also began extensive investments in low-cost investment regions themselves. In many regards, this might be seen as the latter stages of an industrial model designed to "run down the asset" already fixed in place.

The provincial government similarly had a public policy response to the crisis of restructuring. In many cases, this involved sacrificing public policy to support continued industrial profitability (and to a degree, labour employment) in order to maintain provincial tax revenue flows. Successive governments adjusted policy to allow large firms to remain competitive while little attention was paid to rural economic diversification, maintenance of service provision, or the

construction of well-rounded community development foundations in order to support a flexible approach to future economies (Halseth, 2005; Markey *et al.*, 2009). Finally, the provincial government continues to view non-metropolitan BC as a "resource bank" that can be seen as a base for provincial economic benefit.

The focus in the debate is about how to renew public policy to provide a supportive environment to equip rural and small town places to compete. This underscores the earlier question about how to equip rural and small town places to exercise their place-based advantages to meet development opportunities or challenges on their own terms.

### A Renewed Vision for Rural Development in Northern BC

From 2002 to 2004, and from 2009 to 2011, the Community Development Institute at UNBC conducted an extensive series of consultations across northern BC. We asked those people and communities most affected by the impacts of economic restructuring and neoliberal policies: "If you were to design a vision and strategy for renewal, how would you do it?" The results of that identified a future for northern BC which involves moving "from northern strength to northern strength" (http://www.unbc.ca/cdi/research.html). It is an economic transition about moving from resource dependence to a diversified economy grounded in resources and inclusive of other options. In economic terms, it is about rebundling our economic assets in innovative ways.

But the people of northern BC also put some parameters on that future development. The first was the identification of *four* bottom lines against which economic development needs to be evaluated. These bottom lines included community, economy, environment, and culture. In addition, they want economic development that not only creates jobs for northerners but respects the people, the environment, and the quality of life that defines the northern lifestyle. While investments can come and go in the global economy, these communities are rooted in place.

In approaching that new northern development, the people in northern BC argue that it requires a northern vision that is inclusive of all northern peoples. It also requires new governance mechanisms that allow communities to become part of decision-making processes,

and allows communities to work together as regions to coordinate and create synergies to ensure that limited funds are invested widely in needed infrastructure and services. They also argue for a regional "voice" in public policy and market debates.

To move that transition forward, the projects found arguments supporting investments in four crucial infrastructures. First, investments are needed in *physical* infrastructure. In this case, "old economy" infrastructure such as roads, rail, airport, and port facilities need to be renovated and made suitable for a 21<sup>st</sup> century economy. There also needs to be substantive investment in the "new economy" infrastructure of communications technology and information access. A second crucial infrastructure involved *human capacity*. This involved investments in the next workforce. A third critical infrastructure involved supporting *local community capacity*. In this case, it involved issues ranging from service provision to support for the voluntary groups and organisations increasingly involved in community development and community economic development. Finally, there was a need argued to coordinate both internally and externally our *economic and business infrastructure*. Included in this was the need for intelligent market surveillance and marketing to equip entrepreneurs and decision makers with the information they need to make decisions.

### **Moving Forward**

The community development literature informs us that having a vision without the capacity to implement it is counterproductive. The vision itself becomes a hollow sentiment and the people involved in crafting the vision become disillusioned and less likely to participate in future development activities. The following two sections identify critical components that are necessary to implement a new vision for northern BC, 1) attention to local capacity and 2) new strategies and institutions for collaboration.

### **Local Capacity**

Economic development practitioners have argued that we need to approach development differently. They have argued that there is a need to "reorient to readiness by understanding the role of the region in the world while also grounding our strategies in a real, in-depth, analysis of our local and regional assets and aspirations"

(http://www.unbc.ca/cdi/research.html, see also Markey *et al.*, 2008a 2008b). Reorienting to readiness involves being prepared for innovation at all times and building broad community development foundations for flexibility. Understanding our region in the world means taking a realistic competitive analysis of our assets in the global economy. Grounding our strategies means building a realistic understanding of our capacities, infrastructures, and opportunities, while discussion linking assets and aspirations involves an ongoing community development discourse as to where the community will go in a fast-paced global economy.

In understanding the local development process, we have identified three simplified elements to a strategic approach. The first involves identifying the foundations and background circumstances of the community and its goals. The second involves developing lists of options and possibilities, and creating a business case for those options and possibilities, while the third involves an implementation strategy that focused upon partnership development, long-term commitment, long-term funding, flexibility, and transparency of application. In northern BC, however, it is clear that most economic development occurs only with that middle element. Few economic development strategies seem rooted in a realistic analysis of place and few have long-term commitments to implementation funding and processes. To be resilient, flexible, and adaptive in a global economy means that rural development cannot remain "stuck in the middle" (Markey *et al.*, 2008b).

A point raised previously is the need to develop a broad community development foundation. This involves an orientation to readiness, inventories of assets, and investments in the economic, human, social, and natural capital of places. These need to be energised through a sense of vision for the place that marries aspirations with assets.

In summary, some of the principles for transition planning for rural and small town places include:

- getting ahead of the curve,
- finding ways for small places to "scale up" and work together at the regional level,
- · creating a solid foundation of community development support,
- rebundling our economic assets in innovative ways,
- looking within existing community and resource assets for new economic opportunities,
- focusing upon niche targets within the global economy, and

• recognizing the need for continual innovation and responses.

#### Collaboration

As noted above, small places are challenged by their human resource base and their internal capacity. Therefore, effective community development and economic transition work all depends on talking and working with others (Morris, 2010). The benefits of collaboration are well known. We can do more together than separate, there are opportunities to draw from a wider skill set, and there are opportunities to connect with a wider set of networks and sources of information. The barriers to collaboration are also relatively well known; people get jealous, people want credit, it takes time, it is very hard work, and we often do not have the resources to do it.

The process of collaboration is not a mystery. We have to create a common base of understanding and sense of where we wish to go so that we can join together in a project or undertaking. We have to know our goals, so that we can focus and align our resources. More difficult than one person getting distracted is an entire group of people getting distracted. Collaboration is also about relationship building. This can be difficult, especially in cases where some of the key partners may change their people – such as local and senior government representation – on a fairly regular basis. Sometimes in relationship building our partners will change and time needs to be reinvested in the initial steps.

Collaboration looks and feels complex, but it is also simply about understanding our context; what are our assets and how do we wish to develop our community and economy. Our community is in a region and that region is in the world. Within that context, there are structures, groups, and organizations that can be brought into the collaboration. We need to bring the right people together, to be inclusive. We need to then bring in the information base so that everyone is working from a common understanding; thinking about the same issues. We have to manage our governance structure so that the right organizations are involved and they are sending the right people; people who can communicate and make decisions on behalf of the organization. We need leadership, but we need collaborative leadership. This is not about individuals driving action; it is about a team joined in a collective undertaking. And, as the global economy changes, our communities change too; and, as new generations come to

participate in community building, these collaborative relationships must have the capacity to endure.

### Closing

This paper has examined the notion of constructing new rural places in a globalised economy. While the notion may be an old one for these places, the new global economy is about complexity and an accelerated pace of change. In response, a more place-based and rural/regional-based approach appears to be bearing fruit where applied. The circumstances of the northern BC example clearly illustrate that greater attention to place-based and regional development initiatives will support a potential for diversification and readiness that can reposition rural and small town places for success in the global economy.

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## 6.2 Social-economic determinants of innovative development of the northern territories of Russia

### Natalia Okhlopkova

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### Introduction

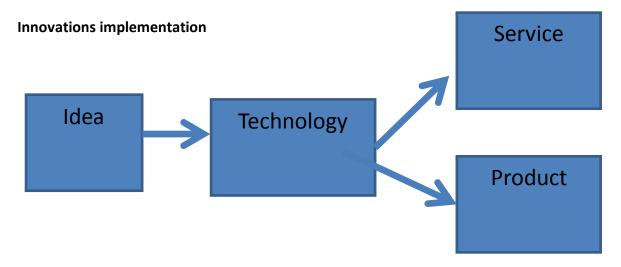
The northern territories of Russia make up 64% of its territory while having relatively a small population of 6.8-7 million people and a huge development potential.

According to the concept of state support of economic and social development of the Northern territories of Russia, the North: "is a high-latitude part of Russia's territory characterized by severe climate conditions that generate additional expenses connected to the production cycles and life provision for its population". Fully or partially regarded as Northern territories are 6 republics, 3 regions (kray), 11 oblastey, and 8 autonomous okrugov of the Russian territorial administrative system. The Russian North is the most populated, and the biggest, territory among all Northern countries and regions of the world.

The aim of this chapter is to discuss the concept of innovative development of Northern communities based on the strategy of socio-economic partnerships. The work represents the results of the research project "Innovation development of the Northern territories of Russia" conducted from 2009 to 2013 by the North-Eastern Federal University named M.K. Ammosov (NEFU) with support of the "Scientific resources development of higher school" grant program of the Federal Ministry of Education and Science of Russia. The project was also held in cooperation with the University of the Arctic.

The results of the research project were published in two monographs. The first was a collective monograph titled "Social and economic determinants of innovative development: In the paradigm of economic growth of northern regions of Russia" (Okhlopkova, Gjertsen and Pisareva 2013). The second was an edited monograph titled "Innovative Development of

Northern Territories of Russia" (Okhlopkova 2010). Collectively, the publications represent the results of the research project devoted to studies of the basic principles and priorities of the concept and strategy of innovation development of Northern territories of Russia and a methodological analysis of innovation.



Practical realization of the concept of socio-economic partnerships consisted of carrying out International business schools and practical seminars held by the Financial and Economic Institute of NEFU from 2009 to 2013 in a number of different municipalities of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia). The purpose of the business schools and seminars was to form and support development groups in these municipalities.

### Implementation of the project "Innovative Development of Northern Territories of Russia"

International business schools were carried out in a number of municipalities within the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia). The participating municipalities included:

- Oktemtsy village, the khangalassky region;
- Tyungyulya village, the Megino-Kangalassky ulus;
- Hatystyr village, the Aldan region;
- Namtsys village, the Namtsy region;
- Yengra village, the Neringrinsky region;
- Olenyok village, the Oleneksky region;
- and in Yakutsk.

The experience was spread to the Republic of Komi and the Arkhangelsk oblast' in collaboration with the colleagues from Finnmark University College (Alta, Norway) and the University of the Northern British Columbia (Canada) within the University of the Arctic's Thematic Network on Local and Regional Development.

### Outcomes of the implementation of the project "Innovative Development of Northern Territories of Russia"

There were a number of important outcomes from the partnership project. These included:

- Successful start-ups of more than 50 business projects of both production and welfare orientation;
- Increase of a level of development of enterprise activity in the regions;
- Growth of employment;
- The solution of a number of social problems, characteristic for these remote regions of the North, such as unemployment, alcoholism, drug addiction, high level of suicides, etc.

### **Examples of the business projects**

There were many different types of business projects that were developed as a result of the business schools and seminars. The range of new businesses included:

### Engineering service:

Municipality "Building Management" Projects Enterprise

### **Production:**

Meat processing business
Agricultural processing business
Metal treated business
A furniture business
Joiner's workshop
Production line "Soft Gold"

Export Processing firm "Dikoross"

Glasshouse Production

### **Development of traditional farming:**

Cattle breeding farm

Horse breeding

### Sewing of traditional cloth:

Sewing Shop

Family business sewing fur boots

Tailoring headdresses

Tailoring fashionable products from fur

### Intellectual Service:

Center of Innovational Technologies

Internet Center

Internet café

Account service

### Culture:

History revival and keeping a Village Museum

Family kindergarten

Fitness center

Sweet Dream studio

Beauty studio

### Tourism:

Tourist Complex "Uigu"

Phytobar

Drugstore "Health"

Summer cafe

This project is an example of an *international partnership* of educational institutions (Finnmark University College, the Finance and Economics Institute of the NEFU, and the University of the Arctic's Thematic Network on Local and Regional Development) which has had a great influence on the development of local society. The international experience of development of the remote and sparsely populated northern territories in Norway and groups of local communities

in Canada showed good prospects and a high efficiency for a strategy based on the principles of socio-economic partnership formation.

Participation of representatives of the Finnmark University College in this project had considerable effect. In particular:

- Professor Tor Gjertsen, the head of the Thematic Network on Local and Regional Development of the University of Arctic, whose experience in development of northern municipalities of Norway was really valuable.
- *Elin Sabbasen, senior business-consultant* of SEC of Norway, presented the experience of developing a system of microcredit, project management, and other practices of rural self-government. The offered microcredit system was that developed by the Nobel Prize winner, the Professor of Economy *Yunus Muhammad*.
- Eva Schjetne, practical psychologist, and Professor at Finnmark University College, carried out together with NEFU psychologists a series of psychological seminars and training sessions that became one of the decisive factors in the successful realization of the project's goals. Psychological seminars and training sessions were given on the topics of youth adaptation, solutions for family problems, the removal of social tension, and the growth of trust, openness, and the establishment of friendly contacts.

Along with the Norwegian colleagues, a significant contribution to the implementation of this project was made by representatives from the University of Northern British Columbia, Canada, namely Professor *Greg Halseth*, a specialist in development strategies for remote northern territories and development of the services sector. A valuable contribution to the project was also made by Andra Aldea-Löppönen, Ph.D. student at the University of Oulu (Faculty of Education, Department of Sociology, Women Studies and Environmental Education).

### Outputs

Innovative development of Northern territories of Russia is an alternative of modernization and the former methods of economic development when the interests of locals and the internal capacity of territories remained unaccounted and uninvolved. The experience and lessons from the conducted research, and the practical realization of the principles of the social partnership formation in the regions, proved its *effectiveness* and *high efficiency* in the modern rapidly changing world. As a result of developing social partnerships between university/college

institutions, academic circles, representatives of local businesses, local authorities and civil society representatives, it was found that *social activity* of the local population promotes the creation and development of an *innovative environment*. *Social capital* plays a crucial role in achievement of the objectives of social progress and economic development.

### Conclusions

Some of the key conclusions from the research project included:

- Joint scientific and applied research projects with foreign scientists on problems of development of Northern territories of Russia supported the implementation of the mechanisms of social and economic partnership, and the formation of social capital in innovative development of the Northern territories of Russia.
- The practice of *International business schools* that focus on innovative development of Northern regions of Russia held by the Finance and Economic Institute of the North East Federal University of M.K.Ammosov *integrated* representatives of the science, business, and civil society to work in development groups and this led to the formation of social and economic partnerships in local communities.
- The experience of the Finance and Economic Institute of the North-East Federal
   University of M.K.Ammosov in forming social and economic partnerships in local
   communities of Northern regions of Russia is an unique example of transition of
   University from traditional practice of realization of autonomous *educational programs* to *interactive* development with regional authorities, together with representatives of
   businesses and local communities, that makes an innovative impact on social and
   economic development.
- The modernization of traditional branches of the economy, the creation of development conditions, and technological innovations transform the economy through a stage of innovative development, demands the formation of an *institutional environment* of innovative development.
- The introduction of innovations demands the formation of a system of development institutions at regional and municipal levels, and one of them is the social and economic partnership.

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# 6.3 Coping strategies in the North: A model for community restructuring applied to Northern Norway

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### Introduction

This chapter is about "coping" and "coping strategies" as concepts to analyse and to prescribe how people living in remote rural communities can respond to challenges caused by processes of social and environmental transformation. First, the rural setting in Norway is described in terms of first moving into, and then out of, industrialization. Then, UNESCO's research programme *Management of Social Transformations (MOST)* is presented, with the introduction of the "coping" concept. Following this, the elaboration of the coping strategy concept is outlined and discussed, also in relation to how rural communities and municipalities have fared during the last decades.

In Norway, like in many other western countries, regional policies have for more than half a century addressed the situation of the rural periphery. From the 1950s and until the end of the 1970s, these policies were ambiguously carried out in the Norwegian context, motivated on the one hand by the aims of policies aimed at mobilizing a sufficiently large work force for an expanding manufacturing industry – the "growth centre" strategy - and, on the other hand by measures to supply the rural population with welfare, educational institutions, and to support small-scale local employment opportunities.

In this way, industrial investments reached the countryside, often subsidized as part of governmental regional policy programmes. Primary sectors like farming and fisheries, it was thought could also be reorganized on an industrial basis. At the micro level, this development was thought to relieve households from productive responsibilities and to turn them into reproductive units – like in the urban centres (Brox 2006).

This industrial order can be understood on the basis of linear reasoning, envisaging stages in the development from traditional to modern society. Conceptions of the future equalled progress in all aspects of human living conditions – from nutrition to income, access to services, and cultural experiences. The idea was that rationalized high-volume production reduced costs and made all types of products available to everyone, and on the basis of this, and under social democratic political regimes, more welfare to everyone. This grand idea was a successful and a kind of "the end of history" model in the Western hemisphere. But the model started to show signs of stress in the 1970s, and the industry-based welfare model of and for society broke down in the western world, broadly speaking, in the 1980s (Reich 1991).

Shifting the focus from an era of industrialization to a more multi-faceted and neo-liberal reality, we must, however, not replace the story of industrialization by an alternative grand narrative that in the same way as the industrial one tries to conjure a new standard model of society and its development. There has been a tendency to replace the idea of the rural population being recipients or clients of welfare benefits and industrial jobs, to a situation in which "recipient" is replaced by an idea of being a "victim" in a situation in which regimes of competitively oriented neo-liberalism have replaced redistributive policies of social democracy. Linked to this is a narrative in which mobility ("flows") has replaced the focus on processes related to distinct places (Castells 1996).

Social science research has been lagging behind in this informational technology-driven period, with the scientific community being divided into at least three positions, the ones that tried to keep its focus on the social-democratic values in research, the ones that delved into analyses based on the neo-liberal order, and a growing community of post-modernists, characterized by their reluctance to create new, grand societal narratives.

### A Northern research initiative: Circumpolar Coping Processes

At the start of the 1990s, the UNESCO launched a global research agenda named MOST – the Management of Social Transformations – trying to mobilize social science researchers to cooperate internationally to address the post-cold war and post-industrial and global situation by interdisciplinary approaches. Immanuel Wallerstein was one the initiators of this endeavour, and he brought the ideas from the Gulbenkian Foundation publication "Open the Social

Sciences" into UNESCO's agenda for promoting social science. The idea in *Open the Social Sciences* was a historical reflection upon the close relation between societal circumstances and disciplinary developments and division of labour within the social sciences. Following this reasoning, the global restructuring of the early 1990s – with the breakdown of the world communist order – should according to Wallerstein lead to also a reorganization of how social science was conducted – both internally in academia, and in UNESCO's visions, with practical implications for improved democratic governance. In the academic world, as well as in the national research funding agencies, this initiative was hard to sell. Not only was the UNESCO a weak organizer of international research, compared for example to the EU research system, but the established academic order, based on disciplinary divides within the universities, proved hard to change. Inter-disciplinary activities were still not in vogue, and without substantial funding prospects attached to it, social researchers seemed to shun UNESCO involvement.

In Norway, however, the MOST idea, after one unsuccessful attempt at mobilizing the research community, staged by the Norwegian Research Council, was picked up by the research director at the University of Tromsø, who persuaded researchers from NORUT (the institution for applied science in Tromsø), the Norwegian Fisheries College, and from the Department of Planning and Community Studies to organize an international conference in order to set up a research agenda for a "Management of social transformations" programme in the Circumpolar area. On the basis of discussion in this conference, a research programme was developed, called the Circumpolar Coping Processes Project (CCPP), to be coordinated by Jørgen Ole Bærenholdt of Roskilde University and Nils Aarsæther, University of Tromsø. A one-person secretariat was established in Tromsø by 1996 to coordinate research in a network that comprised participants from all the Nordic countries, Canada, and Russia (Bærenholdt 2007: xii-xiii).

### Why "Coping"

The word "coping" was actually given to the network by the UNESCO, as it appeared in the specification of elements that made up the MOST platform. Much activity has been devoted to the development of this broad concept, which can be placed between on the one hand, mastering and management, and on the other hand, adaptive behaviour. The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines the verb 'cope' as to "contend evenly, grapple successfully". Coping then has

to do with overcoming problems in a struggle, and thus acting in a more ad-hoc than in a planning mode. The organization, community, or actor which is engaged in a struggle can be imagined as one coming out of the struggle successfully, after a fight against all odds, so to speak. Now, how can this concept be related to the situation in the Nordic or Circumpolar periphery in the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century?

It is in fact fairly easy to imagine a situation common to many periphery communities in the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, one in which people experience both private sector and welfare policies setbacks. The idea is that external conditions impact on the local community in such a way that normal living standards are being threatened. But, internal crises or developments may also occur, like de-scaling of educational and medical services due to a diminishing population, and in particular, a decrease in the number of schoolchildren. Further, local manufacturing businesses and even shops have shut down, and within primary occupations, farming, herding, and fishing practices are terminated as there is no next generation present to take over from parents. In many periphery communities, elderly people make up the largest segment of the population and, concomitantly, population numbers are gradually declining. Added to these bleak prospects, natural resource depletion, climate change, wild animals attacking sheep and reindeer, etc., may have had a negative impact on a community's productive potential. But in our understanding of the "coping" situation, it is more in the form of a shock and less due to long-lasting downward movements. The classical situation in which coping is activated, is when a cornerstone industry or institution shuts down.

It is obvious that the regional political strategies of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, focusing on welfare development and support for industrial investments cannot function as adequate responses to the new problems. For one thing, welfare provisions often had to do with serving the educational needs of families with more children than in today's families. In most national states, the funding of welfare institutions has become more problematic, and private service offers, now usual in the larger cities, are definitely not a solution in small rural places. In the economic sphere, subsidizing manufacturing industries is out of the question (EU and WTO regulations), and the need for channelling industries out of the crowded city centres is long gone.

A community that is also drained of talents by the educational system can hardly rely on an equal distribution of entrepreneurial spirits either, and the handicaps produced by small numbers and long physical distances persist, irrespective of distance-reducing ICT applications. But even in the most remote communities (actually with very few exceptions, at least in Norway), local people are striving against all odds to keep their communities alive. Based on observations from many coastal communities in the Atlantic area all hit by the crisis in the fishery sector due to depletion of cod stocks in the late 1980s, researchers participating in the MOST — CCPP network worked out a model of "coping strategies", originally based on three elements, but then extended to a four-elements model.

### Coping strategy model

The coping strategy model was first presented in the introductory chapter of the volume *Coping Strategies in the North* (Bærenholdt and Aarsæther 1998). It comprises three elements that the authors hypothesise must be present if a periphery community or place is to sustain its population in the context of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century's economic and political realities.

1. Innovative responses to globalization. This means that a coping strategy is an endeavour that relates to the process of economic and social integration within the globalization trend. This does not necessarily mean that a strategy or project carried out on behalf of the rural community entails an attempt to compete in a global market of services and commodities. But, it is a reminder that any locally-based innovation today must take the presence of the global into account. For example, protectionist practices by national governments are unlikely to survive in most business areas, and strategies that presuppose such protection will in most cases fail. The strategy must be innovative, not necessarily in a strict sense, but it must contain elements that are novel, at least in the community, or it must represent a new way of conducting or marketing traditional practices. Within the public sector, however, publicly funded innovations would qualify, like state-funded monitoring stations for climate changes. Innovative responses also mean the ability to take advantage of ICT developments – and in this respect it is a good question to ask if establishing a call-centre in the rural periphery would qualify.

- 2. Collective action: Coping strategies are collective endeavours. While acknowledging that many innovative strategies are private business-based, we hold that for a periphery community, cooperation and social inclusion in this respect is almost indispensable. This in fact has to do with one of the final comparative advantages that small communities can provide, i.e. the powers of social capital that facilitate innovative cooperation at the level of the group or community (Putnam 2000). Collective action may develop out of informal networks in the community, linking households and firms, and with connections to network partners outside of the community as well. It may depend on and capitalize on organized networks in the form of overlapping membership in voluntary organizations. And not least, it may build on the power of decentralized local government institutions, from Nordic-type strong municipalities that can articulate needs on the basis of popular vote in local democratic elections, to weaker territorial institutions like village councils.
- 3. Identity formation from traditional to hybrid identity. Coping strategies must make sense to (most) people locally. Together with the advantage of social capital, rural communities often are inhabited with people that have their community membership as a strong identity element. Now, often identity built on community living is backwardlooking, and built on histories and narratives conveying images of a heroic past. This of course could "sell" in projects where a hidden past is opened and, for example, made part of a tourism venture with a focus on roots and historical events that took place in the community. But in itself such a move transcends a thorough and puristic orientation to the past, and shows how to combine elements of the past with new elements, in the form of products and experiences that attract new people to the place, such as by the use of advanced ICT presentations and communication. Often we speak of hybrid identities, and this is exactly what we aim at here – not the reconstruction of some historical role, but weaving the past into an identity that is also based on quite novel elements. Especially for younger people, this hybrid type of identity formation may be productive to mobilize people to participate in collective action to secure a community's survival.
- 4. Welfare state, nation state underpinnings. In the monograph Coping with Distances: Producing North Atlantic Societies Jørgen Ole Bærenholdt devotes the last chapters to

discuss and analyse the role of the nation and the state in the development and maintenance of Nordic periphery places. One aspect of this is the question of what welfare arrangement do to people. Do redistributive arrangements grounded in national solidarity make people not less, but perhaps more innovative? Local entrepreneurship may be stimulated by the very fact that there is a safety-net if one fails, for instance in a risk-involving innovative endeavour. The nation-building function is expressed also by the construction of regional strongholds in the rural periphery (Bærenholdt 2007: 258). It would from this reasoning be wrong to think that communities in the periphery may be better off by doing the job themselves, without the interference of national control or by national redistributive arrangements. There is no evidence supporting the position that local people's innovative and cooperative capacities are set free when welfare arrangements diminish, or that public support schemes can be replaced by autonomy, grounded in strong place identity. The state will in most cases, at least in Norway, serve as a buffer to absorb negative impacts of the forces of globalization, especially if neoliberal insistence on profitable activities only, is too strong for almost any community. One may like or not the nation-building processes that have contributed to the maintenance of rural communities, but they are decisive pillars, and more than that, these redistributive mechanisms can in themselves also foster innovative coping strategies.

The coping strategy model then – is it an analytical model that can be argued and defended as a consistent social science construct? Or is it a descriptive representation of what goes on today in periphery rural communities within welfare states? Or is it just a normative prescription for how to work out change for the better, highlighting elements that are actually far from the observed reality, even among successful places and communities?

To start with the consistency question, the coping strategy model presupposes actors to be collectively oriented – and at the same time to possess individualistic characteristics of the business entrepreneurship mode. But this tension can be solved by introducing "societal entrepreneurship", which in principle may be performed also by business actors to the extent that creating jobs and sponsoring local cultural events is part of the business venture. Another argument against the model is that many young people leave small places in the periphery, and they obviously do not conform to the ethos of contributing to make

your home place a better community. On the other side, the presupposition of collectively oriented actors may hold for the ones who remain in the community or the ones who enter the community as in-migrants. Thus, consistency can be hypothesized in this respect, namely by restricting the research field to what goes on in the rural periphery — within a welfare state setting. Much evidence seems to corroborate this proposition — it is a common observation that people in rural areas connect more, are more densely organized, and contribute more to charitable purposes. But the model's internal consistency does not mean that we find coping strategies in every periphery community. It is possible to imagine successful communities (demographically) that have experienced e.g. munificent state or private sector interventions, based on considerations or analyses done by actors external to the community.

# **Empirical section: Four successful cases in Northern Norway**

The second question is whether or not this model of action actually fits with the observed reality in rural communities. Here, we chose communities that have fared better than others – these are places/municipalities in the periphery that have more or less maintained their population numbers over a long time period. The question of the coping model's fit with reality can be answered then, by looking at the few places in Northern Norway that have kept stable population numbers – places that are in addition small, and located outside of daily commuting reach from urban centres. In the two northernmost counties of Norway, Troms and Finnmark, we find just four municipalities of this type. These are presented in Table 1 below, showing demographic development over the last 24 years (1990 – 2013).

Table 1. Population change 1990-2013 in Bardu, Storfjord, Kautokeino, Karasjok

Municipality, county	Dominant sector 1990	Population 1990	Population 2013	Change 1990- 2013
Bardu, Troms	Defense	3890	3933	+43
Storfjord, Troms	No particular	1836	1942	+106
Kautokeino, Finnmark	Reindeer	2953	2923	-30
	husbandry			
Karasjok, Finnmark	Reindeer	2652	2721	+69
	husbandry			

Source: Statistics Norway www.ssb.no/folkendr/hist/tabeller

While all other municipalities with less than 5000 inhabitants in Northern Norway have suffered population decrease, these four units have managed to stabilize their demographic development, in fact, three of them have a larger population by 2013 compared to 1990! But does that mean that these municipalities have been arenas of coping strategies?

- 1. Have they innovatively linked to developments in the new global economy?
- 2. Have they progressed by inclusion and networking?
- 3. Are hybrid-type identities developed?
- 4. What we know, is that they are all benefiting from the Norwegian welfare state and regional development policies. But as numerous examples from other municipalities show, ordinary public sector arrangements, including pensions, disability, and unemployment transfers are by no means sufficient to keep up population numbers in rural communities.

In short, the four municipalities here can be divided into two groups (Table 2). Kautokeino and Karasjok are the strongest Sami municipalities in the region, and by 1990 the construction of Sami central institutions benefited these two municipalities. The Sami Parliament was located in Karasjok, while the Sami Theatre, the Sami University College, and other institutions were located in Kautokeino. These two municipalities were the "natural" choice for these localizations and by central government-funded new institutions they have offered employment for well educated (Sami) people. The nation-building processes related to the establishment of the Sami Parliament and College were not worked out locally, but the foundations for nation-building were laid by massive protest against the Norwegian central government in a struggle against hydro-electric development in a reindeer- grazing area. Rather by default, the creation of Sami national institutions benefited the two municipalities. It is also an open question to what extent people in these two municipalities have staged inclusive networking processes, but there are signs that the Sami traditional identity has developed into a more hybrid type, especially among young people (Stordal 1996).

Storfjord is a very interesting case, because the municipality did not enter into the industrial age, but by negotiating with higher public levels gained direct compensation for complying to hydro-electric developments, and has used the money and their bargaining competence to create employment opportunities both for small scale businesses and for women especially

(the localization of a public laundry serving the regional public institutions). Storfjord has a culture of village, religious, political, and ethnic strife – with little overlapping networking, and the processes of identity formation seem to be highly segmented within the community (Aure 2001). By a road construction project in the 1970s, the E6 was led through the municipality, and a junction connects the E6 with a trunk road to Northern Finland.

Bardu is similar to Storfjord by having secured substantial municipal incomes from hydroelectric developments, but has also profited from employment related to military training camps and from a centre of telecommunications (shut down by 2010). Now, the military tends to down-scale, and the telecom firm has moved to the neighbouring municipality. Therefore, the leaders of the municipality have used much energy to lobby central authorities for new investments in the military camp, to improve infrastructure for the telecom company (financing new premises) to make them stay (unsuccessfully), and in addition the municipality has lobbied for, and later subsidized, a psychiatric semi-public centre offering also substantial employment opportunities for highly educated people (Bjørnå and Aarsæther 2009). The internal networking seems to function well in this community, while the identity is very much a traditional one, they are descendants of in-migrating people from a valley in Southern Norway, and adhere to traditional practices (fishing, hunting, outdoor life, cottages).

**Table 2. Coping strategy factors in four municipalities** 

Municipality, county	Links to globalized economy?	Inclusive networking	Identity formation	State funding
Bardu, Troms	Weak	Yes strong	Traditional	Hydroelectric compensation
Storfjord, Troms	No	No	Segmented	Hydroelectric compensation
Kautokeino, Finnmark	No	?	Traditional	Sami nation- building
Karasjok, Finnmark	No	?	Traditional	Sami nation- building

# **Concluding remarks**

From a coping strategy perspective, the four cases studied display far more nation state interventions than innovative linking to global processes, inclusive networking, and hybrid Gargia conferences | 2004 - 2014

identity formation. None of the places demonstrating demographic success thus can be regarded as places characterized by the factors that make up "coping strategies". The role of the state in local development seems to be a far more salient factor for explaining the success stories. In the case of Karasjok and Kautokeino, there is the developmental linearity of "latecoming" nation-building that explains demographic stability. Positions are created, competent advisors, teachers, actors, and media people are recruited to the new Sami institutions. One may of course wonder why two "capitals" were created for the Sami "nation" instead of having just one, and local leadership moves may have been important for this split-capital outcome that clearly has benefited both municipalities.

In both Storfjord and Bardu, local leadership strategies have been indispensable. In both cases, the municipal elected leaders have directed their attention to low-risk areas (public laundry, SMB support scheme, military camp, and psychiatry) rather than venturing into risky commercial development. But as for networking and political culture, people stand united in Bardu, while interior tensions and strife are constant elements in Storfjord's inter-village and political life.

This leaves us with multi-level politics and local leadership explanations for rural consolidation, rather than explanations that resonate with the coping strategy model. There is money accumulated at the central government level, and entrepreneurial strategies can succeed for local leaders directing their energies towards soft spots in central government agencies and departments – by demonstrating the need for ethnic recognition, and for the maintenance of decentralized psychiatry, laundry services, and defence. Thus they do not need to venture into the commercial sphere to launch new initiatives, but can be sufficiently furnished with employment opportunities in a broad public sphere.

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# 6.4 Sami education and development, between tradition and modernity

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#### Introduction

Climate change and questions related to adaptation to climate change is for sure on the world-wide agenda and receives a lot of attention around the globe, but especially in the Arctic. It is well acknowledged as having an influence on the future of the communities in the Arctic. At the same time, simultaneously, communities in the Arctic experience other human initiated changes that are driven from outside. Mega-scale mineral projects, oil and gas development, including all the infrastructures that comes with such projects, most often outside any local or regional control, causes and forces changes regarding the human perspective or the social and cultural life of northern communities and for this case, for Indigenous communities in the Arctic.

This chapter outlines of some of the challenges connected to the use of education as a means of capacity building in a situation where Indigenous peoples of the Circumpolar North experience rapid changes in multiple ways. I will briefly present a theory, from the education sector, to understand the interplay between education and community that also takes the change or development issue into consideration. I will also provide comments based on a presentation I made some years back about the case of modernization and change. I then focus on some of the challenges of human development outlined in the Arctic Social Indicators report. At the end, I will present a few examples to discuss some of the education challenges.

#### The interplay between education and community

In one major study of education in the Far North, Darnell and Hoëm (1996) present a theory to understand change and development from the perspective of education by the interplay between societal domains and education. They propose to study the dimensions of culture,

social organization, economy, and technology to understand change, and they propose to understand culture as the stored composite of knowledge that a group or people have at their disposal. Hoëm (2007) further elaborates that these dimensions represent areas of change, and that knowledge production takes place in different contexts within these dimensions. Whatever variables are used to characterize a society, as long as is refers to human activity it is a significant measure of knowledge capacity. The people use this as their base for conceptualizing; it is a base for their understanding and mastery at different levels. We could refer to the levels being the individual, a community, or a nation. This gives the people the potential to perform their work and to further nurture their culture. Changes in a given situation occur when there is tension between the societal dimensions as well as between elements of these dimensions. The cultural and social dimensions change relatively slowly, and slower than economy and technology. The degree of congruence between the dimensions can be used to measure the quality of change. High congruence, and control capacity that leads to such, can lead to changes in a planned fashion. High divergences on the other hand do not foster manageable situations. Much can be said and exemplified based on such an approach. However, in this chapter I will give just an example for the sake of illustration.

To exemplify tension between dimensions, we could refer to changes in technology – for example digital media that does not take into account Indigenous peoples language has a negative impact on the potential to further develop the language and forces a negative change. Digital media that uses the language promotes further enculturation through the language use and is positive. This gives the individual as well as the group a potential to adjust to and master new challenges; it is geared towards empowerment. The group needs a system for transmitting its values; hence education should be an arena for combining traditional values and innovative solutions. In accordance with this, one could postulate that sustainable change for Indigenous peoples both culturally, socially, economically, and technologically has to combine tradition with the newest technological innovations. This would include presenting a combination of the traditional and modernized system, including using community capacity to nurture retention and translate challenges/adaptations into an expanded development capacity. But it seems that the possibility to respond positively to changes with a sustained result is when you can master this on a relatively small scale and also keep a flexibility to use and adjust to human and social capital.

In a paper I presented some 15 (Keskitalo 1995) years ago, I distinguished between macro-driven implantation, micro-level modernization, and locally initiated and controlled innovation. Macro-driven implantations could be explained as large industrialization projects in some Sámi areas a hundred years ago that forced changes within all societal domains: cultural, social, economy, and technology. These huge industrialization projects did not take the culture, the social organization of the local community, in consideration. The macro-driven implantation devalued, made changes, and eventually extinguished the traditional knowledge system and replaced the value system, the priorities and focus of the existing traditional knowledge transmission. Also, other mining projects and later oil and gas exploitation projects, as well as agricultural projects, could be discussed as examples. The industrial colonization of Indigenous people's homelands had huge implications/changes for communities: including the replacement or total extinction of local knowledge.

Micro-level development as modernization of primary economies on the other hand occurred over the years first as smaller changes in a more balanced form. We could use examples from mechanical innovations like the early use of the out-board motor and snow machines, even some small scale fishing technology. These were first used because they added new possibilities that made life easier. People could master these tensions without a total change of knowledge. But it had to be balanced towards the resource base to secure and sustain both people and nature. It also needed to be balanced towards all forms of dependency towards an outside credit system and unforeseen financial capacity demands. As long as the resource base could be controlled locally, and be evenly distributed locally, the viable community survived. On the other hand, large scale modern expansions from outside and an increasing globalized economy have taken control and demanded/created structural dependencies outside the manageable social and economic system of the local communities.

Local innovation has its base in the local livelihoods, cultural values, and local priorities. This is a conscious change based on small scale operations united with the traditional knowledge adapted to the societal dimensions aimed at building and securing development under local control based on, and giving breath to, viable communities. This does not really distinguish between what is modern and what is traditional; it creates a locally negotiated tradition during its own journey, it supports identity formation under local control. But, it depends on access to

local resources under a local management regime. Examples of such could be found in small scale home industries based on local resources.

When we then discuss education towards these changes for Indigenous peoples we easily see challenges in the case of what future do we educate for. There must be a solid cultural core in the basic education to match challenges further up in the education system. And even the most traditional must be integrated with the modern. This is about creating new innovative solutions.

#### The Human dimension

The Arctic Human Development Report (AHDR) (2004) identified a number of key issues as determinants for people's well-being in the Arctic. The report brought into discussion control of one's control, cultural integrity, and contact with nature as critical issues regarding the human dimension of change. The issue of the quality of life for people of the Arctic is closely connected to the possibility to control factors that gives access and capacity to foster well-being. The AHDR addresses three critical concerns when it comes to education. A first issue is the control dimension, the balance between local control and national directives. A second issue addresses the challenges regarding education for Indigenous peoples. The Arctic Social Indicators Project (ASI) (2010), a follow up study responded to ADHR in aiming at developing indicators to track changes in human development in the Arctic. The ASI has added three more domains, based on the UN Human Development Index (life expectancy, literacy, and standards of living). The ASI translated these into issues of health/population, education, and material well-being. These social indicators can be further developed to collect data that could give a possibility to measure the challenges of change.

Coping with change is a challenge for the human dimension that needs to be taken into consideration. The economic adaptations and the living conditions in the Arctic are not homogenous, but they face many of the common challenges. However, closeness to nature is quite common. To find indicators that could be used as a base for understanding is a demanding task given the internal structures throughout the Arctic. While full coverage of the indicators is in the report mentioned above, the education domain focuses on the need to have a good and adequate basic education system that provides good quality basic skills.

As a comment I should stress that an adequate and quality education system for Indigenous peoples means providing the foundation for both a sound cultural well-being as well as background to a further academic career. For cultural well-being, this means to foster the potential for the individual to identify itself with its cultural group, and for the group to be given the possibility to foster and sustain the group level capacity. Among other factors, the vernacular language plays a core role. But to have access to study and learn the common history of the group, and of course to have the possibility to learn both the material and immaterial culture, is also of importance. To develop such a case for the sense of belonging it requires cultural autonomy to elaborate such a system because the traditional majority-minority relation does not offer such quality situations within the mainstream system.

But in addition, there are other factors to consider within the education sector. A sound and adequate basic education has to be extended into an adequate system for supporting a professional or an academic career. The rate of Indigenous students pursuing higher education in the Arctic is not promising. On the other hand, one must recognize that this also connects to the high drop-out levels from high-school. So both the low rate of Indigenous students fulfilling the upper secondary level, and the rate of them pursuing higher education, indicates system failures. Since much of the workforce in a modern community is based on formal training for the services and professions, we see a potential for a lack of recruitment with people from the communities mastering the language and the culture. Modernity, therefore, often in terms of these services means importing a workforce that may stay only for the short term. It may serve a function to cover an urgent need, but is not sustainable or stable. It also loads pressure on supporting factors as language retention, cultural autonomy, and the sense of belonging.

# Sámi economy and Sámi labour

Magga (1992) states that there is a close relationship between the cultural process and traditional economies. Changes in the economy, he states, often force people to change their cultural identity. The result is an accelerated societal change, leading away from their life as Sámi. As explained by a reindeer-herding administrator, 'the change away from herding is a change of identity' (Bergland 1998). In his doctoral thesis, Bergland (1998) states that identity is not based exclusively on contemporary social relations and labour. Identity is also based on

the continuation of these relations and labour roles into the next generation. An individual also feels his own loss of identity into his own future and the future of the coming generations.

Høgmo (1985) explains challenges and problems with identifying Sámi labour. One has to distinguish between different aspects of this. Sámi cultural articulation could be understood as constituting a particular articulation contrasting Norwegian, Finnish, or Swedish. It could also be understood as the articulation at a given time consisting both as Sámi by origin and as complementary to another cultural articulation by which it will be influenced and vice-versa. The traditional economy has changed. To define Sámi labour by the original tradition alone makes it difficult to consider economies other than the reindeer herding Sámi economy. On the other hand, understanding Sámi labour as ethnicity at work does not exclude tradition, but the focus shifts towards what kind of challenge the traditional economy faces intersecting with other economic articulations, and what does the Sámi sense of belonging mean in new economic adaptations. Different economies and economic activities, as well as cultural and academic activities, give different possibilities to manage ethnicity. Thereby, relations become important, not the operational aspects.

Such a position could be understood as containing negotiations that have importance for identity formation. In his examples of the result of change in herding, Bergland (1998) argued that a conversion process into other labour or into unemployment has different results for different age groups, as well as for gender.

As we see, even if change results in change in cultural identity, it is not necessarily a question of inter-ethnic change. It is probably as much an intra-cultural change. Do people and society generally distinguish between these two types of changes? How can and does the school adjust to these types of concerns?

#### The additional curriculum

I will now turn to an example that illustrates how traditional knowledge is an "added on" curriculum. The Sámi newspaper "Áššu" (number 31/2000 of Tuesday March 18) reported on the Sámi reindeer herding- and high school organizing theme based Sámi curriculum. One of the goals for such way of organizing the curriculum is partly for the teachers to learn traditional

craft, with the school using community people as mentors and teachers. According to the newspaper, the theme curriculum covered a mix of traditional and contemporary subjects, like the traditional craft, traditional as well as new techniques of decorating silk shawls, use of modern communication technology, and experiments with new recipes from reindeer meat.

A couple of questions quite naturally rise from such an example. If this is additional and optional, what then is the standard curriculum of this particular Sámi school? Since this is organized as a special theme, it can be translated that it is organized in another way than what they do in the daily scheme. What is it that the basic questions of the schools function becomes reduced to matters about "optional", "additional", "theme", "special projects", to mention just some of the popular and frequent ways of solving the challenges.

# **Conclusion: The value of these examples**

At this initial stage one conclusion seems important to state: that the change from self-supportive economy and self-invented knowledge transition, to specialized knowledge and dependency of external institutions in the globalized world, has been an ongoing struggle for Indigenous peoples. In these particular Sámi examples, we see changes take place — megachanges implemented by forces out of local control, micro-changes as modernization, but also smaller changes with free-floating innovations invented and adjusted to locally. There are multiple examples of occasions or incidents similar to those reported here.

The tendency to change from a homogenous primary economy to a highly specialized tertiary economy with high demands for professional schooling is not uncommon in many Sámi areas. In many Sámi villages it is not unusual to find institutions of primary economy side by side with modern Norwegian or modern Sámi institutions belonging to the tertiary and even the quaternary sector. Production work in the secondary sector, however, often seems to be lacking, which probably causes high unemployment in some areas. In Indigenous societies, there seems to exist an unabridged gap in building adapted traditions of knowledge transition in a systematic way into modern sectors. The gap consists of, on the one hand, the traditional transition of knowledge, family, or village based primary economy. And, on the other hand, this is challenged by the highly professionalized work in modern tertiary and quaternary sectors based on long term schooling concepts of knowledge transition. This gap needs to be filled with

innovative solutions where tradition and modern concepts meet in secondary production work based on local utilization of sustainable resources.

A development including such economy could probably and partly provide local control of the development if it is introduced in a small scale way and involves local resources. Many individuals, families, villages, and regions in Sápmi experience changes in lifestyle from primary economy to specialized tertiary economy within one generation or at least within two generations. The economy itself, and the cultural and social web surrounding the traditional economy, is hereby challenged by unbalanced and quite unpredictable demands in terms of knowledge requirements, knowledge maintenance, and knowledge transition.

The change from Sámi identity based on local cultures with regional interconnections towards new all-Sámi cultural institutions and processes demands new knowledge, some genuinely developed in the new situation, others adapted from tradition for the new situation. A threatening force, however, could be if outside trends are uncritically implanted. The examples from my viewpoint indicate the field is loaded with challenges and contradictions that are of paramount interest when discussing the role of formal schooling for Sámi as individuals and as a wider Sámi community.

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# **Section 7**

# Conclusion: Knowledge and capacity building in rural development

"Work done and lesson learned"



Closing ceremony for the business school in Saskalakh, northern Yakutia, Nov. 2012

Photograph courtesy of Tor Gjertsen

# 7.1 Ten years of knowledge and capacity building: Work done and lessons learned ...

# **Tor Gjertsen**

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#### Introduction

The challenge of economic and social change facing rural and small town places appear very similar across the Circumpolar North. Through an integrated local and regional development approach, we have explored these challenges, as well as the opportunities to address these challenges. This book, from a wide range of contributors, is an exploration of not just the important problems but also different ways to address those problems.

In this concluding chapter, I do not seek to summarize or repeat the contents. Instead, I want to provide a higher level description of key lessons. The hope is that these lessons can inform individuals, local communities, political and development organizations, and researchers in their own work. This chapter is organized under four sections or themes that drive local and regional development: "capacity building", "approach", "together", and "the development circle".

#### **Back to Tana**

At the opening of the book, I described how the successful first local and regional development workshop was held in the small municipality of Tana, in Eastern Finnmark, Norway. Since the beginning of the project for local and regional development workshops, the Gargia conference, and the UArctic Thematic Network on Local and Regional Development, the local authorities in Tana has been active participants and supporters. The close cooperation between Finnmark University College and the local authorities and business community in Tana has been to great help in transforming the municipality in a positive direction. The leadership in Tana, both in the public and private sector, has been active in different local and regional development

partnerships, such as the East-Finnmark Regional Council, presided by the mayor of Tana. The strong political position he has in the region depends very much on his focus on education, knowledge, and capacity building among his fellow citizens, not only among the employees of the Municipality, but the local and regional population in general. Because of this the Center for Knowledge and Capacity Building ("Øst-Finnmark kompetansesenter") in East-Finnmark was located to Tana 5 years ago. You also find it in the House of Knowledge ("Kunnskapens hus") — which is another of the mayor's latest achievements. Through the House of Knowledge in Tana they were offering more on-line course and study programs than Finnmark University College offered before it was merged with the University of Tromsø (2013), he claimed. His ability to get things done, partly through partnership and network organization, has also contributed to his reputation as a great leader and manager.

The leadership group in Tana has stayed connected with international sources of innovative ideas to help inform their local and regional initiatives. They have been working to connect local people and organizations via regional and international networks. This leadership group has been open to new ideas and has been working locally to mobilize ideas that fit with expectations and opportunities of the community and the economy. They also understand the intimate connection between economic development and community development, and considerable investments to support a robust community development foundation have been a key to their success. They stay knowledgeable about what is needed for business success and for a successful, resilient, and diverse community. Tana's leadership remains an innovator in both social and economic development, and they are always at work to help the people of Tana, and neighbouring municipalities, to be ready for challenges and opportunities. In many fields and ways, Tana has been a role model for others, especially in issues concerning local and regional development. The present mayor of Tana, Frank Ingilæ, has played a central role in the research and development cooperation between Finnmark University College and the Municipality all the way from the development workshop and partnership in 2004, and he is also head of the Development Council for East-Finnmark. Drawing from Tana, other communities, and the collaborative work of the Gargia Conferences and the University of the Arctic's Thematic Network, the following sections explore key lessons for local and regional development.

#### **Knowledge and Capacity Building**

#### **Thinking Education**

Education towards understanding is a central aspect of being "ready" for change. There is a substantial value to investing in, and fostering, mutual learning as we think about education and training needs. Feedback can be shared across different stakeholders and sectors. A vision can be formed about what communities and people need both at the present time and even more importantly into the future. Within a rapidly changing context, stakeholders must pay attention to how they will develop relevant education, training, and capacity building programs that would meet challenges and needs. Ideally, course and study programs in this area of work, like the advanced emphasis course in Management of Local and Regional Development, mentioned earlier, should be evaluated and revised on a yearly basis. Our local and regional partners, in the public, private, and voluntary sector, should be directly involved, both in teaching and the evaluation of these course and study programs so that they cover their education and training needs.

Based on those learning opportunities, our partners and other stakeholders can learn from those who deliver and seek educational programming. Continuous attention and investment in knowledge and capacity building is vital in small places, as is flexibility in how this capacity building is delivered. The way the House of Knowledge and the Center for Competence and Capacity building in Tana are working is a good example to follow. Stakeholders must recognize, however, that skills and capacities will also change over time across local government, cultural, civil society, and business sectors.

# Delivering Education

Local and regional development stakeholders must be open and respectful to different types of knowledge, different educational media and ways of delivering training, different ways of learning and knowing, and different ways to achieve educational outreach and engagement. They must also recognize that education happens in all facets of life, and that attention to education must be ongoing. Due to the challenges of cost and time, stakeholders will want to make wise choices in the use of technology versus in-person delivery of training workshops.

The educational institutions involved in local and regional development projects and programs, by delivering special training, course and study programs, in research and/or other types of development activities, should be sensitive to the needs, economic means, and capacity of organization and work of the users and partners on both local and regional levels.

#### **Approach**

# Scaling-Up

Local places are embedded within their surrounding region. This helps to strengthen synergistic community and economic relationships locally, between municipalities, and between municipalities and regional authorities, as well as with regional and national development agencies. Inclusion into regional development or innovation systems and networks can also bring further legitimacy to development processes. Places and regions also function, however, within senior government frameworks. There is a need to ensure that an appropriate range of stakeholders are included and involved in these frameworks to support local and regional development initiatives. Again, such working relationships should be grounded in respect, understanding, and trust.

# Scaling-Down

Local places are where the global economy and public policy hit "home". Within this context, local places must be at the centre of local and regional development work. This involves paying attention to scaling "down" all activities to the local level. It is not just about engaging outside experts. It is not just about top-down decisions. It is important to involve local people and organizations in meaningful ways from the beginning and throughout the development process by building upon local ideas, aspirations, and needs. This can be fostered by supporting reflexive relationships between bottom-up community and economic development, and the need for supportive top-down public policy.

#### **Together**

#### **Building Development Partnerships**

Partnerships are instrumental to support local and regional development initiatives as they can connect stakeholders with a wider range of ideas, information, support, and resources. Building effective partnerships is about being open and working across a wide range of sectors. It is about understanding each other's capacity and bringing each other's capacity to the various tasks that need to be undertaken. Partnerships are also more likely to be successful when they are grounded in efforts to create a more effective understanding of those working relationships. Through partnerships, value is added to local and regional development initiatives by bringing people and organizations together.

# Structuring Networks and Partnerships

To be effective, networks and partnerships need to be grounded in mutual respect, understanding, and trust. People need to be engaged in meaningful and equal ways to strengthen these long-term working relationships. This will not happen if people do not feel valued and respected. At times, effective working relationships can be challenged by hierarchical structures. Understanding the structure and strength of networks can inform lessons as to why some initiatives are more successful than others. Vertical networks, for example, can be easier to nurture and develop as they are often grounded in place. They can suffer when "equality of participation" is not valued. By comparison, horizontal networks can be more difficult to develop and maintain as they are more difficult to access and as such hierarchical power structures are distributed across other, and perhaps distant, places.

There is a need to establish diagonal networks by bridging the benefits of horizontal and vertical networks in order to create more synergies between top-down and bottom-up supports and strengthen comprehensive approaches to local and regional development. As such, networks and partnerships need to be open and inclusive. This involves engaging stakeholders in developing tasks and determining who will assume responsibility for various activities. It takes time to develop effective working relationships as people and organizations learn how to work well together, to address ongoing challenges, and to maintain momentum.

It thus requires an appropriate investment of time and resources to nurture networks and working relationships, as well as a willingness to develop collaborative leadership structures. Attention to these important elements will go a long way to building successful social cohesion and social capital within the community and across the region.

# Being in Partnership Networks

Building effective partnerships is about harnessing the knowledge and capacities of those invested in creating networks and partnerships. For communities that are experiencing rapid change, once a critical crisis is under control, it is vital to stay in the network in order to monitor and evaluate the relative success of the responses. It is also vital to stay in the network so as to be better positioned to pursue community and economic development opportunities for the future. Through a long-term investment in networks and partnerships, stakeholders can continue to have access to timely information and supports.

#### **Bounding**

Economic and social change touches all facets of life. There is a need, however, to focus efforts in order to wisely use the limited availability of resources. This requires a strategic discussion of key problems and priorities that can be situated in a bounded list of work to focus upon. This includes a clear indication of what needs to be done immediately and what can wait. In small communities, the need to focus energies and activities on agreed upon priorities is important and can minimize wasted efforts.

# **Conflict Resolution**

Long-term working networks and partnerships need to be equipped with adequate conflict resolution mechanisms. This requires attention to two important aspects. First, there will always be different views, as stakeholders will not always agree on everything. It is actually important to invite "difference" into the process. The critical issue is to recognize that these processes of engagement can help to facilitate a common knowledge base and a understanding on common problems and priorities, as well as support of a common approach to problem solving. Exclusion only results in distrust and a withdrawal of support for any proposed

development solution by those who feel outside of the process. Second, processes to manage debate and conflict will require attention and an investment of time and resources to support dialogue and consensus building. Attention to these two important aspects will go a long way to embed respect, understanding, and trust as foundations for engaging in networks and partnerships.

### The development circles

Local and regional development, in today's fast paced global economy, is not about one time solutions that will "save" communities. In northern places, shortages in capacity, staff, knowledge, or resources means that attention to building partnerships is a vital part of the ongoing development and re-development process. As a result of these matters of context, local and regional development cannot be thought of as a linear process; rather it is a recursive circle, where the actions of the past inform the opportunities of the present and where the choices we make today will set the context for future actions. Successful local and regional development in the Circumpolar North means working diligently and deliberately towards achieving success one step at a time, staying engaged through implementation so as to build and maintain momentum, and continuing to monitor, evaluate, respond, act, and plan to help keep a flexible and resilient community viable now and into the future.

#### Achieving Success One Step at a Time

In local and regional development, success can only be achieved one step at a time. Capacity is developed through the importance of being successful at small things, and then building on those successes to pursue more complex initiatives. It is also about creating synergies that are capable of supporting broad involvement, overcoming skepticism, and circumventing obstruction and sabotage. Recognizing that not all communities and regions are "ready" for local and regional development planning, stakeholders sometimes need to "start" with earlier or smaller steps.

# **Maintaining Momentum**

A common challenge is that sometimes when energy is spent through a development process, the results may not always be seen immediately. Investing strategically in ways to mobilize action is an important way to overcome skepticism and continue to nurture broad support for long-term endeavors. Stakeholders also need to evaluate local and regional development approaches and remain open and flexible to changing the course that is being pursued as local and non-local circumstances change.

#### No Time to Rest

The global economy is fast-paced and constantly changing. If communities are to be successful with development initiatives, they cannot be complacent. The challenge is to always be ready and positioned to respond to emerging issues and opportunities by nurturing community capacity, social cohesion, and social capital.

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# 7.2 Afterword/closing message

#### Oksana Romanova

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#### Dear reader!

This publication comprises selected scholarly works that reflect the results of a 10-year international cooperation, the goal of which is the sustainable development of circumpolar regions in the North (in Norway, Canada, and Russia). These works are the result of a long-term partnership of researchers and practitioners who came together under the framework of the University of the Arctic's "Thematic Network for Local and Regional Development in the North" under the leadership of Professor Tor Gjertsen.

International cooperation expressed itself in scholarly research, multiple conferences, seminars, exchanges of experience, and the workshops that supported the elaboration of development plans for northern municipalities. Effective cooperation with representatives of legislative and executive authorities of regions, districts, and settlements across the northern territories of Norway, Canada, and Russia was organized.

In our continuing collaboration, we extensively present and discuss the practical development experiences of many circumpolar cities and rural settlements; we identify problems that are common to all northern settlements; and we develop sustainable development strategies for municipalities. The exchange of international experience by citizens — leaders of local communities — was performed under practical cooperation with local self-governance authorities from different countries as well as business representatives. Today, leaders of these local communities are pioneers in creating new small enterprises and implementing social innovations, and they produce an activating effect in their societies.

In cooperation with the University of the Arctic, the member-country universities such as the Arctic University of Norway in Tromsø (Finnmark Faculty), University of Northern British Gargia conferences | 2004 - 2014

Columbia (Canada), North-Eastern Federal University (Russia), Syktyvkar State University (Russia), and others, acted as educational platforms for business-schools on entrepreneurship as well as other social projects for inhabitants of northern municipalities.

The most important result of 10-year experience of international cooperation on sustainable development of Northern circumpolar regions in the Thematic Network member-countries is the creation, maintenance, and further development of a space for actual international cooperation. We will enhance this international partnership with the aim of supporting sustainable development in northern municipalities, and the preservation and support of the traditional lifestyle of Aboriginal people in the North.

Our global strategy for the next 10 years is to actively develop and implement an innovative component for developing northern territories. To this end we will develop cooperation with government institutions; business, scientific, and educational organizations; we will hold conferences and seminars; we will organize business schools; and we will develop and implement social projects with innovative potential.

We have identified three strategic directions for developing the thematic network:

- First, will be the elaboration of joint educational programs between partner universities, including the creation of network-based Master's programs in the area of local and regional development. It will also include training courses and traineeships for heads of municipalities, university professors, students, entrepreneurs, teachers, and local leaders.
- Second, will be the development of joint scholarly research, publication of articles, and textbooks for Master's students. To achieve this, it is necessary to come up with joint research teams different research project areas focused on the North. For example, this may include individual or combined chapters on comparative analyses or forecasts for development in northern territories.
- Third, will be the organization and development of a mobility program for students and university professors, lasting from 2 weeks to one semester. The mobility program can

include Russian regions (universities of Yakutia, Komi Republic, Arkhangelskaya oblast, and others), and also foreign partner universities from across the thematic network.

Through these three strategic directions, our international partnership on the sustainable development of northern territories will contribute to new knowledge and to the development of human capital for future innovations.

In conclusion, I express my gratitude to Tor Gjertsen, who led our friendly network for 10 years, and all participants of the international partnership, for the energy and efforts that they dedicated to the development of northern communities. I sincerely believe that our international partnership provides real support and help to the people of the Far North in their self-realization and adaptation to the changing world. I wish all of us successful cooperation, new ideas, and new meetings!

Oksana Romanova North-Eastern Federal University, Republic of Sakha, Russia

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Eeva-Maarit Aikio is head of the Department for Business and Community Development of Utsjoki Municipality, Finland. She is also a Ph. D student at the Sami University College.

#### Klavdiya Barashkova:

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# **Øyvind Berg:**

Øyvind Berg is currently the head of the Department of Culture of Gamvik Municipality. Between 1977 and 1987 he was working full-time as a professional fisherman in the Barents Sea and around Svalbard. After two years of working here and there he became manager of Mehamn hotel and Lorden, a local restaurant. He was a successful local businessman until 2004, when he was offered the job in the municipal administration. Since he first came to Mehamn in 1977 he has been actively involved in the voluntary sector, mainly in relation to local youth, in everything from sport and snowmobiling, to cabaret and theater, as well as other more informal cultural and social activities in civil society. As leader of the municipal crisis team he has been taking part in most of the up and down turns of the community over the last 10 years. The success of the Youth Fishing project in Gamvik, 2009-13, depended mainly on his leadership and great experience with youth.

#### Galina Gabucheva:

Galina Gabucheva is Minister of National Policies in the Komi Republic, Russia

# Tor Gjertsen:

Tor Gjertsen is an Associate Professor at the Institute of Tourism and Northern Studies at UiT The Arctic University of Norway. The last 25 years he has been involved in different projects and programs for business and community development in northern Norway, Russia, and Canada. Between 2006 and 2013, he was the leader of an international Thematic Network on Local and Regional Development on behalf of the University of the Arctic and Finnmark University College, his former employer. Through

the Thematic Network and the Gargia conferences for regional development, the main meeting place and forum for discussion of the Network, he has initiated and coordinated several joint international education, research, and development projects and programs between Network members and partners in the Circumpolar North.

# Valeria Gjertsen:

Valeria Gjertsen born in the Komi Republic of Russia has become conscious of her strong attachment to the Circumpolar North after she moved to Alta in Northern Norway to work as a project coordinator for the University of the Arctic's Thematic Network on Local and Region Development. This work has contributed a lot to her understanding of community development processes in northern sparsely populated areas of Russia (Komi, Archangelsk, Yakutia, and Murmansk regions) and Norway (Finnmark and Troms counties). "I'm a circumpolar'er", Valeria used to say, and this identity plays important role in her daily work at UiT The Arctic University of Norway as a student officer at the School of Business Administration.

# **Greg Halseth:**

Greg Halseth is a Professor in the Geography Program at the University of Northern British Columbia, Canada, where he is also the Canada Research Chair in Rural and Small Town Studies and Co-Director of UNBC's Community Development Institute. His research examines rural and small town community development, and local and regional strategies for coping with social and economic change.

# Stig Hansen:

Stig Hansen is CEO of Nordkapp Næringshage - North Cape Business Garden. This is a national concept — responsible for creating an environment and infrastructure for development and growth. He has a Master's degree and long experience in the sports movement, both as an active sportsman and in administration.

#### Yngve Johansen:

Yngve Johansen is from Tana in Finnmark, Norway. He has a background as a trainer and researcher, and he has experience teaching at all levels from kindergarten to Master level. He works most days with Sami statistics and Sami place names.

# Jan Henry Keskitalo:

Jan Henry Keskitalo is a former Docent of Education at the Sámi University College in Finnmark, Northern/Norway. Also as a former Vice-President of Indigenous issues at the University of the Arctic and former Executive Chair of the World Indigenous Nations

Higher Education Consortium (WINHEC) his research and strategic work has focused on education issues and capacity building for Indigenous peoples throughout the Arctic.

#### **Ekaterina Kniazeva:**

Ekaterina Kniazeva is a recent PhD student of Saint Petersburg State University of Economics (Russia). Her research focuses on the theoretical basis of national economy's modernization and its specific option — moving towards sustainable development. Ekaterina has defended her dissertation in Economics in which she examines public policy-making in Russia's energy sector and its connection to the country's shift to sustainable development.

# Galina Knyazeva:

Galina Knyazeva is a professor of Syktyvkar State University (Russia), and also a director of the educational programs and community development studies at the Center for Sustainable Development at SyktSU. Galina's studies are linked to the sustainable development of rural areas, where the majority of Indigenous Komi peoples live. The main attention in her research is paid to social capital - one of the bases of sustainable development; and to the ability of Indigenous people to self-organization and social entrepreneurship.

# Julia Loginova:

Julia Loginova has completed the Management of Local and Regional Development program as a part of her Bachelor of Circumpolar Studies degree in 2010 and has received a graduate degree in Economics and Law in 2011. Since then she has been involved in a number of research and development projects promoting sustainable development in Circumpolar settlements. Currently, Julia is a PhD candidate at the University of Melbourne where she is examining the institutional dimensions of environmental, social, and economic change in northern Russia.

#### **Svein Lund:**

Svein Lund has been working as a mechanic and as a teacher, mainly in secondary school. He is now a freelance writer, he has published books about iron work and Sami school history and is now writing about mines. He is leader of the local group of the Association for Protection of Nature in Inner Finnmark. More information is available at: http://sveinlund.info

#### Don Manson:

Don Manson has spent the last two decades as a researcher and educator. His work has centred on the communities and people of Northern British Columbia.

#### Sean Markey:

Sean Markey is an Associate Professor with the Resource and Environmental Management Department in the Faculty of Environment at Simon Fraser University. His research concerns issues of local and regional economic development, community sustainability, rural development, and sustainable infrastructure.

#### Stefan Mikaelsson:

Stefan Mikaelsson is a member of Sámi parliament since its establishment 1993 and was deputy chair from 1996 and to 2009. In August 2009 was he elected as Chair of Sámi Parliament Plenary Assembly and was reappointed at the position in August 2013.

#### **Marleen Morris:**

Marleen Morris is the Co-Director of the Community Development Institute at the University of Northern British Columbia and an Adjunct Professor in the Geography Program at UNBC. Her research examines multi-sectoral collaboration, with a particular focus on community and regional development.

#### Natalia Okhlopkova:

For 11 years, Natalia Okhlopkova served as the Director of the Finance and Economics Institute of North-Eastern Federal University. As Director, she managed the project on Innovative Development of Northern Territories of Russia, created a model for realizing social and economic partnerships in Northern communities, and formed a teaching system of business schools for implementing ideas of innovative development in underpopulated local ethnic Northern communities.

# Steinar-Ronald Pedersen:

Steinar Pedersen was born in 1947 in the Sea-Sámi community of Denodat/Vestertana in Finnmark, Norway. He is a historian, holding a PhD concerning the rights of the Sami to use renewable resources across the border between Finland and Norway. He has also published on sea-fisheries, the salmon-fishery in Deatnu/Tana River, the use of other kinds of natural resources, and on the impact of Norwegian nationalism to Sámi culture. He was for many years a researcher at the Nordic Sámi Institute in Guovdageaidnu/Kautokeino, and has been associate professor and principal at Sámi University College in the same village.

#### **Trond Einar Persen:**

Trond Einar Persen is an Adviser in Alta Municipality. He was educated both as a Kindergarten teacher and as an economist. He has been involved in community

development for the last ten years, both in the municipality and among municipalities in the region. The main focus in his projects has been to develop and support educational programming to help young people increase their entrepreneurial spirit. For the last 18 months he has been responsible for the business Incubator in Finnmark County. He also gives lectures on the business economy at the University of Tromsø.

#### **Gunnar Reinholdtsen:**

Gunnar Reinholdtsen is a grandfather and concerned citizen of the Arctic, wonderingly observing regional development and its background. He is an active NGO representative in Friends of the Earth Norway.

# **Tor Helge Reinsnes Moen:**

Tor Helge Reinsnes Moen is working as Director of Cultural Affaires in Alta municipality. He is the former Head of Scene Finnmark/Sapmi Music and "Huset" in Alta. He has pedagogy training with additional courses in entrepreneurship, innovation, philosophy, and management.

# Valerij Rochev:

Valerij Rochev is head of the Physical Training Department in Izhma Sport School for Children and Youth. He has 25 years of professional experience in the area. He graduated from the Udmurt State University and has received the "Excellence in Physical Education and Sports" award.

#### Oksana Romanova:

Oksana Romanova is leader of the Thematic Network on Local and Regional Development in the North", chair of the Master's program on "Public and municipal management" of the North-Eastern Federal University (Republic of Sakha, Russia), director of the Expert-consulting Center of the Institute of Finance and Economics of the NEFU, professor, PhD in Sociology. Her research interests are management of Northern territories. She also works on developing socio-economic development programs and development strategies of Northern municipalities and regions.

#### Laura Ryser:

Laura Ryser is the Research Manager of the Rural and Small Town Studies Program at the University of Northern British Columbia. Her research interests include small town community change, institutional barriers to change, building resiliency to respond to restructuring trends, labour restructuring, and rural poverty.

#### **Vyasheslav Shadrin:**

Vyacheslav I. Shadrin is a Research Fellow at The Institute for Humanities Research and Indigenous Studies of the North (IHRISN) Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. His research fields are ethnic history and Indigenous issues, ethnology expertise, and climate change. He has taken an active part in Indigenous movements in Russia: he is a Chief of Council of Yukaghir Elders and 1st Vice-President of the Yakut Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North.

#### Vera Smorchkova:

Vera Smorchkova works as a Professor at the Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration, is the Scientific Director of the Master's program for training managers for the North and the Arctic.

# **Alexey Titovskiy:**

Alexey Titovskiy works as a head of Division in the Department of Foreign Economic and Interregional Relations of the Government of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug.

#### Nils Aarsæther:

Nils Aarsæther is professor and head of the BA/MA programme in Planning and Culture Studies at UiT The Arctic University of Norway. His research focusses on leadership in local democracy and local level planning, and his publications comprise comparative studies of community development strategies in the circumpolar area.